



Imperial Cult and Imperial Representation in Roman Cyprus

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Takashi Fujii

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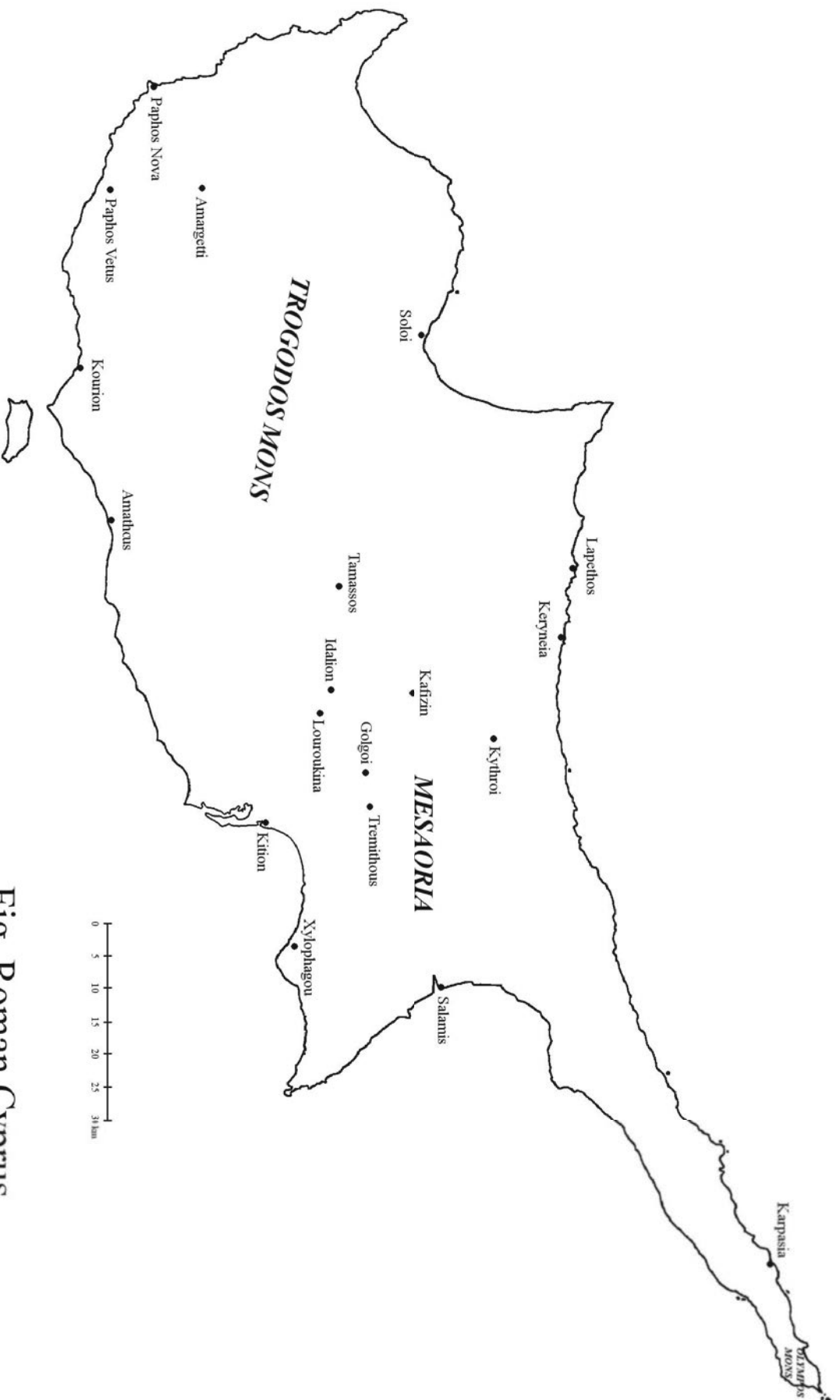


Fig. Roman Cyprus

INTRODUCTION

1. THE AIM OF THE PRESENT STUDY AND ITS BACKGROUND

The aim of the present study is to examine the imperial cult and other types of imperial representation in Cyprus while it was under Roman rule from the end of the first century BCE to the end of the third century CE. Cyprus, the third largest island in the Mediterranean, came under Roman domination in the latter half of the first century BCE (see below), and worshipped the Roman emperor throughout the imperial period, as was the case in other provinces. The Cypriots set up imperial statues, founded altars and sanctuaries to the emperor, undertook rituals and festivals in his honour, introduced a calendar in honour of imperial family members, and so on. The present study, based primarily on epigraphic evidence from the island, attempts to illustrate how the Cypriots worshipped and represented the Roman emperor and what kind of communication between the emperor and the Cypriots originated from the imperial cult, paying special attention to the local peculiarities of Cypriot society and its religious world as formative settings for the performance of the imperial cult (for Roman Cyprus, see figure).

This study can be placed at the confluence of two relatively recent trends in Ancient History, i.e. revised approaches to the imperial cult and the concept of Romanisation, with both of which scholars have vigorously been engaged since the latter half of the twentieth century.

The imperial cult, the worship of the emperor and his family members, was performed all over the Empire, both in its eastern and western parts, as well as in the Italian peninsula.¹ Cultic activities of provincials in honour of the emperor as god were (and still are in part) regarded as an expression of political loyalty and profane homage to the emperor, and not as a religious phenomenon.² The inhabitants of the Empire worshipped the emperor, but without the ‘intense mental par-

1 The concept of ‘the imperial cult’ as a cult demarcated by other types of cults did not exist in the Roman period, but is an invention of modern scholars. In the present study, ‘the imperial cult’ means a variety of cultic activities having dead and living emperors and imperial family members as its targets, often merging with cultic activities for traditional deities. For the definition of ‘the imperial cult’ and its problematic character, see Beard, North and Price 1998, 169; Scheid 2001, 85, n. 1; Gradel 2002, 1–26. For publications on the imperial cult until the mid-1970s, see Bickerman, Habicht et al. 1973; Herz 1978; Wlosok 1978. Also cf. Herz 2007b. Major works which have thereafter appeared include: Hopkins 1978, 197–242; Price 1984a; Price 1987; Fishwick 1987–2005; Wörrle 1988; Friesen 1993; Campanile 1994; Small 1996; Spawforth 1997; Beard, North and Price 1998, 348–63; Clauss 1999; Gradel 2002; Cancik and Hitzl 2003; Chaniotis 2003a; Burrell 2004; Millar 2004; Bernett 2007; Kantiréa 2007; Rüpke 2007; Witulski 2007; Pfeiffer 2010; Gordon 2011; Lozano 2011; Frija 2012.

2 Taylor 1931, 237–38; Nock 1934, 481–82; Bowersock 1965, 112–21; Liebeschuetz 1979, 77–79.

ticipation of the congregation at a Jewish or Christian service'.³ As for the Greek-speaking part of the Empire, in particular, a long-standing prejudice against the Greeks plays a role in evaluating the imperial cult there: the Greeks, having lost the true religiosity of 'ancient' Greece, degenerated into mere flatterers under the Roman Empire, and were, accordingly, never reluctant to venerate the emperor as god.⁴ The imperial cult was no more than a testimony of *Graeca adulatio*, i.e. servile flattery on the part of the Greeks living under Roman domination.⁵

Simon Price's seminal work on the imperial cult in Asia Minor, published in 1984, has forced these views of the imperial cult to be revised.⁶ According to him, seeing the cult of the emperor as a superficial religious skin covering real political purposes without any religious sincerity stems from the 'Christianizing' attitude of modern scholars, in whose view religiosity lies only in an individual's internal belief in God and this personal faith should be clearly separated from social and political dimensions of life. He argues instead that we must understand the cult of the emperor as an amalgam of religion and politics, which was thought of as inseparable in antiquity. The inhabitants of the eastern provinces intended to represent the political reality of the Empire to themselves by placing the emperor in their traditional *panthea* of gods, which, in turn, made it possible for them to communicate with each other and with the imperial centre by means of a religious vocabulary. The imperial cult, as a ritual aspect of power, constituted 'a major part of the web of power that formed the fabric of society'.⁷

The Romanisation of the provinces, which, in its broadest sense, denotes the extension of Roman and Italian civilisation, language and culture in the Empire, represents another theme underlying this study. Since the latter half of the twentieth century, particularly from the 1980s onwards, scholars have paid more attention to indigenous cultures and local elites as formative factors in building up provincial cultures (more or less) under Roman influence, rather than insisting on a monolithic picture of Romanisation as a unilateral civilising process from the centre to the periphery.⁸ This point is important, particularly with regard to the Romanisation of the eastern provinces, since they had already established well-developed political systems, sophisticated cultures and time-honoured religions before experiencing the process of Romanisation. Thus, Greg Woolf rightly concludes in his article on the Romanisation of the East that 'Greeks, however, seem to have been more selective [than the western provinces] in their adoption of styles and innovations of Roman origin'.⁹

3 Liebeschuetz 1979, 81–82. See also Latte 1960, 312–26.

4 Syme 1979, 570. Cf. Price 1984a, 17–19.

5 Syme 1939, 473–74. Cf. Bowersock 1965, 12.

6 Price 1984a.

7 Price 1984a, 248. Cf. Gordon 2011, 40–44.

8 For the history of studies on Romanisation, see Woolf 1998; Woolf 2001.

9 Woolf 1993–94, 127. Ostenfeld and Blomqvist have developed this point by arguing that 'they [i.e. the Greeks] did not give up their civilization and identity, but rather reinterpreted the Roman power in Greek terms: e.g. as a Hellenistic Empire' (see Ostenfeld and Blomqvist

Given the fact that the provincials worshipped the Roman emperor, who usually resided in the capital, it is no wonder that the imperial cult has been studied in close relation to the concept of Romanisation. For example, an article from the *Oxford Classical Dictionary* makes an explicit statement about the imperial cult in the eastern provinces of the Empire as an important indicator of Romanisation: ‘The Roman ruler-cult, [...] whose origins lay in a collaboration between the Roman authorities, especially provincial governors, and the upper classes of the eastern provinces, and which evolved a new form of politico-religious expression within the framework of imperial rule, had an enormous impact. [...] Much of the “Romanness” of a city of the eastern provinces during the imperial period could therefore be traced directly to the institution of emperor-worship’.¹⁰

However, placing the imperial cult of the East in the perspective of Romanisation is no easy task. Provided that Romanisation was not a unilateral civilising process from the centre to the periphery, we must accordingly take into account many factors which affected the establishment and performance of the imperial cult in the provinces, e.g. authorities who introduced the cult (the emperor, Roman magistrates or provincials?); local religious settings against which the emperor was accommodated as god; and historical and contextual changes that the imperial cult experienced. Angelos Chaniotis’ theoretical approach to the dissemination of cults in the Roman Empire, in which the mobility of people, cultures and cults reached their peak in the ancient periods, is particularly worthy of attention here. According to him, the introduction of new cults (including the imperial cult) had two dimensions, i.e. cult transfer and ritual transfer. The former denotes the transfer of the cult of a god to a region where the deity was not known before, while the latter concerns the transfer of cult practices to a new region. The transfer of rituals occurred in two ways: a specific ritual could be disseminated from one region to another (transfer in a geographical sense), and from one context to another (transfer in a metaphorical sense).¹¹ The imperial cult of the provinces, at first sight, seems to have been the first category of transfer, i.e. cult transfer, since the provincials worshipped the emperor who lived and died (and was subsequently deified) in the capital of the Empire. This assumption only partially holds true. For the worship of the living emperor as god (the main target of veneration in the East) occurred primarily in provinces,¹² which suggests that the imperial cult did not transfer straightforwardly from the centre to the periphery. Rather, the concept of ritual transfer, its subdivision ‘transfer in a metaphorical sense’ in particular, is useful in assessing the imperial cult of provinces. As we shall see in this study, the ritual practices of the imperial cult – setting up statues, dedicating sacrifices, singing hymns, and so on – were never novel phenomena in the East, but already known as rituals for traditional deities and, in part, for the Hellenistic ruler. It was

2002, 20). For the Romanisation of the East, see also Alcock 1993; Alcock 1997; Woolf 1997; Ostfeld 2002; Pilhofer 2006; Chaniotis 2008b.

10 Mitchell 2012.

11 Chaniotis 2009a, 19–24.

12 However, see also Gradel 2002.

their contexts that changed in the Roman period. In terms of ritual transfer in a metaphorical sense, we must undertake a careful investigation into local religious milieus surrounding the provincials who took part in the imperial cult (as priests, *euergetai*, or mere participants) and their social settings, which contributed to bringing about ritual transfer according to their own traditions, interests and expectations. In other words, we are dealing with imperial *cults* originating from a metaphorical ritual transfer which was itself nuanced by the religious and social conditions of the region or people concerned.¹³

Influenced, to a greater or lesser extent, by the revised approaches to the imperial cult and the model of Romanisation, some works have appeared about the imperial cult of a province or a region and the communication between provincials and the emperor that the imperial cult fostered. These works tend to focus on distinctive local diversities in the imperial cult's historical development, the roles of civic elites, and the relationship between the imperial cult and local religious systems.¹⁴ This present study can be placed along the same lines as these works, in that it attempts to accommodate the Cypriot imperial cult in the local religious and social settings of the island and to clarify how and to what extent the imperial cult served as a forum for communication between the Cypriots and the emperor. But why Cyprus? I must confess that this province was selected on technical grounds, in part at least: there has been no comprehensive work on this theme (see below); and the manageable number of inscriptions – though they offer an amazing variety – best fit a dissertation of this scale (see below and the appendix). Of course, filling in missing bits with a tiny book is not my primary purpose. More important reasons for this choice will be fully explained in the next section.

2. ROMAN CYPRUS AND ITS IMPERIAL CULT

In the first half of the first century BCE, during which the Romans increasingly extended their power and influence in the eastern part of the Mediterranean, Cyprus, at that time under Ptolemaic rule, does not seem to have attracted the particular political and economic interest of the Romans.¹⁵ It was not until the annexation of Cyprus in the Roman dominion in 58 BCE that the island entered a constant relationship with Rome. Presumably, the annexation of Cyprus was not a consequence of a grand strategy by Rome, but can be attributed to the personal ambition of P. Clodius Pulcher, who, as *tribunus*, introduced a measure to provincialise the island and confiscate the treasures of Ptolemy, the king of Cyprus.

13 Beard, North and Price 1998, 348, underline this point: '[practices which related the emperor to the gods] are very diverse, because they were located in very different contexts. That is, there is no such thing as "*the* imperial cult"'.
 14 See, e.g. Spawforth 1997 (Athens); Gradel 2002 (Italy); Lozano 2002 (Athens); Chaniotis 2003a (the East); Burnett 2007 (Judaea); Kantiréa 2007 (Greece); Pfeiffer 2010 (Egypt).
 15 For the outline of the history of Roman Cyprus that follows below, see Hill 1949, 226–56; Mitford 1980a; Watkin 1988; Potter 2000. For Ptolemaic Cyprus, see Hill 1949, 173–211; Roesch 1980; Mehl 1995a; 1995b; 1996a; 1996b; 1998; 2000; Cayla and Hermay 2003.

Thereafter, the government of Cyprus changed frequently in accordance with the course of the Civil War – the island was governed as an annex to the province Kilikia until 48/7 BCE, the year in which Caesar returned the ownership of the island to Ptolemaic Egypt, and Mark Antony confirmed the Ptolemaic domination of Cyprus after having (probably) assigned the island to the Roman province Kilikia. Octavian's victory in Actium in 31 BCE put an end to the unsettled situation – Cyprus, with its old master Egypt, came under Roman domination. It seems that the *legati* of Augustus were in charge of the administration of Cyprus until 23/22 BCE. In that year Cyprus was returned to the senate as a public province, whose administration became the responsibility of *proconsules* of praetorian rank, in co-operation with *quaestores*, *legati pro praetore*, and *procuratores* of the emperor, and other minor magistrates. No legion was permanently stationed on the island throughout the Roman period, which constitutes a clear contrast to the Ptolemaic period. The traditional civic institutions of Cyprus, on the other hand, continued to exist: twelve or thirteen *poleis* on the island, as had been the case since the Classical period (though to a lesser extent under Ptolemaic rule in the Hellenistic period), administered themselves with political organs (*boule* and *demos*) and magistracies such as *archon*, *gymnasiarchos*, *agonothetes*, *agoronomos*, *hiereus* and so on. These offices were mainly held by civic elites with or without Roman citizenship: some may have maintained their socio-political importance since the Classical period, while some may have come to their eminence in the Roman period.¹⁶ There was no Roman colony on Cyprus, as far as the current evidence is concerned. The league of Cypriot cities, the *koinon*, which came into existence in the Hellenistic period,¹⁷ performed an important role in communication between the Cypriots and the Empire, particularly in the performance of the imperial cult, which will be discussed in this study.

Scholars have characterised Roman Cyprus as a time of 'quiescence', in which the island no longer functioned as a place of great strategic importance for the Empire, and the influence of the island on the Mediterranean world was also very limited, a clear contrast to Cyprus before Ptolemaic rule.¹⁸ In the Roman period, the island enjoyed relative economic prosperity in peace, without any political and strategic interference from the central government.¹⁹ *Proconsules* who governed the island, generally unpromising senators, rarely proceeded to higher status after their service in Cyprus,²⁰ while very few Cypriots could find a way

16 Kantiréa 2011, 252.

17 Cf. Cayla and Hermay 2003, 241.

18 Mitford 1980a, 1383; Potter 2000, 763.

19 For the economic importance of Roman Cyprus, see Michaelides 1996.

20 Those who advanced to the consulship after their service in Cyprus include: L. Tarius Rufus; Paullus Fabius Maximus?; A. Plautius?; C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus; T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus; L. Annius Bassus; C. Calpurnius Flaccus; [Tib.] Claudius Subatia[nus Proculus?]. For more details on these *proconsules*, see Mitford 1980a, 1299–305; Eck 1972–73, 250–53; Potter 2000, 787–96.

into the Empire-wide aristocracy outside the island.²¹ Accordingly, Cyprus has been seen as a modest and ‘uninteresting’ province without any historical importance.

The imperial cult in Roman Cyprus has, correspondingly, drawn relatively little attention of scholars. Although Terence Mitford and David Potter have touched on the topic in their general descriptions of Roman Cyprus, their approaches only (and rather superficially) concern the social and historical aspects of worship of the emperor.²² The sole substantial work on the theme is Maria Kantiréa’s paper that appeared in 2008.²³ On the basis of the revised approach to the imperial cult that has been common from Price’s breakthrough onwards, she underlines the combination of religion and politics as the *raison d’être* of the imperial cult: ‘[...] elle [i.e., the imperial cult] visait, surtout, à véhiculer des idées, des valeurs et des principes sur lesquels l’empereur fonda et justifia son pouvoir, et, par conséquent, à dissimuler, sous une forme religieuse, la nécessité historique de la domination romaine’.²⁴ According to this perspective, Kantiréa focuses on the civic elites of Cyprus – in particular those of the two most important cities of the island, Paphos and Salamis – as ‘«intermédiaires culturels» entre les dieux, les empereurs et leurs compatriotes’ who, as *euergetai* of their cities, held the offices of priests, performed appropriate rituals, and set up monuments concerning the imperial cult.²⁵

Her argument, however, seems to be inadequate on two points. The first point concerns the religious status of the emperor. She proposes two methods the Cypriots adopted to accommodate the emperor in the Cypriot religious framework, i.e. ‘l’assimilation et la cohabitation’ with local deities. However, her interpretation of evidence often relies on conventional patterns of assimilation between the emperor and deities: e.g. the emperor was venerated in the temple of Zeus in Salamis because Zeus ‘était l’équivalent de Jupiter, à qui le prince, en sa qualité de *pater patriae*, était souvent assimilé’.²⁶ Did the Cypriots have a thorough knowledge of the concept of *pater patriae* and its relationship with Zeus? To what extent was the emperor assimilated with the deity? Was there total equality or an uneven status between the two gods? Take another example: according to Kantiréa, the temple of Aphrodite in Paphos continued to retain imperial favour from the Julio-Claudians onwards, which resulted in the co-habitation of Aphrodite and the emperors in the Flavian period as well. However, a piece of evidence that she offers for this argument relates to the co-habitation of Aphrodite and the emperor

21 Only one or two Cypriots of senatorial status are known: Lucius Sergius Arrianos who is represented *synkletikos tribounos* in an inscription from Paphos Vetus (*IGR* 3, no. 960); and Sergia Aurelia Regina, a woman of senatorial rank (*IGR* 3, no. 958; no. 959; *I.Kourion* no. 98). For the latter, see Raepsaet-Charlier 1987, 560–61, no. 700. Cf. Ma 2007b, 91–93. For a possible Cypriot of equestrian order, see Eck 1977, 227–31.

22 Mitford 1980a, 1347–55; 1990, 2194–202; Potter 2000, 817–28.

23 Kantiréa 2008. For her treatment of the imperial cult in Roman Greece, see Kantiréa 2007.

24 Kantiréa 2008, 91.

25 Kantiréa 2008, 92. See also Kantiréa 2011.

26 Kantiréa 2008, 97–98.

Titus in Amathous, not in Paphos.²⁷ Should we not presume a different background for the cults of Aphrodite in Paphos and in Amathous, respectively? Would it not be more fruitful to consider the difference between the two co-habitations in terms of their contexts? We are not dealing with the imposition of a stable imperial ideology on the Cypriot temples, but with the different representations of imperial power in two different sacred contexts within the island. The present study takes a more careful approach, while it fully enquires into the religious status of the emperor, underlining its background settings, case by case.

My second criticism concerns Kantiréa's concluding remarks that focus on the historical development of the Cypriot imperial cult, which is described completely from the imperial perspective: e.g. the cult of Tiberius and his successors 'symbolise l'attachement du prince et de sa *gens* à l'idéologie et aux préceptes moraux du fondateur du Principat', and the alleged renaissance of the imperial cult in the Severan period reflects 'la place importante que la politique impériale accorda de nouveau à Chypre grâce à la prédilection de la dynastie pour l'Orient de l'État romain'.²⁸ These remarks presume that the Cypriots only performed the imperial cult under the influence of the Empire-wide ideology and strategy which was established in the capital far from the island. This approach seems to be invalid in two dimensions. First, we must pay more attention to Cypriot contexts as formative factors of the local imperial cult (see above). Second, we must seek a more effective explanation for the communication between the emperor and the Cypriots through the imperial cult, rather than insisting on the straightforward relationship between the imperial ideology and the Cypriot imperial cult, since we can reasonably assume that Cyprus, as a tiny island attracting fewer interests from the imperial side, may have conducted the imperial cult in a different way from Greece and Asia Minor, the regions with great cities, Hellenic traditions, and, accordingly, intense imperial interests. Thus, the present case study on Cyprus is intended not only to understand the imperial cult on the island in its social and religious contexts, but also to illuminate the diversity of communication through the imperial cult between the centre and the periphery of the Empire, the diversity which derived from differentiated conditions (both socio-religious and political) surrounding ritual transfer in each region.

This last point invites us to touch on the Ptolemaic ruler cult in Hellenistic Cyprus beyond the chronological frame of this study, in order to distinguish old and new elements in the ritual transfer of the imperial cult. The Cypriots, along with Ptolemaic officials and soldiers on the island, offered the Ptolemaic kings and their family divine honours. Most of the rites of this worship were the same as those of the imperial cult, e.g. the setting up of cultic statues, syncretism with indigenous deities, and the foundation of cult places.²⁹ This continuity was a result

27 Kantiréa 2008, 97.

28 Kantiréa 2008, 112.

29 For the Ptolemaic ruler cult in Cyprus, see Hill 1949, 181–86; Bagnall 1976, 38–79; Watkin 1988, 195–418; Anastassiades 1998; Mehl 2000, 742–43; Anastassiades 2001; Hölbl 2001,

of ritual transfer in a metaphorical sense from the Hellenistic ruler cult to the Roman imperial cult; these rituals changed not their contents, but their contexts from the veneration of Ptolemaic kings to that of Roman emperors (see part 1 of the present study). However, in the Ptolemaic cult, there are also elements which differ from the cult of the emperor, especially in terms of the variety of those who participated in the cult: the *strategos*, the Ptolemaic governor on the island, played a central role in the cult as *archiereus* of Cyprus since the reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes;³⁰ Ptolemaic garrisons on Cyprus, consisting of officers and mercenaries recruited from all over the eastern Mediterranean, set up statues and dedications for the ruler;³¹ and Dionysiac *technitai* were vigorous worshippers of the king, probably in close collaboration with the *technitai* of Egypt.³² The wide variety of cultic agents in Hellenistic Cyprus and their close connection with the royal power and its authorities³³ make a clear contrast to the imperial cult in Roman Cyprus, in which the Cypriots practised the cult in most cases without direct relationships with the emperor and his benefactory acts, and the performance of imperial rituals more and more depended on the shoulders of the higher-ranking Cypriots, though not excluding the involvement of Roman magistrates. It seems reasonable to assume that the difference in ritual agents and their motivations between the Ptolemaic cult and the imperial cult neatly reflects the geo-political status of Cyprus in each period. In the Hellenistic period, Cyprus, which was situated at the crossroads of the eastern Mediterranean and abounded in natural resources (mineral, agricultural, and wood), was the most important foreign possession of the Ptolemaic dynasty. Thus, the island was a scene of political struggles among the *diadochoi*, and also among Ptolemaic kings and queens, and, accordingly, the Ptol-

96, 171–72, 288. For the ruler cult performed in the Greek cities of the Ptolemaic Kingdom, see Habicht 1970, 109–23; Pfeiffer 2008, 31–76.

- 30 For the list of *strategoi* in Hellenistic Cyprus, see Bagnall 1976, 252–62. But, there were also the priests of the ruler cult on the civic level. For a list of them, see Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 164. Cf. Bagnall 1976, 68–73. See chapter 6 of the present study for more detail.
- 31 E.g. *I.Kition* no. 2015 (246–21 BCE, Kition; probably a statue of Berenike, wife of Ptolemy III); *I.Kition* no. 2003 (the end of the second century BCE, Kition; a dedication for Ptolemy IX and his children); *Salamine de Chypre* no. 71 (third or second century BCE, Salamis; a dedication for a Ptolemy and his family); *I.Kition* no. 2024 (145–16 BCE, Kition; Melankomas, an Aitolian soldier, served as priest of the *Theoi Euergetai*; cf. Bagnall 1976, 69–70); *Salamine de Chypre* no. 72 (second century BCE, Salamis; a statue of a Ptolemy); Mitford 1961b, 39, no. 105 (the first century BCE?, Paphos; a fragmentary inscription referring to *basilistai*, probably consisting of soldiers; cf. Buraselis and Aneziri 2004, 175). For the promulgation of the ruler cult by garrisons, see Chaniotis 2002, 106–108; Buraselis and Aneziri 2004, 174–75; Pfeiffer 2008, 51.
- 32 Aneziri 1994, see especially 197–98, no. 7 (105/04 BCE, Paphos; Kallippos as a member of the *technitai* for Dionysos and the *Theoi Euergetai*); no. 8 (105–88 BCE, Paphos; Potamon as a member of the *technitai* for Dionysos and the *Theoi Euergetai*); no. 9 (around the turn of the second century BCE, Paphos; an anonymous as a member of the *technitai* for [Dionysos] and the *Theoi Euergetai*).
- 33 Bagnall 1976, 73: ‘In this domain [i.e. in religious matters] as in others, the cities functioned and acted as Greek *poleis*, but always with a royal official placed in a position of supervision and overall control.’

emies had the powerful *strategoi* of the highest political rank govern Cyprus and allowed garrisons to be stationed under them, both of whom acted as vigorous agents in worshipping the Ptolemaic king. On the other hand, Roman Cyprus remained a modest province in terms of the politics and strategy of the Empire, and thus did not situate in the mainstream of imperial interests and interference, as summarised above. The present study examines this ‘sense of distance’ of Cyprus as a new element in the Roman period which characterised communication through the imperial cult between the centre and the periphery (see part 2 of the present study).

3. THE STRUCTURE OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The present study consists of three parts. The first part will discuss the broad spectrum of religious status of the emperor in Cyprus, paying special attention to relationships between traditional deities and the emperor, and to ritual transfer from the cults of the former to those of the latter. The Cypriots and Roman magistrates (*proconsules* and other magistrates) regarded and portrayed the emperor sometimes as god, sometimes as mortal, and other times as a being between god and mortal, depending on the contexts in which the emperor was placed. The Cypriots and Roman authorities seem to have made visible the different types of imperial religious status, through the deliberate use of imperial epithets and titles (chapter 1), manoeuvres concerning the setting up of imperial statues (chapter 2), and the careful arrangement of imperial monuments at several locations in the civic landscape (chapter 3). The so-called Cypriot oath of allegiance to Tiberius was intended to connect the divinity of Augustus to the local religious tradition of Cyprus (chapter 4). The second part deals with communication between the emperor and the Cypriots through the imperial cult (chapter 5) and the integration of the imperial cult into the socio-political framework in Cyprus (chapter 6). The third and last part enquires into the repetitive and ubiquitous, but at the same time manipulated character of imperial representation in the life of the Cypriots, placing a special emphasis on festivals (chapter 7) and the concept of time (chapter 8). The ‘Cypriots’ in the present study mean in most cases those who lived in Roman Cyprus, with or without Roman citizenship and Roman names, and were affluent enough to perform imperial rituals, set up imperial statues and dedications, and hold the offices of the imperial cult, though I will not exclude the possibility that a wider population of Cyprus may have witnessed or taken part in rituals, enjoyed imperial festivals, and lived in a world imbued with the imperial concept of time. In any case, the majority of the inscriptions considered here concern the activities of higher-ranking Cypriots (and imperial magistrates in several cases), except for some small-scale dedications.

Epigraphic evidence constitutes almost all material available for this study. Several types of Greek inscription (and a dozen Latin inscriptions) from the island – statue bases, dedications, public buildings, milestones, and so on – provide us with a remarkable insight into the various aspects of imperial representation,

which meagre literary texts cannot afford. No corpus of Greek inscriptions from Cyprus has so far been published, except for the collections of inscriptions from Kourion (*I.Kourion*), Salamis (*I.Salamis* and *Salamine de Chypre*), Paphos (*I.Paphos*; unpublished dissertation) and Kition (*I.Kition*). Otherwise, inscriptions have been published separately via the articles of Mitford and other scholars. The most important inscriptions for our purpose are listed, with translations and other information, in the appendix at the end of the present study. In interpreting the texts, I have generally taken a more moderate approach than that of Mitford, who supplemented blanks with sometimes unwarranted – and, in a few cases, purely invented – words.³⁴ As far as possible, I have attempted to avoid arguing ‘a history from square brackets’.

34 Cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear 1973a and 1973b.

PART 1

THE EMPEROR IN THE WIDE SPECTRUM OF REPRESENTATION

CHAPTER 1. EMPERORS REPRESENTED IN THE GREEK LANGUAGE

Paul Veyne, in a recent essay on Greco-Roman religion, has formulated its conceptual ‘continuity’ between gods and mortals as follows: ‘Pour monter des hommes aux dieux, on suit un *plus*, on ne file pas vers l’infini. C’est pourquoi les rois hellénistiques et les empereurs romains ont pu être fictivement divinisés [...] on ne transgressait pas de frontière catégorielle quand on passait des hommes aux dieux’.¹ The dichotomy ‘Man and God’, which is characteristic of monotheistic religions, formed no rigid category in the Greek religious system, which provided an important precondition for the imperial cult in the Roman East. Rather than trying to fix an emperor to the absolute and immutable status of a god or mortal, we should address the extent to which he was thought to be a god or mortal, and consider how his status changed from case to case and from inscription to inscription. The aim of this chapter is to investigate the epithets and titles used to describe the emperors in Greek (and several Latin) inscriptions from Roman Cyprus, in order to illuminate the religious position of the emperors and its fluid character in Cypriot religion and society, as mirrored in the language of the inscriptions. The various ways in which emperors and imperial power were represented cannot, in my view, be the product of an arbitrary choice of words in the Greek language. Rather, it reflects the careful attention of Cypriot communities and individuals (the main donors of inscriptions) and Roman magistrates (who seem in some cases to have intervened in the imperial cult and other types of imperial representation on the island), as they tried to accommodate the emperors into proper positions in society and religion through the implications produced by the language of the inscriptions. The present chapter is divided into three sections: first, I consider the epithet *theos* conferred on the emperor; then, the ambiguity concerning the word *Sebastoi*; and, lastly, other imperial epithets.

1.1. THE EMPEROR AS *THEOS*

The Greek word *theos*, whose primary meaning is ‘god’, never permits straightforward semantic interpretation when applied to a Roman emperor. Scholars, e.g. Simon Price and Fernando Lozano, have demonstrated that there was no one-to-one equivalence between *theos* and Latin *divus*, the latter signifying the divine status of an officially consecrated emperor (emperors and their family members could be deified and given the title *divus/diva* after their death, through an official

1 Veyne 2005, 422.

procedure held in the senate and pending the approval of their successors),² and that the epithet *theos* and its implications should be placed in the Greek religious context, given the absence of a central legal procedure in creating a *theos*, in sharp contrast to the official deification of a *divus*.³ The evidence from Roman Cyprus seems in some cases to be compatible with what these scholars have argued concerning *theos*, while in the other cases the use of *theos* appears to follow that of *divus* in describing the emperors who were consecrated posthumously.

We shall begin with Roman milestones found on Cyprus. Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen, in his comprehensive work on the roads of ancient Cyprus, has registered twenty-nine milestones with approximately forty-five Greek and Latin inscriptions spanning four hundred years from Augustus to Jovian.⁴ Two sets of bilingual inscriptions, both of which are concerned with the milestones set up in 198 CE during the reign of Septimius Severus, make clear semantic similarities between Latin and Greek imperial titles.⁵ These four inscriptions (two Greek and two Latin) refer to Severus and Caracalla as the reigning *Sebastoi* and *Augusti*, i.e. without *theos* and *divus*, and to their predecessors as the deified emperors with these titles, including Commodus, Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus Pius, Hadrian, Trajan and Nerva, though the four inscriptions have a few minor discrepancies in their selection of the deified emperors. What can be deduced from a comparison between the Greek and Latin milestone inscriptions is that *theos* is the precise Greek translation of *divus* and that both of these terms had a common legal connotation in that only deceased and subsequently consecrated emperors could hold the titles *theos* and *divus*. The ‘official’ character of the milestones would account for this phenomenon; the city of Paphos supervised the setting up of the milestones and Audius Bassus, as *proconsul* of Cyprus, participated in this procedure.⁶ *Theos*, the Greek synonym of *divus*, could reflect the consecration of the emperor, a political decision made in the capital of the Empire, especially in official and highly formulaic texts like the milestone inscriptions.⁷

2 For the procedures of imperial deification and consecration in the city of Rome, see Price 1987; Claus 1999, 356–68. For the cult of the *divi* in general, see Gradel 2002, 261–371.

3 Price 1984b; Lozano 2007. Cf. Veyne 1962, 57. Chaniotis 2003b is also worth mentioning in terms of the unofficial character of imperial titles in the Roman East. In his article, Angelos Chaniotis has pointed out that the Greeks freely conferred unofficial honorific titles (e.g. *Sebaste* and *Aniketos*) on the emperors and imperial family members and that these unofficial imperial titles, which appear in a cultic context, were not understood as parts of the official name of the emperor, but comparable with epithets of gods for the Greeks.

4 Bekker-Nielsen 2004. For a catalogue of the milestone inscriptions, see 232–76.

5 Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 266–68, no. 24 (fifteen miles from Paphos Nova); 270–72, no. 26 (thirteen miles from Paphos Nova).

6 For the roles of Roman officials in the Cypriot imperial cult, see chapter 5 of the present study.

7 The following milestone inscriptions attest *theoi* and *divi* of the period which we are considering: Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 236–37, no. 3 (Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius); 247–49, no. 13, i (Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, Commodus); 252–53, no. 15, i (Vespasian).

Epigraphic evidence other than the milestone inscriptions needs more careful treatment because of the less formulaic character of the text and the lack of a Latin counterpart. Furthermore, the fact that we cannot date most inscriptions with precision makes the issue more complicated, since the date at which an emperor appears with *theos* is intrinsically concerned with the implications that this term would convey – if an emperor was given the epithet *theos* in his lifetime, its connotation would be different from that of *divus*, the title bestowed on a deceased and subsequently deified emperor. Several inscriptions warrant a detailed discussion here since they seem to demonstrate that the Cypriots offered the epithet *theos* to the emperors and imperial family members in diverse ways and with various purposes, under no constraint to follow the central consecration of a *divus*.

The list of *theoi* in Cyprus, as in other eastern provinces, includes not only the *divi* consecrated in the central government, but also other emperors and imperial family members who were not given the title *divus* after their death. Emperors and imperial family members mentioned with *theos/thea* (or *divus* in one case) in the Cypriot inscriptions (excluding the milestone inscriptions) include: Caesar,⁸ Augustus,⁹ Tiberius,¹⁰ Livia (the wife of Augustus),¹¹ Iulia (the daughter of Augustus),¹² Nero,¹³ Vespasian,¹⁴ Nerva,¹⁵ Trajan,¹⁶ Hadrian,¹⁷ Septimius Severus,¹⁸ and Caracalla.¹⁹ Regarding Augustus, Livia, Iulia, Tiberius, and Nero, the inscriptions attest with a high degree of certainty that the Cypriots addressed these individuals as *theos/thea* during his or her lifetime, which demonstrates the semantic difference between *theos/thea* and *divus/diva*. The fact that Iulia, Tiberius and Nero did not receive official consecration after their departure²⁰ also points to the lack of a translatable relationship on the island between *divus/diva* and *theos/thea*. This seemingly ‘extraordinary’ use of the epithet *theos/thea* ought to be fully discussed here, since it illuminates the local context of Cyprus in which *theos/thea* potentially evoked diverse connotations not confined to the mere translation of *di-*

8 Amathous no. 1; Amathous no. 2; Paphos Vetus no. 1. Cf. Salamis no. 4 (*divus*).

9 Amathous no. 1; Amathous no. 2; Keryneia no. 1; Lapethos no. 1; Lapethos no. 2; Paphos Vetus no. 1; Paphos Vetus no. 4; Paphos Vetus no. 8; Paphos Vetus no. 9; Paphos Vetus no. 10; Paphos Vetus no. 11; Paphos Vetus no. 12; Salamis no. 2. Cf. Kition no. 1; Paphos (Amargetti) no. 2; Paphos Vetus no. 5; Salamis no. 1; Soloi no. 1 (*divus*).

10 Lapethos no. 2.

11 Paphos Vetus no. 3.

12 Paphos Vetus no. 1.

13 Salamis no. 8; Salamis no. 9.

14 Kourion no. 3. Cf. Paphos Nova no. 2 (*divus*).

15 Kourion no. 5; Kourion no. 11; Lapethos no. 4; Salamis no. 15; Salamis no. 16; Salamis no. 19. Cf. Kourion no. 12; Lapethos no. 3; Salamis no. 17.

16 Kourion no. 12; Lapethos no. 4; Salamis no. 16; Salamis no. 18; Salamis no. 19. Cf. Salamis no. 17.

17 Cf. Soloi no. 3.

18 Kourion no. 17.

19 Kourion no. 17.

20 For the list of the consecrated emperors and imperial family members, see Clauss 1999, 533–35.

vus/diva. In the following paragraphs, Augustus, Livia, Iulia, Tiberius and Nero will be dealt with in turn.

Augustus

Octavian, later Augustus, after he concluded the Civil War and began to establish the *Pax Romana*, found provincials eager to offer him cultic worship as a benefactor who had put an end to the long-lasting and devastating war, especially in the Greek East where the population suffered its intolerable consequences.²¹ Therefore, it is not surprising that a piece of evidence from Cyprus regarding the worship of Augustus focuses on his achievement, the victory won in the battle of Actium. One inscription from Keryneia, **Keryneia no. 1**, refers to *thysia* (sacrifice) offered to Augustus followed by the *Epinikia*, athletic games held on Cyprus, most likely on the occasion of the Actian Games held in commemoration of his victory.²² The person who supervised this worship is not known because of the fragmentary condition of the inscription; nonetheless, it seems certain that he held an office related to the *gymnasion*, probably that of *gymnasiarchos*. He addresses Augustus as *Theos Sebastos Kaisar* in this inscription. If this inscription was, as is highly probable, set up during his lifetime, then it belongs with those examples where Augustus seems to be addressed as *theos* or *divus* before his death in 14 CE (**Amathous no. 1**; **Amathous no. 2**; **Lapethos no. 1**; **Paphos Vetus no. 1**; **Salamis no. 2**. Cf. **Kition no. 1**; **Paphos (Amargetti) no. 2**; **Paphos Vetus no. 4**; **Paphos Vetus no. 5**; **Salamis no. 1**; **Soloi no. 1**).

Livia (the wife of Augustus)

One statue base inscription from Paphos Vetus, **Paphos Vetus no. 3**, addresses Livia as *Livia Thea Nea*. Whether she was represented as a deity of syncretism, *Thea Nea [Aphrodite]*²³ or *Thea Nea [Demeter]*,²⁴ the first of which seems more probable given the provenance of the inscription (the sanctuary of Aphrodite), remains an open question because of the fragmentary condition of the inscription. Its *terminus ante quem* is probably 14 CE, when Livia became a member of the *gens Iulia* and held the new honorific name Iulia Augusta as dictated in the will of

21 For the worship of Augustus in the Roman East, see Bowersock 1965, 112–21; Habicht 1973; Clauss 1999, 54–75.

22 In chapter 3 and chapter 7, I will discuss the sacrifice, the athletic games and the date of the inscription in more detail.

23 Mitford 1947, 227–28. Cf. Hahn 1994, 48. Livia was connected to Aphrodite in Smyrna and Chios (see Hahn 1994, 327).

24 *I.Paphos* no. 145. Examples of Livia syncretised with Demeter come from Amphipolis, Thessalonike, Korinthos, Kyzikos, Lampsakos, Pergamon, Ephesos, Aphrodisias, Sardeis, Tralleis and Caesarea Philippi (see Hahn 1994, 327–29).

Augustus.²⁵ Long after her death in 29 CE, Livia was consecrated in 42 CE under Claudius.²⁶ It is not known who set up this statue base inscription; it may be a reasonable assumption that the city of Paphos or one of its civic organs sponsored it, since they established several statues of the Julio-Claudians in the precinct of the Aphrodite sanctuary of Paphos (see chapter 2).

Iulia (the daughter of Augustus)

One inscription from Paphos Vetus, **Paphos Vetus no. 1**, concerns a statue of Iulia, the daughter of Augustus and wife of Agrippa, as *Ioulia Thea Sebaste*. There are a few inscriptions that refer to Iulia as *Thea*,²⁷ or as *Sebaste*²⁸ in the Roman East. Agrippa, who appears here as her husband, died in 12 BCE, which therefore constitutes the *terminus ante quem* for the inscription. Thereafter, Iulia married Tiberius in 11 BCE, divorced him in 2 BCE and died in 14 CE in exile; accordingly, she was not consecrated as a *diva*. The inscription does not mention who set up the statue of Iulia; it seems probable that the city of Paphos supervised the erection of the statue as in the case of the other Julio-Claudian statues in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Paphos Vetus (see chapter 2).

Tiberius

Tiberius draws our particular interest in the Cypriot context. In one Greek inscription from Lapethos, a modest city on the northern coast of the island, a hereditary priest of Tiberius, Adrastus, founded a temple and statue for Tiberius while addressing the emperor as ‘his own god’:

To the divine Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of the divine Augustus, Imperator, *pontifex maximus*, holder of the tribunician power thirty-one times, when Lucius Axius Naso was *proconsul*, Marcus Etrilius Lupercus *legatus* and Caius Flavius Figulus *quaestor*. Adrastus, son of Adrastus, *philokaisar*, hereditary priest of the temple and statue of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, which he founded at his own cost in the *gymnasion*, lover of the fatherland and all-virtuous, holding the office of *gymnasiarchos* voluntarily and at his own cost and that of priest of the gods in the *gymnasion*, founded the temple and the statue for his own god at his own expense at the time when Dionysios, *philokaisar*, son of Dionysios, also known by the name of Apollodotos, was *ephebarchos*. Adrastus, son of Adrastus, *philokaisar*, consecrated (them) with his son Adrastus, *philokaisar*, who held the office of *gymnasiarchos* of the chil-

25 Tac. *Ann.* 1. 8. Note **Kition no. 2** and **Paphos Vetus no. 7**, which probably attest Livia as Iulia Augusta.

26 Cass. Dio 60. 5.

27 Iulia was represented as *Thea* in Sestos and Priene (see Hahn 1994, 334–35).

28 *SEG* 30, no. 1249 (Aphrodisias); *SEG* 47, no. 847 (Apollonia). For *Iulia Sebaste*, see Chaniotis 2003b, 342.

dren voluntarily and at his own cost, on the birthday of Tiberius, on the twenty-fourth of (the month named) Apogonikos in the sixteenth year.²⁹

This is a remarkable piece of evidence for the imperial cult in Roman Cyprus, with detailed reference to the location of the cult (*gymnasion*), its occasion (the birthday of the emperor) and the monuments concerned (the statue and temple of the emperor). What attracts our particular attention in the present context is that Adrastus worshipped Tiberius as ‘his own god’ during the lifetime of the emperor, on Tiberius’ birthday in the sixteenth year of his reign, i.e. the sixteenth of November in 29 CE. Needless to say, the senate declined the consecration of Tiberius after his death, and therefore the status and title of *divus* was not conferred on him.³⁰ Here, Tiberius is not a *divus* of the Empire, whose status the senate and the succeeding emperor would acknowledge, but a god for only a tiny part of the provincials; Tiberius was a deity whom Adrastus individually worshipped as his own god inside the *gymnasion* of the city.³¹ The familial character of the cult of Tiberius, to which the priesthood of Adrastus (*ho engenikos hierews*, i.e. the hereditary priest) and the co-operation of his own son Adrastus in the dedication offer testimony, implies that Tiberius was a god related to the family of Adrastus, or to all the members of the *gymnasion* at most (for the imperial cult in *gymnasia*, see chapter 3) and, therefore, that this inscription concerns a cult foundation for the emperor at the individual level. This individual, in other words not provincial and not civic, character of the cult – we do not dare to say ‘private’ since the *gymnasia* had much to do with public life in the Hellenistic and Roman periods – probably accounts for the fact that Adrastus could address Tiberius with the epithet *theos* and venerate him as such during his lifetime (see below).

Nero

One unfortunately fragmentary inscription from Salamis, **Salamis no. 8**, refers to an emperor who held the seventh *tribunicia potestas* and the seventh acclamation of *imperator* when this inscription, probably attached to a dedication to the emperor, was set up. According to the general consensus among scholars, this emperor is Nero.³² The fragmentary condition of this inscription prevents us from

29 **Lapethos no. 2.**

30 Wiedemann 1996, 222; Yavetz 2002, 168.

31 Bongard-Levine, Kochelenko and Kouznetsov 2006, 272–77, no. 3 provides an excellent parallel example to **Lapethos no. 2**: a high official of the Bosporan Kingdom honoured the king Tiberius Iulius Sauromates II as ‘his own god’ (in the late second/early third century CE).

32 Mitford 1947, 220–22; Mitford 1980a, 1349, n. 301; *Salamine de Chypre* no. 135; Kantiréa 2008, 110. For the titles of Nero, see Kienast 2004, 96–98. Theoretically speaking, Severus Alexander or the emperors after Diocletian could be candidates for the emperor mentioned in this inscription; imperial acclamation was bestowed on them annually, which resulted in that their *tribunicia potestas* and imperial acclamation accumulated at the same pace (see Kienast

knowing the donor of the dedication, though Terence Mitford and Maria Kantiréa have proposed Herakleides, son of Mentor, who allegedly belonged to a family of political and religious importance in Salamis (see chapter 6).³³ It is clear at least that an individual donated this dedication, since the end of his patronym, [---]ros, remains in the inscription, and this individual sponsored the dedication at his own cost (*ek tou id[iou]*) addressing the emperor Nero as his own god (*to idio theo*). Another fragmentary inscription from Salamis, **Salamis no. 9**, also attests Nero as *theos* and seems to relate to an individual dedication, though its date remains unclear.

Mitford, in his brief overview of the imperial cult of Roman Cyprus, has argued: '[After the age of Augustus] the inscriptions omit θεός from the names and titles of a living Emperor, for this to appear after death only in the event of a formal deification'.³⁴ Accordingly, Mitford categorises the inscriptions that address the emperors and imperial family members as *theos/thea* during his or her lifetime as exceptions, saying that all these inscriptions concern the imperial cult as practised by individuals. His argument, however, should be rejected on two counts. First, we cannot find a one-to-one equivalence between *theos/thea* and *divus/diva* on Cyprus, in the Julio-Claudian period at least. *Theos/thea* was conferred on both living emperors and imperial family members and dead and consecrated ones, while *divus/diva* only concerned the latter. *Theoi/theai* even include one who was consecrated decades after death (Livia) and those who were never consecrated (Iulia, Tiberius and Nero). This semantic discrepancy between *theos/thea* and *divus/diva* is hardly surprising. As Ittai Gradel has argued, the cult of the *divi/divae*, the deceased and consecrated emperors and imperial family members, was a religious and political phenomenon that occurred, above all, in the city of Rome,³⁵ although a widespread translation of *divus*, 'Staatsgott',³⁶ tends to let us believe that the entire Empire enthusiastically performed the cult of the *divi/divae*. Except for some examples of their cult in the Roman army stationed on the frontiers of the Empire,³⁷ what attests the institutionalised cult of the *divi/divae* is exclusively concentrated in the city of Rome (e.g. priesthoods, altars, temples and other

2004, 37–40). Since another two inscriptions, **Salamis no. 7** and **Salamis no. 9**, were set up in Salamis for Nero, it seems reasonable to date **Salamis no. 8** also to the age of Nero.

33 Mitford 1980a, 1349, n. 301; Kantiréa 2008, 110.

34 Mitford 1990, 2195.

35 Gradel 2002, 261–371. Christian Habicht, in Habicht 1973, 70–76, has already proposed that the *divi* were not gods of the *Imperium Romanum*, but only of the *populus Romanus*, at least until the *Constitutio Antoniniana*.

36 Cf. Clauss 1999, 356–57.

37 The most striking example of the cult of the *divi* in a Roman army is the so-called *Feriale Duranum*, the cultic calendar found in Dura Europos, according to which the *cohors XX Palmyrenorum* stationed there practised the cult of the *divi*. See Gradel 2002, 339–41.

monuments decreed for the *divi/divae*). Testimony of the cult of the deified *divi/divae* is rare outside of Rome, even in Italy that otherwise stood under the considerable influence of the capital. According to Gradel, this is because the cult of the *divi/divae* functioned primarily as a means of political communication between the senate and the emperor. The senate, by founding the state cult for a new *divus*, intended to let the coming emperor perform in accordance with the model of the *divus* (or, in plain terms, it attempted to oblige the emperor to respect the senate), while the emperor, who also attended the creation of a new *divus*, for his part declared his intention to behave according to the senatorial ideal.³⁸ This political ideology based on ethics and religion might seem to have spread all over the Empire since the title *divus/diva*, and its Greek translation *theos/thea*, appear often in provincial inscriptions with inflated reference to the filiation of the emperors (i.e. *divi filius* and *theou hyios*), as we have seen in the milestone inscriptions of Cyprus. However, in most cases, this means no more than that the provincials followed the Roman filiation system in describing the descent of the emperors – here, *theou hyios* was certainly intended to be a Greek translation of *divi filius*. The cult of the emperor in the provinces was not a mirror which exactly reflected the consecration of the emperor instituted in the capital. The most striking difference between the centre and the periphery in terms of the cult of the emperor is that the provincial worship primarily targeted the living emperor, not the deceased *divus*, which constituted one of several significant similarities between the Hellenistic ruler cult and the Roman imperial cult; the Cypriots had already been accustomed to seeing dedications for the Ptolemaic kings and queens as living gods. Accordingly, *theos/thea* could be conferred on the emperors and imperial family members during his or her lifetime in the provincial context, as an epithet signifying his or her godlike character. In short, the Greek translation of *divus/diva* was *theos/thea*, but the meanings of *theos/thea* and their religious implications were not confined to those of *divus/diva*, especially when *theos/thea* was conferred on living emperors and imperial family members.³⁹

My second point against Mitford concerns the imperial cult practised by individuals. Although he rightly argues that worship focusing on the living *theos* after the Augustan period, i.e. that of Tiberius and Nero, was an individual cult, this

38 Gradel 2002, 339–49.

39 Price 1984b, 84: ‘The Greeks did not create a category comparable to *divus*’. However, the following argument of Price seems to go too far: ‘The *theos* element of *theou huios* retained the elusivity of the common Greek usage of *theos*’. The inscriptions of Cyprus attest a large number of examples of *theou hyios* employed in imperial titles. As far as an official inscription such as a milestone inscription is concerned, there is no doubt that its donor used *theou hyios* as the translation of *divi filius*. Although the perception of a contemporary observer is difficult to trace, I imagine that the repetition of *theou hyios* in the titles of an emperor (e.g. Septimius Severus, brother of *theos* Commodus, son of *theos* Marcus Aurelius, grandson of *theos* Antoninus Pius, great-grandson of *theos* Hadrian and descendant of *theos* Trajan and *theos* Nerva) resulted in an observer, even without acquaintance with the political procedure concerning *divus*, tending to understand *theou hyios* as a conventional title, not as signifying his divine character.

does not justify his underestimation of the imperial cult on the individual level as an exception. As the cult of Tiberius performed by Adrastos in Lapethos demonstrates, the imperial cult at the Cypriot individual level was very active, unique for its 'devout' attitude towards the emperor, and had a wide variety in terms of form, intensity and intention. Indeed, this also relates to our first point, i.e. the friction produced by the contradiction between the deification of the emperor held in the centre and the imperial cult practised on the periphery. An emperor who attempted to show himself respectful of an 'appropriate' power balance between the *princeps* and the senate also had to pay attention to how he was represented in the imperial cult of the provinces. While reigning as a *princeps*, an emperor should not display too much dignity and too much divinity in the provinces lest the senate suspect the birth of a new tyrant. Therefore, we have some evidence that the emperors, when replying to proposals of worship by the provincials, gave them instructions regarding their religious status and the contents of worship, e.g. deities who should be worshipped together with the emperors, their divinity, statues and rituals. However, such communication between the emperor and provincials most frequently concerns the imperial cult at the provincial level, i.e. the cult practised by *koina*, and the cult at the civic level, i.e. the cult of each city. At the individual level, on the other hand, it seems that the provincials felt no need for imperial acknowledgment of the contents of their cult, and the emperors likewise had no interest in advising them to adjust the cult contents according to the imperial self-image (see chapter 5 in more detail). The epithet *theos/thea* for living emperors and imperial family members should have represented a sensitive topic to carefully be treated in communication between the Empire and the provinces; at the individual level in Cyprus, in contrast, Tiberius and Nero were given the epithet *theos* during their lifetimes.⁴⁰

However, this is just one aspect of the story. Why are there so few living *theoi*? And why do all the examples come from the Julio-Claudian period? These are important questions, but before answering them we must consider another aspect of the imperial epithets.

40 The issue of the semantic discrepancy between *theos* and *divus* can also be placed in the context of ancient bilingualism. In terms of the study of bilingualism, my conclusion in the text may be rephrased as follows: the Cypriots, whose first language was Greek, could understand the meaning of the title *divus* and translate it to *theos* in official inscriptions, where *theos* underwent a code-switching on the semantic dimension, in that *theos* is Greek in phonological, morphological and stylistic sense, but Latin in semantic sense (i.e. the meaning of *theos* is the same as that of *divus* as a title conferred on the deified emperor). However, *theos* retained its original Greek meaning 'god' in some other cases, regardless of the official status of the emperor, as we have seen. These cases demonstrate that the Cypriots could also have represented the Roman emperor within the linguistic framework provided by their dominant language, Greek, which resulted in the semantic discrepancy between *theos* and *divus*. For bilingualism in the Roman world, see Adams 2003, 1–29 (for the theoretical overview of concepts concerning bilingualism) and 297–416 (for code-switching).

1.2. AMBIGUITY CONCERNING *SEBASTOI*

When studying Roman history, we tend to commit the error of imagining that the ordinary population would have thoroughly understood which emperor ruled the Empire in which period. This is a pitfall into which the historian often stumbles. Although the Empire influenced the time and life cycle of the Cypriots to some extent (see chapter 8), this never means that a Cypriot, like a Kienast, knew exactly which emperor was on the throne in any a given year. Ordinary Cypriots lacked an effective means of information transmission, and they apparently had little chance of personally catching sight of the Roman emperors. This situation should have produced an effect on the attitudes of the Cypriots towards the worship of the emperors; one of the remarkable consequences is the representation of the emperors in a ‘lump’, not one by one. Plural *Sebastoi* occur in five inscriptions concerning the imperial cult in Cyprus: *archiereus* for life, for the immortality of *Sebastoi* (**Karpasia no. 1**); *archiereus* for life of *Sebastoi* (**Kition no. 5**); *archiereus* for life for the safety of the house of *Sebastoi* (**Paphos Vetus no. 13**); *archiereus* for life of *Sebastoi* (**Salamis no. 6**); *archiereus* of *Sebastoi* (**Salamis no. 14**). Two further inscriptions attest ambassadors to *Sebastoi* (**Kition no. 7** and **Salamis no. 11**) – a mission to the emperors may more or less have dealt with the imperial cult (see chapter 5 in more detail). Dating these inscriptions with accuracy is difficult since they refer to the *Sebastoi* without the names of individual emperors. Even if three of them contain date information, i.e. one Phanokles’ office of *gymnasiarchos* in the seventh year (**Karpasia no. 1**), the twenty-second year of an emperor (**Paphos Vetus no. 13**) and one Herakleides’ office of *gymnasiarchos* in the eighteenth year (**Salamis no. 6**), it still remains unclear to which emperor the regnal year twenty-two belongs, let alone in which period the two individuals held the offices of *gymnasiarchos*. This ‘temporal anonymity’ is remarkable in the inscriptions with *Sebastoi*. Of course, modern historians have attempted to date these inscriptions by means of letter forms and the contents of the texts: **Karpasia no. 1** (the first half of the first century CE),⁴¹ **Kition no. 5** (first century CE),⁴² **Kition no. 7** (first century CE);⁴³ **Paphos Vetus no. 13** (34/35 or 35/36 CE);⁴⁴ **Salamis no. 6** (30/31 or 31/32 CE);⁴⁵ **Salamis no. 11** (late first century CE);⁴⁶ and **Salamis no. 14** (late first to second century CE).⁴⁷ However, even if it were possible to reconstruct the relative date of these inscriptions, it is another question whether the Cypriots who inscribed them had the intention of contextualising them by referring to the names of the emperors concerned; and indeed, they did not.

41 Mitford and Nikolaou 1957.

42 Mitford 1950, 72–76, no. 41.

43 *I.Kition* no. 2043.

44 Mitford 1980b, 282, n. 40.

45 *Salamine de Chypre* no. 102.

46 *Salamine de Chypre* no. 106.

47 Mitford 1980a, 1350–51.

Lozano's study on *Sebastoi* is of use in understanding the imperial representation in these inscriptions. He has demonstrated that *Sebastoi* in the Roman East included not only a living emperor and consecrated *divi*, but also emperors and imperial family members who were the objects of a cult in the community concerned. The use of *Sebastoi* in imperial representation had an effect on the way the provincials perceived the emperors and imperial power, and *vice versa*: firstly, *Sebastoi*, not spelling out the individual names of emperors, served as a concept to make possible the abstraction of imperial power. Secondly, this abstraction, for its part, resulted in an eloquent expression of the continuity of imperial power. The imperial dynasties changed in turn, but the *Sebastoi* denied this reality and produced the illusion that 'the religious concept in which the government of the *princeps* was based would continue ideologically intact'.⁴⁸

The Cypriot evidence seems to support the first of Lozano's points. A comparison between *theos* and *Sebastoi* is of particular interest in this context. It is evident that both *theos* and *Sebastoi* more or less implied the divinity of the emperors, as the five inscriptions above refer to the priests who supervised the cult of the *Sebastoi*. However, their meanings are different in a subtle way; *theos*, mentioned in connection with a dead emperor (or imperial family member) or a living one, focuses on one specific emperor, while the term *Sebastoi*, in its anonymity, seems to signify not only a living emperor, but also dead emperors and imperial families. The two terms are also different in the periods in which they were used; the instances of *Sebastoi* are scattered over the first two centuries of the Empire, while the use of *theos* for a living emperor and imperial family member occurred exclusively in the Julio-Claudian period, and thereafter *theou hyios* mainly served to describe the filiation of the emperors. The tendency of the imperial representation to change into an abstract direction with the use of *Sebastoi* was a widespread one in the Roman East, e.g. in Aphrodisias.⁴⁹

This tendency in Cyprus particularly seems to be accounted for by the lack of reciprocity between the emperors and the Cypriots in terms of the imperial cult. *Do ut des*, i.e. give and take, was a fundamental principle of the Hellenistic ruler cult and, though to a lesser extent, of the Roman imperial cult. Local communities worshipped the rulers because the latter benefited (and would benefit in the future) the former by political, military and economic means, in which system the specific benevolence of one particular ruler should be underlined and commemorated separately from the others'. However, the personal relationship and direct benevolence of the emperors was mostly sober and sporadic in Cyprus, an island at the crossroads between East and West, in other words, on the periphery far from the centre of 'Greekness' of the Empire. In the Cypriot context, the emperors tended to be perceived as a stable institution of successive rulers, an abstract

48 Lozano 2007, 150–52.

49 Reynolds 1996, 48. Joyce Reynolds has pointed out that the use of *theoi Sebastoi* became prevalent in Aphrodisias instead of addressing the emperors by their individual names perhaps in the later first century CE, and certainly in the second century CE. See also Kantiréa 2007, 76–78.

power, with the exception of some emperors who appeared to have a special relationship with the island (see chapter 5). The most important amongst such exceptional emperors is without doubt Augustus, who established the imperial system in the East. It is no coincidence that **Keryneia no. 1**, which refers to Augustus as *theos*, commemorates his benevolent deed, the victory in the battle of Actium. It seems that *theos* was bestowed on the Julio-Claudians in his or her lifetime, partly at least because the Cypriots acknowledged the dynastic continuity between Augustus and his family members. After the Julio-Claudians the abstraction of the imperial power increased, which is reflected by a change in imperial representation, i.e. the use of the anonymous *Sebastoi* to include living as well as dead emperors.

1.3. OTHER IMPERIAL EPITHETS

Other epithets used for the emperor in Cyprus include *euergetes*, *ktistes*, *pater*, and *soter*. The use of these epithets raises two important issues: first, whether they implied the relationship *do ut des* between the emperors and the island, i.e. the relationship between specific beneficial acts of the emperors for Cyprus (e.g. foundation of public buildings, favourable political treatment and so on) and the epithets with which the Cypriots would have attempted to show their appreciation in return for the emperor's benefaction; second, whether the epithets signified the cultic status of the emperors as objects of worship. The first question will be discussed elsewhere (see chapter 5), since it needs detailed investigation of a series of benevolences by each emperor. What should be addressed here is the second issue, the semantic relationship between the epithets and imperial religious status.

Epigraphic evidence from Cyprus attests Tiberius as *soter* and *euergetes*,⁵⁰ Nero as *soter*,⁵¹ Vespasian as *pater*,⁵² Domitian as *euergetes*,⁵³ Nerva as *ktistes*,⁵⁴ and Hadrian as *euergetes* and *soter*⁵⁵ (excluding the epithets understood as Greek translations of the imperial official titles, e.g. *pater patridos*). These epithets, however, do not by themselves point to the cultic status of the emperors. The explanation for this is firstly offered by the fact that Roman magistrates and individual Cypriots were also given these epithets: e.g. a certain Plous as *euergetes* (a philosopher who served as *archiereus* of Augustus in the Augustan period),⁵⁶ Ser-

50 **Paphos Vetus no. 11** (*soter* and *euergetes*).

51 **Salamis no. 8** (*soter*). **Salamis no. 7**, though fragmentary, probably refer to Nero as *pater* or *patron*.

52 **Salamis no. 10** (*pater*).

53 **Kourion no. 3** (*euergetes*).

54 **Kition no. 9** (*ktistes*).

55 **Lapethos no. 4** (*soter* and *euergetes*); **Salamis no. 16** (*euergetes* and *soter*); **Salamis no. 18** (*soter*); **Salamis no. 19** (*soter* and *euergetes*). **Soloi no. 2**, an inscription attached to a statue base of Trajan, attests *hyper patros*; it is not clear whether the *pater* here means Trajan or the father of the donor of the statue, because of the fragmentary condition of the inscription.

56 **Paphos Vetus no. 5** (*euergetes*).

vius Sulpicius Pankles as *euergetes* and *soter* (a leading Cypriot in the second half of the first century CE);⁵⁷ Apollonia and her husband Patrokles as *ktistai* (founders of the *Tychaion*, i.e. the temple of Tyche, in the second century CE);⁵⁸ and a Roman functionary honoured in Salamis as *euergetes* (probably a provincial *procurator* in the second century CE).⁵⁹ The use of *euergetes*, *ktistes*, *pater* and *soter* in civic honours,⁶⁰ which had been conferred on benefactors of the Greek cities since the Hellenistic period, demonstrates that these epithets did not form constituent elements of the names of gods, but were predicates that qualified the persons affected.⁶¹ Honorification by means of these epithets resulted in representing those affected as – while highly honoured – mortals in most cases. The same is also true for the epithets of imperial representation. The epithets do not warrant the divinity of the emperors by themselves, but aim to honour them by describing their virtue through the qualification. The epithets could lead to representing the emperors as gods only in combination with other elements, e.g. other predicates, monuments on which inscriptions were inscribed, and the locations and donors of the monuments.⁶² In this sense, the epithets belonged to a group of variables that served to fix the emperor's status in Cypriot religion and society.

57 Mitford 1950, 6, d (*euergetes* and *soter*).

58 Hogarth, James et al. 1888, 237, no. 40 (*ktistai*).

59 *Salamine de Chypre* no. 122 (*euergetes*).

60 There is no trace of divine worship in the civic honorific inscriptions mentioned above. It is worth mentioning two inscriptions from Paphos Nova in the present context. The first, Christol 1986, 6–14 [SEG 36, no. 1258] (Augustan period), honours one Vehilius, brother of *proconsules*, as *patron*. The second, SEG 18, no. 588 (mid-first century CE), honours Lucius Pontius Alifanus, son of a *proconsul*, again as *patron*. *Patron* is a common epithet that was in use for the honorification of Roman magistrates in the East during the Republican period (see Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002, 220–21). The political mechanism of patronage functioned as a primary means of communication between Rome and the Greek cities, but the establishment of the Empire diminished its importance, according to which *patron* lost its political implication and changed into a nominal epithet for honouring the magistrates. For Roman magistrates and officials as *patrones* of the Greek cities, see also Nicols 1990; Gregory 1997; Eilers 2002.

61 Habicht 1970, 156–59. Nock 1972b has demonstrated that the epithet *soter* (which tends to be understood as attesting the divine status of the person concerned), along with the epithets *euergetes* and *ktistes*, was not a specific word intended for representing divinity, but ‘a word which took much of its color from its context’. For *theos* as a predicate, see Price 1984b, 79–85.

