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The important geographical position of Cyprus, which constituted a point of transition to the East, the island's presence in various historical developments, and especially its rich mythology, offered ancient Cyprus many opportunities to appear – explicitly or implicitly – in Classical, Postclassical and Modern European literature and art. The studies in this volume move in this direction and attempt to shed light on the presence of Cyprus in the ancient world and on how it was perceived, as well as to consider its contribution to the Roman world and, by extension, to Western European culture.



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3

THE RECEPTION OF ANCIENT CYPRUS

SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS (ED.)



3

Spyridon Tzounakas (ed.)

THE RECEPTION OF ANCIENT CYPRUS IN ROMAN SOURCES AND BEYOND: ELEVEN STUDIES

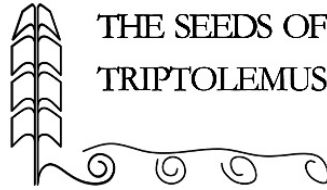


SPYRIDON TZOUNAKAS is Associate Professor of Latin Literature at the University of Cyprus, where he is currently Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Letters. His main research and publications focus on Roman satire (especially Persius), Roman epistolography (especially Pliny the Younger), Roman epic (especially Lucan and Valerius Flaccus), Roman elegy (especially Tibullus), Cicero's orations, and Roman intertextuality. He has published many articles in international refereed journals and collective volumes, has edited a book on praises of Roman leaders, co-edited a book on the reception of ancient Cyprus in the culture of the western world and another one on Cyprus through travel literature (15th - 18th centuries), and completed a book on Persius' *Satires*. He is currently working on a volume on Pliny the Younger's intertextuality and on a research project on Persius' intertextuality.

THE SEEDS OF TRIPTOLEMUS

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3



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IN ROMAN SOURCES AND BEYOND: ELEVEN STUDIES

On the cover: reworking of the mosaic of the House of Dionysus, Paphos
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PREFACE

Spyridon Tzounakas

This volume (*The Reception of Ancient Cyprus in Roman Sources and Beyond: Eleven Studies*) emerged as a result of the papers presented in two Workshops that took place in Nicosia, on 29 May 2021 and 7 July 2021 respectively, within the context of my research programme entitled *The Reception of Ancient Cyprus in the Culture of the Western World* (RACCWW). This work was co-funded by the European Regional Development Fund and the Republic of Cyprus through the Research and Innovation Foundation (Project: EXCELLENCE/1216/0525). The main aim of this research programme is to shed light on the presence of Cyprus in the ancient world and on how it was perceived, as well as to consider its contribution to the Roman world and, by extension, to Western European culture. The important geographical position of the island, which constituted a point of transition to the East, the island's presence in various historical developments, and especially its rich mythology, offered ancient Cyprus many opportunities to appear – explicitly or implicitly – in Classical, Postclassical and Modern European literature and art. The studies in this volume move in this direction and supplement a volume with a similar title that ensued from an international conference held in Nicosia in February 2021: Spyridon Tzounakas, Stella Alekou and Stephen Harrison (eds.), *The Reception of Ancient Cyprus in Western Culture*, Berlin / Boston: De Gruyter 2023 (Trends in Classics 139). For more information on the aims and the main findings of the research programme, see the “Introduction” there (pp. 1-10), as well as the website of the programme (<https://receptionofancientcyprus.com.cy>).

The present volume is divided into three parts. Part 1, entitled “The Roman Conquest of Cyprus and the Exemplarity of the Island”, includes three studies. Spyridon Tzounakas (“The Roman Conquest of Cyprus in the Rhetorical Strategies of Cicero’s *De domo sua* and *Pro Sestio*”) examines the way the Roman conquest of Cyprus is rhetorically exploited by Cicero in his attempt to denigrate Clodius’ image in two speeches. He argues that the case of Ptolemy, king of Cyprus, is harmoniously incorporated in the broader argumentation of the speeches, reinforces the tragic aspects of Clodius’ opponents and works as an *exemplum* that illuminates Clodius’ stance towards Cicero and Sestius. Georgios Vassiliades (“The Roman Conquest of Cyprus in Ancient Sources: A *bellum iustum* or *iniustum*?”) continues the discussion of the Roman conquest of Cyprus. Through the analysis of relevant Latin and Greek sources, his chapter attempts to show how the Roman authors and, probably, the Roman public opinion of the 50s BC morally evaluated the annexation of Cyprus on the basis of the moral and legal category of *bellum iustum*. It is concluded that Roman public opinion, which is reflected in

contemporary and later sources, was divided on the moral evaluation of whether the annexation of Cyprus was a *bellum iustum* or a *bellum iniustum*, by thus adopting the arguments of Clodius or Cicero respectively. Margot Neger (“Cyprus *in exemplis*: Cypriot Episodes as Narrated by Valerius Maximus”) scrutinizes the presence of Cyprus in Valerius Maximus’ narrative techniques. The chapter investigates a series of anecdotes concerning the island of Cyprus in the *Facta et dicta memorabilia* of Valerius Maximus. The single *exempla* are both self-contained narrative units and parts of different thematic sections on various virtues and vices. The chapter argues that the anecdotes on incidents regarding Cyprus can be read not only within their respective section but also as a cycle which reaches from the first to the last book of the collection. It also examines how the island, its inhabitants and visitors are depicted in a literary work composed in the time of the emperor Tiberius.

