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Danielle A. Parks, *Epitaphs and Tombstones of Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus*

I. Introduction

Tombstones and their epitaphs yield excellent evidence on the nature of the population of Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus.¹ Analysis of these monuments can reveal who the deceased were, their social classes, ethnic origins, and religious beliefs. The material provides commentary on the status of women and children, the relative prosperity of the island, and the degree of aggregation of the inhabitants to the culture of its rulers, be they Ptolemaic kings or Roman emperors.



Figure 1:
Mitford's
division of
Cyprus into
districts

Discussion of the tomb markers and related funerary sculpture proceeds by type, and is comprised of a description, discussion of its material, function, distribution through time and space, and the issue of local vs. foreign origin.² The epitaph formulae are defined in Part III, and the questions addressed are similar to those discussed in Part II, with the added concerns as to who was commemorated, including issues of gender, age, class, ethnicity, profession, religious affiliation, and the identity of the mourners. Of particular interest is what these monuments reveal about the interactions of Cyprus with the rest of the eastern Mediterranean during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

II. Survey of Tomb Marker Types

Tomb markers became much more common during the Hellenistic and Roman periods on Cyprus, but their presence is noted during the Archaic and Classical eras.³ Pre-Hellenistic tomb markers tend to be $\sigma\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\iota$, many of which are plain limestone or sandstone slabs. Sometimes a simple painted fillet was "tied" around the $\sigma\tau\eta\lambda\eta$. The most elaborate variety depicts the deceased, either seated or standing, alone or in variations of the farewell scene.⁴ Local limestone was employed for most of these figured $\sigma\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\iota$, but others were of fine marble, imported as finished products.⁵ Two varieties of pre-Hellenistic funerary sculpture are known. Guardian lions are reported from cemeteries at Tamassus and Marion (later Arsinoe), some bearing epitaphs.⁶ A series of large-scale terracotta statuary

was peculiar to the Marion area during the Classical period.⁷ Subjects include seated men and women, banqueters, mourners, mistresses and servants, and mothers with children, themes that persist in later funerary σ τ ῆ λ α ι and statuary. Epitaphs consist of the name of the deceased in the nominative or the genitive, often accompanied by a patronymic.

During the Hellenistic and Roman periods, tombstones of various types marked the locations of tombs. Many of their epitaphs are still legible, naming the occupants who once lay below. Sepulchral monuments identified tombs externally and internally, indicating that tomb locations were not intended to be concealed. Placement divides tomb markers into external and internal monuments, according to when the viewer would encounter the particular type. Cuttings, some with σ τ ῆ λ α ι still *in situ*, confirm that these monuments stood over tomb chambers. Other types, such as the ubiquitous *cippi* (see below), were similarly placed. Plaques bearing inscriptions could be housed above or beside doors to identify the occupants to the passerby. Freestanding statuary, the rarest class of externally placed memorials, also could stand above the tomb. Other markers identified specific burials within tombs. These often took the form of plaques, but epitaphs could be engraved or painted directly on the wall near particular *loculi* or *arcosolia*.⁸ Individual sarcophagi could be similarly inscribed.

The *cippus* was the tomb monument par excellence of Roman Cyprus, with over 690 published examples. It is freestanding and relatively simple in shape, essentially a short columnar altar.⁹ The base is clearly delineated, rising into a narrower shaft and broadening again to a capital proportionately smaller than the base. Moldings and engraved bands emphasize these three elements. Further bands sometimes divide the shaft into two or three panels. *Cippi* are furnished with two circular or rectangular cuttings, one in the upper surface, the other directly opposite in the base.

Local workshops mass-produced the *cippi*. The cuttings in the top and base served to fix the *cippus* for shaping on a lathe. The moldings were also cut in this manner, confirmed by overlapping lines creating the panels. Any additional sculptural decoration was added subsequently, the moldings refined, and ultimately plaster and paint applied. *cippi* remained blank in readiness for use, awaiting the final inscription at the behest of the purchaser. Aupert cites several unfinished and uninscribed *cippi* from Parekklesia in Amathus District, which he attributes to a nearby workshop.¹⁰

Shape and overall proportions vary somewhat with district. *cippi* in Tamassus and Citium Districts can be quite slender, almost attenuated and deceptively tall, while those from Curium and Amathus Districts tend to be rather fat. Such differences reflect local workshops, or perhaps the tastes of the clientele. Many *cippi* are relatively plain, with moldings providing the only decoration. Some *cippi* retain patches of white plaster, and traces of red paint pick out details, particularly moldings and inscriptions. A singular instance of engraved decoration, a pair of upraised forearms and hands, is attested at Klerou in Tamassus District.¹¹ The motif, which could be interpreted as a gesture of prayer or entreaty, is characteristic of Asia Minor as is the type of epitaph employed.¹²

Relief ornamentation, requiring greater care and expense, occasionally decorates cippi. Swags of foliage or wreaths sometimes adorn the shafts, perhaps in imitation of real garlands draped over cippi as offerings.¹³ Garlands were common funerary tokens throughout the Mediterranean, and routinely sculpted on Roman sarcophagi and altars. Wreaths can be interpreted as victory emblems, symbolic of triumph over death. Portraits carved into the bodies of cippi involve great effort, and were correspondingly rare. These high relief images probably depict the deceased, and examples include representations of a beardless youth, a young woman, and a bearded man.¹⁴ In this instance, a characteristically Cypriot funerary monument has been combined with the archetypal Roman funerary portrait. Portrait-bearing cippi are confined to central and southern Cyprus, specifically to Citium and Tamassus Districts, paralleling the distribution of free-standing portrait busts discussed below. Finials in the form of large stylized pinecones were sometimes inserted into the upper surface of the cippus, making secondary use of the extant cutting.¹⁵ The hidden seeds may have symbolized rebirth, and Mitford comments that stone pinecones do not fade like flowers and would act as perpetual offerings.¹⁶

Egalitarian monuments, cippi served the middle class and wealthy alike. Numbers indicate that they were the preferred monument, in the clear majority among Roman tombstones on Cyprus. Expensive marbles and sculptural decor permitted elaboration to the satisfaction of wealthier clients, while plainer versions in local stone sufficed for the less well-to-do. All cippus epitaphs are in Greek. Over 80% belong to the common XPHΣTE XAI PE formula, with variants remaining infrequent, but the presence of MNHMHΣ XAPIN is notable in Tamassus District. Men outnumber women two to one. These monuments usually honor single individuals, but sometimes as many as four. In such cases, the cippus might commemorate members of the same family or could reflect happenstance appropriation. Occasional Christian references occur, in the form of tilted Xs or the substitution of XP I ΣTOΣ for XPHΣTE, with none assigned to a date later than the 3rd or early 4thc AD.¹⁷

As with σ τ ἦ λ α ι, the most likely site for a cippus is the flattened area above the tomb chamber, as size and bulk renders it too large for placement within or before the chamber. In addition to functioning as tomb markers, cippi probably played a role in funerary rituals. The designation cippus or altar implies this second use, in all likelihood correctly. Garlands could be suspended from cippi, and the monuments girded with wreaths and fillets. The flat upper surface of the cippus easily accommodates flowers, vessels containing food or drink, and burning lamps, left on the occasion of anniversaries and festivals of the dead.¹⁸

The chronology for cippi is difficult to refine. The shape remains constant over a long period of time, and cannot assist in tightening the chronology. cippi are rarely associated with securely dated contexts; consequently, the best means of dating relies upon epigraphic criteria. The rough consensus attributes the beginning of cippi to the end of the Hellenistic period, with their apogee in the 1st- 3rdc AD, but not continuing beyond the 3rdc.¹⁹

Mitford observes that cippi are most common in the neighborhoods of Citium and

Amathus, and to a lesser extent, Curium.²⁰ He adds that they are rare in the northern Mesaoria, completely lacking in Paphos, Arsinoe, and western Soli Districts, with their absence in the north and the central massif a consequence of the lack of suitable limestone. While the outlines of this picture are correct, the details need to be modified. Amathus, Citium, and Curium are certainly the major producers of *cippi*, with a distribution extending into their hinterlands. Inland, Tamassus District produced a substantial number of *cippi*, and Ledri itself also contributed a number. While the northern districts, Lapethus, Soli, Chytri, Ceryneia, Carpasia, and Salamis, were not as prolific, their efforts should be noted, and so should those of Paphos. Although limestone was the material of choice, sandstone and marble were also employed.



**Figure 2:
Distribution of
cippi**

Cippi were the characteristic burial monuments of Roman Cyprus. Fairly plain and serviceable tombstones, they commemorated all classes, even resident foreigners. Materials and decoration tend to be restrained, but some elaboration was possible. Epitaphs offer minimal information regarding the deceased. These tombstones served as funerary monument and altar combined, placed above chamber tombs. Funerary altars are well attested throughout the Mediterranean particularly during the Roman period.²¹ No exact parallels for the Cypriot *cippus* can be found, but it is clearly related to types found in the Eastern Mediterranean. Asia Minor in particular ought to be noted as a source of cylindrical altars, including examples inscribed with the MNHMHΣ XAP I N formula type seen on some Cypriot examples, and others bearing depictions of garlands in relief.²² The closest parallel for the shape is found in late Hellenistic and Roman Rhodes; Rhodian altars are very similar in size and proportion to the Curium *cippi*, but with differences in the details of the capitals and epitaph formulae.²³ Syrian funerary altars, in shape rough shafts, sometimes bear the XPHΣTE simpliciter epitaph type seen in Cyprus.²⁴

Columns rarely functioned as tomb markers in Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus; only ten have been published. All are quite plain, and consist of the shaft only, lacking base or capital. Epitaphs are in Greek, and follow the practices observed on *cippi*. The XPHΣTE XA I PE formula is most common, with MNHMHΣ XAP I N occurring in Tamassus District. Most columns commemorate men, including Christians and a nobleman from Asia Minor, whose origin and status are indicated by his name, titles, and the use of the epithet ' HPΩΣ .²⁵ All column tomb markers have been dated to the Roman-Late Roman period, with the majority belonging to the 2nd-3rdc AD, coinciding with the floruit of the *cippus*. All originate in the proximity of major settlements, if not from the cities themselves, where column drums were readily available. Columns of Late Roman date may reflect partial abandonment of the site of provenance. Column tomb markers probably functioned in the same way as *cippi*, marking the tomb externally and serving as altars. The drums approximate the *cippus* in size and shape, and the formulae employed in the epitaphs of most of these monuments reflect those seen on *cippi*. Given these similarities, it is very possible that most of these columns were appropriated to secondary use as tomb markers. All were found in areas where *cippi* have been reported; perhaps there was no *cippus* to hand, and a column drum was used instead.