62 Three inscriptions from Salamis (**Salamis no. 10**; **no. 16**; **no. 19**) draw our special attention in this context. The first inscription, **Salamis no. 10**, attests the statue of Vespasian as ‘father of the people of Rome, invincible leader’. This unusual epithet of the emperor certainly reflects Vespasian's seizure of the throne and the recovery of Roman power. The statue might have concerned the veneration of Vespasian since one of its donors was Diodoros as *archiereus* of the imperial cult; however, it remains unclear whether the statue of Vespasian itself was of cultic character. For this statue, see chapters 2 and 3 of the present study. For a very fragmentary Latin inscription from Salamis which (probably) refers to the deity *Invicta*, see Corbier 1994. **Salamis no. 16** and **Salamis no. 19** concern a dedication to and a statue of Hadrian as ‘saviour and benefactor of the whole world’, respectively. This epithet may have been due to economic and political benevolences that Hadrian provided for the city of Sala-

1.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

In Cyprus, as in other eastern provinces, the epithet *theos* was conferred not only on dead emperors and imperial family members as the Greek translation of *divus* in accordance with the deification undertaken in the capital of the Empire, but also on living ones, which meant a deviation from the procedures of the centre. The use of *theos* for living emperors was a matter which intrinsically concerned the issue of the religious status of the emperor in Cyprus. *Sebastoi*, on the other hand, served as a term that ‘conceptualises’ the successive emperors and the imperial power. Other epithets conferred on the emperor, e.g. *euergetes*, *ktistes*, *pater* and *soter*, did not signify the religious status of the emperor as god by themselves, but constituted part of variables that determined the position of the emperor in the wide spectrum ranging from mortal to god.

mis (see chapter 5). The epithets *soter* and *euergetes* with the qualification ‘of the whole world’ retain the implication of universal dimension and therefore was only conferred on the emperor (see Meyer-Zwiffelhofer 2002, 210–11). For epithets with qualifications of universal dimension in the Hellenistic period, see Habicht 1973, 85–88. On the other hand, *soter* and *euergetes*, with or without the qualification of universal dimension, belonged to very common epithets conferred on Hadrian when Greek cities set up his statues in the precinct of the Olympieion in Athens. Therefore we may conclude that the epithets of Hadrian in Salamis can be placed in the context of his political and religious reorganisation of the Greek world which could result in his personal cult, though it still remains unclear to what extent the two inscriptions from Salamis concerned a specific ritual of his cult in the Cypriot context (see chapters 2 and 3).

CHAPTER 2. IMPERIAL STATUES

There is no doubt that the bronze statue of the emperor Septimius Severus is one of the most impressive objects in the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia. This larger than life-size statue (2.08 m) was discovered in 1928 near Kythrea, ancient Kythroi. The statue has been identified as Septimius Severus as Mars Pater or Victor, and the heroic nudity, glaring body, and godlike face would suggest a cultic statue through which the Cypriots venerated Septimius Severus as divine emperor (see below). Literary evidence from the Roman period attests the central significance of statues of the emperors in the imperial cult all over the Empire: an example of this is a famous letter written to the emperor Trajan by Pliny the Younger, who as governor of the province Bithynia-Pontus in Asia Minor dealt with the Christians in the province. Pliny, reluctant to order the mass execution of Christians, carried out a careful investigation as follows:

Among these I considered that I should dismiss any who denied that they were or ever had been Christians when they had repeated after me a formula of invocation to the gods and had made offerings of wine and incense to your statue which I had ordered to be brought into court for this purpose along with the images of the gods [---].¹ (trans. B. Radice)

Trajan, in his reply to Pliny, acknowledged that he followed ‘the right course of procedure’.² This evidence makes it clear that the imperial cult served as a focal point in the persecution of Christians – veneration of the Roman emperor marked out ‘true’ Romans from Christians whose ‘odd’ and ‘obstinate’ belief forced them to reject the imperial cult along with other pagan cults.³ Also importantly, the imperial image, probably in the form of a portrait, played the central role in Pliny’s trial. For him, confronted with the religious outsiders of Roman society, the dedication of wine and incense to the imperial image was fundamental in the worship

1 Plin. *Ep.* 10. 96. 5: *Qui negabant esse se Christianos aut fuisse, cum prae-eunte me deos adpellarent et imagini tuae, quam propter hoc iusseram cum simulacris numinum adferri, ture ac vino supplicarent [---] dimittendos putavi.*

2 Plin. *Ep.* 10. 97. 1.

3 Hopkins 1978, 227–29. In contrast, Millar 2004 denies the central position of the imperial cult in the persecution of Christians; the Romans, confronted by the Christians, at first attempted to maintain the world of traditional pagan cults into which the imperial cult was fully and extensively integrated. As we shall see in the present study, it is true that the imperial cult and other cults were interwoven with each other to a great extent; however, the veneration of the Roman emperor functioned as a test against Christians in some acts of martyrdom. E.g. *The Martyrdom of St. Polycarp* 8–10; *The Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs* 3 and 5; *The Martyrdom of the Saintly and Blessed Apostle Apollonius, also Called Sakkeas* 3; *The Martyrdom of Saints Perpetua and Felicitas* 6; *The Martyrdom of Pionius the Presbyter and His Companions* 8.

of the emperor and, at the same time, to being a 'Roman'.⁴ Imperial images also had a variety of functions in the religious, social and political life of provincials, not only in the persecution of Christians: e.g. they offered an asylum seeker, a slave in most cases, shelter against arbitrary violence or illegal treatment by his master;⁵ they were transported in processions, sumptuous and grandiose pageants of religious festivals all over the Empire;⁶ they provided preferred locations for omens and miracles.⁷ The imperial images, set up in civic centres such as *fora* or *agorai* and public buildings, as well as in religious sites such as temples and sanctuaries of the emperors and other deities, represented the most visible, ubiquitous and standard equipment for portraying the emperor and Roman power in provincial contexts.

The aim of this chapter is to examine statues of the emperors with special reference to the imperial cult in Cyprus from the first to the third century CE. Particular emphasis will be placed on the differences between an honorific statue and a cultic statue, which most studies on the Roman imperial cult, or ruler cults in general, have not taken into serious consideration. Take, for example, Aristodemus Anastassiades, who has written an important article on the ruler cult in Ptolemaic Cyprus.⁸ A number of statues and dedications were set up for the Ptolemies in the sanctuaries of traditional deities, in particular in that of Paphian Aphrodite; the aim of the Ptolemies was to closely associate themselves with this famous and time-honoured sanctuary. However, Anastassiades has not paid due attention to the distinction between cultic statues and honorific statues, the latter of which are irrelevant to the cult of the Ptolemies, e.g. the statue of Ptolemy IV set up by the city of Paphos.⁹ As for dedications to the Ptolemaic kings, he often disregards differences in their character which placed each monument on a spectrum of the representation of the king ranging from an honorific statue to a cultic statue and an altar – it was primarily through the latter that the Cypriots performed the worship ceremony for the Ptolemaic rulers.¹⁰ Simon Price has also shown an

4 On the setting of this examination, which seems to be Amastris in the second year of his office, see Sherwin-White 1966, 693–94. Although Pliny's letter does not make clear the location in which the proceedings took place, it seems apparent that the image of Trajan (*imago*) and the statues of the gods (*simulacra numinum*) were temporarily moved to the court from their original location, probably a temple. For the transportability of these images see Fishwick 1984; Witschel 1995b, 258; Fishwick 1987–2005, vol. 3, part 3, 280–81. Some acts of martyrdom, including *The Martyrdom of the Saintly and Blessed Apostle Apollonius, also Called Sakkeas* 7, *The Martyrdom of Pionius the Presbyter and His Companions* 4, and *The Martyrdom of the Saintly Dasius* 7 and 11, contain references to images of emperors. Regarding *Apocalypse* 13 and 20 that are probably concerned with the worship of imperial images in the province Asia, see Price 1984a, 196–98.

5 Hopkins 1978, 222–23; Price 1984a, 192–93; Pekáry 1985, 130–31.

6 E.g. Rogers 1991.

7 Price 1984a, 195–96; Pekáry 1985, 132–33.

8 Anastassiades 2001.

9 Mitford 1961b, 11, no. 25. See Anastassiades 2001, 228, n. 45.

10 *EBGR* 2001, 198, no. 3 has already criticised Anastassiades' disregard of the distinction between dedications and honorific inscriptions.

inadequate appreciation of the differences between an honorific statue and a cultic statue in his otherwise seminal study of the imperial cult in Asia Minor: 'In their negotiation of the power of Rome the Greeks incorporated into their own religious structures the image of the emperor found in market place and fountain house'.¹¹ Although imperial images in market places could be similar to those in cultic contexts in style and function,¹² this statement does not seem to take into full account the 'statue-habit' in the Greek world. If an imperial statue in a temple and another in an *agora* were of the same style in appearance (though because of the lack of evidence this can only rarely be proved), the social and religious implications they carried would in most cases have been totally different. This distinction was determined by a set of variables, i.e. differences in formula of inscriptions on statue bases, rituals performed in front of statues, relationships with adjacent statues, terms the Greeks used for images, locations of statues, and so on. The sum of these variables that place a statue in a context may be called the 'statue-habit'.¹³ The present chapter deals with the statue-habit concerning imperial images in order to obtain a deeper understanding of differences/similarities between the imperial cult and other types of imperial representation in Roman Cyprus. The chapter is divided into two sections: first, an overview of the archaeological and epigraphic evidence available for our purpose. Second, on the basis of the epigraphic evidence, the variables that placed each imperial image in a social and religious context will be taken into account: they include the textual structures of the statue base inscriptions, the locations of the imperial statues, the terminology utilised for them, and the mechanism of their erection (e.g. who was involved in setting up the statues, who financed them and on which occasions they were set up).

2.1. EVIDENCE AND METHODS¹⁴

According to Jane Fejfer, who has produced a catalogue of all statues in Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus, there are more than 1200 published Hellenistic and Roman sculptures and statuettes, of which more than 700 are of monumental size.¹⁵ From this large number, several statues and portraits have been identified with emperors and imperial family members. Although the material evidence is insuf-

11 Price 1984a, 180.

12 Cf. Witschel 1995c.

13 According to information kindly supplied by Dr Carlos Machado, the 'statue-habit' was the subject of a Classical Archaeology Seminar at Oxford in 2002.

14 Smith 2006 was of great use in formulating the present section on methods of considering imperial portraits and statue bases. His comprehensive investigation into portrait statuary from Aphrodisias – where the evidence is unusually abundant, though mainly concerning honorific statues of local aristocrats – encompasses not only archaeological approaches, but also epigraphic and topographical examinations, which we shall also include in the present chapter.

15 Fejfer 2006, 81. A monumental sculpture denotes a half life-size or larger sculpture. See also Fejfer 2003.

ficient in quantity and flimsy in quality, it can to some extent reveal what the imperial images actually looked like in Roman Cyprus. As far as the archaeological record is concerned, there is no firm evidence for a bust of an emperor, though some fragmentary heads may have belonged to busts of emperors and imperial family members.¹⁶ Full-statue representations of the emperors attested in Cyprus, on the other hand, fall into two categories: naked statues and cuirassed ones. The aforementioned statue of Septimius Severus from Kythroi is almost the sole example of the first category. Although it was discovered in fragmentary condition and has undergone a series of restorations,¹⁷ it is worth considering the implications that this bronze statue would have evoked. In general, the nudity of statues, of gods or of mortals, could enhance their divinity,¹⁸ which seems to be the case in the statue of Severus, since it has generally been agreed that the statue shows Severus as Mars Pater or Victor with a spear in the right hand and a trophy in the left.¹⁹ The allusion to Mars Pater or Victor may have pertained to the wars Severus fought successfully against the Parthians – Mars was the deity to whom Augustus expressed his gratitude for wiping out Rome's disgrace after a former defeat at Karrahae. Further, we must remember that Hellenistic rulers were also depicted nude.²⁰ As for the Ptolemaic kings in Cyprus, we have no information about their nude statues, but epigraphic evidence attests statues (in any appearance) of the Ptolemaic rulers in the cities on the island, including Kythroi.²¹ Therefore, it may be a reasonable assumption that the statue of Severus followed those of the Ptolemies in style, or perhaps contended for superiority in the beauty of nudity against its predecessors.

Statues in our second category, i.e. cuirassed statues, emphasise the military character of the emperor. An excellent example of a cuirassed statue comes from the theatre of Salamis, found in 1961 with the head, legs and arms broken off.²² The emperor this marble statue represents, Vespasian or Titus, can be identified

16 The heads that have been identified with emperors and imperial family members include: a) a limestone head of Augustus wearing a laurel wreath, probably part of a relief portrait (Vermeule 1976, 72; Fejfer 2006, 95–96), but without any clear reference to its provenance; b) a marble head of Agrippina the Elder, found at the temple C of Isis in Soloi (Gjerstad, Lindros et al. 1937, 499–500, no. 414); c) a head of Caligula whose provenance is unfortunately unknown (Connelly 1988, 108–109, no. 66); d) a fragmentary bronze head from Salamis (Lahusen and Formigli 2001, no. 80; Yon 2009, 292–94) that may belong to a bust or a statue of a Julio-Claudian member, probably Claudius (or Germanicus or Nero Drusus?).

17 Lahusen and Formigli 2001, no. 150.

18 Price 1984a, 183–84. Cf. Witschel 1995d, 368, n. 31. One example of this category is a group of statues from the *sebasteion* of Bubon, which include naked statues of the second- and third-century emperors. See Witschel 1995a, 255 with references.

19 Vermeule 1976, 86; Lahusen and Formigli 2001, no. 150. Fejfer, on the other hand, has proposed that the statue represents Septimius Severus as Jupiter. See Fejfer 2003, 15; Fejfer 2006, 96, fig. 17.

20 Price 1984a, 183, n. 67.

21 E.g. the statue of Arsinoe Philadelphos (Anastassiades 1998, 138, no. 11) and statues (?) dedicated to Ptolemy VI Philometor and Kleopatra II (Mitford 1937, 33–34, no. 8).

22 Karageorghis 1964, 40–41, no. 48.

by the scene on the breastplate. According to Cornelius Vermeule's reconstruction, *Virtus* (the personified deity of imperial bravery) stands above *Tellus* and *Oceanus* (the geographical personifications) with torch-bearing females (*Nemesis* and *Pax*) approaching him from both sides – this scene is symbolic of the defeat of the Jews and the conquest of Jerusalem, a military achievement of the Flavians.²³ Without an explanatory inscription, it must remain an open question as to whether the statue represented the appreciation shown by the Cypriots towards the benevolence of the Flavian emperors after the earthquakes that occurred on the island in this period.²⁴ Nonetheless, it seems plausible at least that the cuirassed statue from Salamis, in unmistakable triumphal costume, represented to the Cypriots the most important constituent of imperial power, the military component.²⁵

However, it must be noted that the material expressions of the emperors are not only considerably meagre in number, but also offer only a partial answer to the question of their functions in the imperial cult and other types of imperial representation in Cyprus. A statue does not talk by itself; we do not know when or by whom it was set up, let alone for what purpose. In some cases, it is not at all certain who it represents. Although the materials and locations of the statues would show their contexts to some extent, we must turn primarily to the epigraphic evidence, whose main component is the statue base inscriptions, in order to bridge the gap between our purpose and the material evidence.

There is no extant set comprising a statue and its statue base inscription in Roman Cyprus, as far as I know. What confronts us, then, is a statue base inscription without a statue, entirely different from what the ancient Cypriots actually found. Therefore first of all we must find a way to distinguish between statue base inscriptions and inscriptions attached to other types of dedications (e.g. altars and votive offerings) to the emperors. As both statue base inscriptions and inscriptions of other dedications contain references to the emperors, distinguishing them is no easy task, especially since the monuments the inscriptions designate are in many cases lost. Jakob Højte's method is useful here. He has assembled imperial statue bases all over the Roman world on the basis of two criteria which broadly follow those of Meriwether Stuart:²⁶ first, Højte regarded an inscription as a statue base inscription whenever it represents a dedicatee or honoree with the dative in Latin and with the accusative in Greek, respectively, and at the same time when the in-

23 Vermeule 1976, 86–87. See also Karageorghis 1964, 40–41, no. 48.

24 Vermeule 1976, 87.

25 We are informed of another two fragmentary cuirassed statues excavated at the Salaminian theatre: Karageorghis 1964, 41–42, no. 49 (Trajan or Hadrian?); Karageorghis 1964, 42, no. 50 (Trajan or Hadrian?). Karageorghis and Vermeule 1966, 29, no. 99 and no. 100 might also have belonged to imperial cuirassed statues, but they are too fragmentary to permit further speculation. For a group of unfinished statues, including an imperial cuirassed statue (of Trajan?), found in the quarries near Xylophagou north of Larnaka, see Vermeule 1979. According to Vermeule, these statues were to constitute a monument destined for Salamis to commemorate Trajan's victories in the East, but were left unfinished because of the Jewish uprising and destruction.

26 Stuart 1938, 13–14.

scription is cut on a stone block reliably described as a statue base; second, whenever the dative in Latin and the accusative in Greek are employed for a dedicatee or honoree in an inscription, even when a description of the stone is not available. Furthermore, he included a number of inscriptions that deviate from these criteria, of which the most important for our purpose is a group of Greek inscriptions with a dative dedicatee. According to Højte, the dative case could be utilised for a dedicatee in a Greek statue base inscription in order to imbue the dedication with religious and cultic implications.²⁷ On the basis of his theory, two criteria may be applied in the survey of imperial statue bases in Roman Cyprus: first, whenever an emperor or an imperial family member takes the dative case in Latin or the accusative in Greek in an inscription, regardless of the description of the stone; second, whenever a stone is described as a stone base or pedestal, even if the other cases, most importantly the dative in Greek, are employed for a dedicatee or honoree in an inscription on the stone. Of course, these criteria never pretend to be the sole and perfect criteria. A statue can be set on a stone base without any inscription; the description of a stone is often limited and vague in publications, old ones in particular; a Greek inscription inscribed on a slab in which a dedicatee appears with the dative case (i.e. an inscription which will not meet my criteria) may relate to an imperial statue attached to a public building (e.g. a theatre, arch or temple). Given that there is no set comprising a statue and its inscription in Roman Cyprus, any research on statue base inscriptions cannot avoid some ambiguity. Nonetheless, I believe that the aforementioned criteria would help construct a broad picture of the statue-habit held by the Cypriots in respect of the imperial cult and other types of imperial representation.

According to the aforementioned criteria, thirty-nine Greek and Latin statue base inscriptions have been registered (see the table below). The origins of these inscriptions include almost all the major cities on the island, i.e. Amathous, Kition, Kourion, Lapethos, Paphos Nova, Paphos Vetus, Salamis and Soloi, among which we have Kourion (seven inscriptions), Paphos Vetus (eight), and Salamis (ten) standing out for the richness of their statue bases. The emperors and imperial family members mentioned in the inscriptions number eighteen, ranging from the Julio-Claudians (eighteen inscriptions), through the Flavians (two) and the emperors from Nerva to the Antonines (eleven), to the Severans (eight). This general picture of the distribution of the statue bases in time and space is of some

27 Højte 2005, 19–25. On the dative case for a dedicatee in Greek inscriptions of the religious context, see Mitford 1947, 224; Price 1984a, 179. See also a more recent and very important contribution by Mika Kajava (Kajava 2011). Chaniotis 2003a has cast doubt on the notion that the imperial statues in whose inscriptions an emperor appears in the dative case were always cultic statues dedicated to the divine emperor. I will return to the issue surrounding the cultic character of the imperial statues in the present chapter. Højte gave the other two cases in which the dative case was used for a dedicatee in the Greek statue base inscriptions: first, the Latin practice of using the dative case could have an effect on the Greek epigraphic formula; second, inscriptions attached to monuments serving as statue bases, e.g. arches and city gates, could take the pattern of building inscriptions, i.e. they could represent a dedicatee with the dative case.

interest. First of all, the concentration of the examples in the period of the Julio-Claudians draws our attention, since this does not seem to conform to what one would expect of the ‘epigraphic habit’ in the Roman Empire, according to which the Severan period saw a golden age in the number of inscriptions.²⁸ Furthermore, the list of the statue bases does not accord with the generally accepted view that the Cypriot civic economy reached a peak during the same period,²⁹ though the erection of statues was also linked to the matter of economy, as we shall see below. What makes the distribution of the statue bases ‘irregular’ is the abundance of Julio-Claudian statue bases.³⁰ The high frequency of Julio-Claudian statue bases in the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Paphos Vetus is particularly remarkable; of the eight statue bases from the site, seven belong to this period. This can be explained, at least partly, by the close connection between the Julio-Claudians and Paphian Aphrodite, fostered by the Cypriots’ attempts to build a religious relationship between Cyprus and the emperors through the goddess of the island as well as of the Julio-Claudians, which will be discussed in more detail elsewhere (see chapter 4). What deserves careful analysis in the present chapter is the phenomenon of the setting up of statues itself. In the following section, the imperial statues will be discussed under the following headings: ‘textual structures’, ‘topography’, ‘terminology’ and ‘procedures for erecting the statue’.³¹

28 MacMullen 1982.

29 Michaelides 1996, 143.

30 Aphrodisias shows the same pattern as Cyprus, since nineteen out of thirty-four epigraphically attested imperial honorands who received statues there are Julio-Claudians. See Smith 2006, 24–25.

31 In the following discussion, inscriptions other than the thirty-nine statue base inscriptions will also be included, the most important of which are **Paphos Nova no. 3** and **Salamis no. 11**. The former, inscribed on a structure of the theatre dedicated to Zeus Kapitoliος and the Antonines, refers to the statues of the emperors; the latter is an honorific statue of Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus, who erected golden statues of emperors.

Imperial Statues

Inscription	Dedicatee and/or Honoree	Donor
Amathous no. 1	Augustus (dat.)	n/a
Kition no. 8	Nerva (Lat. dat.)	City of Kition
Kition no. 9	Nerva (acc.)	City of Kition
Kition no. 11	Iulia Domna (acc.)	n/a
Kourion no. 2	Nero (dat.)	City of Kourion and L. Bassus
Kourion no. 3	Domitian (acc.)	People of Kourion?
Kourion no. 12	Trajan (acc.)	Hadrian
Kourion no. 14	Caracalla (acc.)	City? of Kourion
Kourion no. 15	Iulia Domna (acc.)	n/a
Kourion no. 16	Caracalla (acc.)	City of Kourion
Kourion no. 17	Septimius Severus (acc.)	Arist[---]
Lapethos no. 1	Augustus (gen.)	n/a
Lapethos no. 2	Tiberius (dat.)	Adrastos and his son
Lapethos no. 3	Trajan (acc.)	Adrastos
Lapethos no. 4	Hadrian (acc.)	Council and people of Lapethos
Paphos (Amargetti) no. 1	Augustus (dat.)	T. Apicatus Sabinus
Paphos (Amargetti) no. 2	Caius? and Lucius Caesar (dat.)	T. Apicatus Sabinus
Paphos Nova no. 5	Caracalla (acc.)	City of Paphos, Tlepolemos et al.
Paphos Vetus no. 1	Iulia (acc.)	n/a
Paphos Vetus no. 2	Tiberius and Iulia? (acc.)	n/a
Paphos Vetus no. 3	Livia (acc.)	Council and people of Paphos?
Paphos Vetus no. 10	Aphrodite (dat.) and Tiberius (acc.)	Council and people? of Paphos
Paphos Vetus no. 11	Aphrodite (dat.) and Tiberius (acc.)	Council and people of Paphos
Paphos Vetus no. 12	Aphrodite (dat.) and Tiberius (acc.)	City of Paphos
Paphos Vetus no. 14	Caligula (dat.)	M. Firmius Secundus
Paphos Vetus no. 17	Caracalla (acc.)	City of Paphos and a certain priest
Salamis no. 1	Zeus (dat.) and Livia (acc.)	n/a
Salamis no. 4	Tiberius (Lat. dat.)	Council? of Salamis and C. Rufus?
Salamis no. 7	Nero (acc.)	People of Salamis
Salamis no. 9	Nero (acc.)	Herakleides
Salamis no. 10	Vespasian (acc.)	Gymnasiarchoi and Diodoros
Salamis no. 15	Trajan (acc.)	City of Salamis
Salamis no. 19	Hadrian (dat.)	Linen-weavers of Salamis
Salamis no. 20	Commodus (dat.)	n/a
Salamis no. 21	Commodus (dat.)	n/a
Salamis no. 22	Iulia Domna (acc.)	n/a
Soloi no. 1	Caius Caesar (Lat. dat.)	A civic organ? of Soloi
Soloi no. 2	Trajan (acc.)	A certain archon
Soloi no. 4	Marcus Aurelius (acc.)	Ptolemaios et al.

2.2. IMPERIAL STATUES IN CONTEXT

Textual structures³²

In terms of the textual structures employed in the statue base inscriptions in Greek, the epigraphic evidence listed above falls into three groups: first, inscriptions in which an emperor or an imperial family member appears with the accusative; second, inscriptions that have a double reference to an emperor or an imperial family member with the accusative and to a deity with the dative; third, inscriptions that refer to an emperor or an imperial family member with the dative. In my opinion, these three patterns in the formulae point to different implications of the statue base inscriptions with regard to the religious status of the emperor. We shall begin by conducting a detailed enquiry into the second group. One example from Paphos Vetus reads:

To Aphrodite of Paphos. The council and the people of Paphos *Sebaste* (set up the statue of) its saviour and benefactor Tiberius Caesar, son of the divine Augustus, Augustus Imperator, *pontifex maximus*, on the first day of (the month) Tiberieios Sebastos in the tenth year.³³

Here, Tiberius is mentioned with the accusative and the goddess Aphrodite appears with the dative at the beginning of the inscription. That is, the statue of Tiberius is dedicated not to Tiberius himself, but to Aphrodite. This textual structure implies that this statue did not represent a cultic dedication to the emperor, but rather civic gratitude for his benevolence – the setting up of the statue, dated to the tenth year of the emperor, 23 or 24 CE in the Cypriot calendar, would have commemorated a beneficial act of Tiberius in 22 CE, when, under the supervision of the senate, he gave official approval of the right of asylum in the Aphrodite temple of Paphos. This statue was not evidence of the imperial cult, but simply an expression of appreciation of the emperor's beneficence by the Paphians, who dedicated the imperial statue to their patron deity on behalf of the emperor.

Inscriptions of non-imperial statue bases will clarify this point. One of many examples from the sanctuary of Aphrodite of Paphos Vetus reads as follows:

To Aphrodite of Paphos. M(arcus) Canius Quintianus and Octavia Claudiana (set up the statue of) their son, M(arcus) Canius Aelius Marcellinus.³⁴

This is a statue base inscription, dated somewhere from the second to the third century CE, that attests the honorific statue of an otherwise unknown Cypriot of

32 Scholars have argued that we should pay attention to textual structures used in the statue base inscriptions in Greek in order to understand political, social and religious meanings that statues would have retained: e.g. see Veyne 1962; Chaniotis, 2003a; Ma 2007a; Kajava 2011. The following discussion can be placed on the same line as these works, in that it considers the textual structures of statue base inscriptions as an indicator of imperial religious status in Cypriot society. For their arguments, see below in more detail.

33 **Paphos Vetus no. 11.**

34 Hogarth, James et al. 1888, 246, no. 88: Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφίᾳ. Μ. Κάνιον Αὔλιον Μαρκελλεῖνον Μ. Κάνιος Κвинτιανὸς καὶ Ὀκταουία Κλωδιανῇ{ι} τὸν υἱόν. For the probable western origin of this family, see Potter 2000, 833.

Roman citizenship. A comparison of this inscription with that of the statue of Tiberius shows that both inscriptions have the same grammatical structure: the dative, 'to Aphrodite of Paphos', comes at the beginning of each inscription, followed by the persons to whom the statues were set up, in the accusative; then the nominative names of the donors are presented; and finally the qualifications of the honorees, again in the accusative, complete the texts. The similar grammatical structure of the inscriptions implies that both statues stood on the same ground, at least in conceptual meaning. They were not divine, but mortal. An 'epigraphic visual effect' exerted by the textual structure might have thrown observers of the statues into confusion at first sight – the statues themselves, those of Tiberius and Aelius Marcellinus, probably stood out and were self-asserting in the precinct of the sanctuary of Aphrodite. However, at the beginning of each inscription, where observers' eyes fell first, the name of the goddess to which the statues are dedicated was inscribed. This is not a contradiction. The location of the statues and the grammatical structure of the inscriptions positioned the statues under Aphrodite's religious authority. Although the statues might have impressed their observers with their magnificence (particularly that of Tiberius), the observers would have immediately noticed that Tiberius and Aelius Marcellinus were mortals, and that both were subjected to the local religious order where Aphrodite of Paphos sat on the throne.³⁵

Out of the thirty-nine imperial statue base inscriptions, four can be classified with certainty as concerning the statues of emperors and imperial family members dedicated to gods and goddesses: a statue of Livia dedicated to Zeus Olympios of Salamis,³⁶ and three of Tiberius dedicated to Aphrodite of Paphos Vetus.³⁷ It is almost impossible to infer the reason for the setting up of these honorific statues; some may have been expressions of gratitude for some specific benevolence of the honorees, as we may conjecture with the aforementioned statue of Tiberius; some may have concerned the honorification of the honorees in a general sense. In any case, what is deduced from the four inscriptions is that the city and civic organs, the main donors of the statues, attempted to contextualise the imperial images in the world of their own religion. More specifically, they sought to place the

35 Chaniotis 2003a and Ma 2007a have provided valuable insights into the textual structures of statue base inscriptions. Angelos Chaniotis, offering an overview of rituals of the imperial cult in the Greek East, argued that not all inscriptions concerning imperial statues signify cultic dedication of statues to emperors; rather, they often mean no more than 'presents' to emperors, particularly when an emperor appears with the accusative in an inscription. On the other hand, John Ma, in his discussion of honorific inscriptions in the Hellenistic period, demonstrated that the textual structure of honorific inscriptions, where donors (civic administrative bodies in most cases) were presented with the nominative, and honorees with the accusative, helped cities reproduce their own political culture and place statues 'in a social narrative of exchange, and in the relevant civic ideology'. His argument, primarily related to the social and political context, showed that the epigraphic formulae potentially affected the way a statue was perceived and contextualised. For a thorough investigation into the grammatical structures of statue base and dedication inscriptions in Greek, see Kajava 2011.

36 **Salamis no. 1.**

37 **Paphos Vetus no. 10; Paphos Vetus no. 11; Paphos Vetus no. 12.**

emperors as mortals under the religious authority of the local deities, not by inadvertent means which potentially humiliated imperial dignity and caused uneasiness in communication between themselves and the emperors, but rather by means of the elaborately structured inscriptions.

Another twenty-two inscriptions, in which an emperor or an imperial family member appears with the accusative, i.e. the first group in our evidence, can be understood along the same lines as these four inscriptions, in that most if not all of them would not have represented cultic dedications of the imperial statues to the emperors and imperial family members. What we can deduce from the inscriptions is no more than that donors, including the cities, individuals and the Roman authorities (see below), intended to honour the emperors and imperial family members through the erection of their statues, because in the inscriptions there is no decisive element to allude to a cultic dedication. Of course the distinction between an honorific statue and a cult statue is not always clear – it can be blurred, for example, by the use of epithets attached to the names of the emperors in the inscriptions, such as god (*theos*),³⁸ founder (*ktistes*),³⁹ saviour (*soter*),⁴⁰ benefactor (*euergetes*)⁴¹ and father (*pater*),⁴² which may have enhanced the divine character of the honorees, though most of them could also be applied outside the cultic context (see chapter 1). Furthermore, there being no reference to a deity with the dative at the beginning of the text may also have been one of the sophisticated techniques of communication between the donors and the honorees, through which the former, mainly the Cypriots, avoided the awkwardness of publicly subjugating the latter to the local deities. Bearing this in mind, the statues whose inscriptions refer to an emperor and an imperial family member with the accusative can be placed between the two ends of the spectrum of imperial statuary, i.e. between an honorific statue and a cultic one, as far as the textual structure is concerned. The distinction between an honorific statue and a cultic dedication will be further elucidated through a comparison with the third group in our evidence, the inscriptions that refer to an emperor or an imperial family member with the dative case.

A statue base inscription from Lapethos,⁴³ a city on the northern coast of the island, makes clear that Tiberius had his own priest Adrastus and that his statue was of a cultic character. Emperor Tiberius appears with the dative (*toi autou theoi*), and his statue, the object of dedication, with the accusative (*to agalma*). This textual structure exemplifies the exact reverse of the aforementioned inscriptions in which (the statue of) an emperor is mentioned with the accusative as the object of dedication to a deity presented with the dative. The inscription of Adrastus demonstrates that the statue of Tiberius was dedicated to the divine emperor himself, whom Adrastus served as priest. The use of the verb *kathieroo*, which

38 Kourion no. 12; Kourion no. 17; Paphos Vetus no. 1; Paphos Vetus no. 3; Salamis no. 9.

39 Kition no. 9.

40 Lapethos no. 4; Paphos Vetus no. 11.

41 Kourion no. 3; Lapethos no. 4; Paphos Vetus no. 11.

42 Salamis no. 7; Salamis no. 10.

43 Lapethos no. 2.

implies the performance of dedication rituals, and the dedication of the temple to Tiberius, also offer positive proof of the cultic nature of the statue.⁴⁴ A statue base from the sanctuary of Apollon in Amargetti (a village near Paphos)⁴⁵ and one from Kourion⁴⁶ also seem to have been for the statues dedicated with cultic rituals to Augustus and Nero, as the verb *kathieroo* is employed in the inscriptions. The epithet of Hadrian in a statue base inscription from Salamis (*soter kai euergetes tou kosmou pantos*)⁴⁷ may point to the cultic context of the emperor's statue (see chapter 1). The contexts of the statues are less clear in the other five inscriptions in which an emperor or an imperial family member appears with the dative,⁴⁸ since they contain little background information. They may, therefore, be placed somewhere on the spectrum between an honorific statue and a cultic statue, like the statues whose inscriptions refer to an emperor or an imperial family member with the accusative. That said, the overall picture is still unambiguous. In these five inscriptions, the target of dedication is apparent, i.e. the emperors and imperial family members, whereas this point remains equivocal in the inscriptions with accusative honorees. The emperors and imperial family members addressed with the dative are explicitly represented as recipients of the dedications. In this sense, the statue base inscriptions with dative dedicatees probably signify imperial statues situated in a zone of the spectrum closer to the cultic statue end.⁴⁹

44 On the use of *kathieroo* in dedications, see Chaniotis 2003a, 12; Smith 2006, 23–24. For example, inscriptions from Perge, *I.Perge* no. 56 and no. 65, attest the use of this verb in imperial dedications. The verb *kathieroo* can be combined with the accusative honoree, e.g. in **Paphos Nova no. 5**. Cf. Kajava 2011, who points out that the verb *kathieroo* not always pertained to the 'sacredness' of dedicatees.

45 **Paphos (Amargetti) no. 1**.

46 **Kourion no. 2**.

47 **Salamis no. 19**.

48 **Amathous no. 1; Paphos (Amargetti) no. 2; Paphos Vetus no. 14; Salamis no. 20; Salamis no. 21. Amathous no. 2** may be included in this list.

49 The list of imperial statue base inscriptions includes three Latin inscriptions (**Kition no. 8; Salamis no. 4; Soloi no. 1**). The use of Latin was considerably limited during the first three centuries of Roman rule on the island, which would partly have been due to the fact that there was no Roman colony on Cyprus. Some 30 Latin inscriptions are written in Latin, but in most cases in an official or military context. For a list of Latin inscriptions, see Mitford 1950, 52, n. 2. **Kition no. 8, Salamis no. 4 and Soloi no. 1**, all of which are 'official' inscriptions set up by cities and civic organs, refer to the emperors and the imperial family member with the dative. The dative is the most common case for statue bases and other types of dedication in Latin inscriptions, whether in a cultic context or an honorific one (see Højte 2005, 21). Therefore, the textual structure is not sufficient to determine the status of the statues in these inscriptions. The use of the Latin dative for dedicatees and honorees seems to have exerted an impact on the textual structure of Greek statue base inscriptions. Roman officials, who set up, or participated in rituals of the setting up of, the statues in **Kourion no. 2, Paphos (Amargetti) no. 1, Paphos (Amargetti) no. 2 and Paphos Vetus no. 14**, may have inscribed the emperors and the imperial family members with the Greek dative according to their own 'Latin epigraphic habit', without changing the case from the dative to the accusative when they translated (or let someone translate) the texts from Latin to Greek. See Veyne 1962, 77. One may regard this phenomenon as a type of borrowing or interference of Latin in Greek texts in terms of syntax (see Adams 2003, 417–526). Of course we can also imagine that they

Topography

An imperial statue is contextualised not only by means of textual structures, but also through a variety of other factors. The location of a statue is one such factor. It had a significant effect on the perception of a statue and helped to settle it in a context. Setting up a statue in one specific site selected from various places in civic and rural landscapes, e.g. market places, temples, rural sanctuaries, public buildings, or private houses, is not an accidental choice, but rather conceals a deliberate intention: the selection of a place for a statue is intrinsically related to what the person who erects it intends to express to its audience, as well as to the honoree the statue represents, and the way the audience perceives it thereafter. This close relationship between topography and the character of a statue warrants a detailed investigation into the topographical distribution of imperial statues on Cyprus. The provenances of imperial statue base inscriptions on Cyprus are, however, not always detailed in their publications (particularly the older ones), as is also the case in other provinces. We must note, furthermore, that the provenances of the inscriptions, if ever, are not always identical with the locations where the statues stood in the Roman period – they have undergone much re-use and relocation during the two thousand years since that time. Therefore it is impossible to go beyond drawing a rough sketch of the statue distribution, which nonetheless provides us with a broad framework for relationships between the imperial statues and their locations.

Relatively detailed origins are available for around two-thirds of thirty-nine statue base inscriptions. The concentration of statue bases in sanctuaries and temples seems remarkable. Eighteen inscriptions stem from or near the religious sites: the Apollon sanctuary in Amargetti near Paphos,⁵⁰ the Aphrodite sanctuary in Amathous,⁵¹ the Apollon sanctuary in Kourion,⁵² the Aphrodite sanctuary in Paphos Vetus⁵³ and the Zeus temple in Salamis.⁵⁴ The fact that there is no archaeological evidence in these sites pointing to the existence of a temple independently built in order to accommodate the imperial cult leads us to the reasonable assumption that the imperial statues mingled with other images and votive offerings dedicated to the main deities of the sanctuaries. Scant material evidence pre-

intentionally used the Greek dative for dedicatees in order to publicly demonstrate their cultic status – the verb *kathieroo*, which concerns dedication rituals, is used in **Kourion no. 2** and **Paphos (Amargetti) no. 1** (see above). For the long-term historical development of dedication formulae in Latin and Greek, see Kajava 2011, who has also proposed the possibility that the honorific dative of Latin derived from the traditional Greek dedication formula.

50 **Paphos (Amargetti) no. 1.**

51 **Amathous no. 1.**

52 **Kourion no. 2; Kourion no. 12; Kourion no. 14; Kourion no. 15; Kourion no. 16; Kourion no. 17.**

53 **Paphos Vetus no. 1; Paphos Vetus no. 2; Paphos Vetus no. 3; Paphos Vetus no. 10; Paphos Vetus no. 11; Paphos Vetus no. 12; Paphos Vetus no. 14; Paphos Vetus no. 17.**

54 **Salamis no. 1; Salamis no. 10.** The bronze head of Claudius (n. 16 in the present chapter, d) was also found at the Zeus temple in Salamis.

vents us from understanding how far the imperial statues stood out against the background of numerous other monuments – a statue like that of Septimius Severus of Kythroi surely dwarfed more modest statues, and might have placed his honour and sanctity high above theirs.⁵⁵ However, the co-existence of imperial statues and other objects would more frequently have resulted in the reverse, i.e. levelling the former down to the latter in terms of religious status.⁵⁶ Both were dedications to the main deities, apart from a few exceptions that show quite clear traits for being cult statues of a divine emperor.

Placing an imperial image in a temple and a sanctuary was a widely accepted convention in the Roman Empire.⁵⁷ In the Greek world, in particular, numerous images of Hellenistic kings, leading politicians and Roman magistrates were erected in the sacred sites of traditional deities from as early as the Hellenistic period. Images of the Roman emperors followed this long-standing tradition. Only a few of the large quantity of such images include: Augustus in the Aphrodite sanctuary in Mytilene,⁵⁸ Livia in the Athena sanctuary in Kyzikos;⁵⁹ Hadrian in the sanctuary of Zeus Olympios in Athens;⁶⁰ Marcus Aurelius in the sanctuary of Eleusis.⁶¹ The reasons for placing imperial statues in the sacred sites of traditional deities vary according to the intentions of those who set them up, mainly provincials; the relationship between an emperor and the deity concerned; the physical setting of a city, and so on, where investigation is required in each case. One practical reason we tend to overlook is that a temple, which was one of the safest locations in the city, not only because of its sanctity, but also through monitoring by a warden and closing of the gates outside of opening hours, would often have been thought of as the most appropriate site for housing imperial statues made of precious metal.⁶² As to the religious status of the imperial image, some statues would have been intended to function as cult statues of the Roman emperors, who shared temples with their main deities as *theoi synnaoi*. However, the imperial image rarely assumed the distinctive character of a cultic dedication, and thus, in most cases of the imperial images placed in the temples and sanctuaries of other deities, it seems appropriate not to proceed beyond Duncan Fishwick's statement: 'In

55 The marble head of Agrippina the Elder (n. 16 in the present chapter, b), found at the Isis temple in Soloi, can also provide a clue to this issue. It is reported to have a fracture on the crown, which may indicate that the headdress characteristic of the Isis head was originally attached to the Agrippina head. If this assumption holds, Agrippina, syncretised with Isis, shared the temple with the goddess and her statue functioned as a cult statue.

56 For the same situation in the Hellenistic ruler cult, see Nock 1972a, 246.

57 For a precise overview of the topography of imperial statues in the Roman Empire, see Pekáry 1985, 42–65; Fishwick 1987–2005, vol. 2, part 1, 540–50.

58 *IG* 12. 2, no. 58.

59 *IGR* 4, no. 144.

60 Paus. 1. 18. 6; *IG* 2/3², nos. 3289–385. For these statues of Hadrian, see Price 1984a, 147; Pekáry 1985, 90; Fishwick 1987–2005, vol. 2, part 1, 548.

61 *IG* 2/3², no. 3407.

62 Pekáry 1985, 56; Fishwick 1987–2005, vol. 2, part 1, 549. For a *lex sacra* prescribing the days on which the priest is to be present in the sanctuary, see *I.Oropos* no. 277=*LSCG* no. 69. Cf. Chaniotis 2009b, 120.

theory at least such an object was essentially an offering to the deity [...] the primary purpose must have been to honour the emperor or his family in a way that custom had made conventional'.⁶³

The locations of the imperial statues in Cyprus are not confined to temples and sanctuaries. The epigraphic evidence demonstrates that the imperial statues were accommodated in the *gymnasia* in Lapethos⁶⁴ and Salamis,⁶⁵ in the theatres in Paphos Nova⁶⁶ and Salamis,⁶⁷ and in the *agora* in Salamis.⁶⁸ As the next chapter will carry out a detailed exploration of how the Cypriots practised the imperial cult in different locations of the civic landscape, including sacred sites, *gymnasia* and theatres, it will suffice in this chapter to briefly discuss the statue in the Salaminian *agora*. This statue base inscription is written in Latin, and the emperor Tiberius appears with the dative. Because the use of Latin tended to be confined to inscriptions of an administrative and official nature during the first three centuries of Roman rule in Cyprus, C. Lucretius Rufus, mentioned in the inscription, seems to have participated in the erection of the statue as agent of Roman power, in collaboration with (probably) the council of Salamis, though we do not know which office Rufus bore at that time. Market places in the Roman world sometimes accommodated imperial statues of cultic character.⁶⁹ However, as far as our only evidence for the imperial image in the *agora* is concerned, no element of the inscription seems to point to a cult statue of Tiberius, though the final answer must be awaited given that the dative case, utilised for an honorand not only in honorific, but also in cultic context in Latin inscriptions, does not allow one to deduce the character of the statue.⁷⁰

Terminology

Greek terms for an image include *andrias*, *eikon* and *agalma*. The first two of these terms most frequently signified an honorific image in public space, for example in an *agora*; the last term tended to denote a religious image in a sacred context, for instance the main statue of a deity in a temple.⁷¹ All three terms are attested in the epigraphic evidence of Roman Cyprus, two of which, *agalma* and *andrias*, are applied to imperial statues. The imperial *agalmata* on Cyprus in-

63 Fishwick 1987–2005, vol. 2, part 1, 549–50. Cf. Steuernagel 2010.

64 **Lapethos no. 2.**

65 **Salamis no. 9; Salamis no. 11; Salamis no. 19.**

66 **Paphos Nova no. 3.**

67 **Salamis no. 20; Salamis no. 21; Salamis no. 22.**

68 **Salamis no. 4. Amathous no. 2** was perhaps set up in the *agora* too.

69 See Witschel 1995c.

70 See above n. 49 in the present chapter.

71 Habicht 1970, 142–43; Price 1984a, 176–77; Fishwick 1987–2005, vol. 1, part 1, 23; Chaniotis 2003c, 439; Smith 2006, 20–21. Cf. Pekáry 1985, 56–57. For newly found evidence disconfirming the strict distinction between *andrias* and *eikon* on the one hand and *agalma* on the other, see Koonce 1988; Buraselis and Aneziri 2004, 179.

clude: a statue of Tiberius in the *gymnasion* of Lapethos;⁷² golden statues of the first-century emperors in the *gymnasion* of Salamis;⁷³ a statue of Trajan in an unknown location of Soloi;⁷⁴ and statues of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius in the theatre of Paphos Nova.⁷⁵ The only example of *andrias* stems from Paphos Nova, the statue of Caracalla.⁷⁶ What can be deduced from the evidence is that the Cypriots also understood the imperial statues set up in the *gymnasia* and theatre by the name of *agalma*, which, in turn, allows the reasonable inference that an imperial statue was named *agalma* when it was closely connected with the veneration of the emperor, no matter where its location was – the donors of the statues in Lapethos and Salamis supervised the imperial cult as hereditary priest and as *archiereus* respectively, and in the inscription from Paphos Nova the Antonine emperors appear with the dative case alongside Zeus Kapitolios, their co-dedicattee. As to the many other imperial statues placed in the sacred sites, we cannot know by which name the Cypriots called them because of the lack of evidence; nevertheless, it does not appear impossible to infer that the usage of the terms reflected the religious status of a statue, and, in turn, was one among several factors which served to place a statue in a context.

Procedures for erecting the statue

Issues treated in the present section include human groups which took part in the setting up of a statue, its financial aspects, and dedication ceremonies of a statue, all of which were relevant to the context of a statue.

Twenty-nine statue base inscriptions and two inscriptions mentioning imperial statues (**Paphos Nova no. 3** and **Salamis no. 11**) contain relatively clear references to their donors, according to which the imperial statues in Cyprus were set up primarily by cities and their public bodies, such as *demos* and *boule*; they appear in eighteen inscriptions as a main or co-donor.⁷⁷ The control of statue donation by the city was seen all over the Roman Empire. Although there was no restriction on the setting up of an imperial statue by an individual, the city and civic organs most frequently supervised and financed the erection of a statue in a public space such as a market place, public building or sacred site.⁷⁸ However, we re-

72 **Lapethos no. 2.**

73 **Salamis no. 11.**

74 **Soloi no. 2.**

75 **Paphos Nova no. 3.**

76 **Paphos Nova no. 5.**

77 **Kition no. 8; Kition no. 9; Kourion no. 2; Kourion no. 3; Kourion no. 14; Kourion no. 16; Lapethos no. 4; Paphos Nova no. 3; Paphos Nova no. 5; Paphos Vetus no. 3; Paphos Vetus no. 10; Paphos Vetus no. 11; Paphos Vetus no. 12; Paphos Vetus no. 17; Salamis no. 4; Salamis no. 7; Salamis no. 15; Soloi no. 1.**

78 Pekáry 1985, 4–5; Højte 2005, 168–69. According to the latter, the community and its executive bodies were involved with 43.9 percent of all the imperial statue bases in the Empire; in particular, they formed the vast majority of donors in the Greek East.

main in the dark as to why the cities and their executive bodies strived to donate imperial statues. Although the epithets of the emperors, such as *ktistes*,⁷⁹ *soter*,⁸⁰ *euergetes*⁸¹ and *pater*,⁸² might imply a specific benevolence of the emperors towards the cities concerned, we can go no further than listing general loyalty towards the emperors, and rivalry between the cities as reasons why they honoured the emperors through the setting up of their images.⁸³ Nonetheless, a few exceptional examples would seem to demonstrate a deliberate intention in the manner in which the cities built the imperial statues. Paphos and its civic organs took the role of donor in three statue base inscriptions (**Paphos Vetus no. 10; no. 11; no. 12**) out of four that mention the dedication of the imperial statues to the other deities. As we have seen above, these inscriptions probably served to place the emperors and the imperial family members under the religious dignity of the local deities through their conspicuous textual structures. The cities and civic organs, on the other hand, do not seem to have been enthusiastic about the veneration of the emperor, as far as their statue donation is concerned. A tangible sign of the cult of the emperor can only be found in **Paphos Nova no. 3** in which the city of Paphos performed the main role in dedicating statues to the Antonine emperors, the co-dedicatees of Zeus Kapatolios.

Statue donation was so embedded in the administration of each city that the league of cities, i.e. the *koinon*, performed no role in erecting the imperial statues – as far as I know, there is no inscription on the island of an imperial statue which the Cypriot *koinon* set up as main donor. Evidence from other provinces attests the leagues of cities putting up statues of the emperor: e.g. the *koinon* of the Achaians served as the main donor of the statues of Augustus, Faustina and Hadrian in Olympia.⁸⁴ There is no clear hint as to why the Cypriot *koinon* showed no interest in imperial statues. One could argue that it was rivalry between the cities that underlay the honorification of the emperor through statue donation, in whose context the *koinon* – the delegation of all the cities – accordingly had no interest, or even refrained from, founding imperial statues in civic landscapes. Indeed, we find the Cypriot *koinon* erecting imperial statues outside the island, where a display of the loyalty, competence and status of each city loses its significance, and rivalry tends to shift from the civic level to the provincial level: e.g. a statue of Hadrian in the temple of Zeus Olympios in Athens.⁸⁵

In respect of financing, the inscriptions say very little.⁸⁶ Three inscriptions contain references to a fund for statues erected by the cities (**Kourion no. 2;**

79 **Kition no. 9.**

80 **Lapethos no. 4; Paphos Vetus no. 11.**

81 **Kourion no. 3; Lapethos no. 4; Paphos Vetus no. 11.**

82 **Salamis no. 7; Salamis no. 10.**

83 Pekáry 1985, 12; Højte 2005, 170–71. We will discuss advantages the imperial cult would have brought to the Cypriot communities in more detail in chapter 5.

84 *IvO* no. 367 (Augustus); *IvO* no. 382 (Faustina); Paus. 5. 12. 6 (Hadrian). For more examples, see Højte 2005, 169–70.

85 *IG 2/3*², no. 3296. Cf. Potter 2000, 821.

86 Cf. Smith 2006, 24–27.

Paphos Nova no. 5; Paphos Vetus no. 17). In the third case, the city of Paphos funded the statue of Caracalla at public expense (*ek ton idion autes prosodon*). The second inscription mentions 500 *denarii* which the chief magistrates of Paphos decreed to pay (probably) from the public purse, in order to set up another statue of Caracalla (*apo poron ton dogmatisthenton hypo ton archonton*). We may reasonably assume that the public revenue of each city also covered the expenses of the other imperial statues set up by the cities and civic organs, though there is no clear indication in the inscriptions.

The first case leads us to another issue concerning the donation of the statue, i.e. the involvement of Roman officials. Although the main donor of the statue of Nero was the city of Kourion, *proconsul* Iulius Cordus had approved an additional expense for the statue (*apo ton proskekrimenon hypo Iouliou Kordou anthypatou*), and another *proconsul* Annius Bassus performed rituals (*kathierosen*) for the setting up of the statue. The regulation of the expenditure for the statue may imply the excessiveness of the rivalry between cities, which would result in the bankruptcy of the public purse,⁸⁷ or, on the contrary, it could suggest that the *proconsul* attempted to promote the imperial cult (or the honorification of the emperor in general) by letting the city spend more money; the latter seems to be probable in the case of Kourion, as *proconsul* Annius Bassus himself performed dedication rituals in the setting up of the statue. Magistrates of the Roman government also appear in another five inscriptions as donors and co-donors.⁸⁸ In general, the engagement of the Roman magistrates suggests an elaborate dedication ceremony for the statue (*dedicatio*), which constituted an intrinsic part of the erection of statues, not only of the emperor but also of other mortals. The ceremony in the provinces could include the distribution of wine, presents, money, and a public meal that attracted a wide range of the population.⁸⁹ Although priests of the imperial cult and other civic magistrates also held a dedication ceremony, the involvement of the Roman magistrates in the erection of statues seems to hint at the sheer scale of dedication rituals and their significance as a political and religious event which would have involved the large population of provincials.⁹⁰

The statues set up by individuals are also of interest with respect to the contexts of the imperial statues. Six inscriptions refer to individuals who performed a

87 Cf. Pekáry 1985, 15, n. 31.

88 **Paphos (Amargetti) no. 1** (with the verb *kathieroo*); **Paphos (Amargetti) no. 2; Paphos Nova no. 5** (with the verb *kathieroo*); **Paphos Vetus no. 14; Salamis no. 4.**

89 Pekáry 1985, 107–15.

90 One could furthermore infer that the engagement of the Roman authorities reflected communication between the province and the emperor through the Roman magistrates, in terms of issues concerning statue donation (e.g. the number, cost, material and locations of statues, and occasions they should be carried into ceremonies). See, for example, Plin. *Ep.* 10. 81–82. For communication between the Empire, its magistrates and the provinces, see chapter 5 in more detail.

central role in donating the imperial statues.⁹¹ They include priests of the imperial cult⁹² and other civic magistrates, i.e. an *ex-censor*,⁹³ *gymnasiarchoi*⁹⁴ and *tamiai* who administrated the public treasury.⁹⁵ One prominent person, Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus in **Salamis no. 11**, funded a theatre, a *gymnasion* with the golden statues of emperors and an amphitheatre as *gymnasiarchos* and *agonothetes*, who had earlier held the office of *archiereus* of Cyprus of the imperial cult three times. Two interpretations seem to be possible for the setting up of imperial statues by individuals. First, that they supervised, as the magistrates, the setting up of the statues decreed by the people and council. The costs of the statues would have been covered by the public purse, otherwise the magistrates financed them at their own expense – the so-called *summa honoraria*, a liturgy expected from magistrates, also included a provision to cover the costs of the erection of a statue.⁹⁶ Second, that donations were closely connected with the practice of the imperial cult, as **Lapethos no. 2** makes clear: Adrastos, hereditary priest of the temple and the statue of Tiberius, set up the statue of the emperor in the *gymnasion*, at his own expense. Its cultic nature is clear – he dedicated the statue to Tiberius, named as his own god, and did so on the birthday of the emperor.⁹⁷

2.3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The imperial statues, the Roman emperors made material, existed in public spaces and religious locations in Cyprus in the form of cultic as well as honorific statues. Their locations, their vocabularies, their relationships with other deities, and the textual structures of their inscriptions, which together constituted the main part of the statue-habit of Roman Cyprus, contextualised the emperors' status in Cypriot

91 **Lapethos no. 2; Lapethos no. 3; Salamis no. 9; Salamis no. 10; Salamis no. 11; Soloi no. 4. Kourion no. 17; Paphos Vetus no. 17; Salamis no. 19; and Soloi no. 2** may be added to this list.

92 **Lapethos no. 2; Salamis no. 10.**

93 **Salamis no. 9.**

94 **Salamis no. 10.**

95 **Soloi no. 4.**

96 Pekáry 1985, 13; Quaß 1993, 328–34.

97 **Kourion no. 12 and Salamis no. 19** need more consideration before we close the present chapter. **Kourion no. 12**, the statue of Trajan set up by Hadrian, attracts our attention for two reasons: first, there is no tangible evidence that Hadrian visited Cyprus in person; second, this inscription confers the title Germanicus on Hadrian, which, however, the emperor officially did not retain (the same is the case in **Lapethos no. 4**). What we can deduce from the inscription is, then, that the city of Kourion or a certain individual, who were not familiar with the official titles of Hadrian, set up the statue of Trajan in place of Hadrian, or attempted to give the illusion that Hadrian paid a visit to the Apollon sanctuary in order to erect the statue of his father. For this statue, see Højte 2005, 176–77. **Salamis no. 19**, on the other hand, is of peculiar interest because of its donor, i.e. the college of linen-weavers of Salamis. Imperial statues donated by colleges – whether trade-related colleges or religious ones – are relatively rare, but not unknown in the Roman world (see Fishwick 1987–2005, vol. 2, part 1, 538–40; Højte 2005, 181), though we are mostly in the dark as to the contexts of their donations.

society. They were sometimes gods to be worshipped, sometimes mortals (though with high social dignity), and sometimes dedications to local deities. In so saying, I do not intend to conceal the fact that the context and implication of the statue was not always straightforward; one imperial statue can contain such contradictory characteristics that we often find it difficult to understand its precise context. The same problem would have happened to ancient observers: some statues may have changed its function, deviating from the original intentions of the donor; others may have presented different implications and impressions to different viewers at the same time.⁹⁸ However, it seems reasonable at least to assume that the diversity of contexts of imperial statues mirrored the diversity of attitudes of the Cypriots towards the Roman emperors – the majority of the thirty-nine statue bases were set up by Cypriot civic authorities and individuals. The fact that the Cypriots, the main donors of imperial statues, paid careful attention to the contexts of the statues reflects their serious concerns about placing the emperors in an appropriate position and about establishing their social and religious distance from the emperors. The involvement of Roman officials, on the other hand, demonstrates that the donation of imperial statues could be a matter not only of the local politics of the Cypriot communities, but also of the administration on the imperial level. The contextualisation of a statue could therefore constitute a part of the communication between the provincials and the imperial magistrates, through whom it would have led to the emperor, at least from an ideological perspective.

98 Gordon 2011, 44–64, regards this ambiguous character of the imperial statue as the manifestation of imperial power to transcend the limitations of different roles which the emperor was expected to perform. For the ambiguity of imperial status, see chapter 3 of the present study.

CHAPTER 3. STATUS OF THE EMPEROR IN THE CIVIC LANDSCAPE

This chapter will go on to consider the position of the Roman emperor in Cypriot religion and society, with special reference to his status in the gradational order ranging from mortal to god. The means through which the Cypriots represented, honoured and worshipped the emperor were not confined to the erection of statues – temples and sanctuaries dedicated to the emperor, votive offerings and other dedications and rituals, which all concern the imperial cult and other types of imperial representation, warrant further discussion. In order to impose some order on these diverse topics, this chapter is divided into three parts according to the locations in which the Cypriots performed dedications and conducted rituals, i.e. sacred sites, *gymnasia* and theatres. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, imperial statues were embedded in several places in the civic landscape, which helps us understand the variety of ways in which the Cypriots recognised and represented the emperor through his image. In light of this, it would also be reasonable to pay proper attention to the topography of other dedications and rituals in order to clarify the contexts into which the emperor was placed. Our study of imperial statues has already shown that those in sanctuaries represent the lion's share in quantity, which justifies starting the present chapter with an examination of imperial representation in sacred sites.

3.1. SACRED SITES

There is no firm evidence in Cyprus for an independent temple or sanctuary founded specifically for the veneration of the emperor. As in the other eastern provinces, the cult of the emperor tended to be accommodated in the temple or sanctuary of a traditional deity; that is, the Cypriots most frequently worshipped the emperor as a *theos synnaos* of other Greek gods and goddesses, which is also reminiscent of the Hellenistic ruler cult.¹ Evidence for cultic combination of the

1 Nock 1972a is still the standard work on the *theos synnaos* in the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Tuchelt 1981 has shown, on the basis of archaeological evidence, that there were in fact very few *temene* constructed specifically for the imperial cult in the Greek-speaking areas of the Empire – a *kaisareion* or *sebasteion*, which we tend to think of as an independent building such as a temple, had a tendency to be built within temples and sanctuaries of other deities, and in *agorae*, *gymnasia* and other civic structures, according to which it could take various architectural forms, e.g. sanctuaries, temples, basilicas, porticos or altars. See also Price 1984a, 134–35. For the temple sharing of the Ptolemies and other deities in Hellenistic Cyprus, see *LBW* 3, no. 2778 (Lapethos; shortly after 295 BCE; the dedication of an altar to Athena Soteira Nike and Ptolemaios Soter, i.e. Ptolemy I. See also Teixidor 1988, 190 [*SEG*

emperor and other deities is, however, never straightforward. Inscriptions from Cyprus have no clear reference to a *kaisareion* or *sebasteion* (whether or not within the sacred sites of other deities), which is attested with ample evidence in other areas of the Roman East.² Furthermore, as we have seen in chapter 2, imperial statues (the most abundant and manifest imperial representation on the island) set up in sacred places do not always – very rarely, in fact – concern the worship of the emperor. The mere presence of an image of the emperor in a sacred site does not affirm his status as *theos synnaos* of the deities venerated there. In addition, the poor condition of archaeological remains and the lack of provenances for the inscriptions make it difficult to infer the exact relationship between the emperor and the other deities. The physical arrangement of imperial statues (e.g. inside the *cella* of a temple alongside the statue of the main god, under a portico surrounding a temple, or anywhere in a precinct outside a building) without doubt exercised a significant influence on the position of the statues within the religious world of a temple or sanctuary, as well as the ways visitors appreciated them and understood the implications they would have evoked. This significance escapes us, probably forever, because of the lack of evidence. Bearing this in mind, we shall turn in this section to types of imperial representation in sacred sites other than statues. Two remarkable Greek inscriptions from Amathous, a city on the southern coast of the island, attest a sanctuary dedicated to the emperor Titus and the goddess Aphrodite. They read as follows:

To Emperor Titus Caesar Vespasianus Augustus and Aphrodite, the great goddess of Cyprus. Lucius Bruttius Maximus, *proconsul*, restored the sacred site confined by the steles, in the second year.³

To Cypriot Aphrodite and Emperor Titus Caesar Vespasianus Augustus. Lucius Bruttius Maximus, *proconsul*, consecrated the sacred site confined by the steles, in the second year.⁴

These two inscriptions attest a sacred site of Aphrodite and Titus, probably with a temple-like building, dedicated by *proconsul* Lucius Bruttius Maximus in the second year of Titus, i.e. the year that began on the twenty-third of September 79 CE,

38, no. 1526]); *Salamine de Chypre* no. 56 (Salamis; 246–221 BCE; a dedication to Sarapis, Ptolemy III and Berenike II); Hermay 1988, 102, no. 6 [*SEG* 38 no. 1501] (Amathous; 142–118 BCE; a dedication to Sarapis, Isis-Aphrodite and *theoi synnaoi* who may have included some deified Ptolemies). For Salamis, see also Roesch 1980 [*BE* 1981, no. 639].

2 Price 1984a, 135 refers to more than eighty temples and sanctuaries in over sixty cities in Asia Minor. Also in Greece, another important part of the Roman East, some cities were known to have a *kaisareion* or *sebasteion*: e.g. Gytheion, Messene and Athens. See Kantiréa 2007, 132–34, 161. For Hellenistic Cyprus, in contrast to Roman Cyprus, there are testimonies to sanctuaries for the king and queen: e.g. an *Arsinoeion* in Idalion (Anastassiades 1998, 138, no. 12); a *Ptolemaion* in Paphos (Mitford 1961b, 40–41, no. 110). A newly found inscription from Amathous attests a temple for Arsinoe Philadelphos (Flourentzos 2007 [*SEG* 57, no. 1736]), which was converted to the sanctuary of Isis and Horus Harpocrates in the Roman period.

3 Amathous no. 3.

4 Amathous no. 4.

though it remains unclear when this *proconsul* entered office.⁵ Pierre Aupert and Antoine Hermary⁶ have provided a detailed enquiry into the site on the basis of excavations they undertook on Amathous, during which our first inscription was discovered *in situ* at the northwest of the north city gate just down ‘Terrasse 17’. The second inscription, on the other hand, was found re-used in the wall of a house at Agios Tychonas, a neighbouring village of Amathous, though its content without doubt places the inscription along with the first one. The difference in the verbs used in the inscriptions, *apokatestesen* in the first inscription and *kathierosen* in the second, can be explained by constructing the following scenario: a sanctuary of Aphrodite had existed in the Hellenistic period around the north gate, certainly on ‘Bâtiment 16’; a graffito representation of a prostyle temple, found on a stone of this site, may depict the Hellenistic temple in the sanctuary, and the head of a female statue excavated from this area – certainly that of Aphrodite – may belong to it. The Hellenistic temple probably collapsed as a consequence of earthquakes that occurred in 76 or 77 CE.⁷ Thereafter Bruttius, who as *proconsul* found the temple destroyed, introduced the cult of the emperor into the sanctuary of Aphrodite, while restoring it by means of an extension of the site into ‘Terrasse 17’. In short, he restored (*apokatestesen*) the damaged sanctuary of Aphrodite and then consecrated (*kathierosen*) the newly extended sanctuary of Aphrodite and the emperor Titus. The style of the sanctuary is not known; both inscriptions describe the sanctuary as *topon hieron ton entos ton stelon onta*, which is difficult to understand. This may mean a piece of ground, i.e. *temenos*, confined by steles serving as metes and bounds, and then dedicated to the deities.⁸

5 Mitford 1946, 40–42, no. 16; Hill 1949, 255, no. 17; Mitford 1980a, 1302, no. 28; Aupert and Hermary 2006, 89–90 have dated the proconsulship of Bruttius to 79/80 or 80/81 CE on the basis of the inscription **Paphos Vetus no. 12** that allegedly refers to a *proconsul* of the first year of Titus, i.e. from 24th June to 22nd September 79 CE according to the Romano-Cypriot calendar. However, **Paphos Vetus no. 12** should now be dated to the Tiberian period. Therefore, the inscription does not attest the *proconsul* for the first year of Titus, and there is then no evidence as to when Bruttius started his office in Cyprus. Bruttius Maximus is not known elsewhere; he is probably the father of Caius Bruttius Praesens who took the second consulship in 139 CE and whose granddaughter Crispina married Commodus. For Caius Bruttius Praesens, see *PIR*² B, no. 164; *An.Ép.* 1950, no. 66.

6 Aupert and Hermary 2006. See also Aupert 2009, 35–36, 39–41.

7 Hill 1949, 245.

8 Mitford 1946, 40–42, no. 16; Mitford 1990, 2185–87 proposed ‘the holy place of the Seven within the Stelai’ on the basis of his restoration of the fragmentary **Amathous no. 4** ‘*hieron ton entos ton stelon hepta*’, which should be rejected, as the newly excavated **Amathous no. 3** has offered ‘*ton entos ton stelon onta*’ instead. Mitford, according to his own reading, attempted to relate the steles to the worship of baetyls, and at the same time to a legend concerning the Propoetides. The Propoetides were Amathousian maidens who turned to stone because of the wrath of Aphrodite – the steles of the sanctuary may have represented their statues, according to this myth. Cf. Aupert 1996, 60–61; Aupert and Hermary 2006, 92, n. 14. A *temenos* confined by means of steles is not unknown in the Mediterranean world: e.g. an archaic *heroon* in the *agora* of Argos, dedicated to the Seven against Thebes, was found delimited by steles (Pariente 1992); the *sebasteion* in Ephesos was encompassed by a wall from

It is an attractive idea that this peculiar term, which focuses on the structure of the sanctuary realised by means of the inscribed steles themselves,⁹ was applied to the sanctuary in order to underline the identity of one of its deities, Aphrodite Kypria the great mother, as being different from Aphrodite housed in the temple on the acropolis towering above the north gate, and from the imperial Aphrodite, Venus Genetrix.¹⁰

If this scenario, which seems fairly reasonable, holds true, it provides some clues as to how the cult of Titus was incorporated into the religious milieu of Amathous. First, the emperor claimed the same status as that of Aphrodite in the sanctuary. Nothing in the sources demonstrates his secondary position in the sanctuary, though we must have some reservations given the fact that Titus, as living emperor without the epithet of *theos*, was later incorporated into the sanctuary of Aphrodite which had already been established in the Hellenistic period, and that poor archaeological evidence does not permit us to reconstruct a physical relationship between the two deities, e.g. the arrangement of their shrines and statues. The admission of the emperor into the religious framework of the sanctuary of Aphrodite, in any case, seems remarkable when we compare it with imperial statues dedicated to traditional deities, which clearly demonstrate the subordination of the emperor to the main deities of sacred sites (see chapter 2). Second, the *proconsul* performed the central role in restoring and consecrating the sanctuary. That the city of Amathous did not participate in the project appears odd, in comparison with imperial statues whose donors were primarily local communities; therefore, it may be reasonable to assume that the civic purse of Amathous covered part of the cost of the sanctuary, by order of Bruttius.¹¹ Third, the sacred site for Aphrodite and Titus was embedded in the civic landscape or, more correctly, it altered the appearance of the city wall, the pride of the Greek city.¹² The site for the sanctuary, the ‘Terrasse 17’, formed part of the northern wall in the vicinity of the north city gate, and our first inscription is situated at a spot where the road coming from the north makes a 90-degree turn along the wall. In this way, visitors from the north, while the acropolis surely came into their view from afar, must have had their attention grasped by the inscription and then on the sanctuary it designated, while approaching the city gate. In this sense, the imperial cult altered, or

which stele-like stones with inscriptions have been found. See Jobst 1980; Tuchelt 1981, 183–84.

