


The Inscription of Tiberius Claudius Claudianus Heteresianus Engraved on a Marble Column Found in the ‘Saranda Kolones’ Castle at Nea Paphos, Cyprus

ANNA URSZULA KORDAS

Abstract: This paper offers the *editio princeps* of a Greek inscription engraved on a marble column discovered in the ‘Saranda Kolones’ Castle at Nea Paphos in Cyprus. The inscription, dated to the second or early third century AD, contains the names of the otherwise unknown Tiberius Claudius Claudianus Heteresianus, a member of the *ordo equester*, a founder of the column. This is the only known inscription mentioning the name Heteresianus. It remains an open question as to whether the man mentioned by the inscription was a Cypriot by birth or came to Cyprus, as well as whether he was the founder of this column only or a whole colonnade.

Keywords: Cyprus, Nea Paphos, Greek inscription, marble column, Roman citizens in Cyprus, *equites*, *ordo equester*

Anna Urszula Kordas, Faculty of Culture and Arts, University of Warsaw, Warsaw; au.kordas@uw.edu.pl;  0000-0002-3021-5876

In May 2021, during a field survey carried out in the ruins of the ‘Saranda Kolones’ Castle at the archaeological site of Nea Paphos,¹ an unpublished inscription engraved on a marble column was noted. The marble column is one of many similar objects scattered across the site, most of them, however, are made of granite and are uninscribed. Due to the presence of columns at the site, even long before the discovery of the Lusignan castle, the enigmatic mound called ‘Saranda Kolones’ (‘Forty columns’) was identified with an ancient temple.² The ‘Saranda Kolones’ site was first excavated by Artur Hubert Stanley Megaw in 1957–1959 on behalf of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities. Subsequent excavations

¹ The analysed inscription was noticed during the field survey, carried out within the framework of the PhD thesis under the working title: ‘*Masons’ marks as a key to understanding architectural engineering. Greek masons’ marks from the area of Alexandria, Cyrenaica, and Cyprus from the Hellenistic period to Late Antiquity. The koine of Greek masonry or local marking systems?*’, which is being prepared by this author at the University of Warsaw under the direction of Professor Monika Rekowski.

² Rosser 1985: 81.

followed in 1966–1967, sponsored by the British School at Athens, in 1970–1971 by the School in association with Dumbarton Oaks, and then works were resumed in 1981–1983 by Dumbarton Oaks in cooperation with Boston College and Earthwatch. The excavations revealed a five-tower residential castle, built around an open court and enclosed with an outer wall furnished with eight towers. However, it seems that the concentric outer and inner castles were built independently of each other. The castle was destroyed by an earthquake in 1222, an event described by Oliverius Scholasticus.³ However, the questions of when the castle had been built, by whom, and for what purpose lack definitive answers. According to the current state of the research, it was erected by the Crusaders during the early years of the Lusignan rule over Cyprus, c. 1200. It is assumed that the Castle was to provide protection not against the Islamic East, but Constantinople disgruntled with the take-over of Cyprus by the Latin Franks, and its construction must have happened before the Fourth Crusade of 1204. As it is clear the castle was built in two phases, the first appears to have occurred in the pre-Crusader period.⁴

THE NEW INSCRIPTION ENGRAVED ON THE MARBLE COLUMN

The analysed column comes from the north-eastern corner of the north-eastern tower of the ‘Saranda Kolones’ Castle (**Fig. 1**). It is incorporated into the eastern wall of the tower, c. 0.5m above the ground, arranged perpendicularly to the masonry bond of the wall. It provides horizontal reinforcement for the tower and protrudes slightly from the surface of the wall (**Figs 2–3**).⁵