From the scarcity of the type, it is apparent that this was not a usual method to mark tombs.

Στῆλαι are second to *cippi* in popularity. The 150+ στῆλαι follow canonical form, consisting of a rectangular stone slab taller than it is wide. The class is intended to stand upright, either fixed into a slot cut in the ground or into a base. Although the viewer was able to walk around the entire monument, decoration and inscriptions are generally confined to one side, the "front," facing the passerby. The type appears in on Cyprus the Archaic and Classical periods, continuing into Hellenistic and Roman times, with epitaph and style determining date.

Many στῆλαι are relatively plain or topped with simple moldings or pediments. Unadorned rectangular στῆλαι appear to be rare during Hellenistic and Roman times; the most popular variety consists of a gently tapering shaft topped by a pediment. About one-third of published στῆλαι belong to this group, ranging from schematic to quite elaborate, consisting of a miniature rendition of the architectural original, complete with geisons, cornices, dentils, and acroteria. The type is a simple one, found outside Cyprus, and common in Egypt and Greece.²⁶ Epitaphs are inscribed on the bodies of the στῆλαι, with red paint for emphasis.

Various elaborations of the pediment type are attested. Rosettes and a shield in the round respectively embellish two Hellenistic στῆλαι from the Amathus region, while a wreath surmounts the epitaph of a Roman tombstone from Citium.²⁷ Painted decor was also an option. Red sashes appear on at least five Amathus στῆλαι, perhaps in imitation of actual fillets knotted around tombstones, during the first half of the Hellenistic period. This type follows a custom seen earlier in Cyprus, and parallels Hellenistic examples from Alexandria.²⁸ Occasionally, pediments are the subject of sculptural elaboration, and include representations of rosettes and elaborate acanthus scrolls.²⁹

Στῆλαι are well suited for the display of figural scenes, be they sculpted or painted. Figural monuments can be seen as a development of the pedimented type. The blank space on the shaft is given over to a scene, with the architectural elements serving as a frame. Sculpted στῆλαι begin during the Archaic Period on Cyprus, continuing through the Classical and into the Hellenistic and Roman periods. Several groups can be discerned among the approximately 50 sculpted στῆλαι reported.

The first of these groups belongs firmly to the late Classical tradition epitomized by Attic στῆλαι, continuing into the early Hellenistic period on Cyprus. Some of the στῆλαι bear sculpted groups, usually farewell scenes, while others portrayed individuals.³⁰ A related series consisting of eight painted στῆλαι from Amathus bears scenes resembling their sculpted counterparts of the late Classical and early Hellenistic periods. All are made from local limestone, surmounted by pediments with acroteria, which are often offset by a painted egg-and-dart molding. The scenes are very classical in conception, with regards to subject, composition, and manner.³¹ Subjects include farewell scenes as well as solitary standing or seated figures similar

to those seen on their sculpted associates. The painted στῆλαι belong to a narrowly defined series, limited in both chronological and geographical disposition. All known examples of this type from Cyprus were found at Amathus. Hinks dates the British Museum examples to the 3rd BC, presumably on a stylistic basis. Hermery refines that date, adding that the στῆλαι clearly owe a debt to 4th BC Attic sculpted predecessors, and should be dated to the first half of the 3rd BC. Nicolaou dates the two surviving inscriptions to the early 3rd and to the 3rd-2nd BC respectively.³² The genre did not endure, nor did it spread to other cities in Cyprus. While material indicates that the στῆλαι are local products, in style and subject they are akin to similar works of the early Hellenistic period from Alexandria, Macedonia, and Thessaly.³³ The Cypriot στῆλαι probably imitate those from Alexandria, which in turn copy northern Greek works. The two preserved inscriptions commemorate foreigners, one from Kalymnos, the other a Babylonian. Nicolaou suggests that many of the ethnics cited on tombstones of this period attest to the presence of foreign mercenaries brought to Cyprus by the Ptolemies.³⁴ Ptolemaic officials and their dependents residing at Amathus may have commissioned these painted στῆλαι, or perhaps members of the local upper class in imitation of Alexandrine custom.

In types ultimately descended from the old Attic models, the Hellenistic and Roman στῆλαι of a subsequent group feature single or grouped protagonists. Their subjects are not rendered in a purely Classical manner, since the subjects often stare boldly out at the viewer and are frontally posed as seen on Roman στῆλαι in Italy and the provinces.³⁵ Twelve architectural στῆλαι framing single occupants are reported from around the island during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, concentrating in Amathus and Citium Districts. The niche and surmounting pediment are often quite rudimentary. Men and women are represented in equal numbers, often depicted standing, looking out at the passerby, and cradling a bird or piece of fruit in the hand; a few examples of soldiers also occur.³⁶ Hairstyles, particularly during the Roman period, reflect current fashions. While the type usually represents a single person standing within a niche, pairs exist.³⁷ A related type portrays seated subjects, usually a woman, but sometimes a couple.³⁸ The στῆλαι are made from local limestone, and presumably were produced on Cyprus, an assumption which the sculptural styles support. The areas of Amathus and Golgoi are likely candidates for workshops in view of the numbers of στῆλαι found there and given the Golgoi sculptural tradition and the existence of *cippi* workshops near Amathus.

The banquet group is an elaboration of the Atticizing στῆλαι group, with 14 examples reported. In this type, the usual individual or farewell scene occupies the greater part of the στήλη surmounted by a second vignette.³⁹ This second scene, contained within its own frame and sometimes crowned by a pediment, depicts a banquet, probably funerary in nature. One or more individuals recline on a couch facing the viewer, sometimes filling the entire scene. Often there are additional figures, either sitting or standing, and usually depicted on a smaller scale, indicative of servile status. The banqueters do not adhere to the Classical canon, possessing overlarge heads with their bodies in lower relief and more cursorily defined, which is

characteristic of provincial work. The banqueting type seems to be confined to the areas of central and eastern Cyprus, specifically to Golgoi, Tamassus, and Salamis. Golgoi was home to a thriving sculptural school at this time, and could easily have produced στῆλαι of this type. The use of local limestone and the rather "naive" style also point to Cypriot manufacture. Tatton-Brown dates the beginning of the banquet scene type to the second quarter of the 5thc BC, and adds that it does not owe anything to similar slightly later examples from Greece.⁴⁰ She assigns its combination with the larger figural panels to the Hellenistic period, continuing into Roman times. Around the time of this combination, the cast of the banquet expands beyond a single individual, often encompassing an entire family.

Sculpted στῆλαι very close in spirit to Roman funerary portraits seen in Italy and throughout the empire comprise a final group.⁴¹ The best-known example of this group, a στήλη from Tremithus, depicts a closely-knit group of parents and son surrounded by an elaborate architectural frame.⁴² Variations exist, with differences lying in the numbers of individuals represented and their sexes.⁴³ A singular late example from Phasoulla dating to the 4thc AD depicts parents and their daughter in a flat schematic Syrian style and attests to the longevity of the type.⁴⁴ All of these romanizing portrait reliefs are made from local limestone. For the most part, they originate in Tremithus and Golgoi in central Cyprus, products of local sculptural workshops. Scholars date these portraits to the 1stc AD, associating them with freestanding portrait busts described later in this article. The Phasoulla στήλη is an isolated example, but may be evidence for other Late Roman examples that have not survived. These στῆλαι and the related portrait busts should not be considered portraits in the true sense. Rather than representing specific individuals, these monuments depict idealized images of the deceased.

All στῆλαι epitaphs are in Greek. Most of the Hellenistic epitaphs follow the simple nominative, as do a few of the Roman examples. During the Roman period, as seen on cippi, the ΧΡΗΣΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ formula with its usual variations is the most common type found on στῆλαι. Metric epitaphs, the third most frequent formula on στῆλαι, straddle both periods, appearing equally in each. Epitaphs reveal that στῆλαι commemorate over twice as many men as women. Nicolaou ascribes the prevalence of ethnics attached to men's tombstones during the Hellenistic period to the presence of Ptolemaic mercenaries, and this seems quite plausible.⁴⁵ Age is cited relatively frequently, more often for men. Στῆλαι epitaphs are also rather informative with regards to professions. The percentage of military men supports Nicolaou's supposition regarding the presence of mercenaries. To be noted, particularly for such a large class of monuments, is the complete absence of Christian references. This is partially a consequence of the rarity of στῆλαι in Late Roman times, but scarcity did not inhibit Christian references on cippi.

Evidence for the placement of these funerary στῆλαι includes the following. Incorporated into the epitaphs are such phrases as ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΜΑΙ and ΕΣΤΙ ΤΟ ΣΕΙΜΑ, which imply that the deceased lies nearby and that the tombs are

likewise in the proximity of the στῆλαι. While most στῆλαι are not found in situ, some retain their bases, while rectangular cuttings to house στῆλαι can still be seen in the bedrock directly above tomb chambers at Amathus and Curium.⁴⁶ Στῆλαι may have been placed outside chamber entrances, but they were too large to be accommodated within the chamber proper. The most likely site for these στῆλαι remains the surfaces above the tomb chambers, similar to the placement of cippi. As with cippi, garlands and sashes might have been draped over στῆλαι during funerary rituals.

Στῆλαι are particularly common in the vicinity of Amathus and Citium, but are found throughout the island, particularly at the district seats, although not in large numbers. Στῆλαι appear earlier than cippi and continue in use alongside them, albeit in decreasing quantities. Dated by a combination of epitaph and style, they occur continuously throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods, maintaining an earlier tradition. Two peaks of occurrence, during the early Hellenistic (3rd BC) and the high Roman (1st-3rd BC) periods, should be noted.

Freestanding sculpture comprises another class of funerary monument. Sculpture was displayed on the interior and exterior of tombs. Foreign influences provide the inspiration for a custom that was never widespread, though there are Classical precedents on Cyprus, particularly at Marion. It is not always easy to ascertain whether a particular sculptural work was funerary in nature as very few examples have been found in situ. In some instances, monuments have been identified as funerary based on foreign parallels, while others have been retrieved from known cemeteries. Two types are attested: guardian lions and portraits.

Two particularly fine examples of lions from necropoleis have been published, one from Nea Paphos and another from Curium.⁴⁷ Both lions crouch, preparing to spring, and are made from fine imported white marble. Vermeule attributes the Nea Paphos example to an Attic master dated to just after 325 BC, and believes the Curium work to be contemporary or perhaps slightly earlier (340-320 BC), also an import.⁴⁸ Clearly these two monuments are of considerable intrinsic worth, and suitable to adorn the funeral monuments of wealthy patrons. Such large-scale sculpture would require a substantial base like the built bases discovered at Amathus and Curium.⁴⁹ Lions functioned as guardians, intended to ward off intruders from the tombs they defended. They were traditionally appropriate guardians and can be seen protecting Roman tombs in Asia Minor.⁵⁰ Lions are also attested on earlier funerary monuments in Cyprus.⁵¹ Although the two monuments under consideration are clearly imports, local tradition was receptive to their subjects.