9 Aupert and Hermary 2006, 93.

10 Cf. Aupert and Hermary 2006, 90–93.

11 Aupert and Hermary 2006, 93 insist on the unofficial character of the dedication of the sanctuary, which can be deduced from the poor quality of the inscriptions and the fact that there is no reference in the inscriptions to a funding body for the construction. However, the mention of Bruttius makes the origin of initiative clear, which would seem to be enough to imply the official nature of the project. Further, given that the reconstruction of the sanctuary entailed the construction of the fairly spacious ‘Terrasse 17’, Bruttius would have encountered difficulties without the involvement of the local community in his project; Amathous must have needed to offer this area of ground for the new sanctuary.

12 For the symbolic significance of city walls for Greek civic ideology, see Chaniotis 2005, 26–29.

added a new element to, the civic identity of Amathous, while its sanctuary joined a group of monuments that shaped the physical appearance of the city.¹³

However, the sanctuary of Aphrodite and Titus in Amathous is an exception to the rule – no other evidence from Cyprus attests the foundation or rebuilding of a sanctuary and temple specifically to accommodate the cult of the emperor into that of a traditional deity. The imperial cult caused only minimal change to the religious landscape of Cyprus, as far as the available evidence suggests. It is of course well known that building activities were vigorously undertaken in sacred sites in the imperial period: the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Paphos Vetus, the most prominent religious centre on the island, assumed its final layout ('Sanctuary II') with the central court surrounded by porticos and halls – their floors beautifully decorated with mosaics – in the Roman period, during the Augustan reign or, more probably, from the late first to early second century CE.¹⁴ The sanctuary of Apollon in Kourion was also subjected to intense building activities in the imperial period, including the construction of a long aqueduct and the rebuilding of parts of the *temenos* wall in the middle of the first century CE, as well as a series of (re-) construction projects during the reign of Trajan.¹⁵ One can date the construction of the temple of Aphrodite on the acropolis of Amathous to the second half of the first century CE.¹⁶ The temple of Zeus in Salamis, first constructed in the late Hellenistic period, also seems to have experienced some rebuilding during the Imperial period.¹⁷ The huge scale of construction and rebuilding in the sacred sites of Cyprus during the Roman period, however, does not appear to relate to the introduction of the imperial cult or the accommodation of the emperor as *theos synnaos* there, as far as the available evidence is concerned – what testifies to the cult of the emperor on the sacred sites mainly consists of smaller scale dedications. A series of dedications found in the sanctuary of Apollon in Kourion warrants a detailed discussion here, because it provides us with a rare insight into the relationship between the emperor and the Greek deity in the sanctuary. The following five inscriptions are worth mentioning:

Kourion no. 4 (inscription on a metal jar): In the third year. Rhetorikos (dedicated) this thanks offering to Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaisar.

13 Price 1984a, 136–46 has offered examples for the transformation of civic landscape through the monuments of the imperial cult in the provinces of Asia Minor.

14 Hogarth, James et al. 1888, 207–208 have related the construction of 'Sanctuary II' to the benefaction of Augustus to the city in 15 BCE (Cass. Dio 54. 23. 7) following a disastrous earthquake that struck the temple. Maier 2000 has, on the contrary, dated the construction of 'Sanctuary II' to the periods of the Flavians and Trajan on the basis of more recent archaeological finds; the construction of the new sanctuary-complex perhaps followed the earthquake that occurred in 76/77 CE. For the sanctuary of Aphrodite, see further, Maier and Karageorghis 1984; Maier 1985.

15 For a brief overview of the history of the sanctuary of Apollon in Kourion, see Scranton 1967, 71–74; Sinos 1990, 23–25. See further, Soren 1986; Buitron-Oliver 1996; Kantiréa 2010.

16 Aupert 2009.

17 Argoud, Callot et al. 1975; Yon 1993.

Kourion no. 6 (inscription on a cippus): To Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaisar. Timo, also known as Phoibada, (set up the statue of) her own daughter Timo, the daughter of Timon, by adoption of Onesilos.

Kourion no. 7 (inscription on a slab): *I*: Onesilos? (dedicated this) to Apollon Kaisar on behalf of his wife Themisphas in fulfilment of a vow. *II*: Theodote (dedicated this) on behalf of Themisphas in fulfilment of a vow.

Kourion no. 9 (inscription on a vase): Polyktetos, son of Timon, potter, (dedicated this) to Apollon Hylates and Apollon [Kaisar on behalf of himself?] in fulfilment of a vow, and On[es---].

Kourion no. 10 (inscription on a plaque): Sextus Cornelius Tychikos, having made a vow, (dedicated this) to Apollon [Hylates and] Apollon Kaisar.

The inscriptions on these dedications,¹⁸ though unfortunately a few of them are fragmentary,¹⁹ refer not only to Apollon Hylates, the deity of the sanctuary, but also to Apollon Kaisar, who has been identified as emperor Trajan bearing the name of the main deity.²⁰ Two other inscriptions that commemorate Trajan's building activities attest dedications to Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaisar.²¹ The assimilation of the living ruler and other deities is also attested in Hellenistic Cyprus.²² Although it might seem clear at first glance that the Cypriots worshipped Trajan as *theos synnaos*, who enjoyed almost the same status as that of the main deity Apollon Hylates, and that the two deities were given the dedication after fulfilling the petitions of the dedicators,²³ the inscriptions deserve a more careful approach because of their subtle nuances regarding the religious position of the emperor. First, the textual structure of the inscriptions places Apollon Hylates above Apollon Kaisar – the dedicators mention Apollon Hylates first, and then Apollon Kaisar, except for the fragmentary **Kourion no. 7** in which Apollon Kaisar is probably the only dedicatee and **Kourion no. 5** commemorating the dedication of *exedrae* by Trajan. The dedications were directed to the two deities, but, nonetheless, the dedicators gave priority to the more traditional deity of the

18 **Kourion no. 6** is an exception in the five dedications listed here, in that the inscription has the same textual structure as that of a statue base inscription and the stone takes the form of a cippus, a cylindrical stone with the inscription on its trunk. This is a type of stone which is characteristic of epitaphs on Cyprus. Although it remains an open question whether this cippus is an epitaph, altar, statue base or another kind of dedication, I would argue for a statue base – Timo's parents probably wished to place her into the protection of Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaisar through the dedication of her statue. Cf. *I.Kourion* no. 144.

19 One may add to this group of inscriptions a more fragmentary **Kourion no. 8**.

20 *I.Kourion* no. 108; Mitford 1990, 2184, 2196.

21 **Kourion no. 5** and **Kourion no. 11**.

22 E.g. Arsinoe Philadelphos with a Naiad, the nymph of a spring at Kythroi (Anastassiades 1998, 138, no. 11), and with the nymph of Kafizin (Anastassiades 1998, 139, no. 14).

23 The inscriptions, however, offer no clue as to the contexts of the petitions. One dedication statue (*I.Kourion* no. 125), though dedicated only to Apollon Hylates, may shed light on them. It reads: Ἀπόλλωνι Ὑλάτῃ. Κλαυδιανὸς Θυλλικοῦ, νοσήσας καὶ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίᾳ τε καὶ ἀρετῇ διασωθεὶς, εὐξάμενος ἀνέθηκεν. The reason for this dedication, disease and subsequent recovery through a divine cure, may also have been one of the reasons why Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaisar were offered the dedications. Cf. Habicht 2001.

sanctuary when showing their gratitude for the fulfilment of the vows. Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaisar did not stand on the same level in terms of religious status. There is no clear evidence of the location of the cult of Apollon Kaisar, which would also be relevant to his religious position; he might have been worshipped in the main temple alongside Apollon Hylates or elsewhere in the precinct.²⁴

The next point concerns the identity of Apollon Kaisar. As mentioned above, the two inscriptions of Trajan refer to the deity with exact dates (i.e. not only with an anonymous regnal year, but also by dating with imperial titles), namely 101 CE (**Kourion no. 5**) and 113/114 CE (**Kourion no. 11**), the former of which provides the *terminus ante quem* for the emergence of Apollon Kaisar. Mitford, drawing on **Kourion no. 5**, has regarded the cult of Apollon Kaisar as ‘a veiled worship of Trajan himself’ and dated its inception to the reign of this emperor.²⁵ A one-to-one identification between Trajan and Apollon Kaisar, however, seems to be problematic, since it is the emperor himself who dedicated the buildings to Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaisar in **Kourion no. 5** and **Kourion no. 11** – it is implausible that Trajan offered dedications to the deity, fully recognising that it has been created for his own veneration (even though *proconsules* and the city of Kourion took part in the construction and its dedication), which, in turn, appears to point to a considerable degree of ambiguity in the deity Apollon Kaisar. The combination of the name of the god, Apollon, and an unspecific title Kaisar would have offered several possibilities for identifying the deity. Some may have regarded it as representing Trajan, some as the dead and subsequently deified emperors crystallised in a singular form, in accordance with the singular Apollon Hylates.²⁶ Thus, we can relate Apollon Kaisar to *Sebastoi*, a term applied to a collective deity identified with the successive emperors, in that both served to blur the distinction between the dead and subsequently deified emperors and the living one, and also to avoid underlining the divine status of a specific emperor.²⁷ Even if we assume, with Mitford, the establishment of the cult of Apollon Kaisar in the Trajanic period, the inscriptions would have evoked diverse implications according to the time and situation in which they were considered. Proposing this ambiguity of Apollon Kaisar, we can now understand the reason why Trajan, the *proconsules* and the city of Kourion did not feel uneasy when dedicating the build-

24 Mitford 1990, 2184 has argued that the ‘North-West building’ of the sanctuary of Apollon, a temple-shaped building with its *cella* bisected longitudinally by a wall, housed the joint worship of Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaisar. However, there is no tangible evidence for this identification. See also Kantiréa 2010, 271. Archaeologists have offered various ideas for the purpose of the ‘North-West building’, e.g. a cult-banquet room, an accommodation facility for visitors or a display room for dedications. For the ‘North-West building’, see Scranton 1967, 38–44, 66–71.

25 *I.Kourion* no. 108.

26 Cf. Kantiréa 2008, 101–102.

27 For the use of *Sebastoi* as a way of avoiding ‘the bluntness of direct sacrifice to the emperor himself’, see Price 1984a, 215–16. For the *Sebastoi* on Cyprus in more detail, see chapter 1 of the present study.

ings to the deity, alongside Apollon Hylates – what was on their mind was probably a series of deified Roman emperors. The five dedications translated above, on the other hand, may need another explanation. Without exact date-information, it remains impossible to put them into a specific historical context; they may have been set up during or after the reign of Trajan, or even before. The ordinary dedicators, who surely had little chance of knowing the precise background of the cult of Apollon Kaiser, would have referred to the deity with a quite different mentality than that of the emperor, the *proconsules* and the city, a mentality which in most cases escapes us. In any case, we must take into consideration the variety of interpretations of Apollon Kaiser in the five dedications, admitting that these more or less point to the emperor(s) as (a) temple-sharing god(s) of Apollon Hylates in Kourion.²⁸

The cult of Apollon Kaiser, despite the ambiguity in his identity, casts doubt on the view that living and dead Roman emperors were never regarded as personal gods who received sacrifices and votive offerings in return for the fulfilment of vows.²⁹ As far as the aforementioned inscriptions are concerned, we cannot find any reason to reject the fact that votive offerings were dedicated to Apollon Kaiser. The deity, along with the main deity Apollon Hylates, received the jar, the vase, and the other ex-votos, though it remains unclear what kind of vows the dedicators had made.³⁰ It is unreasonably cautious in the present context to distinguish between the dative of honour for the emperor and the votive dative of the deity in the inscriptions.³¹ The dedicators encountered no obstacle to offering the

- 28 We may also identify Apollon Kaiser with Augustus, who was possibly associated with Apollon in Athens. See Nulton 2003 [*EBGR* 2004, no. 200]. One might also argue that the epithet Kaiser in Kourion was not intended to signify any emperor, but belonged to divine epithets denoting the sovereign status of the god, such as *kyrios* and *basileus* (for the epithets of this kind found in Asia Minor, see Belayche 2006), or that Apollon Kaiser was a Greek translation of Apollo Caesaris, i.e. Apollo the protector of the emperor (Kantiréa 2010, 271–72). For a further reservation concerning the epithet Kaiser, see Buraselis 2004, 166: the deity Herakles Diomedonteios attested on Kos testifies to the establishment of his cult by a certain Diomedon, certainly not the cultic assimilation of Herakles and this Diomedon (*IG* 12. 4. 1, no. 348). For epithets which stem from the names of mortal individuals, see Wallensten 2008.
- 29 Nock 1972a; Fishwick 1990. Nock 1934, 481 made the clearest reference to this view: ‘Countless as are dedications and acts of devotion to deified rulers, it is yet clear that they are all of the nature of homage and not of worship in the full sense, for worship implies the expectation of blessing to be mediated in a supernatural way. The touchstone of piety in antiquity is the votive offering, made in recognition of supposed deliverance in some invisible manner from sickness or other peril. This we do not find directed to rulers dead or living.’
- 30 Prayers to (or for) emperors can also provide evidence for this argument: e.g. a board of priests of Theos Sebastos performed a prayer to (or for) the emperor. See Varinlioglu 2003, 401–402, no. 31B [*EBGR* 2004, no. 292].
- 31 Nock 1972a, 239–42; Fishwick 1990, 123–27. An emperor with the dative and a god with the dative in dedications and sacrifice inscriptions frequently have different functions: the donor dedicated a votive offering, or sacrificed, to the god on behalf of the emperor, i.e. the emperor was not seen as a god receiving the offering. This is probably the case in **Soloi no. 3** in which Aphrodite and Antoninus Pius appear with the dative case, and perhaps in **Kition no. 1** re-

ex-votos to Apollon Kaisar due to his ambiguity, a mixture of the mortal(s) and the *theos synnaos* of Apollon Hylates – they only felt obliged to refer to Apollon Kaisar after Apollon Hylates, i.e. to place the former in a position of lower religious status.³²

The identity of an imperial deity assimilated with a local god is sometimes clearer. Livia, wife of Augustus, was probably related to Aphrodite in the goddess' sanctuary in Paphos (see chapter 1). Augustus also seems to have been venerated as Zeus Kaisar in the temple of Zeus in Salamis;³³ palimpsest inscriptions **Salamis no. 3a** and **Salamis no. 3b**, inscribed on an altar-like stone which was found in a city gate of Famagusta, the major city near Salamis, refer to Augustus as Zeus Kaisar, though the relevant line is barely legible and the restoration proposed should remain conditional. An anonymous priest of Augustus, who set up this monument, also held the priesthood of Caius and Lucius Caesar and of Tiberius and Germanicus successively, in accordance with the change in hereditary politics of Augustus. The veneration of the Roman emperor associated with that of Salaminian Zeus was, however, ephemeral. Although it has been argued that the temple of Zeus in Salamis housed the cults of the succeeding emperors,³⁴ evidence proposed for this idea needs reconsideration. First, regarding the portrait of Germanicus, Claudius or Nero Drusus, set up in or around the temple of Zeus,³⁵ it remains equivocal whether or not it functioned as a cult image. As we have seen in chapter 2, a mere statue of the emperor is not enough to attest his cult. Second, the possible dedication to Tiberius is so fragmentary that we cannot infer its context.³⁶ Third, the statue of Vespasian, on the other hand, may have related to the cult of the emperor;³⁷ for the donors of the statue include Diodoros son of Diodoros, *archiereus* of Sebastos Kaisar, alongside Salaminian *gymnasiarchoi*. The inscription, which seems to have celebrated the new order created by Vespasian, can probably be dated to the early years of the emperor,³⁸ and thus Sebastos Kaisar appears to designate the ruling emperor Vespasian. Therefore, this inscription, at least, attests the existence of a priesthood for the emperor during his lifetime. It is nevertheless another question whether his statue, set up in or around the temple of Zeus, was a cultic statue of the emperor as a *theos synnaos* or a statue of

cording the dedication of porticos to Zeus Keraunios and Aphrodite along with Augustus, the city, the people and the Concord.

- 32 Price 1984a, 215–20, dealing with sacrifices to (and on behalf of) the emperors, is suggestive here: 'the offering of such sacrifices remained a troublesome activity because of the failure to create a clear intermediate category for the emperor between human and divine' in the Greek world. Due to this ambiguity of imperial status, at the same time, the way to the offering of sacrifices and ex-votos to the emperor was not completely closed off.
- 33 Mitford 1974, 112–13. Augustus as Zeus Kaisar is not unknown elsewhere, e.g. in Mytilene (*IG* 12. 2, no. 206 and no. 656).
- 34 Yon 1980, 92–93; Yon 2009.
- 35 Lahusen and Formigli 2001, no. 80.
- 36 **Salamis no. 5.**
- 37 **Salamis no. 10.**
- 38 Roesch 1971; *Salamine de Chypre* no. 138; Mitford 1990, 2198. See also chapter 1 of the present study.

the emperor dedicated to Zeus, the latter seeming to be plausible, because of the use of the accusative case for Vespasian in the inscription. Fourth, the honorific inscription of Herakleides son of Hyllos, a Salaminian who served as *archiereus* for life of Zeus Olympios and the *Sebastoi*,³⁹ also requires careful enquiry – we cannot conclude from this that the emperors were the *theoi synnaoi* of Zeus of Salamis. Arthur Nock has demonstrated that a priestly title qualified by plural deities, such as ‘priest of Zeus and the emperor’, could express a joint cult in some cases, but that in most cases they only signified a combination or succession of different priestly offices:⁴⁰ one person, at the same time or successively, held the cult offices of several deities that were not *theoi synnaoi*, particularly when there was a limited number of wealthy individuals who were willing to take the expensive liturgy. Thus, our inscription only attests that Herakleides was *archiereus* for life of Zeus and of the *Sebastoi*, but does not necessarily demonstrate temple sharing or a cultic combination of Zeus and the *Sebastoi*. What we can deduce with certainty from the available evidence from Salamis, therefore, is that Augustus may have retained the status of *theos synnaos* in the temple of Zeus and that the succeeding emperors were not necessarily related to the patron god of the city, even though the Salaminians conferred divine status on them.⁴¹

In other sanctuaries on the island, we face a paucity of evidence of the emperor as an independent deity or as a *theos synnaos*. There are, in fact, a fair quantity of inscriptions in which the emperor is mentioned with the dative case, some of which the present study has included in the statue base inscriptions according to the criteria established in the preceding chapter; others of which are, on the other hand, difficult to place in exact contexts: they may have been statue base inscriptions, inscriptions commemorating a construction set up in honour of the emperor, or inscriptions of cultic dedications to the emperor as god. It would be fruitless to enquire in detail into most of these inscriptions, given their fragmentary condition.

39 **Salamis no. 6.**

40 Nock 1972a, 232–33. One of the examples for this argument is an honorific inscription from Roman Lakonia, *IG* 5. 1, no 497, l. 11–20.

41 Two other inscriptions, allegedly found in or around the temple of Zeus in Salamis, may be worth mentioning here. **Salamis no. 8**, dated to 60/61 CE, refers to Nero with the dative as *to idio theo kai soteri*. This inscription is therefore one of the examples of seeing an emperor as god in his lifetime. With its fragmentary condition, it is difficult to know whether the inscription concerns a statue, dedication or building, or who donated this monument. The epithets of Nero, *to idio theo kai soteri*, may tempt us to relate the inscription to a private cult of the emperor. In any case, what **Salamis no. 8** can demonstrate is that Nero had a certain type of cult during his lifetime, but the provenance of the inscription is not enough to argue for the temple sharing of Zeus and Nero. **Salamis no. 18** attests a dedication to Hadrian by the city of Salamis, though, again, the fragmentary condition does not permit us to go further.

3.2. GYMNASIA

The *gymnasion*, which had been the centre of athletic, military and intellectual education for future citizens in the classical Greek world, continued to occupy a central position as ‘the second *agora*’ in the civic life of the Hellenistic and Roman periods, with some changes to its members, aims and activities. One of the most important features that characterised the *gymnasion* after the Classical period was that it was increasingly used for the cults of deities (e.g. Hermes and Herakles as *hoi kata palaistran theoi* or *kathidrymenoi en toi gymnasioi theoi*), and for the cults of local elites and rulers, the last of which draws our particular attention in the present context.⁴² The ruler cult in the Hellenistic *gymnasion* found its expression in cult statues of the ruler, *agones* and festivals held for the veneration of the king, and sacrifices dedicated to him, all of which would have been a consequence of any benevolence the ruler showed towards the *gymnasion*, e.g. the foundation and restoration of the *gymnasion* or financial assistance for its festivals. A remark of Sophia Aneziri and Dimitris Damaskos neatly illustrates the ruler cult in the Hellenistic *gymnasion*: ‘Das Gymnasion [...] lehrte die zukünftigen Bürger (Epheben) den städtischen Wohltätern gegenüber dankbar zu sein und diese Dankbarkeit auch zu zeigen. [...] Der Herrscherkult im Gymnasion sowie die Teilnahme des Gymnasiums am städtischen Herrscherkult sind darüber hinaus ein deutliches Zeichen für die Mechanismen, durch die die Herrscher in die städtische Welt und ihr Wertsystem integriert wurden’.⁴³ Broadly following their conclusion, the present section aims to clarify the religious position held by the emperor in the *gymnasion* in Roman Cyprus, paying particular attention to the imperial cult and other types of imperial representation.

Gymnasia have been archaeologically and epigraphically attested in many cities in Roman Cyprus, including Karpasia, Keryneia, Kition, Kourion, Kythroi, Lapethos, Salamis and Paphos. The epigraphic evidence also testifies to *gymnasiarchoi* and other officials who administrated these *gymnasia*, though we are more or less in the dark as to what tasks they performed.⁴⁴ Some inscriptions, nevertheless, shed light on their cultic activities, which include the veneration of the Roman emperor as one of the most important cult practices in the *gymnasia*, just as in Hellenistic Cyprus.⁴⁵ An inscription from Lapethos on the northern coast of the island is particularly important in this respect (**Lapethos no. 2**): a temple and a

42 For cults practised in the Hellenistic *gymnasion*, including the ruler cult, see most recently Aneziri and Damaskos 2007. For the ruler cult and the imperial cult in the Hellenistic and Roman *gymnasion*, see Habicht 1970, 143–44; Price 1984a, 110, 143–44.

43 Aneziri and Damaskos 2007, 266–67.

44 For the *gymnasia* and *gymnasiarchoi* in Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus, see Mitford 1980a, 1365; Kolb 2003; Chatzivassiliou 2004, 67–79.

45 For the ruler cult in the *gymnasia* of Ptolemaic Cyprus, see, e.g. Mitford 1937, 33–34, no. 8. This inscription from Kythroi (dedication or statue base) refers to Ptolemy VI and Kleopatra, Hermes, and Herakles with the dative, which testifies to the existence of a *gymnasion* in Kythroi and also to the combination of their cults in it. The members of the *gymnasion* of Kition also set up the statue of Ptolemy III (*I.Kition* no. 2014). See also Pfeiffer 2008, 74–75.

statue of Tiberius were set up in the *gymnasion* of the city, on the birthday of the emperor in his sixteenth year, namely the sixteenth of November, 29 CE, by Adrastus, son of Adrastus, as hereditary priest of the temple and the statue of Tiberius in the *gymnasion*, who also served as *gymnasiarchos* and priest of the gods in the *gymnasion*. Thus, this remarkable evidence attests not only the existence of the cultic statue and temple of Tiberius in the *gymnasion*,⁴⁶ but also a considerable degree of integration of the imperial cult into gymnasial contexts.

Such unreserved worship of the emperor as that of Tiberius in Lapethos is difficult to find in other locations, such as sacred sites or public places. What makes the imperial worship in Lapethos remarkable is, first, its familial character. The *gymnasiarchos* of Lapethos, Adrastus, performed the dedication with his own son, also named Adrastus, who himself held the office of *gymnasiarchos* of the children (*gymnasiarchos ton paidon*).⁴⁷ The title of Adrastus the father, hereditary priest (*ho engenikos hierews*) of the temple and the statue of Tiberius in the *gymnasion*, also implies the succession of this office through his family and its prestigious status in the worship of the emperor, an important part of the gymnasial administration.⁴⁸ In general, the office of *gymnasiarchos* in cities of the Roman East cost the holder a great deal for various reasons, e.g. providing oil, sponsoring *agones* and festivals, and preparing common meals and sacrifices dedicated to deities. For this reason, few candidates dared to hold the office, so that the office tended to pass among a small group of affluent families.⁴⁹ The cult of Tiberius in Lapethos can also be understood as part of the familial administration of the *gymnasion*. Tiberius was a god venerated specifically within the family of Adrastus, not a deity worshipped on the civic level outside of the *gymnasion* – the inscription calls the emperor *ho autou theos*, i.e. the god of Adrastus who set up the temple and statue of Tiberius at his own expense (*hypo autou ek tou idiou*) with his own son Adrastus (*ho hyios autou Adrastos*). The repetition of the self-asserting

46 **Salamis no. 11**, the statue base inscription for Sulpicius Pankles, also attests imperial statues set up in the *gymnasion*, which were probably gilded. For golden statues of emperors, see Price 1984a, 186–87.

47 *Paidēs* generally denote the age group of the young up to eighteen years of age. For age groups in the *gymnasia*, see Dreyer 2007.

48 Another Adrastus, son of Adrastus, is known as the donor of a statue of Trajan (**Lapethos no. 3**). Although this Adrastus is not *gymnasiarchos*, he may be a descendant of Adrastus, priest of Tiberius. Of course, families other than the *Adrastoi* could enter the offices of the *gymnasion* in Lapethos: Mitford 1950, 24–25, no. 12 demonstrates that fifty-one *epheboi* erected a stele when Orontes, son of Orontes, served as *gymnasiarchos* and Sotas, son of Asklepiades, as *ephebarchos*.

49 Quaß 1993, 317–23. What interests us most here is the phenomenon that children held the office of *gymnasiarchos*, one of the most remarkable examples of which comes from Epidaurus (*IG* 4². 1, no. 652 and no. 653): Cnaeus Cornelius Pulcher was only four years old when he was honoured as having served as *gymnasiarchos*. His father, Cnaeus Cornelius Nikatas, who served as priest of the imperial cult and *agonothetes*, would have financed the office of his son. Although our evidence from Lapethos has no mention of the age of Adrastus the son, his title, *gymnasiarchos* of the children, points to the age of adolescence. See also Kleijwegt 1991, 250–51.

expressions seems to have arisen not only in an attempt on the part of Adrastos to parade the prestige of his family, but also due to the very fact that the cult of Tiberius was his familial responsibility. In saying this, I do not intend to deny the possibility that all members of the *gymnasion* were involved in the imperial cult; rather, the consecration performed on Tiberius' birthday must have included a ceremony in which the whole *gymnasion* participated. Nevertheless, the overall picture seems to be clear: the family of Adrastos exclusively administered the cult of Tiberius inside the *gymnasion*, where the leading positions were also occupied by the same family.

The second point proposed by the inscription from Lapethos is a relationship between the cults of Tiberius and of the gymnasial gods. Since Adrastos also served as *hiereus ton en gymnasioi theon*, it is evident that the *gymnasion* housed the cult of the gymnasial gods, certainly that of Hermes and Herakles. Without reliable archaeological evidence, the physical disposition of the cult of Tiberius and that of the gymnasial gods remains unclear; a topographical arrangement of their statues and shrines, for example, would help reconstruct how they related to each other, and what positions they occupied in the religious framework of the *gymnasion*. In this respect, the *gymnasion* of Pergamon draws our attention. It has been generally agreed that a small room on the north side of the middle terrace of the *gymnasion* of Pergamon accommodated the cult of the *Sebastoi* along with that of Hermes and Herakles.⁵⁰ In this case a close connection between the cults of the emperors and of the gymnasial gods may be confirmed. However, the *gymnasion* of Pergamon is an exception; it remains difficult to reconstruct the spatial arrangement of the cult of the gymnasial gods and the imperial cult in most *gymnasia* in the Roman East,⁵¹ which is the case in the *gymnasion* of Lapethos as well. Our inscription of Adrastos, nevertheless, seems to imply that the cults of the gymnasial gods and of the emperor were regarded as separate in the *gymnasion*. Adrastos held the two separate offices of *hiereus ton en gymnasioi theon* and *engenikos hiereus* of the temple and the statue of Tiberius – the concentration of the two priestly offices in one person does not always mean their assimilation.⁵² In terms of the character of the cults, the cult of Tiberius, performed primarily by the family of Adrastos, may have contrasted with that of the gymnasial gods, which had probably been maintained by the *gymnasia* as a whole since the Hellenistic period.

50 Ohlmutz 1968, 235–36; Tuchelt 1981, 177; Price 1984a, 144. An inscription found there (Schröder, Schrader and Kolbe 1904, 167–68, no. 8) refers to a *bema* dedicated to the *Theoi Sebastoi*, Hermes and Herakles. It seems that the *bema* carried statues of these deities. For the topography of the room concerned, see Dörpfeld 1904, Tafel VIII, no. 57.

51 Price 1984a, 143–44. Some *gymnasia* have been thought to accommodate shrines for the imperial cult, e.g. in Priene (Schede 1964, 81) and Kyrene (Tuchelt 1981, 176–77), and to house small imperial altars, e.g. in Pergamon (Hepding 1907, 309–10, no. 29) and in Thera (IG 12. 3, no. 471). Even in these cases, however, the exact relationship between the imperial cult and other cultic activities remains unclear.

52 Nock 1972a, 232–33.

Some other inscriptions from Cyprus testify to *gymnasiarchoi* who set up an imperial statue,⁵³ dedicated an altar to the emperor,⁵⁴ and so on. However, as Aneziri and Damaskos have cautiously noted, inscriptions erected by *gymnasiarchoi*, theoretically speaking, have nothing to do with the administration of *gymnasia*. Leading citizens, whose wealth made them able to serve as *gymnasiarchoi*, accordingly undertook other dedications, building activities and other types of euergetism outside of the *gymnasia*.⁵⁵ Therefore, it may be inappropriate to deal with inscriptions concerning the activities of *gymnasiarchoi* here, if their provenances are not attested to be *gymnasia*. It is nevertheless worth remembering that *gymnasiarchoi* and those closely connected with the *gymnasion* presided over festivals honouring the emperor. Caius Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus, belonging to a prominent family of Paphos, provided olive oil at his own expense for the *Neroneia* as *gymnasiarchos*.⁵⁶ The games *Neroneia*, honouring the emperor Nero, are attested all over the Empire (see chapter 7 in more detail). Offering oil for athletic activities held in the *gymnasion* constituted one of the most important duties of the *gymnasiarchos*; this inscription suggests that the liturgy expected of the *gymnasiarchos* also came to cover part of the costs of the games held in honour of the emperor.

Another piece of evidence, **Keryneia no. 1**, needs more careful examination. Although its first lines are fragmentary, the remaining part relatively clearly refers to the deeds of a certain person who had a close connection with the *gymnasion*, certainly as *gymnasiarchos*. He carefully guarded the decency of the *gymnasion*, and offered a sacrifice (*thysia*) to *theos* Augustus Caesar probably on local *agones* (*Epinikia*) performed in the city on the occasion of the Actian Games, which commemorated the first emperor's victory over Antony and were held during his lifetime in the area of Actium.⁵⁷ Athletic and horse games may have preceded this sacrifice (and other rituals). What interests us most in the present context is the

53 **Salamis no. 10.**

54 **Salamis no. 3a** and **Salamis no. 3b.**

55 Aneziri and Damaskos 2007, 248.

56 **Paphos Nova no. 1.**

57 Mitford 1980a, 1326 (who, however, ascribes the inscription to Lapethos) has regarded the *Epinikia* here as the 'Actaeon Games'. The Actaeon Games or Actian Games were first celebrated, probably in 27 BCE, at Nikopolis in the area of Actium in honour of Octavian's victory over Antony, and festivals named after the games in Actium later spread throughout the East. For the Actian Games, see recently Gurval 1995, 74–81. For *Epinikia* as 'games in honour of imperial victory' in general, see *SEG* 41, no. 1523 from Syria, which refers to the games in commemoration of Severus' victory over Pescennius Niger. Although there is no direct mention of the *Actia* in **Keryneia no. 1**, Mitford's assumption still seems to be plausible. The inhabitants of Keryneia would have performed their own local festivities (in 27 BCE or more probably later) in imitation of the Actian Games held at Nikopolis. *AKel* 4, 2, 134, furthermore, has proposed that the *Epinikia*, probably *pentaeterikoi*, took place in 27 BCE, five years after the Actian War in 31 BCE, pointing to two other inscriptions from Cyprus related to *pentaeterikoi* games (**Kition no. 6** and **Paphos Vetust no. 9**). However, it is uncertain whether all the three inscriptions point to the same *pentaeterikoi* games. For festivals on the island, see chapter 7 of the present study.

sacrifice to Augustus. The term *thysia* was reserved for sacrifices to the Olympian deities, while *enagismata* meant those dedicated as part of heroic cults.⁵⁸ Sacrifice to the emperor, however, poses the same question as the one we discussed regarding the dedications in the Apollon sanctuary in Kourion, i.e. differences between sacrifices to the emperor and those on behalf of the emperor. The former case evokes the implication that the emperor was seen as god.⁵⁹ Therefore, some emperors rejected sacrifices proposed to them, as the sign of divine cult that was thought impermissible for mortal.⁶⁰ The latter type of sacrifice took place more frequently.⁶¹ a well-known inscription from Gytheion near Sparta reports a *lex sacra* regulating honours given to Augustus, Livia, the ruling emperor Tiberius and several princes, which were composed of setting up their statues, burning incense, festivals, a procession, sacrifices made for them, and a common banquet thereafter.⁶² The sacrifices, whose ceremonies were performed in the theatre and the *kaisareion*, were not aimed directly at the imperial family members, but were offered on behalf of their safety and the eternal duration of their rule. Although the sacrifices without doubt formed part of the divine honours given to Augustus at least,⁶³ the Gytheates apparently avoided direct sacrifices to imperial family members that would have resulted in an uncomfortable equilibrium between gods and mortals. Several methods were employed to avoid the uneasiness of direct sacrifices towards the emperor, including the use of the preposition *hyper*, blurring the recipients of sacrifices by not mentioning a specific emperor, but rather *Sebastoi*,⁶⁴ and sober but careful distinction between sacrificial animals for gods and those offered for the emperor.⁶⁵

58 Price 1980; Price 1984a, 209.

59 Price 1984a, 210. Sacrificing to a man was seen as equivalent to regarding him as god in literary evidence, e.g. Plut. *Lys.* 18; Cass. Dio 44. 51. 1; SHA *Comm.* 9. 2. Cf. Friesen 1993, 150; Kajava 2011.

60 E.g. Cass. Dio 59. 4. 4 (Caligula); 60. 5. 4 (Claudius). Epigraphic evidence, however, attests sacrifices offered to living emperors: e.g. *GIBM* 4, no. 892 (Halikarnassos; Augustus and Tiberius or Caius Caesar?); *SEG* 32, no. 1243 (Kyme; Augustus, Caius and Lucius Caesar). On the attitudes of the emperors towards the imperial cult in general, see chapter 5 of the present study.

61 Price 1984a, 210–16.

62 *SEG* 11, no. 922 and no. 923.

63 *SEG* 11, no. 922, l. 16, the reply of Tiberius to Gytheion, makes clear that all the offers of the city would lead to the veneration of his father Augustus and honour to the other imperial family members including Tiberius.

64 Here, it will suffice to mention one example: a sacred law of Pergamon (*IGR* 4, no. 353) regulated that the holder of the office *eukosmos* offer a sacrificial cake, incense and lamps to *Sebastoi*. See Chaniotis 2003a, 10. For more examples, see Price 1984a, 216, n. 48. On *Sebastoi* in votive offerings to the emperors, see above in the present chapter.

65 An inscription from Mytilene (*IG* 12. 2, no. 58=Herrmann 1985 [*SEG* 35, no. 907]) offers remarkable evidence for the distinction between sacrificial animals for deities and those for the emperor. See Price 1984a, 217–19. A late Hellenistic inscription from Bargylia in Karia also sheds light on the careful preparation and selection of sacrificial animals (*SEG* 45, no. 1508). See Zimmermann 2000; Chaniotis 2003a, 10, n. 31.

As for the sacrifice mentioned in **Keryneia no. 1**, there is no reason to doubt that it was dedicated to Augustus. Augustus with the dative case and the occasion of the sacrifice, i.e. the local *Epinikia*, support the idea that the sacrifice was directed to the emperor and to no one else. Of course, we cannot exclude the possibility that the donor sacrificed to a deity not mentioned in the inscription: sacrifices tended to be offered to deities one could easily infer from the locations of their inscriptions, which in most cases had no mention of the deities.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, it seems a reasonable assumption that Augustus was seen as (at least) one of the deities who enjoyed the sacrifice mentioned in the inscription.⁶⁷ The athletic and horse games also mentioned there would have been an integral part of the sacrifice, though it remains unclear how far they were embedded in the sacrificial ceremony. Another important piece of information that escapes us concerns the question of whether the festival comprising the *agones* and the sacrifice, (probably) supervised by the *gymnasiarchos*, was confined to the *gymnasion*, or if they related to the wider population of the city.

3.3. THEATRES

The Australian excavation team working in Paphos Nova discovered an inscription in 2002 at the ancient theatre of the city. This inscription, together with another inscription found at the beginning of the twentieth century, forms a text as follows:

Paphos Nova no. 3: To [god Zeus] Kapitolios and Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius [Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius] and his son Marcus Aurelius [Antoninus Caesar]. *Sebaste Claudia Flavia* Paphos, the sacred *metropolis* of the Cypriot [cities], constructed [the *proskenion*], the statues and the staircases [at its own expense], because of their benefactions?

The inscription attests the dedications by the city of Paphos of statues and part of the theatre building to Zeus Kapitolios and to the Antonine emperors. It is carved on a massive marble architrave that probably belonged to the façade of the *proskenion* of the theatre, which was founded around the later part of the fourth century BCE and was substantially reconstructed during the age of the Antonines.⁶⁸ The inscription demonstrates that the reconstruction during the Antonine period also concerned the *anodoi*, probably denoting approaches to the *orchestra*, i.e. *parodoi*. Another dedication, the statues of Zeus and the Antonines, may have been inserted into the *proskenion*,⁶⁹ though there is no tangible evidence

66 Price 1984a, 215; Kajava 2011. For the same tendency in votive offerings dedicated to uninscribed deities in honour of the emperors, see Fishwick 1990.

67 This may be reminiscent of the practice of sacrificing to the ruler in Hellenistic Cyprus. For a possible sacrifice to the Ptolemies, see Cooke 1903, 82–88, no. 29 (in Phoenician).

68 On the theatre of Paphos Nova, see Green and Stennett 2002; Green, Barker et al. 2004. The reconstruction under the Antonines probably included the construction of a new *orchestra* and a marble-fronted stage-building.

69 ICA 42 (in *RDAC* 2003), 307.

for this assumption.⁷⁰ Zeus Kapitolios, one of the deities who received the dedications, is the Greek form of Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, worshipped on the Roman Capitol.⁷¹ Inscriptions and papyri from the East, though not many, attest the deity as Kapitolios or Kapetolios.⁷² Some communities introduced the cult of Zeus Kapitolios probably because of their close ties with Rome and their attempt to demonstrate them in public: for example, the reason Ptolemais Euergetis in the Egyptian Fayum founded a temple of Zeus Kapitolios, at the beginning of the third century CE, would have been Caracalla's grant of Roman citizenship over the Empire in 212 CE.⁷³ Although this *do ut des* model does not always apply to the Roman imperial cult (see chapter 5), our inscription from Paphos Nova also points to the privileges the city enjoyed in terms of its relationship with the Empire. The titles of Paphos, i.e. *Sebaste*, *Claudia*, *Flavia* and the sacred *metropolis*, may have been granted directly by the emperors or by the Roman authorities.⁷⁴ This is probably because the city, with its famous sanctuary of Aphrodite, was the provincial capital where the Roman governors resided. Given the lack of further clear evidence, it remains uncertain when and how the cult of Zeus Kapitolios was introduced into Paphos – nonetheless, one can reasonably regard the high political and religious status of Paphos, and therefore its importance in the Roman administration on the island, as the backdrop to the veneration of Zeus Kapitolios.

A more significant, but at the same time more complex, issue raised by the inscription is the religious status of the Antonine emperors and their cult in the theatre. An imperial cult in theatres in the East is not unknown: e.g. Gytheion in Lakonia held the festivals in honour and worship of the Julio-Claudian family members, which included the setting up of their statues and sacrifice for them in the city's theatre.⁷⁵ Further, the Ephesian procession founded by Salutaris at the beginning of the second century CE, also relevant to the honouring and worship of the emperor, included the theatre of the city as one of its checkpoints.⁷⁶ Although the inscription from Paphos Nova does not offer as much information as these examples, it still implies the cultic status of the Antonine emperors in the theatre. As seen above, the dative case of the Antonines cannot itself testify to the worship of the emperors; however, the *agalmata*, whose plural form suggests that the statues here concern not only one of Zeus Kapitolios, but also two of the Antonines, usually signify cultic statues (see chapter 2), which hints at the divine status of the emperors. Even so, one should not dismiss the order of the deities: Zeus Kapitolios comes first, followed by the Antonines. The inscription publicly describes

70 Cf. Green and Stennett 2002, 179–83.

71 Beard, North and Price 1998, 362–63.

72 For evidence for the cult of Zeus Kapitolios in the East, see *SEG* 52, no. 1707.

73 *BGU* no. 362. See Bowman 1990, 179; Beard, North and Price 1998, 362–63.

74 We are well informed as to the title *Sebaste*: Cass. Dio 54. 23. 7 relates that Augustus, in 15 BCE, allowed Paphos to call itself *Augusta* (i.e. *Sebaste*) after the city had suffered heavily from an earthquake, and he gave money for its restoration.

75 *SEG* 11, no. 922 and no. 923. A *mystikos* game was held in honour of Dionysos and Hadrian in the theatre at Ankyra (*IGR* 3, no. 209). See Mitchell 1993, 219–20.

76 Rogers 1991, 196–97.

this order to theatre audiences, a microcosm of civic society. The Antonine emperors enjoyed some kind of divine status, but in a secondary position below Zeus Kapitolios.

The topographical disposition of the statues and shrines of Zeus Kapitolios and the Antonine emperors, which would provide us with a further clue as to their relationship in religious terms, escapes us entirely. The theatre of Salamis sheds some light on this point – here, statues seem to have been placed in different locations of the theatre according to the ‘amount of honour’ of the personality each statue represents. According to Jane Fejfer, the stage-building of the theatre, *scaenae frons*, appears exclusively to have accommodated portrait statuary of Greek deities (Dionysos and Apollon with the Muses) and Roman emperors, while statue base inscriptions for emperors and Salaminian dignities, especially those of Sulpicius Pankles (the founder of the theatre) and his family members, were placed throughout the theatre including the *cavea* zone.⁷⁷ Although the statuary monuments inserted in the stage-building may not have been used for cultic purposes, it seems clear at least that the most conspicuous place in the theatre, most visible to spectators, was reserved for the most highly honoured, i.e. for gods and emperors.

3.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has examined the religious status of the emperor in the three locations of the civic landscape, i.e. sacred sites, *gymnasia*, and theatres. The fact that there was a relatively large number of inscriptions in these locations indicates the ubiquitous presence of the emperor in the civic life of Cyprus. However, this does not always mean that he received cultic veneration – the religious status of the emperor was not stable and rigid, but depended on the context in which the Cypriots placed him. The position of the emperor was determined by several parameters such as epithets conferred on him, the status of the donors of dedications and, most importantly, his relationship with other deities. The cult of the emperor found its expression within the framework of traditional cults, in which the religious hierarchy in most cases favoured traditional deities. The model of traditional cults was employed for imperial rituals, e.g. sacrifice to the emperor. In terms of physical transformation of the city brought about by the imperial cult, a few conspicuous monuments – e.g. the sanctuary of Aphrodite and Titus in Amathous and the theatre building dedicated to Zeus Kapitolios and the Antonine emperors in Paphos Nova – may have left clear marks on the civic landscape, while most other

⁷⁷ Fejfer 2003, 18; Fejfer 2006, 90–95. The debris below the later constructions in the *proskeniion* of the theatre has been thought to preserve statuary decorations of the multi-storeyed *scaenae frons*, destroyed by earthquakes in the early fourth century CE. Portrait statuary found there includes amongst others: cuirassed statues of emperors (Karageorghis 1964, no. 48; no. 49; no. 50); statues of Apollon (Karageorghis 1964, no. 51; no. 54); those of Mnemosyne and the Muses (Karageorghis 1964, no. 52; no. 53; no. 58); those of Dionysos (Karageorghis and Vermeule 1966, no. 73; no. 77). For a detailed study on statuary distribution in the theatre of Aphrodisias, see Smith 2006, 40–74.

dedications seem to have been more sober objects such as thanks offerings and altars, which rarely resulted in durable physical impact on the environment of Cyprus.

CHAPTER 4. A CYPRIOT OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO TIBERIUS

A white marble slab discovered in 1959 in the environs of Kouklia, the site of Paphos Vetus, bears an inscription which has been called ‘a Cypriot oath of allegiance to Tiberius’ (**Paphos Vetus no. 8**). The inscription is an excellent piece of evidence for the imperial cult on Cyprus, and its importance justifies a full citation here:

[By these deities---], our own Aphrodite Akraia, our own Kore, our own Apollon Hylates, our own Apollon of Keryneia, our own saviours, the Dioskouroi, Hestia, the joint patron of the council of the island, the common ancestral gods and goddesses of the island, and by the descendant of Aphrodite, namely the divine Augustus Caesar, the everlasting Roma and all other gods and goddesses, we ourselves and our descendants (swear to) submit to, to be obedient to both by land and sea, to be favourable to and to worship, Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of Augustus, with all his house. (Further, we swear) to have the same friend and the same enemy as theirs, and to propose a decree [---] with the other gods only for Roma, Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of Augustus, and the sons of his blood, and for no other at all.

This is the oath sworn by the Cypriots to the goddess Roma, and to Tiberius and his family at the accession of the emperor to the throne in 14 CE (for the background of the oath, see below). In this chapter, the oath and its text will be approached from the following four viewpoints: the textual structure of the oath; the *theoi horkioi*, i.e. the guarantor deities of the oath; the oath and the imperial cult; and the context of the oath. A comparison with other epigraphically attested oaths to emperors, especially Greek ones, is of particular importance here in order to illuminate specific and common features of the Cypriot oath.¹ The oaths compared to the one in Cyprus are those of Assos (Greek; Asia, 37 CE),² Miletos (Greek; Asia, period of Augustus),³ Mytilene (Greek; Asia, ca. 27 BCE),⁴ Phazimon-Neapolis (Greek; Paphlagonia/Galatia, 3 BCE),⁵ Samos (Greek; Asia, probably 6/5 BCE),⁶ Aritium (Latin; Lusitania, 37 CE),⁷ Conobaria (Latin; Baetica, 6/5 BCE),⁸

1 For these oaths, see generally Herrmann 1968; Herrmann 1985; Le Gall 1985; González 1988; Cancik 2003; Connolly 2007. For the Cypriot oath, see especially Mitford 1960; Weinstock 1962; Seibert 1970; Cayla 2001; *I.Paphos* no. 151.

2 *IGR* 4, no. 251=Herrmann 1968, 123, no. 3=*I.Assos* no. 26.

3 Herrmann 1985 [*SEG* 35, no. 1130].

4 *IG* 12. 2, no. 58. See also Herrmann 1985 [*SEG* 35, no. 907].

5 *IGR* 3, no. 137=Herrmann 1968, 123–24, no. 4.

6 Herrmann 1960, 70–84, nos. 1, 2, 3=Herrmann 1968, 125–26, no. 6.

7 *CIL* 2, no. 172=Herrmann 1968, 122, no. 1.

8 González 1988, 113.

and Sestinum (Latin; Umbria, date unknown),⁹ though these are in various states of preservation.

4.1. THE TEXTUAL STRUCTURE

The oath inscription from Cyprus consists of an enumeration of the *theoi horkioi* (ll. 1–10) and the main part of the oath (ll. 10–21), which is then structured by six infinitives: *hypakousesthai*; *peitharchesein*; *eunoesein*; *sebasesthai*; *hexein*; and *eisegesesthai*. Although the stone preserves the original top surface, it seems probable that a lost stone, matching up with the present stone, contained a preamble – the two Greek oaths that survive more or less intact, those of Assos and Phazimon-Neapolis, begin with references to Roman *consules* at the time of the oath (Assos) and to the date of the oath and its participants (Phazimon-Neapolis),¹⁰ which suggests that the Cypriot oath would also have contained a preamble explaining its context.¹¹ The lost part of the oath may also have included a finite verb, e.g. *omnyomen*,¹² to which the six infinitives are to be connected. The text is broken away below as well. The lost part probably contained a word which qualifies *psephisma*,¹³ so that the last infinitive construction, *eisegesesthai psephisma*, would make sense. The last section of the oath would also have made reference to retaliation in the case of inobservance of the oath, which is included in the oaths of Assos and Phazimon-Neapolis:¹⁴ ‘If I do anything contrary to this [oath...] I pray that there may come upon myself [...] total destruction [...]’.¹⁵

4.2. THE THEOI HORKIOI

The *theoi horkioi* of the Cypriot oath divide into two groups, i.e. Cypriot deities (ll. 1–7) and Roman deities (ll. 7–10). The former group consists of Aphrodite Akraia, Kore, Apollon Hylates, Apollon of Keryneia, Dioskouroi the saviours, Hestia (the joint patron of the council of the island), and the traditional common ancestral gods and goddesses of the island. The latter group consists of Augustus *theos* Caesar, the everlasting Roma, and all other gods and goddesses. Compared

9 CIL 11, no. 5998a=Herrmann 1968, 122, no. 2.

10 The Latin oaths of Aritium and of Conobaria also contain preambles.

11 Weinstock 1962, 309; Herrmann 1968, 102; Seibert 1970, 225.

12 Weinstock 1962, 309; Herrmann 1968, 102, n. 39; Seibert 1970, 225; *I.Paphos* no. 151.

13 This section of the oath is fragmentary. Weinstock 1962, 306 and Herrmann 1968, 124–5 have proposed the reading *psephis[es][thai]*, while Mitford 1960, 75 and Seibert 1970, 225 have suggested *psephis[a][s][thai]*. My reading, *psephis[ma]*, is close to that of Cayla (*I.Paphos* no. 151), *psephis[mat]a*. I would like to thank Dr Edouard Chiricat and Dr Charles Crowther for their valuable suggestions on this reading.

14 The Latin oath of Aritium also includes a clause concerning the observation of the oath.

15 *IGR* 3, no. 137=Herrmann 1968, 123–24, no. 4, ll. 26–33. The translation here is based on that of Sherk 1984, 136.

with the *theoi horkioi* of the other epigraphically attested oaths, which include Ge and Helios (conventional *theoi horkioi* in Greek oaths), Zeus and Iuppiter (Olympian deities), Augustus (Roman deity), and Athena and Apollon of local character,¹⁶ the list of the Cypriot *theoi horkioi* is remarkable for its variety, thoroughness and localism. The Cypriot *theoi horkioi* will be discussed below in two subsections according to the two different groups of deities.

The Cypriot deities

Scholars have attempted to explain the lack of ‘major’ deities in the list of Cypriot *theoi horkioi*, e.g. Ouranos, Helios, Ge and Zeus (deities by which the Greeks most frequently swore oaths), and Aphrodite of Paphos, Aphrodite of Amathous and Zeus of Salamis (three of the most esteemed deities on the island). Indeed, there are very few testimonies on the island to the deities mentioned in the oath, i.e. Aphrodite Akraia,¹⁷ Kore,¹⁸ Apollon Kerynetes,¹⁹ the Dioskouroi²⁰ and Hestia,²¹ except for Apollon Hylates who had a large sanctuary in Kourion.²² Terence

- 16 Zeus Soter, *Theos* Caesar Augustus and Chaste Parthenos (Assos); Apollon of Didyma and Augustus (Miletos); ancestral gods and Augustus (Mytilene); Zeus, Ge, Helios, all the gods and goddesses, and Augustus (Phazimon-Neapolis); Iuppiter Optimus Maximus, Divus Augustus and Di Immortales (Aritium).
- 17 Strabon 14. 6. 3 attests a *naos* of Aphrodite Akraia on Mount Olympos near Karpasia, which women were allegedly banned from entering and seeing. For this ban, see Chatziioannou 2000, 884. Hermary 1982, 164, assuming that the list of *theoi horkioi* should not have started with this ‘secondary’ deity, has argued that the Cypriots chose the epithet Akraia for Aphrodite as generally denoting ‘Aphrodite des hauteurs’ in order to avoid connecting the goddess with a specific city, e.g. Paphos or Amathous (cf. Mitford 1990, 2191). However, the *theoi horkioi* include Apollon of Keryneia, also a minor deity, and it seems probable that some deities preceded Aphrodite Akraia (see below in the text). Further, one inscription from the region of Karpasia (Mitford 1961a, 125–27, no. 26) that prescribes a dedication to Aphrodite Akraia demonstrates her considerable importance at least in this region of the island.
- 18 For Kore on Cyprus, see generally Chatziioannou 2000, 917–18. One inscription from Kourion (*I.Kourion* no. 26, dated to the late fourth century BCE), inscribed in the alphabetic and syllabic Greek, attests a dedication to Demeter and Kore; however, it is uncertain whether Kore in the oath, without any epithet, represents that of Kourion. For a possible chthonic character of the deity, see Hermary 1982, 164–67.
- 19 Otherwise unknown. Chatziioannou 2000, 903 has proposed that the epithet Kerynetes stems from *koryne*, the club, an attribute of Apollon. However, it seems more likely that Apollon Kerynetes denotes ‘Apollon of the city of Keryneia’. For the epithet, see below in the present chapter.
- 20 A fragmentary inscription of unknown provenance (Mitford 1946, 39–40, no. 15) refers to the Dioskouroi. For the Dioskouroi on the island, see generally Chatziioannou 2000, 920.
- 21 See below in the present chapter.
- 22 Apollon Hylates is also known to be worshipped in Classical Paphos Nova (in the second half of the fourth century BCE). See two syllabic Greek inscriptions Masson 1983, 96–99, no. 2 and no. 3. Apollon Hylates mentioned in the oath, however, can apparently be identified with the deity of Kourion, since there is no evidence for the cult of Apollon Hylates of Paphos Nova in the Roman period.

Mitford has tackled the issue by positing that the oath chose the five deities (except for Hestia) as the representatives of the regions of the island and that the major Cypriot deities were not mentioned because, in the Greek oath, '[t]o swear to an alien or to an alien city by one's own civic patron or patroness was clearly inappropriate'.²³ Both of his points, however, do not seem to hold: first, the division of the island into five districts is not attested for the imperial period or for the other periods,²⁴ and the lack of evidence makes it impossible to place two deities, the Dioskouroi and Kore, in specific locations of the island. Similarly, we cannot agree with his second point, since swearing to an alien city by one's civic patron or patroness was never inappropriate, but occurred frequently in the Greek world.²⁵ Jean-Baptiste Cayla, on the other hand, has underlined the 'Paphian' character of the oath: the possessive adjective *hemeteros*, which qualifies the five deities in the oath, did not denote 'of Cyprus', but rather 'of the city of Paphos', the city he considered to be the initiator of the oath.²⁶ His argument is primarily based on his new reading of the epithet of Apollon (l. 3), i.e. Kenyristes, not Kerynetes. Kinyras, the etymology of Kenyristes, was the legendary founder of the temple of Aphrodite in Paphos²⁷ and the eponym of the Kinyridai who governed the cult of the Paphian goddess.²⁸ However, the assertion of Cayla relies to an excessive degree on the fragile restoration of Kenyristes; the epithet is not known otherwise, let alone in connection with Apollon. Mitford's reading, Kerynetes ('of the city of Keryneia'), still seems to be the right one. Furthermore, we should understand *hemeteros* as signifying 'of Cyprus', not 'of the city of Paphos' – otherwise, *hemeteros* attached to Aphrodite Akraia and Apollon Hylates would not make sense, since the worship of the former was probably situated on the north-eastern edge of the island, and the worship of the latter centred on Kourion on the southern coast, both far from Paphos. Although it is still the case that the city of Paphos played a significant role in the imperial cult (see chapter 5 and chapter 6), this never means that the Paphians exclusively supervised the oath or formulated its clauses only in their interests.

I would, for my part, point to the possibility that the lost stone – which would have contained the preamble of the oath – also listed part of the *theoi horkioi* preceding Akraia Aphrodite, the first deity to which the existing part of the inscription refers. The wide variety and comprehensiveness of the existing *theoi horkioi*

23 Mitford 1960.

24 Cf. Mitford 1980a, 1294, n. 24; Potter 2000, 775–76, n. 41.

25 Chaniotis 1996, 68–76 shows that the *theoi horkioi* of the Cretan intercity treaties in the Hellenistic period included '[I]okale Gottheiten, deren Kult nur für einen Vertragspartner eine besondere Bedeutung hatte bzw. deren wichtigstes Heiligtum auf seinem Gebiet lag', along with deities of other categories. Chaste Parthenos of Assos, by whom Assos swore the oath to Caligula, belongs to this category (*I.Assos* no. 14). Cf. *SEG* 55, no. 985.

26 *I.Paphos* no. 151. See also Młynarczyk 1990, 145–46. Cayla abandoned his former interpretation, which had been developed in Cayla 2001, that *hemeteros* was intended to bestow an island-wide character on the oath, not confined to one specific city.

27 For Kinyras, see Baurain 1980.

28 Tac. *Hist.* 2. 3.

– including regional as well as more widely renowned deities – implies that the original list of the *theoi horkioi* may also have included other deities on the island, at least Aphrodite of Paphos, the most eminent deity in the Roman period, from whose sanctuary the inscription comes. Although this argument must remain a speculative one due to lack of evidence, the flaws in the ideas of Mitford and Cayla, who attempted to find selection criteria for the *theoi horkioi*, suggest that the present list is not a complete one. Assuming that there was a longer list of the *theoi horkioi*, we may reconstruct the structure of the inscription as follows: the inscription starts with the preamble containing the date and occasion of the oath, which is followed by the list of the *theoi horkioi*. The deities are partitioned into groups by blanks inserted into the text: the existing Cypriot *theoi horkioi* divide into five parts (see the Greek text in Appendix), i.e. a group of Aphrodite and Kore, one of the two Apollones, one of the Dioskouroi, one of Hestia and one of the other deities.²⁹ Aphrodite of Paphos and Aphrodite of Amathous would have belonged to the first group, and Zeus of Salamis and other deities such as Ouranos, Helios and Ge would – but need not – have formed other groups preceding the group of the Aphroditai and Kore.

Here, we are dealing with a ‘gradation’ of the deities. The list of the *theoi horkioi* opens with an enumeration of the major and minor deities of local communities and regions over Cyprus, then goes through the two groups of the ‘communal’ deities ‘of the island’, and finally reaches the Roman deities. The middle groups connecting the Cypriot local deities and the Roman deities,³⁰ Hestia in particular, draw our attention. Hestia Boulaia was a deity pertaining more to the political world of the Greek city than to the religious one.³¹ Hestia, traditionally located at the hearth of the city (frequently in the *bouleuterion* or in the *prytaneion*), functioned as its important political centre, which explains why the deity appeared as one of the *theoi horkioi* in many Greek oaths.³² The Cypriot oath to Tiberius is one such oath. What interests us most in the present context is whether or how Hestia (‘Hestia, the joint patron of the council of the island’) differed here from the civic Hestia possessed by each community on the island, from probably the Hellenistic period onwards.³³ I would propose that Hestia in the oath denotes that of the Cypriot *koinon*, possibly, but not necessarily, different from that of the

29 For the function of the blanks in the text, see Seibert 1970, 228–29.

30 The difference between the local and communal deities is underlined by the use of the possessive adjective *hemeteros*, the adjective *koinos* and the genitive *tes nesou* – the first qualifies the local deities scattered over Cyprus, the others the communal deities of the island. Cf. Weinstock 1962, 309.

31 For Hestia, see generally Süß 1913; Merkelbach 1980. For priests of Hestia in the Roman period, see Kajava 2004. Hamon 2006 has recently presented an excellent example for the cult of deities named Boulaia in the council of Kos in the Hellenistic period.

32 Hellenistic Crete, again, provides a remarkable case study (see Chaniotis 1996, 68–76), in which the deity Hestia is not lacking in the *theoi horkioi* lists of almost all intercity treaties.

33 Evidence for the civic Hestia on Cyprus is scarce. For Hestia in Hellenistic Kourion, see Michaelidou-Nicolaou 2007, 368–74, no. 3, which mentions Hestia as a location for the entertainment of citizens and visitors to the city. Cf. *I.Kourion* no. 34. See also Thonemann 2008 [SEG 57, no. 1745].

city of Paphos. The elaborate epithets accorded to Hestia seem to have been intended to underline its character as the patron of the Cypriot *koinon*. Evidence from other provinces attests that the institution of Hestia existed not only in the *poleis*, but also in other types of communities, e.g. federations and *koina*.³⁴ It remains unclear whether the civic Hestia of Paphos developed to the status of the communal Hestia of the Cypriot *koinon* by the age of Tiberius, or whether the two Hestiai existed separately in Paphos. The latter idea appears slightly preferable; for the civic Hestia of Paphos, we imagine, may have been situated in an official building of Paphos Nea, the political centre of the region of Paphos, while the communal Hestia of the *koinon* seems to have been placed anywhere on the site of the Aphrodite sanctuary of Paphos Vetus, the provenance of the oath inscription (for the location of the oath, see below).³⁵ In any case, Hestia and the other gods and goddesses of the island, as the deities of the Cypriot *koinon*, formed the transitional bridge between the local deities and the imperial deities in the Cypriot oath.

The Roman deities

The *theoi horkioi* from the Roman side are Augustus *theos* Caesar (represented as descendant of Aphrodite), the everlasting Roma, and all the other gods and goddesses. The first two of these warrant detailed discussion here.

Augustus also belongs to the *theoi horkioi* of the other three inscriptions of the imperial oath, i.e. those of Phazimon-Neapolis, Assos and Aritium. The religious status of Augustus differs in the four inscriptions (including that of Cyprus) according to the dates of the inscriptions. The oaths of Cyprus, Assos and Aritium, all of which were sworn after the death of the emperor, describe Augustus as *theos* and *divus*, while he appears without any title or epithet in the oath of Phazimon-Neapolis, sworn during his lifetime in 3 BCE. Further, this oath places the emperor at the extreme end of the list of the *theoi horkioi*.³⁶ The reigning emperors in the oaths of Cyprus, Assos and Aritium, i.e. Tiberius and Caligula, do not hold *theos* and *divus*, and are carefully excluded from the list of the *theoi horkioi*. This difference in the representation of Augustus and the other emperors in the oaths implies serious attention on the part of the provincials to the religious status of the emperors, which pertains to the consecration of the deceased emperors practised in the capital (see chapter 1). This encourages us to infer the existence of some communication between the provincials and the emperors, or at least their agents, in drafting the clauses of the oaths (see below).

34 For example, Paus. 8. 53. 9 provides a testimony to the communal Hestia of the Arkadians (*Hestia Arkadon koine*) in Tegea, which may have been moved to Mantinea by the Severan period (Paus. 8. 9. 5). See also Kajava 2004, 10–13.

35 Mitford 1960, 77–78.

36 The oaths of Miletos and Mytilene, though fragmentary, also seem to include Augustus as the ruling emperor in their lists of *theoi horkioi*. See Herrmann 1985.

The oath of Cyprus reflects not only the religious politics of the imperial centre, but also the local interest of the province, to which the qualification of Augustus as descendant of Aphrodite provides an eloquent testimony. Augustus is directly connected with the time-honoured patroness of the island, Aphrodite, by means of the epithet *ekgonos tes Aphrodites* at the beginning of line 8. What underlies this connection is of course the establishment of the deity Venus Genetrix in the Caesarean and Augustan periods as the patroness of the *Iulii* and of the state of Rome.³⁷ The legendary relationship between Venus and the *Iulii* was propagated through orations, festivals, coins, literary works, and last but not least, the construction of the temple of Venus Genetrix that Caesar dedicated in 46 BCE in the *Forum Iulium* of the capital of the Empire. This, however, does not mean that Caesar and later the emperors, or in general the central government, attempted to disseminate and implant the cult of Venus Genetrix throughout the provinces. Indeed, evidence for the cult of Venus Genetrix outside Rome does not abound.³⁸ The seemingly close relationship between Aphrodite/Venus and the *Iulii* in the provinces, in reality, exhibits a considerable diversity in its intensity and form according to local traditions and interests, rather than the imposition or importation of the Roman cult of Venus Genetrix in its entirety.³⁹ In Cyprus, the sanctuary of Aphrodite of Paphos, or the city of Paphos as a whole, enjoyed the special favour of several emperors: Augustus supported the city financially after

37 For Venus Genetrix, see generally Weinstock 1971, 80–90; Schilling 1982, 301–74; Kantiréa 2007, 68–69. For the cult of Aphrodite and its connection with Roman dominance in the Hellenistic period, see Wallensten 2003, 144–50.

38 Weinstock 1971, 80–90 has argued that Caesar and the Caesareans established the cult of Venus Genetrix in colonies outside Rome, especially in Urso (Baetica), Sicca (Africa Proconsularis), Rusicade (Numidia) and Dyrrhachium (Illyricum). Rives 1994 rightly refutes this argument by demonstrating that the evidence concerned mostly attests the mere cult of Venus, but not any Roman involvement in establishing the cult in these cities, with the exception of Urso.

39 The way Caesar (and his successors) and Aphrodite/Venus were connected in Greek cities shows a remarkable variety in terms of combination with other deities and other members of the Julio-Claudians. E.g. *I.Ephesos* no. 251 (in Ephesos; Caesar as *ton apo Areos kai Aphrodeites theon epiphane*); *ILS* no. 127 and no. 3171 (in Eresos on Lesbos; the two bilingual inscriptions evidence a joint dedication to Venus Genetrix and Iulia, daughter of Augustus). In the West, a Latin inscription from Castulo in Baetica refers to Venus Genetrix in combination with Cupido (*ILS* no. 5513). Aphrodisias in Karia, in contrast to these cities, provides us with a clearer picture of the connection between Venus Genetrix and the emperors: Augustus held an epithet *theogenes*, which places the emperor in the genealogy of Aphrodite, the *theos* of the city *par excellence* (Reynolds 1982, 155–56, no. 32; for the identification of *Kaisar* in the inscription, see Reynolds 1996, 42); a dedication was offered to the divinity of the emperors (*theiotes Autokratoron*), Venus Genetrix (*thea Aphrodite genetaira*) and other deities in the first century CE (Reynolds 1982, 182–83, no. 54); Aphrodite became the ancestress of all emperors (*thea Aphrodeite epiphanei te promotori tou genous ton Sebaston*) in the mid-first century CE (Reynolds 1995); and the goddess changed into the first mother in a wider sense (*he promotor Aphrodite*) in the age of Trajan (Reynolds 1982, 183–84, no. 55). For the cult of Aphrodite in Aphrodisias and its political implications in the imperial period, see also Chaniotis 2003d, 74–79.

the disastrous earthquake there;⁴⁰ Tiberius and the senate acknowledged the right of asylum of its temple with other Greek temples;⁴¹ and Titus paid a visit to the temple to consult an oracle of the goddess.⁴² These beneficial actions of the emperors, however, did not follow the establishment of the cult of Venus Genetrix in Paphos, nor did they result in it. Thus, the qualification of Augustus as the descendant of Aphrodite should primarily be placed in the Cypriot context,⁴³ even if one cannot entirely exclude the possibility that the establishment of the cult of Venus Genetrix in the imperial centre may have provided a frame of reference for the linkage of Augustus and Aphrodite on the island. While there is every likelihood that Aphrodite of Paphos belonged to the list of the *theoi horkioi* in the oath, the existing part of the inscription also refers to Aphrodite Akraia, a deity of the Karpasia headland. The oath attempted to make Augustus related to Aphrodite, the deity worshipped in some parts of the island as its patroness – Paphos without doubt held the most important sanctuary of the goddess, but the Cypriots outside Paphos could still be proud of the connection of their deity with the first emperor.