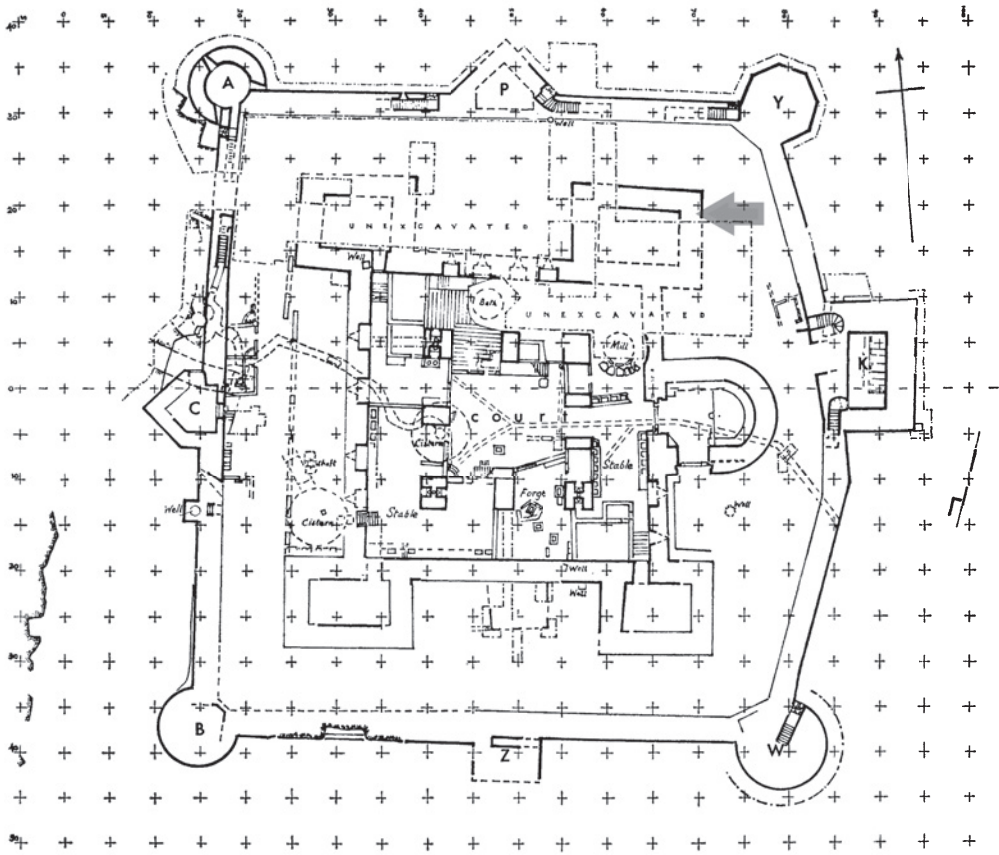
The column is made from fine-grained blue marble with black and white veins, most probably *Marmor Bigio Antico*, with glistening tiny minerals.⁶ The upper diameter and total height are unknown since that part of the object is covered by another column. The height of the visible part of the column is 2.09m. The other part is covered by another perpendicularly

³ *Historia Damiatina*, chapter 86.

⁴ After Anderson 2016: 164, 170–172. For more details about the castle and the archaeological campaigns, see: Megaw (Ed.) 1957; Megaw 1957; 1958; 1966–1967; 1967–1968; 1968; 1971; 1972 (architectural description of the castle); 1984; 1985; 1992 (history of the castle); Rosser 1985; 1987; 2004; 2007; 2010; Anderson 2016.

⁵ According to Demetrios Michaelides (personal communication), the inscription from the column was to be included in the final publication of the excavation report from the Castle. Unfortunately, the excavator, Artur H.S. Megaw, died before completing it. Prior to that, he had passed his draft and notes to John Hayes, who was meant to drive the publication to completion. Unluckily again, Hayes’s own health did not allow him to finish the publication. Unfortunately, the exact date of the column’s discovery is unknown to the present author. However, according to the plan prepared after the campaign in 1966–1967, the north-eastern corner of the north-eastern tower of the inner castle had already been recorded by then; actually, it was unearthed already in the campaign of 1958: cf. Megaw 1958: 33, Fig. 11. Moreover, in the report of the campaign of 1966–1967 it was stated that ‘More of the granite columns used to reinforce the walls were found’ (Megaw 1966–1967: 25, Fig. 1). Therefore, it is plausible that the above-mentioned granite columns are the same as those which cover the marble inscribed column, and the inscribed column was discovered in this very season of fieldworks.

⁶ The preliminary material identification based on the photograph was proposed by Dagmara Wielgosz-Rondolino (personal communication).



1. Plan of the Castle after the 1971 season, with the findspot of the discussed column marked (Megaw 1972: 323, Fig. A).

arranged column with a 0.63m diameter. Since the inscribed column does not protrude beyond it, the total height of the analysed column may at most be 2.72m. Its bottom diameter is *c.* 0.52m. A dowel hole measuring 0.035 x 0.030m was noticed at the bottom. The column was broken across the first line of the inscription. Due to its embedment into the Castle wall, the other side of the column cannot be examined. Nonetheless, the inscription seems to be complete and legible. Since the column was used as a building material for the construction of the 'Saranda Kolones' Castle, the original placement of the column remains unknown.

The inscription is 0.64m long and 0.25m high, engraved about halfway up the column shaft, and although each of its three lines is of different length, the text has a very symmetrical layout (**Fig. 4**). The first line is the longest, the third line is the shortest. The length of Line 1 is 0.64m, its height is 0.06m. The height of Line 3 is 0.048m. The letters are deeply and carefully carved. The epigraphical style is of simple majuscule. The letters *delta* and *lambda* are with the right arms elongated towards the top, while the letters *epsilon*



2. Placement of the column within the wall of the Castle, view from the north (Phot. A. Kordas).



3. Placement of the column within the wall of the Castle, view from above (Phot. A. Kordas).



4. Inscription on the column: a. left side view; b. frontal view; c. right side view; d. drawing (Phot. A. Kordas, M. Rekowska; drawing: A. Kordas).

and *sigma* have lunar forms. The letters are decorated with small serifs, and at the end of the lines rise slightly upwards.