The largest body of freestanding statuary consists of portraits, including busts and two full-length statues. The busts are related to the portraits incorporated into cippi and relief στῆλαι previously discussed. Twenty-six portrait busts of men and 12 of women survive.⁵² Men are depicted as beardless, ageless in aspect, with wreaths of rosettes or flowers binding their short hair. Women appear ideally young, usually veiled but sometimes bare-headed, and adorned with jewelry, including fillets peeping out from under their veils. The veils and fillets of the women and the

wreaths of the men may reflect the "participation" of the deceased in funerary rituals marking their burials, stone counterparts of gold funerary diadems and wreaths binding the brows of their corpses. Nearly all of these portrait busts are made from local limestone, and traces of coloured paint survive. Only one portrait is accompanied by an inscription; consequently dating of the portraits is primarily based upon sculptural style and the coiffures of the subjects.⁵³ The consensus assigns the main body of the limestone busts to the late 1stc BC - 1stc AD.⁵⁴ Most originate in the area of Golgoi and share a common style. The region possesses a steady supply of workable limestone, and was home to known sculptural workshops.

These busts could have been displayed in various manners. All face front and their backs were often left plain, a fact suggesting that these busts were intended to be viewed from the front. Possibly they were housed in niches on tomb exteriors; perhaps incorporated into the facades. Equally probable is the idea that they were placed within the tomb. There may be some ritual function attached to these portrait busts: fire blackening on some could be a consequence of oil lamps left lit nearby or of incense or food burnt in front of the portraits.⁵⁵

The association between portrait busts and tombs is well documented across the Roman Empire. The style of Cypriot sculpture during the Roman period has not been well studied, but on Cyprus this form of portrait bust appears to be a Roman phenomenon. Adopted in imitation of the Roman custom, it was either transmitted directly from Italy or via the other provinces.⁵⁶ The production of portraits appears concentrated in the central part of the island during the early Roman period. Since only one spurious inscription survives, there is no indication as to whom these portraits commemorated. While the portraits are local products, the patrons may have been foreigners in residence on Cyprus. Equally probable is the idea that they were made for local inhabitants adopting a common Roman custom. The cost of such a monument would have resided in the artistry, and was probably within the grasp of the middle classes, though the taste may have been confined to the romanized upper classes.

Full-length depictions also occur in Cypriot funerary sculpture of Hellenistic and Roman date, albeit rarely.⁵⁷ Two examples of mistress-and-maid groups are known, one from an excavated context at Arsinoe. The Arsinoe example stood on a platform above the tomb in association with a group of terracotta funerary sculpture, and is dated to ca. 325 BC, presumably on kinship to Attic στῆλῆ reliefs.⁵⁸ The motif recurs in a large-scale sculpture from Golgoi dated to the late 1stc AD, signed by a local artist, Zoilos of Golgoi.⁵⁹ The subject matter would be appropriate for a woman of some means, a "society matron," as it was among the earlier Attic funerary στῆλαι .

In addition to freestanding monuments, the Cypriots employed inset plaques and blocks. Inscribed or painted epitaphs performed a similar function. Some were clearly intended for tomb exteriors where they were visible to passersby. Others identified individual burial places within a tomb, such as arcosolia or loculi.

Stone plaques were fixed to exterior facades or interior walls of tombs, with over 70

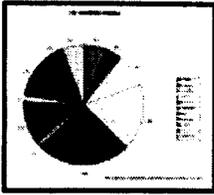
examples reported.⁶⁰ In form, they are thin slabs, usually rectangular but sometimes square in shape. As a class, plaques are very plain, relying upon fine finish or expensive marbles for effect, with paint sometimes emphasizing the lettering. Ivy leaves punctuate a few epitaphs, while simple moldings constitute the borders of others.

All but three epitaphs occurring on plaques are in Greek, and one of these plaques is a bilingual monument. The most frequently encountered formula among the Greek epitaphs is the metric type, accounting for over 30% of published examples. At the other end of the spectrum, the simplest types of epitaph also occur, particularly the nominative (over 20%), with XPHΣTE XAI PE ranked as the third most popular type (over 15%). The three Latin epitaphs follow proper Roman conventions, employing the Dis Manibus, HS Est, and Monumenti Causa formulae.⁶¹ Among the deceased, men appear twice as often as women. Several of the dead bore Roman names, while foreign ethnics describe others. Ages at death are given on a number of plaques. Two Latin examples specifically refer to class, including a freedwoman and an equestrian. Professions are mentioned for an unusually large proportion of the honorands of these plaques, an indication of their relatively high social status. Several plaques identify Christians.

Plaques were popular throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. During the Hellenistic period, they are most frequent during the 3rd-2ndc BC, decreasing in the 1stc BC. There is a resurgence during the Empire, remaining steady in the 1st-3rdc AD. Not many tombstones of any type are preserved for the Late Roman period, but plaques persist.

Although no plaques were found in situ and only a few remained in proximity to their original settings, there are various clues to their original placement. Depressed rectangular panels above chamber tomb doors of an appropriate size and depth to house plaques indicate that at least some were affixed to the facades. This practice is well paralleled, particularly in Italy, and the epitaphs themselves confirm such a placement.⁶² Metric epitaphs sometimes directly address the passerby as ΞΕΙΝΕ , ΠΑΡΟΔΕΙΤΑ , or ΟΔΟΙΠΟΡΕ , while others refer directly to a "monument," a construction found above a tomb rather than inside it, and along with it, the identifying plaque. Other plaques were placed inside a tomb, identifying individual occupants in the same way as epitaphs painted or inscribed on walls and sarcophagi. Such plaques were set into a tomb wall, particularly when the structure was equipped with many loculi.⁶³ Others were attached to sarcophagi.

Nearly 95% of the published plaques have a provenance, representing every district except Carpasia. Salamis District produced the largest number of plaques (26%), all



**Figure 3:
Provenance of
published
plaques**

associated with its capital. Citium District, the second largest producer of funerary plaques (19%), assigns its majority to the district seat and one to Idalium, an ancient city-kingdom. Soli District should be considered the third largest producer of funerary plaques (12%), with all coming from the district seat. All plaques from Amathus, Tamassus, and Curium Districts derive from the respective district seats, as do the single examples from Ceryneia and Lapethus Districts. Paphos District has produced 5 plaques, 3 from Nea Paphos, and isolated examples from Peyia and Pissouri, the former a major settlement. Chytri contributed 8 plaques, but as 7 derive from the same tomb, they should really be considered as a single occurrence.⁶⁴ The only published example

from Arsinoe District comes from Steni, which is not a major settlement. The distribution of funerary plaques clearly centers around district seats. The high incidence of imported marbles, associated with the metric epitaph type, both forms of display, indicates that the plaque was favored by the well-to-do, both Cypriot and foreigner.

Another category of tomb marker consists of epitaphs inscribed on stone blocks, with 14 examples preserved.⁶⁵ These blocks are of the type employed in building construction, differing from plaques in their thickness but not necessarily in their width or height. Like the columns, this type does not constitute a large group. Blocks may have been *ad hoc* substitutions for plaques, much in the same way that columns replaced *cippi*. Alternatively, they could have been incorporated into monumental bases for the display of funerary sculpture or into the architecture of the tomb itself. None have been found *in situ*. The placement and function of blocks probably did not differ substantially from those of plaques. Only two blocks bear any sort of incised decoration, consisting in both cases of a single motif, a simple cross and an ivy leaf marking the end of one line.⁶⁶

Twelve examples bear epitaphs in Greek, while two are characteristically Latin. The Greek epitaphs vary widely in their choice of formula. Epitaphs of the metric type adorn four blocks, making this the most frequent variety. Four follow variations of the XPHΣTE XAI PE type seen so frequently on *cippi*. Two opt for the simple nominative. An epitaph from Vitsadha in Chytri District is not only inscribed in Latin, but follows a characteristically Roman formula, indicating that the deceased was Roman.⁶⁷ Several eastern ethnics occur among the Greek epitaphs. With one exception, the blocks commemorate men. In the exception, the epitaph states that a man hired an architect to build a monument -- a heroon, a term used in Asia Minor -- for his wife and daughter, into which it is presumed this block was inserted.⁶⁸ Three men followed a military profession: one a Ptolemaic mercenary, the others Roman soldiers; a doctor and a deacon are also present. Four epitaphs commemorate Christians.

The blocks are equitably distributed across a very long span of time, from the beginning of the Hellenistic period into Late Roman times. In provenance they are more confined, with all except two coming from major cities on the south coast and their immediate vicinities. Inhabitants of these cities possessed the funds to commission elaborate tombs or freestanding sculptural monuments to be placed

the multiple occupants of a single sarcophagus. Only one sarcophagus indicates ethnicity; three belonged to Christians.

All of these inscribed sarcophagi derive from the necropoleis of large cities. The cities where these sarcophagi are found form a band down central Cyprus, from the north to the south coast: Soli, Chytri, Tamassus, Ledri, and Citium, with a single example from Salamis. This distribution may be a consequence of the small sample size, but it is significant that the major sites of Paphos, Curium, and Amathus are not represented. Inscribed sarcophagi are a subset of a larger group, and their distribution should be considered in relation to that of sarcophagi in general, particularly vis à vis imported marble sarcophagi. Inscribed sarcophagi range in date from the Hellenistic to the Late Roman periods, distributed somewhat evenly.

III. Survey and Analysis of Epitaph Types

This section addresses epitaphs and the information they convey. The formulae followed in the epitaphs are grouped according to types, with a summary of the relevant monuments and deceased, accompanied by chronological and geographical distributions. The issues addressed concerning the deceased include gender, age, religion, ethnicity, class, and profession. Some epitaphs are unintelligible, others convey unintentionally bizarre meanings, while still others are not translatable but their meanings are evident. This is particularly true of the metric epitaphs. It may be that epitaphs were borrowed from "copybooks" by engravers not entirely sure of their meanings, and viewed by patrons equally unable to judge. Many of the simplest epitaphs, particularly those on *cippi*, include errors in spelling and grammar, reflective of a degree of illiteracy among the general populace, and confirming that these monuments mainly served a provincial middle-class clientele.