The second deity of the Roman *theoi horkioi* is *he aenaos Rhome*, the everlasting Roma. Veneration of the goddess Roma in the East, in accordance with the spread of Roman power, came into existence two centuries before the establishment of the Empire by Augustus and continued into the third century CE, though it was replaced by the cult of the emperors to a considerable extent.⁴⁴ In Cyprus, priests of the goddess are attested in Kition (**Kition no. 6**) and Kourion (**Kourion no. 1**) in the imperial period. The other epigraphically attested oaths do not include Roma in the lists of their *theoi horkioi*. The epithet *aenaos* probably reflected, at least in part, the idea of the eternity of Rome and imperial government that pertains to Vesta and the Palladion in Rome,⁴⁵ but its Cypriot (or more widely Greek) background should also be taken into consideration. A few inscriptions from Cyprus underline the perpetuity of the current political system, e.g. the immortality of the emperors,⁴⁶ and the invincibility of the Roman people.⁴⁷ The concept of the collective emperors, *Sebastoi*, which is attested over the Roman East, also affirms the continuity of imperial rule (see chapter 1). These various kinds of manifestation of Roman eternity probably imply that the Greek cities were given a free hand in understanding and representing the continuity of the Roman state,

40 Cass. Dio 54. 23. 7.

41 Tac. *Ann.* 3. 60–63.

42 Tac. *Hist.* 2. 2–4; Suet. *Tit.* 5.

43 Contra Weinstock 1962, 311 who argued that the Aphrodite temple of Paphos became a centre of the Julian propaganda of Venus Genetrix.

44 For the goddess Roma in the Greek world, see generally Mellor 1975; Mellor 1981; Price 1984a, 40–42; Fishwick 1987–2005, vol. 1, part 1, 48–51; Mileta 2009.

45 Mellor 1975, 117–18: ‘the usage [of *aenaos* here] is clearly a translation of the Latin *Roma Aeterna*’. Cf. Weinstock 1962, 312, n. 32.

46 **Karpasia no. 1.**

47 **Salamis no. 10.**

while following, to a greater or lesser extent, the idea of eternal Rome generated and fostered at the imperial centre.⁴⁸

4.3. THE OATH AND THE IMPERIAL CULT

The enumeration of the *theoi horkioi* (ll. 1–10) is followed by the main part of the oath (ll. 10–21), which consists of six clauses: 1) to submit (*hypakousesthai*) to Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of Augustus, with all his house; 2) to be obedient (*peitharchesein*) to them both by land and sea; 3) to be favourable (*eunoesein*) to them; 4) to worship (*sebasesthai*) them; 5) to have (*hexein*) the same friend and the same enemy as theirs; 6) to propose (*eisegesesthai*) a decree for Roma, Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of Augustus, and the sons of his blood. In this section, the oath will be approached from the following two viewpoints: the contents of the oath and the position of Tiberius in the oath.

The contents of the oath

Among the six clauses of the oath stated above, the third and fifth are shared by the Greek oaths of Phazimon-Neapolis and Assos. The first two clauses, which prescribe absolute subordination to Tiberius and his family, may reflect one of the origins common to imperial oaths, the military oath that soldiers swore to their commander.⁴⁹ What draws our particular attention in the present context is the fourth and sixth clauses which are directly relevant to the imperial cult. It seems certain that the fourth infinitive, *sebasesthai*, concerns cultic veneration of the emperor, denoting more than being favourable to the emperor (*eunoesein*),⁵⁰ because in some Greek inscriptions we encounter a clear contrast between *eunoia* and *eusebeia*, the nominalised virtues related to *eunoesein* and *sebasesthai* respectively – this fact suggests a semantic difference between *eunoia* and *eusebeia* and a greater degree of cultic veneration towards the emperor in the latter word.⁵¹ Because of its fragmentary condition the sixth clause, *eisegesesthai psephisma*, does not permit a straightforward interpretation. The lost part of the inscription would have included one or more words qualifying the *psephisma*. While he favoured the reading *psephisasthai* over *psephisma*, Mitford has proposed *hiera* as such a word, so that the clause signifies ‘to propose the voting of divine hon-

48 Contra Weinstock 1962, 315 who insisted that Rome propagated the eternity of the state in the provinces by promoting the cult of the goddess Roma, which tempted the Cypriots to bestow the epithet *aenaos*, *aeterna* in Latin, on the deity.

49 Weinstock 1962, 315–16.

50 Cf. Weinstock 1962, 316.

51 E.g. *TAM* 2, no. 905, 15, ll. 5–7 (Lykia): τὴν εἰς τὸν Σεβαστὸν εὐσεβειαν καὶ τὴν εἰς τὸ ἔθνος ἔννοιαν. For *eusebeia* concerning the worship of the emperor, see also Cousin and Deschamps 1887, 306–308, no. 1; *I.Perge* no. 35; *I.Illion* no. 85.

ours'.⁵² Since the sixth clause is directed towards not only Tiberius and his genealogy, but also towards the goddess Roma and the other deities, it is reasonable to assume that the sixth clause pertains to an aspect of cultic worship. If our assumption holds true that *sebasesthai*, the fourth clause, denotes the veneration of the emperor, we must expect a difference between the fourth and sixth clause; I wish to propose that the sixth clause prescribed a specific practice of cultic worship of the deities, e.g. offering sacrifices. Sacrifice potentially gave rise to imperial intervention in the provincial imperial cult, since it could result in equating the living emperors, i.e. mortals, with gods, which in terms of the ideology of the centre of the Empire had to be avoided (see chapters 3 and 5). The inclusion of the goddess Roma amongst the deities to which the sixth clause is directed would, in my opinion, have eased the discomfort that arose from the inconsistency between the practice of the imperial cult and the ideal of the emperor as mortal, avoiding sacrifices made solely to the emperor. Given the fragmentary condition of the inscription, this assumption must remain a hypothesis; however, the change of objects – from Tiberius with the whole of his house (for the first four infinitives) to Roma, Tiberius and his sons (for the sixth infinitive) – seems to point to the greater degree of cultic worship in *eisegesesthai psephisma* than in *sebasesthai*.

The position of Tiberius in the oath

We have already seen that Tiberius, the living emperor, does not hold the epithet *theos* in the text of the oath and that this rule applies to the other oaths as well. The family members and descendants of Tiberius are intended to be beneficiaries of the oath; the other oaths (of Assos, Phazimon-Neapolis and Conobarria) also covered the imperial families. A remarkable feature of the Cypriot oath is that its text is so carefully inscribed that Tiberius, though without *theos*, can stand out against the other beneficiaries of the oath – *Tiberion Kaisara* appears at the beginning of line 14 with one letter jutting out from the other lines. This is a skillful 'visual effect' of the inscription, which results in underlining the importance of Tiberius without uncomfortably deifying the living emperor.⁵³ Another visual effect may be observed in lines 18–20, where *Rhome*, *Sebastoi* and *haimatos* appear at the beginning of each line; through this arrangement, the observer can understand at the first sight to whom the sixth clause of the oath is directed, i.e. the goddess Roma, Tiberius and his genealogy.⁵⁴

52 Mitford 1960. Cf. Weinstock 1962, 317–18.

53 Seibert 1970, 228–29.

54 *Hyois te tou haimatos autou* in the sixth clause of the Cypriot oath seems to mean his sons by blood and by adoption, i.e. Drusus and Germanicus. See Weinstock 1962, 318, 320, 325–27. See also Price and Thonemann 2010, 252–53. Cf. Mitford 1960, 79; Herrmann 1968, 104, n. 46.

4.4. THE CONTEXT OF THE OATH

This section is divided into three subsections; occasion, location and procedures of the oath.

Occasion

The conspicuous status of the living emperor Tiberius in the text reflects the occasion at which the oath took place. It has generally been agreed that the Cypriots swore the oath to Tiberius in 14 CE, on the occasion of his succession to the throne after the death of Augustus.⁵⁵ Literary evidence attests a series of oaths sworn to Tiberius after his enthronement in the senate,⁵⁶ in the legion,⁵⁷ in Italy⁵⁸ and in the provinces,⁵⁹ to which the oath of Cyprus also belonged. While the detailed dating information is lacking in the Cypriot oath, the initiators of the other oaths attempted to date the oaths by means of eponymous *consules*, local magistrates, imperial titles and the Julian calendar.⁶⁰ The nature of the imperial oath – always involving a close relationship between the emperor and the provincials – accounts for this extraordinary Roman influence on the time concept in the inscriptions.⁶¹ The other oath inscriptions also provide their exact historical contexts. For example, the oath of Phazimon-Neapolis, sworn on the sixth of March, 3 BCE, probably commemorated Augustus' assumption of the office of *pontifex maximus*, which took place on the very same day in 12 BCE.⁶² Caligula's en-

55 Mitford 1960; Weinstock 1962; Herrmann 1968, 102; Seibert 1970. Mitford 1960, 79 and Weinstock 1962, 323, in particular, dated the Cypriot oath to a period between the death of Augustus (Mitford) or the senate meeting on the seventeenth of September, 14 CE (Weinstock) and the acceptance of the title of *imperator* by Tiberius, on the basis of two uninscribed spaces in the inscription, one of which (l. 13) precedes, and the other of which (l. 19) follows, the name of Tiberius. According to their argument, these spaces imply that the donor of the inscription took into consideration Tiberius' reluctance to accept the title of *imperator* (Suet. *Tib.* 26), at least immediately after the death of the first emperor. Seibert 1970, though also assuming the Cypriot oath after the death of Augustus, rejected this assumption; the uninscribed spaces rather pertain to a concern on the part of the donor of the inscription to have Tiberius stand out through the manipulated text structure (see above in the present chapter).

56 Tac. *Ann.* 1. 7. 2.

57 Tac. *Ann.* 1. 37. 5.

58 Cass. Dio 57. 3. 2.

59 Tac. *Ann.* 1. 34. 1.

60 The sixth of March, 3 BCE (Phazimon-Neapolis; by means of Augustus' consulship, the provincial year and the Julian calendar); 37 CE (Assos; by means of the eponymous *consules*); the eleventh of May, 37 CE (Aritium; by means of the Julian calendar, the eponymous *consules* and local magistrates).

61 Cf. Cancik 2003, 33. For time concept in Cypriot inscriptions, see chapter 8 of the present study.

62 Cancik 2003, 33 further assumes that the oath of Phazimon-Neapolis was probably sworn to commemorate the annexation of Paphlagonia (to which Phazimon-Neapolis belonged) to the province Galatia in 6/5 BCE.

thronement in 37 CE also gave rise to oaths of provincials, e.g. those of Aritium and Assos, the latter of which underlines that the beginning of Caligula's reign was desired by all the people.⁶³ Unfortunately, due to the lost first part of the Cypriot oath, it is difficult to place it in a more detailed historical context than the enthronement of Tiberius.

Location

The text of the Cypriot oath does not speak of its location. However, since the inscription comes from the environs of Paphos Vetus, it seems reasonable to assume that the Cypriots took the oath in the sanctuary of Paphian Aphrodite. The stone containing the inscription, a marble plate 0.53m high, 0.60m wide, and 0.08m thick, would suggest that the inscription was attached to something, e.g. an altar-like structure or a building. A comparison with the oath of Phazimon-Neapolis is of interest here; this inscription, which is also inscribed on a stele-like plate, makes clear that the provincials swore the oath in the temples of Augustus by the altars of Augustus.⁶⁴ I would assume that the Cypriots also took the oath in the sanctuary of Aphrodite by an altar or building to which the inscription was attached, though not necessarily that of the emperor – there is no clear evidence, archaeological or epigraphic, for such an imperial monument in the sanctuary of Aphrodite. If the goddess Hestia, who appears in the oath as one of its *theoi horkioi*, was accommodated in the sanctuary, the oath would have taken place at this Hestia of the *koinon*.⁶⁵

Procedures of the oath

Who (or which political organ) resolved, drafted and attended the Cypriot oath? The inscription cannot provide a direct answer to this important question. Again, a comparison with the other oath inscriptions is useful. In Assos, for example, the Assian people and council and the Romans who did business there promoted the oath and decreed that a delegation, to consist of the first and noblest Romans and Greeks, should be sent to the emperor in Rome to report the decree of the oath. The oath of Assos can be classified as 'civic', in that, although along with the Roman *negotiatores*, the people of Assos took the initiative in swearing the oath to the emperor. The oaths of Samos, Aritium and Conobarria also belong to this type of oath.⁶⁶ We may, on the other hand, classify the oath of Phazimon-Neapolis

63 IGR 4, no. 251=Herrmann 1968, 123, no. 3=*I.Assos* no. 26, ll. 5–9.

64 IGR 3, no. 137=Herrmann 1968, 123–24, no. 4, ll. 37–38 and ll. 41–42. For the imperial altar and temple of Miletos and Mytilene as possible locations for the performance of oaths, see Herrmann 1985.

65 Mitford 1960, 77–78; Mitford 1980a, 1350; Mitford 1990, 2197.

66 The oath of Miletos also seems to belong to this category, in that *archiereis* and other civic magistrates took part in the performance of the oath. See Herrmann 1985, 310–11.

as 'provincial (or regional)-civic'. While Paphlagonia, again with the Roman *negotiatores*, took the initiative in resolving the oath,⁶⁷ the inhabitants of each community in Paphlagonia swore this 'provincial oath' at the *sebasteion* of their home community.⁶⁸ Therefore, the oath of Phazimon-Neapolis is an oath decreed by the region Paphlagonia, but performed by each community within it, and can thus be classified a 'provincial (or regional)-civic' oath.

The oath of Cyprus, in my opinion, retains characteristics of a 'provincial' or 'provincial-civic' oath. As we have seen above, the list of the *theoi horkioi* forms a gradation of the deities ranging from the local deities of the island, through the communal deities, and finally leading up to the Roman deities. The fact that both the local deities and the communal deities of the island are included in the list seems to imply that the province of Cyprus, or its *koinon*, promoted the oath and drafted its clauses, not dismissing deities of local importance. Cayla, who argued for the civic character of the oath on the basis of the alleged 'Paphian' *theoi horkioi*, has suggested that a *koinon* could not resolve a *psephisma* (l. 21 of the inscription) as an established political organ; this argument should, however, be rejected.⁶⁹ It remains unclear how the Cypriot communities outside of Paphos performed the oath; they might also have set up inscriptions of the same text and sworn the oath in their home community (as in Phazimon-Neapolis), or possibly the Cypriots, or part of the population at least, might have personally attended the oath held in Paphos.⁷⁰ If the oath had taken place annually,⁷¹ the first idea would seem preferable, for it was probably no easy task for the Cypriots to travel to Paphos every year, even though the island is comparably small. The Roman *negotiatores*, who were involved in the oaths of Assos and Phazimon-Neapolis, would also have taken part in the oath of Cyprus, since some inscriptions attest their existence on the island during the early Empire.⁷² A more problematic issue is how and to what extent the officials of the Empire, in particular the *proconsul* of the island, were involved in the establishment and performance of the oath. There are some oaths over the swearing of which Roman officials presided or took initiative

67 *IGR* 3, no. 137=Herrmann 1968, 123–24, no. 4, ll. 4–7.

68 *IGR* 3, no. 137=Herrmann 1968, 123–24, no. 4, ll. 36–42.

69 *I.Paphos* no. 151. Deininger 1965, 147, n. 9 assembled examples for *psephismata* resolved by *koina* in the Roman East.

70 Mitford 1990, 2197 has argued as follows: 'Here [at the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Paphos Vetus] doubtless the oath of allegiance was administered annually by the proconsul to the provincial high-priest, for him to distribute through the civic high-priests to their respective cities'. His idea is attractive, but without evidence. I am doubtful whether the hierarchical system of the provincial *archiereus* of the island and the civic *archiereus* of each city functioned in performing the oath as effectively as Mitford's speculation suggests (for the priest-hoods of the imperial cult, see chapter 6 of the present study).

71 For the oath to the emperor performed annually, see generally Herrmann 1968, 107–10. Mitford 1990, 2197 has proposed that the blanks before and after the name of Tiberius in the oath inscription of Paphos (l. 13 and l. 19) would imply 'a frequent repetition of the oath'. The blanks, however, should be understood as making Tiberius stand out in the inscription (see above in the present chapter).

72 For Roman *negotiatores*, see Cayla 2006.

in promoting in the provinces.⁷³ Since the inscription of the Cypriot oath does not speak of this point, we cannot go beyond speculating that the *proconsul* of the island may have been present at the oath, at least in Paphos, where they probably had their residence.⁷⁴ If this assumption holds true, the oath would have provided a vehicle for direct communication between the Cypriots and the Roman power. This communication potentially led to the very centre of the Empire, i.e. to the emperor in Rome, if the *koinon* of the Cypriots had resolved a delegation to inform Tiberius of the establishment of the oath, as the Assians⁷⁵ and the Samians⁷⁶ did.

4.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Cypriot oath of allegiance to Tiberius, though fragmentary in part, throws up fascinating insights into the religious status of the emperor on the island, the practice of the imperial cult, and religious communication between the imperial centre and the province. The elaborately structured list of the *theoi horkioi* not only connects the local deities with the communal and Roman deities of greater importance, but also places Augustus and his descendants into the local context of Cyprus by representing the first emperor as an offspring of Aphrodite, patroness of the city of Paphos and of the island as a whole, while, at the same time, the oath did not totally dismiss the religious and political issues that existed in the imperial centre, such as deification of the emperor and the establishment of the cult of Venus Genetrix. The living emperor Tiberius also received the cultic veneration of the Cypriots, though his religious status was modified ‘downwards’ by depriving him of the epithet *theos* and including the goddess Roma in the objects of the

73 E.g. Tac. *Ann.* 1. 34. 1 (Germanicus let the Belgic cities perform the oath to Tiberius); Tac. *Hist.* 2. 16 (Decumus Pacarius, *procurator* of Corsica, forced the inhabitants to swear the allegiance to Vitellius); Tac. *Hist.* 2. 80–81 (Licinius Mucianus, Syrian governor, promoted the oath of the province to Vespasian); Tac. *Hist.* 3. 43. 1 (Valerius Paulinus, *procurator* of Gallia Narbonensis, administered the oath of neighbouring communities to Vespasian); *IG* 7, no. 2711=Oliver 1989, 69–77, no. 18 (a Roman magistrate participated in the meeting of the *koina* of the Achaïans, Boiotians, Lokrians, Euboians, and Phokians at which Epaminondas, ambassador sent by Akraiphia, took the oath to Caligula. Cf. Deininger 1965, 88–91; Herrmann 1968, 106; Cancik 2003, 35); *CIL* 2, no. 172=Herrmann 1968, 122, no. 1 (the oath of Aritium; C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus, *legatus pro praetore*, who appears at the beginning of the inscription, may have been present at the oath). See also the oath of Conobaria (González 1988).

74 Mitford 1990, 2197. Weinstock 1962, 321–27, on the other hand, speculated that Augustus and Tiberius drafted the oath of allegiance and sent it to the *proconsules* of the East, who then administered the oath in their provinces. However, his argument should be rejected for methodological and ideological reasons. First, there is no evidence that the emperors drafted the oath and sent it to the provinces; second, such a centre-oriented scenario as that of Weinstock cannot explain the very local characteristics of the Cypriot oath, e.g. the wide variety of the *theoi horkioi*. Cf. Herrmann 1968, 102, n. 40.

75 *IGR* 4, no. 251=Herrmann 1968, 123, no. 3=*I. Assos* no. 26.

76 Herrmann 1960, 70–84, no. 1, 2, 3=Herrmann 1968, 125–26, no. 6.

final clause of the oath, which possibly pertains to sacrifice to the emperor. The practice of the oath was perhaps focused on the city of Paphos, which retained the sanctuary of Aphrodite and (possibly) that of Hestia; however, this does not mean that the Paphians drafted and performed the oath exclusively for their own purposes or that the other cities were excluded from it. The Cypriot oath is probably a 'provincial-civic' oath in which all communities on the island participated. The oath would have involved communication between the Cypriots and the imperial power (imperial authorities and the emperor himself) through the supervision of the oath by the *proconsul* and through the dispatch of a delegation to the emperor. The oath, therefore, offered an occasion for a communicative network at religious and political levels between the Cypriots in the provincial capital and local communities, imperial authorities on the island, and the emperor himself.

PART 2

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SETTINGS OF THE IMPERIAL CULT

CHAPTER 5. COMMUNICATION THROUGH THE IMPERIAL CULT

In the preceding four chapters, we have seen that the Cypriots contextualised the status of the emperor – as god or as mortal – by conferring epithets and titles on him, by setting up imperial statues and by offering other dedications in several locations of the civic landscape. The oath also helped to accommodate Augustus and Tiberius in their proper positions, connecting them to the Cypriot local religious tradition. Thus, this study has so far primarily focused on the processes through which the Cypriots understood imperial power in terms of religion and represented it to themselves according to their own traditions and interests, while not totally dismissing the religious politics of the centre of the Empire. The following two chapters will attempt to shed more light on the political and social settings of the imperial cult, placing a special emphasis, firstly from an Empire-wide perspective, on communication between the imperial centre (and the emperor himself) and the Cypriots that the imperial cult was potentially based on and in return developed further (chapter 5), and, secondly from a provincial perspective, on the integration of the imperial cult into the socio-political framework of Cyprus by means of the priesthoods of the imperial cult (chapter 6). The present chapter starts with an examination of whether *do ut des*, i.e. give and take, relationships between the Empire and Cyprus functioned as the imperial cult's dynamics on the island; and then, shifting emphasis from the *ad hoc* give-and-take relationships to a more stable system of the imperial cult, it attempts to schematically describe the mechanism of the imperial cult in its three dimensions, i.e. provincial, civic and individual.

5.1. *DO UT DES* IN THE IMPERIAL CULT

One key concept in studies of the ruler cults, including the Hellenistic and Roman ones, is *do ut des*, i.e. give and take. Cities and provincials deify and venerate kings and emperors, appreciating past royal achievements and benefactions (e.g. military victories, pacification, protection against enemies, financial aid, political promotion) and anticipating more of them in the future.¹ Two telling examples, one from the Hellenistic ruler cult and the other from the Roman imperial cult, will suffice here. Eumenes II's reply to the (probably divine) honours offered to

1 For the Hellenistic period, see generally Habicht 1970, 160–71; Chaniotis 2005, 72–75. For the Roman period, see below in the present chapter. Grottanelli 1989–90 has offered a theoretical overview on issues concerning the *do ut des*. For various types of reciprocity seen in Greek religion, see Bremer 1998; Parker 1998.

him by the Ionian league, dated to the middle of the second century BCE, enumerates his beneficial deeds in the past and also promises future benefactions: 'I had undertaken many great struggles against the barbarians [i.e. the Gauls], exercising all zeal and forethought that the inhabitants of the Greek cities might always dwell in peace and the utmost prosperity. [...] I shall now try not to diverge from such a precedent'.² The Roman example concerns the emperor Nero, who declared the liberation of Achaia in 67 CE. An inscription from Akraiphia, which consists of Nero's declaration and a decree of Akraiphia, makes clear a cause-and-effect relationship between the imperial benefaction and civic worship: 'All Greeks inhabiting Achaia [...] receive freedom with no taxation. [...] For all these reasons it has been decreed by the archons and fellow councillors and the People [of Akraiphia] to dedicate at the present time an altar by (the statue) of Zeus Saviour, with an inscription on it "To Zeus Nero the Liberator forever" [...]'.³

We may also apply this *do ut des* theory to the imperial cult in Roman Cyprus. For example, votive offerings to Apollon Kaiser, the deity accommodated in the Apollon sanctuary of Kourion, suggest that donors dedicated them in return for the fulfilment of their vows, to which the words *charisterion*,⁴ *euche*,⁵ and *euxamenos*⁶ in the inscriptions provide testimonies.⁷ Although we do not know what sorts of petitions they were, it is clear at least that the reciprocity of *do ut des* existed between the donors and Apollon Kaiser, an imperial deity deeply imbedded in local religious tradition (see chapter 3). Another example of *do ut des* in the Cypriot imperial cult concerns Augustus; one inscription from Keryneia (**Keryneia no. 1**) evidences sacrifice to the first emperor (probably) on the occasion of the *Epinikia*, festivals commemorating Augustus' victory in Actium (see chapter 3), which confirms a close relationship between the imperial military achievement that put an end to the Civil War and the dedication of sacrifice to Augustus in return.⁸ This pattern is similar to that of the Hellenistic ruler cult that was often performed as a reaction to the beneficial military acts of kings.⁹

However, these cases are exceptions not the rule. The theory of *do ut des* cannot account for all of the cultic activities on the island, or, in other words, most inscriptions concerning the imperial cult do not contain clear references to a past or future imperial beneficial act as the reason for worshipping the emperor. Of course, this does not mean that the emperors demonstrated no interest in or beneficial care for Cyprus. Rather, what I wish to emphasise is the lack of a clear

2 OGIS no. 763=RC no. 52.

3 IG 7, no. 2713. The translation is based on that of Sherk 1988, 110–12, no. 71, with a few modifications. For the cult of Nero following his liberation of Achaia, see Kantiréa 2007, 81–84.

4 Kourion no. 4.

5 Kourion no. 7; Kourion no. 9.

6 Kourion no. 10.

7 Grottanelli 1989–90; Bremer 1998; Parker 1998; Habicht 2001.

8 A decree of the *koinon* of Asia (OGIS no. 458=Laffi 1967) provides an excellent example of the cult for Augustus as victorious military leader. Cf. Price 1984a, 54–57.

9 Chaniotis 2005, 57–77.

cause-and-effect relationship in Cyprus between imperial benefaction and the imperial cult. In the following pages, imperial beneficial acts and their influence on the imperial cult will be fully discussed under the headings: building activities; acknowledgment of the right of asylum; honorific titles of the city; and imperial strategy.

Building activities

Several inscriptions from the island attest building activities in which the emperors were involved.¹⁰ The Apollon sanctuary of Kourion is, above all, known to have benefited from a series of imperial building activities. Trajan finished the two remaining *exedrae* in the precinct in co-operation with the *proconsul* Laberius Iustus Cocceius Lepidus,¹¹ and paved a previously unpaved street of the sanctuary, with the *proconsul* Seppius Celer participating in this project and the council of Kourion covering its cost.¹² Both buildings were dedicated to Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaiser. Trajan also repaired the roof of the swimming bath in the Salaminian *gymnasion*.¹³ One may argue that the euergetism of Trajan on behalf of the Apollon sanctuary of Kourion probably resulted in the creation of Apollon Kaiser, a syncretised deity between Apollon Hylates and Trajan.¹⁴ However, as we have seen in chapter 3, the identity of Apollon Kaiser remains uncertain, or was intended to be ambiguous; it therefore seems inappropriate to regard the worship of Apollon Kaiser as the provincials' grateful reaction to the building activities of Trajan. My idea will be supported by the fact that the *exedrae* that Trajan constructed in the early stage of his reign (101 CE) was already dedicated to Apollon Kaiser. Therefore, the creation of Apollon Kaiser antedated, or at latest coincided with, this first datable building dedicated by Trajan, which makes implausible the argument that Trajan's generous building activities in the sanctuary of Apollon served as an initial impetus to establishing the cult of Apollon Kaiser in honour of the emperor.¹⁵

10 For a precise overview of imperial building activities in Cyprus, see Kantiréa 2011.

11 **Kourion no. 5.**

12 **Kourion no. 11.** Another four inscriptions (*I.Kourion* no. 106; no. 107; no. 109; no. 110) possibly attest imperial building activities in the sanctuary of Apollon, but their too fragmentary conditions prevent further discussion. Cf. Kantiréa 2010.

13 *Salamine de Chypre* no. 38. Another imperial construction concerns Nero: an inscription from Soloi on the northern coast attests an aqueduct constructed by the emperor, but again in co-operation with a *proconsul* (Christol 1986, 1–5 [*SEG* 36, no. 1264]). Christou 1983, 273 and **Paphos Nova no. 2** may also be related to imperial building activities, though their contexts remain unclear.

14 Kantiréa 2008, 101.

15 Mitchell 1987, 356 and Winter 1996, 189 have pointed out that all of the building activities of Trajan in Kourion concern supplementary construction to existing buildings and unfinished works.

Acknowledgment of the right of asylum

According to Tacitus, the emperor Tiberius, in 22/23 CE, advised the Roman senate to review the right of asylum about which the sanctuaries of the East boasted.¹⁶ This was due to the abuses of the right of asylum with the result that ‘the temples were filled with the dregs of the slave population; the same shelter was extended to the debtor against his creditor and to the man suspected of a capital offence; nor was any authority powerful enough to quell the factions of a race which protected human felony equally with divine worship’ (trans. J. Jackson).¹⁷ The delegates of the cities concerned defended their positions in the senate, insisting on their sanctuaries’ sanctity, authenticity and close relationship with the Roman Empire. The delegates primarily came from the province of Asia, but some also came from Crete and Cyprus. The Cypriot sanctuaries reviewed were the Aphrodite sanctuary of Paphos, the Aphrodite sanctuary of Amathous and the Zeus sanctuary of Salamis. Tacitus’ description of the results of this inspection is very vague, but it has been generally agreed that the senate acknowledged the right of asylum of the three Cypriot sanctuaries as well as those of Asia and Crete.¹⁸ Indeed, this episode demonstrates that the Empire showed interest and offered benefaction to Cyprus; however, it is too hasty to regard this benefaction as encouraging the Cypriots to worship the ruling emperor Tiberius.¹⁹ The statues of Tiberius set up in the Aphrodite sanctuary of Paphos do not represent cultic statues dedicated to the emperor (see chapter 2), and his epithets, *soter* and *euergetes*,²⁰ do not testify his divine status by themselves (see chapter 1), though they possibly were an expression of the gratitude of the Paphians to the emperor. It must also be noted that it was the senate and *consules*, not Tiberius himself, who were in charge of hearing the defences of the provincial delegates. There is therefore no hard evidence connecting the acknowledgment of the right of asylum of Paphos to the veneration of Tiberius there.

The honorific titles of the city

Paphos and Salamis, the two biggest and most important cities on the island, held a series of honorific titles, i.e. *Sebaste*, *Claudia*, *Flavia* and *hiera metropolis* for Paphos,²¹ and *metropolis* for Salamis,²² respectively.²³ One may imagine that the

16 Tac. *Ann.* 3. 60–63. For this review, see Rigsby 1996, 580–86; Heller 2006, 165–69.

17 Tac. *Ann.* 3. 60.

18 Rigsby 1996, 584; Heller 2006, 168. Suet. *Tib.* 37. 3, who refers to the total abolition of the right of asylum, should be rejected. Rigsby has summarised the senate’s review as follows: ‘the policy decreed in 22/3 was that what was traditional then was allowed to persist, but the privilege was thereafter neither expanded nor multiplied’, which seems plausible to me.

19 Contra Kantiréa 2008, 96.

20 **Paphos Vetus no. 11.**

21 *SEG* 18, no. 588; **Paphos Nova no. 3; Paphos Nova no. 4; Paphos Nova no. 5; Paphos Vetus no. 4; Paphos Vetus no. 9; Paphos Vetus no. 10; Paphos Vetus no. 11; Paphos**

emperors bestowed these titles on Paphos and Salamis and that the two cities promoted the imperial cult in return for these benefactions. In fact, this probably is the case for the title *Sebaste* of Paphos. Cassius Dio clearly states that it was because a harmful earthquake struck Paphos that Augustus provided financial support for it and permitted it to hold the title *Sebaste* in 15 BCE.²⁴ The introduction of the Romano-Cypriot calendar, which was intended to honour and worship the Augustan family members and Roman deities, can be regarded as a grateful reaction of the provincials (not only of Paphos, but also of the entire island) for this financial benefaction of Augustus and for the restoration of the whole island through a Roman magistrate, *proconsul* Publius Paquius Scaeva (see chapter 8). In contrast to the title *Sebaste*, one can only speculate on the historical contexts of *Claudia* and *Flavia*, though it is clear at least that the first concerns the Claudians and the latter the Flavians. *Claudia* may have been bestowed on Paphos during Nero's tour in Greece in 67 CE,²⁵ and *Flavia* in return for the favourable oracle of the temple of Aphrodite where the future emperor Titus consulted about the outcome of the Civil War and his own future before joining his father in Syria²⁶ – however, these ideas must remain hypotheses without tangible evidence. In any case, it is difficult to find a clear element of the *do ut des* relation between the imperial cult and imperial benefaction in the titles *Claudia* and *Flavia*.

The title *metropolis* needs a more careful investigation. *Metropolis*, attested in many cities all over the eastern provinces, belongs to a group of titles bestowed by the Empire on cities competing with each other for a higher status in regional politics (e.g. *protos* and *neokoros*). There has been a lengthy discussion as to the nature of *metropolis*, all details of which we cannot follow here.²⁷ What attracts our interest in the present context is how and to what extent the title *metropolis* concerned the imperial cult in provinces. As Bernadette Puech and Anna Heller have proposed, it seems that the title more or less concerned the imperial cult performed in its holder city.²⁸ The most telling testimony to this idea is the letter of Valerian and Gallienus addressed to Philadelphiea in Lydia, which prescribes that Philadelphiea, as a new *metropolis*, be free from contributions to the other *metropoleis* for the support of *archiereis* and magistrates supervising panegyrics; this, in turn, implies that they constituted standard magistrates for a *metropolis*.²⁹

Vetus no. 12; *IGR* 3, no. 962; **Paphos Vetus no. 17;** Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 266–68, no. 24; Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 270–72, no. 26.

22 **Salamis no. 16;** (probably) **Salamis no. 18.**

23 According to *SEG* 52, no. 1496, an unpublished inscription from Amathous honouring Caracalla represents the city of Amathous as *metropolis*; I have not seen this inscription.

24 Cass. Dio 54. 23. 7.

25 Mitford 1958, 7.

26 Tac. *Hist.* 2. 2–4; Suet. *Tit.* 5. See also Hill 1949, 233; Mitford 1958, 7, n. 29. Cf. Kantiréa 2008, 97. *IGR* 3, no. 945=Mitford 1961a, 103, n. 37 [*SEG* 20, no. 177] may attest the dedications of Titus and Domitian to Aphrodite of Paphos in return of her favourable divination. Cf. Potter 2000, 795, n. 95.

27 Bowersock 1985; Bowersock 1995, 85–98; Puech 2004; Heller 2006, 197–210.

28 Puech 2004; Heller 2006, 197–210.

29 *TAM* 5. 3, no. 1421.

A set of inscriptions from Perge in Pamphylia also attests the cultic aspect of the title *metropolis*. Perge was promoted to *metropolis* by the emperor Tacitus, and the city was then equipped with the office of *archiereus* of the divine Tacitus.³⁰ What we can deduce from this evidence is not only the connection between the title *metropolis* and the imperial cult, but also the fact that the granting of the title involves a *do ut des* relationship, i.e. the emperor bestows the title, the city institutes the worship of him in return.³¹

Having this general picture in mind, we return to the Cypriot evidence.³² It must be noted, first of all, that the title *metropolis* appears in the inscriptions only from the reign of Hadrian onwards. The title of Paphos is first attested in **Paphos Nova no. 3** (the period of Antoninus Pius), and thereafter in **Paphos Nova no. 4** (the period of Severus), two milestone inscriptions (the period of Severus),³³ **Paphos Nova no. 5** (the period of Caracalla), *IGR* 3, no. 962 (probably in the second or third century CE) and **Paphos Vetus no. 17** (the period of Caracalla), while Salamis as *metropolis* appears in **Salamis no. 16** (the period of Hadrian) and probably **Salamis no. 18** (the period of Hadrian).³⁴ It is hardly surprising that more than one *metropolis* were situated in one province, especially after the age of Hadrian, during whose reign the number of *metropoleis* in the East increased impressively.³⁵ The difference in the titles of Paphos and Salamis (*he hiera metropolis ton kata Kypron poleon* for Paphos, *he Kyprou metropolis* for Salamis) may point to a subtle difference in their status – the more complicated title of Paphos seems to have placed the city above Salamis.³⁶ There is no evidence as to the pro-

30 *I.Perge* no. 331.

31 Two inscriptions from Beroia in Makedonia are of some interest here (Gounaropoulou and Hatzopoulos 1998, 163–64, no. 63 and 200–203, no. 117). They state that the emperor Nerva, entitled *theos*, permitted the city to keep the honour of *metropolis*, after receiving the ambassador dispatched by the city; however, it remains unclear whether Beroia conferred the epithet *theos* on Nerva during or after his lifetime.

32 For the title *metropolis* in Cyprus in particular, see Haensch 1997, 263–67; Puech 2004, 363–64.

33 Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 266–68, no. 24 and 270–72, no. 26.

34 Roesch 1971 has proposed that Salamis, with Paphos, obtained the title *metropolis* in the Flavian period, positing a restoration *eparch[eias metropoleos]* in a Flavian inscription from Salamis (**Salamis no. 10**); his argument, however, remains a hypothesis, due to the lack of hard evidence. Cf. Kantiréa 2008, 99. Haensch 1997, 264 has, on the other hand, pointed out the possibility that Salamis preceded Paphos in acquiring the title *metropolis*, arguing that the first securely datable evidence for the title of Paphos comes from the Severan period. However, now that a recently found inscription (**Paphos Nova no. 3**) dates the title of Paphos to 139–61 CE, it does not seem unreasonable to assume that *metropolis* was also conferred on Paphos during the reign of Hadrian.

35 Bowersock 1985; Bowersock 1995, 85–98. For the increase of *metropoleis* in the Roman East from the first to the third century CE, see the table in Puech 2004, 402–404.

36 *Hiera* in the title of Paphos was probably intended to refer to the sanctity of Aphrodite in Paphos Vetus. Mitford (*I.Salamis* no. 92; Mitford 1980a, 1312, 1323), because the title *metropolis* of Salamis seemingly disappears after the reign of Hadrian, has argued that Salamis misrepresented itself as *metropolis* due to its rivalry with Paphos during the Hadrian period and that afterwards Salamis was deprived of this false title. However, his idea should be re-

cedures the Cypriots followed in acquiring the title or a provincial reaction to this imperial benefaction. The epithets conferred on Hadrian (*euergetes kai soter tou kosmou* and *soter kai euergetes tou kosmou pantos*), which appear in Salaminian inscriptions,³⁷ may reflect not only the emperor's financial support for Salamis, which suffered heavily during the Jewish revolt,³⁸ but also the bestowal of the title *metropolis* on the city. Of course, it is another question whether or not the epithets of Hadrian testify to the existence of divine worship offered to him in return for this specific benefaction.

Cyprus also seems to have been involved in the cultural politics of Hadrian, who tried to reorganise the eastern Mediterranean based on his idea of 'Greekness', which culminated in the foundation of the Panhellenion.³⁹ Although no city on the island, or the island as a whole, was known to be a member of this institution, one of the statues of Hadrian in the precinct of the Olympieion in Athens was set up – probably in 131/32 CE on the occasion of Hadrian's dedication of the Olympieion –⁴⁰ by the *koinon* of Cyprus, whose delegation consisted of Caius Iulius Rufus from Paphos and Kleagenes, son of Kleagenes, from Salamis.⁴¹ An epithet conferred on Hadrian in this inscription, *Olympios*, points to the cultic worship of the emperor.⁴² However, the cult of Hadrianus Olympios, centred in Athens, does not seem to have been imported to Cyprus or transplanted into its religious world. In short, what one can deduce from the evidence concerning the title *metropolis* of Paphos and Salamis and the attendance of the Cypriot delegation at the dedication of the Olympieion is that Paphos and Salamis were integrated into the politics of Hadrian that widely covered the political and religious order of the eastern Mediterranean, but without involving the cultic *do ut des* relationship on Cyprus between the beneficial emperor Hadrian and the provincials.

jected. **Salamis no. 16** attests that Calpurnius Flaccus, *proconsul* at that time, took part in the setting up of this dedication to Hadrian, who would have prevented the city from using the title, if it was at all false. Cf. Puech 2004, 364.

37 **Salamis no. 16; Salamis no. 19.**

38 Mitford 1980a, 1323; Kantiréa 2008, 103. The Jewish revolt occurred about 115/16 CE, and is said to have resulted in the death of 240,000 Cypriots and utterly destroyed Salamis. See Cass. Dio 68. 32. 2–3; Euseb. *Hist. eccl.* 4. 2. For the Jews on Cyprus, see Potter 2000, 809–11.

39 For the Panhellenion, see Spawforth and Walker 1985; Spawforth and Walker 1986; Willers 1990; Jones 1996; Spawforth 1999.

40 Spawforth 1999, 347–48.

41 *IG* 2/3², no. 3296.

42 For the cult of Hadrian, the Greeks (probably members of the Panhellenion) built a shrine named (again) Panhellenion and instituted a series of games (Cass. Dio 69. 16. 1–2). However, it is unclear how and to what extent those cities which were not the members of the institution, e.g. Paphos and Salamis, took part in this cult. For the imperial cult in the Panhellenion, see Spawforth 1999, 344–47.

Imperial strategy

Maria Kantiréa has proposed that the establishment of the Severan dynasty, which allegedly shifted the emphasis of the Empire towards the eastern Mediterranean, placed Cyprus near the geopolitical centre of the Empire, which resulted in enhancing the imperial cult on the island: 'sa renaissance [i.e. the renaissance of the imperial cult] dès l'avènement de Septime Sévère montre la place importante que la politique impériale accorda de nouveau à Chypre grâce à la prédilection de la dynastie pour l'Orient de l'État romain'.⁴³ This relationship, if it existed, might be a type of *do ut des* between the Empire-wide strategy (with the imperial benefaction) and the imperial cult. However, this attractive idea cannot hold, because one important piece of the evidence for her argument, a monument in Paphos that was thought to have been dedicated to the Severans, must now be dated to the Antonines – an inscription discovered in 2002 in the theatre of Paphos Nova, combined with another inscription found at the beginning of the twentieth century (which had falsely been dated to the Severan period), attests the dedication of theatrical buildings to Zeus Kapitoliou and the Antonine emperors (**Paphos Nova no. 3**; see chapter 3). Of course, one cannot deny the significant role Cyprus played in Late-Antique politics and religion,⁴⁴ but this does not mean that the change in the strategy of the Empire promoted the imperial cult on the island. In this context, we may also remember the fact that no Roman legion, which often served as a vehicle for disseminating the imperial cult on the frontiers of the Empire, was permanently stationed there even after the Severan period.

5.2. THE IMPERIAL CULT AS A SYSTEM

As far as available evidence is concerned, it is only in exceptional cases that the *do ut des* relationship played a decisive role in promoting the imperial cult on Cyprus. There is no surprise in this fact. Cyprus – situated outside the heartland of the 'Greekness' of the Roman period (in contrast to mainland Greece and the western coast of Asia Minor) and having only secondary political and strategic importance (in contrast to the frontier provinces) – attracted less interest and fewer beneficial acts from the imperial centre. The island was also a modest province in terms of political advancement; ambitious and talented senators did not regard the proconsulship of Cyprus as a promising stepping-stone in their careers,⁴⁵ while prominent Cypriots had accordingly fewer connections to enter the aristocracy of the Empire (see chapter 6). The Cypriots, on the other hand, knew

43 Kantiréa 2008, 112. See also Kantiréa 2008, 104–105.

44 For Cyprus in Late Antiquity, see Cameron 1992; Chrysos 1993; Bowersock 2000; Papacostas 2001; Lilie 2005.

45 Potter 2000, 788–96. The *proconsul* of Cyprus, a senatorial province, was selected by lot among senators of praetorian rank who were not nominated by the emperor as commanders of the legions and governors of imperial provinces. For *proconsules* who achieved the consulship after their service in Cyprus, see n. 20 in the introduction of the present study.

to worship the emperor as god and performed imperial rituals, as we have seen in the preceding chapters. Two facts – the moderate degree of the *do ut des* and the existence of the imperial cult – encourage us to draw the conclusion that the imperial cult on Cyprus was a durable system whose dynamism primarily came from another type of reciprocity between the emperor and provincials, a reciprocity that differed from the *ad hoc* exchange of benefaction and cult.

The theoretical enquiry that Simon Price has provided is of great use here. According to Price, who invokes the gift-exchange model of Pierre Bourdieu, the imperial cult in Asia Minor consisted of two different dimensions: ‘the objective significance of the exchanges with their inherent pressures and constraints’ (i.e. the dimension of system) and ‘individual strategies and subjective uncertainties’ (i.e. the dimension of individuals). Individuals involved in the imperial cult (e.g. emperors, Roman magistrates, cities and individual provincials) may have expected to obtain practical benefits by promoting (or rejecting) the imperial cult (e.g. legitimisation of the ruling power and consolidation of the Empire for the imperial side; imperial favour towards the provinces and higher status in provincial politics for the provincial side). At the same time, and more importantly, the imperial cult, as a meta-system independent of these individual interests and expectations, effected a durable communication between the provincials and the emperor through offering and receiving the cult.⁴⁶ It is important in this context to remember that the emperor often received the cult in the provinces on a regular basis, e.g. on his birthday⁴⁷ and at his enthronement, before the emperor had given any practical benefaction to the provincials.⁴⁸ This spontaneous veneration by the provincials was partly explained by the expectations of future imperial benefactions, but it also demonstrates that the imperial cult system could work between the Empire and the provinces without any practical incentive. However, this does not mean that this system stayed rigid throughout the history of the Empire; the imperial cult was the product of an historical development. In its formative phase – in the age of Augustus – the individual achievement of the first emperor played the decisive role in establishing the imperial cult and characterising its nature (see below). After its primary structure had been settled, the imperial cult thereafter changed into a more or less durable system – in other words, one of routine repetition – in that the emperor and the provincials felt more or less ‘forced’ to participate in the system, with or without practical benefit.

In my opinion, Price’s theoretical statement can be applied to the imperial cult in Cyprus. The Cypriots worshipped the emperors, in most cases, not because they offered practical benefactions to the island, but because they were the very rulers

46 Price 1984a, 65–77.

47 E.g. **Lapethos no. 2**. For a possible birthday ceremony for Ptolemy VI in Hellenistic Cyprus, see Mitford 1961a, 129–31, no. 29.

48 Herz 2007a, 309. E.g. the oath of Aritium to Caligula (*CIL* 2, no. 172=Herrmann 1968, 122, no. 1) was sworn only two months after his enthronement. The oath of Assos to Caligula (*IGR* 4, no. 251=Herrmann 1968, 123, no. 3=*I.Assos* no. 26), which was also performed in the year of Caligula’s accession to the throne, describes the reign of Caligula as ‘the most pleasant age for human beings’ even before any substantial imperial benefaction.

of the Empire who could be accommodated in the traditional religious world of Cyprus. By so saying, I do not intend to deny the possibility that the Cypriots, worshipping the emperor voluntarily, expected imperial beneficial acts in future. As seen above, however, the evidence at hand does not manifestly describe whether their expectations were fulfilled, which, in turn, suggests that the system of the imperial cult was thought to be working even if there was no manifest relationship of *do ut des*. The following section will attempt to provide a schematic overview of the system of the imperial cult based on the Cypriot inscriptions, resorting to comparison with the other eastern provinces in some points in order to fill gaps in the evidence from Cyprus.

5.3. THE THREE LEVELS OF THE IMPERIAL CULT

We can distinguish three levels of the imperial cult in Cyprus, i.e. the provincial, civic and individual, each of which seems to have retained its own type of worship of and communication with the emperor, as in other provinces.⁴⁹ The imperial cult was a multilayered system. In the preceding four chapters, I have touched on some cases where the level of the cult served as a parameter for determining the religious status of the emperor. This section, adopting a more schematic approach, aims to provide a wider picture of the three levels of the imperial cult in Cyprus.

Firstly, the cult of the provincial level concerned cultic activities which involved the whole island, such as the oath of the Cypriots to Tiberius (see chapter 4), athletic games held in honour of imperial family members (see chapter 7) and the introduction of the Romano-Cypriot calendar that was structured to honour and worship the Julio-Claudian dynasty and Roman deities (see chapter 8). The Cypriot *koinon*, under the supervision of the provincial *archiereus* (see chapter 6), seems to have performed a leading role in the practice of these activities,⁵⁰ to which the traditional Cypriot elements contained in these events provide a powerful testimony. The cult activities of the *koinon* seem to have involved an intimate communication between the Cypriots and the emperor, for which the provincial delegation to Rome formed a main instrument. In other provinces, provincial and civic ambassadors were sent to the emperor in Rome in order to inform him of the establishment of specific cultic rituals such as oaths, games, calendars and the erection of statues and temples.⁵¹ It is therefore not unreasonable to assume that

49 For various dimensions in the imperial cult of other provinces, see Habicht 1973; Price 1984a, 53–77; Clauss 1999, 387–419; Hupfloher 2006; Hupfloher 2007.

50 For the *koinon* of Cyprus, see Deininger 1965, 86–87; Mitford 1980a, 1370–72; Potter 2000, 817–28. The tasks of the Cypriot *koinon*, like those of the other eastern provinces, included the imperial cult and the honorification of *proconsules* (and other Roman officials) and leading Cypriots. But for the lack of imperial statues set up by the *koinon*, see chapter 2 of the present study.

51 For the delegation of Greek cities, see generally Millar 1992, 363–463; Quaß 1993, 192–95, and in terms of the imperial cult in particular, see Habicht 1973, 45; Price 1984a, 66–67, 243–

the delegations of the Cypriot *koinon* also went to Rome in order to report their institutions of the oath, games and calendar. On Cyprus three individuals are known to have served as ambassadors to the emperor: Herakleides, son of Hermodamas, from Kition, ambassador to the emperor in the name of the island;⁵² Tiberius Claudius Isidoros from Kition, many times ambassador to the emperors;⁵³ Servius Sulpicius Pankles from Salamis, three times ambassador to the emperors.⁵⁴ Unfortunately, the inscriptions do not mention the tasks undertaken by these ambassadors. There is, however, no doubt that Herakleides and Sulpicius Pankles were involved in the activities of the *koinon*; the Cypriot *koinon* honoured Herakleides who had gone to Rome on behalf of the island, and the case of Sulpicius Pankles also implies a close connection between his ambassadorship and the provincial cult of the emperor, as he served not only as ambassador to the emperors, but also as provincial *archiereus*, holding both offices three times. One can also regard the delegation to the dedication ceremony of the Olympieion in Athens (see above) as provincial ambassadors whose task also included worship of the emperor outside of the island.

Secondly, the imperial cult at the civic level denotes the cult performed in each *polis* in co-operation with civic *archiereis*, mostly for life (see chapter 6). Some cities are known to have set up imperial statues – though not all statues were cultic statues of the emperor (see chapter 2) – in sharp contrast to the *koinon* that set up no imperial statues on the island, with the exception of the statue of Hadrian in the Olympieion in Athens. The city of Paphos also founded a shrine to Zeus Kapitlios and the Antonine emperors in its theatre, while the city of Amathous may have taken part in the dedication of the sacred site to Aphrodite and Titus by providing a piece of land to the *proconsul* Lucius Bruttius (see chapter 3). In contrast, again, the Cypriot *koinon* did not construct any such cultic monuments for the veneration of the emperor, as far as the available evidence is concerned. We can deduce from these facts that the city, by providing sites and funds to supplement priests' *summa honoraria*, was responsible for the material aspects of the imperial cult that publicly proclaimed the power of the emperor in the civic landscape. Collaboration between the *koinon* and the city in promoting the imperial cult, unfortunately, eludes us in most cases. If my assumption that the Cypriot oath can be classified as 'provincial-civic' holds true, it should have involved collaboration between the *koinon* and the cities, e.g. the distribution of the oath text to each city or the dispatch of civic delegations to the provincial oath held in Paphos Vetus (see chapter 4). Each city would also have played an important role in the dissemination all over the island of the Romano-Cypriot calendar (see chapter 8). There is no direct testimony to ambassadors having been sent

44. A long inscription from Maroneia in Thrake (*SEG* 53, no. 659), dated to ca. 41–54 CE, refers to precise procedures for civic envoys to Rome.

52. **Kition no. 3.**

53. **Kition no. 7.**

54. **Salamis no. 11.**

to the emperor in the name of a city in Cyprus,⁵⁵ while these are amply attested in the other eastern provinces.⁵⁶

As for the reaction of the emperor to receiving delegations from Cyprus, we must rely on an analogy with the cases of other provinces. The policy of the emperor was, in general, to accept an offer and to permit the provincials to worship him. The system of the imperial cult was based on the mutual assumption between the emperor and the provincials that the former, on most occasions, would receive the cult the latter offered. Price⁵⁷ underlined this fact that had previously been dismissed by scholars who, placing emphasis on the emperor's refusal to accept the cult, concluded that the emperors followed the model of Augustus who was allegedly not willing to recognise his cults.⁵⁸ According to Price, the occasional reluctance of the emperor towards the provincial offers of his cult served as 'an element of uncertainty' that prevented the gift-exchange system of the imperial cult from becoming a mere buying-and-selling relationship.

Broadly accepting his idea, I wish to place these refusals in the context of communication between the provincials and the emperor concerning his religious status, and negotiation between the emperor and the ideal paradigm of the emperor in Rome.⁵⁹ As we have seen in the preceding chapters, the unreserved worship of the emperor as god occurred to a relatively limited extent in Cyprus; the Cypriots intended to integrate the emperor in their traditional religious world by connecting – sometimes subjugating – the emperor to Greek deities. The full deification of the living emperor also potentially embarrassed the senators in Rome who appreciated the modest status of the emperor amongst them as *princeps* (see chapter 1). The refusal of the cult provided the emperor with a means to alleviate the awkwardness that worship of a living emperor would arouse amongst the upper echelons in the capital of the Empire. This imperial manoeuvre also seems to have resulted in offering the provincials a frame of reference for representing the emperor as god. Some emperors, being disinclined to accept unreserved cults in Rome and the provinces, advised the donors of the cult to amend its contents, e.g. in respect of deities worshipped together with the emperor,⁶⁰ imperial statues,⁶¹ temples for the emperor,⁶² sacrifices⁶³ and other rituals,⁶⁴ all of which per-

55 Tiberius Claudius Isidoros (**Kition no. 7**) may have served on behalf of the city of Kition since his ambassadorship has no qualification 'of the island' and the other offices he held, *archon* and *gymnasiarchos*, suggest that his political career was confined primarily to the civic level.

56 See n. 51 of the present chapter.

57 Price 1984a, 72–74.

58 E.g. Charlesworth 1939; Habicht 1973, 76–85.

59 For a thorough treatment of communication between the emperor and the provincials, including negotiations on the imperial cult as its important constituent, see Millar 1992, 363–463; Millar 2004.

60 Suet. *Aug.* 52 (Augustus demanded that his worship be combined with that of the goddess Roma); *I.Ephesos* no. 212 (Caracalla did not want the title *neokoros* of Ephesos to be named after him, but rather after Artemis). For the latter, see Robert 1967, 44–64.

61 Cass. Dio 57. 9 (Tiberius forbade the setting up of his image); *IG* 7, no. 2711=Oliver 1989, 69–77, no. 18, esp. ll. 30–33 (Caligula advised the league of the Achaïans, Boiotians, Lokri-

tain to the religious status of the emperor. These imperial instructions – reported by ambassadors in oration and then inscribed on stone – offered the provincials a precious source of information as to the possible reaction of the emperor when faced with proposals of worship in the future. Thus, the provincials were equipped with two guidelines for the performance of the imperial cult: the requests of the local religious order and the instructions of the emperor. Both of these, in most cases, led to placing the emperor in a modest position in terms of his relationship with Greek traditional and other local deities. The integration of the emperor into the Greek religious world was, therefore, a product of the sophisticated negotiations between the provincials and the emperor who had to pay proper attention to the political and ethical ideals of the elites in the imperial centre.

Returning to the imperial cult in Cyprus, we must confront the paucity of evidence for direct negotiation between the centre and the periphery, though the delicate treatment of imperial titles and epithets in the inscriptions of official nature (see chapter 1), the relatively rare occurrence of cultic statues of the living emperor (see chapter 2), and the elaborate integration of the emperor into the Cypriot religious hierarchy (see chapters 3 and 4) probably all point to the existence of communication between the emperor and the Cypriots, at least on the provincial and civic levels of the cult. Imperial agents on Cyprus also seem to have been involved in the worship of the emperor.⁶⁵ *Proconsules* and other Roman officials in charge of administration on the island dedicated a sacred site to the emperor and set up imperial statues by themselves (see chapters 2 and 3). Further, they seem to have intervened in the cultic activities of the Cypriot *koinon* and cities as the sole source of Roman power available to them. For example, Iulius Cordus, serving as *proconsul* in the first century CE, regulated the cost of the statue of

ans, Phokians and Euboians to reduce the number of his statues); *P.Lond.* no. 1912=Oliver 1989, 77–88, no. 19, esp. ll. 28–40 (Claudius, in his letter to the Alexandrians, gave instructions on his statues); *I.Ephesos* no. 25=Oliver 1989, 346–51, no. 170 (Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus advised Ulpus Eurykles, the *logistes* of the Ephesian *gerousia*, not to melt down the statues of former emperors in order to create their statues). Cf. *SEG* 9, no. 8, ii=Oliver 1989, 40–55, no. 9; Suet. *Tib.* 26; *P.Oxy.* no. 2476=Oliver 1989, 94–97, no. 24; Oliver 1989, 401–13, nos. 193–203.

62 Suet. *Tib.* 26 (Tiberius prohibited temples and priests for his cult); *P.Lond.* no. 1912=Oliver 1989, 77–88, no. 19, esp. ll. 48–51 (Claudius did not permit the Alexandrians to establish a temple for him); *Recherches -- Thasos* 2, no. 179=Oliver 1989, 91–94, no. 23 (Claudius advised the Thasians not to set up a temple for him). Cf. Oliver 1989, 123–25, no. 39; Tac. *Ann.* 4. 36; Cass. Dio 57. 24. 6.

63 Cass. Dio 59. 4. 4 (Caligula changed his mind regarding sacrifice offered to him); Cass. Dio 60. 5. 4 (Claudius forbade sacrifice to him).

64 Suet. *Tib.* 26 (Tiberius showed reluctance to allow an oath and to name a month after himself); Oliver 1989, 65–69, no. 17 (Germanicus rejected divine acclamations by the Alexandrians).

65 For the prosopography of the *proconsules* and other Roman magistrates of Cyprus and their duties (though the evidence for them is very scanty) in general, see Mitford 1980a, 1298–308; Potter 2000, 788–817.

Nero that the city of Kourion set up in the sanctuary of Apollon.⁶⁶ The establishment of the Cypriot oath to Tiberius and the introduction of the Romano-Cypriot calendar, both of which probably concerned the island as a whole and represented the rather conspicuous cult rituals for the emperors, may also have involved the intervention and co-operation of Roman magistrates (see chapters 4 and 8). These assumptions seem more probable, when we compare the cases of Cyprus with those of the other eastern provinces, where the Roman governors regulated costs expended by cities for the imperial cult, took the initiative in establishing a calendar in honour of the emperor, served as mediators between the emperor and provincials regarding the religious status of the emperor, and so on.⁶⁷

Finally, there is the cult on the individual level. The private worship of the ruler had a long tradition in Cyprus since the Hellenistic period, which formed a historical basis for the worship of the Roman emperor on the individual level.⁶⁸ Adrastos' cult of Tiberius is a very impressive piece of evidence for this cult.⁶⁹ Adrastos, with his son Adrastos, set up the temple and statue in the *gymnasion* of Lapethos of the ruling emperor Tiberius as his personal god on the birthday of the emperor (see chapters 1 and 3). This cult makes clear two distinctive facets of the imperial cult on the individual level: first, the familial character of the cult (the hereditary priesthood of Adrastos in co-operation with his son); and second, the blatantly expressed status of the emperor as god (Tiberius as the god of Adrastos and the dedication of the temple and statue with the ceremony held on his birthday). This unreserved worship of the living emperor was probably possible because there existed no direct negotiation between Adrastos and Tiberius on the latter's religious status. A dedication to Nero in Salamis, in which the emperor appears as *ho idios theos*, may also represent an individual cult.⁷⁰ A series of votive offerings to Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaisar forms another type of imperial cult on an individual level,⁷¹ in which the individual donors of the offerings, who probably did not care about the identity of Apollon Kaisar, recognised the divine element in this partly imperial deity.

The imperial cult was to a considerable extent embedded in Cypriot politics and society on the three levels mentioned above, which can best be recognised in the competition for higher status in the performance of the cult among the affluent

66 **Kourion no. 2.** See also **Kourion no. 11**, which attests that *proconsul* Seppius Celer permitted the council of Kourion to finance the pavement of a street for Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaisar from the funds distributed to the councillors (*bouleutika diadomata*). See Bagnall and Drew-Bear 1974, 190–95.

67 For Roman magistrates in the imperial cult, see Habicht 1973, 84; Price 1984a, 69–71; Millar 2004, 303–304; Hupfloh 2007, 207–208.

68 A number of small altars, stelai, plaques etc., which are inscribed with the genitive name of Arsinoe Philadelphos, testify to her private cult. See Anastassiades 1998; *SEG* 57, no. 1736. Onesandros, priest for life of Ptolemy IX and of the *Ptolemaion* (ca. 107–88 BCE in Paphos; Mitford 1961b, 40–41, no. 110), set up the *Ptolemaion* by himself, which implies the private origin of the cult. For private worship in the Hellenistic ruler cult, see Aneziri 2005.

69 **Lapethos no. 2.**

70 **Salamis no. 8.**

71 **Kourion no. 4; no. 6; no. 7; no. 9; no. 10.**

elites of each city on the island, and, though to a lesser extent, among the cities on the island, and between Cyprus and its neighbouring provinces. Although this competition was basically limited to the island itself (chapter 6), it continuously functioned as impetus for the driving force for the imperial cult, not the *do ut des* relationship between the emperor and the provincials on the island, as other scholars have suggested. The civic elites competed with each other for the offices of the imperial cult, attempted to surpass their peers in status by funding imperial rituals and monuments, and strove to pass on the resulting high status within their families. The imperial cult, which presupposed the participation of the provincials in its system without any specific external impetus, functioned on a practical level on the basis of the competitive culture of the Greek cities.⁷²

5.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The system of the Cypriot imperial cult described above seems to have functioned with considerable stability, but was, nonetheless, far from a frozen system which was not prepared to change. Before concluding this chapter, I wish to examine two variable aspects in this system. The first is the synchronic interchange between the three levels of the imperial cult. It is without doubt that the Cypriots, in their daily life, undertook various kinds of cultic activities on behalf of the emperor, not confining themselves to just one level of the cult. The Romano-Cypriot calendar, probably introduced by the *koinon*, was used in private life on the island, while an imperial cultic statue set up by an individual priest of the emperor would of course have been visible to other ordinary Cypriots. Here, we are dealing with a system of three layers with frequent intercourse between them. Imagine, for example, what Adrastos, the enthusiastic priest of Tiberius, thought of Tiberius' statues usually seen as honorific – Adrastos would possibly have categorised them differently. Given the lack of evidence, it may be fruitless to speculate on this impressive change of viewpoint. Nonetheless, we must always bear in mind that very frequent exchanges existed between the three levels of the cult.

The second variable aspect in this system is a diachronic one. In Cyprus, as in the other eastern provinces, the imperial cult underwent various changes during the course of the imperial period. The most important one of these concerns the *do ut des* relationship. As seen above, the direct reciprocity of *do ut des* between the emperor and the Cypriots played a relatively marginal role in the cult of the emperor on the island. An imperial beneficial act, however, could provide strong motivation for performing the imperial cult during its formative phase in the Augustan period; the most telling evidence for this phenomenon is the *Epinikia*, the festivals held on the island in commemoration of the victory of Augustus (Octavian) in Actium (see above). This incomparable achievement of Augustus offered sufficient incentive for the inhabitants of the eastern Empire to worship him as

72 For the competitive culture of civic politics in the East and its effects on the imperial cult, see Price 1984a, 62–65, 122–32; Chaniotis 2009a, 24–28. See also chapter 6 of the present study.

living god;⁷³ the cult is focused on a personal beneficial act by Augustus. Thereafter, the cults of successive emperors in most cases took a more abstract form, not reacting to each beneficial act of the emperor, but underlining the continuity of the imperial house and crystallising the cult of each individual emperor into the cult of ‘the’ emperor. Now, the emperor was worshipped merely because he was the emperor. The lesser importance of *do ut des* in the later period and the use of the epithet *Sebastoi* (see chapter 1) pertain to this general tendency. The impressive epithets of Hadrian in inscriptions from Salamis, saviour and benefactor of the world (**Salamis no. 16** and **Salamis no. 19**), may demonstrate a Cypriot reaction to a specific benefaction of this emperor, but they also shed light on a crystallised concept of the emperor as the universal benefactor of the world.⁷⁴ Here, we are dealing with the process of establishment and routinisation – the cult of the emperor became rooted so deeply in the island that the Cypriots did not need any special action by the emperor in order to venerate him.

73 E.g. Laffi 1967 (the province Asia). See Habicht 1973, 55–60; Price 1984a, 54–56.

74 Habicht 1973, 85–88; Ando 2000, 406–408. See also chapter 1 of the present study.

CHAPTER 6. THE IMPERIAL CULT IN THE SOCIO-POLITICAL FRAMEWORK OF CYPRUS

In the imperial cult, religion and politics merged with each other to a considerable extent. The political reality of the Empire was described through its religious vocabulary and cultic activities in the framework of local *panthea* of provincial communities. Communication between the emperor and the provincials, which, at a practical level, consisted of diplomatic relations (e.g. a delegation to the emperor and negotiations with Roman officials), often took the form of a discussion on the religious status of the emperor (chapter 5). However, we must note that this is only one aspect of the imperial cult as an amalgam of religion and politics. The imperial cult related not only to political interaction between the emperor and the provincials, but also to the socio-political life of the region concerned. In particular, the culture of competition of cities and civic elites performed a decisive role in incorporating the imperial cult into the politics of provinces: cities competed against each other for the privilege of establishing an imperial temple and founding a festival in honour of the emperor, which would lead to a higher status in the region, while the priesthood of the imperial cult constituted the most prominent office longed for by civic elites¹ (though some attempted not to take the burden of the priesthood on their own shoulders, since holding the office of the imperial cult involved the expenditure of a huge amount of their own wealth on imperial monuments, festivals and rituals).² The present chapter investigates the imperial cult inside Cypriot society, placing a special emphasis on the priests of the imperial cult, whose offices were held by higher-ranking Cypriots with various intentions – political, social or religious.³

A brief comment on the rivalry among Cypriot cities is necessary before undertaking a detailed examination of the imperial priesthood. The civic rivalry among Cypriot cities over the higher status in the worship of the emperor was not so conspicuous as in other eastern provinces, e.g. in Asia Minor, where the imperial cult was an important focal point of the keen competition among major cities.⁴ On Cyprus, there is no clear evidence for excessive competition over the imperial cult between Paphos and Salamis, the two principal cities of the island. The

1 Price 1984a, 62–65, 122–32; Rizakis 2007. Chaniotis 2009a, 24–28 sketches competition among communities as a strong motivation for ritual transfer including that of the imperial cult.

2 E.g. Aelius Aristides avoided holding the office of the imperial priest of the *koinon*, insisting on his ill health. See Behr 1968, 61–90. Cf. Reynolds 1982, 113–15, no. 14. For imperial priests who financed the cult at their own expense, see Quaß 1993, 212–20, 303–17.

3 The imperial priesthood is the best studied aspect of the Cypriot imperial cult: see Mitford 1980a, 1347–55; Mitford 1990, 2194–202; Potter 2000, 823–28; Cayla 2004; Kantiréa 2008.

4 Price 1984a, 64–65, 122–32; Friesen 1993; Heller 2006.

coins of Roman Cyprus often bear representations of the sacred cone-shaped stone of the Aphrodite sanctuary in Paphos or the cult statue of Zeus in Salamis on their reverse, both types of which were, nonetheless, struck under the name of the Cypriot *koinon*, not of each city.⁵ The title of *metropolis*, as we have seen in chapter 5, must be placed in the context of the Hadrianic re-organisation of the eastern Mediterranean, which does not seem to have engendered competition between Paphos and Salamis; one may remember that both cities co-operated in the dispatch of a joint delegation to the Panhellenion in Athens.⁶ Furthermore, the different use of calendars, i.e. the Romano-Cypriot in Paphos and the Ptolemaic-Cypriot in Salamis, does not offer tangible evidence for keen rivalry between the two cities (chapter 8). This lesser extent of civic rivalry in Cyprus may be attributed to the geography of Cyprus; the island encircled by a natural boundary, without impassable mountains (in contrast to Crete, an island with steep mountains which divide its inhabitants into many small segments), probably served to foster interior conformity, rather than to fragmentise the region into small divisions. The long history of occupation by Ptolemaic Egypt, which maintained the island in a relatively peaceful state without severe conflicts between cities, may also have contributed to this conformity. In any case, civic rivalry was not the main factor in relation to the performance of the imperial cult in Cyprus, and thus we must turn to the rivalry between higher-ranking individuals in order to elucidate the integration of the imperial cult into the Cypriot socio-political framework. The present chapter is divided into three sections: imperial priests on Cyprus; the imperial cult in hierarchical society; and concluding remarks.