The inscription can be dated to the second or the beginning of the third century AD based on its palaeographic features.⁷

Τι(βέριος) Κλ(αύδιος) Κλαυδιανός
 Ἐτερηϊανός
 ἰππικός.

Tiberius Claudius Claudianus Heterianus, eques.

⁷ Inscriptions from the district of Paphos palaeographically similar to the present inscription are dated between the second century and the beginning of the third century AD; see: *I.Paphos* 124 (211/212 AD); *I.Paphos* 213 (second century AD); *I.Paphos* 220 (engraved also on a column drum, the end of the second century or the beginning of the third century AD). It is worth mentioning that no influence of cursive handwritten script characteristic for the second half of the third century is noticeable in the presented inscription (Nigdelis *et al.* 2019: 167).

LINE COMMENTARY

l. 1. The names Tiberius Claudius testify to the fact that the family which he belonged to plausibly got citizenship under an emperor named Tiberius Claudius: Tiberius, Claudius or Nero.

l. 2. The name Ἑτερηϊανός is not attested elsewhere. It is a secondary formation made of the base form with the Latin formant -anus (Greek -ανος). Regarding the base form, there are two options for explaining it. According to the first it is a name of Greek origin, from Ἑταιρεῖος (however not testified) deriving from the word ἑταῖρος, ‘companion’, with the base root εταῖρ- appearing here phonetically as ετερ- (Ἑτερήϊος). This hypothesis could be supported by attestations of the names of the core εταῖρ-: Ἑταῖρος,⁸ Ἑταίριχος,⁹ Ἑταιρίων,¹⁰ Ἑταιρία,¹¹ Ἑταῖρα,¹² and especially by an inscription from Paphos¹³ testifying the name Ἑτρειδίων, which, according to Olivier Masson, would be the late form of Ἑταιρειδίων.¹⁴ According to the second option, it is a Latin name (Heterēius),¹⁵ interpreted by Wilhelm Schulze as originally of Etruscan origin, with an Etruscan core ‘hetari’, ‘heθari’.¹⁶

The names Ἑτερήϊος, Ἑτερεῖος and Ἑτερηῖα from which the name Ἑτερηϊανός is derived are well testified in Greek inscriptions, and they are dated from the first century BC.¹⁷ However, there is no evidence of either the male or the female equivalent of the name in Cypriot texts.

The polyonymous nomenclature *Praenomen + Nomen + Nomen-ianus + Nomen-ianus* of this person, may indicate that Ἑτερηϊανός derived from the *nomen* of his original father, in the case of adoption, or was used to emphasise his mother *nomen*.¹⁸ However, it is worth

⁸ Dikaiarchia-Puteoli (Campania), *CIL* X 2005 (second/third century AD); Hierokometai, *I.Stratonikeia* 845, 4 (first-second century AD); Gargettos (Athens), *IG* II² 2481, 28 (c. AD 200); tribe Pandionis (Athens), *IG* II² 2223, 54 (220 BC/AD 1).

⁹ Thisoa (Arkadia), *SEG* XIV 455, 2 (fourth century BC); Makistos (Triphylia), *SEG* XXXV 389, 12 (399–369 BC).

¹⁰ Mitylene (Lesbos): *IG* XII Suppl., 27, 100 (first century BC/first century AD); Kikkyna (Athens): *IG* II² 1034 d, 18; *IG* II² 1942, 7 (c. 100–98 BC); Kyzikos, *EtudAnat* 199–200, 5; Samothrace, *I.Samothrace* 112, 5, *IG* XII, 8, 188 (second/first century BC).

¹¹ Kos, *I.Kos Heilige Gesetze* 1, l. 28 (fourth century BC); Bylliones Byllis (Arkadia), *BUST* 1961 (1), 107.

¹² Termessos (Pisidia), *TAM* III, 1, 699, 5, p. 203.

¹³ *I.Paphos* 214.

¹⁴ *BE* 1988, no. 890.

¹⁵ Lewis & Short, c.v. ‘Eterēius’.

¹⁶ Schulze 1904: 174, c.v. ‘Heterenus’. Solin, Salomies 1988: 93, c.v. ‘Heterēius’, ‘Heterenus’, ‘Heterius’ referred only to the work of Wilhelm Schulze.