The largest group of epitaphs comprises nearly 80% of those published from Cyprus. The majority of this group adhere to the XPHΣTE XAI PE formula, with the remainder subscribing to one of two variants, XAI PE *simpliciter*, and less frequently, XPHΣTE *simpliciter*. XPHΣTE XAI PE can be paralleled in Roman Asia Minor, particularly in combination with HPΩΣ.⁷³ XAI PE *simpliciter* is a frequently encountered epitaph in the eastern Mediterranean, simple and effective.⁷⁴ XPHΣTE *simpliciter* appears in Syrian epitaphs.⁷⁵

The most common among this category by far is the XPHΣTE XAI PE formula type, dominating Cypriot epitaphs in toto at 75%. The deceased is addressed in the vocative, described as good, and bidden farewell. The type commemorates men and women equally, in proportion to the ratio represented on tombstones (66 to 34%). Most often, no further information is given (53%), but patronymics occur frequently (40%), with grandfathers, metronymics, husbands, sons, and friends cited rarely (7%). Additional information concerning the deceased is equally infrequent, but includes ethnics (2%), adjectives (1%), profession (1%), and class (3 examples). Ethnics reflect mostly eastern Mediterranean origins. Roman names (5%) could point to an Italian presence, but given their frequent conjunction with Greek patronymics, they probably reflect the romanization of Cyprus. Adjectives are generic in nature, praising the virtue of the deceased. Rare references to the upper classes and freedmen confirm that *cippi* were essentially a middle-class monument.

Occasionally, the supplemental phrase ΟΥΔΕΙΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟΣ appears, as seen in Judaea, indicating that the deceased was a Christian.⁷⁶

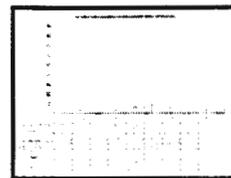


Figure 4: The epitaphs on the cippi

The various distributions make the following apparent. ΧΡΗΣΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ is seen most frequently on *cippi* (89%), appearing notably on σ τη λ αι ι (5%), but sporadically on other monument varieties. Geographically, the formula type is strongest in the Curium- Amathus-Citium-Tamassus stretch, paralleling the occurrence of *cippi*. In the northern Soli and Lapethus and the eastern Carpasia and Salamis Districts, the percentages are in proportion to the number of *cippi*, confirming the link between epitaph and tombstone types. The dating of the ΧΡΗΣΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ formula is essentially Roman, and closely tied to that of *cippi*.⁷⁷

Some epitaphs of the ΧΡΗΣΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ class omit the descriptive adjective, reduced to ΧΑΙΡΕ *simpliciter* accompanied by the name of the deceased. This variation never becomes common (3% of all Cypriot epitaphs). With regards to gender, the percentages of men and women celebrated favor men slightly relative to overall ratios (72 vs. 28%), probably a consequence of the higher percentage of Hellenistic monuments present. As with the ΧΡΗΣΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ type, these epitaphs do not often reveal any information beyond the name of the deceased (54%), but patronymics occur (25%) and metronymics rarely. Adjectives praising the virtue of the deceased figure, while ethnics and Christian references are rare. (Fig. 4)

Like ΧΡΗΣΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ, ΧΑΙΡΕ *simpliciter* appears most often on *cippi* (68%), followed by σ τη λ αι ι (14%). The remainder encompasses more monument types than its associate. ΧΑΙΡΕ *simpliciter* is the most popular formula in Ceryneia District and the western territories of Paphos and Curium. Occurrence is low in Citium, Salamis, Chytri, and Tamassus Districts, and is completely lacking in the northern districts of Arsinoe, Soli, Lapethus, and Carpasia. Nicolaou sees ΧΑΙΡΕ *simpliciter* as a forerunner of ΧΡΗΣΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ, dating it to the late Hellenistic period.⁷⁸ Some *cippi* with this formula type date to this time, but others are Roman, ranging from the 1st into the 3rd AD. If ΧΑΙΡΕ *simpliciter* is the precursor to ΧΡΗΣΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ, it continues alongside its progeny.

ΧΡΗΣΤΕ *simpliciter* can also be considered an abbreviated form of ΧΡΗΣΤΕ ΧΑΙΡΕ. Describing the deceased briefly as good, the type accounts for even a smaller percentage than ΧΑΙΡΕ *simpliciter* (<1%). With respect to gender, women are better represented than usual in this category, outnumbering men (60 to 40%), but that may be a consequence of the small sample size reported. Patronymics are often associated with the names of the deceased, though the names as often remain unencumbered. The epitaphs of this type provide no further information. (Fig. 4) ΧΡΗΣΤΕ *simpliciter* appears on *cippi* only, with the exception of a single σ τη λ η ι. Geographically, the formula is confined to Amathus and Citium Districts. Reports do not discuss the dating of this type, but assign it to the 1st-3rd AD in parallel with

XPHΣTE XAI PE and cippi.

A related but distinct formula group consists of the name of the deceased in the nominative, followed by the wish, MNHMHΣ XAPIN - for the sake of memory, sometimes abbreviated to MNHMHΣ. Although not common, its presence is significant (2% of all epitaphs). This variety of epitaph figures on a quarter of Tamassus District monuments, appearing sporadically in only three other districts. The formula is frequently seen in Asia Minor, and probably originates in that area.⁷⁹ In Cyprus, it is more commonly associated with female burials than with men (50 vs. 40%). Patronymics are often mentioned (35%); followed by husbands for women or an absence of cited relatives; sons, friends, mothers, brothers, and grandfathers are rare. As in other types, Roman names do not guarantee the presence of Romans, but there is an example of an ethnic, as well as a Christian and some slaves. (Fig. 4) MNHMHΣ XAPIN is strongly associated with cippi and the related columns, with one example of a plaque and sarcophagus respectively. The linkage with cippi indicates that this formula type is contemporary with those tombstones and the XPHΣTE XAI PE formula. The examples of MNHMHΣ XAPIN from Asia Minor also belong to the 2nd-3rdc AD, confirming this chronology.

The epitaphs of a third category are very short and to the point. For the most part, they consist of the nominative, but the genitive and the vocative also function in this capacity, with no real meaningful distinction to be seen. These very basic means of identifying the deceased enjoyed a long history across the Mediterranean world.

Nominative citations of the deceased's name occur in significant numbers among Cypriot epitaphs during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as they did in previous times, forming the second largest class (9% of all epitaphs). Nominatives are most common in the early Hellenistic period, regaining strength in Late Roman times. In effect, the epitaph states, "this is X." Male epitaphs are three times as frequent as female, partly a function of the large number of plaques in this class. It is also a consequence of date, since many of these epitaphs belong to the early Hellenistic and Late Roman periods, when fewer women are commemorated. Patronymics are most often mentioned (51%), followed by no cited relatives at all (44%); husbands and brothers, both associated with female burials, trail. This class of epitaph, despite its simplicity, is the most informative about the deceased. Over 50% mention an ethnic, more than 15% an age, while others identify professions or refer to the deceased as Christians. The ethnics are closely tied to the early Hellenistic στῆλα associated with foreign mercenaries, which constitute a sizeable proportion of this formula category. The Christians belong at the other end of the chronological spectrum, to the Late Roman period. Age and profession are often mentioned with both of these groups. (Fig. 4) In contrast to the previously discussed formulae, nominatives figure most frequently on στῆλα (38%) as to be expected from their concentration in the early Hellenistic period, followed by plaques (28%), with cippi in third place (19%). Geographically, their distribution favours those districts where cippi are not so common, appearing rarely where the cippus is the monument of choice.

The genitive formula type consists of the name of the deceased in the possessive, indicating that the burial place belonged to the dead person. Although less common than the nominative, its numbers are still significant (2% of all epitaphs). The

sample is small, but very strongly favors men (93%). Generally, this type is confined to the name of the deceased, with patronymics occurring in 20%. Several epitaphs mention age, while others belonged to Christians. (Fig. 4) The genitive is usually seen where it would directly identify an individual's burial place, such as a *loculus* or sarcophagus, directly inscribed into its surface or on a nearby plaque. Epitaphs on *cippi* and the single column in this group do not present as direct a connection with the deceased. Distribution of the genitive type follows that of labeled *loculi* and sarcophagi, occurring sporadically in certain coastal districts. With regards to date, the span of this type includes the entire duration of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Equally basic, the vocative formula names the deceased, as if addressing him or her. As with the genitive, numbers are small (about 1% of all epitaphs). Most of the deceased were male (88%). Patronymics and a lack of cited relatives are equally common (50% each). (Fig. 4) The vocative formula is not characteristic of a specific monument type, but is evenly distributed among several types. It is also scattered geographically, appearing for the most part in isolated instances, and skipping some districts altogether. Dates extend throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

Metric epitaphs, or carmina, are the most elaborate found on Cyprus, with a long history in the eastern Mediterranean.⁸⁰ Ranging widely from simple couplets to long, involved curses, all employ poetic devices and at least attempt to meet the requirements of meter. Generally, they praise the virtues of the deceased, bemoaning their premature demise. Many were probably not composed for a specific funeral, but had personal details inserted into a generic verse. It is a popular type (7% of all epitaphs), almost equaling the combined numbers of the simple type. Over two-thirds of the type celebrate men. Relatives of all varieties figure, particularly parents. Although patronymics occur, most parents are usually described in their capacity as mourners, left behind by the deceased. Often nameless, these parents may be a poetic device to render the epitaph more poignant, or they may have been the dedicants of the tombstones, as were other named relatives. While adjectives describing the virtues of the deceased were part and parcel of the type, other details are more personalized. Ethnics (24%) and age (31%) figure prominently, professions (17%) to a lesser extent, all lending themselves readily to the poetic form. (Fig. 4) Metric epitaphs are closely tied to monument type and geographical distribution. Approximately 50% occur on plaques and 25% on *στῆλαι*, whose shapes are well suited to longer epitaphs. Their strong presence in Salamis is closely associated with the frequency of marble plaques at the district seat, with the carmina and material clear indicators of status. Numbers suggest that the type was also popular in Paphos, Soli, and perhaps Citium Districts. Data are too limited to confirm trends in Ceryneia, Lapethus, and Arsinoe Districts, but metric epitaphs were not in favor in Curium, Amathus, Tamassus, and Carpasia Districts. Moreover, almost all metric epitaphs derive from district seats. With regards to date, they enjoy popularity in the early Hellenistic period, dropping off thereafter, and make a strong comeback in the High Empire during the 2nd-3rdc AD. Several Christian examples attest to the survival of the type into Late Roman times.