6.1. IMPERIAL PRIESTS ON CYPRUS

The epigraphic evidence from the island attests the following imperial priests (listed in order of city):

Karpasia no. 1 (early first century CE): Phanokles, son of Nikolaos, as *politikos archiereus dia biou tes athanasias ton Sebaston*

Kition no. 2 (period of Tiberius): Euphamo, daughter of Euphamos, as *archierasamene [Ioulias?] Sebastes*

Kition no. 4 (late first century CE): Tiberius Claudius Hyllos Iustus as *archiereus tes nesou*

Kition no. 5 (probably first century CE): Tiberius Claudius Nikopolinos Hipparchos as *archiereus dia biou ton Sebaston kai tes hieras synkletou*

Kition no. 6 (first century CE?): an anonymous as *archiereus tes Rhomes*

Kition no. 12 (first or second century CE): Tiberius Claudius Mnaseas Lucius, son of Mnaseas, as *archiereus ton [Sebaston] kai tes [Rhomes?]*

5 See Parks 2004. Parks 2004, 64–66, no. 10a (*semis* struck under the authority of Drusus Minor) combines the cult object of the Aphrodite sanctuary in Paphos and the cult statue of Zeus in Salamis.

6 *IG* 2/3², no. 3296.

Kourion no. 1 (late first century BCE?): an anonymous as [*archiereus*] *tes Rhomes*

Lapethos no. 2 (29 CE): Adrastos, son of Adrastos, as *engenikos hiereus tou en to gymnasioi kateskeuasmenu hypo autou ek tou idiou Tiberiou Kaisaros Sebastou naou kai agalmatos*

Paphos Nova no. 1 (period of Nero): Caius Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus, son of Claudia Appharion, daughter of Teukros, as [*dia biou*] *archiereus*

Paphos Vetus no. 5 (period of Augustus): Plous as *archiereus dia biou theou [Autokratoros] Kaisaros Sebastou*⁷

Paphos Vetus no. 6 (period of Augustus or Tiberius): an anonymous, son of Rhodokleia, as *archiereus*

Paphos Vetus no. 7 (period of Tiberius): an anonymous as *archiereia [ton Sebaston?]*

Paphos Vetus no. 9 (18/19 CE): Rhodokles, also known as Stasikrates, son of Rhodokles, as *archierasamenos nesiotikos tou theou Sebastou Kaisaros*

Paphos Vetus no. 13 (probably period of Tiberius): Amyntor, son of Tryphosa and Lysias, as *archiereus dia biou tes soterias tou oikou ton Sebaston*

Paphos Vetus no. 15 (late first century CE): Caius Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus, son of Caius Ummidius Quadratus and Claudia Rhodokleia, as *archiereus*, and his mother Claudia Rhodokleia as *archiereia*

Paphos Vetus no. 16 (late first century CE): Caius Ummidius Quadratus Pantauchianos, son of Caius Ummidius Pantauchos, grandson of Claudia Appharion, daughter of Teukros, as *archiereus*, and his father Caius Ummidius Pantauchos as *archiereus*

Salamis no. 2 (probably late Augustan period): Hyllos, son of Hyllos, as *archiereusamenos tes Kyprou tou Sebastou theou Kaisaros*

Salamis no. 3a (mid-Augustan period): an anonymous as [*archiereus*] *dia biou* of Augustus and his twins, Caius Caesar and Lucius Caesar

Salamis no. 3b (late Augustan period): an anonymous as [*archiereus*] *dia biou* of Augustus and his twins, Tiberius and Germanicus Caesar

Salamis no. 6 (probably period of Tiberius): Herakleides, son of Hyllos, as *archiereus dia biou tou Dios tou Olympiou kai ton Sebaston*

Salamis no. 10 (period of Vespasian): Diodoros, son of Diodoros, as *archiereus tes Kyprou tou Sebastou Kaisaros kai tes eparcheias [---]*

Salamis no. 11 (late first century CE): [Servius] Sulpicius Pankles [Veranianus] as *archierasamenos tes Kyprou tris*

Salamis no. 12 (late first century CE): Zenon, son of Onesandros, as *archierasamenos*

Salamis no. 14 (late first to second century CE?): Flavius Fi[---], husband of Ceionia Kallisto Attike, as *archierasamenos ton Sebaston*

7 In this inscription, Plous appears as *ton tes Seastes Paphou philosophon*, i.e. the philosopher of the city of Paphos. Serving the emperor as priest and living the philosophical way of life was no contradiction in Greek cities under Roman rule – both constituted ‘the social capital’ of higher-ranking citizens who could invest time and money in the imperial cult and in philosophical activities. See recently, Haake 2008.

At first sight, the above list is remarkable for the concentration of priests in the first century CE. This may be attributed to the general picture in which the epigraphic evidence in Cyprus concerning the emperors reaches a peak during the Julio-Claudian period (see chapters 1 and 2). More detailed investigation into the list leads us to an important issue concerning the system of the imperial cult. There seem to have been three types of imperial priests in Cyprus, i.e. provincial, civic, and individual (including those of the *gymnasion*), corresponding to the three levels of the imperial cult that we have seen in the preceding chapter. There was no *Kypriarchos* in Cyprus, unlike in other eastern provinces where *Asiarchos*, *Lykiarchos* etc. are attested.⁸ Provincial *archiereis* of the imperial cult in Cyprus retain in their titles the qualifications ‘of Cyprus’ (**Salamis no. 2**; **Salamis no. 10**; **Salamis no. 11**) and ‘of the island’ (**Kition no. 4**; **Paphos Vetus no. 9**). The increased frequency of the qualification ‘of Cyprus’ in Salamis may imply that *archiereus* ‘of Cyprus’ was an office peculiar to that city, independent of the provincial priesthood of *archiereus* ‘of the island’; however, such a prominent person as Sulpicius Pankles from Salamis, *archiereus* ‘of Cyprus’ (**Salamis no. 11**), whose generous service to Cyprus as well as to his home town was acknowledged across the island (see below), would not have been satisfied with his priesthood if it had only been responsible for the administration of the imperial cult in Salamis. Thus, it is a reasonable assumption that both ‘of Cyprus’ and ‘of the island’ qualify the same priestly office, i.e. that of provincial *archiereus*.

Imperial priests on an individual level, who supervised the imperial cult performed by a segmented part of society, include Adrastos as *engenikos hiereus* of the cult of Tiberius in the *gymnasion* of Lapethos (**Lapethos no. 2**) and probably Euphamo as *archiereia* of Iulia Augusta, i.e. Livia (**Kition no. 2**).⁹ Most of the other inscriptions, some of which are fragmentary, seem to concern *archiereis* on the civic level: Phanokles in **Karpasia no. 1** without doubt held the office (*ho politikos archiereus*) on the level of *polis* administration. Furthermore, those who served as *archiereis* for life (*dia biou*) seem to have belonged to the priesthood of the civic level,¹⁰ since the tenure of office for *archiereis* at the provincial level was restricted, no matter how long it was.¹¹ The status of priests is not clear in several cases – those who serve the *Sebastoi* and the goddess Roma¹² and those

8 Mitford 1990, 2196–97. As for the office of *Asiarchos*, see recently Campanile 2006. For *Lykiarchos*, see Engelmann 2006; Zimmermann 2007.

9 An anonymous, who set up a dedication to Nero as ‘his own god’, may also have served as imperial priest on the individual level (**Salamis no. 8**). See Mitford 1990, 2199, n. 121. See also **Salamis no. 9**.

10 **Karpasia no. 1**; **Kition no. 5**; (probably) **Paphos Nova no. 1**; **Paphos Vetus no. 5**; **Paphos Vetus no. 13**; **Salamis no. 3a**; **Salamis no. 3b**; **Salamis no. 6**.

11 **Salamis no. 11**, which refers to Sulpicius Pankles who served as provincial *archiereus* ‘three times’, provides a testimony to the fixed term of this office.

12 **Kition no. 6**; (probably) **Kition no. 12**; **Kourion no. 1**; **Salamis no. 14**. For the priesthood of ‘the sacred senate’, which is referred to in **Kition no. 5**, see Kienast 1985.

who bear no qualification¹³ probably held office on the civic level, though without any tangible evidence this conclusion must remain open.

We are in the dark as to the election process of a provincial *archiereus* of the Cypriot *koinon*. Terence Mitford has proposed that one provincial *archiereus* was selected annually from civic *archiereis* governing the imperial cult of each city on the island.¹⁴ His argument is, however, very doubtful – none of our five *archiereis* of the province (i.e. *archiereis* ‘of Cyprus’ and ‘of the island’) seems to have held the office of civic priest before entering the provincial priesthood. Rather, it seems very probable that the *koinon* of Cyprus annually elected or nominated a person as provincial *archiereus* from amongst the cream of the Cypriot elites who could afford to meet the costs required by the performance of the imperial cult on the provincial level, irrespective of whether they had had experience of civic priesthood.¹⁵

Before concluding this section, peculiar priestly titles in **Karpasia no. 1** and **Paphos Vetus no. 13** warrant a comment here. *Politikos archiereus dia biou tes athanasias ton Sebaston* (**Karpasia no. 1**) and *archiereus dia biou tes soterias tou oikou ton Sebaston* (**Paphos Vetus no. 13**) place their emphasis not on the emperor himself, but on the continuity of the imperial family and its rule. In my opinion the implication of these titles is twofold: first, they reflect the general tendency for imperial representation after the age of Augustus to be increasingly focused not on an individual emperor, but on a ‘lump’ of emperors (see chapter 1). Second, by means of these titles, which tend to make the target of worship ambiguous, the imperial priests could avoid the awkwardness of being seen directly

13 **Paphos Vetus no. 6; Paphos Vetus no. 7; Paphos Vetus no. 15; Paphos Vetus no. 16; Salamis no. 12.** Theoretically speaking, *archiereus* without qualification can denote priests for other deities, e.g. those of Aphrodite of Paphos and Zeus of Salamis. However, in the imperial period, *archiereus* without qualification usually meant the noblest priesthood, i.e. that of the imperial cult. See Spawforth 1997, 185. See also Mitford 1980a, 1352–54; Mitford 1990, 2201. Cf. Kantiréa 2008, 111. Cayla 2004, 238–39 has proposed that *archiereus* without qualification in **Paphos Vetus no. 15** and **Paphos Vetus no. 16** denoted the imperial priesthood on the provincial level, which tempted him to conclude that the imperial priesthood not only on the civic level, but also on the provincial level, was monopolised by a Paphian family (for the monopoly of the priesthood, see below in the present chapter). His theory, however, does not seem to hold for two reasons. First, if those mentioned in **Paphos Vetus no. 15** and **Paphos Vetus no. 16** had held the office of *archiereus* on the provincial level, they should have demonstrated their distinguished service by elaborating the exact title of their office. Second, *archiereus* without qualification occurs not only in Paphos, but also in Salamis (**Salamis no. 12**; though in the form of participle *archierasamenos*), which is incompatible with Cayla’s assertion that *archiereus* without qualification was unique to Paphos. Thus we can reasonably assume that *archiereus* without qualification signified the priesthood on the civic level.

14 Mitford 1990, 2196.

15 For the election of provincial *archiereis* in general, see Deninger 1965, 148–54. Deninger has also posited that candidates for the office of provincial *archiereus* did not have to hold that of civic *archiereus* beforehand. See Deninger 1965, 152, n. 2. This point closely relates to the issue of the ‘professionalism’ of ancient priests (not only of the imperial cult, but also of other cults). For a precise overview on the topic, see Chaniotis 2008a.

serving the living emperor as his priest. The religious status of the emperor could be blurred through the elaborate titles of priestly offices.

In the next section, the list of priests will be approached with regard to the monopoly and heredity of offices in a few families, and the advancement of imperial priests to the imperial aristocracy.

6.2. THE IMPERIAL CULT IN HIERARCHICAL SOCIETY

Monopoly and heredity

The list of priests on the three levels (provincial, civic, and individual) points to a considerable degree of monopoly and heredity of offices in a few selected families in a few cities, e.g. Paphos, Salamis, Kition and Lapethos. We now examine these families in turn.

For Paphos, five inscriptions refer to members of a few families related to each other that produced successive *archiereis*.

1) *Paphos Vetus no. 9* (18/19 CE)

Rhodokles

|

(Tib. Claudius) Rhodokles, also known as Stasikrates, as *archierasamenos nesiotikos*

2) *SEG 30, no. 1629. Cf. I.Paphos no. 173 and Kantiréa 2008, 106 (early Empire)*

Teukros

|

[Tib.] Claudius Rhodokles ∞ an anonymous

|

[Tib.] Claudius Teukros, probably as *archiereus* of Aphrodite

3) *Paphos Nova no. 1* (period of Nero)

(Tib. Claudius) Teukros

|

Claudia Appharion

|

[C.] Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus as [*dia biou*] *archiereus*

4) *Paphos Vetus no. 15* (late first century CE)

C. Ummidius Quadratus ∞ Claudia Rhodokleia as *archiereia*

|

C. Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus as *archiereus*

5) *Paphos Vetus no. 16* (late first century CE)

(Tib. Claudius) Teukros

|

Claudia Appharion as *archiereia* of the sanctuaries of Demeter on Cyprus

|

C. Ummidius Pantauchos as *archiereus*

|

C. Ummidius Quadratus, also known as Pantauchianos, as *archiereus*

These five inscriptions can be assembled as follows:

Rhodokles

Teukros

|

|

(Tib. Claudius) Rhodokles, also known as Stasikrates ∞ an anonymous

|

|

(Tib. Claudius) Teukros ∞ an anonymous

|

Claudia Rhodokleia ∞ C. Ummidius Quadratus ∞ Claudia Appharion

C. Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus

C. Ummidius Quadratus, also known as Pantauchianos

We are dealing with a family that successively held the religious offices of the *koinon* and the city of Paphos from the Julio-Claudian to the Flavian period.¹⁶ This family produced one provincial *archiereus*, two civic *archiereis*,¹⁷ one (probably) civic *archiereia*, one *archiereus* of Aphrodite and one provincial *archiereia* of Demeter. (Tib. Claudius) Rhodokles (**Paphos Vetus no. 9**) and C. Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus (**Paphos Nova no. 1**) also financed the games *Kaisarogermanikeia* (in honour of Germanicus Caesar) and *Neroneia* (in honour of Nero), respectively. Furthermore, this family obtained Roman citizenship in the early stage of the Empire: (Tib. Claudius) Rhodokles, also known as Stasikrates, was granted Roman citizenship probably under the reign of Tiberius or Claudius,¹⁸ while the citizenship of C. Ummidius Quadratus may have concerned C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus who governed the island as *proconsul* in the Tiberian period.¹⁹

In Salamis two families attract our special attention. First, two inscriptions (**Salamis no. 2** and **Salamis no. 6**) refer to three generations of a family in the

16 For this family, see Mitford 1980a, 1352–54; Cayla 2004; Kantiréa 2008, 105–107. The family tree proposed here is not identical to those of these scholars in some major and minor points. My assumption is, on the whole, similar to that of Cayla, in presupposing that there was only one C. Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus (contra Kantiréa 2008, 107) and that the father of this person, C. Ummidius Quadratus, married two different persons, i.e. Claudia Rhodokleia and Claudia Appharion (contra Mitford 1980a, 1353, n. 324). Kantiréa 2008, 106, n. 96 attempts to connect **Paphos Vetus no. 6** to this family tree of Paphos; however its fragmentary condition does not allow a secure restoration.

17 For *archiereus* without qualification, which probably means the office of civic imperial priest, see above in the present chapter.

18 Mitford 1980b, 282; Cayla 2004, 237. Kantiréa 2008, 106 connects the enfranchisement of Rhodokles to the review of the Aphrodite temple's right of asylum that took place in 22/23 CE. Cf. Potter 2000, 834.

19 Cayla 2004, 237; Kantiréa 2008, 107. For C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus, see *PIR*^I V, no. 600. Mitford 1980a, 1353; Mitford 1980b, 282 proposed that C. Ummidius Quadratus obtained citizenship during the time when C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus served as *legatus* of Syria in the 50s, not during his proconsulship in Cyprus. Cf. Potter 2000, 834. An inscription from Kilikia (*IdC* no. 120) attests the bestowal of Roman citizenship by C. Ummidius Durmius Quadratus.

early Empire, consisting of one Hyllos, his son Hyllos (*archiereus tes Kyprou tou Sebastou theou Kaisaros*), and his grandson Herakleides (*archiereus dia biou tou Dios tou Olympiou kai ton Sebaston*).²⁰

The second family concerns Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus who held the offices of *gymnasiarchos*, *agonothetes*, *archiereus tes Kyprou* (three times), *presbeutes pros tous Sebastous* (three times) and the office of corn-supplier, and, furthermore, founded a theatre, (probably) a *gymnasion* with golden imperial statues, and an amphitheatre, all at his own cost, in the latter half of the first century CE (**Salamis no. 11**). His Roman citizenship may have been granted during the short reign of Galba (Servius Sulpicius Galba; 68/69 CE),²¹ or may have originated from Lykia-Pamphylia where many families of the *Sulpicii* are known to have lived.²² Many inscriptions from Salamis attest his family members who would have monopolised Salaminian political life in the late first century CE,²³ though no other member of his family seems to have served as a provincial or civic *archiereus*. His family might have been connected to that of Hyllos, provincial *archiereus* in the Augustan period (**Salamis no. 2**), through the marriage between Sergia Phila, daughter of Sulpicius Pankles, and Tiberius Claudius Mentor, a descendant of Hyllos;²⁴ however, one must remember that the inscriptions concerned are very fragmentary, and that Tiberius Claudius Mentor is, even if he really did belong to the family of Hyllos, the great-great-great-grandson of Hyllos, which would make it almost meaningless to talk about the relationship between Hyllos and Sulpicius Pankles. In any case, it is true that the families of Hyllos and Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus from Salamis performed a central role in the imperial cult on both the civic and provincial levels during the first century of the Empire.

The sole provincial *archiereus* in Kition, Tiberius Claudius Hyllos Iustus, may have been a remote descendant of Hyllos in Salamis (**Kition no. 4**).²⁵ In Kition, the *Tiberii Claudii* produced two civic priests, Tiberius Claudius Nikopolinos Hipparchos (**Kition no. 5**) and Tiberius Claudius Mnaseas Lucius (**Kition no. 12**). Another Tiberius Claudius, Tiberius Claudius Isidoros, is known to have served as ambassador to the emperors (**Kition no. 7**). These inscriptions make it clear that the members of the *Tiberii Claudii* constituted the main group chosen

20 Mitford 1980a, 1350; Kantiréa 2008, 93–94 have assumed that the civic *archiereus* who donated **Salamis no. 3a** and **3b** was Hyllos son of Hyllos who also served as provincial *archiereus* (**Salamis no. 2**). Their assumption is attractive, but without decisive evidence.

21 Mitford 1980b, 279; Kantiréa 2008, 107.

22 Potter 2000, 830.

23 For the family members of Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus, see *I.Salamis* 131–53; Mitford 1980b, 279; *Salamine de Chypre* 49–55; Kantiréa 2008, 107–11.

24 Mitford 1980b, 278–79; Kantiréa 2008, 107–11.

25 An honorific inscription from Ephesos (*I.Ephesos* no. 3060) attests one Appius Claudius Cassianus of Salamis as son of Tiberius Claudius Hyllos Iustus, probably the person commemorated in **Kition no. 4**. If this is the case, the council of Kition would have honoured Hyllos Iustus as an influential Salaminian who served as provincial *archiereus*.

for the performance of the imperial cult in Kition, though it is, of course, another question whether (or to what extent) these individuals were related to each other.

Our last case, Lapethos, demonstrates that inheritance of the imperial priesthood took place not only at the provincial and civic level, but also at the individual level. As we have seen in chapter 3, it was with his son Adrastos that the father Adrastos dedicated the temple and statue of Tiberius in the *gymnasion* of Lapethos as ‘hereditary’ *hiereus* (**Lapethos no. 2**). The son Adrastos also inherited the title *philokaisar* and the office of *gymnasiarchos* (though ‘of children’) from his father. We are informed about another Adrastos, son of Adrastos, who set up the statue of Trajan in his city (**Lapethos no. 3**). Although this setting up of the statue may have nothing to do with the imperial cult, this evidence testifies to the continuing high status of the family of Adrastos in Lapethos.

These case studies of Paphos, Salamis, Kition and Lapethos neatly illustrate the general picture of imperial priestly offices of Cyprus very frequently held within a circle of affluent families in communities, whether on the provincial, civic or individual level. This phenomenon probably resulted from the fact that the imperial priesthood involved the expenditure of a huge amount of money, e.g. for establishing imperial statues and other monuments, holding festivals in honour of the emperor, and traveling to Rome as ambassador. We can easily imagine that only a few families in each city could endure these burdensome liturgies. However, this conclusion must be balanced by mentioning those imperial priests who appear to have been no relation at all to the leading families. Among eighteen priests and priestesses, whose names are available, nine priests (including one priestess) do not possess Roman citizenship, and seven priests (including one priestess) do not belong to the aforementioned families. These individuals may have failed in passing the offices on to their families or perhaps in producing offspring, or they may have been unable to sustain the financial burden that the priesthood involved.

Advancement to the imperial aristocracy

The preceding discussion has illuminated the considerable degree to which members of wealthy and, accordingly, higher-ranking families in communities, held the offices of imperial priests. Therefore, it may not be surprising to come across such a statement as follows: ‘Rome’s eastern partisans were easily recognizable – wealthy, cultivated, often endowed with Roman citizenship; many were rhetors. The high priests [i.e. of the imperial cult] were precisely men of this description. [...] The cult, with its root deep in the Republic, was another means by which the favourites of Rome could rise to prestige and power, and eventually penetrate the senate of the capital city’.²⁶ Indeed, studies on imperial priests in Asia Minor and Greece have demonstrated that some families that produced imperial priests achieved equestrian and senatorial orders, either immediately after the priesthood

26 Bowersock 1965, 117–18.

or a few generations later.²⁷ Did the Cypriots also advance to the imperial aristocracy outside the island through holding the offices of the imperial cult?

The answer to this question is negative. In Roman Cyprus, we are informed about only one person of the senatorial order, and this person does not seem to have been related to the families that were engaged with the imperial cult.²⁸ This fact serves to place the advancement of provincials to the imperial aristocracy in its proper perspective: the promotion of provincials, in most cases, depended on their wealth and personal connections with prominent Romans, rather than on the offices they performed in local communities. Here, it was not a case of whether they served as priests of the imperial cult, let alone whether they ‘believed in’ the emperors. Cyprus, being situated outside the regions of political and strategic importance, attracted less interest from the imperial side – many *proconsules* of Cyprus were unambitious and unpromising senators (see introduction and chapter 5) – with the result that the Cypriots tended not to have powerful connections with the political centre of the Empire.

The title *philokaisar*, which Phanokles (**Karpasia no. 1**) and Adrastos and his son (**Lapethos no. 2**) possessed, also does not suggest a direct relationship between themselves and the emperor. *Philokaisar* was not a title which the emperor conferred on individuals who took the priestly office of the imperial cult because of their ‘loyalty’ towards him, but was one which cities decreed for those who took the responsibility of the imperial cult on their shoulders.²⁹ Individual euergetism for the performance of the imperial cult focused ‘inwardly’ on the internal politics of the city, not on advancement within the Empire-wide aristocracy. As a corollary, a few imperial priests from Cyprus also held the titles *philopatris*³⁰ and *hyios tes poleos*,³¹ which were intended to honour their services on behalf of their hometowns. That said, prominent Cypriots who served as provincial *archiereus* could demonstrate their distinguished status outside their home cities: e.g. an inscription from Athienou, an inland city close to Golgoi, commemorates the statue of Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus, the provincial *archiereus* from Salamis, set up by Krates, son of Asklepiades.³² Such an outstanding person as Sulpicius Pankles, who was wealthy and served the whole island as well as his home city by holding multiple offices, including that of provincial *archiereus*, reasonably ex-

27 For the Roman East in general, see Rizakis 2007. For Asia Minor, see Campanile 1994, 162–71; Frija 2012, 186–91. For priests recently attested there, see Campanile 2006. Cf. Stein 1927. For Greece, see Kantiréa 2007, 196.

28 *IGR* 3, no. 960 attests Lucius Sergius Cl[...]. Arrianos as tribune of senatorial order (*synkletikos tribunus*), who would have been franchised by Lucius Sergius Paullus, *proconsul* of Cyprus, whom St. Paul persuaded to convert to Christianity. Sergia Aurelia Regina, referred to as *femina consularis* in the Severan period (*IGR* 3, no. 958; *IGR* 3, no. 959; *I.Kourion* no. 98), was probably related to Lucius Sergius Arrianos. See Potter 2000, 790, n. 76 and 793, n. 88. Cf. Bowersock 1982.

29 Buraselis 2000, 101–10; Veligianni 2001.

30 **Karpasia no. 1; Kition no. 5; Lapethos no. 2.**

31 **Kition no. 5.**

32 Mitford 1950, 5, c. See also Mitford 1950, 6, d. Cf. Rizakis 2007.

tended his influence all over the island – however, despite this, he and his descendants could find no vacancy in the aristocracy at the imperial level.³³

6.3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The investigation into the imperial priests of Cyprus raises two important observations in respect to the relationship between the imperial cult and socio-political life in Cyprus. First, the priestly offices of the imperial cult were, to a remarkable extent, integrated into the political career of local elites. Members of leading families held the priestly offices – whether on a provincial, civic or individual level – passed them on within their families, and paraded them in inscriptions as a service to their home cities and to the province as a whole. Those who failed in this did so because of lack of money, children, or enthusiasm. This point appears more impressive when we compare the priestly offices in Roman Cyprus with those in Ptolemaic Cyprus; in the latter, the *strategos*, the governor of the island dispatched from Egypt, also served as *archiereus* of cults on the island including that of the Ptolemaic king from the reign of Ptolemy V onwards, while there were relatively few priestly offices of the ruler cult held by local Cypriots.³⁴ The imperial cult during the Roman period provided an important forum for the elites of Cyprus who were eager to embellish their careers with various offices and generous expenditures. Along with *archon*, *gymnasiarchos*, *agonothetes* and other offices, the office of *archiereus* occupied one of the highest places in their *cursus honorum*.

The priestly office of the imperial cult, however, did not help local elites to become Empire-wide aristocrats, as far as available evidence is concerned. This is my second point. Cyprus was not situated within the areas of highest political and strategic importance in the Empire, and, accordingly, the elites of Cyprus lacked strong connections with eminent senators. As we have seen in chapter 5, the imperial cult made it possible for the Cypriots to understand the political reality of the Roman Empire from a religious perspective and to communicate with the

33 One may remember a discussion between Epiktetos, Stoic philosopher in the Roman period, and a citizen of Nikopolis who sought to become an imperial priest (Arr. *Epict. diss.* 1. 19. 26–29). Epiktetos cynically argued against him that the fame and honour brought by the burdensome office of the imperial cult was ephemeral and limited to the city of Nikopolis. Cf. Haake 2008, 146–47.

34 For the list of the *strategoï* as *archiereis*, see Bagnall 1976, 252–62. Priests for the royal cult on the civic level include: ‘Abd’aštar in Lapethos, priest of Ptolemy II (275 BCE; Cooke 1903, 82–88, no. 29); Amath-Osir in Idalion, *kanephoros* of Arsinoe Philadelphos (254 BCE; Cooke 1903, 77–79, no. 27); Melankomas in Kition, priest of the *Theoi Euergetai* (ca. 145–16 BCE; *I.Kition* no. 2024; cf. Bagnall 1976, 69–70); Onesandros in Paphos, priest for life of Ptolemy IX and of the *Ptolemaion* (ca. 107–88 BCE; Mitford 1961b, 40–41, no. 110); Onesitimos, priest of Arsinoe Philadelphos (unknown provenance; second century BCE?; Mitford 1939, 28–29, no. 13); Andronikos in Kourion, priest of *basileis* (34 BCE?; Michaelidou-Nicolaou 2007, 368–74, no. 3=Thonemann 2008 [*BE* 2009, no. 534; *SEG* 57, no. 1745]). For the first two inscriptions, which are in Phoenician, see Volkmann 1956; Parmentier 1987.

emperor and his agents through the religious system of the imperial cult. However, it never meant that by worshipping the emperor as god they could advance to the aristocracy outside the island.

PART 3

THE EMPEROR IN THE LIFE OF THE CYPRIOTS

CHAPTER 7. FESTIVALS

In the preceding two parts of this study, we have investigated the religious status of the emperor in Roman Cyprus (part 1) and the system of the imperial cult and its relation to the socio-political framework of Cyprus (part 2). The following (part 3) deals with the representation of the emperor in the life cycle of the Cypriots, in particular focusing on festivals (chapter 7), and on time concept and calendars (chapter 8). As we have seen above, the unreserved worship of the emperor occurred only sporadically in Cyprus, which does not mean, however, that the Cypriots felt detached from the emperor in their everyday life; the Cypriots – both the elites and ordinary people – had plenty of opportunity to find references to and representations of the emperor, not only in cultic monuments such as dedications and sanctuaries for the emperor, but also in objects such as honorific imperial statues, milestones, and imperial building projects. On account of their memorability, repetitiveness and regularity, festivals and other regular calendrical events were two of the most important imperial representations. Splendid festivals in honour of the emperors and imperial family members were held at regular intervals, which established memorable punctuations in the rhythm of Cypriot life, and the year and months, which were also organised in honour of the emperors and imperial family members, served to connect the Cypriots to the emperor on a repetitive calendrical basis in a wide range of their activities, from religious and political procedures, to the more private sphere of life, e.g. birth and death. Specific rituals of the imperial cult (e.g. ceremonies for the emperor's birthday and enthronement) may have been integrated into this cycle. Furthermore, festivals and calendars themselves were named after the emperors and imperial family members, which would have reminded the Cypriots of their dignity and divinity. In this chapter, inscriptions concerning imperial festivals held on the island will be examined, though the lack of evidence does not permit us to thoroughly investigate the detailed contexts of festivals (e.g. their motivations, participants and contents). Nonetheless, we are at least able to draw a rough sketch of festivals in terms of their relationships with the imperial cult and other types of imperial representation.¹

1 For festivals held in the East in honour of the emperor, see generally Price 1984a, 101–32; Wörrle 1988; Rogers 1991; Kantiréa 2007.

7.1. CYPRIOT FESTIVALS IN HONOUR OF THE EMPEROR

The following festivals are epigraphically attested in Roman Cyprus.²

Epinikia

An inscription from Keryneia (**Keryneia no. 1**) mentions the games *Epinikia*, which were held in the city probably on the occasion of the Actian Games that commemorated the victory of Octavian (Augustus) over Antony in Actium (see chapter 3).³ In the Keryneian *Epinikia*, an anonymous (his name is lost) funded athletic and horse games, and undertook a sacrifice to *theos* Augustus, probably during the emperor's lifetime. Since this person seems to have served as *gymnasiarchos*, the games may have been held in the *gymnasion* or celebrated by the whole city, with his individual financial support. That the *Epinikia* took place every four years seems probable, despite the lack of direct evidence.⁴

Kaisarogermanikeia

Paphos Vetus no. 9, which testifies to the statue of Rhodokles Stasikrates, son of Rhodokles, set up by the Cypriot *koinon*, demonstrates that Rhodokles, as voluntary *agonothetes*, supervised the games *Kaisarogermanikeia*, i.e. 'the sacred games of the island coming every fifth year for Caesar Germanicus, which were organised by the Cypriot *koinon* for the first time in Paphos *Sebaste*'. There is no doubt that the *koinon* of Cyprus, in co-operation with Rhodokles, established these games in honour of Caesar Germanicus, on the occasion of his governance in the East in 18/19 CE, or after his death in Syria in October, 19 CE. Since it is not known whether or not he ever actually came to the island, the latter idea, i.e. the games as a posthumous honour for Germanicus, seems more probable.⁵ In any case, this is the sole evidence in the Empire for the games called *Kaisarogermanikeia*.⁶ Unfortunately it is not clear whether the games were newly established in the imperial period, or if the Cypriots re-named the games that would until then have been held in the Aphrodite sanctuary, in order to place a greater emphasis on

2 For a brief overview of festivals held in Roman Cyprus, see Mitford 1980a, 1365–69. Chatzivassiliou 2004, 17–110 provides a thorough compilation of sources concerning athletic games in Cyprus from the Archaic to the Roman period. Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1961; ICA 12 (RDAC 1973) 213–16 assemble evidence for athletes concerning Cyprus.

3 For the Actian Games, see Gurval 1995, 74–81.

4 *AKET* 4. 2, 134.

5 *I.Paphos* no. 169. For posthumous honours for Germanicus, see Tac. *Ann.* 2. 83.

6 Athens established the games *Germanikeia*, probably on the occasion of Germanicus' stay in the city, the first attestation of which dates to 44/45 or 45/46 CE (*IG* 2/3², no. 1969, ll. 24–25). See Follet 1976, 322; Kantiréa 2008, 105, n. 94.

honouring Germanicus.⁷ If the qualification *hieros* in the inscription concerns not only the divinity of Germanicus, but also the divinity of Aphrodite, one may reasonably argue for the continuity of the festive framework; the festivals in honour of Germanicus may have been newly inserted in the time-honoured framework of the Aphrodite festivals.⁸

Neroneia

An inscription from Paphos Nova (**Paphos Nova no. 1**) attests a statue of Caius Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus who, serving as *gymnasiarchos*, at his own expense provided the games called *Neroneia* with olive oil in vases and washing tubs.⁹ The inscription, though partly fragmentary, also seems to attest that he served as priest of the festival (*hiereus tou komou*). We are informed of the *Neroneia*, the festivals in honour of the emperor Nero, over the Empire.¹⁰ These festivals seem to have been held in the *gymnasion* or at a civic level, since Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus' office of *gymnasiarchos* is referred to in connection with the games.

The festival in honour of Antinoos

An inscription from Kourion (**Kourion no. 13**) attests the cult of Antinoos in Cyprus. This Bithynian beloved of the emperor Hadrian drowned in the Nile in 130 CE. The circumstances of his death are unclear – it may have been an accident, suicide or ritualised murder. In any case, from that time he was deified.¹¹ This (unfortunately very fragmentary) inscription from Kourion contains a hymn to Antinoos. This subsection examines the hymn, since one can consider the cult of Antinoos, a quasi-family member of the emperor, as a type of imperial cult, and because the hymn attests festivities for the cult of Antinoos. One may translate the hymn as follows (though the main four editions are inconsistent in some emendations).¹²

7 Strabon makes a reference to an annual procession from Paphos Nova to Paphos Vetus, in which men and women from other cities participated (Strabon 14. 6. 3).

8 Cf. Price 1984a, 103–104.

9 For the distribution of oil in games, see **Kition no. 6**; this inscription also refers to a *pentateteris*, whose context is, however, unclear.

10 E.g. Suet. *Ner.* 12; Tac. *Ann.* 14. 20, 16. 2, 16. 4; Cass. Dio 62. 21. Cf. Price 1984a, 104, n. 20.

11 For the cult of Antinoos, see Price 1984a, 68, n. 59; Meyer 1991; Meyer 1994; Birley 1997, 247–50; Goukowsky 2002; Kuhlmann 2002, 173–239; Vout 2005; Vout 2007, 52–135; Chaniotis 2009a, 12.

12 *I.Kourion* no. 104; Lebek 1973; Peek 1974; Kuhlmann 2002, 256–57. For the metre of the hymn, see in particular Lebek 1973; Peek 1974.

For Good Fortune. [---] *legatus* [---] of Cyprus to Antinoos [---] ordered by him [---] dedicated the hymn. [--- (Receive)] this messenger [---]. We hymn the chthonic Adonis, (i.e.) Antinoos who lies here [far from his] fatherland. (Muse), tell me [...] of the music; for the beautiful-haired lyre-player (Apollon) had brought me up as the singer only for you (Antinoos). [For you], I play lyre, for you, I play kithara, by the altar [...] of (Apollon) Hylates. For you, I founded a chorus [...] (from) the Phoronic blood of Perseus, [...] which obtained (the city of) the high place. According to your order, I sing now, the violet-curled, beautiful-haired, blessed Bithynian (i.e. Antinoos), looking very graceful, son of the mother with golden wings.

This hymn can be tackled from the following three points of view: the origin of its motivation, Antinoos' combination with local traditions, and rituals undertaken in the cult of Antinoos.

First, the motivation for worshipping Antinoos seems to have originated with the emperor Hadrian. This emperor took the initiative in establishing the cult of Antinoos in Egypt, by founding the city Antinoupolis, by setting up Antinoos statues, and by declaring that he witnessed Antinoos' apotheosis.¹³ Our evidence from Kourion also testifies to the imperial motivation of the cult. Line 2 of the inscription, though fragmentary, refers to a certain *legatus* of Cyprus, a Roman official on the island, as the initiator of this ritual of hymn.¹⁴ Wolfgang Lebek's assertion that a professional poet and musician such as the composer of this hymn cannot have been a Roman official does not hold,¹⁵ given the general philhellenic tendency among the highly educated elites of the Empire. Although Terence Mitford has rightly ascribed the hymn to a Roman *legatus*, he assumes too much in underlining a close connection between the *legatus*, Antinoos and Hadrian, by saying: 'A *legatus provinciae* [...] has (we may suppose) received some favor through the intervention of Antinoos, and now finds an opportunity, by lamenting the recent death of his benefactor, to ingratiate himself with his Hellenophile Emperor'.¹⁶ I would like to propose, instead, that the *legatus*, even without any intimate connection with Antinoos, emulated other hymns composed in honour of Antinoos¹⁷ under the direct or indirect influence of Hadrian's initiative in Egypt.

The *legatus* also combined and manipulated myths and legends concerning Antinoos and Kourion, in order to place the cult of Antinoos in the mythical genealogy of the city, as already demonstrated by Peter Kuhlmann.¹⁸ This is my second point. In the hymn, the city of Kourion appears as 'the Phoronic blood of Perseus', based on the myth that Kourion was founded by the Argives¹⁹ – Phoro-

13 Cass. Dio 69. 11. 2–4. See also Paus. 8. 9. 7–8; SHA *Hadr.* 14. 5–7; Aur. Vict. *Caes.* 14. 7–9, and the hieroglyphic inscriptions inscribed on the so-called Antinoos-Obelisk (Meyer 1994).

14 *I.Kourion* no. 104.

15 Lebek 1973, 135.

16 *I.Kourion* no. 104.

17 Verses on Antinoos are not very rare in papyri from Egypt; for a list of papyri that record hymns for Antinoos, see the notes of *P.Oxy.* no. 4352. Pankrates (Ath. 15. 677d–f), Mesomedes (see *Suda*) and Noumenios (see *Suda*) are known to have composed hymns to Antinoos.

18 Kuhlmann 2002, 232–36.

19 Hdt. 5. 113. 1; Strabon 14. 6. 3.

neus, son of Inachos, was believed to be the first inhabitant of the Argolis and the discoverer of fire.²⁰ Perseus on the other hand, was a famous Argive hero. Thus, the hymn connects Kourion to the Argives by mentioning the legendary ‘founding fathers’ common to them both.²¹ Another genealogical connection in the hymn concerns the identification of Antinoos with Adonis. In the eastern Mediterranean, Adonis offered a model of a beautiful youth who died and was later resurrected; Antinoos was regarded as such a boy.²² Further, Kinyras, the father of Adonis, was a king of Cyprus, and one of his sons, Koureus, gave his name to the city of Kourion.²³ Another myth also justified the singing of Antinoos-Adonis in Kourion – Apollon, the grandfather of Adonis, was worshipped as Apollon Hylates on the outskirts of the city. The *legatus* of the Roman emperor, with his talent for verse and his thorough knowledge of the network of myths surrounding Kourion and Adonis, connected the city not only to the cult of the imperial beloved, but also to the wider Greek world, through this subtly manipulated hymn.²⁴

My third point is relevant to the rituals of Antinoos’ cult mentioned in the hymn. The hymn not only lauds Antinoos, but also describes a festive chorus performed in his honour. The *legatus* not only composed the hymn and set up the inscription, but also organised and financed the ritual of chorus.²⁵ Lebek has reconstructed the procedures of the chorus as follows, on the basis of Suetonius’ description of Nero’s music contest:²⁶ the festival starts with an overture played on the kithara, followed by an opening address, and then the singer sings the hymn, i.e. our hymn inscribed on the stone, to the accompaniment of the kithara, and finally the chorus comes in. This music festival was held by the altar of Apollon Hylates, though it remains unclear whether an altar was set up in the precinct of the Apollon sanctuary specifically for the cult of Antinoos. We also do not know whether this festival took place on a regular basis, and if so, how often.

20 Paus. 2. 15. 5, 19. 5. See also Tatianus, *Ad Gr.* 39.

21 *I.Kourion* no. 89 also refers to the city as *polis Perseos*. The *legatus* composed the hymn in the Doric dialect (e.g. *hylata* in line 12 and *materos* in line 17), probably not only to follow the tradition of chorus lyric, but also to demonstrate Kourion’s connection with the Argives. See Kuhlmann 2002, 200.

22 Kuhlmann 2002, 233.

23 See Κοῦριον in Steph. Byz.

24 It is also a well-known myth that Myrrha, urged by divine anger, committed incest with her father, Kinyras or Theias, which resulted in the birth of Adonis; Adonis grew up to be an apple of discord between Aphrodite and Persephone. It seems probable that the *legatus* also attempted to imply this connection between Adonis-Antinoos and Aphrodite, the goddess of Cyprus *par excellence*, by his hymn. For a possible connection between Antinoos and Eros (a companion of Aphrodite) in the hymn, see Meyer 1991, 168; Goukowsky 2002, 219–21; Kuhlmann 2002, 234; Vout 2007, 132, n. 170.

25 For festivals and games held in honour of Antinoos in the Empire, see Meyer 1991, 254–59.

26 Lebek 1973, 132–34. For Nero’s music contest, see Suet. *Ner.* 21. 2. Meyer 1991, 256–57 proposed an idea that an association of hymn-singers in Cyprus performed the chorus.

Other *agones*

An inscription from Laodikeia in Syria records a series of victories of one Aurelius Septimius Eirenaïos in the third century CE.²⁷ *Agones* in which he won a prize include not only major games like the *Severeios Oikoumenikos Pythikos* in Kaisareia (Caesarea Maritima) and the *Aktia* of Augustus in Nikopolis, but also smaller ones like the games in Salamis and in Kition, both on Cyprus. According to this inscription, the athletic games in these two Cypriot cities contained boxing and foot racing (Salamis), and boxing and pancratium (Kition). However, it does not seem that these games were specifically intended to honour or worship an emperor, since they appear in the inscription without qualification relating to imperial names, in contrast to the games in Kaisareia and Nikopolis.²⁸

Before concluding this chapter, we need to address the issue of how long the festivals honouring the emperors and the imperial family members – the *Epinikia*, the *Kaisarogermanikeia*, the *Neroneia*, and the musical festival for Antinoos – continued to be celebrated. Since imperial festivals could be held on an *ad hoc* basis (e.g. on the occasion of enthronement or the emperor's successful deeds), some festivals, after having been celebrated a few times (or even once), were abandoned or were modified in their name and character.²⁹ We are dealing with festivals that could shift from one context to another. As for the Cypriot festivals, the available evidence does not speak of how long they continued to be observed. One may assume that the Cypriots intended to maintain the *Kaisarogermanikeia* when they celebrated the games for the first time in Paphos – *protos* in **Paphos Vetus no. 9** seems to imply that the donor of the inscription was seeing the games for the second time, at least. Be that as it may, we do not know for sure whether or not the games actually continued. If the *Kaisarogermanikeia*, the *Neroneia* and the festival for Antinoos were celebrated in the framework of existing traditional festivals for Aphrodite of Paphos and Apollon Hylates of Kourion, the core of these festivals should have continued on after imperial elements (e.g. the imperial names of the festivals and specific rituals for the emperor and his family members) had faded out. In any case, the available evidence does not permit us to proceed further than raising the possibility that the imperial festivals ceased a few years after their foundation.

27 CIG no. 4472=IGR 3, no. 1012. Cf. SEG 41, no. 1543. See Moretti 1953, 249–53, no. 85.

28 For the games in Kition, see also **Kition no. 6**; *I.Kition* no. 2047; *I.Kition* no. 2048.

29 Price 1984a, 103.

7.2. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Imperial festivals on Cyprus seem to have been relatively modest in scale in comparison with other epigraphically attested major festivals, e.g. those of Oinoanda, Ephesos and Gytheion. This is partly because the evidence available for our purpose is very fragmentary in quality and limited in number, but also partly due to the fact that Cyprus, an island situated far from the centre of the Greek world and whose ruling elites were not usually entitled to enter the aristocracy at Empire-level, could not afford to hold festivals grandiose enough to attract participants from abroad. However, this does not mean that festivals held on the island did not contribute to the cult of the emperor. Even on such a modest scale, the festivals discussed above would have represented festive highlights in the life of the Cypriots, and some elements of the imperial cult were inserted into these festivals (i.e. retaining names in honour of the emperor and imperial family members in the *Epinikia*, the *Kaisarogermanikeia* and the *Neroneia*), though they may not have lasted for a long time after their establishment. It is also important to note that the imperial festivals were often undertaken within the existing cultic frameworks of traditional deities: sacrifice and hymn – cultic practices employed in the cults of traditional deities – were now applied to the imperial festivals (in the *Epinikia* and the musical festival in Kourion); the *Kaisarogermanikeia* may have followed the procedures of the old festivals held in the Aphrodite sanctuary of Paphos; and the musical festival in Kourion – though its motivation probably originated with the emperor and his *legatus* – was interwoven into the local mythical genealogy of Kourion. Here, we are dealing with ‘ritual transfer in a metaphorical sense’ (see introduction). Thus, the imperial festivals on Cyprus, though quite modest, served to integrate the cult of the emperor into the life of the Cypriots by employing their indigenous cultic framework and practices.

CHAPTER 8. EMPERORS AND TIME

Time plays a significantly important part of human life. Time, on which a society is based and in accordance with which it works, has a variety of effects on its religious and political life, as well as on its daily affairs. The way time is understood and reckoned, in turn, can serve as a valuable indicator when investigating how a society is organised and what are its primary concerns. In short, time is a mirror that reflects the way of life of each group of people.¹ In this chapter, I examine time and time reckoning in Roman Cyprus, with special reference to the imperial cult and other types of imperial representation. The chapter deals with two themes in turn: first, the practice of naming the year after the emperors and the Roman authorities, which was ubiquitously visible on the island through a large number of inscriptions and coins; second, the introduction of the so-called Romano-Cypriot calendar on the island, which closely correlated with the worship and honouring of the emperor.

8.1. NAMING THE YEAR

The regnal year

In Cyprus, as in the other provinces, there are such a considerable number of inscriptions referring to the regnal years of the Roman emperors across the island that we tend not to properly appreciate their possible effect on the sense of time of the Cypriots.² However, one should not dismiss the possibility that they would have established a connection between the central authorities and the island with regard to the concept of time. It is indeed surprising to see the extent to which the use of the regnal year spreads out all over the island, and the speed with which it caught up with political events across the Empire, such as the succession of emperors. An incense burner from a rural sanctuary in Louroukina, a village approximately 18 km to the northwest of Kition, carries an inscription that sheds light on the close link between an Empire-wide history and a local sense of time.

- 1 For general works on time in antiquity, see Samuel 1972; Rosen 2004; Hannah 2005; Stern 2012.
- 2 For the use of regnal dating in Asia Minor in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, see Leschhorn 1993, 12–21.

To [---] Barbaros [---]leinus Koronais, priest of Apollon?, (dedicated it) [on behalf of his son?] Apollonios. On the twentieth of the month Rhomaïos in the second year of Emperor Caesar Severus Pertinax.³

One can only speculate about the deity to whom the incense burner was dedicated; it may have been Apollon, since the dedicator was probably the priest of a cult of Apollon,⁴ or he might have wanted to soothe the river Yíalias running through Idalion, a possible *potamos barbaros* that flooded the region every winter.⁵ What deserves attention here is the date of the dedication, i.e. the twentieth of the month Rhomaïos in the second year of Severus, corresponding to the eleventh of September, 194 CE in the Julian calendar. As we shall see, the date mentioned in the inscription is based on the so-called Romano-Cypriot calendar, introduced during the Augustan period, which was constructed for the purposes of honouring the imperial family members.⁶ The date of the Louroukina inscription warrants further attention since it kept good pace with the power game of the age. It was in the spring of 194 CE that Severus subdued Pescennius Niger in Asia Minor and finally secured the eastern Empire, which means that it took no more than five months for the Cypriot dedicator to offer the dedication with reference to the new emperor in the East. Since Asia and Egypt fell into Severus' hands by early 194 CE,⁷ it might not be impossible that Cyprus recognised his supremacy at an earlier stage of his wars. Be that as it may, this dedication implies the remarkable synchronism between the imperial 'history' and an inland rural sanctuary in Cyprus, through the dedicator.⁸

The regnal years of the emperors occur all over the island: there are over forty inscriptions that refer to imperial regnal years in the period under our consideration. The monuments carrying these inscriptions include statues and dedications to the emperors;⁹ dedications to traditional deities;¹⁰ statues and monuments pre-

3 *IKition* no. 2011: [---] βαρβάρῳ [---]λεινὸς Κορωνάϊς ἱερεὺς Ἀπό[λλωνος? ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ? Ἀπο]λλωνίου Δ. Λ β' μην(νός) Ῥωμήου κ' ἐπὶ Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Σευήρου Περτίνακος. Cf. *An.Ép.* 2004, no. 1547; *SEG* 54, no. 1539.

4 Mitford 1961a, 117–18.

5 Hadjioannou 1978, 105–106.

6 The second regnal year of Septimius Severus corresponds to the year from the twenty-third of September, 193 CE to the twenty-second of September, 194 CE, while his first regnal year lasted for only a few months from the spring of 193 CE, when he ascended the throne, to the twenty-second of September, 193 CE.

7 Birley 1988, 108–20.

8 Koronais is not known otherwise in Cyprus; although he seems to have had a Romanised name, his son, probably Apollonios, does not have such a name. Thus, we cannot assume that his family obtained Roman citizenship. See Mitford 1961a, 117–18, no. 17. Cf. *BE* 2005, no. 559.

9 **Salamis nos. 3a and 3b** (the twenty-fourth year of Augustus; revised later under Augustus); **Paphos Vetus no. 11** (the tenth year of Tiberius); **Lapethos no. 2** (the sixteenth year of Tiberius); **Paphos Vetus no. 14** (probably the second year of Caligula); **Kourion no. 2** (the twelfth year of Nero); **Amathous no. 3** (the second year of Titus); **Amathous no. 4** (the second year of Titus); **Kourion no. 4** (the third year of an unknown emperor, probably of Trajan); **Salamis no. 15** (the third year of Trajan); **Salamis no. 16** (the seventh year of Hadrian); **Salamis no. 20** (the ninth year of Commodus); **Salamis no. 21** (the ninth year of Com-

sented to Roman magistrates¹¹ and prominent Cypriots;¹² public buildings;¹³ milestones;¹⁴ and so on.¹⁵ The wide use of the regnal year implies that the Cypriots, surrounded by various monuments dated by the regnal year, would have developed their concept of time in close connection with the emperors. The regnal year, accumulated annually and reset with the succession of thrones, was certainly an important conceptual frame that structured Cypriot time. However, it ought to be stressed at the same time that we do not know to which emperor the regnal year belongs in nearly half of the inscriptions with regnal dating; this can partly be due to the fragmentary conditions of inscriptions; but, for the most part, it is because of a tendency for a few types of regnal year dating to leave the emperor concerned anonymous.

- modus); **Paphos Nova no. 4** (probably the sixth year of Severus); **Paphos Nova no. 5** (the nineteenth year of Severus, the fourteenth year of Caracalla and the third year of Geta); *Salamine de Chypre* no. 150 (the twentieth year of an unknown emperor, probably Caracalla). **Paphos Nova no. 5** needs a special mention. The promotion of Geta to Augustus has been dated to late 209 or late 210 CE (see Birley 1988, 218). A newly found diploma, however, attests the promotion of Geta to Augustus after July 209 CE. Thus, his first regnal year was from his promotion to Augustus, sometime in July, August or September 209 CE, to the twenty-second of September, 209 CE, the last day of the Romano-Cypriot year. His third regnal year corresponds to the nineteenth year of Severus and the fourteenth year of Caracalla, i.e. the year from the twenty-third of September, 210 CE, to the twenty-second of September, 211 CE. For the diploma, see Roxan 1994, 322–23, no. 191; Spielvogel 2006, 183.
- 10 Aupert 2008, 349–70 (the fortieth year, probably of Augustus); Mitford 1950, 48–51, no. 26 (an unknown year of Tiberius); Mitford 1947, 206–208, no. 2 (the twelfth year of Commodus); *I.Kition* no. 2011 (the second year of Severus); Masson 1994, 266, no. 1 (the sixth year of an unknown emperor); *SEG* 41, no. 1476 (the twenty-eighth year of an unknown emperor).
 - 11 *Salamine de Chypre* no. 100 (the fourteenth year of an unknown emperor, perhaps Augustus); *I.Kourion* no. 90 (an unknown year, probably of the second century CE).
 - 12 **Paphos Vetus no. 13** (the twenty-second year of an unknown emperor, perhaps Tiberius); Mitford 1947, 201–206, no. 1 (the thirteenth year of an unknown emperor, probably Claudius); **Paphos Vetus no. 16** (the eighth year of an unknown emperor, possibly Vespasian or Domitian); *Salamine de Chypre* no. 117 (the tenth year of an unknown emperor in the first century CE); Mitford 1950, 6, d (the second year of an unknown emperor in the first century CE); *Salamine de Chypre* no. 34 (the nineteenth year of an unknown emperor, perhaps Trajan or Hadrian); Mitford 1950, 24–25, no. 12 (the twenty-first year of an unknown emperor, probably of the second century CE).
 - 13 Mitford 1950, 17–20, no. 9 (the first year and the third year of Claudius); **Kourion no. 5** (the fourth year of Trajan); *SEG* 41, no. 1474 (the second year of an unknown emperor, perhaps Hadrian); *SEG* 41, no. 1474 (the eleventh year of an unknown emperor, perhaps Hadrian).
 - 14 Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 236–37, no. 3 (the seventh year of Severus); 266–68, no. 24 (the seventh year of Severus); 246–47, no. 12 (the second year of Macrinus); 269–70, no. 25, ii (the fourth year of Aurelian); 259–60, no. 20, iii (the fourth year of an unknown emperor in the late third century CE?).
 - 15 Mitford 1961a, 139–41, no. 38 (the thirty-sixth year of an unknown emperor, probably Augustus); *ICA* 34 (in *RDAC* 1995), 225–26, no. 18 (the tenth year of Claudius); *I.Paphos* no. 140 (the fifth year, perhaps of Vespasian); Mitford 1961a, 118–19, no. 18 (cf. Mitford 1990, 2204, n. 148; the third year of Titus and the seventh year of Domitian); Beaudouin and Pottier 1879, 166, no. 9 (the seventeenth year of an unknown emperor).

Regnal year dating appears as various types. The most straightforward is a combination of a year and the emperor concerned with the genitive, i.e. *L (=etos) X tou Y*.¹⁶ The combination of a year and a genitive emperor with the preposition *epi*, i.e. *L (=etos) X epi tou Y*, was also quite simple: e.g. the second year of the reign of Emperor Caesar Severus Pertinax in *I.Kition* no. 2011. However, other inscriptions, in which the regnal year dating only consists of a year, i.e. *L (=etos) X*, do not refer to the emperor concerned, and therefore we must assign a date by means of other elements, e.g. the content and letterforms in the inscriptions. This contradiction between the ubiquity of regnal year dating on the island and the anonymity of the emperor concerned may be accounted for by the long history of regnal year dating in Cyprus.

It seems that dating was exclusively regnal in Classical Cyprus, where each city had a kingship. After a transitional period from kingship to the rule of the Ptolemies around the turn of the fourth and third centuries BCE, in which all the former city-kingdoms probably introduced their own eras,¹⁷ the institution of regnal dating, this time by the Ptolemies, began at the latest by the age of Ptolemy II Philadelphos.¹⁸ It is unclear whether the year symbol 'L' was established in Cyprus at the same time as the institution of regnal dating.¹⁹ In any case, Cyprus had already maintained the tradition of regnal dating for almost 250 years when they accepted the regnal year of the Roman emperors, which certainly made it possible for the Cypriots to regard the institution of regnal year dating as a well-established

16 E.g. the twelfth year of Emperor Antoninus Augustus Commodus in Mitford 1947, 206–208, no. 2. The sign resembling the Latin alphabet 'L' denotes *to etos*, i.e. the year. See Kolb 2003, 240.

17 Only two local eras are attested, but for the Hellenistic period: one is of Kition, the other is of Lapethos. The former, a Phoenician inscription from Idalion (Cooke 1903, 77–79, no. 27), is dated as the thirty-first year of a king Ptolemy, equivalent to the fifty-seventh year of Kition and the year of an eponymous *kanephoros* of queen Arsinoe Philadelphos. The Ptolemy mentioned here is probably Ptolemy II Philadelphos; and if so, the year concerned is 254 BCE. A Phoenician inscription from Larnaka tis Lapithou (Cooke 1903, 82–88, no. 29), testimony to the era of Lapethos, refers to the eleventh year of a king Ptolemy, equivalent to the thirty-third year of Lapethos and the year of an eponymous priest of the king. Three candidates have been proposed for the king concerned: Ptolemy II Philadelphos (in which case the inscription is dated to 275 BCE), Ptolemy VI Philometor (171 BCE) and Ptolemy X Alexander I (107 BCE). According to Honeyman (see Hill 1949, 178–79, n. 9), 'the two wives' are mentioned in the inscription, which rules out the second candidate. Further, assuming that a local era would have begun in the transitional period from kingship to Ptolemaic rule, the first candidate seems more plausible than the third. If this is the case, the era of Lapethos commenced in 307 BCE. For the Kitian era, see also *SEG* 25, no. 1071. Cf. Mitford 1961a, 140–141; Mitford 1961b, 6, no. 8; Mitford 1980a, 1357, n. 361; Teixidor 1988.

18 See the two Phoenician inscriptions in the preceding note.

19 Mitford (*I.Kourion* no. 32, n. 1) has proposed that the year symbol 'L' was introduced with regnal dating in order to underline the difference between regnal dating by the Ptolemies and dating by civic eras. However, the Phoenician inscriptions discussed above mention the regnal years of Ptolemy II without the year symbol. Therefore, the institution of regnal dating probably preceded the introduction of the symbol 'L'. Elsewhere (Mitford 1980a, 1357), Mitford dated the introduction of the symbol 'L' to Ptolemy III Euergetes I.

and routine convention. This fact accounts for the anonymity of the emperors in regnal dating. The primary interest of the Cypriots was probably to date inscriptions with this conventional dating system, not to intentionally contextualise their activities in the history of the Empire, except in the case of inscriptions that contain manifest references to the reigning emperors.

The year named after the Roman power

Representation of the emperor in Cypriot time and time reckoning could take on a wide variety of forms, not limited to the regnal year. An example from Kourion illuminates various methods for giving names to a year according to the system of the Empire.

Imperator Caesar, son of the divine Nerva, Nerva Traianus Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, *pontifex maximus*, holder of the tribunician power eighteen times, Imperator six times, *consul* eighteen times (*sic*), father of the fatherland, *vvvv*, paved the unpaved street from the already paved street to the gateway, which leads to the Paphian Road, for Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaiser, when Quintus Seppius Celer was *proconsul*. As the council of Kourion decreed and Quintus Seppius Celer, *proconsul*, permitted, its cost was covered from the funds distributed to the councillors.²⁰

The date of this inscription is 113/14 CE, more precisely, from December, 113 CE, to the summer of 114 CE, which can be deduced from the number of times mentioned in Trajan's offices and titles concerning his religious, legal and military power, of which the status of *princeps* consisted. A few dozen inscriptions which contain clear references to the number of imperial offices and titles held concern milestones,²¹ construction projects initiated by the emperors,²² and statues and dedications to the emperors, mostly donated by cities and civic organs.²³ These inscriptions demonstrate that dating a year with the emperors' titles and offices formed an inseparable part of what they intended to represent – their content was so closely related to the emperors' enterprises and the honouring or cultic veneration of the emperors that it was probably requested, or at least thought preferable, that the Cypriots and the authorities of the Empire on Cyprus should date the years by making reference to the imperial power. The difference between this dating system and regnal dating is significant. There is no doubt that the Cypriots found the former to be a more recently introduced practice in the time-reckoning institution of the province – the Ptolemies did not count the year by their political, military or religious titles. Dating by imperial titles and offices, although (or perhaps because) it occurred much less frequently than regnal dating, must have

20 **Kourion no. 11.**

21 Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 252–53, no. 15, i (Titus); 275–76, no. 29 (Titus); 236–37, no. 3 (Caracalla); 247–49, no. 13, i (Severus and Caracalla); 266–68, no. 24 (Severus and Caracalla); 270–72, no. 26 (Severus and Caracalla); 273–74, no. 27 (Severus and Caracalla).

22 **Paphos Nova no. 2** (Domitian); **Kourion no. 5** (Trajan); **Kourion no. 11** (Trajan).

23 **Lapethos no. 2** (Tiberius); **Salamis no. 7** (Nero); **Salamis no. 8** (Nero); **Kition no. 8** (Nerva); **Kition no. 9** (Nerva); **Salamis no. 16** (Hadrian); **Salamis no. 19** (Hadrian).

stood out as a clear manifestation of the ruling power; it served as a token of the monuments that had an intimate connection with the emperors.²⁴

Inscriptions that refer to Roman magistrates and officials, such as *proconsules* and *procuratores*, are to be understood along the same lines as the inscriptions dated by means of the emperors' titles and offices. Roman authorities in office are usually presented in the form of the preposition *epi* (or *dia*) plus their names with the genitive. These inscriptions concern milestones,²⁵ statues and dedications to the emperors,²⁶ imperial building activities,²⁷ and so on.²⁸ When Roman officials played a decisive role in construction projects along with the emperors and local communities, they appear with the genitive absolute and the nominative.²⁹ Although dating by Roman officials does not help to date the inscriptions precisely (in most cases their *cursus honorum* were otherwise unknown, and their tenure of office often lasted more than one year), it would have performed an important role in the time concept of the Cypriots. It is not hard to imagine that the Cypriots were visited by Roman officials far more frequently than the emperors on certain occasions, e.g. dedication ceremonies for public buildings and imperial statues, and provincial trials,³⁰ and that their names in the inscriptions evoked the memory associated with these occasions, which, in turn, provided the Cypriots with a broad framework for their time reckoning.

- 24 There are also inscriptions dated by both regnal dating and the dating of imperial titles: e.g. **Lapethos no. 2**; **Kourion no. 5**; **Salamis no. 16**. This double dating would have served as confirmation of close relationships between the emperors and the inscriptions.
- 25 Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 275–76, no. 29 (Lucius Plotius; Titus); 236–37, no. 3 (Audius Bassus; Severus); 247–49, no. 13, i (Audius Bassus; Severus); 270–72, no. 26 (Audius Bassus; Severus); 273–74, no. 27 (Audius Bassus; Severus); 246–47, no. 12 (Tiberius Attalos Paterculianus; third century CE). In Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 266–68, no. 24, Audius Bassus appears without *epi*. In Latin milestone-inscriptions, *proconsules* appear in the form of the preposition *per* plus their names with the accusative: Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 252–53, no. 15, i (Lucius Plotius; Titus); 261, no. 21, i (Tiberius Claudius Subatianus; Severus); 266–68, no. 24 (Audius Bassus; Severus); 270–72, no. 26 (Audius Bassus; Severus).
- 26 **Lapethos no. 2** (Lucius Axius Naso, Marcus Etrilius Lupercus and Caius Flavius Figulus; Tiberius); **Paphos Vetus no. 12** (Quintus Marcius Hortensinus; Tiberius); **Salamis no. 4** (Caius Lucretius Rufus, represented with the ablative; Tiberius); **Salamis no. 16** (Calpurnius Flaccus, with the preposition *epi* or *dia*; Hadrian); **Kition no. 11** (Sextus Clodius and Ap-pianus; the Severans); **Paphos Vetus no. 17** (Titus Caesernius Statianus Quinctianus and Caius Iulius Helianos Polybianos; Caracalla).
- 27 **Kourion no. 11** (Quintus Seppius Celer; Trajan). Cf. *I.Kourion* no. 107 and no. 109.
- 28 Mitford 1947, 201–206, no. 1 (probably Sergius Paullus; Claudius).
- 29 Mitford 1950, 17–20, no. 9 (Titus Cominius Proculus and Titus Catienus Sabinus; Claudius); **Kourion no. 5** (Quintus Laberius Iustus Cocceius Lepidus; Trajan); **Kourion no. 11** (Quintus Seppius Celer; Trajan); **Paphos Nova no. 5** (Iulius Fronto Tlepolemos and Helianos Polybianos; Caracalla).
- 30 For the administration of *proconsules* on Cyprus, see Potter 2000, 787–807. Sergius Paullus, *proconsul* of Cyprus, is known to have examined St. Paul and St. Barnabas, who, in turn, impressed the *proconsul* with Christianity. See *Acts of the Apostles* 13. 4–12. For Sergius Paul-lus, see recently Weiß 2009.

Numismatic evidence

Numerous bronze and silver coins, which were struck inside or outside Cyprus and circulated on the island, complement the epigraphic media in formulating the Cypriot time concept. In most cases coins with the emperors' portraits and their legends served as an effective means for the diffusion of imperial images and ideals across the vast Empire. It is of course difficult to assess the extent to which provincials saw more than monetary utility in coins. However, a wide variety of images and legends on coins at least offer a clear testimony to the meticulous attention of those who administered coinage at the provincial as well as the imperial level. The dating information struck on coins draws our particular attention in the present context.³¹

Dating by the regnal year, which is frequently found in the epigraphic evidence, occurs relatively rarely in Cypriot coinage. Most Cypriot coins contain a portrait of the emperor with a simple legend of his name and titles on the obverse side, and on the reverse side an image of the Aphrodite temple in Paphos Vetus and/or the cult statue of Zeus in Salamis, with a legend referring to the assembly of Cypriot cities, *koinon Kyprion*. A series of tetradrachm and didrachm of the Flavians stand out from this homogeneous background of numismatic images – these Flavian coins refer to an exceptional regnal dating, 'the new sacred year'. For instance, the legends of a Vespasian tetradrachm read:

Imperator Caesar Vespasian (obverse; the portrait of Vespasian).

In the new sacred year nine (reverse; the temple of Aphrodite in Paphos Vetus).³²

A similar regnal dating appears in a series of Vespasian tetradrachm (the new sacred year eight=75/6 CE, nine=76/7 CE, and ten=77/8 CE),³³ of didrachm of Titus as Caesar (the new sacred year nine=76/7 CE),³⁴ of didrachm of Domitian as Caesar (the new sacred year nine=76/7 CE),³⁵ and of tetradrachm of Titus as Augustus (the new sacred year one=79 CE, or two=79/80 CE).³⁶ Therefore, this dating corresponds to the regnal year of Vespasian and Titus as emperor. With regard to where these coins were minted, the editors of the *Roman Provincial Coinage*,

31 For the coinage of Roman Cyprus, see Parks 2004.

32 Parks 2004, 87, no. 16c: ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡ ΟΥΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΣ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ (obverse). ΕΤΟΥΣ ΝΕΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΥ Θ (reverse).

33 Parks 2004, 86, no. 16a, 86, no. 16b, 87, no. 16d, 87, no. 16e, 88, no. 16f. In no. 16g and 16h, the numbers of the year have worn off. The calendar used in the coins may be the Actian Antiochene calendar, which begins on the second of September (or the first of October), or the Romano-Cypriot calendar that starts on the twenty-third of September. Therefore, the first year of Vespasian is from the first of July, 69 CE, the date of Vespasian's proclamation, to the first of September or the thirtieth of September that year (according to the Antiochene calendar), or the twenty-second of September (according to the Romano-Cypriot calendar). For the chronology of the coins, see Burnett, Amandry and Carradice 1999, 261–62.