¹⁷ Kos: (1) *I.Kos Bosnakis* 141: Ἑτερεῖος[ς] (first century AD); (2) *IG* XII, 4.1, 365, l. 93–94: Ἑτερήϊος (AD 38); (3) *IG* XII, 4.1, 365, l. 166–167: Ἑτερήϊος (AD 78); (4) *IG* XII, 4.1, 365, l. 187: Ἑτερήϊος (AD 92); (5) *IG* XII, 4.1, 365, l. 190: Ἑτερήϊος (AD 95); (6) *IG* XII, 4.1, 365, l. 202–203: Ἑτερήϊος (AD 104); (7) *IG* XII, 4.2, 473: Ἑτερηῖα (second half of first century AD); (8) *IG* XII, 4.2, 571: [Ἑτε]ρήϊος (c. 50 BC–AD 100); (9) *IG* XII, 4.2, 575: Ἑτερήϊος (first century AD); (10) *SEG* XLVI 1119: Ἑτερηίου (Roman period); (11) *I.Kos Heilige Gesetze* 114: Ἑτερήϊος (first century AD); (12) *I.Kos Heilige Gesetze* 224: Ἑτερηῖω[ι - -] (Roman period); Rodos: (13–14) *Maiuri, Rodi e Cos* 343, l. 1, 4–5: Ἑτερηίου (Roman period); Athens: (15) *Agora* XV, 337: Ἑτερεῖος (AD 148/149); Side (Pamphylia): (16) *I.Side* 197: Ἑτερήϊος (early first century AD?).

¹⁸ Salomies 2014: 512.

underlining that at the end of the second and the beginning of the third century the names in -ιανός could have lost any sense of family relationship.¹⁹

1. 3. ἵππικός is equivalent to the Latin term *eques*, here referring to a member of the *ordo equester*.²⁰ However, the fact that the inscription does not mention any other title means he must belong to a group of equites, who at the end of the second and in the third century AD owed their belonging to the *ordo equester* only thanks to hereditary transmission from father to son, and the land they possessed, the value of which was equal to fulfilling conditions of minimum land possession for this class.²¹ At this time, it was easier to enter the equites state, due to inheritance than through merits, and only relatively small percent of equites held offices. It is visible in various types of inscriptions, which confirm that members of the *ordo equester* neither served in the imperial administration nor in the Roman army.²² These members of the *ordo equester* significantly lost their importance. Although, it is understandable that the man mentioned by the inscription is proud to exhibit his title, it seems he did not belong to the most powerful group of Roman equites.

GENERAL COMMENTARY

As has been demonstrated above, no man with the *cognomen* Ἑτερηϊανός or Heteraianus is otherwise known. However, it is worth mentioning another Cypriot inscription with the names Tiberius Claudius Claudius *vel* Claudianus, also engraved on a marble column, found in Kourion. The first part of the inscription (inv. no. KA. 1986/809A) has been read as follows (**Fig. 5**):²³

[Τιβέρι]ον Κλαύδ[ιον Τιβερίου Κλαυδίου]
[υἱὸν Κ]υρ(είνα) Κλαύδ[ιον - - -]
[- - -]ου τη[- - -]

(To the honour of) [Tiberi]us Claud[ius] Claud[ius] *vel* Claud[ianus], son of Tiberius Claudius, from the tribus Q[ui]r(inia) [*archiereus* for life] of the [immortality of the emperors(?) *vel* the Securitas of the imperial house(?) - - -].²⁴

¹⁹ Corsten 2010: 462–463.

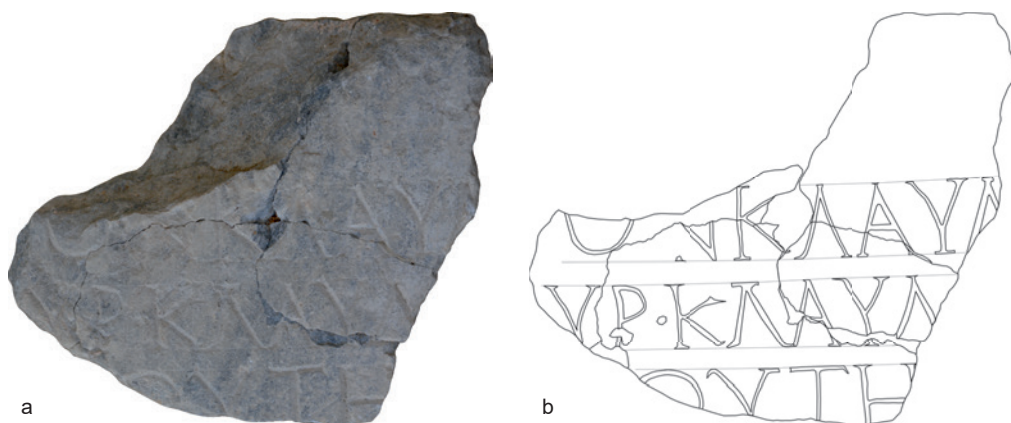
²⁰ *LSJ* s.v. 'ἵππικός'.

²¹ Alföldy 1984: 162–170.

²² Kolendo, Żelazowski 2003: 143; cf. Demougin 1988; Demougin (Ed.) 1999; Devijver 1999.