Latin epitaphs appear occasionally in Roman Cyprus, and their presence should be regarded as significant (1% of all epitaphs). These epitaphs follow well known

Roman formats.⁸¹ The rarity of Latin inscriptions on Cyprus and the equally uncommon occurrence of typically Roman epitaphs suggest that these were meant to honour Romans, rather than locals adopting the custom of Rome. Two epitaphs are bilingual, the Greek and Latin portions employing equivalent formulae.⁸² Three quarters of the Latin epitaphs celebrate men. Dedicants are explicitly named, including a wife, a brother, fellow freedmen, and soldiers. All those celebrated in Latin epitaphs possess Roman names. Age, profession, and class ranging from freedman to eques are cited, as is common among Roman epitaphs. (Fig. 4) The majority of these epitaphs are inscribed on plaques, a typically Roman type. As one might expect, the distribution almost exclusively encompasses three of the most important district seats, Nea Paphos, Salamis, and Citium, where one would find Romans. All of these monuments belong to the period of the High Empire, bearing witness to the presence of Romans on Cyprus.

Analysis of epitaphs contributes the following conclusions concerning the deceased that they commemorated. On average, epitaphs province-wide indicate that tomb monuments were twice as likely to honour men as they were women. Examination within districts is best performed with Amathus, Citium, and Tamassus Districts, the three regions with statistically valid sample sizes, and it indicates some variation. Women were most often commemorated in epitaphs in Tamassus District (50%), followed by Amathus (33%), and then Citium (28%). Distribution across the districts is heavily weighted in favour of the district seats, but in Amathus and Tamassus Districts outside the district seats women are more often encountered on tombstones (43% and 44% respectively), while in Citium District, they are less frequent (25%). Over time, men are better represented during the early Hellenistic and Late Roman periods, with the numbers of women increasing during the High Roman era. Many men during the Hellenistic period may have been Ptolemaic mercenaries, while those from the Late Roman period were often church officials. The pax Romana seems to have encouraged mourners to commemorate their dead female relatives.

In contrast to gender, age at death is not often cited. When it occurs, it tends to be in metric or nominative epitaphs. In metric epitaphs, age emphasizes the sense of premature bereavement, as it is generally associated with children or young adults survived unnaturally by their parents. References to death prior to marriage also feature in this type of epitaph. When age is incorporated into epitaphs of the nominative type, it appears as a simple statement of fact. These seem to be true ages, spanning the entire range. Age is as likely to be associated with men as with women, in line with the overall ratio of the sexes.

Epitaphs sometimes convey information regarding social class, profession, ethnicity, and religious preferences. Class does not feature prominently in epitaphs, but references are about evenly divided between freedmen and the upper classes, with middle-class status not meriting mention. All are of Roman date, and all but one refer to men. About half derive from Latin epitaphs, whose formulae often allude to class. Freedmen and the upper classes were the most likely to stress class, one anxious to indicate that they were no longer slaves and the other proud of its inheritance. Adjectives beyond the conventional XPHΣTE praise the upright moral character of the deceased, but remain rare, with men more likely to be so described.

Probably a Roman trait, most occur on *cippi* or in metric epitaphs.

Ethnicity can be declared on tombstones in a variety of ways. Roman names, not uncommon (appearing in 6% of epitaphs), in most cases should be viewed as an indication of the romanization of the province, particularly at the large cities of Nea Paphos and Salamis. Latin epitaphs, however, commemorate Romans according to the traditional formulae of their homeland. Links with Asia Minor are reflected in the use of the MNHMHΣ XAPIN formula and the epithet ' HPΩΣ .⁸³ Ethnicities are quite common, appearing in 8% of epitaphs, and more frequently associated with men. Often appearing in nominative formulae, they usually point to eastern Mediterranean origins. As many are men, when they date to the early Hellenistic period, the epitaphs likely refer to mercenaries.

Professions appear sporadically, and almost all describe men. Two major categories include soldiers and Christian officials. Both provide evidence for dating. Many soldiers are attested on early Hellenistic tombstones, a period of considerable military activity while the Christian references belong to the Late Roman period. Rare examples include a cook and a possible gravedigger.

Religious references are infrequent and belong to Christian burials. Earlier references are discreet, with crosses replacing Xs and XPICTOΣ inserted for XPHCTE in *cippus* epitaphs and the occasional supplemental OYΔE I Σ AΘANATOΣ , a Christian formula paralleled in Judaea.⁸⁴ Late Roman epitaphs are much more likely to commemorate men rather than women, and are more overt in their Christianity, utilizing psalms and mentioning church offices. No other religious affiliations occur on Hellenistic and Roman tombstones.

Relatives are often named in epitaphs. Some may be responsible for commissioning the tombstone in question, but often the cited family members identify the deceased much in the way of a modern surname.⁸⁵ About half of the epitaphs do not mention any relative, with male and female deceased present proportionally. Epitaphs in the genitive tend not to designate a relative, while metric epitaphs usually refer to the parents. Parents appearing as pairs tend to be nameless entities in metric epitaphs, possibly a poetic device emphasizing the pathos of a premature bereavement, but also potential dedicants of the relevant tombstones. Fathers named in metric epitaphs, however, were more likely to have been dedicants. The XPHCTE XAI PE group and MNHMHΣ XAPIN epitaphs employ patronymics and other named relatives about half the time. Parents, particularly fathers, appear most often when a relative is cited. Patronymics in these epitaphs were intended to differentiate individuals bearing the same name as was the custom among the living, with men and women so identified in equal proportions. Grandfathers and great-grandfathers occur only in conjunction with a patronymic as a more precise identification of the deceased, rather than naming dedicants. Metronymics are rare and more likely to individualize men, but probably functioned in the same manner as patronymics. Spouses, however, are usually cited on women's tombstones, sometimes in conjunction with patronymics. A named husband can identify the deceased in the same manner as a patronymic, but husbands, being younger than fathers, were more likely to outlive their wives and dedicate tombstones. Wives mentioned in epitaphs probably did not identify the deceased, but should be seen as the commissioners of

the monuments. Siblings, very rarely mentioned, could function in either capacity. Friends and clients, when acknowledged on a tombstone, should be considered as responsible for its placement.

Epitaphs provide the only evidence that chamber tombs were family owned. Names held in common among several tomb markers found in a single context indicate that members of a single family were interred within the same tomb, confirming that at least some tombs belonged to individual families and that more than one tomb marker could be associated with a single tomb. Tombstones with multiple epitaphs served several individuals, sometimes related, based on the evidence of patronymics or explicitly stated kinship. In other cases links between tombmarkers are indicated by identical patronymics. At present there is no evidence for other types of organizational groups, such as the burial clubs known in Italy.

IV. Conclusions

Tombstones and epitaphs existed on Cyprus prior to the Hellenistic period, but it is during Roman times that they come into their own. The prosperity enjoyed by the province under the empire may have provided the requisite conditions and funding for the proliferation of funerary monuments in this period. Tidy little *cippi*, with the occasional στῆλη or statue interspersed, dotted the cemeteries, adorned with bright flowers or garlands, fillets, and offerings. Occasionally addressing passersby, their presence announced ownership of individual tombs, acting as visual statements of possession and identifying the deceased within. For the most part, epitaphs are statements of possession, farewell, or mourning; none convey any vision of the afterlife. A few tomb-markers bear curses, and were intended to protect the tombs. Epitaphs provide the best evidence to date that at least some chamber tombs served family groups. Chamber tombs were clearly marked; it is not certain whether cist tombs were also identified as no tombstones survive in association. *cippi*, columns, and στῆλαι could have stood above both chamber and cist tombs, while other types, for example plaques, were confined to chamber tombs. Tomb markers and funerary sculpture, interior and exterior, provided the focus for funerary rituals during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, both during the actual interment and during subsequent commemorations. Some tomb markers performed a function during funerary rituals, serving as altars or receiving offerings on behalf of the deceased.

Among the 1020+ monuments recorded, the *cippus* is by far the most common tombstone type at 67%, followed at some distance by στῆλαι (15%); plaques (6%); sculpture (4%); and blocks, sarcophagi, columns, and inscribed/painted on tomb walls (each 1% or less). Upon closer inspection by district this picture varies.

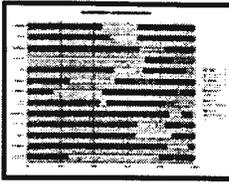


Figure 5: Tomb marker types by district

cippi (22%) and tomb wall epitaphs (19%) are the most common tomb markers in Paphos District. Curium District is closer to the overall provincial mean, with *cippi* comprising the greatest number (66%), and στῆλαι, plaques, blocks, and sculpture less frequent. Amathus District also conforms to this norm, as is to be expected considering the large number of monuments recovered from the district, with *cippi* constituting 83% of its tomb markers, followed by στῆλαι (13%); plaques, columns, and blocks are rare, and funerary sculpture, wall epitaphs, and inscribed sarcophagi completely absent. *cippi* are also the most common tombstone type (65%) in Citium District, but the sculptural types, both στῆλαι and freestanding, occur in proportionally greater numbers than elsewhere on the island. Plaques, inscribed sarcophagi, and blocks are less common, while wall epitaphs and columns are absent. Among Salamis tomb markers, plaques are most frequent (33%), followed by στῆλαι (22%) and *cippi* (15%); inscribed sarcophagi are rare, and other types unrecorded. While few monuments are known from Carpasia District, its distribution is closer to the norm, with *cippi* most common, followed by inscribed walls, στῆλαι, and columns. *cippi* are also the most popular in Ceryneia District (50%), with columns, plaques, στῆλαι, and inscribed walls less common, and other types seemingly absent. Lapethus' few reported monuments indicate that *cippi* are likewise in the forefront, succeeded by inscribed sarcophagi. *cippi* occupy first place in Soli District (48%), followed by plaques (24%) and στῆλαι (15%), while inscribed sarcophagi, columns, and sculpture are rare. Arsinoe, clinging to Classical tradition, prefers στῆλαι (57%), with single examples of blocks, plaques, and sculpture recorded. *cippi* (43%) and plaques (35%) occur in approximately equal numbers in Chytri District, with a few examples of inscribed sarcophagi, στῆλαι, and blocks; wall epitaphs, columns, and funerary sculpture are lacking. Tamassus District reverts to the usual distribution, *cippi* predominating (82%); στῆλαι, plaques, columns, and inscribed sarcophagi are rarer, occurring in similar numbers. Funerary sculpture, blocks, and wall epitaphs are absent.