34 Parks 2004, 88, no. 17a, 88–89, no. 17b.

35 Parks 2004, 89, no. 18a, 89, no. 18b.

36 Parks 2004, 97, no. 19a, 97, no. 19b.

along with others, have suggested the mint in Antioch (or the transfer of the mint from Antioch to Cyprus),³⁷ while Danielle Parks, who compiled the Cypriot coins in the Roman period, has proposed that these coins may have been minted in Cyprus.³⁸ Although the answer to the question of the mint must await further study, the reverse images of the coins seem to make it clear at least that they were struck primarily for circulation on Cyprus. The issue of coins might have been intended to relieve Cyprus after the serious damage of the earthquake in 76/7 CE,³⁹ or to show an intimate relationship between the Flavians and the island,⁴⁰ to which Titus' visit to the Aphrodite sanctuary of Paphos Vetus provides an excellent testimony (see chapter 5). We are unfortunately in the dark as to the origin and the religious or ideological background of the regnal year called 'the new sacred year'. One may assume that the concept 'sacred' had something to do with the oracle Titus consulted in Paphos Vetus, or with the broader political ideology of the Flavians.⁴¹ However, since 'the new sacred year' also appears on Antiochene silver coins of Galba⁴² and Syrian silver coins of the Flavians,⁴³ 'the new sacred year' of the Cypriot coinage should be placed in the context of a wider regional tradition shared by Syria and Cyprus since the period of Galba. 'The new sacred year', a short-lived variation in Cyprus and Syria of the usual regnal dating, probably served as an apparatus for fostering a common time concept in the northeastern corner of the Mediterranean.

Other impressive numismatic evidence includes coins with imperial titles and the names of *proconsules*. Among them, the semis of Augustus draws our special attention, which is dated to 26 BCE on the basis of the reverse legend in Latin (*COS OCTAVO DESIG IX*).⁴⁴ Augustus took the office of *consul designatus* for the ninth time in that year. As Cyprus entered the senatorial territory in 23/22 BCE, this coinage can be regarded as a remnant of the period in which the island was governed (probably) by *legati* of Augustus (see introduction). The reverse image of this semis, Nike on the globe holding a wreath and palm branch, implies the final victory of Augustus at Actium, and the cession of the island to the Empire.⁴⁵ In sum, this series of semis evokes two moments that are closely related to

37 Burnett, Amandry and Carradice 1999, 11, 262–63. Hill 1949, 234–35 argued for the transfer of the mint from Antioch to Cyprus.

38 Parks 2004, 93–94.

39 Hill 1949, 234–35; Parks 2004, 95.

40 Cf. Burnett, Amandry and Carradice 1999, 11, 262.

41 Kantiréa 2008, 99 attempts to place 'the new sacred year' in the context of the propaganda of the Flavians, to which also belongs the peculiar title of Vespasian in an inscription from Salamis, 'the father of the Roman people as the invincible leader' (*Salamis no. 10*; see chapter 1 of the present study).

42 Burnett, Amandry and Ripollès 1992, nos. 4194, 4195, 4196, 4196A, 4196B.

43 Burnett, Amandry and Carradice 1999, 11, 277–83.

44 Parks 2004, 37–39, no. 1. Amandry (Amandry 1987, 20) has rejected the reading of Hill (Hill 1904, 73, no. 1), *COS OCTAVO DESIG*, and has proposed the new reading quoted in the text, which has been widely accepted. The Cypriot issue of this series has been based only on its provenance; examples have been found in Kourion, Paphos Nova, Kition, and so on.

45 Parks 2004, 37–39.

each other: one is when Augustus established the *Pax Romana*, the other is when Cyprus was administered (through imperial agents) by the first emperor with the power of *consul*. Although this series was not issued in huge quantity,⁴⁶ it vividly commemorates the beginning of the province.

The local dating system

Local eras, which reckon the year according to local starting points such as the mythical foundation of a city or the expulsion of a king, have not thus far been attested in Roman Cyprus.⁴⁷ We are slightly better informed about dating by eponymous local magistrates, such as civic officials and priests of local deities. They appear with the genitive (sometimes plus the preposition *epi*) in Amathous,⁴⁸ Lapethos⁴⁹ and Paphos,⁵⁰ though the Roman types of dating – the regnal year and dating by Roman officials – were also used in these inscriptions.⁵¹ There are also some inscriptions that mention the offices of *archon* and *gymnasiarchos* with reference to years, i.e. ‘a certain X held the office to Y *etos* (or *L*, signifying *etos*)’, or ‘a certain X held the office *L* Y’.⁵² In some cases, this formula is intended to mean ‘a certain X held the office in the year Y [of the emperor Z]’, i.e. the regnal year. But in other cases, in my opinion, they may denote ‘a certain X held the office Y times’, i.e. the frequency of the office, which does not concern the regnal year itself; one can see the model for this expression in imperial titles containing the number of times held.⁵³ If this idea holds true, the local dating system of eponymous magistrates, which occurred quite rarely on the island, was partly syn-

46 Seven obverse and sixteen reverse dies have been attested according to Amandry (Amandry 1987, 19–20), which suggests a small-scale issue (Parks 2004, 38).

47 Mitford 1961a, 139–41; Mitford 1980a, 1357. Ino Nikolaou, in ICA 3 (in *RDAC* 1964), 196–97, no. 9, has proposed that the first line of a funeral inscription from Soloi (probably from the third century CE), which reads ΔΒΔ, may denote the year 424 of a local era. However, as the Roberts rightly argued (*BE* 1966, no. 482), ΔΒΔ is rather an abbreviation of Δόγματι βουλῆς καὶ δήμου. For a wide variety of local eras in Asia Minor, see Leschhorn 1993.

48 ICA 34 (in *RDAC* 1995), 225–26, no. 18 [*SEG* 45, no. 1841]: Publius and Apollonios as *hiereis* probably of Hera, and Ariston and Rhodon as *paranymphoi*. The latter magistrates seem to have attended the sacred marriage of Hera.

49 **Lapethos no. 2**: Dionysios, son of Dionysios, as *ephebarchos*.

50 **Paphos Vetus no. 14**: Dion and Apollonios as *prostatai* probably of the temple of Aphrodite; Mitford 1990, 2180, n. 17: Aineias (?), Eirenaïos and Tryphon as *prostatai* probably of the temple of Aphrodite, and Papeitos as *tamias* probably of the same temple.

51 ICA 34 (in *RDAC* 1995), 225–26, no. 18; **Lapethos no. 2**; **Paphos Vetus no. 14**. One may also add *I.Kourion* no. 86 and *Salamine de Chypre* no. 58 to the group of inscriptions dated by local eponymous magistrates. Cf. Mitford 1980a, 1357; Kolb 2003, 240, n. 11.

52 **Karpasia no. 1**; *I.Kourion* no. 103; Mitford 1950, 24–25, no. 12; ICA 15 (in *RDAC* 1976), 250, no. 12; **Salamis no. 2**; **Salamis no. 6**; *Salamine de Chypre* no. 48; *Salamine de Chypre* no. 99; **Soloi no. 2**.

53 For example, **Salamis no. 19**, a statue of Hadrian, refers to [δημαρχιχῆς] ἐξουσίας τὸ ἰδ' ἔτος, i.e. his fourteenth holding of the tribunician power.

chronised with the Roman regnal year, but also partly functioned inside the community concerned.

8.2. CALENDARS IN ROMAN CYPRUS

This section will deal with how the year was organised, i.e. the issue of calendars which divide a year into months and days, set the New Year, and give a name to each month. The topic will be approached not through the technical aspects of calendars, but by considering the political, ritual and religious implications of the temporal structure that calendars established in the Cypriot milieu. The section is divided into two parts: first, the introduction of the so-called Romano-Cypriot calendar to the island in the Augustan period, and its subsequent modification; second, the spread of the Romano-Cypriot calendar on the island, and its relationship to or co-existence with other calendars.

The introduction of the Romano-Cypriot calendar and its modification

The calendar introduced onto the island in the Augustan period has been given various names: the new Roman calendar,⁵⁴ the Cyprian calendar,⁵⁵ the Paphian calendar,⁵⁶ and the imperial calendar.⁵⁷ The present study, for convenience, calls it the Romano-Cypriot calendar, in the sense that the Cypriots, or some of them, introduced the calendar during the Augustan age and used it throughout the Roman period. According to the definition of Alan Samuel, who has categorised the four types of assimilation of local calendars to the Julian system, the Romano-Cypriot calendar can be classified as a calendar in which New Year's Day is Augustus' birthday (after its modification, at least), the twenty-third of September, and where the month lengths are those of the Julian calendar.⁵⁸ The Romano-Cypriot calendar is of significant importance here because it was intended to bestow great honour on members of the Julian family by naming months after them and by placing them alongside other deities.

However, we are faced with an irritating lack of information as to the introduction of the Romano-Cypriot calendar on the island; there remains no direct evidence for who took initiative in its introduction, when it occurred, and to what extent the calendar was diffused on the island after its introduction. Therefore, the study of the Romano-Cypriot calendar should be based on epigraphic evidence on one hand, and, on the other, on mediaeval writers and manuscripts which preserve the calendar, though frequently in an unclear way and disfigured form. One of the

54 Hill 1949, 236.

55 Scott 1931, 207.

56 Samuel 1972, 184.

57 Mitford 1980a, 1358.

58 For his four schemata, see Samuel 1972, 173.

mediaeval sources, a Chaldaean *Dodecaeteris* in the Codex Parisinus no. 2420, fol. 205^v-209^r (written in the sixteenth century), describes a cycle of twelve years in connection with the Julian calendar, and a solar year which begins on the second of October.⁵⁹ The latter calendrical system is also attested in the *Liber Glossarum*, a mediaeval compilation containing fragments on the names of months in various parts of the ancient world,⁶⁰ and in the *Vocabularium* of Papias, who compiled a Latin lexicon in the eleventh century, published for the first time in the fifteenth century,⁶¹ though the calendar mentioned in the *Liber Glossarum* and the *Vocabularium* differs slightly from that of the *Dodecaeteris* in the month names and in the equation to the Julian months.⁶² This solar calendar has been thought to be the Romano-Cypriot calendar since some inscriptions from Roman Cyprus attest the month names mentioned in the calendar (see below).⁶³ The structure of this calendar is as follows:

Month	Beginning	Days
Σεβαστός	2 October	31
(Dod.: Σεβαστός; Lib.: Sabastos)		
Ἀγρίππαιος	2 November	30
(Dod.: Ἀγρίππαιος; Lib.: Agripeos or Agripeus; Pap.: Agripeos)		
Λίβαιος	2 December	31
(Dod.: Λίβαιος; Lib.: Libenos; Pap.: Libenos)		

59 Kroll and Olivieri 1900, 139–80.

60 Mountford 1923, 102–103, 112–13.

61 Bröcker 1847, 246. For Papias' text concerning the Romano-Cypriot calendar and the commentary to it, see Bröcker 1847, 248, 258. According to Mountford, Papias relied on the *Liber Glossarum* and his text is no more than 'one MS. of the *Liber Glossarum*'. See Mountford 1923, 104.

62 In the *Liber Glossarum* and the *Vocabularium*, the year begins with January equated to the month Sebastos, then February equated to Agripeos, March equated to Libenos, and so on. Two explanations have been provided for the different equation to the Julian months: one is that the calendar of the *Liber Glossarum* and the *Vocabularium* belongs to another part of the Empire, not Cyprus; the other is that the lists of months in the *Liber Glossarum* and the *Vocabularium* have suffered some dislocation. The latter seems more probable. For this point, see Mountford 1923, 112; Scott 1931, 209–210.

63 In all the three sources – the *Dodecaeteris*, the *Liber Glossarum* and Papias – there is no manifest statement that the calendar is of Cypriot origin. The *Liber Glossarum* mentions *hellenorum lingua* and Papias refers to *lingua hellinum*, *hellenum* or *hellenorum* as the language in which the months were named. What these Hellenes signify is not clear from the three sources. The editors of the *Dodecaeteris* have agreed with the notion that the Hellenes denote *Syromacedones atque imprimis Antiochenos* (Kroll and Olivieri 1900, 140; Hanell 1932, 21–22 and Nilsson 1962, 66 also rejected the Cypriot origin of the calendar), while most scholars have regarded the calendar as the Romano-Cypriot one. See von Domaszewski 1909, 234–36; Scott 1931, 207–209; Hill 1949, 235; Samuel 1972, 183–86; Mitford 1980a, 1357–61. The present study supports the latter interpretation, because the second version of the Romano-Cypriot calendar and epigraphic evidence from Cyprus (see below) reveal a close similarity with the calendar attested by the three above-mentioned sources.

Ὀκτάβαιος	2 January	31
(Dod.: Ὀκτάβαιος; Lib.: Octteos or Octteas; Pap.: Oetias)		
[Ἰούλαιος]	2 February	28
(Not attested in the Dod., Lib. nor Pap.)		
Νερώναιος	2 March	31
(Dod.: Νερώναιος; Lib.: Naroneos)		
Δρούσαιος	2 April	30
(Lib.: Druseos; Pap.: Druseo)		
Ἀφροδίσιος	2 May	31
(Lib.: Afrodiseos; Pap.: Afrodisios)		
Ἀγχίσαιος	2 June	30
(Dod.: Ἀγχίσαιος; Lib.: Anchiseos or Anchisios; Pap.: Anchyseos)		
Ῥωμαῖος	2 July	31
(Dod.: Ῥωμαῖος; Lib.: Pomeos or Pomes; Pap.: Pomos)		
Αἰνεάδαιος	2 August	31
(Lib.: Eneadeos; Pap.: Eneados)		
Καπετώλιος	2 September	30
(Lib.: Capetoleos) ⁶⁴		

* Dod., Lib. and Pap. in the list signify the *Dodecaeteris* in the Codex Parisinus, the *Liber Glossarum* and the *Vocabularium* of Papias, respectively.

What draws our particular attention is that the months of the calendar were named after the imperial family members and symbols of imperial power and ideals. The year starts with the month Σεβαστός, the Greek equivalent to Augustus, which is followed by the months named after the Julian family members: Ἀγρίππαιος after

64 Each month of the calendar begins with the second day of the equivalent Julian month. In the second version of the Romano-Cypriot calendar (see below), the New Year of the calendar was fixed on the twenty-third of September of the Julian calendar, the birthday of Augustus. Scholars have provided three explanations as to why the month of the first version of the calendar started with the second day: the first is that the calendar was intended to conform to the Julian calendar, though with a one-day delay (Dittenberger 1905, 1739; Scott 1931, 209–210); the second is that the calendar actually began on the first day of each Julian month, though the first day of the month was nominally equated with the second day of each Julian month (Laffi 1967, 44, n. 57); the third is that the Cypriot day, which began in the evening, fell behind the Roman day, which began at midnight, and then the Romano-Cypriot calendar month started on the evening of the first day of the Roman month. In this case, the daylight hours of the first of Σεβαστός fell on the second of October (Samuel 1972, 183, n. 2). It is clear, in any case, that the first Romano-Cypriot calendar was constructed with great conformity to the Julian calendar, though the exact manner of equation will remain in the dark without decisive evidence.

Agrippa; Λίβαιος after Livia, the wife of Augustus; Ὀκτάβαιος after Octavia, the sister of Augustus who married Mark Antony; Ἰούλαιος, not attested in the evidence, but assumed as a possible month name in honour of Caesar or Iulia, the daughter of Augustus;⁶⁵ Νερώναιος after Tiberius, the step-son of Augustus; Δρούσαιος after Drusus, the step-son of Augustus and the brother of Tiberius. The last five month names are intended to bestow honour on the foundation myth of Rome, as promoted in the Augustan period, and on the patron deities of Cyprus and of the Empire. Ἀφροδίσιος after Aphrodite, not only the ancestral goddess of the *Iulii*, but also the patron deity of Cyprus; Ἀγχίσαιος after Anchises, a lover of Aphrodite and the father of Aeneas; Αἰνεάδαιος after Aeneas, signifying not Aeneas himself, but rather his descendants, including Ascanius, the *gens Iulia* and the Romans as a whole.⁶⁶ Ῥωμαῖος between Ἀγχίσαιος and Αἰνεάδαιος poses a problem, because it is not clear whether it relates to the goddess Roma, or another founding father of Rome, Romulus, or the *populus Romanus* as a whole. The cult of Roma and the *populus Romanus* was not unknown to the Cypriots (see chapters 1 and 4), while no evidence has been found for the cult of Romulus in Cyprus. However, considering the structure of the calendar, a month in honour of Romulus would fit the position between Anchises and Aeneas' descendants. The year beginning with the month of Augustus passes through the months of the imperial family members and then rehearses the Julian family tree, an amalgam of myth and history, from Aphrodite, through Anchises and Romulus, to the descendants of Aeneas.⁶⁷ Here one may also see the conflicting nature of the Roman foundation myths, i.e. between that of Aeneas and that of Romulus. Lastly comes Καπετώλιος, the month named after the patron god of the Roman state, whom the Cypriots worshipped as Zeus Kapitolios (see chapter 3).

The other group of sources provides a testimony to the existence of another solar calendar of Cypriot origin, which has been thought of as the second version of the Romano-Cypriot calendar. Its months are listed below according to the manuscript Madrid Codex Gr. no. 95⁶⁸ and the *hemerologia* of Florence, Leiden and Rome.⁶⁹

Madrid Cod.	Hemerologia	Beginning	Days
Ἀφροδίσιος	Αφροδίσιος	23 September	31

65 Scott 1931, 210.

66 For the meanings of *Aeneades*, see Roszbach 1894, 1009. Cass. Dio 62. 18 is one of the examples in which *Aeneades* represents the Julio-Claudian imperial family, while in Verg. *Aen.* 8. 648 the Roman people as a whole is called *Aeneades*. Cf. Scott 1931, 211.

67 Compare Scott 1931, 211, who prefers the goddess Roma as the eponym of the month.

68 See Samuel 1972, 184.

69 A *hemerologium* means 'a certain type of text which lists the sequences of days of the months in a number of different calendars' (Samuel 1972, 171). The *hemerologia* of the Romano-Cypriot calendar are included in Kubitschek 1915. See, recently, Stern 2012, 278–84.

Ἀπογονικός	Ἀπόλλω ⁷⁰	24 October	30
Αἰνικός	Ἄννιος	23 November	31
(Roman <i>hemerologium</i> : Αἰγιατος)			
Ἰούνιος	Ἰούλιος	24 December	31
(Roman <i>hemerologium</i> : Ἰθυλιος)			
Καισάριος	Καισάριος	24 January	28
Σεβαστός	Σεβαστός	21 February	30
Αὐτοκρατορικός	Αὐτοκράτωρ	23 March	31
Δημαρχεξάσιος	Δήμαρχος	23 April	31
(Roman <i>hemerologium</i> : Δημητριος)			
Πληθύπατος	Πλησθύκατος	24 May	30
(Roman <i>hemerologium</i> : blank)			
Ἀρχιερέυς	Ἀρχιέριος	23 June	30
(Roman <i>hemerologium</i> : Αρχιαι)			
Ἔσθιος	Ἐστιέος	24 July	30
(Roman <i>hemerologium</i> : Αἰστιαιος)			
Ῥωμαῖος	Λῶος	23 August	31

This calendar is different from its first version in several aspects: first, the year begins with the month Ἀφροδίσιος, not the month Σεβαστός; second, New Year's Day is placed on the twenty-third of September, the birthday of Augustus; third, while the months of the first version seem to be intended to honour the Augustan family members, those of the second version are primarily relevant to the titles and offices of Augustus himself, i.e. Αὐτοκρατορικός after *imperator*, Δημαρχεξάσιος after *tribunicia potestas*, Πληθύπατος after *consul* for multiple times, and Ἀρχιερέυς after *pontifex maximus*.⁷¹ With regard to the last two points, there is no doubt that the death and decline of the imperial family members caused the revision of the month names, which resulted in underlining the power and authority of Augustus – Agrippa died in 12 BCE, Octavia in 11 BCE and Drusus in

70 The change from Ἀπογονικός to Ἀπόλλω may have been caused by an inattentive scribe who took Γ as Λ; the two letters look similar when written with the capital letter. Cf. Stern 2012, 278–84.

71 Scott 1931, 216. The interpretation of Πληθύπατος is not without problems. Von Domaszewski 1909, 234 translated it as *consul perpetuus*, arguing that Augustus, in 23 BCE, took the decision to assume this office whenever he wanted. Scott 1931, 216, on the other hand, argued that Augustus never held the office of *consul perpetuus* and that therefore Πληθύπατος meant only that Augustus assumed the consulship many times. *Res Gestae* c. 5 refers to the bestowal of the office of *consul perpetuus* on Augustus in 23/2 BCE, though he rejected it. See Kienast 1992, 110, n. 102.

9 BCE, and Tiberius's voluntary exile occurred in 6 BCE.⁷² The first point, i.e. the change in the names of the first month, seems to be attributed to a deliberate attempt to connect Cyprus to Augustus. Aphrodite, the patroness of the island and the ancestral goddess of the Augustan family, is placed at the beginning of the year, followed by the Trojan family, Aeneas and Iulus, to connect to Caesar, Augustus and his titles symbolising the power and authority of the *princeps*. If Kenneth Scott's supposition that Ἀπογονικός' eponym is Anchises holds true, the genealogy from Aphrodite to Augustus would reach completion.⁷³ The year ends with the months Ἑσθιος and Ῥωμαῖος, whose identification is not straightforward. For the eponym of Ἑσθιος, Scott and Alfred von Domaszewski have proposed the goddess Vesta or her priestesses Vestals,⁷⁴ while Ῥωμαῖος has been thought to derive from Augustus 'as Roman',⁷⁵ the *populus Romanus*⁷⁶ or the goddess Roma.⁷⁷ In my opinion, however, the month names of the calendar can be compared to the deities mentioned in the oath of the Cypriots to Tiberius (see chapter 4). The list of the *theoi horkioi* of this oath includes Aphrodite, Augustus, Hestia and Roma. The oath connects the local deities of Cyprus to the Roman deities and the emperors through the epigraphic demonstration of the mythical line from Aphrodite to Augustus and, in a more veiled way, to the living emperor Tiberius. The structure of the oath serves to identify that of the calendar. Ἑσθιος would have been named after the goddess of 'the common hearth of the island council' and Ῥωμαῖος after the imperial goddess Roma. It is also an attractive speculation that the eponym of the month Ἀπογονικός is not Anchises, but rather Augustus, whom the oath represents ὁ ἔκγονος τῆς Ἀφροδίτης. Although Augustus, placed between Aphrodite and Aeneas, might distort the mythical family tree, and although he already has his own month Σεβαστός, Ἀπογονικός would have been placed immediately after Aphrodite in order to underline Augustus' linkage with the goddess, regardless of the repetition of the months for Augustus. In any case, the months of the calendar seem to have been named in order to construct a link between the central Roman deities and the local Cypriot deities, and between the local Cypriot religious world and the central imperial propaganda.

We have no direct evidence for when the two versions of the Romano-Cypriot calendar were introduced on the island, or who (or which political organ) took the initiative in drafting them and decreeing their establishment. In this context, it is worth comparing the Romano-Cypriot calendar to that of the province of Asia,

72 Von Domaszewski 1909, 236; Scott 1931, 212; Hill 1949, 235; Samuel 1972, 183–84; Mitford 1980a, 1360. Cf. Stern 2012, 273.

73 Scott 1931, 215, though he admits that, 'Why the Cyprians did not name the month "Anchisaïos" as they had done in the earlier calendar is not certain'.

74 Von Domaszewski 1909, 234; Scott 1931, 216–17. Von Domaszewski 1909, 236, at the same time, stated that the month Ἑσθιος was intended to worship Caius and Lucius Caesar; but this is an unreasonable assumption.

75 Cf. Scott 1931, 217–18.

76 Von Domaszewski 1909, 236.

77 Scott 1931, 218–19.

which was introduced in the Augustan period, in order to illuminate a background of the Romano-Cypriot calendar.

The calendar of Asia is attested by a series of Latin and Greek inscriptions found in several cities in Asia.⁷⁸ The text consists of an edict of the *proconsul* of Asia, Paullus Fabius Maximus, an appendix to it and two decrees of the provincial *koinon* for Fabius' edict. The establishment of the calendar, dated to 9 BCE, was a product of actions from both sides of the *proconsul* and the Asian *koinon*. In his edict, Fabius Maximus advised the *koinon* to start the year with the birthday of Augustus, i.e. the twenty-third of September: 'more pleasant or more beneficial is the most divine Caesar's birthday, which we might justly consider equal to the beginning of all things'. The *koinon* of the province, accepting the edict of the *proconsul*, decreed that the Augustan birthday be New Year's Day, which accordingly required a modification of provincial political procedures working in accordance with the calendar. The *koinon* also voted that Fabius Maximus should be bestowed with a crown, according to another provincial decree, issued probably in 29 BCE, that prescribed 'that the person who found the greatest honours for the god [i.e. Augustus] should have a crown'. The joint initiative of the *proconsul* and the *koinon* in instituting the calendar is clear. While Fabius Maximus took the first action by publishing the edict, the *koinon* not only accepted his order, but also named the months, revised political procedures according to the new calendar, and crowned the *proconsul* who invented the most honorific device to further the cult of Augustus. The crucial role played by the *koinon* here probably stems from its strong competence in the imperial cult in the province.⁷⁹

The co-operation between the *proconsul* and the *koinon* over the Asian calendar can probably be applied to the establishment of the Romano-Cypriot calendar, at least in its first version. The eponyms of the months in the first version imply the date of its introduction; the death of Agrippa, who is the eponym of the month Ἀγρίππαιος, in 12 BCE, possibly sets the *terminus ante quem*, while his marriage to Iulia in 21 BCE, or the bestowal on him of the tribunician power in 18 BCE (one of the decisive steps towards the joint rule of Augustus and Agrippa) provides the *terminus post quem*. More precisely, scholars have placed the date of the calendar at 15 BCE, considering the introduction of the calendar into Cyprus as 'an expression of flattery of Augustus and his family and perhaps of genuine gratitude for the money which the emperor gave the Paphians after the earthquake' that damaged the city in 15 BCE.⁸⁰ Therefore, we may regard the establishment of the calendar as part of the *do ut des* relationship between the emperor and the provincials (see chapter 5). What draws our particular attention here is the intervention of the *proconsul* in instituting the first version of the Romano-Cypriot calendar. One possible candidate for *proconsul* of Cyprus in 15 BCE is Publius Paquius

78 For the inscriptions and commentary to them, see Laffi 1967. The translation quoted in the text is based on that of Sherk 1984, 124–27, no. 101.

79 Deininger 1965, 53–55; Witulski 2007, 25–32.

80 Scott 1931, 208. See also Hill 1949, 235; Samuel 1972, 183; Mitford 1980a, 1358.

Scaeva,⁸¹ whose detailed *cursus honorum* is provided by one Latin inscription from Italy.⁸² He held the office of *proconsul* of the province of Cyprus twice, the first time probably in 22/21 BCE, the second probably in 15/14 BCE, this second of which is described as ‘*proconsul* for the second time, designated extraordinary from Augustus Caesar’s authority and the *senatus consultum*, sent to the island with the task of arranging in order the condition of the province Cyprus for the future’ (*procos. iterum extra sortem auctoritate Aug. Caesaris et S.C. misso ad componendum statum in reliquum provinciae Cypri*). His ‘extraordinary’ office was probably to relieve the earthquake disaster of Paphos in 15 BCE; furthermore, it seems reasonable to assume that his task also included the establishment of the first Romano-Cypriot calendar, which the Cypriots would have decreed and instituted, in co-operation with Paquius, in order to express their gratitude towards the beneficial emperor. The Cypriots who were involved in this process were probably not limited to the Paphians, but included all the provincials of the *koinon* – the task of Paquius was not only focused on the city of Paphos, which was damaged by the earthquake, but also on the island as a whole (*ad componendum statum in reliquum provinciae Cypri*). If this hypothesis holds true, the establishment of the first version of the calendar involved communication between Augustus, Paquius and the provincials.⁸³

For the date of the introduction of the second version of the Romano-Cypriot calendar, it has generally been agreed that the month Ἀρχιερεύς, named after the title *pontifex maximus* held by Augustus in 12 BCE, provides the *terminus post quem*, and the lack of a month named after the title *pater patriae*, bestowed on him in 2 BCE, the *terminus ante quem*.⁸⁴ However, the lack of a month named after the title of *pater patriae* cannot serve as a testimony to the *terminus ante quem*; it is impossible for the twelve months in a year – half of which are already taken by other eponyms – to include all of Augustus’ titles which would otherwise have been worth mentioning. Therefore, it seems appropriate to date the second version from 12 BCE roughly to the late Augustan period, or more probably, to the early years of Tiberius. The structural similarity of the calendar to the Cypriot oath to Tiberius (see above) suggests that the second version of the Romano-Cypriot calendar and the oath belonged to the same political and religious milieu

81 Scott 1931, 207–208; Hofmann 1949, 1123–24. For Paquius Scaeva (*PIR*^I P, no. 93), see Hofmann 1949, 1119–24; Hill 1949, 254; Mitford 1980a, 1299; Potter 2000, 791–92. Cf. Potter 2000, 785, n. 68.

82 *CIL* 9, no. 2845.

83 Fabius Maximus, *proconsul* of the province of Asia, who promoted the introduction of the calendar in Asia in 9 BCE, is another candidate for the Cypriot *proconsul* who would have played a part in instituting the Romano-Cypriot calendar. Evidence supporting his holding of the office of *proconsul* on the island is, however, flimsy; an inscription from Paphos Vetus (**Paphos Vetus no. 4**) – a dedication inscription for Marcia, cousin of Augustus, who married Fabius Maximus at the earliest around 15 BCE – does not itself attest his office on the island. Cf. Laffi 1967, 45–46, n. 63.

84 Scott 1931, 212; Hill 1949, 235; Samuel 1972, 184. Cf. von Domaszewski 1909, 236; Mitford 1980a, 1360.

of Cyprus in the early years of Tiberius. As we have seen, the initiative for the oath probably came from the Cypriots who, worshipping Augustus and swearing to Tiberius, attempted to contextualise the Roman deities and emperors in the religious world of Cyprus (see chapter 4). If my assumption holds true that the oath and the second calendar drew their ideas from the same background, one may further imagine that the Cypriots took the main role in revising the calendar to put emphasis on the power of Augustus, and to connect the imperial genealogy to the Cypriot patron, Aphrodite, just as they did in drafting the oath. By so saying, I do not mean that the *proconsul* did not take part in the revision of the calendar; on the contrary, it is reasonable to assume that such an extraordinary and province-wide honorification of the imperial family as the revision of the calendar would have involved communication between the emperor, Roman magistrates and the *koinon* of the province, as the establishment of the calendar in the province of Asia did.

The use of the Romano-Cypriot and other calendars

The introduction of the Romano-Cypriot calendar and its revision mark critical moments for the Cypriots in constructing their concept of time in relation to the Empire. However, the impact of the calendar on their concept of time must be assessed with regard to its actual use in Cyprus, for which we now turn to epigraphic evidence from Cyprus concerning the calendars (both the Romano-Cypriot and other calendars). The inscriptions attesting month names in the period under our consideration are listed below in roughly chronological order.⁸⁵

No.	Date	Month Name	Place
1 ⁸⁶	Late Augustan	Παῶνι	Tamassos
2 ⁸⁷	Late Augustan	Ῥωμαῖος	Amathous
3 ⁸⁸	23 or 24 CE	Τιβεριεῖος Σεβαστός	Paphos Vetus
4 ⁸⁹	29 CE	Ἀπογονικός	Lapethos
5 ⁹⁰	53 CE	Δημαρχεζούσιος	Soloi
6 ⁹¹	81 CE	Ῥωμῆος	Tremithous
7	88 CE	Τύβι	Tremithous
8	88 CE	Σάμβατ	Tremithous

85 The list is based on that of Mitford 1980a, 1359, though I have revised his list in some points.

86 Mitford 1961a, 139–41, no. 38 (a funerary monument of a certain Timokypros).

87 Aupert 2008, 349–70 (a jar dedicated to Helios-Adonis).

88 **Paphos Vetus no. 11** (Tiberius' statue set up by the council and people of Paphos).

89 **Lapethos no. 2** (Tiberius' statue and temple founded by his priest Adrastus).

90 Mitford 1947, 201–206, no. 1 (probably a tomb erected by an eminent Solian).

91 Mitford 1961a, 118–19, no. 18 (cf. Mitford 1990, 2204, n. 148; horoscopes. No. 7 and no. 8 in the text are inscribed on the same stone as that of no. 6).

9 ⁹²	194 CE	Ῥωμῆος	Louroukina
10 ⁹³	2–3 C. CE	Νοέμβριος	Salamis

Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 9 are the months of the Romano-Cypriot calendar, while nos. 1 and 7 are those of the Ptolemaic-Cypriot calendar, no. 8 that of the Jewish calendar,⁹⁴ and no. 10 that of the Julian calendar, respectively. Nos. 6, 7 and 8 co-exist in one inscription. Makedonian month names are not attested in Roman Cyprus, in contrast to Hellenistic Cyprus (e.g. *I.Kourion* no. 32). We can deduce from the list that inscriptions referring to the names of the months occur far less frequently than those with the year information, e.g. the regnal year. This probably suggests that the Cypriots, like the inhabitants of other provinces, did not feel it necessary to date their inscriptions more precisely than by year. So saying, I do not mean that the twelve-month cycle of the calendars was of less importance in the political, religious and social life of the Cypriots. For example, games and festivals were held in close conjunction with the calendrical cycle;⁹⁵ one inscription from Lapethos (no. 4 in the list) attests a ceremony marking Tiberius' birthday in the month Ἀπογονικός. Importantly too, the entrance of Roman as well as civic magistrates into office was certainly embedded in the twelve-month cycle. However, the lack of evidence prevents us from going beyond speculating on these aspects of the calendrical system. In the present study, the list above will be discussed from three different, though overlapping, viewpoints: first, the relationship between the content of each inscription and (a) calendar(s) mentioned in it; second, the geographical distribution of the calendars; and third, the co-existence of the calendars in one society.

The list demonstrates that the Romano-Cypriot calendar was used in various spheres of life. The Cypriots dated a range of activities using the Romano-Cypriot calendar, from the dedication of imperial statues and an imperial temple (nos. 3 and 4), to the dedication to a deity (no. 2), the construction of a tomb (no. 5), and the description of horoscopes (no. 6). The Romano-Cypriot calendar also shows great flexibility regarding central political events; the month Τιβερίου Σεβαστός, the sixth month of the second Romano-Cypriot calendar with the additional name Τιβερίου, is certainly intended to confer special honour on the living emperor Tiberius.⁹⁶ The use of the other calendars is, on the other hand, limited primarily

92 *I.Kition* no. 2011 (an incense burner dedicated to Apollon? Barbaros).

93 *Salamine de Chypre* no. 27 (a fragmentary inscription concerning a 'lettre officielle'). Cf. *An.Ép.* 2001, no. 1949.

94 Mitford 1961a, 118–19, no. 18 has understood Σάμβατ as a transliteration of the month *Shebat* of the Jewish calendar that normally fell in January–February, on which the present study is based. For a recent (and well argued) opposition to this idea, see Stern 2010, which proposed that Σάμβατ is not the transliteration of the month *Shebat*, but that of *Sabbath*; the sixth day of the *Sabbath* means Friday. In any case, the Jewish element of the dating is clear (Stern 2010, 110).

95 Fishwick 1987–2005, vol. 2, part 1, 482–501 gives a precise overview of calendars and rituals of the imperial cult.

96 Hill 1949, 235–36, n. 5; Mitford 1961a, 140–41. For a milestone inscription that may also be dated by the month Τιβερίου Σεβαστός, see *I.Paphos* no. 302.

to a private sphere of life which had no direct relationship with the Empire: e.g. the erection of a funerary monument (no. 1, the Ptolemaic-Cypriot calendar) and of horoscopes (nos. 7 and 8, the Ptolemaic-Cypriot and the Jewish calendar respectively). The only example of the Julian calendar in our period (no. 10) may be regarded as an 'official' inscription, because it seems to concern the temple of Zeus in Salamis and a Roman official.

Second, I examine the geographical distribution of the calendars. Epiphanius, the bishop of Salamis in the fourth century CE, mentions a different use of the calendars between Paphos and Salamis. Equating the birthday of Jesus and the day of Jesus' baptism with the calendars of other peoples, Epiphanius separates the calendar of Paphos and that of Salamis: the birthday of Jesus is equivalent to the fourteenth of Ἰούλιος (Ἰούνιος) in Paphos and the fifth of the fifth month in Salamis, and the day of Jesus's baptism the sixteenth of Ἀπογονικός in Paphos and the sixth of the third month Χοιῶν in Salamis.⁹⁷ While the Paphian calendar mentioned here is without doubt the second Romano-Cypriot calendar, the Salaminian calendar has been thought to be a calendar of Egyptian origin, introduced into Cyprus during the Ptolemaic period, that in the early Empire underwent modifications in terms of synchronism with the Julian calendar, the order of months, and the date of the New Year.⁹⁸ I choose to name this calendar the 'Ptolemaic-Cypriot', in that it was first introduced to Cyprus during the period of Ptolemaic rule, and followed an independent development there. It is clear from Epiphanius that the two cities used different calendrical systems, at least in the fourth century CE, and possibly since the very beginning of the imperial administration on the island.⁹⁹ This differentiated use of calendars seems to imply rivalry between the two leading cities on the island. Paphos, as the seat of the *koinon*, which must have performed an important role in instituting the Romano-Cypriot calendar, continued to date their activities according to it. On the other hand, rivalry with Paphos may have made Salamis keep the Ptolemaic-Cypriot calendar containing old Egyptian elements; the calendrical system functioned as a vehicle for building up civic identity in terms of intimacy with the Empire and competition for leadership of the island.¹⁰⁰

However, we must not exaggerate this rivalry between the two cities. The task of Paquius, who would have taken part in instituting the calendar, concerned not only the city of Paphos, but also the whole island (*ad componendum statum in reliquum provinciae Cypri*); Porphyrios, a famous Neoplatonic philosopher in the third century CE, states that the Salaminians performed a human sacrifice in the month Ἀφροδίσιος, a month of the Romano-Cypriot calendar,¹⁰¹ and, last but not

97 Epiph. *Adv. haeres.* 51. 24.

98 Kubitschek 1905, 114–16; de Jerphanion 1932; Hill 1949, 236; Samuel 1972, 184–86; Mitford 1980a, 1358–59; Stern 2010; Stern 2012, 191–93, 271–73.

99 Alexander, a sixth-century monk on Cyprus, also equated the eleventh of June with the eleventh of the tenth month of the Salaminian calendar, Μεσορή, as well as with the nineteenth of the ninth month of the Paphian calendar, Πληθύπατος (*Laudatio Barnabae* 846–50).

100 Kantiréa 2008, 93. Cf. Mitford 1950, 49–50.

101 Porph. *Abst.* 2. 54.

least, epigraphic evidence does not attest the use of the Ptolemaic-Cypriot calendar in the city of Salamis itself, while the Romano-Cypriot calendar was used across the island, from Paphos through Soloi and Lapethos on the northern coast and through Amathous on the southern, to the inland communities in the east, Tremithous and Louroukina. One may be tempted to propose a distribution pattern for the calendars, such as the western and northern (and possibly southern) parts of the island used the Romano-Cypriot calendar, while the Ptolemaic-Cypriot calendar prevailed in the east and in central Mesaoria, the zone under the influence of Salamis.¹⁰² However, the epigraphic evidence concerned is too meagre in number to sustain this attractive idea. Rather, what attracts our interest is the co-existence of the calendars, which would have blurred the demarcation line between calendars on the island – if such a line ever actually existed, and this is my third point.

While the funerary monument of Timokypros of Tamassos, on the north-western slope of the *Trogodos Mons*, is dated by the Ptolemaic-Cypriot calendar (no. 1 in the list), the inscriptions of Tremithous (no. 6) and Louroukina (no. 9), cities east of Tamassos, refer to the Romano-Cypriot calendar. Indeed, communities in the middle of Cyprus used, or at least had knowledge of, both the calendars. Use of the Julian calendar in Salamis (no. 10) is also an indication of the co-existence of two calendars, in this case the Julian and the Ptolemaic-Cypriot. The most suggestive piece of evidence is without doubt an enigmatic inscription from Tremithous (nos. 6, 7 and 8). Three calendars, i.e. Romano-Cypriot, Ptolemaic-Cypriot and Jewish,¹⁰³ appear in one inscription, which probably describes the horoscopes of three persons, including one pair of twins: one was born at the fifth hour on the twenty-first of the Romano-Cypriot month Ῥωμῆος, in the third year of Titus, while the twins were born at the first and second hour on the twenty-fifth of the Ptolemaic-Cypriot month Τύβη, equated with the sixth of the Jewish month Σάμβατ, in the seventh year of Domitian. Unfortunately we are in the dark as to a relationship between the first person and the twins. Nonetheless, as far as the twins are concerned, who (or whose family) ordered the inscription referring to the Ptolemaic-Cypriot calendar as well as the Jewish, it seems reasonable to assume that they were ‘bilingual’ in terms of time reckoning. Terence Mitford has argued that they probably had a close connection with Salamis, where St. Barnabas found a large Jewish population in the first century CE and where the Jewish revolt broke out in the second century CE; the family of the twins was familiar with the Ptolemaic-Cypriot calendar used in Salamis.¹⁰⁴ It is also possible to argue that they spent most of their life in Tremithous – there are some pieces of evidence suggesting that the Jews also inhabited some inland communities, e.g. Golgoi, a city 5 km west of Tremithous,¹⁰⁵ and that the Ptolemaic-Cypriot calendar was also known in inland cities such as Tamassos. Importantly too, the twins (or their family) inscribed their horoscopes, certainly deliberately, on the stone that

102 Mitford 1980a, 1358–60.

103 Cf. Stern 2010.

104 Mitford 1961a, 118–19.

105 *IJO* 3, Cyp3.

contained the previous horoscope dated with the Romano-Cypriot calendar. Although the donor of the horoscopes of the twins might have had no knowledge of the Romano-Cypriot calendar, the stone itself certainly evoked the impression that plural calendrical systems were in operation in the society of Tremithous.

8.3. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Roman influence on the Cypriots' concept of time was considerable. Roman dating systems – the regnal year of the emperor, and dating by imperial titles and by Roman officials – served as the main systems in which the Cypriots dated their activities, as far as inscriptions of public and official character are concerned. Local eras were extinct, at least in public life, and dating by eponymous civic and religious magistrates was in limited use, and, when used, needed to be complemented by the imperial dating systems. However, we must note that it was probably possible for the Cypriots to adjust their positions in terms of 'temporal distance' from the Empire by the deliberate use of various dating systems. Dating by imperial titles was used frequently in inscriptions concerning imperial building activities, and dedications and statues for the emperors, which would have served to demonstrate Cyprus' membership of an Empire-wide time system. On the other hand, the simple regnal year appears ubiquitously in various types of inscriptions, which resulted in the anonymity of the emperors concerned, thereby evoking the impression that the Cypriots retained only a superficial relationship with imperial power. Therefore, the careful use of imperial dating systems – though in any case they represented one of the consequences of Roman rule on the island – was part of the Cypriots' strategy to manipulate their position in relation to the Empire.

The introduction of the Romano-Cypriot calendar and its revision seem to have involved a close communication between Cyprus and the Empire. The calendar was initially established by local as well as imperial initiatives; the months of the calendar were given the names of imperial family members, imperial titles, and imperial deities for their honour and worship; and the revision of the first version of the calendar can be understood, alongside the oath to Tiberius, as the Cypriots' attempt to contextualise the emperors and imperial deities in the Cypriot religious world. However, we must not exaggerate the extent to which the Romano-Cypriot calendar prevailed on the island. The evidence for it is limited, since dating by the month itself occurred far less frequently than dating by the year; Salamis seems to have kept the Ptolemaic-Cypriot calendar; and plural calendars could co-exist in one inscription. Although the establishment and revision of the Romano-Cypriot calendar represented important political events on the island, it is another question whether the Romano-Cypriot calendar monopolised the Cypriots' month reckoning in their daily life, where a place remained for the use of other calendrical systems.

CONCLUSION

In Roman Cyprus, as in other provinces, the emperor was incorporated into the traditional religious world and worshipped as a god. The Cypriots, however, attempted to contextualise the status of the emperor by means of elaborate manipulations of imperial epithets and titles, the textual structure and location of imperial statues, and the emperor's relationship with traditional deities. As a result, unreserved worship of the emperor was relatively rare on the island; instead, the emperor was just honoured as a mortal with political dignity, or if worshipped, he was merged and paired with other deities that already constituted the religious world of Cyprus. In some cases, the Cypriots forced the emperor to be symbolically 'obedient' to another deity. This technique of representing the emperor made it possible for the Cypriots to place the emperor in the wide spectrum between god and mortal according to their own interests and expectations, and, in this way, to better understand the political reality – that they were subjects of the emperor – in terms of their own traditional religious system (Part 1).

The imperial cult (and other types of imperial representation extending beyond the category of cult) can be seen as an amalgam of religion and politics. The Cypriots, the authorities of the Empire and the emperor himself seem to have frequently communicated with each other about the religious status and cult of the emperor. This communication took place not on an *ad hoc* basis, but constituted part of a system that functioned without the direct *do ut des* relationship between the emperor and the Cypriots. Cyprus, a tiny province situated outside the political, strategic and cultural centres of the Empire, attracted imperial interest and benefaction on a relatively small scale, but this did not, however, prevent the Cypriots from regarding the emperor as a god from their religious perspective. This fact illuminates one of the most important characteristics of the imperial cult – the provincials venerated the emperor, not because he benefited them in a direct way (with financial support and political benefaction), but for the very reason that he was the emperor of the Empire to which the provincials belonged. This system of the imperial cult was, on Cyprus, stratified into three levels, i.e. the provincial, the civic and the individual, each of which retained its own unique features regarding form, content, motivation, and type of communication with the emperor. Communication between the emperor and the Cypriots concerning the religious status of the emperor seems to have followed two guidelines: the first is that of the traditional religious system of Cyprus, the second concerns the relationship between the emperor and the senate in the capital of the Empire. The emperor and the senate paid careful attention to maintaining the proper status of the emperor as *princeps*, not as god.

The imperial cult, on the other hand, was firmly incorporated into the hierarchical and competitive socio-political framework of the Cypriots. This was also an

aspect of the imperial cult as an amalgam of religion and politics. Higher-ranking Cypriots held imperial priestly offices and passed them on within their own families. However, the priesthood of the imperial cult did not promise the Cypriots advancement to the Empire-wide aristocracy, which neatly illustrates the ‘inward’ character of the imperial cult on Cyprus. Although the highly competitive society of the Cypriots, as in other provinces, sustained the imperial cult and *vice versa*, it was another question whether, by so doing, they could (or intended to) obtain personal connections with the imperial centre which were indispensable to promotion to imperial elites (Part 2).

The imperial cult and other types of imperial representation penetrated into the life of the Cypriots, not only through outstanding monuments like statues and sanctuaries, and various priesthoods, but also by means of the addition of new elements to festivals and changes to the concept of time. Festivals were now named after the emperors and imperial family members, and the year and months were organised in their honour and worship. However, the Cypriots again contextualised these changes according to their traditions and interests. It seems that they embedded imperial festivals into existing festive frameworks and performed imperial rituals following the rituals for traditional deities. Furthermore, imperial and local time systems were used selectively, according to the interests of both the Cypriot and imperial sides; while major imperial constructions and monuments concerning the imperial cult tended to be dated with imperial time systems, the Cypriots were otherwise given a free hand to count time, using multiple systems in parallel. The emperor was ubiquitous in Cypriot life, but the Cypriots were able to keep the emperor at a distance (Part 3).

The authorities of the Empire on the island – Roman magistrates and officials such as *proconsules* and *procuratores* – seem to have been involved, at least to some extent, in the imperial cult and other types of imperial representation. Although the available evidence does not permit us to discuss in detail their agency with regard to the imperial cult, it seems reasonable to assume that the imperial authorities not only themselves donated statues and dedications for the emperor, but also participated in negotiations with the Cypriots over the religious status of the emperor and the content of their cult. They would also have contributed to instituting significant imperial rituals in a direct or indirect manner, e.g. the oath to Tiberius, the hymn to Antinoos and the Romano-Cypriot calendar. Thus, Roman authorities acted as the agents of the imperial cult who had the potential to facilitate communication between the Cypriots and the emperor, to arbitrate problems concerning cult practices for the emperor, and to personally demonstrate the appropriate paradigm of cult performance.¹ In this way they contributed to a connection between the ideal image of the emperor forged in the centre and the local ideas of the emperor arrived at according to the Cypriots’ traditions and interests.² However, their important position in the imperial cult of the island must be balanced by the fact that very few *proconsules* were able to obtain consulship after

1 For ritual agency in the Roman period, see Chaniotis 2009a, 7–19.

2 Cf. Whitmarsh 2010, 4–8.

their service in Cyprus. Roman magistrates, unpromising senators in general, could not offer the Cypriots personal connections leading to the imperial centre.

I would like to conclude the present study by commenting on the issue of Romanisation. One may argue that the imperial cult represented one of the most important aspects of the Romanisation of Cyprus, in that the Roman emperor penetrated into the local religious world, regardless of in what form, to what extent, and on what motivation. This fact demonstrates the power of the Empire: even such a small and insignificant province as Cyprus incurred some changes as a member of the Roman Empire. However, we must remember that the penetration of the imperial cult in Cyprus took place by means of 'ritual transfer in a metaphorical sense': traditional rituals and the royal cult of the Ptolemies provided the imperial cult with a frame of reference for almost all of its cultic practices, e.g. monuments (statues, dedications and sanctuaries), priestly offices and rituals (sacrifice, festivals, calendars). The form of cults continued in different contexts. Furthermore, the cult of the emperor itself was to a great extent combined with that of existing deities in a variety of ways, e.g. syncretism (Apollon Kaisar in Kourion), co-habitation (the phenomenon of *theos synnaos* in Amathous and other cities), and manipulation of imperial and local myths (the oath to Tiberius, the hymn to Antinoos and the Romano-Cypriot calendar). Indeed, there are very few testimonies to an independent cult of the emperor firmly demarcated from other cults. The term Romanisation does not fit such a very local-oriented phenomenon as the imperial cult in Cyprus. Rather, the imperial cult was one of many (re-)actions the Cypriots made in order to better understand their political reality – subordination to the Empire – according to their own traditions and interests. Here, we are dealing not with a civilising process from the centre to the periphery, but with a process of localisation of the imperial power in the periphery.

Nevertheless, at the same time I must admit that the Empire did provide a communication forum for the performance of the imperial cult. The Roman East, where the old Hellenistic political and social demarcations were resolved and a new Greek communal identity was forged, seems to have made it possible for the provincials to widely communicate with each other on various themes including religion and ritual as the most important. It appears to have been crucial to the development of the imperial cult that the inhabitants of the eastern provinces came to acquire a more or less communal notion on the issue of which divine rituals could be used for the worship of the living emperor, through exchange of ideas, and emulation and competition, beyond the boundaries of provinces. In this way, the imperial cult in the East underwent 'ritual transfer in a geographical sense' as well as 'ritual transfer in a metaphorical sense' (see introduction). In Cyprus, the royal cult of the Ptolemies opened up the possibility of venerating mortals by means of divine rituals, many of which were common to those in the worship of the emperor (e.g. statues, dedications, sanctuaries, and syncretism), but the imperial cult also retained some rituals newly applied to the veneration of mortals, including the more local-oriented system of priesthood, the calendars which were specifically intended to honour the imperial family members and to commemorate the imperial concepts, and the annual oath performed for the emperor. What we

can deduce from this fact is that Roman Cyprus, as a constituent province of the Empire, would have learned these new practices and rituals of the imperial cult from other provinces (probably those in Asia Minor, Greece and Egypt), and that the Cypriots contextualised the cult of the emperor in their own religious world. The routes of this geographical ritual transfer may have been via delegations to Rome and other cities (e.g. for the ceremony at the Athenian Panhellenion), merchants who did business between Cyprus and other regions, athletes who took part in competitions abroad which included imperial rituals, and via the *proconsules* of Cyprus who probably knew of the imperial rituals of other provinces. In this sense, Roman Cyprus belonged to a huge communication network of rituals, in clear contrast to Hellenistic Cyprus, which the imperial system made possible.

APPENDIX. EPIGRAPHIC EVIDENCE WITH TRANSLATION

The present catalogue includes 90 Greek and Latin inscriptions relevant to the topics covered in the preceding chapters. They are arranged firstly in the alphabetical order of their provenances and then in rough chronological order in each provenance. Each text is translated, and provided with information on its material context, date, references, and locations.

I have not attempted to newly provide a critical edition of every text, though the results of a survey on Cypriot inscriptions (undertaken in May 2008 with the permission of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus) have been taken into consideration. The editions I decided to follow are asterisked in references. Critical apparatuses only include deviations from these main editions, and important readings proposed by others. The editorial conventions of the *SEG* are adopted. In order to facilitate an overview of inscriptions closely relevant to the emperor, I have attached two tables at the end of this appendix: one of imperial titles, and the other of imperial monuments. Inscriptions concerning imperial statues, priests, festivals, and regnal years and imperial month names, are listed in ch. 2 (page 44), ch. 6 (112–13), ch. 7 (128–32) and ch. 8 (136–37, 152–53), respectively.

I would like to express my special appreciation to Prof. Klaus Hallof (Berlin), who made the *Prae-Corpus* of [IG 15] available to me, and to Dr Jean-Baptiste Cayla (Paris), who sent to me a copy of his dissertation on inscriptions from Paphos.

Amathous no. 1. Statue of Augustus

Αὐτοκράτορι
Καίσαρι, [θ]εοῦ υἱῶι,
θεῶι Σεβαστῶι
[---].

Translation: To Imperator Caesar, son of the Divus, divine Augustus.

Monument: A columnar statue base, 0.51m in diameter.

Found: Acropolis, Amathous.

Date: Period of Augustus (emperor).

References: Beaudouin and Pottier 1879, 168, no. 13 [*IGR* 3, no. 973]; *Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 256, no. 18; Fourrier and Hermay 2006, 7; Bartels 2012, 93.

Present Location: n/a.

Amathous no. 2. Altar or statue of Augustus

ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.
 Αὐτοκράτορι
 Καίσαρι θεο-
 ὦ νίῳ θεῶι Σ-
 εβα<σ>τῶι.

5

2 Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Flourentzos. 3–4 Θεοῦ νίῳ ἔθηκε [ἡ πόλις] βατόν
 Flourentzos.

Translation: For Good Fortune. To Emperor Caesar, son of the Divus, divine Augustus.

Monument: An altar or statue base.

Found: Near the *agora*, Amathous.

Date: Period of Augustus.

References: Flourentzos 2010, 81–82; *Bartels 2012, 91–92.

Present Location: n/a.

Amathous no. 3. Restoration of the sanctuary dedicated to Titus and Aphrodite

Αὐτοκράτορι Τίτῳι
 Καίσαρι Οὐεσπασιανῶ
 Σεβαστῶ καὶ μεγάλῃ
 θεᾷ Κύπρου Ἀφροδείτῃι,
 τόπον ἱερὸν ἀπο-
 κατέστησεν τὸν ἐν-
 τὸς τῶν στηλῶν
 ὄντα Λούκιος Βρούττιος
 Μάξιμος ἀνθύπατος
 ἔτους δευτέρου.

5

10

Translation: To Emperor Titus Caesar Vespasianus Augustus and Aphrodite, the great goddess of Cyprus. Lucius Bruttius Maximus, *proconsul*, restored the sacred site confined by the steles, in the second year.

Monument: A stele, (max.) 0.55m (W)×(max.) 1.14m (H)×(max.) 0.235m (D).

Found: The north gate of Amathous.

Date: Period of Titus, 79/80 CE (emperor and his regnal year).

References: *Aupert and Hermay 2006, 88, A [*An.Ép.* 2006, no. 1562; *SEG* 56, no. 1822].

Present Location: n/a.

Amathous no. 4. Sanctuary dedicated to Cypriot Aphrodite and emperor Titus

[Κ]υπρί[αι]
 Ἀφροδε[ί]τῃι
 καὶ Αὐτοκράτορ[ι]

Τίτῳ Καίσαρι
 [Οὐ]εσπασιαν[ῶι] 5
 [Σεβ]αστῶι, τό[πον]
 [ιε]ρὸν τὸν ἐντὸς
 [τ]ῶν στηλ[ῶν]
 [ὄν]τα καθιέρω-
 [σε]ν Λούκιος 10
 Βρούττιος
 Μάξιμος
 ἀνθύπατος
 ἔτους
 δευτέρου[υ]. 15

6 τό Mitford and Kantiréa. 7 τῶν Mitford and Kantiréa. 9 [ἐπ]τά Mitford.

Translation: To Cypriot Aphrodite and Imperator Titus Caesar Vespasianus Augustus. Lucius Bruttius Maximus, *proconsul*, consecrated the sacred site confined by the steles, in the second year.

Monument: A stele, 0.24m (W)×0.68m (H)×0.295m (D).

Found: At a house at the village of Agios Tychonas (near Amathous).

Date: Period of Titus, 79/80 CE (emperor and his regnal year).

References: Mitford 1946, 40–42, no. 16 [*BE* 1949, no. 210; *An.Ép.* 1950, no. 122]; *Aupert and Hermary 2006, 88, B [*An.Ép.* 2006, no. 1563; *SEG* 56, no. 1823]; Kantiréa 2008, 97.

Present Location: n/a.

Karpasia no. 1. Statue of Phanokles, *archiereus* of the emperors

Φανοκλέα Νικολάου φιλο-
 καίσαρα, τὸν πολιτικὸν
 ἀρχιερέα διὰ βίου τῆς
 ἀθανασίας τῶν Σεβαστῶν,
 γυμνασιαρχήσαντα τὸ ζ' L, 5
 πανάρετον καὶ φιλόπατριν,
 ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος,
 τιμῆς χάριν.

Translation: The council and the people (of Karpasia set up the statue of) Phanokles, son of Nikolaos, *philokaisar*, *politikos archiereus* for life of the immortality of the emperors, who had served as *gymnasiarchos* in the seventh year, all-virtuous and lover of the fatherland, in his honour.

Monument: A pedestal, (max.) 0.711m (W)×0.61m (H)×(max.) 0.724m (D).

Found: Karpasia.

Date: Period of Tiberius, 19/20 or 20/21 CE, or, period of Claudius, 46/47 CE (letterform and the regnal year).

References: *Mitford and Nikolaou 1957 [*BE* 1959, no. 494; *SEG* 17, no. 750]; Nikolaou 1971, 29, pl. 36; Kantiréa 2008, 103, n. 81.

Present Location: *In situ*?

Keryneia no. 1. Honorific inscription referring to sacrifice to Augustus

[---] I
 [---] ΝΚΑ . .
 [---] ΟΝΣΥ
 [---] ΑΙΣΠΟ [---]
 [---] ΙΕΚΑΙΠΟΛΥ 5
 [--- μέχρ]ι δυσμῶν ἡλίο[υ ...]
 [...ι] χρησάμενος οὐ [...]
 [...]ξινην καθ' [όσ]ιότητα το [...]
 [.. σπ]ο[υ]δὴν εἰσφερόμενος περὶ τὴν εὐ[δαιμονίαν?]
 [τῆς] πόλεως, ἅμα κα[ὶ] τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εὐδοξίαν [ἀποφαίνων? καὶ] 10
 [μεμνη]μένος? τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ πρ[ονοίας]
 [τε] καὶ φιλοδοξίας, διαφυλάσσων τε τ[ὴν] εὐπρέ[-
 [πει]αν καὶ εὐκοσμίαν τοῦ γυμνασίου· νῦν [δὲ ἐπὶ]
 [τοῖς] ἐπινικίοις τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσα[ρος] πεποί[-
 [ηκ]ε? τῷ θεῷ Σεβαστῷ Καίσαρι θυσία[ν καὶ πομπήν *vel* εὐωχίαν *vel* σπονδὴν?] 15
 [ἐπιμ]ελῶς? τόν τε γυμνικὸν καὶ ἵππικόν[ν] ἀγῶνα
 [τελε]ιώσας? ΑΘ [...] ΓΥ [...] Ο [...] Ο [...] ΕΞ [---].

7–8 [μεγαλομερῶς τῇ χορηγί]α χρησάμενος οὐ[κ ὀλίγην ἀνεδέξατο εἰς ταῦτα δαπά]νην Robert. 14–15 Fujii; πεποίηκε *vel* ἀνέθηκε τῷ θεῷ Σεβαστῷ Καίσαρι θυσία[ν καὶ ἀγῶνα?] Contoléon, Reinach and Reinach. 14–16 ἐπετέλεσε τῷ θεῷ Σεβαστῷ Καίσαρι θυσία[ν ἀξίως καὶ πολυτ]ελῶς Robert and Kantiréa.

Translation: (From line 6) [---] until the sunset [--- NN], who is showing zeal in the prosperity? of the city, and at the same time [making known?] his own honour, and who has paid attention? to the care and the love of honour of his father, guarding carefully the dignity and good order of the *gymnasion*, now has sacrificed to the god Augustus Caesar [on] his *Epinikia* [and (funded) the procession or banquet or libation?], after having held the athletic and horse [game] with good care? [---].

Monument: n/a.

Found: Keryneia (or Nicosia: see Contoléon, Reinach and Reinach 1904, 212–13; or Lapethos: see Mitford 1980a, 1326, n. 170).

Date: Period of Augustus, after 27 BCE (emperor and his title).

References: *Contoléon, Reinach and Reinach 1904, 212–13; Robert 1927, 128, n. 1 [*SEG* 6, no. 837]; Kantiréa 2008, 100, n. 64.

Present Location: n/a.

Kition no. 1. Porticos dedicated to Augustus, Zeus Keraunios, Aphrodite, and so on

Καίς[αρι Θεῶι],
Διὶ Κεραννίῳ,
Ἀφροδίτῃ, Πόλει,
Δήμῳ, Ὁμονοίᾳ,
Αὐανία καὶ Αὐιάνιος 5
τὰς στοὰς καὶ τὰ
ἐν αὐταῖς πάντα
ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου.

1 KAVΣΣΕ [---] Sestini; Καυσσε *vel* Καῖς Sakellarios; [Θεῶι]? Καίς[αρι] Mitford.

Translation: To Caesar [the divine (i.e. Augustus)], Zeus Keraunios, Aphrodite, the city, the people and the Concord. Aviania and Avianius (dedicated) the porticos and all that is in the porticos at their own expense.

Monument: A slab, 0.695m (W)×0.42m (H)×0.13 (D).

Found: Larnaka (ancient Kition).

Date: Period of Augustus (emperor).

References: Sestini 1788, 142; von Hammer 1811, 176, no. 41 [*CIG* 2, no. 2641]; Sakellarios 1890, 42, no. 29; Mitford 1980b, 284–85 [*SEG* 30, no. 1617; cf. *SEG* 20, no. 137]; Masson 1987, 275–77 [*BE* 1988, no. 891; *SEG* 36, no. 1251]; **I.Kition* no. 2009; Kantiréa 2008, 102, n. 79. Cf. Thériault 1996, 48–49.

Present Location: Louvre Museum (MND 1792), France.

Kition no. 2. Statue of Euphamo, *archiereia* of an imperial family member

[Εὐφα]μὸ? Εὐφάμου, τ[ὴν]
[ἀρχιερ]ασαμένην [Ἰουλίας?]
Σε[β]αστῆς, Ἀπολλώνιος
Ἀπ[ο]λλωνίου Μαλλαῖος,
τὴν θυγατέρα τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ 5
[Εὐφά]μου, τιμῆς χάριν.

2 ἀρχιερασαμένην Ἰουλίας Mitford.

Translation: Apollonios, son of Apollonios of Malla, (set up the statue of) Euphamo?, daughter of Euphamos, who had served as *archiereia* of [Iulia?] Augusta (i.e. Livia), daughter of his brother Euphamos, in her honour.

Monument: A pedestal, 0.47m (W)×0.28m (H)×0.40m (D).

Found: Sanctuary of Artemis Paralia, Kition. Cf. Pouilloux 1986; Yon 1992.

Date: Period of Tiberius (imperial family member; cf. Corbier 1994, 691).

References: Mitford, 1950, 81–83, no. 44 [*BE* 1951, no. 236]; **I.Kition* no. 2041; Kantiréa 2008, 96, n. 33.

Present Location: Larnaka District Museum (MAA no. 696), Cyprus.

Kition no. 3. Statue of Herakleides, ambassador to the emperor

τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Κυπρίω[ν]
 Ἡρακλείδην Ἑρμ[ο]-
 δάμαντος τὸν
 γυμνασίαρχον καὶ
 ἀγωνοθέτην καὶ 5
 προῖκα πρεσβεύ-
 σαντα πρὸς τὸ[ν]
 Σεβαστὸν ὑπ[ὲρ]
 τῆς νήσου.

Translation: The *koinon* of the Cypriots (set up the statue of) Herakleides, son of Hermodamas, *gymnasiarchos* and *agonothetes*, who had served as ambassador to the emperor in the name of the island at his own cost.

Monument: A statue base, 0.51m (W)×0.56m (H)×0.76m (D).

Found: In a house of Kition.

Date: Period of Tiberius or Nero? (letterform; cf. ICA 23 (in *RDAC* 1984), 257–58, no. 1).

References: Ross 1850, 517, no. 10; *LBW* 3, no. 2734 [*IGR* 3, no. 980]; Sakellarios 1890, 42, no. 26; ICA 23 (in *RDAC* 1984), 257–58, no. 1 [*SEG* 34, no. 1416]; **I.Kition* no. 2042.

Present Location: Larnaka District Museum (MAA no. 1175), Cyprus.

Kition no. 4. Statue of Tiberius Claudius Hyllus Iustus, *archiereus* of the island

ἡ βουλὴ
 Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον
 Ὑλλ[λ]ον Ἰουστὸν τὸν
 ἀρχιερέα τῆς νήσου.

Translation: The council (set up the statue of) Tiberius Claudius Hyllus Iustus, *archiereus* of the island.

Monument: n/a.

Found: Kition.

Date: Late first century CE (prosopography).

References: Sestini 1788, 144 [*CIG* 2, no. 2633; *IGR* 3, no. 981]; Sakellarios 1890, 42, no. 27; **I.Kition* no. 2037; Kantiréa 2008, 110, n. 120.

Present Location: Lost.

Kition no. 5. Statue of Tiberius Claudius Nikopolinos Hipparchos, *archiereus* of the emperors

Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Νικοπολινὸν Ἱππαρχον ἱερομνήμονα,
 ἀρχιερέα διὰ βίου τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς συ[γκλήτ]ου, φιλόπατριν
 πανάρετον, υἱὸν τῆς πόλ[εω]ς, ἀγωνοθετήσαντα τετράκις,
 γραμματεύσαντα βουλῆς καὶ δήμου, ἄρχοντα τῆς πόλεω[ς]
 Γάϊος Γερελλαν[ὸ]ς Ῥούφος, ἄρχων τῆς πόλεως, καὶ οἱ
 5
 τούτου υἱοὶ Γάϊος Γερελλανὸς Καπίτων καὶ Γάϊος
 Γερελλανὸς Ῥο[υ]φο[ς] κ[αὶ] Γάϊος Γερελλανὸς Γελλιανός,
 [τιμῆς] χάριν.

1 [Τιβέρ]ιον Κλαύδιον Νικοπολινὸν? Ἱππαρχον? ..ca.4..] ΝΙ [...ca. 5...] Mitford. 2 Fujii; σ[υνόδ]ου Κ[ύ]πτρου? Mitford; Συ[γκλήτ]ου, τὸν φιλόπατριν ICA; συ[γκλήτ]ου, φιλόπατριν *I.Kition*. 3 [ἐξ]αίρετον Mitford ([αὐθ]αίρετον *BE*). 5–6 οἱ τρεῖς αὐ[τ]οῦ Mitford. 7–8 [Γερελλανὸς ...ca. 7.... καὶ Γάϊος Γερελλανὸς Γέμ[ελλος?] Mitford.

Translation: (The statue of) Tiberius Claudius Nikopolinos Hipparchos, *hieromnemon*, *archiereus* of the emperors for life and of the sacred senate, the all-virtuous lover of the fatherland, the son of the city, having held the office of *agonothetes* four times and that of secretary of the council and the people, and *archon* of the city, (was set up) by Caius Gerellanus Rufus, *archon* of the city, and his sons, Caius Gerellanus Capito, Caius Gerellanus Rufus and Caius Gerellanus Gelianus, in his [honour].