²³ Currently at the Local Archaeological Museum of Kourion in Episkopi, Cyprus, inv. no. KA. 1986/809A-B. Michaelidou-Nicolaou 2013: 325–328, 344–345, Figs 6A and 6B; *AnEp* 2013 [2016]: 687, no. 1685–1686. Found in an enclosure of a mosaic floor in the Episcopal Basilica at the acropolis of Kourion. Inscribed on a marble grey-white column broken on all sides and preserved in two pieces. Dimensions of the first fragment: height 0.13m, width 0.2m, thickness 0.025m, height of letters 0.03m, spacing 0.01m. Dimensions of the second fragment: height 0.56m, width 0.39m, thickness 0.09m, height of letters 0.03m, spacing 0.01m. I owe this reference to Dr. Paweł Nowakowski.

²⁴ The translation of the text in the Line 3 includes the reconstruction proposed in the critical apparatus.



5a-b. Inscription from Kourion stored in the Local Archaeological Museum of Kourion in Episkopi (Cyprus), inv. no. KA. 1986/809A, first part of the inscription (Phot. and drawing: A. Kordas).

1. 2–3. Κλαύδ[ιον ---][---]ΥΤΗ[---], Michaelidou-Nicolaou 2013: 325, *cf.* Κλαυδ[ιανόν], *AnEp* 2013 [2016]: 687, no. 1685. As the reading of [- -]ου τη[- -] seems to be certain (**Fig. 5**), I propose to reconstruct here the title [τὸν ἀρχιερέα | διὰ βίου]ου τη[ς ἀθανασίας τῶν Σεβαστῶν(?)] *vel* τη[ς σωτηρίας τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν(?)].²⁵

The second part of the inscription (inv. no. KA. 1986/809B),²⁶ unfortunately, also very fragmentarily preserved, has been read as follows:

- [- - -]ΟΙΕΝΟ[- - - - -]ΙΑ[- - - -]
 [- - -]ἀρχιερασ[άμενον τ]ῆς [νῆσου *vel* Κύπρου]
 [ἐν τ]αῖς ἀγο[ραῖς ἐσιτίσ]ατο[- - - -]
 4 [- - -]ς παρασχόντᾱ οἰκο[- - - - -]
 [- - -] αἰρέσει ἀλλὰ καὶ τη[- - - - -]
 [-πᾶ]σι<ν> παρασχόντᾱ [ἐαυτὸν - - -]
 [- - -]ῆμέρας ἐπὶ λυσιτελ[- - - - -]
 8 [- - -]εἰδικῆς διαγραφῆς [- - - - -]

²⁵ ἀρχιερέα διὰ βίου by analogy to: *I.Salamine XIII* 102, [[ἀρχιερέα διὰ [βί]ου τοῦ Διὸς | τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τῶν Σεβαστῶν]] (from Salamis, AD 49); *I.Salamine XIII* 131 B, [ἀρχιερεὺς] διὰ βίου αὐτοῦ (from Salamis, AD 1); *SEG XVII* 750, ἀρχιερέα διὰ βίου τῆς ἀθανασίας τῶν Σεβαστῶν (from Karpasia, AD 20/21 or AD 46/47); *I.Paphos* 177, [ἀρ]χιερέα διὰ βίου τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν (from Paphos, AD 34/35 or AD 35/36). Takashi Fujii wrote: ‘those who served as *archiereis* for life (*dia biou*) seem to have belonged to the priesthood of the civic level, since the tenure of office for *archiereis* at the provincial level (ἀρχιερεὺς τῆς νῆσου *vel* τῆς Κύπρου – ed. of the author) was restricted’ (Fujii 2013: 114). Therefore, it seems that the reconstruction [διὰ βίου]ου τη[ς] excludes the reconstruction in line 2 [τ]ῆς [νῆσου or Κύπρου] proposed by Ino Michaelidou-Nicolaou.

²⁶ Michaelidou-Nicolaou 2013: 326–328, 345, Fig. 6B.

[- - -ἀ]γάχυμα τοῦ ἐλαίου[υ- - - - -]
 [- - -ἐν τῷ] γυμνασίῳ πόλεω[ς - - - - -]
 [- - -] και παντὶ τῷ ἐπιδη[μοῦντι - - -]
 12 [- - -ἀνε]πικωλύτως <κ>αὶ συν[- - - - -]
 [πρεσβυ]τέρων καὶ νεωτέρ[ων- - - - -]
 [- - -τό]ν εὐεργέτην [τῆς Κουριέων πόλεως]
 [- - - -]καὶ ἐχ[έτω - - - - -]

[- - - when] he served as *archiereus* of the [immortality of the emperors(?)] *vel* the [Securitas of the imperial house(?)] - - -] on the agoras [he fed - - -] he supplied oiko[- - - . - - -] she chose, but [- - -] he supplied all [himself - - - the] days usefully (?) [- - -] of the register [- - -] pouring the olive oil [- - -] to the gymnasium of the city [- - -] and to/from every foreigner coming to the city [- - -] unhindered and [- - -] of the oldest and the youngest [- - -] the benefactor [of the Kourion city - - -] and [to let him] have [- - -].