The large numbers of *cippi* from Amathus District, and to a lesser extent Citium District, distort the overall picture. The events of 1974 have also greatly reduced the numbers reported from the districts now in occupied northern Cyprus, including Salamis, Carpasia, Ceryneia, Lapethus, Soli, and Chytri. Paphos and Arsinoe District finds are surprisingly slim, with no motivation readily apparent. But even assuming a recovery rate for Amathus and Citium at a half or even a third of what it has been, the following conclusions can be offered. *cippi* dominate by a wide margin, performing especially well in the Curium-Amathus-Citium stretch, extending northwards into Tamassus and Chytri Districts. They skip Arsinoe District altogether, and are proportionately restricted in Salamis District to the east. στῆλαι are the second choice in the Curium-Amathus-Citium-Tamassus group, and also in Salamis District. They lead in Arsinoe District to the northwest, probably because of lingering attachments to Greece. Their popularity is reduced in the other northern districts of Carpasia, Ceryneia, Lapethus, Soli, and Chytri, and surprisingly, in Paphos District to the west. Plaques, in contrast, are more prominent in the north, particularly in Salamis and Soli Districts, but are third place in the Curium-

Amathus-Citium-Tamassus block. Two minor groups, inscribed/painted tomb walls and funerary sculpture, center around particular areas, the first around Paphos and the second focusing on Citium District and its sculptural workshops.

Certain epitaph formulae are more closely associated with particular monument types than with others, resulting in parallel distribution patterns. During the Hellenistic period, στῆλα bearing nominative epitaphs prevail across the island, succeeded to a lesser extent by στῆλα of the XPHΣTE XAI PE type. The popular XPHΣTE XAI PE formula, so tightly tied to the *cippus*, dominates, particularly in the Curium-Amathus-Citium-Tamassus belt during Roman times. In contrast, plaques bearing metric epitaphs, often of marble, prevail in Salamis District.

Examination of tombstone materials also reveals some patterns, some linked to local availability, others to trade and class. Limestone is the most common material employed in funerary monuments at 68%, reflecting its accessibility. Sandstone ranks second overall at 20%, while marble is third at 11%. Within the individual districts, however, the picture varies from the province norm. Limestone dominates the Curium-Amathus-Citium-Tamassus-Chytri group, as well in Arsinoe, Carpasia, and Ceryneia Districts. Sandstone assumes second place within Amathus-Citium-Tamassus, as it does in Carpasia District to the northeast; third place in Paphos, Curium, Salamis, and Arsinoe Districts; but is completely lacking in Ceryneia, Lapethus, Soli, and Chytri, all northern districts and a consequence of geology. Marble is the material of choice for Salamis and Paphos Districts, and as frequent as limestone in Lapethus and Soli; second choice in Curium and Arsinoe; third choice in Citium, and completely lacking in Amathus, Tamassus, Carpasia, and Ceryneia Districts. Marble does not occur naturally on Cyprus, and must be imported. Marble is more prevalent in the west, north, and east, probably reflecting directions of overseas trade, with marble tombmarkers all deriving from district seats, good markets for the costly material.

By monument type, *cippi* and blocks are most commonly made of limestone (71 and 54% respectively), followed by sandstone (27% and 31%), and then marble (2 and 15%). Given the scarcity of marble *cippi*, it does not appear they were being made outside the island for the Cypriot market. It is possible that manufacturers pared down preexisting marble column drums or altars into the canonical *cippus* form. Marble and sandstone are equally common among στῆλα and columns (7 and 33%), with limestone (87 and 33%) maintaining its dominant position. Marble is the material of choice for plaques and inscribed sarcophagi (76 and 67%), followed by limestone (22 and 33%) and sandstone (2 and 0%). The trade in marble sarcophagi is well documented, and those examples found in Cyprus traveled to the island as nearly completed works of art. Marble στῆλα may have been imported as unfinished slabs to be carved locally or with their reliefs executed. Epitaphs were carved onto marble plaques as needed. With the exception of στῆλα, marble is associated with Roman monuments, particularly with plaques. Marble, moreover, is concentrated at district seats, as is to be expected of an import, with distance a factor in its lack of penetration to Tamassus. Such cities provided the consumers for the costly material. Metric epitaphs are particularly associated with marble monuments, another sign of status.

Tombstone types can also be paralleled outside Cyprus. Funerary *cippi* are quite common in Italy and the eastern Mediterranean, particularly in Syria and Asia Minor, but the particular shape seen in Cyprus is characteristic of the island. Στῆλαι , however, are frequently encountered throughout the eastern Mediterranean in the forms seen in Cyprus, including the simple pedimented and the Atticizing varieties that precede and continue into the Roman period. Egypt has produced examples of στῆλαι similar to those from Cyprus, including the painted pictorial group. Funerary portraits found on the island are provincial interpretations of the Italian tradition, as are those in the other eastern provinces, notably Syria. Inscribed epitaphs on plaques, tomb walls, and sarcophagi appear in Italy and elsewhere. The formulae employed in epitaphs likewise are well paralleled, confirming that the island was attuned to the material culture of the east Mediterranean. The simple nominative and genitive types, as well as the XAI PE and metric varieties appear in Greek epitaphs across the eastern Mediterranean, beginning in pre-Roman times. Other formulae are more restricted in their parallels. The Latin types have their origin in Italy, following Romans as they spread through the Mediterranean. Certain formulae, the ubiquitous XPHΣTE XAI PE , and the more restricted MNHME I Σ XAP IN and HPΩΣ , find their best *comparanda* in Roman Asia Minor. MNHME I Σ XAP IN , in one instance associated with a motif also from Asia Minor, is concentrated around Tamassus in central Cyprus, for reasons not yet understood. The relatively rare XPHΣTE *simpliciter* is combined with epitaphs on Syrian funerary altars. The presence of foreign ethnics and epitaph types attests to foreigners living in the province, while the existence of Roman names indicates a degree of romanization. All of this agrees with information provided about other eastern Mediterranean provinces.

The evidence of monument type, decoration, and epitaph indicates that Cyprus belonged to the cultural κοινέ of the eastern Mediterranean. Overlying a strong core of Cypriot traditions are links with Asia Minor, Greece, Egypt, and Italy in particular. The strength of these ties varies in the different districts, perhaps drawing on earlier tendencies. Egyptian elements are particularly notable at Amathus, and perhaps at Paphos; those from Asia Minor especially in Tamassus District; Greek varieties perhaps in Arsinoe; while Italian elements are most frequent in the big cities. Egyptian influence was strongest at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, to be associated with the presence of Ptolemaic mercenaries and governing officials. Latin and Asia Minor elements are more characteristic of the Roman period, perhaps linked to commercial activities. Clearly Cyprus was far from being an isolated backwater, but should be considered a prosperous province receptive to external influences.

In addition to attesting to foreign influences and residents, epitaphs provide an interesting commentary on the society of Cyprus during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The island was home to a comfortable population, with a large middle-class sector. The tombstones indicate that at least some of the tombs were family-owned, and commemorated women more often in the Roman period than during previous or subsequent eras. Religious statements were confined to Christian references, remaining discreet and infrequent under the Empire, and only becoming overt with the official endorsement of Christianity in the Late Roman period.

The use of tombstones and epitaphs on Cyprus diminishes during the Late Roman period as is the case across the empire.⁸⁶ Among freestanding monuments, *cippi* and sculpture disappear, while columns and $\sigma\tau\eta\lambda\alpha\iota$ are represented by a single example each. Plaques, blocks, and inscribed sarcophagi, however, continue in relatively constant numbers. Formulae tend to be confined to the simple nominative and genitive types, as to be expected when most epitaphs identified specific burial places. A few examples of metric epitaphs are attested, including a curse. The smaller numbers of tombstones may be a consequence of a change in rite, emphasizing the importance of the individual burial place or of a general reduction in the numbers of epitaphs empire-wide.

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¹ This article summarizes the findings presented in Chapter 3 of my PhD dissertation (Parks 1999). Dr. Eugene N. Lane was unstinting in his assistance, particularly with the handling of the epitaphs. In gratitude, I offer this article for his *Festschrift*. Thanks are owed to F.J. Garrod and D. Barber for their assistance with the graphics.

² Discussion of geographical distributions will rely upon Mitford's analysis of the organization of Roman Cyprus (Mitford 1980). The Iron Age city-kingdoms each controlled a substantial hinterland, evolving into the Ptolemaic administrative organization, which subsequently was transformed into the Roman district system.

While Mitford's contention that Ledri was no longer extant by the Roman period is incorrect, the configuration of the coastal districts is sound (Parks 1999, Chapter 2). Mitford divided the interior of the island between Tamassus and Chytri Districts; allowance must be made for the territory of Ledri. For the purposes of this article, Mitford's system will be followed, see Fig. 1.

³ I. Nicolaou 1971, 14-5; Cassimatis 1973, 123-4; Tatton-Brown 1986, 439-53; Wilson 1970, 103-11. See also I. Nicolaou's series "Inscriptiones Cypriae Alphabeticae" in the *RDAC* ("ICA").

⁴ The farewell scene is a motif with a long history in Classical funerary art, and depicts relatives bidding farewell to the deceased, often clasping hands.

⁵ For examples in Aegean and Pentelic marbles dating to the end of the Classical period, see Vermeule 1976, 47-8.

⁶ Buchholz 1978, 201; Buchholz and Untiedt 1996, 44; Nicolaou 1971, 11.

⁷ Raptou 1997, 225-37.

⁸ *Arcosolia* and *loculi* are receptacles cut into tomb walls, or built-in coffins. *Loculi* are essentially rectangular compartments opening off a chamber, while *arcosolia* lie parallel to the wall, consisting of a rectangular trough surmounted by a rock-cut vault.

⁹ Numerous examples of *cippi* are published in I. Nicolaou, "ICA." Archaeologists of the 19thc were the first to apply the term *cippus* to these monuments, implying that they functioned as altars. More conventional Latin terms for tombstone include *monumentum* and *lapis*, but Horace uses *cippus* (*Satires* 1.8.12). The *cippus* is also employed on Cyprus for dedications to the $\Theta\acute{\epsilon}\omicron\varsigma$ $\Upsilon\psi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, Aupert and Masson 1979, 380-3; I. Nicolaou, "ICA XXXII, 1992," *RDAC* (1993) 223. The only connection appears to be in function as an altar. For information on this deity, Kraabel 1969, 80-93.

¹⁰ Aupert 1980, 257.

¹¹ I. Nicolaou, "ICA V, 1965," *RDAC* (1966) no. 5.

¹² For a discussion of the $\text{MNHMH}\Sigma$ XAPIN formula type, see Section III of this article. *MAMA* 5 (1937) 109-09 no. 225; *SEG* 26.1429, 2nd-3rdc AD.

¹³ Cesnola 1885, 146.1151-2, 147.1162; Gunnis 1936, 314; I. Nicolaou, "ICA IV, 1964," *RDAC* (1965) no. 1; Mitford 1980, 1374.

¹⁴ Cesnola 1885, 148.1173-4; 1903, Suppl. no. 20; 1877, 436, no. 105; Buchholz and Untiedt 1996, pl. 55c; K. Nicolaou 1976, 293.