Monument: A statue base, 0.70m (W)×0.225m (H)×(max.) 0.33m (D).

Found: In the garden of the Metropolis of Larnaka (ancient Kition).

Date: Probably, first century CE (letterform; cf. Mitford 1950, 72–76, no. 41).

References: Mitford 1950, 72–76, no. 41 [*BE* 1951, no. 236]; ICA 15 (in *RDAC* 1976), 247–50, no. 11 [*SEG* 26, no. 1475]; **I.Kition* no. 2039 [*An.Ép.* 2004, no. 1548]; Kantiréa 2008, 98, n. 53.

Present Location: Larnaka District Museum (MLA no. 423), Cyprus.

Kition no. 6. Statue of an anonymous, *archiereus* of Roma

[ἡ πόλις ἡ Κιτιέων]
 [τὸν δεῖνα τοῦ δεινός]
 ἀρχιερέα τῆς Ῥώ[μης]
 τὸν ἀγωνοθέτη[ν τῇ]
 5
 πενταετηρίδι κα[τὰ]
 τὸ ἡ' L ἐφ' οὗ πρῶ[τον]
 τὸ ἄλ<ε>ιμμα ἐτέθ[η].

6 τὸ...ἐφ' οὗ πρῶ[τον] Sakellarios.

Translation: [The city of Kition set up the statue of NN, son of NN], *archiereus* of Roma and *agonothetes* [for] the *pentaeteris* in the eighth year, when the oil was distributed for the first time.

Monument: A fragment of a pedestal.

Found: Larnaka (ancient Kition).

Date: First century CE?

References: Sakellarios 1890, 44, no. 39; Hogarth 1889, 109–10, no. 28; **I.Kition* no. 2040.

Present Location: Lost.

Kition no. 7. Statue of Tiberius Claudius Isidoros, ambassador to the emperors

Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου
 Ἰσιδώρου υἱόν, Κυρεῖνα, Ἰσίδωρον, ἄρξαντ[α]
 τῆς πόλεως καὶ πρεσβεύσαντα πρὸς
 τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς πολλάκις προῖκα καὶ
 γυμνασιαρχήσαντα ἐκ τῶν ἰ[δίων] 5
 προ[ί]κα, Γεγανία Λουκιφέρα τὸν ἑαυ[τῆς]
 ἄνδρα, εὐνοίας χάριν.

6 Πρό[κλ]α? Ross and Sakellarios.

Translation: Gegania Lucifera (set up the statue of) her husband Tiberius Claudius Isidoros, son of Tiberius Claudius Isidoros, from the tribus Quirina, who had served as *archon* of the city and as ambassador to the emperors at his own cost many times, and had held the office of *gymnasiarchos* at his very own cost, in his benevolence.

Monument: A statue base?

Found: At a garden in Livadhia (near Kition), Cyprus.

Date: First century CE?

References: Ross 1850, 514–15, no. 3 [*LBW* 3, no. 2737; *IGR* 3, no. 982]; Sakellarios 1890, 44, no. 41; Mitford 1980b, 285, n. 62 [*SEG* 30, no. 1618]; **I.Kition* no. 2043.

Present Location: Lost.

Kition no. 8. Statue of Nerva

Imp(eratori) Caesari Nervae Aug(usto)
 p(atri) p(atriciae) cos(uli) II civitas Citiensium.

Translation: To Imperator Caesar Nerva Augustus, father of the fatherland, twice *consul*, the city of Kition (set up the statue).

Monument: n/a.

Found: The salt lake of Kition.

Date: Period of Nerva, 96 CE (emperor and his title).

References: Sestini 1788, 144 [*CIL* 3, no. 216; Oberhummer 1888, 309]; **I.Kition* no. 3001.

Present Location: Istanbul, Turkey?

Kition no. 9. Statue of Nerva

Αὐτοκράτορα Νέρουαν Καίσαρα Σεβαστόν, ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, πατέρα πατρίδος, ὕπατον τὸ τρίτον, ἡ Κιτιέων πόλις τὸν ἴδιον κτίστην.

2 Mitford; Κιτίων Oberhummer and *I.Kition*.

Translation: The city of Kition (set up the statue of) its own founder, Emperor Nerva Caesar Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, holder of the tribunician power, father of the fatherland, *consul* three times.

Monument: A statue base, 0.83m (W)×0.26m (H)×0.78m (D).

Found: A house in Kition.

Date: Period of Nerva, 97 CE (emperor and his title).

References: Oberhummer 1888, 308–309, no. 1 [*IGR* 3, no. 976]; Mitford 1947, 210, n. 31; **I.Kition* no. 2033.

Present Location: Munich? (Or lost).

Kition no. 10. Dedication to Trajan

Αὐτοκράτορι
Νερούα Τραϊανῶι Καίσαρι
Σεβαστῶι Γερμανικῶι
Δακικῶι

Translation: To Emperor Nerva Traianus Caesar Augustus Germanicus Dacicus.

Monument: A stele, 0.80m(W)×2.30m (H)×0.13m (D).

Found: On the line of the city walls, towards the south-east of Kition.

Date: Period of Trajan, 102–17 CE (emperor and his titles).

References: di Cesnola 1884, 105–107 [*IGR* 3, no. 988]; Sakellarios 1890, 44, no. 40; **I.Kition* no. 2034.

Present Location: Lost.

Kition no. 11. Statue of Iulia Domna

[Ἰουλίαν Δόμν]αν Σεβαστήν, μητέρα
[κάστρον, ἐ]πὶ Σέξτου Κλωδίου
[---]νιανοῦ ἀνθυπάτου
[καὶ ---]ου Ἀππιανοῦ λογιστοῦ,
[ἡ βουλὴ? ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων προσόδων.

2 Fujii; [στρατοπέδων *LBW* and *I.Kition*; [στρατόπεδον Sakellarios.

Translation: [The council?] (set up the statue of) [Iulia] Domna Augusta, mother [of the camps, from] its own revenues at the time when Sextus Clodius [---]nianus was *proconsul* [and ---]us Appianus was *curator*.

Monument: A marble panel.

Found: Larnaka (ancient Kition).

Date: Late second century or early third century CE (imperial family member).

References: Ross 1850, 517, no. 11; *LBW* 3, no. 2728 [*JGR* 3, no. 977]; Sakellarios 1890, 43–44, no. 36; **I.Kition* no. 2035.

Present Location: Turin? (Or lost).

Kition no. 12. Statue of Tiberius Claudius Mnaseas, *archiereus*.

τὸ κοινὸν τὸ Κυπρίων Τιβέριον
Κλαύ[διον Μν]ασέου υἱὸν
[Κυρεῖνα? Μνασ]έαν Λούκιον
[..... ἀρ]χιερέα τῶν
[Σεβαστῶν καὶ] τῆς [Ῥώμης?].

5

Translation: The *koinon* of the Cypriots (set up the statue of) Tiberius Claudius Mnaseas Lucius, son of Mnaseas, [from the tribus Quirina?], [.....] *archiereus* of the [emperors] and of [Roma?].

Monument: Probably a statue base, 0.66m (W)×0.33m (H)×0.41m (D).

Found: Larnaka (ancient Kition).

Date: Probably first or second century CE.

References: Pieridés 1876, 42; Mitford 1947, 204, n. 10; Mitford, 1950, 74–75, n. 7; **I.Kition* no. 2038.

Present Location: n/a (in the Collection of Pieridés, Cyprus?).

Kourion no. 1. Honorific decree for an anonymous, (probably) *archiereus* of Roma

ἔδοξε[ν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ τοῖς παροί]-
κοις στ[εφανῶσαι τὸν δεῖνα, τὸν ἀρχιερέα]
τῆς Ῥώμης [καὶ] ἐπιλ[εχθέντα e.g. δις ἀγορα]-
νόμον, χρυσῶι στε[φάνῳ ν? ἀναθεῖναι]
δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκό[να γραπτὴν ἐν τῷ]
ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλων[ος Ὑλάτου ἐν ἀσπιδίῳ]
περιχρύσωι καὶ τὰ [δεδογμένα ταῦτα ἀνα]-
γράψαι εἰς στή[λην καὶ ἀναστῆσαι ἐν τῷ]
αὐτῷ ἱερῷ, [ὅπως ἅπαντες εἰδῶσιν]
ὅτι τοῖς φιλοδ[οξοῦσι καὶ ταῦτα καὶ? τὴν]
τοῦ πρυτανείου [σίτησιν οἱ Κουριεῖς? ἀπο]-
γέμουσιν, χάριτα[ς καταξίας ἀποδιδόντες].

5

10

1–2 Fujii; ἔδοξε[ν ἐπὶ τούτοις? τοῖς ---]κοις *I.Kourion*.

Translation: [The people and] *paroikoi* resolved. [NN, *archiereus*] of Roma [and] *agoranomos* [e.g. twice] elected, should be crowned with a golden wreath, his portrait [painted upon a shield] framed with gold should [be placed in the] sanctuary of Apollon [Hylates], and this [decree should be] engraved into a stele [and then it should be set up in the] same sanctuary, [so that everyone may know] that [the people of Kourion?] assign [these things and the meal] at the *prytaneion* to those who love honours, [rendering the appropriate] favour (to them).

Monument: A fragmentary stele, 0.17m (W)×(max.) 0.29m (H)×0.04m (D).

Found: Sanctuary of Apollon, Kourion.

Date: Late first century BCE? (letterform).

References: **I.Kourion* no. 77. Cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear 1973b, 219.

Present Location: Local Kourion Museum (I 88), Cyprus.

Kourion no. 2. Statue of Nero

[[Νέρωνι]] Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῳ
Γερμανικῳ, ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ,
δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, αὐτοκράτορι,
πατρὶ πατρίδος, Κουριέων ἡ πόλις
ἀπὸ τῶν προσκεκριμένων ὑπὸ Ἰουλίου
Κόρδου ἀνθυπάτου, Λούκιος Ἄννιος Βάσ[σος ἀνθ]ύ-
πατος καθιέρωσεν L ιβ'.

1 *I.Kourion* and Bagnall and Drew-Bear; Letronne and Mitford omit [[Νέρωνι]]. 5 Mitford and *I.Kourion*; προκεκριμένων Letronne. 6 Βασίλειος Letronne.

Translation: To [[Nero]] Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, *pontifex maximus*, holder of the tribunician power, Imperator, and father of the fatherland. The city of Kourion (set up his statue) from the funds that Iulius Cordus, *proconsul*, permitted additionally, and Lucius Annius Bassus, *proconsul*, consecrated it in the twelfth year.

Monument: A statue base, 0.77m (W)×0.31m (H)×0.85m (D).

Found: Sanctuary of Apollon, Kourion.

Date: Period of Nero, 65/66 CE (emperor, his regnal year and prosopography).

References: Vidua 1826, tab. 32, no. 1 [Letronne 1827, 171–72; **CIG* 2, no. 2632; *IGR* 3, no. 971]; Sakellarios 1890, 69, no. 10; Mitford 1947, 210, n. 31 [*BE* 1949, no. 214]; *I.Kourion* no. 84. Cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear 1973b, 220–23.

Present Location: Lemesos District Museum (LM 36/1 INS), Cyprus.

Kourion no. 3. Statue of Domitian

Αὐτοκράτο[ρα Καίσαρα Δομιτιανὸν Σεβαστόν,]

θεοῦ υἰόν, [Γερμανικόν, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ]
 τέταρτον, [ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον, αὐτοκράτορα]
 τὸ ἑβδομο[ν, ὕπατον τὸ δέκατον, πατέρα πατρίδος,]
 ὁ δῆμος ν [ὁ ν? Κουριέων τὸν αὐτοῦ σωτήρα καὶ] 5
 εὐε[ργέτην καὶ πάτρωνα.]

Translation: The people [of Kourion] (set up the statue of) Imperator [Caesar Domitianus Augustus], son of the Divus, [Germanicus, holder of the tribunician power] four times, [*pontifex maximus*, Imperator] seven times, [*consul* ten times, father of the fatherland, its saviour], benefactor [and patron].

Monument: A fragmentary panel, ca. 0.16m (W)×0.23m (H)×(max.) 0.077m (D).

Found: Kourion.

Date: Period of Domitian, 84 CE (the numbers of imperial titles).

References: *ICA 3 (in *RDAC* 1964), 203–205, no. 16.

Present Location: Curium House at Episkopi (R.R. 34: C.M.M.P. 27/63 bl. 1), Cyprus.

Kourion no. 4. Jug as a votive offering to Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaisar

Λ γ' Ἀπόλλωνι Ὑλάτῃ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι
 Καίσαρι Ῥητορικὸς χαριστήριον.

Translation: In the third year. Rhetorikos (dedicated) this thanks offering to Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaisar.

Monument: A bronze jar, 0.20m (H), and 0.10m (at the base) and 0.11m (at the neck) in diameter.

Found: Sanctuary of Apollon, Kourion.

Date: Probably period of Trajan, 99/100 CE (imperial deity and his regnal year).

References: **I.Kourion* no. 120.

Present Location: Cyprus Museum in Nicosia (Inv. no. 1954/IX–4/1/M 139), Cyprus.

Kourion no. 5. Building activity of Trajan for Apollon Kaisar and Apollon Hylates

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καίσαρ, θεοῦ Νερούα υἱός, Νερούας Τραϊανὸς
 Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς (leaf)
 ἐξουσίας τὸ δ', ὕπατος τὸ δ', πατὴρ πατρίδος, τὰς λειπούσας
 ἐξέδρας δύο Ἀπόλλωνι Καίσαρι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Ὑλάτῃ ἔκτισεν.
 Κ(όιντος) Λαβέριος Λ(ουκίου) υἱὸς Αἰμιλία Ἰουστός Κοκκείος Λέπιδος (leaf) 5
 ἀνθύπατος τῆς κατασκευῆς ἐπεμελήθη καὶ καθιέρωσεν.
 Λ δ'.

Translation: Imperator Caesar, son of the divine Nerva, Nerva Traianus Augustus Germanicus, *pontifex maximus*, holder of the tribunician power four times, *consul*

four times, and father of the fatherland, built the two remaining *exedrae* for Apollon Kaisar and Apollon Hylates. Quintus Laberius Iustus Cocceius Lepidus, son of Lucius, from the tribus Aemilia, *proconsul*, assumed the responsibility of building and consecrated it, in the fourth year.

Monument: A slab, 1.16m (W)×0.42m (H)×0.04m (D).

Found: Sanctuary of Apollon, Kourion.

Date: Period of Trajan, 101 CE (emperor and his regnal year and titles; however, note that Trajan held his fourth tribunician power in 99/100 CE).

References: **I.Kourion* no. 108. Cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear 1973b, 231–32.

Present Location: Local Kourion Museum (I 152), Cyprus.

Kourion no. 6. Statue of Timo dedicated to Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaisar

Ἀπόλλωνι Ὑλάτῃ καὶ
Ἀπόλλωνι Καίσαρι,
Τιμῶ {ι}, θυγατέρα Τίμωνος,
τοῦ Ὀνησίλου θέσει δέ, Τιμὴ ἡ
καὶ Φοιβάδα τὴν ἑαυτῆς θυγατέρα.

5

Translation: To Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaisar. Timo, also known as Phoi-bada, (set up the statue of) her own daughter Timo, the daughter of Timon, by adoption of Onesilos.

Monument: A cylindrical cippus, 0.87m (H) and 0.505m (at top) in diameter.

Found: Sanctuary of Apollon, Kourion.

Date: Probably period of Trajan (imperial deity).

References: **I.Kourion* no. 144. Cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear 1973b, 235.

Present Location: Local Kourion Museum (I 164), Cyprus.

Kourion no. 7. Votive offerings dedicated to Apollon Kaisar

[Ἀπ]όλλ<ω>νι Κ[α]ί[σαρι] Ὀ[ν]ή[σιλος]? I
ὕπ[ερ] τῆς [γ]υναικὸς Θε<μ>[ισ]-
<φ>άτος εὐχίν.

Θεοδότῃ ὑπέρ II
Θεμισφάτος
εὐχίν.

I: 1 K..... *LBW* and Sakellarios.

Translation: *I*: Onesilos? (dedicated this) to Apollon Kaisar on behalf of his wife Themisphas in fulfilment of a vow. *II*: Theodote (dedicated this) on behalf of Themisphas in fulfilment of a vow.

Monument: A slab?

Found: Church of Agios Nikolaos between Kolossi and Limassol (near Kourion).

Date: Probably period of Trajan (imperial deity).

References: *LBW* 3, no. 2820; Sakellarios 1890, 63, no. 1 and no. 2; **I.Kourion* no. 121. Cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear 1973b, 232–33.

Present Location: Lost.

Kourion no. 8. Dedication to Apollon Kaisar and Apollon Hylates

Ἀπ[όλλωνι]
Καί[σαρι καὶ]
Ἀπ[όλλωνι]
[‘Υλάτῃ ---]
[---]

5

Translation: To Apollon Kaisar [and] Apollon [Hylates ---].

Monument: A fragmentary plaque, 0.062m (W)×0.101m (H)×0.019m (D).

Found: Sanctuary of Apollon, Kourion.

Date: Probably period of Trajan (imperial deity).

References: **I.Kourion* no. 122. Cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear 1973b, 233.

Present Location: Local Kourion Museum (I 128), Cyprus.

Kourion no. 9. Jar as a votive offering to Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaisar

Ἀπόλλωνι Ὑλάτῃ καὶ Ἀπόλλ[ωνι Καίσαρι],
Πολύκτ[ητος] Τίμωνος κεραμ[εὺς ἐνδὲρ ἑαυτοῦ?]
[εὖ]χὴν *vacat* καὶ Ὀν[ησ ---].

Translation: Polyktetos, son of Timon, potter, (dedicated this) to Apollon Hylates and Apollon [Kaisar on behalf of himself?] in fulfilment of a vow, and On[es---].

Monument: Five fragments of a *pithos*, (max.) 0.645m (W)×(max.) 0.438m (H), 0.02m (the thickness of the fabric).

Found: Sanctuary of Apollon, Kourion.

Date: Probably period of Trajan (imperial deity).

References: Five fragments firstly assembled in **I.Kourion* no. 123. Cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear 1973b, 233–34.

Present Location: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania (55.9.1), USA.

Kourion no. 10. Votive offering to Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaisar

Ἀπόλλωνι [Ὑλάτῃ καὶ]
Ἀπόλλωνι Κα[ί]σ[αρι]
Σέξτος Κορνήλ[ιος]
Τυχικὸς εὐχάμε[νος].

Translation: Sextus Cornelius Tychikos, having made a vow, (dedicated this) to Apollon [Hylates and] Apollon Kaisar.

Monument: A plaque, 0.156m (W)×0.132m (H)×(max.) 0.03m (D).

Found: Sanctuary of Apollon, Kourion.

Date: Probably period of Trajan (imperial deity).

References: **I.Kourion* no. 124.

Present Location: Local Kourion Museum (I 66), Cyprus.

Kourion no. 11. Building activity of Trajan for Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaisar

Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ, θεοῦ Νερούα υἱός,
 Νερούας Τραϊανὸς Σεβαστός, Γερμανικός,
 Δακικός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, δημαρχικῆς
 ἐξουσίας <τὸ> ἡ', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ ς', ὕπατος τὸ ἡ' (*sic*),
 πατὴρ πατρίδος νννν Ἀπόλλωνι Ὑλάτῃ 5
 καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Καίσαρι, ἐπὶ Κοίντου Σεππίου
 Κέλερος ἀνθυπάτου, λιθόστρωτον
 κατεσκεύ<α>σεν τὴν λείπουσαν ἀπὸ τῆς προ-
 ούσης λιθοστρώτου μέχρι τοῦ φέροντος
 εἰς τὴν Παφίαν ὁδὸν προπύλου, τῆς δαπάνης 10
 γενομένης ἐκ τῶν βουλευτικῶν διαδομάτων
 καθὼς ἡ Κουριέων βουλὴ ἐδογμάτισεν καὶ
 Κόϊντος Σέππιος Κέλερ ἀνθύπατος
 συνεχώρησεν.

Translation: Emperor Caesar, son of the divine Nerva, Nerva Traianus Augustus, Germanicus, Dacicus, *pontifex maximus*, holder of the tribunician power eighteen times, Emperor six times, *consul* eighteen times (*sic*), father of the fatherland, νννν, paved the unpaved street from the already paved street to the gateway, which leads to the Paphian Road, for Apollon Hylates and Apollon Kaisar, when Quintus Seppius Celer was *proconsul*. As the council of Kourion decreed and Quintus Seppius Celer, *proconsul*, permitted, its cost was covered from the funds distributed to the councillors.

Monument: A rectangular block, 0.46m (W)×0.535m (H)×0.125m (D).

Found: Sanctuary of Apollon, Kourion.

Date: Period of Trajan, 113/114 CE (emperor and his titles; however, note that Trajan's sixth and last consulship began on 1st January 112 CE).

References: *I.Kourion* no. 111; *Bagnall and Drew-Bear 1974, 190–95 [*BE* 1976, no. 744].

Present Location: Local Kourion Museum (I 141), Cyprus.

Kourion no. 12. Statue of Trajan

Αὐτοκ[ρ]άτωρ [Καῖσαρ Τραϊανὸς]
 <Ἀδρ>ιανὸς Σεβαστὸς Γ[ερ]μανικὸς [Δακικὸς Παρθικὸς],
 [θεοῦ Νερούα Τ]ραϊαν[οῦ] Καίσαρος υἱ[ός, θεοῦ]

[Νερούα υἱωνός, θ]εὸν Τραϊανὸν τὸ[ν πατέρα].

1 Αὐτοκ[ρ]άτωρ [Καῖσαρ] Mitford. 2 Τραϊανός Sakellarios.

Translation: Imperator [Caesar Traianus] Hadrianus Augustus Germanicus [Dacicus Parthicus], son of [the divine Nerva] Traianus Caesar, [grandson of the divine Nerva], (set up the statue of) the divine Traianus, his [father].

Monument: Two adjoining fragments of a statue base.

Found: Kourion (one fragment in the sanctuary of Apollon, the other in Episkopi).

Date: Period of Hadrian, probably in the beginning years of his reign (emperor and his titles).

References: Fragment I: Sakellarios 1890, 72, no. 7 [*LBW* 3, no. 2810; *IGR* 3, no. 969]. Fragment II: *LBW* 3, no. 2816 [*IGR* 3, no. 972]. Assembled: Mitford 1961a, 124–25 [*SEG* 20, no. 157]; **I.Kourion* no. 85; Kantiréa 2008, 102, n. 77. Cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear 1973b, 223–24.

Present Location: Lost?

Kourion no. 13. Hymn honouring Antinoos

[ἀγα]θῇ (leaf) τύχη.

[---] πρεσβευτή[ς]

[--- Κύ]πρου, Ἀντινόω

[--- κελευ]σθεῖς ὑπὸ αὐτ[οῦ]

[--- ᾧ]σμα ἀνέθηκε[ν].

5

[---]εον ἄγγελον το[---]

[--- ὕμνοῦ]μεν Ἄ[δ]ωνιν ὑπὸ χθόνα πά[τρας]

[ἄπο κε]ῖμενον Ἀντίνουν. λέγε μοι [...]

A...ΥἱΑ μελῶν. σοὶ γάρ με λυροκτύπος εὖ]-

κόμης τὸν αἰοῖδὸν ἐθρέψατο μούνω. [σοὶ]

10

βάρβιτα, σοὶ κίθαριν δονῶ, παρὰ βωμόν [...]

τον Ὑλάτα, σοὶ στησάμενος χορὸν α[...]

τὸ Φορωνικὸν αἶμα τὸ Περσέως οἱ[....]

ἀκροτάτην λαχόν. ὑπὸ σαῖσι ταγαῖ[ς].]ε ν[ὺν]

ἄδω, ἰοβόστ[ρυχε] καλλικόμη μά[κ]αρ Βει-

15

[θ]ύνιε, π[αγχαρι]ῶπα, χρυσοπτερύγου

γόνε μα[τέρ]ος.

1 Lebek; [ἀ]γαθῇ *I.Kourion* and Kuhlmann. 3 Lebek; [καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος Κ]ύπρου *I.Kourion*; [--- Κ]ύπρου Kuhlmann. 4 χαρισθεῖς? *I.Kourion*. 5 [τοῦτο τὸ κιθάρι]σμα? *I.Kourion*; [κατὰ ὄναρ τόδε ᾧ]σμα Peek; [ἄγαλ]μα Goukowsky. 6 Lebek; [Μοῦσα, λαβ' ἀργαλ]έον ἄγγελον τόν[δε] *I.Kourion*; [λέγε, Μοῦσα, θεῶν ν]έον ἄγγελον, τόν Peek; [ἡγάθ]εον ἄγγελον Goukowsky; [---]εον ἄγγελον τον[---] Kuhlmann. 7 Peek; [ὥς αἰνοῦ]μεν *I.Kourion*; [θρηνοῦ]μεν Lebek; [--- ὕμοῦ]μεν Kuhlmann. 7–8 πα[τρίδ' ἀποφ]θίμενον *I.Kourion*; πά[ρος ἄμμι καλοῦ]μενον Lebek. 8 μοὶ [σύ, θεά] Peek. 9 *I.Kourion*; δ[εδαυ]ῖα Peek and Kuhlmann. 9–10

λυροκτύπος ἡὺκόμης *I.Kourion*. 10 μουνω[θέντα] *I.Kourion*; μούνω. [μετά] Peek. 11–12 κίθαρίν <τε> δονῶ, παρὰ βωμόν [ἄθικ]τον *I.Kourion*; βωμόν [ἄθικ]τον Lebek; βωμόν [τοῦ]τον Peek. 12–13 ἀ[ρρη]τοφόρων. ἱκόν αἶμα *I.Kourion*; ἀ[γκαλῶ] vel ἀ[μφοῶ] vel ἀ[ύδῶ] τὸ Φορω[ν]ικόν Lebek; ἀ[νδρῶν], τὸ Φορωνικόν Peek. 13 οἷ[μην] *I.Kourion*; οἷ[ον πόλιν] vel οἷ[αν πόλιν] Lebek; οἷ [τιμήν] Peek. 14–15 ταγαῖ[ς, σ]ε γ[ὺν] ἄδω *I.Kourion*; ταγαῖ[σιν ὑπ]ἄδω vel ταγαῖ[σι προ]ἄδω Lebek; ταγαῖ[ς δ]έ γ[ὺν] ἄδω Peek. 16 π[ορφυρε]ῶπα *I.Kourion*; π[αγχαριτ]ῶπα vel π[αρθενοπ]ῶπα Lebek; π[αῖ χαριτ]ῶπα Peek; π[αῖ φλογ]ῶπα Goukowsky. 17 μα[τρ]ός *I.Kourion*; Μα[ιάδ]ος Lebek.

Translation: For Good Fortune. [---] *legatus* [---] of Cyprus to Antinoos [---] ordered by him [---] dedicated the hymn. [--- (Receive)] this messenger [---]. We hymn the chthonic Adonis, (i.e.) Antinoos who lies here [far from his] fatherland. (Muse), tell me [...] of the music; for the beautiful-haired lyre-player (Apollon) had brought me up as the singer only for you (Antinoos). [For you], I play lyre, for you, I play kithara, by the altar [...] of (Apollon) Hylates. For you, I founded a chorus [...] (from)] the Phoronic blood of Perseus, [...] which obtained (the city of) the high place. According to your order, I sing now, the violet-curbed, beautiful-haired, blessed Bithynian (i.e. Antinoos), looking very graceful, son of the mother with golden wings.

Monument: Twenty-five fragments of a slab, estimated, 0.765m (W)×0.635m (H)×0.02m (D).

Found: Sanctuary of Apollon, Kourion.

Date: Period of Hadrian (imperial family member).

References: *I.Kourion* no. 104; Lebek 1973; Peek 1974; Goukowsky 2002, 219–21 [*SEG* 53, no. 1747bis]; *Kuhlmann 2002, 256–57.

Present Location: Local Kourion Museum (I 87; I 91 A–C; I 112; I 172; I 133), Cyprus.

Kourion no. 14. Statue of Caracalla

Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσα[ρα Μ(ἄρκον)]

Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνεῖν[ον]

Εὐσεβῇ Εὐτυχῇ Σεβασ[τόν],

υἱὸν τοῦ Κυρίου Αὐτοκράτο[ρος]

Καίσαρος Λουκίου Σεπτίμ[ίου]

5

Σευήρου Εὐσεβοῦς Εὐτυ[χοῦς]

Περτίνακος Σεβαστοῦ, [ἡ πόλις ἡ]

Κουριέων.

Translation: [The city] of Kourion (set up the statue of) Emperor Caesar [Marcus] Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus, son of the lord Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Felix Pertinax Augustus.

Monument: A plaque, (max.) 0.235m (W)×0.19m (H)×0.035m (D).

Found: Sancturay of Apollon, Kourion.

Date: Period of Septimius Severus, ca. 200 CE? (emperors and their titles).

References: **I.Kourion* no. 93.

Present Location: Local Kourion Museum (I 191), Cyprus.

Kourion no. 15. Statue of Iulia Domna

[Ἰ]ουλία[ν Δόμν]αν Σεβαστή[ν, μητέρα]
[κ]άσ[τ]ρω[ν καὶ τ]οῦ κυρίου [ἡμῶν Μ(άρκου) Αὐρ(ηλίου)]
[Ἀντ]ων[εῖνου Εὐ]σεβοῦς [Εὐτυχοῦς]
Σεβασ[τοῦ, καὶ Ἰ]Λ(ουκίου) Σεπτιμίου Γέτα]]
Καίσα[ρος, ἡ πόλις ἢ Κουριέων?].

5

Translation: [The city of Kourion?] (set up the statue of) Iulia Domna Augusta, [mother] of the camps, and of [our] lord [Marcus Aurelius] Antoninus Pius [Felix] Augustus [and Ἰ]Lucius Septimius Geta]] Caesar.

Monument: Four fragments of a panel, approximately ca. 0.50m (W)×0.24m (H)×(max.) 0.028m (D).

Found: Sanctuary of Apollon, Kourion.

Date: Period of Septimius Severus, 200–209 CE? (imperial family members).

References: **I.Kourion* no. 95. Cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear 1973b, 228.

Present Location: Local Kourion Museum (I 89; I 93; I 90; I 118), Cyprus.

Kourion no. 16. Statue of Caracalla

Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ(άρκου) [Αὐρήλιον]
Σευήρον Ἀντωνεῖνο[ν Αὔγουστον]
Εὐσεβῆ Εὐτυχῇ Σεβαστόν, [Παρθικόν]
μέγιστον, Βρεταννικόν μέ[γιστον],
ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον, δημαρχ(ικῆς) ἐ[ξουσίας],
πατέρα πατρίδος, Κουριέων ἡ πό[λις].

5

2 Bagnall and Drew-Bear; Ἀντωνεῖνο[ν, ἀνίκητον?] *I.Kourion*.

Translation: The city of Kourion (set up the statue of) Imperator Caesar Marcus [Aurelius] Severus Antoninus [Augustus] Pius Felix Augustus, [Parthicus] Maximus, Britannicus Maximus, *pontifex maximus*, holder of the tribunician power, father of the fatherland.

Monument: A panel, (max.) 0.37m (W)×0.19m (H)×0.01m (D).

Found: Sanctuary of Apollon, Kourion.

Date: Period of Caracalla, 210–13 CE (emperor and his titles).

References: **I.Kourion* no. 96. Cf. Bagnall and Drew-Bear 1973b, 228–29.

Present Location: Local Kourion Museum (I 94), Cyprus.

Kourion no. 17. Statue of Septimius Severus

θεὸν Λ(ούκιον) Σεπτίμιον [Σευήρ]ν
 Εὐσεβῇ Εὐτυχῇ Σεβ[ασ]τόν,
 πατέρα μὲν θ[εο]ῦ Ἀντων[εῖ]νου
 [μεγά]λου, π[άπ]πον δὲ τοῦ [κυρί]-
 [ου ἡμῶν Αὐτο]κράτορο[ς Σευήρου] 5
 [Ἀλεξάνδρου], Ἀριστ[---]
 [---].

Translation: Arist[---] (set up the statue of) the divine Lucius Septimius Severus Pius Felix Augustus, father of the divine Antoninus Maximus, grandfather of [our lord] Emperor [Severus Alexander].

Monument: Five fragments of a panel, ca. 0.35m (W)×(max.) 0.255m (H)×0.015m (D).

Found: Sanctuary of Apollon, Kourion.

Date: Period of Severus Alexander (emperor).

References: **I.Kourion* no. 97.

Present Location: Local Kourion Museum (I 149; I 149a; I 64; I 121; I 132), Cyprus.

Lapethos no. 1. Statue of Augustus

Σεβαστοῦ θεοῦ Καίσαρος.

Translation: (The statue) of Augustus the divine Caesar.

Monument: A fragment of a statue base.

Found: At a house in Karavas (ancient Lapethos).

Date: Period of Augustus (emperor).

References: **LBW* 3, no. 2772 [*IGR* 3, no. 932]; Sakellarios 1890, 144, no. 6.

Present Location: n/a.

Lapethos no. 2. Tiberius' shrine and statue dedicated by Adrastos, *hiereus*

Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ θεῷ, θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱῷ,
 Αὐτοκράτορι, ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας
 τὸ λα΄, ἐπὶ Λευκίου Ἀξίου Νάσωνος ἀνθυπάτου καὶ Μάρκου
 Ἐτρειλίου Λουπέρκου πρεσβευτοῦ καὶ Γαίου Φλαβίου Φίγλου ταμίαι (*sic*).
 Ἄδραστος Ἀδράστου φιλόκαισαρ, ὁ ἐγγενικὸς ἱερεὺς τοῦ 5
 ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ κατεσκευασμένου ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου
 Τιβερίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ ναοῦ καὶ ἀγάλματος, ὁ φιλόπατρις
 καὶ πανάρετος καὶ δωρεὰν καὶ αὐθαίρετος γυμνασίαρχος καὶ
 ἱερεὺς τῶν ἐν γυμνασίῳ θεῶν, κατεσκεύασεν τὸν ναὸν καὶ
 τὸ ἄγαλμα ἰδίῳ ἀναλώμασιν τῷ α<ὕ>τοῦ θεῷ, ἐφηβαρχοῦντος 10
 Διονυσίου τοῦ Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ Ἀπολλοδότου φιλοκαίσαρος.
 Ἄδραστος Ἀδράστου φιλόκαισαρ καθιέρωσεν, συνκαθιεροῦντος
 καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἀδράστου φιλοκαίσαρος, τοῦ καὶ αὐτοῦ δωρεὰν

καὶ αὐθαίρετου γυμνασιάρχου τῶν παίδων, τῇ γενεσίῳ
Τιβερίου L ις', Ἀπογονικοῦ κδ'.

15

Translation: To the divine Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of the divine Augustus, Emperor, *pontifex maximus*, holder of the tribunician power thirty-one times, when Lucius Axius Naso was *proconsul*, Marcus Etrilius Lupercus *legatus* and Caius Flavius Figulus *quaestor*. Adrastos, son of Adrastos, *philokaisar*, hereditary priest of the temple and statue of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, which he founded at his own cost in the *gymnasion*, lover of the fatherland and all-virtuous, holding the office of *gymnasiarchos* voluntarily and at his own cost and that of priest of the gods in the *gymnasion*, founded the temple and the statue for his own god at his own expense at the time when Dionysios, *philokaisar*, son of Dionysios, also known by the name of Apollodotos, was *ephebarchos*. Adrastos, son of Adrastos, *philokaisar*, consecrated (them) with his son Adrastos, *philokaisar*, who held the office of *gymnasiarchos* of the children voluntarily and at his own cost, on the birthday of Tiberius, on the twenty-fourth of (the month named) Apogonikos in the sixteenth year.

Monument: A statue base.

Found: Near the monastery of Achiropiti, Lapethos.

Date: Period of Tiberius, the sixteenth of November, 29 CE (emperor and calendar).

References: *Editio princeps* by D. Pieridēs, 1863 (*non vidi*) [*OGIS* 2, no. 583]; Unger and Kotschy 1865, 566–67; **LBW* 3, no. 2773 [*IGR* 3, no. 933]; di Cesnola 1877, 419–20, no. 15; Sakellarios 1890, 144, no. 2; Kantiréa 2008, 99–100.

Present Location: Achiropiti, Cyprus?

Lapethos no. 3. Statue of Trajan

Αὐτοκράτορα <Καίσαρα> θ[εοῦ Νέρουα υἱὸν]
Νέρουαν Τραϊανὸν [Σεβαστὸν]
Γερμανικὸν Δ[ακικὸν]
Ἄδραστος Ἄδραστο[υ ---].

1–2 Αὐτοκράτορα Σ[εβαστὸν] Νέρουαν Τραϊανὸν [Καίσαρα] Mitford.

Translation: Adrastos, son of Adrastos, [---], (set up the statue of) Emperor <Caesar>, [son of the] divine [Nerva], Nerva Traianus [Augustus] Germanicus Dacicus.

Monument: A fragmentary statue base, 0.38m (W)×0.36m (H)×0.22m (D).

Found: At a house in Karavas (ancient Lapethos).

Date: Period of Trajan, 102–116 CE? (emperor and his titles).

References: Mitford 1950, 22–24, no. 11; *ICA 8 (in *RDAC* 1969), 73–74, no. 2 [*SEG* 25, no. 1133].

Present Location: Cyprus Museum in Nicosia (1968/I–15/1, INS. GR. 150), Cyprus.

Lapethos no. 4. Statue of Hadrian

Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα, θεοῦ Τραῖ[ανοῦ]
 Παρθικοῦ υἱόν, θεοῦ Νερο[ύα] υἱονόν,
 Τραϊανόν Ἀδριανόν Ἀριστο[ν Σ]εβαστόν
 Γερμανικόν Δακικόν Παρ[θικ]όν, τὸ[ν]
 σωτήρα καὶ εὐεργέτην [τῆς πόλεως],
 Λαπηθίων ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος].

5

5 τ[οῦ κόσμου] Mitford.

Translation: The council and the people of Lapethos (set up the statue of) Imperator Caesar, son of the divine Traianus Parthicus, grandson of the divine Nerva, Traianus Hadrianus Optimus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus Parthicus, saviour and benefactor [of the city].

Monument: A statue base.

Found: Lapethos.

Date: Period of Hadrian (emperor).

References: *Perdrizet 1896, 347–49, no. 1 [*JGR* 3, no. 934]; Mitford 1961a, 125.

Present Location: n/a.

Paphos (Amargetti) no. 1. Statue of Augustus

[Κ]αίσαρ[ι --- Σε]βαστῶ[ι]
 Τίτος Ἀ[πίκατος Σαβε]ῖνος ταμίας
 καὶ ἀντ[ιστράτηγος] καθιέρωσεν.

1 [Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Σε]βαστῶ[ι] Mitford 1990; [Κ]αίσαρ[ι θεοῦ υἱῶ Σε]βαστῶ[ι] Masson, *I.Paphos* and Kantiréa.

Translation: Titus Apicatus Sabinus, *quaestor propraetore*, consecrated (the statue) to Caesar [---] Augustus.

Monument: Two fragments of a statue base. I: 0.31m (W)×0.19m (H)×0.40m (D).

II: 0.37m (W)×0.19m (H)×0.47m (D).

Found: Amargetti (to the north of Paphos).

Date: Period of Augustus (emperor).

References I: Hogarth, James et al. 1888, 260, no. 1; Sakellarios 1890, 115, no. 1; Mitford 1946, 38, n. 51, no. 1; Mitford 1961a, 108–109 [*SEG* 20, no. 241]. II: ICA 4 (in *RDAC* 1965), 119–20, no. 9 [*SEG* 23, no. 641]. Assembled: Mitford 1990, 2183, n. 32 [*SEG* 40, no. 1369; *An.Ép* 1991, no. 1567; *SEG* 42, no. 1315]; Masson 1994, 270, no. 17 [*BE* 1995, no. 606; *SEG* 44, no. 1286]; **I.Paphos* no. 313; Kantiréa 2008, 94, n. 24.

Present Location: Pafos District Museum (no. 1716), Cyprus.

Paphos (Amargetti) no. 2. Statues of Caius and Lucius Caesar

[τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ [Σεβαστοῦ υἱοῖς, Γαίῳ Καίσαρι]
[καὶ Λευκίῳ Καίσαρι, ἡγεμόσι τῆς νεότητος],
Τίτος Ἀπίκατος Σαβ[εῖνος, ταμίας Ῥωμαίων].

1 [Σεβαστοῦ διδύμοις υἱοῖς *I.Paphos*. 2 Καίσαρι, ἡγεμόσι τῆς νεότητος, καθιέρωσε?] *I.Paphos*. 3 Σαβ[εῖνος ταμίας καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος] *I.Paphos* and Kantiréa.

Translation: Titus Apicatus Sabinus, [*quaestor* of the Romans], (dedicated the statues) to [Caius Caesar] and Lucius Caesar, [leaders of the youth (*principes iuventutis*), sons of] the divine [Augustus].

Monument: A statue base, 0.67m (W)×0.24m (H)×0.50m (D).

Found: Church of Zoodochos Pigi, Amargetti (to the north of Paphos).

Date: Period of Augustus, 17 or 2 BCE – 2 CE (imperial family members).

References: Mitford 1961a, 107–109, no. 9 [*SEG* 20, no. 240; *BE* 1962, no. 326]; *Masson 1994, 270, no. 16 [*BE* 1995, no. 606]; *I.Paphos* no. 312; Kantiréa 2008, 94, n. 21.

Present Location: Pafos District Museum (no. 1241), Cyprus.

Paphos Nova no. 1. Statue of Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus, *gymnasiarchos* and *archiereus*

[Γάιον Οὐ]μμίδιον Πάνταυχον [Κουα]-
[δρατιαν]όν, τὸν γυμνασιαρχή[σαντα]
[δρακτ]οῖς καὶ λουτήρσι Νερ[ωνείοις]
[ἐκ τοῦ ἰ]δίου μέχρι νυκτός, [τὸν διὰ]
[βίου ἀρ]χιερέα, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ κώ[μου?],
[Κλαυδ]ία Ἀπφά[ριον, Τ]εύκρου θυ[γάτηρ],
[τὸν ἐ]αυτῆς υἱόν, μνήμης [χάριν].

5

1–2 Πάνταυχο[ν τὸν καὶ? Τεῦκ?]ρον ICA. 3 For λουτήρσι, see *BE*; [---] αμου τηρσιν ICA; [- ? ὀλκεῖ]οις καὶ λουτήρσι Νερ[ωνείων] *I.Paphos*. 4 [---] α]ὐτοῦ μέχρι νυκτός [---] ICA; [τῶν ὑπ' α]ὐτοῦ μέχρι νυκτός [ἀχθέντῶ]ν *I.Paphos*. 5 [τὸν ἀρ]χιερέα, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ κώ[---] ICA; [τὸν ἀρ]χιερέα, τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ κώ[μου] *I.Paphos*.

Translation: Claudia Appharion, daughter of Teukros, (set up the statue of) her own son, [Caius] Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus, who held the office of *gymnasiarchos* (providing olive oil) in vases and washing tubs in the time of the Neroneia at his own expense up to the night, *archiereus* [for life], priest of the festival?, in his memory.

Monument: A statue base, 0.545m (W)×0.35m (H)×0.485m (D).

Found: In a garden at Kato Pafos (ancient Paphos Nova).

Date: Period of Nero (festival).

References: ICA 9 (in *RDAC* 1970), 154–56, no. 10 [*BE* 1972, no. 576]; Mitford 1980a, 1352, n. 322; *Mitford 1980b, 282, n. 46 [*SEG* 30, no. 1630]; Kolb 2003, 244; *I.Paphos* no. 249; Kantiréa 2008, 106, n. 99.

Present Location: Pafos District Museum (no. 1982), Cyprus.

Paphos Nova no. 2. Building activity? of Domitian

[I]mp(erator) Dom[itianus] Caesar Aug(ustus) divi]
Vespasiani fl[ilius] Germ(anicus) pont(ifex)]
m<a>x(imus), tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) V Im[p(erator) XI censor per]-
[p]et[itu]s, p(ater) p(atriciae) V [---].

Translation: Imperator Domitianus [Caesar Augustus], son of the [divine] Vespasianus, [Germanicus, *pontifex*] *maximus*, holder of the tribunician power for the fifth time, Imperator [eleven times, *censor*] for life, father of the fatherland V[---].
Monument: A slab, 0.29m (W)×0.23m (H)×0.05m (D).

Found: At Livadhi in Kato Pafos (ancient Paphos Nova).

Date: Period of Domitian, 85/6 CE (emperor and his titles).

References: *ICA 31 (in *RDAC* 1992), 261–62, no. 14 [*An.Ép.* 1992, no. 1682]; *I.Paphos* no. 243.

Present Location: Pafos District Museum (RR 3152), Cyprus.

Paphos Nova no. 3. Dedication to Zeus Kapitolios and the Antonines

[Θεῷ Διὶ Κ]απετωλίῳ καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τίτῳ Αἰλ[ίῳ Ἀδριανῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ Σεβαστῷ Εὐσεβεῖ] καὶ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Μ(άρκῳ) Αὐρ[ηλῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ Καίσαρι] | [δὲ] εὐεργεσί[ας? Σεβ(αστῆ) Κλ(αυδία) Φλ(αυσία) Πάφος ἢ Ἱερὰ Μητρόπολις τῶν κατὰ Κύπ[ρον πόλεων τὸ προσκήνιον, τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰς ἀνόδους κατ[εσκεύασεν ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων].

1–2 [Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Λ. Σεπτιμίῳ Σενήρῳ Εὐσεβεῖ Εὐτυχεῖ Περτίνακι Σεβαστῷ] καὶ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Μ. Αὐρ[ηλῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῇ Κλ. Φλ. Πάφος ἢ ἱερὰ μητρόπολις τῶν κατὰ Κύπρον πόλεων τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰς ἀνόδους κα[τεσκεύασεν ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου] Mitford and Kantiréa; [Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Λ. Σεπτιμίῳ Σενήρῳ e.g. Εὐσεβεῖ Περτίνακι Σεβαστῷ Ἀραβικῷ Ἀδιαβηνικῷ] καὶ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ Μ. Αὐρ[ηλῷ Ἀντωνίνῳ? Καίσαρι, ...69... καὶ τὰ ἀγάλματα καὶ τὰς ἀνόδους κα[τὰ ...21?...]. *I.Paphos*.

Translation: To [god Zeus] Kapitolios and Imperator Caesar Titus Aelius [Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius] and his son Marcus Aurelius [Antoninus Caesar]. *Sebaste Claudia Flavia* Paphos, the sacred *metropolis* of the Cypriot [cities], constructed [the *proskenion*], the statues and the staircases [at its own expense], because of their benefactions?

Monument: Two parts of an architrave. I: 1.54m (W)×0.74m (H)×0.21m (D). II: 2.82m (W)×0.75m (H)×0.25m (D).

Found: At the ancient theatre of Paphos Nova.

Date: Period of Antoninus Pius, 139–61 CE (emperors).

References: I: van Buren 1908, 198, no. 31; [cf. *SEG* 6, no. 812]; Mitford 1961a, 105, n. 49 [*SEG* 20, no. 252]; *I.Paphos* no. 230. Joined with newly found II: *ICA 42 (in *RDAC* 2003), 305–308, no. 13 [*An.Ép.* 2003, no. 1780; *SEG* 52, no. 1496; *SEG* 53, no. 1758; *BE* 2005, no. 562; cf. Green and Stennett 2002, 188]; Kantiréa 2008, 104–105.

Present Location: Pafos District Museum (no. 3987), Cyprus.

Paphos Nova no. 4. Dedication? to Severus

[ὕπερ σωτηρίας Αὐτοκράτορος]

[Καίσαρος Λ(ουκίου) Σεπτιμίου Σεουήρου]

[Ε]ὐτυχούς Περ[τίνακος Εὐσεβοῦς]

[Σ]εβαστοῦ Ἀραβ[ικοῦ Παρθικοῦ]

[Σε]β(αστή) Κλ(αυδία) Φλ(αουία) Πάφος [ή ἱερὰ μητρό]-

5

[πο]λῖς τῶν κατὰ Κ[ύπρον πόλεων]

[δι]ὰ τῶν τὸ ἔκτον [ἔτος ἀρξάν?]-

των.

4 Ἀδιαβηνικοῦ] *I.Paphos*. 7–8 Fujii; [δι]ὰ τῶν τὸ ἔκτον [.....]των *LBW*; [δι]ὰ τῶν τὸ ἔκτον [ἔτος ἀρχουσάν]των? Mitford; [δι]ὰ τῶν τὸ ἔκτον [ἔτος ἀρχόν?]των *I.Paphos*.

Translation: *Sebaste Claudia Flavia* Paphos, [the sacred] *metropolis* of the Cypriot [cities], (set up this) [for the safety of Emperor Caesar Lucius Septimius Severus] Felix Pertinax [Pius] Augustus Arabicus [Parthicus] under the supervision of the [*archontes*?] of the sixth [year].

Monument: n/a.

Found: Paphos Nova.

Date: Period of Septimius Severus, 197/8 CE (emperor and his regnal year).

References: *LBW* 3, no. 2785 [*IGR* 3, no. 937]; *Mitford 1961a, 105, n. 50 [*SEG* 20, no. 253]; *I.Paphos* no. 231.

Present Location: Lost.

Paphos Nova no. 5. Statue of Caracalla

τύχη ἀγαθῇ.

Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Μ(άρκον) Αὐρήλιον Ἀντωνεῖν[ον Εὐσεβ]ῇ Εὐτυχ[ῇ]

Σεβαστὸν Ἀραβικὸν Ἀδιαβηνικὸν Παρθικὸν Μ(έγιστον) Βρεταν[νικό]ν, Σεβαστή

Κλ(αυδία) Φλ(αουία) Πάφος ἡ ἱερὰ μητρόπολις τῶν κατὰ Κύπρον πόλεων,

παρόντων

καὶ καθιερούντων τοῦ τε κρατίστου ἀνθυπάτου Ἰουλίου Φρόντωνος

5

Τληπολέμου καὶ τοῦ ἀξιολογωτάτου λογιστοῦ Ἡλιανοῦ Πολυβιανοῦ,
 δοθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν κυρίων ἡμῶν Αὐτοκρατόρων
 καὶ καταστήσαντος τὸν ἀνδριάντα ἀπὸ * Φ΄
 ἀπὸ πόρων τῶν δογματισθέντων ὑπὸ τῶ[v]
 ἀρχόντων τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος ιθ' τοῦ καὶ ιδ΄
 [[καὶ γ΄]] ἔτους.

10

11 Fujii (see Mitford 1961a, 141; Mitford 1980a, 1357, n. 361); κθ' Seyrig; κθ' E *I.Paphos*.

Translation: For Good Fortune. The sacred *metropolis* of the Cypriot cities, *Sebastē Claudia Flavia Paphos*, (set up the statue of) Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus Arabicus Adiabenicus Parthicus Maximus Britannicus. *Proconsul* Iulius Fronto Tlepolemos, *vir egregius*, and Helianos Polybianos, *eminentissimus*, who was appointed by our lords the emperors as *curator*, were present and made the consecration. Polybianos set up the statue that cost 500 *denarii*, deduced from the resources decreed by the *archontes* for the nineteenth year (of Septimius Severus), the fourteenth year (of Caracalla) [[and the third]] year (of Geta).

Monument: A statue base, 0.80m (W)×0.38m (H)×0.76m (D).

Found: Paphos Nova.

Date: Period of Caracalla, 211 CE (emperor and imperial family members, their regnal years and the emperor's titles).

References: *Editio princeps* by L. Philippou, 1916 (*non vidi*); *Seyrig 1927, 139–43, no. 3 [*SEG* 6, no. 810; *BE* 1928, 382–83]; *I.Paphos* no. 232. For the titles of the Roman officials, see Mason 1974, 23, 44, 64.

Present Location: Pafos District Museum (Bent House, MII 125), Cyprus.

Paphos Vetūs no. 1. Statue of Iulia

Ἰ[ου]λίαν θεὰν Σεβαστή[v],
 θυγατέρα Αὐτοκράτορο[ς]
 Καίσαρος, θεοῦ υἱοῦ, θεο[ῦ]
 Σεβαστοῦ, γυναῖκα δὲ Ἀγ[ρίππα].

Translation: [NN] (set up the statue of) the divine Iulia Augusta, daughter of the divine Emperor Caesar Augustus, son of the Divus, and wife of Agrippa.

Monument: A statue base, 0.68m (W)×0.37m (H)×1.02m (D).

Found: Sanctuary of Aphrodite, Paphos Vetūs.

Date: Period of Augustus, 21–12 BCE (imperial family members).

References: Hogarth, James et al. 1888, 243, no. 69 [*IGR* 3, no. 940]; Sakellarios 1890, 104, no. 101; **I.Paphos* no. 143; Kantiréa 2008, 95, n. 26.

Present Location: Local Museum of Palaipafos (KM 49), Cyprus.

Paphos Vetūs no. 2. Statues of Tiberius and Iulia

Τιβέριον [Κλαύδιον Νέρωνα]
 Νέρωνος Κλ[αυδίου καὶ Λιουίας υἱόν?],
 [κ]<α>ὶ τὴν τούτο[υ γυναῖκα Ἰουλίαν]
 [Θεοῦ Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ θυγατέρα].

1 Τιβέριον [---] Hogarth, James et al.; Τιβέριον [Κλαύδιον, Κλαυδίου] *I.Paphos*. 2–3 Κλ[αυδίου καὶ]ν τὴν τούτο[υ γυναῖκα Hogarth, James et al. and Sakellarios; καὶ[ι Λιουίας υἱόν, Νέρωνα, Ἰουλίαν]ν, τὴν τούτο[υ γυναῖκα, e.g. θυγατέρα δὲ] *I.Paphos*; Κλ[αυδίου καὶ Ἰουλίαν]ν τὴν τούτο[υ γυναῖκα] Kantiréa. 4 Hogarth, James et al. and Sakellarios omit; [Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ] *I.Paphos*.

Translation: [NN] (set up the statues of) Tiberius [Claudius Nero], [son? of] Nero Claudius [and Livia], and his [spouse Iulia, daughter of the divine Caesar Augustus].

Monument: Probably a statue base.

Found: Sanctuary of Aphrodite, Paphos Vetos.

Date: Period of Augustus, 11–2 BCE (imperial family members).

References: Hogarth, James et al. 1888, 253, no. 116 [*IGR* 3, no. 943]; Sakellarios 1890, 102, no. 90; *Mitford 1947, 228, no. 12 [*BE* 1949, no. 216]; *I.Paphos* no. 146; Kantiréa 2008, 95, n. 26.

Present Location: n/a (probably lost).

Paphos Vetos no. 3. Statue of Livia

[Σεβαστῆς Πάφου ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος]ς? Λιουίαν Θεὰν Νέα[ν Ἀφροδίτην?].

1 Εἰ[λί<θ>]υαν θεὰν Νεα [---] Hogarth, James et al.; [Σεβαστὴ Πάφο]ς Mitford 1947; Νέα[ν Ἀφροδίτην *vel* Δήμητρα?] *I.Paphos*.

Translation: [The council and] the people [of Paphos *Sebaste?*] (set up the statue of) the divine Livia, new [Aphrodite?].

Monument: A long block, probably as a statue base.

Found: Sanctuary of Aphrodite, Paphos Vetos.

Date: Period of Augustus, before 14 CE (imperial family member).

References: Hogarth, James et al. 1888, 242, no. 61; Mitford 1947, 227–28, no. 11 [*BE* 1949, no. 216]; *Mitford 1980a, 1310, n. 85 [*SEG* 30, no. 1632]; *I.Paphos* no. 145; Kantiréa 2008, 96.

Present Location: n/a (probably lost).

Paphos Vetos no. 4. Dedication to Marcia

Μαρκίαί Φιλίππου θυγατρί, ἀνεψιάι
 Καίσαρος θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, γυναικὶ

Παύλου Φαβίου Μαξίμου, Σεβαστῆς
Πάφου ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος.

3 Σεβαστῇ von Hammer.

Translation: The council and the people of Paphos *Sebaste* (dedicated this to) Marcia, daughter of Philippus, cousin of the divine Caesar Augustus, wife of Paullus Fabius Maximus.

Monument: n/a.

Found: The church of St. Epiphanius, Paphos Vetus.

Date: Period of Augustus or of Tiberius (imperial family member; cf. Corbier 1991, 672–73).

References: von Hammer 1811, 181, no. 51; Vidua 1826, tab. 33, no. 2 [Letronne 1827, 173; *CIG* 2, no. 2629; *IGR* 3, no. 939; *OGIS* 2, no. 581]; Sakellarios 1890, 102, no. 88; **I.Paphos* no. 149.

Present Location: Lost.

Paphos Vetus no. 5. Plous, the philosopher of Paphos and *archiereus*

[Ἀφροδίτῃ] Παφίαι.

[τὸν δεῖνα Ἀπολλωνίου, τ(ὸ)ν καὶ Πλοῦν

[τὸν τῆς Σεβαστῆς] Πάφ[ο]υ φιλόσοφο[ν]

[--- ἀρχι]ερέα διὰ βίου θεοῦ]

[Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσα]ρος Σεβασ[τοῦ],

5

[--- γυμνασιαρχή]σαντα?, ἀθ[λοθετή]σαντα?]

[---] ΗΣ ἐξ αὐτοῦ?]

[Σεβαστῇ Πάφος τὸν εὐε]ργέτ[ην].

2 [Ἀπολλώνιον? Ἀπολλωνίου] *I.Paphos*. 3 [τὸν ἐκ Σεβαστῆς] Mitford 1980b and Kantiréa. 4 [Ἐπικούρειον? ἀρχι]ερέα Mitford 1980b, Mitford 1990 and Kantiréa; [Ἐπικούρειον *vel* Πλατωνικόν? ἀρχι]ερέα *I.Paphos*. 6 Fujii; [ἄρξαντα?, γυμνασιαρχή]σαντα? ἄθ[λοις] Mitford 1980b, Mitford 1990 and Kantiréa; [--- *e.g.* ἀγωνοθετή]σαντα? ἄθ[λοις?] *I.Paphos*. 8 τὸν ἐαυτῆς εὐε]ργέτ[ην] Mitford 1980b and Kantiréa.

Translation: To [Aphrodite] of Paphos. [Paphos *Sebaste*] (set up the statue of) [NN, its] benefactor, [son] of Apollonios, also known by the name of Plous, the [---] philosopher of Paphos *Sebaste*, *archiereus* for life of the divine [Imperator] Caesar Augustus, [who held the offices of ---] and *gymnasiarchos*? and set the prizes?

Monument: A block, 0.35m (W)×0.35m (H)×0.31m (D).

Found: Paphos Vetus.

Date: Period of Augustus (emperor).

References: Mitford 1980b, 281, n. 38 [*SEG* 30, no. 1627]; *Mitford 1990, 2196, n. 105 [*SEG* 40, no. 1362]; *I.Paphos* no. 176; Kantiréa 2008, 97, n. 40.

Present Location: Local Museum of Palaipafos (KM 92), Cyprus.

Paphos Vetus no. 6. An anonymous, *archiereus*

[Ἀφροδίτη Π]αφαίαι.

[---] Σ ἀρχιερέως υ?

[---] ἀρχιερέα, Ῥοδ[όκλεια]

[---] υῖόν ἐξ[αίρετον?].

2 [Ῥοδοκλέους?] τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Mitford 1980a; [τὸν Ῥοδοκλέου]ς? ἀρχιερέως [υῖωνόν] *I.Paphos*; [Τιβ. Κλαύδιον Τεύκρον], τοῦ ἀρχιερέως Kantiréa. 3 ἀρχιερέα Ῥόδου Hogarth, James et al.; ἀρχιερέα Ῥόδον Sakellarios; [Ῥοδοκλῆν?, τὸν] ἀρχιερέα, Ῥοδ[όκλεια] *I.Paphos*; [Ῥοδοκλέους υῖόν], ἀρχιερέα, Ῥοδ[όκλεια] Kantiréa. 3–4 [υῖόν Ῥοδοκλέα?] ἀρχιερέα, Ῥοδ[οκλῆς Τεύκρου?] Mitford 1980a. 4 υῖόν Hogarth, James et al. and Sakellarios; [ἀρχιέρεια, τὸν] υῖόν, ἐξ [ιερέων ιερέα?] *I.Paphos*; [Τεύκρου θυγάτηρ, τὸν ἑαυτῆς] υῖόν Kantiréa.

Translation: [To Aphrodite] of Paphos. Rhodokleia (set up the statue of) [her] distinguished? son, *archiereus*, [son of NN], *archiereus*.

Monument: A pedestal.

Found: Sanctuary of Aphrodite, Paphos Vetus.

Date: Period of Augustus or of Tiberius (prosopography).

References: Hogarth, James et al. 1888, 254, no. 119; Sakellarios 1890, 92, no. 32; *Mitford 1947, 228–230, no. 13 [*BE* 1949, no. 216]; Mitford 1980a, 1353, n. 324; *I.Paphos* no. 170; Kantiréa 2008, 106.

Present Location: Lost.

Paphos Vetus no. 7. *Archiereia* of the emperors?

[Ἰουλίαι] Σεβαστῇ[ι --- ἡ δεῖνα]

[τοῦ δεῖνος ---] ἡ ἀρχιέρει[α τῶν Σεβαστῶν? ---]

[--- τῇ μη]τρὶ Τιβερίου [Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ]

[---] ΟΤΕ ς Μ [---].

1–2 Fujii; Oberhammer and Mitford assume that Σεβαστῇ is part of the title of Paphos; Σεβαστ[φ] Hogarth, James et al.; Σεβαστῇ[ι Θεᾷ νέαι Ἀφροδίτη *vel* Δήμητρι?] *I.Paphos* (cf. Cayla 2004). 2 Fujii; Η ἀρχιερέα [---] Mitford; Η ἀρχιέρει[α ---] *I.Paphos* (cf. Cayla 2004). 3 [---] ΤΡΙ Τιβερίου [---] Mitford.

Translation: [To Iulia] Augusta (i.e. Livia) [--- NN, daughter of NN], the *archiereia* [of the emperors? --- (dedicated this)] to the mother of Tiberius [Caesar Augustus---].

Monument: A block, 0.36m (W)×0.47m (H)×0.21m (D).

Found: In a house-wall near the sanctuary of Aphrodite, Paphos Vetus.

Date: Period of Tiberius (imperial family member).

References: Oberhummer 1888, 324–26, no. 13 [*IGR* 3, no. 963]; Hogarth, James et al. 1888, 260, no. 14 [*IGR* 3, no. 948]; Mitford 1947, 214–16, no. 5 [*BE* 1949, no. 216]; **I.Paphos* no. 152; Cayla 2004 [*An.Ép.* 2004, no. 1545; *SEG* 54, no. 1557].

Present Location: Local Museum of Palaipafos (KM 87), Cyprus.

Paphos Vetus no. 8. Oath of allegiance to Tiberius

[νῆ τ]ῆν ἡμετέραν Ἀκραίαν Ἀφροδίτην κα[ὶ]
 τῇ[ν ἡμ]ετέραν Κόρην ν καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον Ὑλά-
 τη[ν Ἀπόλλ]ω καὶ τὸν ἡμέτερον Κε[ρ]υγήτην
 Ἀπόλλω ν καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους σωτήρας
 Διοσκούρους ν καὶ τὴν κοινὴν τῆς νήσου
 βουλαίαν Ἑστίαν ν καὶ θεοὺς θεάς τε τοῦ[ς]
 κοινοὺς τῆς νήσου πατέρας νν καὶ τὸν
 ἔκγονον τῆς Ἀφροδίτης Σεβαστὸν θεὸν
 Καίσαρα νν καὶ τὴν ἀέναον Ῥώμην ν καὶ τοῦ[ς]
 ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας τε καὶ πάσας, ν αὐτο[ῖ]
 τε καὶ οἱ ἔκγονοι ἡμῶν ὑπακούσεσθαι,
 πειθαρχήσιν ν κατὰ τε γῆν καὶ κατὰ θάλαττ[αν],
 εὐνοήσιν, ν σεβάσεσθαι – ν 12 –
 Τιβέριον Καίσαρα Σεβαστοῦ ὑ<ι>ὸν Σεβασ-
 τὸν σὺν τῷ ἅπαντι αὐτοῦ οἴκῳ, νν καὶ νν
 τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκείνοις φίλον τε καὶ ἐχθρὸν ν
 ἔξιν, ν μετὰ τε τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν μόνοις
 Ῥώμῃ καὶ Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι ν Σεβαστοῦ υἱῷ
 Σεβαστῷ, – ν 12 – ὑοῖς τε τοῦ
 αἵματος αὐτοῦ ν καὶ οὐδενὶ ἄλλῳ τῶν
 πάντων ν εἰσηγήσεσθαι ψήφισ[μα]
 [---].

3 Κη[---]την Karageorghis; Κε[ν]υρ[ι]στήν Cayla and *I.Paphos*. 21 Fujii; ψηφίσ[ε]σ[θαι] Weinstock and Herrmann; ψηφί[σ]α[σ]θ[αι] Mitford and Seibert; ψηφί[σ]ματ]α *I.Paphos*. 22 Weinstock, Herrmann and *I.Paphos*; [ιερά ---] Mitford and Seibert.

Translation: [By these deities---], our own Aphrodite Akraia, our own Kore, our own Apollon Hylates, our own Apollon of Keryneia, our own saviours, the Di-skouroi, Hestia, the joint patron of the council of the island, the common ancestral gods and goddesses of the island, and by the descendant of Aphrodite, namely the divine Augustus Caesar, the everlasting Roma and all other gods and goddesses, we ourselves and our descendants (swear to) submit to, to be obedient to both by land and sea, to be favourable to and to worship, Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of Augustus, with all his house. (Further, we swear) to have the same friend and the same enemy as theirs, and to propose a decree [---] with the other

gods only for Roma, Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of Augustus, and the sons of his blood, and for no other at all.

Monument: A plaque, 0.60m (W)×0.53m (H)×0.08m (D).

Found: The village of Nikoklia (near Paphos Vetus).

Date: Period of Tiberius (emperor).

References: *Mitford 1960 [*An.Ép.* 1962, no. 248; *SEG* 18, no. 578]; Karageorghis 1960, 274–75 [*BE* 1961, no. 826]; Weinstock 1962 [*BE* 1964, no. 531; *SEG* 23, no. 635]; Herrmann 1968, 124–25, no. 5; Seibert 1970; Nicolaou 1971, 28, pl. 34; Cayla 2001 [*An.Ép.* 2001, no. 1951; *BE* 2002, no. 499; *SEG* 51, no. 1896]; *I.Paphos* no. 151.

Present Location: Local Museum of Palaipafos (KM 95), Cyprus.

Paphos Vetus no. 9. Statue of Rhodokles, *archiereus* and the *agonothetes* of the Kaisarogermanikeia

Ἀφροδίτῃ ν Παφίαι

Κυπρίων τὸ κοινὸν Ῥοδοκλέα Ῥοδοκλέους τὸν
καὶ Στασικράτην, ἀρχιερασάμενον νησιωτικῶς τοῦ θεοῦ
Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος, τὸν αὐθαίρετον ἀγωνοθέτην τῶν
ἀχθέντων ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ Κυπρίων πρώτως ἐν Σεβαστῇ
Πάφῳ νησιωτικῶν ἱερῶν ἀγώνων πενταετηρικῶν *vacat*
Καισαρογερμανικείων, ἀρετῆς χάριν.

5

Translation: To Aphrodite of Paphos. The *koinon* of the Cypriots (set up the statue of) Rhodokles, son of Rhodokles, also known by the name of Stasikrates, who had held the office of *archiereus* of the island for the divine Augustus Caesar, the voluntary *agonothetes* of the sacred games of the island coming every fifth year for Caesar Germanicus, which were organised by the Cypriot *koinon* for the first time in Paphos *Sebaste*, for his valour.

Monument: A statue base, 0.92m (W)×0.27m (H)×0.80m (D).

Found: The village of Mandria (near Paphos Vetus).

Date: Period of Tiberius, 18/19 CE (imperial family member and contents).

References: *ICA 3 (in *RDAC* 1964), 211–16, no. 23b [*SEG* 23, no. 638; *BE* 1966, no. 483; *An.Ép.* 1966, no. 487]; *I.Paphos* no. 169; Kantiréa 2008, 105.

Present Location: Local Museum of Palaipafos (KM 126), Cyprus.