1. 2. Ino Michaelidou-Nicolaou suggested to see here [- - -ἀρ]χιερασ[άμενον τῆς [νῆσου *vel* Κύπρου τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ *vel* τῶν Σεβαστῶν].²⁷ I propose as above [τῆς ἀθανασίας τῶν Σεβαστῶν(?)] *vel* [τῆς σωτηρίας τοῦ οἴκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν(?)].²⁸

Despite the significant damage to the text on both sides of the column, there is no doubt it mentioned merits of the honoured person. He was a high priest (1. 2 -ἀρ]χιερασ[άμενον τῆς - - -]) of an emperor or a whole imperial family, he also served as a gymnasiarch, having regard the information that he delivered olive oil to the city's gymnasium (1. 9–10 [ἀ]γ ἀχυμα τοῦ ἐλαίου[υ- - - ἐν τῷ] γυμνασίῳ πόλεω[ς]), and he was honoured by the title of benefactor (1. 14 εὐεργέτην).

As to the dating of the inscription, Michaelidou-Nicolaou only states that the reconstruction of the [Κ]υρ(είνα) in Line 2 of the first part of the preserved inscription, provides information that this person received Roman citizenship from one of the emperors who belonged to the tribus Quirinia (she listed Nero, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian), therefore the only one who could give him at the same time the names Tiberius Claudius is Nero.²⁹ The inscription can be dated to the first century AD based on its palaeographic features;³⁰ moreover this dating seems to be confirmed by other inscriptions of similar form mentioning the priests of imperial cult found in Cyprus, all attributed to the first century AD.³¹ This rather precludes that the both inscriptions (from Kourion and 'Saranda Kolones' castle) could be mentioning the same person. It cannot be ruled out, however, that our Tiberius

²⁷ Michaelidou-Nicolaou 2013: 328.

²⁸ See above, footnote 25.

²⁹ Michaelidou-Nicolaou 2013: 326.

³⁰ The letters' form is especially similar to another inscription from Kourion, engraved on the statue's base of Nero: *I.Kourion* 84.

³¹ Fujii 2013: 114. However, among the numerous inscriptions of priests discussed by Fujii, the one of Tiberius Claudius Claudius *vel* Claudianus from Kourion was not included.

Claudius Claudianus Heterieianus was a descendant of the *archiereus*, *gymnasiarch* and a benefactor of Kourion.³²

A CYPRIOT OR NEWCOMER?

The hypothesis that Tiberius Claudius Claudianus Heterieianus was a Cypriot by birth and a descendant of someone who had previously acquired citizenship, as we have a candidate for that place, is very tempting. Especially, due to the fact there were not many military opportunities for Cypriots to obtain citizenship, and even less to be incorporated into the *ordo equester*.³³ Therefore, as a Cypriot most probably he would be elevated to the *ordo equester* just by inheritance.

Another possibility is that he was a newcomer, who arrived in Cyprus, for example on business. It must be underlined that the equites are very rare in Cyprus. In fact, the only other inscription found in Cyprus testifying the presence of a member of the *ordo equester* is an epitaph from Salamis of a young man, Q. Caecilius Rufus *e(ques) R(omanus)*.³⁴ Since he died at the age of 24, he could not have been in Cyprus on military service. Plausibly he was in Salamis just for business reasons or he belonged to the staff of a Roman official, which is suggested by the use of the Latin language.³⁵ Cypriot names in place of a *cognomen* could attest a previous Cypriot original name. In this case, however, the lack of attestation of the name Ἑτερήϊος in Cypriot texts would be rather in favour of a foreign origin, for example of his mother, whose name he bore as a second *cognomen*.

³² Fujii also wondered whether (or to what extent) the members of the *Tiberi Claudii*, who constituted the main group chosen for the performance of the imperial cult in Kition and Salamis, were related to each other: for example Tiberius Claudius Mentor, although not attested as an *archiereus* (from Salamis, *I.Salamine* XIII 115 and 118, dated to Flavian period), would be, according to him, the great-great-great-grandson of Hyllos mentioned by *I.Salamine* XIII 101 (AD 6 or AD 11); Fujii 2013: 119–120.

³³ Regarding the opportunity to obtain Roman citizenship for Cypriots, it is known that the Romans did not have any legion or even cohort based on the island, but they did recruit troops there: a Hungarian military diploma attests *cohors IIII Cypria c(ivium) R(omanorum)* in AD 110, *ILS* 2001, and three tombstones prove that *cohors Cypria* was stationed in the Cimmerian Bosphorus: *ILS* 8874; 9161; *RA* II 1904, 446, no. 13, after Mitford 1980: 1346. However, among the veterans returned to Cyprus, only cohort commanders could be elevated to the *ordo equester*, if this one happened to be a Cypriot. Terence B. Mitford noticed that c. 2,000 natives were removed from the island on foreign military service, with some of them able to return to Cyprus, although the remarkable rarity of military epitaphs in Cyprus suggests the returning soldiers did not include any veterans of these cohorts. Moreover, we have no evidence of a Cypriot, who due to a military career received Roman citizenship and then was incorporated to the *ordo equester*.