¹⁵ Cesnola 1877, 54; 1885, 121.882-91. I. Nicolaou 1971, no. 41a; "ICA II, 1962," RDAC (1963) no. 5.

¹⁶ Mitford 1990, 2204.

¹⁷ Mitford 1980, 1374.

¹⁸ Mitford 1980, 1374; Mitford 1990, 2203.

¹⁹ Mitford assigns the beginning of the XPHΣTE XAI PE formula to the early years of the 1stc AD or perhaps to the second half of the 1stc BC, and on that basis dates the cippus, while the absence of letter forms characteristic of the middle to late 3rdc AD indicates their demise before that date (Mitford 1980, 1374). I. Nicolaou assigns the majority of cippi, those bearing the XPHΣTE XAI PE formula, primarily to the 2nd-3rdc, occasionally as early as the 1stc AD, while recording the smaller group engraved with XAI PE simpliciter as late Hellenistic (see "ICA"). During the course of the Department of Antiquities' excavation of the Amathus cemetery, 31 cippi were found in association with tombs. Nicolaou finds that the burial gifts confirm the dates assigned on the basis of the inscriptions, but since these tombs were in use from the Archaic period onwards, it would be difficult to contradict her epigraphical dating (I. Nicolaou 1991, 207). Aupert prefers a slightly earlier date for these tombstones, finding the XPHΣTE XAI PE variety as early as the Hellenistic period, with a floruit about a century earlier than Nicolaou's, in the 1st-2ndc, continuing into the 3rdc AD (Aupert 1980, 237- 58).

²⁰ Mitford 1980, 1374-5.

²¹ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 237, 301; Toynbee 1971, 253-4.

²² Åström 1968, 167-9; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 301; SEG 7.715, 721, 723, 726-7, 736, 747; 14.798-9, 802, 805; 17.606-7; 26.1420-1, 1423, 1426-7.

²³ Aupert 1976, 722.

²⁴ Conteneau 1920, 49-50.

²⁵ I. Nicolaou, "ICA III, 1963," RDAC (1964) no. 9.

²⁶ Breccia 1912, 1:23; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 218ff.

²⁷ I. Nicolaou, "ICA XIII, 1973," RDAC (1974) no. 3; 1971, no. 40; Hermary 1987, 71-2.

²⁸ Hermary 1987, 73. For Alexandria, Breccia 1912, 2:pl.XXXIII.38.

²⁹ Mitford 1950a, no. 22; Hermary dates the pediment to the late Classical or early Hellenistic, but the vegetal ornament appears to be more at home in the Roman

period (Hermery 1987, 71).

³⁰ Vermeule 1976, 50; Cesnola 1885, no. 104.629.

³¹ Hinks 1933, 5-6; Hermery 1987, 72-5.

³² I. Nicolaou 1967, 19 no. 7, 28 no. 36.

³³ See Hinks 1933, 6 no. 9; Breccia 1912, 1:6-22, pls. XXII-XXXIII; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 235, 302; also Tatton-Brown 1985, 67- 8.

³⁴ I. Nicolaou 1967, 30-3.

³⁵ Kleiner 1992; Toynbee 1971, 246-50; Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 220-35; Breccia 1912, 1:2-6; Breccia 1912, 2:pl.XX-XXI; Muehsam 1953, 55-113.

³⁶ I. Nicolaou, "ICA XXXI, 1991," RDAC (1992) no. 8; Karageorghis 1960, 269; Karageorghis 1966, 333-5; Cesnola 1885, no. 104.634; Hogarth 1889, 103; Buchholz and Untiedt 1996, pl. 56a,b,d; I. Nicolaou 1961, 407. For soldiers, see Masson 1977, 322; Cesnola 1885, no. 138.1031.

³⁷ e.g. I. Nicolaou 1961, 406; Cesnola 1885, 126.917.

³⁸ e.g. Cesnola 1885, nos. 104.633, 121.892, 122.906; Caubet 1977, no. L.1.

³⁹ e.g. Cesnola 1885, nos. 121.897, 128.922; Caubet 1977, 172-6; Tatton-Brown 1986, 439-53.

⁴⁰ Tatton-Brown 1986, 443-5; also Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 234.

⁴¹ Particularly the Republican and early Imperial portraits (see Kleiner 1992).

⁴² Dated early 3rdc BC by Vessberg and Westholm (1956, 84); dated c280 BC by Vermeule (1976, 54); Tatton-Brown prefers a 1stc AD date, which is preferable (1985, 61). The σ τ ή λ η could even date later.

⁴³ e.g. Hogarth 1889, 39; Masson 1977, 322; Cesnola 1885, nos. 121.894, 899, 902, 128.1033, 141.1054; Ergülec 1972, 31.

⁴⁴ The σ τ ή λ η was found at Phasoulla, near Amathus (Karageorghis 1976, 846) and clearly resembles Syrian works.

⁴⁵ I. Nicolaou 1967, 15.

⁴⁶ Karageorghis 1984, 956; Parks 1996, 129.

⁴⁷ Tatton-Brown 1985, 62; Karageorghis 1983, 910; Vermeule 1976, 35.

⁴⁸ Master of the Peiraeus Museum No. 285 (Vermeule 1976, 35); Karageorghis 1983, 910.

⁴⁹ Karageorghis 1981, 1021; McFadden 1946, 449-89.

⁵⁰ Kubińska 1968, 61-3. For lions from the Greek world, Archaic and later, perhaps the most famous being that at Chaeronea, see Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 238-9, pls. 64-7.

⁵¹ Buchholz 1978, 201; Buchholz and Untiedt 1996, 44; Gjerstad et al. 1935, 324; I. Nicolaou 1971, 11; Myres 1914, 241-3.

⁵² Cesnola 1885, 144.1129-38, 145.1139-43, 1145-8; Myres 1914, 213; Bruun-Lundgren 1992, 9-35; Connelly 1988, 10; Albertson 1991, 17, 29; Cesnola 1882, 108; Karageorghis 1985, 96; 1989, 849, figs.153-4.

⁵³ On the basis of this inscription, Cesnola identifies the tomb where the portrait was found as belonging to the Roman proconsul (Cesnola 1882, 109 n.1). Given Cesnola's penchant for exaggeration, the evidence ought to be weighed with caution. Vessberg and Westholm state their doubts about the authenticity of the inscription and that it was in fact ancient (Vessberg and Westholm 1956, 99). In view of the superb quality of the surviving portrait, and that the tomb is identified as having belonged to the proconsul, surely his family would have been able to afford a properly inscribed epitaph rather than one roughly scratched into the base of the portrait.

⁵⁴ Vessberg and Westholm 1956, 96, 99; Connelly 1988, 9-10; Bruun-Lundgren 1992, 20; Karageorghis 1985, 147; Albertson 1991, 24.

⁵⁵ For examples of burning, Karageorghis 1985, 147; Bruun-Lundgren 1992, 12, 18-9; Connelly 1988, 9.

⁵⁶ Bruun-Lundgren prefers to see the adoption of portrait busts on Cyprus as a reflection of contemporary Egyptian mummy portraits (Bruun-Lundgren 1992, 20-3). However, Cypriot portrait busts and Egyptian mummy portraits should be seen as contemporary responses to an empire-wide interest in portraying the deceased.

⁵⁷ Gjerstad et al. 1935, 330; Cesnola 1885, 1032.

⁵⁸ Vessberg and Westholm use the melon frissure coiffure and the hierarchical scale of mistress and maid to confirm the dating (Vessberg and Westholm 1956, 83-4).

⁵⁹ The hairstyle is characteristically Flavian, and serves as the basis for the dating.

⁶⁰ e.g. I. Nicolaou's "ICA" series; 1971; Mitford 1950a; Mitford 1950b; Mitford 1971; Mitford and Nicolaou 1974.

⁶¹ I. Nicolaou, "ICA VIII, 1968," *RDAC* (1969) no. 5; 1971, no. 37; Cesnola, 1903, 149.18.

⁶² e.g. Calza 1940.

⁶³ I. Nicolaou 1968b, 76-84; I. Nicolaou 1971, 32.

⁶⁴ I. Nicolaou 1968b.

⁶⁵ e.g. Peek 1955, nos. 902, 1509; Mitford 1971, no. 147; I. Nicolaou, "ICA."

⁶⁶ Mitford 1950b, no. 18; *CIL* 3.215.

⁶⁷ *CIL* 3.215.

⁶⁸ Mitford 1950b, no. 20.

⁶⁹ Mitford 1950b, no. 18.

⁷⁰ e.g. I. Nicolaou, "ICA"; Hogarth 1889, 11; Anastasiadou 2000, 336-7; Seyrig 1927, no. 12.

⁷¹ A *tabula ansata* is a common framing device used in epitaphs, and consists of a rectangular panel with triangular "ears" or handles flanking the sides.

⁷² I. Nicolaou 1967, no. 24; "ICA XII, 1972," *RDAC* (1973) no. 4; K. Nicolaou 1976, 292; Mitford and Nicolaou 1974, no. 88; Mitford 1950b, no.9, 165, 169; Mitford 1950a, no. 21; Vermeule 1976, 73; Peek 1955, no. 1325; Buchholz 1973, 369.

⁷³ Åström 1953, 206- 7. Lattimore cites an example of Roman date from Larissa (Lattimore 1942, 282).

⁷⁴ Butler 1913, 392; *SEG* 17.715, 26.1489, 1679; Breccia 1912, 1:xxxviii-xix.

⁷⁵ Conteneau 1920, 49; *SEG* 26.1655.

⁷⁶ e.g. *SEG* 14.833; 17.780.

⁷⁷ Mitford finds the beginning of the XPHETE XAI PE type early in the 1stc AD or perhaps in the second half of the 1stc BC, which he links to the dating of *cippi* (1st- 3rdc AD) (Mitford 1971, 295 no.152; Mitford 1950a, 71; Mitford 1980, 1374; 1990, 2203). Aupert and Masson agree (1979, 361-89). I. Nicolaou dates inscriptions on the basis of letter shape, and usually assigns this type to the 2nd-3rdc AD when

found on *cippi*. She places some στῆλαι bearing this type of epitaph as early as 50 BC, see "ICA."

⁷⁸ I. Nicolaou, "ICA XXVIII, 1988," *RDAC* (1989) 145.

⁷⁹ e.g. *SEG* 14.789, 798-9, 802, 805; 17.557, 605-8, 621, 667, 709, 721, 723, 726-7, 736, 747; *SEG* 26.1418, 1420-2, 1423-4, 1426, 1429.

⁸⁰ Kurtz and Boardman 1971, 261-6.