Paphos Vetus no. 10. Statue of Tiberius

[Ἀφ]ρο[δίτῃ] Π[α]φίαι

Τιβέριον Καίσαρα θεοῦ Σεβαστ[οῦ υἱόν]

[Σ]εβαστὸν Αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχι[ερέα μέγιστον]

[Σε]βαστῆς Πάφου ἢ β[ουλῇ καὶ ὁ δῆμος].

3 ἀρχ[ιερέα] *LBW*.

Translation: To Aphrodite of Paphos. The council [and the people] of Paphos *Sebaste* (set up the statue of) Tiberius Caesar, [son] of the divine Augustus, Augustus Imperator, *pontifex [maximus]*.

Monument: A statue base, (max.) 0.67m (W)×0.23m (H)×(max.) 0.53m (D).

Found: Sanctuary of Aphrodite, Paphos Vetus.

Date: Period of Tiberius (emperor).

References: *LBW* 3, no. 2792; *Hogarth, James et al. 1888, 227–28, no. 7 [*JGR* 3, no. 942]; Sakellarios 1890, 103, no. 91; *I.Paphos* no. 147.

Present Location: Local Museum of Palaipafos (KM 65), Cyprus.

Paphos Vetus no. 11. Statue of Tiberius

Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφίαι

Τιβέριον Καίσαρα θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸν

Σεβαστὸν Αὐτοκράτορα ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον,

Σεβαστῆς Πάφου ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος,

τὸν ἑαυτῶν σωτῆρα καὶ εὐεργέ[τ]ην,

5

L ι', Τιβερειίου Σεβαστοῦ α'.

6 Τιβερειίου Σεβαστοῦ α' Hogarth, James et al. and Sakellarios; L γ' Τιβερειίου Σεβαστοῦ α' *I.Paphos*.

Translation: To Aphrodite of Paphos. The council and the people of Paphos *Sebaste* (set up the statue of) its saviour and benefactor Tiberius Caesar, son of the divine Augustus, Augustus Imperator, *pontifex maximus*, on the first day of (the month) Tiberieios Sebastos in the tenth year.

Monument: A statue base, 0.78m (W)×0.31m (H)×0.72m (D).

Found: Sanctuary of Aphrodite, Paphos Vetus.

Date: Period of Tiberius, 21st February 23 or 24 CE (emperor, his regnal year and calendar).

References: Hogarth, James et al. 1888, 227, no. 6 [*JGR* 3, no. 941]; Sakellarios 1890, 102, no. 89; *Mitford 1961a, 140–41 [*SEG* 20, no. 213]; *I.Paphos* no. 148.

Present Location: Local Museum of Palaipafos (no reference), Cyprus.

Paphos Vetus no. 12. Statue of Tiberius

Ἀφρ[ο]δείτῃ Παφίαι

[Τιβέριον Καί]σαρα, θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱόν,

[θεοῦ Ἰουλίου υἱώ]ν, Σεβαστὸν ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον

[ἐπὶ? Κοίντου *vel* Λουκίου Μα]ρκίου, Κοίντου υἱοῦ, Κοίντου Ὀρτηνσίου

[υἱωνοῦ, Ὀρτάλου Ὀρ]τη<ν>σείνου ἀνθυπάτου

5

[Σεβα]στῇ {ι} Πάφος.

2–3 [.....Καί]σαρα, θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸν [....Αὐτοκράτορ]α Σεβαστὸν Hogarth, James et al. and Sakellarios; [Αὐτοκράτορα Καί]σαρα θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸν

[Δομετιανὸν]ν Σεβαστόν *IGR*; [Αὐτοκράτορα Καί]σαρα, Θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱόν, [Τίτον Οὐεσπασιανὸν]ν Σεβαστόν Mitford 1947 and Mitford 1980a. 4 [e.g. καθιερῶντος ...ca. 10...]PKIOY Mitford 1947; [καθιερῶντος? ...ca. 8... Μα]ρκίου Mitford 1980a; ... Μα]ρκίου Arnaud; [ἐπὶ? Κοίντου Μα]ρκίου *I.Paphos*. 5 [τοῦ ῥήτορος? ἀπογόνου? ...ca. 3...]ΤΗΣΕΙΝΟΥ Mitford 1947; [ἀπογόνου, Ὁρτηνσίου? Βρεν]τησεῖνου Mitford 1980a; [τοῦ ῥήτορος ἀπογόνου --] τησεῖνου Arnaud; [υἱωνοῦ, Ὁρ]τησεῖνου *I.Paphos*. 6 [Φλαουία Κλαυδία? Σεβα]στὴ {ι} Πάφος Mitford 1947 and Mitford 1980a.

Translation: To Aphrodite of Paphos. *Sebaste* Paphos (set up the statue of) [Tiberius] Caesar, son of the divine Augustus, grandson [of the divine Iulius], Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, [when? Quintus (or Lucius)] Marcius [Hortalus] Hortensinus, son of Quintus, [grandson] of Quintus Hortensius, was *proconsul*.

Monument: A statue base, 0.80m (W)×0.30m (H)×0.68m (D).

Found: Sanctuary of Aphrodite, Paphos Vetus.

Date: Period of Tiberius, 26–29 CE? (emperor and prosopography). Cf. Corbier 1991, 695–97.

References: Hogarth, James et al. 1888, 250–51, no. 107b; *IGR* 3, no. 944; Sakellarios 1890, 102, no. 88; Mitford 1947, 208–12, no. 3 [*BE* 1949, no. 216]; Pflaum 1952–66 apud *PIR*² H, no. 206; Mitford 1980a, 1301, n. 58 [*SEG* 30, no. 1635]; Arnaud 1989, 17 [*SEG* 39, no. 1532]; *Corbier 1991, 674–87 [*SEG* 41, no. 1480; *An.Ép.* 1991, no. 1568; *BE* 1992, no. 551]; *I.Paphos* no. 150.

Present Location: Local Museum of Palaipafos (KM 94), Cyprus.

Paphos Vetus no. 13. Statue of Amyntor, *archiereus* of the *Securitas domi Augusti*

[ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος ---]

[---] καὶ Σάμ[ιον]? Ἀμύντορα, τὸν υἱὸν

[τῆς] θυγατρὸς αὐτῶν Τρυφώσης

[τοῦ] δὲ Λυσίου τοῦ Ὀλύμπου,

[ἀρ]χιερέα διὰ βίου τῆς σωτηρίας

5

τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν L κβ'.

2 [ἡ γυν]ῆ Σάμ[ιον] Mitford 1980b and Kantiréa; [--- ο]υ Σαμ[ίον?] *I.Paphos*. 4 Ὀλυμπίου Mitford 1980b.

Translation: [NN, son of NN ---] and Samion? (set up the statue of) Amyntor, son [of] their daughter Tryphosa and Lysias, son of Olympos, Amyntor, *archiereus* for life of the *Securitas* of the house of the emperors, in the twenty-second year.

Monument: A statue base, 0.44m (W)×0.22m (H)×0.34m (D).

Found: Paphos Vetus.

Date: Probably period of Tiberius, 34/35 or 35/36 CE (regnal year).

References: Mitford 1980b, 282, n. 40 [*SEG* 30, no. 1628]; *Mitford 1990, 2197, n. 109 [*SEG* 40, no. 1363]; *I.Paphos* no. 177; Kantiréa 2008, 103, n. 80.

Present Location: Local Museum of Palaipafos (no reference), Cyprus.

Paphos Vetus no. 14. Statue of Caligula

[[Γαίῳ Καίσαρι Σεβαστῷ[ι, Γερμανικοῦ Καίσαρος υἱῷ, Τιβερίῳ]]
 [[Σεβαστοῦ υἱῶνῳ, Γερ[μανικῷ, πατρὶ πατρίδος, ἀρχιερεῖ]]
 [[μεγίστῳ, δημαρχικῇ[ς ἐξουσίας τὸ β', ὑπάτῳ, αὐτοκράτορι]]
 [[Μάρκος Φίρμιος Σεκο[ῦνδος, ταμίας καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος? δήμου]]
 [[Ῥωμαίων ὧι ΤΕΜΙΘΙΚΛΥ [---]]]
 [[ἐπὶ προστατῶν Δίῳνος? [τοῦ δεῖνα, τοῦ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνα,]]
 [[Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ ΜΕΟΝΕΟ[---, καὶ τοῦ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνα]]
 [[ταμίου τοῦ ἔτους [β'] Γα[ίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ]]].

5

3 δ[η]μαρχικ[ῆς ἐξουσίας το γ', ὑπάτῳ τὸ β'] *I.Paphos*. 4–5 [[Μάρκος Φίρμιος Σεκο[ῦνδος, ταμίας καὶ ἀντιστράτηγος? δήμου] Ῥωμ[α]ίων ὧι τὰ ΜΕΘΙΚΛΥ [...ca. 30...]] Mitford 1950; Μάρκος Φίρμιος Σεκο[ῦνδος ...15–20... τῷ ἱε]ρῷ ἀργυρίῳ ταμιεύω[ν? ...23–28...] *I.Paphos*. 6 [[ΕΞΗ προστατῶν τ[ὸ] ἱερῶν? [ἀνέθηκε διὰ προνοητοῦ (*praenomen*) (*nomen*)]]] Mitford 1950; ἐπὶ προστατῶν ἱερέων[...23–28...] *I.Paphos*. 7 [[Ἀπολλωνίου [υἱ]οῦ ΜΕΟΝΕΑ [(*cognomen*) ἀρχιερέως Παφίας Ἀφροδίτης?]] Mitford 1950; Ἀπολλωνίου, ἁ[π]λὸς εἰς ΔΔ? [...20–25...] *I.Paphos*. 8 [[ταμίου τ[ὸ] β'? ἔ<τ>ους [Γαί]ου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ αὐτοκράτορος]] Mitford 1950; ταμίου τὸ β', ἔτους γ' τοῦ Γ[αίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ] *I.Paphos*.

Translation: [[To Caius Caesar Augustus, [son of Germanicus Caesar], grandson of [Tiberius] Augustus, Germanicus, [father of the fatherland, *pontifex*] *maximus*, holder of the tribunician [power twice?, *consul*, Emperor]. Marcus Firmius Secundus, [*quaestor pro praetore*? of] the Roman [people] (set up his statue), [---] when Dion?, [son of NN, and NN, son of NN], and Apollonios, son of MEO-NEO[---] were *prostatat* [--- and NN, son of NN], *quaestor* of the [second] year of Caius [Caesar Augustus Germanicus]].

Monument: A statue base, 0.29m (W)×0.235m (H)×0.37m (D).

Found: Sanctuary of Aphrodite, Paphos Vetus.

Date: Period of Caligula (emperor).

References: Mitford 1950, 56–58, no. 30 [*An.Ép.* 1953, no. 172]; *Mitford 1980a, 1315, n. 103 [*SEG* 30, no. 1633]; *I.Paphos* no. 153.

Present Location: Local Museum of Palaipafos (KM 41), Cyprus.

Paphos Vetus no. 15. Statue of Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus, *archiereus*

Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφία.
 Γάϊον Οὐμμίδιον Πάνταυ-
 χον Κουαδρατιανὸν ἀρχιε-
 ρέα Γάϊος Οὐμμίδιος Κουαδράτος
 καὶ Κλαυδία Ῥοδόκλεια ἀρχιέρεια

5

τὸν υἱόν.

Translation: To Aphrodite of Paphos. Caius Ummidius Quadratus and Claudia Rhodokleia, *archiereia*, (set up the statue of) their son Caius Ummidius Pantauchos Quadratianus, *archiereus*.

Monument: A statue base.

Found: Sanctuary of Aphrodite, Paphos Vetus.

Date: Late first century CE (prosopography).

References: Hogarth, James et al. 1888, 237, no. 41 [*JGR* 3, no. 951]; Sakellarios 1890, 103, no. 96; **I.Paphos* no. 171; Kantiréa 2008, 106, n. 98.

Present Location: Lost.

Paphos Vetus no. 16. Statue of Ummidius Quadratus Pantauchianos, *archiereus*

Ἀφροδίτῃ Παφίαι.

Γάϊον Οὐμμίδιον Τηρητίνᾳ Κουαδράτων

τὸν ἀρχιερέα

τὸν καὶ Πανταυχιανὸν Γαίου

Τηρητίνᾳ

5

Οὐμμιδίου Πανταύχο<υ> υἱὸν

τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ γυμνασιαρχήσαντος,

Κλαυδία Ἀπφάριον

Τεύκρου θυγάτηρ, ἡ ἀρχιέρ<ε>ια τῶν

κατὰ Κύπρον Δήμητρος ἱερῶν,

10

τὸν ἑαυτῆς υἱωνὸν εὐνοίας

χάριν L η'.

Von Hammer's and Vidua's texts are not reliable in some points; therefore I decided not to cite their deviations from the recent, more reliable texts here.

2 Οὐμίδιον Kolb. 4 τὸν Πανταυχιανόν Sakellarios. 6 Οὐμιδίου Kolb.

Translation: To Aphrodite of Paphos. Claudia Appharion, daughter of Teukros, *archiereia* of Demeter's sanctuaries on Cyprus, (set up the statue of) her grandson Caius Ummidius Quadratus Pantauchianos from the tribus Teretina, *archiereus*, son of Caius Ummidius Pantauchos from the tribus Teretina, *archiereus*, who served as *gymnasiarchos*, for his benevolence, in the eighth year.

Monument: Probably a statue base, 0.27m (W)×0.51m (H).

Found: The church of Panagia Katholike near the sanctuary of Aphrodite, Paphos Vetus.

Date: Late first century CE, 75/76 or 87/88 CE (prosopography and regnal year).

References: von Hammer 1811, 183–84, no. 56; Vidua 1826, tab. 33, no. 1 [*CIG* 2, no. 2637; Letronne 1827, 174–75]; *LBW* 3, no. 2801; Oberhummer 1888, 336–37, no. 17 [*JGR* 3, no. 950]; Sakellarios 1890, 103, no. 95; Kolb 2003, 244; **I.Paphos* no. 172; Kantiréa 2008, 106, n. 100.

Present Location: *In situ*?

Paphos Vetus no. 17. Statue of Caracalla

[Αὐτ(οκράτορα) Καίσαρα Μ(ἄρκον)] Αὐρή[λιον Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν Ἀραβικὸν]
[Ἀδιαβηνικὸν] Παρθικὸν μέγ(ιστον)? Βρεττανικὸν Γερμανικὸν?]
[ἀρχιερέα] μέγιστον, δημαρχ[ι]κ[ῆς ἐξου]σίας, π[ατέρα πατρίδος],
[Σεβαστ]ῆ Κλαυδία Φ<λ>αυία Πά[φ]ος, ἡ ἱερὰ μητρόπ[ολις τῶν κατὰ]
[Κύπρ]ον πόλεων, ἐκ τῶν ἱ[δ]ίων αὐτῆς προσό[δων ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθυ]- 5
[πάτ]ου Τ(ίτου) Καισερνίου Στατι[α]νοῦ [ῶ Κουῖγκ]τιανοῦ ν κ[αὶ τοῦ λογις]-
[τοῦ Γ]αίου Ἰουλίου Ἡλιανοῦ [Πολυβιανοῦ] ὃς [...12... τῆς]
[Κύπ]ρου?, δι' ἐπιμελητοῦ [...ca. 28...]
[ιερ]έως Παφίας Ἀφροδ[ίτης ---].

1–3 Αὐρή[λιον Ἀντωνεῖνον Σεβαστὸν Ἀραβικὸν Ἀδιαβηνικὸν] Παρθι[κὸν Μ---
ἀρχιερέα] μέγιστον, δημαρχ[ικῆς ἐξου]σίας τ[ὸ ἰ', ὕπατον τὸ ...] Seyrig;
Αὐρή[λιον Ἀντωνεῖνον Εὐσεβῆ Εὐτυχῇ Σεβαστ]όν, Παρθικὸν μέγιστον,
Βρεττανικὸν μέγιστον, Γερμανικὸν μέγιστον, δημαρχ[ι]κ[ῆς ἐξου]σίας, π[ατέρα
πατρίδος] *I.Paphos.* 5–8 *I.Paphos*; ἐκ τῶν ἱ[δ]ίων [καὶ ἐκ] τῆς προσό[δου]
...10...]ου Τ. Καισερνίου Στα[τ]ίο[υ Κουῖγκ]τιανοῦ [ἀνθυπάτου? καὶ] Γαίου
Ἰουλίου Ἡλιανοῦ [Πολυβιανοῦ] λογι[στοῦ --- ...]ου Seyrig; ἐκ τῶν ἱ[δ]ίων αὐτῆς
προσό[δων ...11 *vel* 12...]ΟΥ Τ(ίτου) Καισερνίου Στατι[α]νοῦ [ῶ Κουῖγκ]τιανοῦ
ἐ[πιτρόπου, καὶ Γ]αίου Ἰουλίου Ἡλιανοῦ [Πολυβιανοῦ, λογι[στοῦ] τοῦ δοθέντος
ὑπ' αὐ]τοῦ? Mitford. 8–9 *I.Paphos*; --- ἀρχιερ]έως Mitford.

Translation: *Sebaste Claudia Flavia* Paphos, the sacred *metropolis* of the Cypriot cities, at its own expense, (set up the statue of) [Imperator Caesar Marcus] Aurelius [Antoninus Augustus Arabicus] Adiabenicus Parthicus [Maximus? Britannicus Germanicus?, *pontifex*] *maximus*, holder of the tribunician power, father [of the fatherland, when] Titus Caesernius Statianus Quinctianus was *proconsul* and Caius Iulius Helianos Polybianos [was *curator*], [---] of Cyprus?, under the supervision [---of] the priest of Aphrodite of Paphos [---].

Monument: A statue base, 0.67m (W)×0.27m (H)×0.35m (D).

Found: Sanctuary of Aphrodite, Paphos Vetus.

Date: Period of Caracalla (emperor, his titles and prosopography).

References: Hogarth, James et al. 1888, 252, no. 111 [*IGR* 3, no. 947]; Seyrig 1927, 140–43 [*SEG* 6, no. 811]; *Mitford 1947, 212–14, no. 4 [*BE* 1949, no. 216]; *I.Paphos* no. 156.

Present Location: Local Museum of Palaipafos (KM 42), Cyprus.

Salamis no. 1. Statue of Livia

Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳι
Λιβίαν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ
[Αὐ]τοκράτορος Καίσαρος,

[θεοῦ υἱοῦ, θεοῦ Σ]εβ[α]στοῦ
[---]

5

4 [--- Σ]εβ[α]στοῦ Munro and Tubbs.

Translation: To Zeus Olympios. [---] (set up the statue of) Livia, wife of Emperor Caesar [the divine] Augustus, [son of the Divus].

Monument: A statue base, 0.77m (W)×0.19m (H)×0.725m (D).

Found: Near the *agora*, Salamis.

Date: Period of Augustus, before 14 CE (imperial family member).

References: Munro and Tubbs 1891, 176–77, no. 5 [*IGR* 3, no. 984; *ICA* 8 (in *RDAC* 1969), 78, no. 1]; Mitford 1947, 227, n. 110; *I.Salamis* 27, n. 3; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 47.

Present Location: n/a (probably lost).

Salamis no. 2. Statue of Hyllos, *archiereus*

[[ἡ πόλις]
[[ῚΥλλον ῚΥλλου γυμνασιαρχ-]
[[χήσαντα προῖκα L λγ' καὶ]
[[ἀρχιερευσάμενον τῆς]
[[Κύπρου τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ]
[[θεοῦ Καίσαρος.]]

5

3–4 τὸ ἰθ' *vel* ἡ' L καὶ ἀρχιερασάμενον Mitford 1974, *I.Salamis* and Mitford 1980b; L λγ' καὶ ἀρχιερασάμενον Kantiréa.

Translation: [[The city (set up the statue of) Hyllos, son of Hyllos, who held the office of *gymnasiarchos* at his own cost in the thirty-third year and that of *archiereus* of Cyprus for the divine Augustus Caesar.]]

Monument: A statue base, 0.725m (W)×0.415m (H)×0.71m (D).

Found: The *gymnasion*, Salamis.

Date: Probably, late Augustan period (emperor and his regnal year).

References: Munro and Tubbs 1891, 195–96, no. 53 [*IGR* 3, no. 994; *OGIS* 2, no. 582]; Mitford 1974, 114–15 [*BE* 1976, no. 752]; *I.Salamis* 27, n. 3; Mitford 1980b, 278, n. 13; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 101 [*BE* 1988, no. 889]; Kantiréa 2008, 93; Yon 2009, 291.

Present Location: n/a (*in situ*?).

Salamis no. 3a. Dedication to Augustus (Palimpsest in line 6)

[Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι,]
[θεοῦ υἱῶι, θεῶι Σεβαστῶι]
[ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος, ἀρχιερεὺς]
διὰ βίου αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν

διδύμων υἱὼν Δι[ὸς] Κα[ίσαρος],
 Γαίου καὶ Λουκίου Καισά[ρων]
 γυμνασιαρχῶν, τῷ ἑαυτ[οῦ]
 [εὐ]εργέτη[ι L] κδ'.

App. crit. here are from Mitford 1947 onwards. 2 [θεοῦ υἱῷ Σεβαστῷ] *Salamine de Chypre* and Kantiréa. 3 Mitford 1947; [Υλλος Ὑλλου, ἀρχιερεὺς] Mitford 1974 and Kantiréa; [--- ἀρχιερεὺς] *Salamine de Chypre*. 5 διδύμων υἱὼν [αὐτοῦ] Mitford 1947, *Salamine de Chypre* and Kantiréa; Διοσκο[ύρων] *BE* 1976.

Translation: [To Emperor Caesar, the divine Augustus, son of the Divus]. [NN, son of NN, *archiereus*] for life of Augustus and of the twin sons of Zeus Kaisar, Caius and Lucius Caesar, (dedicated this) to his benefactor in the twenty-fourth [year], while he was serving as *gymnasiarchos*.

Salamis no. 3b. Dedication to Augustus (Palimpsest in line 6)

[Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι,
 [θεοῦ υἱῷ, θεῷ Σεβαστῷ]
 [ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος, ἀρχιερεὺς]
 διὰ βίου αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν
 διδύμων υἱὼν Δι[ὸς] Κα[ίσαρος],
 Τιβερίου καὶ Γερμανικοῦ Καισά[ρων]
 γυμνασιαρχῶν τῷ ἑαυτ[οῦ]
 [εὐ]εργέτη[ι L] κδ'.

App. crit. here are from Mitford 1947 onwards. 1 [Τιβερίῳ Καίσαρι] Mitford 1947 and *Salamine de Chypre*. 3 Mitford 1947; [Υλλος Ὑλλου, ἀρχιερεὺς] Mitford 1974; [--- ἀρχιερεὺς] *Salamine de Chypre*. 5 διδύμων υἱὼν Δροῖς(ου) Κα[ίσαρος] Mitford 1947, *Salamine de Chypre* and Kantiréa; Διοσκο[ύρων] *BE* 1976. 6 Καίσα[ρος] Kantiréa.

Translation: [To Emperor Caesar, the divine Augustus, son of the Divus]. [NN, son of NN, *archiereus*] for life of Augustus and of the twin sons of Zeus Kaisar, Tiberius and Germanicus Caesar, (dedicated this) to his benefactor in the twenty-fourth [year], while he was serving as *gymnasiarchos*.

Monument: A block, 0.57m (W)×0.245m (H).

Found: Built into the Sea Gate of Famagusta, near Salamis.

Date: **3a**: Mid-Augustan period, 17 BCE–2 CE (emperor, his regnal year and imperial family members). **3b**: Late Augustan period, 4–14 CE? (emperor and imperial family members).

References: **3b**: Pococke 1752, 42, no. 1; Vidua 1826, tab. 30, no. 3; Letronne 1827, 170; *CIG* 2, no. 2630 [*JGR* 3, no. 997]; Sakellarios 1890, 185, no. 2. As a palimpsest inscription: Mitford 1947, 222–25, no. 9 [*BE* 1949, no. 217]; *Mitford

1974 [BE 1976, no. 752]; *I. Salamis* 130, n. 5; *Salamine de Chypre* no. 131; Kanti-réa 2008, 93–95 [*An.Ép.* 2008, no. 1514].

Present Location: *In situ?*

Salamis no. 4. Statue of Tiberius

[Ti(berio) Caesari Divi Aug(usti) f(ilio) Divi] Iuli nepoti Aug(usto)
[pont(ifici) max(imo), tribunici]ae potestatis
[--- senatus Sal]amin<i>orum
[statuam ponendam atque decora]ndam curavit idem
[dedicavit, praesente] C(aio) Lucretio Rufo. 5

1–5 [In honorem Ti. Caesaris divi Aug. f. divi] Iuli nepoti(s) Aug. [pont. max. tribunici]ae potestatis [et Iuliae Augustae] minorum [nostrorum facien]dam curavit ide[m dedicavit] C. Lucretio Rufo. Munro and Tubbs; [Ti. Caesari Divi Aug. f. Divi] Iuli nepoti Au[g. pont. max. tribunici]ae potestatis [Sala]minorum [senatus facien]dam curavit ide[m dedicavit] C. Lucretio Rufo. *CIL*; [Ti. Caesari Divi Aug. f. Divi] Iuli nepoti Aug. [pontifici maximo, tribunici]ae potestatis [senatus Sala]min<i>orum [statuam ponendam atque decora]ndam curavit idem [dedicavit praesente procos.] C. Lucretio Rufo. Mitford.

Translation: [To Tiberius Caesar] Augustus, [son of the divine Augustus], grandson of [the divine] Iulius, [*pontifex maximus*], holder of the tribunician power. [--- the council] of the Salaminians undertook to [set up and] adorn [the statue]. The council [dedicated it in the presence of] Caius Lucretius Rufus.

Monument: A fragmentary statue base, 0.27m (W)×0.165m (H)×0.18m (D).

Found: *Agora*, Salamis.

Date: Period of Tiberius (emperor).

References: Munro and Tubbs 1891, 174–75, no. 1; *CIL* 3, no. 12104; Mitford 1950, 52, n. 2, no. 20 [*An.Ép.* 1953, no. 169b]; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 132.

Present Location: British Museum (no reference), UK.

Salamis no. 5. Dedication to (or statue of?) Tiberius

Ti(berio) Caesa[ri Augusto ---]
L(ucius) Mar[--- f(ilius) Stell(atina) --- proco(n)s(ul) Cypri?]
Τιβερίω Κα[ίσαρι ---]
δημαρχ[ικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ --- Λούκιος Μαρ---]
Στηλλ[ατῖνα ---] 5

Translation: Latin: Lucius Mar[---, son of ---, from the tribus of Stellatina, *proconsul* of Cyprus?] (dedicated this to) Tiberius Caesar [Augustus ---]. Greek: [Lucius Mar---], from the tribus of Stellatina, (dedicated this to) Tiberius Caesar [---], holder of the tribunician power [---].

Monument: A fragmentary panel, 0.27m (W)×0.24m (H)×(max.) 0.09m (D).

Found: Temple of Zeus, Salamis.

Date: Period of Tiberius (emperor).

References: Marcillet-Jaubert 1980 [*SEG* 30, no. 1645]; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 133 [*An.Ép.* 1989, no. 736]. Cf. Corbier 1991, 679–83 [*An.Ép.* 1991, no. 1571; *SEG* 41, no. 1480].

Present Location: Famagusta Museum? (Inv. 6154=E. 124), Cyprus.

Salamis no. 6. Statue of Herakleides, *archiereus* of Zeus Olympios and the emperors

[[ή πόλις]]

[[Ἡρακλείδην]] νν [[Υλλου]]

[[γυμνασιαρχή]σα[ν]τα]] ν [[τὸ ιη' L]]

[[καὶ ἀρχιερέα διὰ [βί]ου τοῦ Διὸς]]

[[τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τῶν Σεβαστῶν.]]

5

3 [[γυμνασιαρχ]οῦντα *I.Salamis*. 3 Mitford; [[τὸ η' L]] *I.Salamis*, *Salamine de Chypre*, Kantiréa and Yon. 4 τοῦ τε Διός]] *I.Salamis*.

Translation: [[The city (set up the statue of) Herakleides, son of Hyllos, who held the office of *gymnasiarchos* in the eighteenth year, and *archiereus* for life of Zeus Olympios and of the emperors.]]

Monument: A statue base, 0.91m (W)×0.47m (H)×0.91m (D).

Found: Near the south parodos of the theatre, Salamis.

Date: Probably, period of Tiberius, 30/31 or 31/32 CE (the regnal year and prosopography).

References: *I.Salamis* no. 100; Mitford 1980b, 278, n. 16 [*SEG* 30, no. 1640]; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 102; Kantiréa 2008, 95; Yon 2009, 291.

Present Location: n/a (*in situ*?).

Salamis no. 7. Statue of Nero

[Νέρωνα Κλαύδιον Καίσαρα]

[Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικόν, δημαρχικῆς]

[ἐξου]σί[ας τ]ὸ ἔκτον, αὐ[τ]οκρά[τ]ορα

[τ]ὸ ἔκτον, ὕπατον ἀποδεδειγ[μέ]-

[ν]ον τὸ τέταρτον, ὁ δῆμος

5

[ὁ Σα]λαμινίων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ π[ατέρα].

3–6 [--- δη]<μ>αρ[χικῆς ἐξουσίας τ]ὸ ἔκτ<ο>ν ὕ<π>[ατ]ον ἀπο<δ>εδειγ[μένο]ν τὸ τέταρτον ὁ δῆμος [τῶν Σαλ]αμινίων τὸν ἑαυτοῦ π[ατέρα] Munro and Tubbs. 6 π[ατρῶνα] Chapot.

Translation: The people of the Salaminians (set up the statue of) its father, [Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, holder of the tribunician] power for the sixth time, Emperor six times and *consul designatus* four times.

Monument: A statue base, 0.61m (W)×0.24m (H).

Found: Built into the wall of a house at Enkomi, near Salamis.

Date: Period of Nero, 59 CE (emperor's titles)

References: Munro and Tubbs 1891, 172, no. 5 [*IGR* 3, no. 985]; Chapot 1912, 77, n. 4; Mitford 1947, 219–22, no. 8 [*BE* 1949, no. 217]; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 134.

Present Location: *In situ*?

Salamis no. 8. Dedication to Nero

[Αὐτοκράτορι Νέρωνι Κλαυδίῳ]

[Καίσαρι Σεβ]αστῷ Γερμαν[ικῷ, δημαρχι]-

[κῆς ἐξουσίας τ]ὸ ζ', αὐτοκράτορι τὸ ζ', ὑπάτ[ω τὸ δ'],

[---]ρος τῷ ἰδίῳ θεῷ καὶ σωτῆρι ἐκ τοῦ ἰδ[ίου].

3–4 ὑπάτ[ω τὸ δ', Κυπρίων ἡ νῆ]σος Munro and Tubbs; ὑπάτ[ω τὸ δ', πατρὶ πατρίδος?, ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος]ΠΟΣ Mitford 1947; ὑπάτ[ω τὸ δ', πατρὶ πατρίδος, Ἑρακλείδης Μέντω]ρος Mitford 1980b; ὑπάτ[ω τὸ δ', Ἑρακλείδης Μέντω]ρος Kantiréa. 4 ἰ[δίου καθιέρωσεν?] Mitford 1947.

Translation: [---]ros (dedicated this) to [Imperator Nero Claudius Caesar] Augustus Germanicus, [holder of the tribunician power] for the seventh time, Emperor seven times and *consul* [four times], his own god and saviour, at his own cost.

Monument: A fragmentary plaque, 0.255m (W)×0.11m (H)×0.03m (D).

Found: The northeastern corner of the temple of Zeus, Salamis.

Date: Period of Nero, 60/61 CE (emperor and his titles).

References: Munro and Tubbs 1891, 184, no. 22 [*IGR* 3, no. 986; *GIBM* 4, no. 982]; Mitford 1947, 220 [*BE* 1949, no. 217]; Mitford 1980b, 278, n. 18 [*SEG* 30, no. 1646]; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 135; Kantiréa 2008, 110.

Present Location: British Museum (no reference), UK.

Salamis no. 9. Statue of Nero

[Ν]έρωνα Κλα[ύδιον Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν]

[θ]εὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ [καταλειφθέντος]

ὑπὸ Ἑρακλείδου [ἀργυρίου ---]

αὐτὸς Ἑρακλείδης[ς ---]

καὶ τιμητεύσα[ς καὶ ---]

ἡ' καὶ δαιδουχί[ας ---]

[... ἐν] τῷ λουτρ[ῶνι ---]

[---]

2 Fujii; ἀπὸ τοῦ [χρήματος ἀποτεθέντος]? *I.Salamis*; ἀπὸ τοῦ [---] *Salamine de Chypre*; [δογματισθέντος *vel* διατεθέντος πόρου] Kantiréa. 3 Fujii; [Ἵλλου? τοῦ πάππου]? *I.Salamis*; [---] *Salamine de Chypre*; [τοῦ Ἵλλου τοῦ πάππου] Kantiréa. 4 Ἡρακλείδης Μέντορος? ἄρξας]? *I.Salamis* and Kantiréa. 5–6 τιμητεύσα[ς καὶ γυμνασιάρχης τὸ] γ' *I.Salamis*; τιμητεύσα[ς καὶ --- τὸ L] γ' Kantiréa.

Translation: Herakleides, [---] who served as [---] and *censor* [and ---] eight times, and *daidouchos* [--- in] the bath [---], (set up the statue of) the divine Nero Claudius [Caesar Augustus], from the [money left] by Herakleides [---].

Monument: A fragmentary panel, (max.) 0.155m (W)×(max.) 0.13m (H)×0.057m (D).

Found: The *gymnasion*, Salamis.

Date: Period of Nero (emperor).

References: *I.Salamis* no. 11; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 136; Kantiréa 2008, 109–10, n. 116.

Present Location: Famagusta Museum? (no reference), Cyprus.

Salamis no. 10. Statue of Vespasian

Αὐτοκρά[τ]ορα ν Καίσαρα Ο[ὐ]εσπασια]-
νὸν Σεβαστὸν ν ἀρχιερέα ν μέγιστον ν
[κ]αὶ πατέρα δήμου Ῥώμης ἡγεμονίδος ν
[ἀ]νικτήτου ν οἱ Σαλαμινίων γυμνασίαρχοι. ν
Διόδωρος ν Διοδώρου ν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ν
τῆς Κύπρου τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος ν
καὶ τῆς ἐπαρχ[είας ---]
[ἐπεμελήθη?].

5

7–8 ἐπαρχ[είας μητροπόλεως? ἐπεμελήθη?] Roesch; ἐπαρχ[είας Τύχης, καθιέρωσεν] Mitford; ἐπαρχ[είας τῆς μητροπόλεως ἐπεμελήθη?] *Salamine de Chypre*; ἐπαρχ[είας Τύχης ἐπεμελήθη *vel* καθιέρωσεν] Kantiréa.

Translation: The Salaminian *gymnasiarchoi* (set up the statue of) Emperor Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, *pontifex maximus*, and father of the people of Rome, invincible leader. Diodoros, son of Diodoros, *archiereus* of Cyprus for Augustus Caesar and of the province (or of this region?) [--- supervised this dedication?].

Monument: A statue base, 0.695m (W)×0.28m (H)×0.78m (D).

Found: Temple of Zeus, Salamis.

Date: Period of Vespasian (emperor).

References: Roesch 1971 [*BE* 1972, no. 602]; Mitford 1980b, 279, n. 28 [*SEG* 30, no. 1647]; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 138. For the meaning of *eparchia*, see Rey-Coquais 1981, 30–31 [*SEG* 31, no. 1362]; Kantiréa 2008, 99 [*An.Ép.* 2008, no. 1515].

Present Location: Famagusta Museum? (Inv. 6155=E. 125), Cyprus.

Salamis no. 11. Statue of Sulpicius Pankles, *archiereus* and ambassador

[Σερούιον Σουλπίκιον Παγκλέ[α]
 [Οὐηρανιανόν, τὸ]ν εἰς αἰῶνα γυμ[ασίαρ]-
 [χον καὶ ἀγ]ωνοθέτην ἐκ τῶν ἰδ[ίων, τὸν]
 [κατασκ]ευάσαντα τὸ θέατρον κα[ὶ τὸ γυμ]-
 [νάσιο]ν σὺν τοῖς ἐν αὐτῷ Σεβα[στών] 5
 [χρυσ]είοις ἀγάλμασιν καὶ τὸ παρα[κεί]-
 [μεν]ον ἀμφιθέατρον ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου[ν, καὶ]
 [ἀρχ]ιερασάμενον τῆς Κύπρου τρίς, κα[ὶ]
 [πρ]εσβεύσαντα πρὸς τοὺς Σεβαστοὺς
 τρίς, καὶ ἀνιερώσαντα εἰς εὐθηνίαν 10
 ἀργύριον, Τίτος Φλάουιος Ἡλιόδωρος
 τὸν πατρῶον φίλον.

4–5 κα[ὶ τὸ βαλανεῖο]ν? *I.Salamis*. 5–6 σεβα[στοῖς καὶ θ]είοις *I.Salamis*.

Translation: Titus Flavius Heliodoros (set up the statue of) his paternal friend, [Servius] Sulpicius Pankles [Veranianus], *gymnasiarchos* for life [and] *agonothetes* at his own expense, who had constructed the theatre and the *gymnasion* with the golden statues of the emperors and the neighbouring amphitheatre at his own expense, who had held the office of *archiereus* of Cyprus three times, who had served as ambassador to the emperors three times, and who had consecrated money for the supply of cheap corn.

Monument: A statue base, (max.) 0.55m (W) × 0.37m (H) × 0.56m (D).

Found: Built into an early Byzantine wall in the theatre, Salamis.

Date: Late first century CE (prosopography).

References: *I.Salamis* no. 101 [*BE* 1976, no. 751]; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 106; Kantiréa 2008, 107–108; Yon 2009, 291.

Present Location: Famagusta Museum? (Field no. 10), Cyprus.

Salamis no. 12. Statue of Sulpicius Pankles set up by Zenon, *archiereus*

Σερούιον Σουλπίκιον
 Παγκλέα Οὐηρανιανόν
 Ζήνων Ὀνησάνδρου
 ἀρχιερασάμενος.

Translation: Zenon, son of Onesandros, having held the office of *archiereus*, (set up the statue of) Servius Sulpicius Pankles Veranianus.

Monument: A statue base, 0.52m (W) × 0.30m (H) × 0.30m (D).

Found: Built into the exterior wall of a private property in Limnia, near Salamis.

Date: Late first century CE (prosopography).

References: de Vogüé 1866, 440, no. 4 [*LBW* 3, no. 2759; *IGR* 3, no. 995]; Sakellarios 1890, 179, no. 17; Mitford 1950, 5, a; *I.Salamis*, 132, a; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 108; Kantiréa 2008, 108, n. 104.

Present Location: n/a (*in situ?*).

Salamis no. 13. Inscription with reference to goddess Roma?

[Αὐ]τοκρά[τορ---]
[--- τ]ῆς Ῥώμ[ης ---]
[---] υς εκ [---]
[---] ΓΥΜ [---]

2 Mitford; *HEPΩN* vel <N>έρων[α vel ι ---] *Salamine de Chypre*. 4 Fujii; ΓΥΝ *Salamine de Chypre*.

Translation: Imperator [---] of Roma [---].

Monument: A fragmentary block, 0.05m (W)×0.086m (H)×0.114m (D).

Found: Toumpa tou Michaili, Salamis.

Date: Imperial period.

References: Munro and Tubbs 1891, 189, no. 38; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 137; Mitford 1990, 2200, n. 129 [*SEG* 40, no. 1374].

Present Location: n/a (lost?).

Salamis no. 14. A certain Flavius, *archiereus*

τὸ κοινὸν Κυπρίων
Κειωνίαν Καλλιστὼ Ἀττικὴν
γυναῖκα Φλαυίου Φι[.... ἀρ]χιερα-
[σ]αμένου τ[ῶ]ν Σεβαστῶν [---]
[ἀ]γαθοῦ χάρ[ι]ν [---]

5

3–4 Ἰ[ουλιανοῦ?] ἰέ[ρειαν τῆς Παρ]θένου Hogarth and Sakellarios; Φιλ[ίππου?] ἀρ]χιερασαμένου Mitford 1980b. 4 Σεβαστῶν [καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης]? Mitford 1950; Σεβαστ[ῶν ἐν Σαλαμῖνι?] Mitford 1980b. 5 [φρονήματος]? Mitford 1950; [τοῦ εἰς ἑαυτό?] Mitford 1980b.

Translation: The *koinon* of the Cypriots (set up the statue of) Ceionia Kallisto Attike, wife of Flavius Fi[....] who served as *archiereus* of the emperors [---] for her good [---].

Monument: A statue base, 0.70m (W)×0.48m (H)×0.21m (D).

Found: A cemetery in Kouklia, between Famagusta and Athienou.

Date: Late first to second century CE?

References: Beaudouin and Pottier 1879, 173, no. 24; Oberhummer 1888, 340, no. 22 [*IGR* 3, no. 961]; Hogarth 1889, 110–11, no. 33; Sakellarios 1890, 186; Mit-

ford 1950, 75, n. 1; Mitford 1980b, 279, n. 27 [*SEG* 30, no. 1644]; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 127; Kantiréa 2008, 104, n. 85.

Present Location: n/a (*in situ?*).

Salamis no. 15. Statue of Trajan

[Αὐτοκράτορ]α Νερούαν Τραϊανὸν Καίσαρα
[Σεβαστὸν] Γερμανικόν, υἱὸν θεοῦ
[Νερούα Σε]βαστοῦ, ἡ πόλις. L γ'.

2 [Σεβαστόν, ἄριστο]ν *CIG*.

Translation: The city (set up the statue of) Emperor Nerva Traianus Caesar Augustus Germanicus, son of the divine [Nerva] Augustus, in the third year.

Monument: A statue base, 0.825m (W)×0.23m (H)×0.72m (D).

Found: In front of the cathedral, Famagusta (near Salamis).

Date: Period of Trajan, 99/100 CE (emperor and his regnal year).

References: Pococke 1752, 42, no. 3 [*CIG* 2, no. 2634]; *LBW* 3, no. 2755; Oberhummer 1888, 340, no. 23 [*IGR* 3, no. 987]; Sakellarios 1890, 179, no. 16; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 139.

Present Location: Famagusta Museum? (no reference), Cyprus.

Salamis no. 16. Dedication to Hadrian

[Αὐτ]οκράτορι Καίσαρι, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ
[Παρ]θικοῦ υἱῷ, θεοῦ Νερούα υἱωνῷ, Τραϊανῷ
[Ἀδρι]ανῷ Σεβαστῷ, ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ,
[δημα]ρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ζ', ὑπάτῳ τὸ γ'
[Σαλαμῖς] ἡ Κύπρου μητρόπολις τῷ ἑαυτῆς 5
[πατρὶ *vel* κτίστη? καὶ εὐ]εργέτῃ καὶ σωτῆρι τοῦ κόσμου
[επὶ *vel* διὰ Γ. Καλπουρ]νίου Φλάκκου ἀνθυπάτου, L ζ'.

6 [πατρὶ καὶ εὐ]εργέτῃ Karageorghis and *I.Salamis*. 7 Fujii; [διὰ Καλπουρ]νίου Karageorghis and *I.Salamis*; [διὰ Γ. Καλπουρ]νίου *Salamine de Chypre*.

Translation: To Emperor Caesar Traianus Hadrianus Augustus, son of the divine Traianus Parthicus, grandson of the divine Nerva, *pontifex maximus*, holder of the tribunician power for the seventh time, *consul* three times. Salamis, the *metropolis* of Cyprus (set up this) to its [father or founder?], benefactor and the saviour of the world, [under or through the intermediate of] Calpurnius Flaccus, *proconsul*, in the seventh year.

Monument: A slab, (max.) 0.77m (W)×0.51m (H)×0.025m (D).

Found: In debris at the back of the *scaenae frons* of the theatre, Salamis.

Date: Period of Hadrian, 122/23 CE (emperor, his regnal year and titles).

References: Karageorghis 1962, 404 [*BE* 1964, no. 539; *SEG* 23, no. 609]; *I.Salamis* no. 92; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 140; Kantiréa 2008, 103, n. 84 [*An.Ép.* 2008, no. 1515].

Present Location: Famagusta Museum? (Field no. 11), Cyprus.

Salamis no. 17. Dedication to Hadrian

Αὐ[τοκράτ]ορι Καί[σαρι, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ]
 Παρθικοῦ υἱ[ῶ], θεοῦ [Νερούα υἱωνῶ, Τραϊανῶ]
 Ἀδριανῶ Σεβαστ[ῶ, ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστῳ]
 [---]

4–5 [δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ζ', ὑπάτῳ τὸ γ' Σαλαμίδ?, ἡ Κύπρου μητρόπολις κ.τ.λ.] *I.Salamis*.

Translation: To Emperor Caesar, son of [the divine Traianus] Parthicus, [grandson of] the divine [Nerva, Traianus] Hadrianus Augustus, [*pontifex maximus* ---].

Monument: Three adjoining fragments of a slab, 0.425m (W)×(max.) 0.145m (H)×(max.) 0.026m (D).

Found: Theatre, Salamis.

Date: Period of Hadrian (emperor).

References: *I.Salamis* no. 93; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 141.

Present Location: Famagusta Museum? (one of the fragments with the number Field no. 6), Cyprus.

Salamis no. 18. Dedication to Hadrian

Αὐτοκράτορι Καί[σ]αρι, θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ
 [Γερμανικοῦ Δακι]κοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱῶ,
 [θεοῦ Νερούα υἱωνῶ, Τραϊανῶ Ἀδριανῶ,
 [ἡ πόλις ἡ Σαλα]μειν(ίων) ἡ Κύπρου ν
 [μητρόπολις τῷ αὐτῆς πατρί, κτίσθῃ? κ]αὶ σωτῆρ[ι].

5

4 [ἡ πόλις τῶν Σαλα]μειν(ίων) Munro and Tubbs, and *GIBM*. 5 Fujii; [μητρόπολις? τὸν] σωτῆρα Munro and Tubbs; [μητρόπολις τὸν ἴδιον] (σωτῆρ)[α] *GIBM*; [μητρόπολις? τῷ ἑαυτῆς θεῷ? κ]αὶ σωτῆρ[ι] Mitford 1947; [μητρόπολις τῷ ἴδιῳ] σωτῆρ[ι] Mitford 1961a; [μητρόπολις τῷ αὐτῆς πατρί κ]αὶ σωτῆρ[ι] *Salamine de Chypre*.

Translation: [The city of] the Salaminians, [the *metropolis*] of Cyprus, (dedicated this) to [its father, founder?] and saviour [Imperator] Caesar Traianus Hadrianus, son of the divine Traianus [Germanicus] Dacicus Parthicus, grandson [of the divine Nerva].

Monument: A slab, (max.) 0.54m (W)×(max.) 0.276m (H)×0.052m (D).

Found: The *agora*, Salamis.

Date: Period of Hadrian (emperor)

References: Munro and Tubbs 1891, 180–81, no. 15 [*JGR* 3, no. 989]; *GIBM* 4, no. 983; Mitford 1947, 212, n. 47 [*BE* 1949, no. 217]; Mitford 1961a, 125 [*SEG* 20, no. 123]; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 142.

Present Location: British Museum (Inv. 91.8–6.8), UK.

Salamis no. 19. Statue of Hadrian

[Αὐ]τοκράτορι Καίσαρι, θεοῦ
Τραϊανοῦ Παρ[θικοῦ υἱῶ, θ]εοῦ Νερούα
υἱωνῶ, Τραῖα[νῶ Ἀδριανῶ Σεβα]στῶ,
ἀρχιερεῖ με[γίστῳ, δημαρχικῆς] ἐξουσίας
τὸ ἰδ' ἔτος, ὑπά[τῳ τὸ γ', π]ατ[ρὶ] πατρίδος,
τῶ σωτῆρι καὶ εὐεργέτῃ τοῦ κόσμου
παντός, οἱ κατὰ Σαλαμειῖνα
λίθυφοι.

Translation: To Emperor Caesar Traianus [Hadrianus] Augustus, [son] of the divine Traianus Parthicus, grandson of the divine Nerva, *pontifex maximus*, holder of the tribunician power for the fourteenth time, *consul* [three times], father of the fatherland, the saviour and the benefactor of the whole world. The linen-weavers in Salamis (dedicated the statue).

Monument: A statue base, 0.72m (W)×0.335m (H)×(max.) 0.325m (D).

Found: The *gymnasion*, Salamis.

Date: Period of Hadrian, 129/30 CE (emperor and his titles).

References: *I.Salamis* no. 13; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 143.

Present Location: Famagusta Museum? (no reference), Cyprus.

Salamis no. 20. Statue of Commodus

Αὐτοκράτορι Μ(άρκῳ) Αὐρηλίῳ
[[Κομμόδῳ]] Ἀντωνεῖνῳ
Σεβαστῶι L θ'.

Translation: To Emperor Marcus Aurelius [[Commodus]] Antoninus Augustus, in the ninth year.

Monument: A columnar statue base, 0.855m (H) and 0.79m in diameter.

Found: At the western end of the orchestra of the theatre, Salamis.

Date: Period of Commodus, 184/5 or 187/88 CE (emperor and his regnal year).

References: Karageorghis 1961, 304 [*BE* 1962, no. 333]; Nicolaou 1971, 33–34, pl. 43; *I.Salamis* no. 95; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 145.

Present Location: *In situ*?

Salamis no. 21. Statue of Commodus

[---]

Ἄ[ντωνε]ίνω Σεβαστῶ

L θ'.

1 [Ἀυτοκράτορι Μ(άρκω) Αὐρηλίω] *I.Salamis*. 2 [[Κομμόδω] Ἄντωνε]ίνω Σεβαστῶ[ι] *I.Salamis*.

Translation: To [---] Antoninus Augustus, in the ninth year.

Monument: A columnar statue base, 0.85m (H) and 0.80m in diameter.

Found: At the eastern end of the orchestra of the theatre, Salamis.

Date: Period of Commodus, 184/5 or 187/8 CE (emperor and his regnal year).

References: *I.Salamis* no. 96; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 146.

Present Location: *In situ*?

Salamis no. 22. Statue of Iulia Domna

[---]ΙΑ[---]

ἀνθρ[ώπ]ων ἔ[θνους] Ἰουλίαν]

Δόμναν [Σεβαστήν, μητέρα]

[Αὐ]τ[ο]κ[ράτορος] Καίσαρος]

[Μ(άρκου) Αὐρηλίου Ἄντ]ων[είνου],

5

[θεοῦ? Λουκίου Σεπτ]μ[ίου Σε]-

[ουήρου γυναῖκα]. *vacat*

1 [ἐλ]πίδ[α] τοῦ κόσμου? καὶ] *I.Salamis* and Kantiréa. 2 γ[ένους] Kantiréa.

Translation: [---] of the entire human race, (the statue of) [Iulia] Domna [Augusta, mother of] Imperator [Caesar Marcus Aurelius] Antoninus, [and wife of the divine? Lucius] Septimius [Severus].

Monument: Eight fragments of a slab, (max.) 0.022m (D). The five adjoining fragments: (max.) 0.345m (W)×(max.) 0.22m (H); the one fragment: (max.) 0.11m (W)×(max.) 0.095m (H); the two adjoining fragments: (max.) 0.12m (W)×(max.) 0.19m (H).

Found: The theatre, Salamis.

Date: Period of Caracalla (imperial family member).

References: *I.Salamis* no. 98; **Salamine de Chypre* no. 149; Kantiréa 2008, 104, n. 88.

Present Location: Famagusta Museum? (no reference), Cyprus.

Soloi no. 1. Statue (or altar) of Caius Caesar

[Cai]o Caesari D(ivi) A[ug(usti) f(ilio)]

[---] V Soliorum [---]

1 [Drus]o? Caesari Ti. A[ug. f. d. aug. n.] Mitford. 2 [sena]t[u]s Soliorum [honoris causa] Mitford.

Translation: To Caius Caesar, [son] of the divine Augustus, [---] of Soli [---].

Monument: A statue base (or an altar?).

Found: Soloi.

Date: Period of Augustus (imperial family member).

References: *Munro and Tubbs 1890, 75, no. 22; Mitford 1950, 17.

Present Location: British Museum (no reference).

Soloi no. 2. Statue of Trajan

[Αὐτοκράτορα] Νέρουαν

[Τραϊανὸν Καίσαρα] α ἄριστον

[ἀνίκητον? Σεβα]στὸν

[Γερμανικὸν Δ]ακικὸν

[Παρθικό]ν,

5

[ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος] ΥΣ ἄρξας τὸ 19' L

[καθιέρωσεν? ὃ]ν περ πατρὸς

[τὸν ναὸν? καὶ τὸ ἄ]γαλμα?

[γυμνασιαρχῶν?] τὸ κ' L.

Translation: (The statue of) [Imperator] Nerva [Traianus] Caesar Optimus [Invictus?] Augustus [Germanicus] Dacicus Parthicus. [NN, son of NN], who served as *archon* in the nineteenth year, [*gymnasiarchos*?] in the twentieth year, [consecrated? the temple? and] the statue? on behalf of his father.

Monument: A block, (max.) 0.325m (W)×0.315m (H)×0.16m (D).

Found: Soloi.

Date: Period of Trajan, 116/17 CE (emperor and his regnal year).

References: *Mitford 1950, 32–33, no. 16.

Present Location: Cyprus Museum in Nicosia (no reference), Cyprus.

Soloi no. 3. Dedication to Aphrodite and Antoninus Pius

[leaf? Ἀφ]ροδείτῃ

[... ca. 9 ...] καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι

[Καίσαρι Τίτ]ῳ Αἰλίῳ Ἀδριανῷ

[Ἀντωνεῖν]ῳ Σεβαστῷ

[Γερμανικ]ῷ Δακικῷ

5

[Εὐσεβεῖ θεοῦ Ἀ]ἰδμή[ανου υἱῷ]

[---]

Translation: To Aphrodite [---] and Imperator [Caesar] Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Germanicus Dacicus [Pius, son of the divine] Hadrianus.

Monument: A slab, 0.26m (W)×(max.) 0.25m (H)×0.03m (D).

Found: The village of Galini, three miles WSW of Soloi.

Date: Period of Antoninus Pius (emperor).

References: *Mitford 1950, 33–38, no. 17.

Present Location: Cyprus Museum in Nicosia (Ins. Gr. 67), Cyprus.

Soloi no. 4. Statue of Marcus Aurelius

Αὐτοκράτορα Καί[σαρα]

Μ(ἄρκον) Αὐρήλιον Ἀντῶ[νεί]-

νον Σεβαστόν, [ταμ]-

ίαι ἄρξαντες Π[το]-

λεμαῖος Ὀνα[σα]-

5

[γόρο]υ? κ[αὶ ---].

3–4 [οἱ ταμ]ίαι Oberhummer; [οἱ πά](λ)αι? Hogarth; [ὥς πά](λ)αι? Sakellarios. 5–6 Ὀν[---] Oberhummer; Ὀν[ησάνδρου καὶ ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος] Hogarth and Sakellarios.

Translation: Ptolemaios, son of Onasagoras, and [---], having served as *tamiai*, (set up the statue of) Emperor Caesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus.

Monument: A slab, 0.29m (W)×0.195m (H)×0.035m (D).

Found: The village of Galini, three miles WSW of Soloi.

Date: Period of Marcus Aurelius (emperor).

References: Oberhummer 1888, 317, no. 7 [*IGR* 3, no. 929]; Hogarth 1889, 113, no. 35; Sakellarios 1890, 135, no. 5; *ICA 8 (in *RDAC* 1969), 71–73, no. 1 [*SEG* 25, no. 1050].

Present Location: Cyprus Museum in Nicosia (Inv. 1968/V–30/733, Ins. Gr. 151), Cyprus.

Table 1: Imperial Titles and Epithets (theos and other epithets, excluding the emperor's official titles, e.g. Augustus, imperator, pater patriae etc.)

Emperor and Imperial Family Member	Title and Epithet	Date	Inscription
Domitian	soter?, euergetes, and pater?	Period of Domitian, 84 CE	Kourion no. 3
Nerva	ktistes	Period of Nerva, 97 CE	Kition no. 9
Nerva	theos	Period of Trajan, 99/100 CE	Salamis no. 15
Nerva	theos	Period of Trajan, 101 CE	Kourion no. 5
Nerva	theos	Period of Trajan, 113/14 CE	Kourion no. 11
Nerva	theos	Period of Trajan	Lapethos no. 3
Nerva	theos	Period of Hadrian, 122/23 CE	Salamis no. 16
Nerva	theos	Period of Hadrian, 129/30 CE	Salamis no. 19
Nerva	theos?	Period of Hadrian	Kourion no. 12
Nerva	theos	Period of Hadrian	Lapethos no. 4
Nerva	theos	Period of Hadrian	Salamis no. 17
Trajan	theos	Period of Hadrian, 122/23 CE	Salamis no. 16
Trajan	theos	Period of Hadrian, 129/30 CE	Salamis no. 19
Trajan	theos	Period of Hadrian	Kourion no. 12
Trajan	theos	Period of Hadrian	Lapethos no. 4
Trajan	theos?	Period of Hadrian	Salamis no. 17
Trajan	theos	Period of Hadrian	Salamis no. 18
Hadrian	pater or ktistes, euergetes and soter	Period of Hadrian, 122/23 CE	Salamis no. 16
Hadrian	soter and euergetes	Period of Hadrian, 129/30 CE	Salamis no. 19
Hadrian	soter and euergetes	Period of Hadrian	Lapethos no. 4
Hadrian	pater, ktistes? and soter	Period of Hadrian	Salamis no. 18
Hadrian	theos?	Period of Antoninus Pius	Soloi no. 3
Septimius Severus	theos	Period of Severus Alexander	Kourion no. 17
Caracalla	theos	Period of Severus Alexander	Kourion no. 17
Iulia Donna	meter kastron?	Late second/early third c. CE	Kition no. 11
Iulia Donna	meter kastron?	Period of Septimius Severus	Kourion no. 15

Table 1: Imperial Titles and Epithets (theos and other epithets, excluding the emperor's official titles, e.g. Augustus, imperator, pater patriae etc.)

Emperor and Imperial Family Member	Title and Epithet	Date	Inscription
Caesar	theos	Period of Augustus	Amathous no. 1
Caesar	theos	Period of Augustus	Amathous no. 2
Caesar	theos	Period of Augustus, 21–12 BCE	Paphos Vetus no. 1
Caesar	divus?	Period of Tiberius	Salamis no. 4
Augustus	theos	Period of Augustus	Amathous no. 1
Augustus	theos	Period of Augustus	Amathous no. 2
Augustus	theos	Period of Augustus	Keyrneia no. 1
Augustus	theos?	Period of Augustus	Kition no. 1
Augustus	theos	Period of Augustus	Paphos (Amargetti) no. 2
Augustus	theos	Period of Augustus	Lapethos no. 1
Augustus	theos	Period of Augustus, 21–12 BCE	Paphos Vetus no. 1
Augustus	theos	Period of Augustus	Paphos Vetus no. 5
Augustus	theos?	Period of Augustus	Salamis no. 1
Augustus	theos	Period of Augustus	Salamis no. 2
Augustus	divus?	Period of Augustus	Soloi no. 1
Augustus?	euergetes	Period of Augustus	Salamis nos. 3a and 3b
Augustus	theos	Period of Augustus or Tiberius	Paphos Vetus no. 4
Augustus	theos and ekegonos tes Aphroditis	Period of Tiberius	Paphos Vetus no. 8
Augustus	theos	Period of Tiberius, 18/19 CE	Paphos Vetus no. 9
Augustus	theos	Period of Tiberius	Paphos Vetus no. 10
Augustus	theos	Period of Tiberius, 23 CE	Paphos Vetus no. 11
Augustus	theos	Period of Tiberius	Paphos Vetus no. 12
Augustus	theos	Period of Tiberius, 29 CE	Lapethos no. 2
Livia	thea nea	Period of Augustus	Paphos Vetus no. 3
Julia (daughter of Augustus)	thea	Period of Augustus, 21–12 BCE	Paphos Vetus no. 1
Tiberius	soter and euergetes	Period of Tiberius, 23 CE	Paphos Vetus no. 11
Tiberius	theos	Period of Tiberius, 29 CE	Lapethos no. 2
Nero	pater	Period of Nero, 59 CE	Salamis no. 7
Nero	theos and soter	Period of Nero, 60/61 CE	Salamis no. 8
Nero	theos	Period of Nero	Salamis no. 9
Vespasian	pater demou Rhomes	Period of Vespasian	Salamis no. 10
Vespasian	theos	Period of Domitian, 84 CE	Kourion no. 3
Vespasian	divus?	Period of Domitian, 85/6 CE	Paphos Nova no. 2

Table 2: Monuments Honouring/Dedicated to the Emperor (statues, dedications, sanctuaries etc.)

Emperor and Imperial Family Member	Monument Concerned	Donor	Date	Inscription
Trajan? (Apollon Kaisar)	Statue of a certain Timo	Timo, the mother	Period of Trajan?	Kourion no. 6
Trajan? (Apollon Kaisar)	Votive offering	Onesilos?	Period of Trajan?	Kourion no. 7
Trajan? (Apollon Kaisar)	Dedication	n/a	Period of Trajan?	Kourion no. 8
Trajan? (Apollon Kaisar)	Jar	Polyketos	Period of Trajan?	Kourion no. 9
Trajan? (Apollon Kaisar)	Votive offering	Sextus Cornelius Tyehikos	Period of Trajan?	Kourion no. 10
Trajan? (Apollon Kaisar)	Street	Trajan, Kourion, and Celer, proconsul	Period of Trajan, 113/14 CE	Kourion no. 11
Trajan	Statue	A certain archon	Period of Trajan, 116/17 CE	Soloi no. 2
Trajan	Dedication	n/a	Period of Trajan	Kition no. 10
Trajan	Statue	Adrastos	Period of Trajan	Lapethos no. 3
Trajan	Statue	Hadrian	Period of Hadrian	Kourion no. 12
Hadrian	Dedication	City of Salamis and Flaccus, proconsul	Period of Hadrian, 122/23 CE	Salamis no. 16
Hadrian	Statue	Linen-weavers in Salamis	Period of Hadrian, 129/30 CE	Salamis no. 19
Hadrian	Statue	Council and people of Lapethos	Period of Hadrian	Lapethos no. 4
Hadrian	Dedication	n/a	Period of Hadrian	Salamis no. 17
Hadrian	Dedication	City? of Salamis	Period of Hadrian	Salamis no. 18
Antoninus Pius	Dedication	n/a	Period of Antoninus Pius	Soloi no. 3
Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius	Theatre's buildings and statues	City of Paphos	Period of Antoninus Pius	Paphos Nova no. 3
Marcus Aurelius	Statue	Protemasos et al.	Period of Marcus Aurelius	Soloi no. 4
Commodus	Statue	n/a	Period of Commodus	Salamis no. 20
Commodus	Statue	n/a	Period of Commodus	Salamis no. 21
Septimius Severus	Dedication?	City of Paphos	Period of Severus, 197/8 CE	Paphos Nova no. 4
Septimius Severus	Statue	Arist[---]	Period of Severus Alexander	Kourion no. 17
Iulia Domna	Statue	Council of Kition?	Late second/early third c. CE	Kition no. 11
Iulia Domna	Statue	n/a	Period of Septimius Severus	Kourion no. 15
Iulia Domna	Statue	n/a	Period of Caracalla	Salamis no. 22
Caracalla	Statue	City of Kourion	Period of Septimius Severus	Kourion no. 14
Caracalla	Statue	City of Paphos, proconsul and curator	Period of Caracalla, 211 CE	Paphos Nova no. 5
Caracalla	Statue	City of Kourion	Period of Caracalla	Kourion no. 16
Caracalla	Statue	City of Paphos and a certain priest	Period of Caracalla	Paphos Vetus no. 17

Table 2: Monuments Honouring/Dedicated to the Emperor (statues, dedications, sanctuaries etc.)

Emperor and Imperial Family Member	Monument Concerned	Donor	Date	Inscription
Augustus	Statue	n/a	Period of Augustus	Amathous no. 1
Augustus	Altar or statue?	n/a	Period of Augustus	Amathous no. 2
Augustus	Porticos	Aviania and Avianius	Period of Augustus	Kition no. 1
Augustus	Statue	n/a	Period of Augustus	Lapeθος no. 1
Augustus	Statue	T. Apicatus Sabinus, quaestor	Period of Augustus	Paphos (Amargetti) no. 1
Augustus?	Dedication	An imperial priest	Period of Augustus	Salamis nos. 3a and 3b
Livia	Statue	Council and people of Paphos?	Period of Augustus	Paphos Vetus no. 3
Livia	Statue	n/a	Period of Augustus	Salamis no. 1
Julia (daughter of Augustus)	Statue	n/a	Period of Augustus	Paphos Vetus no. 1
Caus Caesar	Statue (or altar)	City? of Soloi	Period of Augustus	Soloi no. 1
Caus and Lucius Caesar	Statues	T. Apicatus Sabinus, quaestor	Period of Augustus	Paphos (Amargetti) no. 2
Marcia (cousin of Augustus)	Dedication	Council and people of Paphos	Period of Augustus or Tiberius	Paphos Vetus no. 4
Tiberius and Julia	Statues	n/a	Period of Augustus	Paphos Vetus no. 2
Tiberius	Statue	Council and people of Paphos	Period of Tiberius, 23 CE	Paphos Vetus no. 11
Tiberius	Statue and temple	Adasios and his son	Period of Tiberius, 29 CE	Lapeθος no. 2
Tiberius	Statue	Council and people? of Paphos	Period of Tiberius	Paphos Vetus no. 10
Tiberius	Statue	City of Paphos	Period of Tiberius	Paphos Vetus no. 12
Tiberius	Statue	Council? of Salamis and Lucretius Rufus?	Period of Tiberius	Salamis no. 4
Tiberius	Dedication	L. Mar[---]	Period of Tiberius	Salamis no. 5
Caligula	Statue	M. Firmius Secundus	Period of Caligula	Paphos Vetus no. 14
Nero	Statue	People of Salamis	Period of Nero, 59 CE	Salamis no. 7
Nero	Dedication	n/a	Period of Nero, 60/61 CE	Salamis no. 8
Nero	Statue	Kourion and Anninus Bassus, proconsul	Period of Nero, 65/66 CE	Kourion no. 2
Nero	Statue	Herakleides	Period of Nero	Salamis no. 9
Vespasian	Statue	Gymnasiarchoi and Diodoros	Period of Vespasian	Salamis no. 10
Titus	Sanctuary	L. Brutius Maximus, proconsul	Period of Titus, 79/80 CE	Amathous no. 3
Titus	Sanctuary	L. Brutius Maximus, proconsul	Period of Titus, 79/80 CE	Amathous no. 4
Domitian	Statue	People of Kourion?	Period of Domitian, 84 CE	Kourion no. 3
Nerva	Statue	City of Kition	Period of Nerva, 96 CE	Kition no. 8
Nerva	Statue	City of Kition	Period of Nerva, 97 CE	Kition no. 9
Trajan	Statue	City of Salamis	Period of Trajan, 99/100 CE	Salamis no. 15
Trajan? (Apollon Kaiser)	Jug	Rhetorikos	Period of Trajan, 99/100 CE	Kourion no. 4
Trajan? (Apollon Kaiser)	Exedrae	Trajan and Iustus Cocceus, proconsul	Period of Trajan, 101 CE	Kourion no. 5

ABBREVIATIONS

Abbreviations of epigraphic corpora and books follow the system of the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, those of literary sources do the system of the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, and those of books and periodicals do the systems of *L'Année Philologique*. The following abbreviations are not included in these three systems.

<i>AKEΠ</i>	Chatziioannou, K. 1971–1992. <i>Ἡ ἀρχαία Κύπρος εἰς τὰς ἑλληνικὰς πηγὰς</i> . 6 vols. Nicosia: Ἱερά Ἀρχιεπισκοπή Κύπρου.
ICA	Nikolaou, I. 1963–. <i>Inscriptiones Cypriae Alphabeticae</i> . In <i>Berytus</i> 14 (1963), and thereafter, in <i>RDAC</i> .
<i>I.Paphos</i>	Cayla, J.-B. 2003. <i>Les inscriptions de Paphos: Corpus des inscriptions alphabétiques de Palaipaphos, de Néa Paphos et de la chôra paphienne</i> . Ph.D. diss., Université de Paris IV-Sorbonne.

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INDICES

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