³⁴ Nicolaou 1969: 75–77, no. 5; *I.Salamine* XIII 190; Mitford 1980: 1346, no. 283.

³⁵ Even though Cyprus was a Greek-speaking province of the Roman Empire and Greek was the main language of written communication, both in official and private domains, Adam Łajtar drew attention to the language of the texts from the island and demonstrated a long list of inscriptions in Latin which were commissioned by persons who had to be either directly or indirectly involved with the Roman state and Roman institutions (Łajtar 2011: 346–349).

A DONATION OF A SINGLE COLUMN OR ENTIRE COLONNADE?

The nominative case of the inscribed names of Tiberius Claudius Claudianus Heterieianus on the marble column, found reused in the ‘Saranda Kolones’ Castle, indicates that he was a donor of at least one column. It is known that the sponsor’s name written on a column or mosaic might refer to funding of a particular part of the building only.³⁶ However, such inscriptions do not record the name of the edifice which they were forming, which was self-evident when the inscription was *in situ*. Hence, with the original provenance of the column currently unknown, the identity of the building or colonnade Tiberius Claudius Claudianus Heterieianus financed may merely be speculated on. An interesting analogy could be a series of inscriptions from Ephesos engraved on columns contributed by M. Fulvius Publicianus Nicephorus, with an important difference that these texts include a clear indication which of the columns he sponsored.³⁷ In Nea Paphos, at least two other examples of column donations have been recorded, offered by private persons in the Imperial Period: Ἀρίστιον | Ἀριστοκράτους³⁸ (**Fig. 6**) and Ἰουλ(ίου) | Διονυσίανου (**Fig. 7**).³⁹ Similarly to the inscription of Heterieianus, they do not contain any additional information about the object of the donation. Both are also likewise placed symmetrically in the central part of the column, and they have a very characteristic *ypsilon* with a transverse line, albeit the letters of the former are shaped in more decorative manner. The two columns are made of similar yellow-gray marble, most probably Proconnesian,⁴⁰ and are distinctively

³⁶ McLean 2005: 196.

³⁷ *I.Ephesos* VI, 2076: ‘Μ. Ποπλικιανός Νεικήφορος ἀσιάρχης ἐχαρίσατο συνεργασία ἱεροῦ γεύματος διάστυλα δύο’; *I.Ephesos* VI, 2078: ‘(...) ἐχαρίσατο συνεργασία βαλανέων πρεβάτων τῶν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ διάστυλον α’’; *I.Ephesos* VI, 2080: ‘(...) ἐχαρίσατο συνεργασία πλήθους ταυρινάδων διάστυλα δ’ (...)’; *I.Ephesos* VI, 2081: ‘[- -] ταυρινάδων διάστυλα δ’ (...)’; *I.Ephesos* VI, 2082: ‘(...) διάστυλα β’’; according to the editors, the columns belonged to a larger system of halls in which individual intercolumns served as places of trade or guild gatherings.

³⁸ Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1963: 138, n. 8; *SEG* XXIII 650; *I.Paphos* 211, Fig. 216; inv. no. 1468, the Archaeological Museum of the Paphos District. Donation engraved on the height of 0.91m of a yellow-grey marble column, broken at the top (height: 1.96m; diam.: 0.577m; the height of the letters: 0.05m) found at Nea Paphos; previous publications stated that the exact provenance is unknown. However, according to the inventory book of the Museum, it was found in the garden belonging to Mr. Aristodimou; in turn Mr. Neoptolemos Demetriou of the Archaeological Museum of the Paphos District claims that the house of Mr. Aristodimou was in the place of the theatre of Nea Paphos. The inscription is dated to the second century AD.

³⁹ Peristianis 1923: 137; Seyrig 1927: 138, n. 1; *SEG* VI 807; *I.Paphos* 212; inscription engraved on a yellow-grey marble column broken at the top (height: 1.77m; diam.: 0.515m; diam. of the base: c. 0.58m; height of the letters: 0.07m; the inscription engraved at 1.29m from the lower edge), found in Nea Paphos, close to the Panagia Theoskepasti Church. The column is stored in the Archaeological Museum of the Paphos District, but without an inventory number. Two other examples of donations from Nea Paphos engraved on reused columns are dated to a much later period, namely the end of the fifth/sixth century AD: (1) *I.Paphos* 279, the inscription of Eustorgis engraved on a grey granite column shaft found on *Fabrika* in Nea Paphos, contained in a building fitted out in the former enclosure wall of the orchestra of the theatre, initially it was a part of a colonnade running along the street below the theatre (according to Green *et. al.* 2004: 32–35); (2) *I.Paphos* 280, also an inscription of Eustorgis engraved on a marble column shaft found in Agia Kyriaki (Panagia Chrysopolitissa Basilica). The column is assumed to have originally come from the church rather than the theatre.