⁸¹ Calza 1940, 263-368; for examples of DM epitaphs from Ostia, see *CIL* vol. 14, Suppl. 1-2; for examples from Rome, see *CIL* vol. 6, part 6, no. 2; vol. 6, part 7, no. 2.1.

⁸² Cesnola 1903, no. 149; *CIL* 3/4.12110.

⁸³ I. Nicolaou, "ICA (III) 1963," *RDAC* (1964) 197; idem, "ICA X, 1970," *RDAC* (1971) 69; cf. Lattimore 1942, 97.

⁸⁴ *SEG* 14.833; 17.780. Mitford indicates that this type of epitaph occurred on both Christian and Jewish tombstones, and was of Egyptian origin (Mitford 1971, 300). Lattimore also comments on an Egyptian variant (Lattimore 1942, 253), which is seen in one Curium epitaph.

⁸⁵ For the most part, Cypriot tombstones provide too little information to permit reconstruction of family structure on the island. When only a mother is named, it may imply a female head of household, while patronymics were probably used as "surnames." For examples of such studies, see Saller and Shaw 1984; Martin 1996.

⁸⁶ Lattimore 1942, 187.

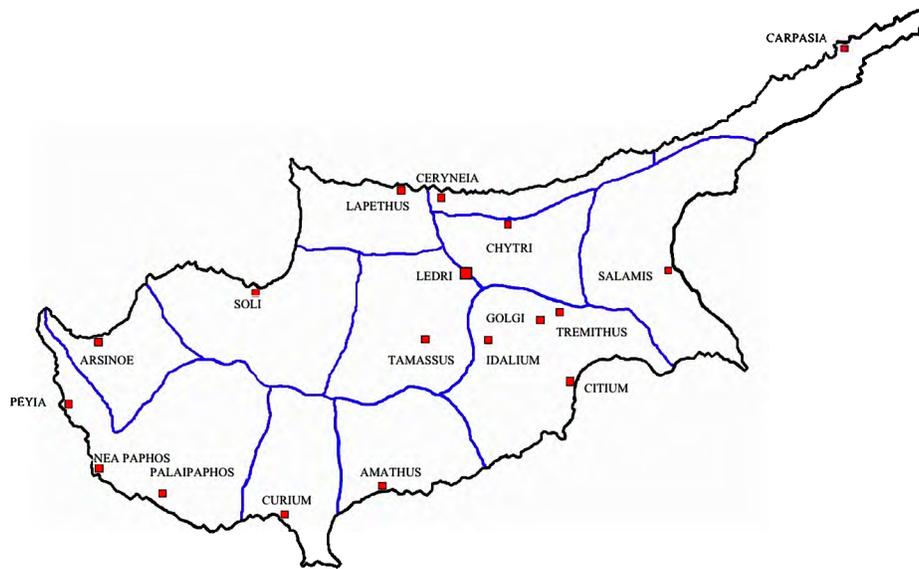


Figure 1: Mitford's division of Cyprus into districts

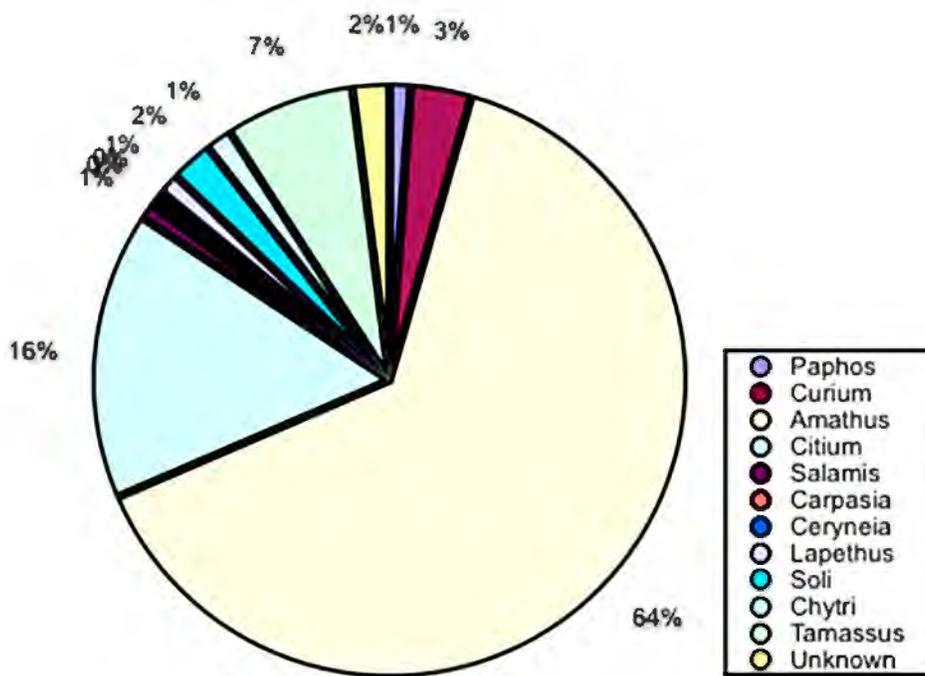


Figure 2: Distribution of cippi

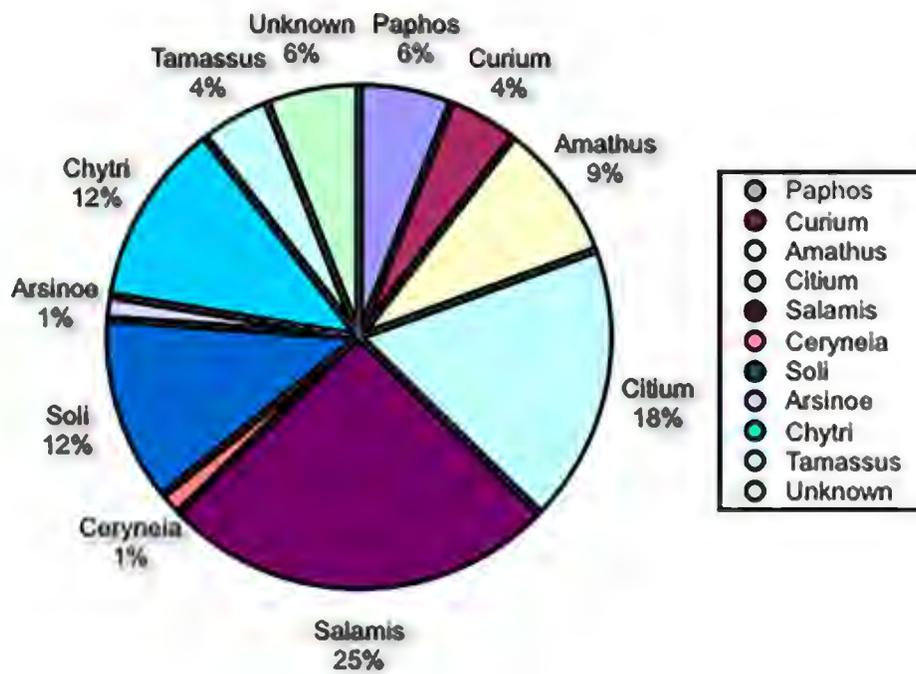


Figure 3: Provenance of published plaques

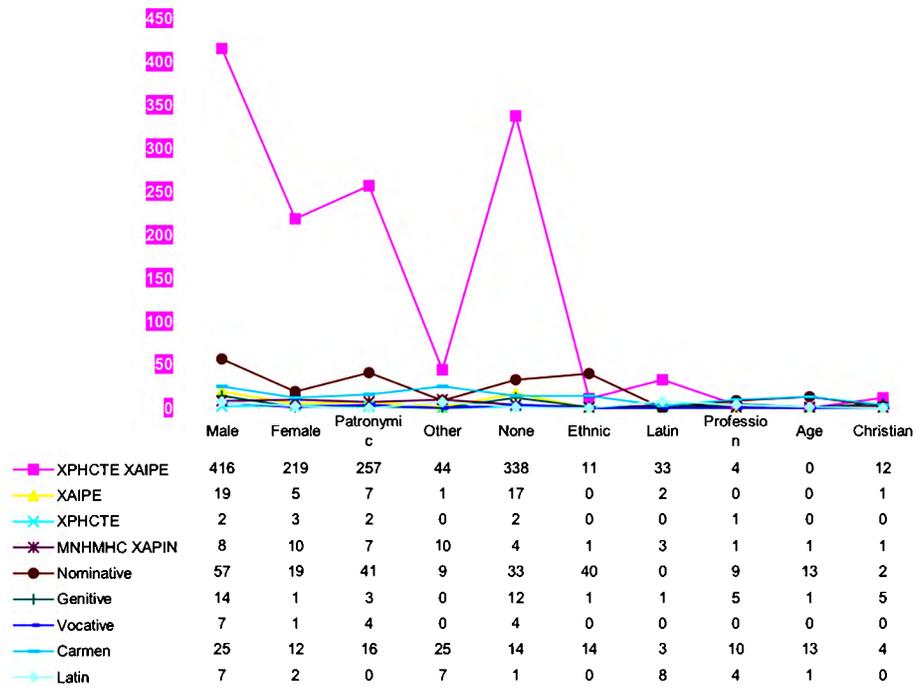


Figure 4: The epitaphs on the cippi

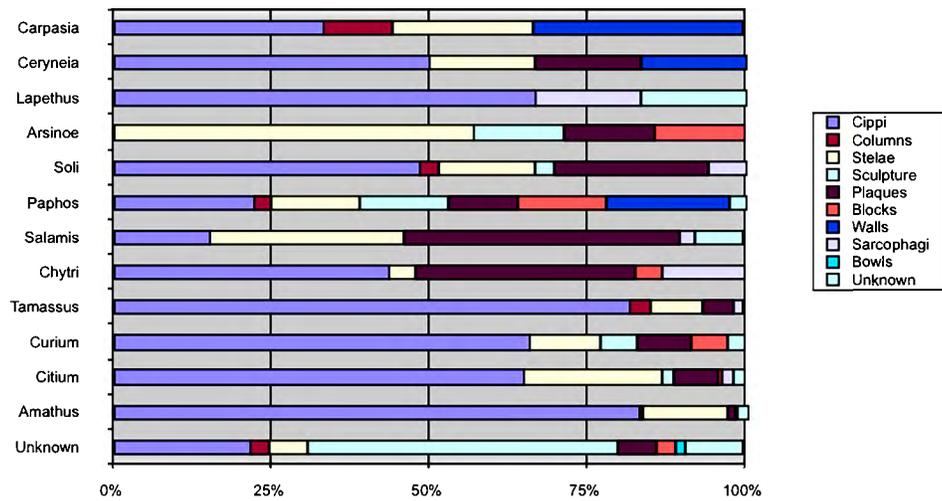


Figure 5: Tomb marker types by district