⁴⁰ According to Candace Richards (personal communication), who is a senior team member of the Paphos Theatre Archaeological Project and is working in her PhD thesis on the prolific reuse of architecture in the area of Nea Paphos from the Hellenistic period to the modern day.



6. Inscription of Aristion, daughter of Aristokrates, engraved on a marble column found in Nea Paphos, inv. no. MII 1468 (Phot. A. Kordas).



7. Inscription of Julius Dionysianus, engraved on a marble column found in Nea Paphos, without inv. no. (Phot. A. Kordas).

different from the marble type of the column of Heteraianus. The diameter of the first one, donated by Aristion, is slightly larger (by 5cm) than the one from ‘Saranda Kolones’, while for the second column, the diameter is quite similar to the column of Heteraianus. Nevertheless, despite slightly different dimensions and marble type, all these columns could have belonged to the same building, especially if they come from the market of reused marble elements.

Unable to give an unequivocal answer as to whether these three columns originate from a single building or not, we cannot state also what was the subject of the donation: Was it just these columns or the entire colonnade? In general, inscriptions on architectural elements found in the district of Paphos are not numerous, and private persons as donors

of buildings are especially rare.⁴¹ In this context, the collection of three columns engraved with a similar type of inscription, can suggest another hypothesis, that in the city there may have existed a practise that individuals financed single columns to public buildings and engraved their names on them. According to Candace Richards,⁴² other columns, or fragments of columns, of the same marble type as the one here discussed have been uncovered at the Hellenistic-Roman theatre site and at the Chrysopolitissa Basilica complex. These columns could have been positioned there, after a major earthquake, which, according to Craig Barker and Geoff Stennet, struck Nea Paphos, including probably the theatre, in the Hadrianic period.⁴³ Moreover, Barker and Stennett stated that columns with Corinthian capitals, made of marble of various provenance were positioned on the stage building. Therefore, after rebuilding, a new version of the theatre stage would have been faced with marble and fronted with marble columns. This act was commemorated in the already mentioned large marble inscription *I.Paphos* 120, dedicated to emperors Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius. Taking into account that the column donated by Aristion, daughter of Aristokrates, was found at the theatre site,⁴⁴ it could be suggested that it was part of a theatre colonnade. Therefore, we cannot rule out that the two remaining columns inscribed with the donator's name (Heteraianus and Julius Dionysianus), found in a secondary context, may originally have belonged to this public construction.

Further research into Tiberius Claudius Claudianus Heteraianus's column should focus on examining the petrographic provenance and dimensions of the discussed columns and compare them with other marble columns found in Nea Paphos. This way, perhaps, it may be possible to determine in which building in Nea Paphos the discussed columns was originally funded.

⁴¹ Only fourteen architectural inscriptions were identified: (1) *I.Paphos* 116, it is undoubtedly related to the construction or restoration of a building by Domitian; (2) *I.Paphos* 118, the inscription is very poorly-preserved and comes from the reign of Domitian; its restitution as a dedication to Aphrodite, proposed by Terence B. Mitford is, however, very doubtful; (3) *I.Paphos* 120, a dedication of the theatre to Zeus Kapitlios and the emperors Antoninus and Marcus Aurelius made by the town of Paphos; (4) *I.Paphos* 121, a dedication of a building made by the town of Paphos for Septimius Severus; (5) *I.Paphos* 125, an inscription related to the construction or restoration made by Caracalla(?); (6) *I.Paphos* 127, a dedication of a sanctuary at Palaipaphos to one or many emperors; (7) *I.Paphos* 128, a dedication of a building to Germanicus or Emperor Probus; (8) *I.Paphos* 131, a fragment of an architectural bilingual palimpsest with the name of an emperor; (9) *I.Paphos* 152, Bassidius Lauricius, Governor of Cyprus, oversaw the restoration of a burnt monument, commissioned by the praetorian prefect of the East, Claudius Musonianus (c. AD 358). However, only five architectural inscriptions were offered by private persons: (10) *I.Paphos* 139, an architectural inscription from Palaipaphos mentioning Proconsul Q. Marcus Hoertensius (AD 26–29); (11) *I.Paphos* 140, an architectural fragment from Palaipaphos probably mentioning Proconsul Q. Marcus Hoertensius (AD 26–29?); (12) *I.Paphos* 153, an architectural fragment from Nea Paphos, with an inscription offered by a person of the cognomen Rufus; two columns from Nea Paphos mentioned above; (13) *I.Paphos* 211, the column of Aristion, daughter of Aristokrates; (14) *I.Paphos* 212, the column of Julius Dionysianus

⁴² Personal communication.

⁴³ Barker, Stennett 2004: 257. See also Green, Barker, Gabrieli 2004: 13.

⁴⁴ See above, footnote 38.

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