Part 2, entitled “The Cypriot Myths in Ovid and Beyond”, deals with the Cypriot myths in Orpheus’ song in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* 10 and their reception in later literature and art. In his study “Prostitution in Ancient Cyprus, the Myth of the Propoetides in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* and the Perpetuation of a Stereotype” Spyridon Tzounakas examines various ancient sources (with special emphasis on Latin literature and the myth of the Propoetides in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*) that contributed to the entrenchment of the promiscuous Cypriot women stereotype, which survives for centuries and is especially evident in travel writing from the 15th to the 18th century. Sophia Papaioannou’s study (“Pygmalion’s Inspiration and Pygmalion as Inspiration”) on the one hand discusses the presence of the myth of Pandora in Pygmalion and Ovid’s engagement with one of the most celebrated myths of the Hesiodic corpus, while on the other, it examines the incorporation of the Pygmalion episode in the stories of agalmatophilia featuring famous works of art and creators as well as in the Roman ideology of the *imagines maiorum*. In Stella Alekou’s study (“The Ambiguity of Love and the Ideology of Rape in Ovidian *ekphraseis*: Pygmalion’s Prequel to Arachne’s Story”) the myth of Pygmalion is examined as a prequel to that of Arachne, another famous artist in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*. She reveals the ambiguous representation of love in these episodes, when Ovid exposes rape while apparently praising love, and argues that Ovid employs optical illusions to shed light on the image of love which in art appears as distorted, to address the politics of rape. The next study of this Part (“From the Humble Workshop in Cyprus to the Victorian Stage: Ovidian Pygmalion’s Reception in W. S. Gilbert’s Mythological Comedy *Pygmalion and Galatea*”) also deals with Ovid’s Pygmalion. Here Stamatia Kitsou demonstrates that W. S. Gilbert exploited the main outline of the Ovidian myth and proceeded to a generic transformation composing the first mythological comedy with Galatea, the statue’s name after Rousseau, as a

protagonist. As Galatea's inanimation and interaction with the other characters of the play is problematic and a series of misunderstandings arises from her lack of social education, Gilbert proves himself to be prolific in social criticism and masterful, almost latent, considerations regarding the gender-based roles and their social construction. In her second contribution to this volume ("The Ovidian and Alfierian Myrrha as an Odalisque in Lord Byron's *Sardanapalus*: Transformations and a Play of Identities"), Stamatia Kitsou investigates the presence of the Ovidian myth of Cinyras and Myrrha in Lord Byron's tragedy *Sardanapalus*. She argues that for the formation of Myrrha's dramatic persona, Byron takes into account the Ovidian Myrrha (*met.* 10.298-502) and mainly the protagonist of the pre-Romantic tragedy of Vittorio Alfieri, *Mirra*; thus, he creates a play of mutual transformations and conflicting identities, while maintaining the core of his classical models.

Part 3, entitled "Numismatic and Archaeological Evidence", includes three studies. In the first of them, Daniele Castrizio ("A Coin Series with Capricorn and Scorpion from Cyprus") deals, from an iconographic point of view, with an emission of bronze coins generally attributed to the island of Cyprus, and provides elements for a more precise dating of the coin series. Based on the writings of Manilius, this paper provides an interpretation of the importance of the zodiacal signs on ancient coins, and discusses the relationship between the zodiacal sign of Capricorn and the imperial propaganda at the time of Augustus. Next, Antonio Corso ("Pliny, *nat.* 34.81: The Bronze Sculptor Styppax of Cyprus and the *Splanchnoptes*") studies Pliny's inclusion of Styppax and of his bronze statue of the *Splanchnoptes* in his selective catalogue of the most important bronze statues and connects it to the political environment of the Flavian dynasty. Finally, Alessandra Bravi's article ("An Excellent Foreigner: Titus at the Sanctuary of the Paphian Aphrodite") sheds new light on the visit paid by Titus to the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos. Based on the archaeological data, she reconstructs the site as it looked at the time of the visit of Titus, and suggests a link between the sanctuary at Paphos and the *Templum Pacis*, inaugurated by the Flavians, where Venus has her own space. She concludes that the great eastern goddess Aphrodite/Isis/Astarte was the primary legitimacy of the *imperium* of the Flavians, since her oracle was needed to a plebeian family which could not claim mythical ancestors.

I would like to express my sincere thanks and gratitude to the Research and Innovation Foundation of Cyprus, which generously supported our research project, to the Department of Classics and Philosophy of the University of Cyprus, which immediately embraced our workshops, to my dear colleagues and collaborators Dr. Stella Alekou, Dr. Despina Keramida and Dr. Stamatia Kitsou for their valuable involvement in the preparation of these events, and, of course, to all the speakers and the participants in these two

workshops, who contributed to their success. Special thanks go to Stefano Rocchi, the Director of the series *The Seeds of Triptolemus*, who supported the preparation of the manuscript with his help and advice, as well as to our publisher, Dr. Zaira Maranelli, and to Dr. Marco Filippi, at Deinotera Editrice, for their assistance and patience. I also thank the anonymous readers for their invaluable comments and suggestions which helped to improve the quality of the volume.

Nicosia, July 2022

PART 2
THE CYPRIOT MYTHS IN OVID AND BEYOND

PROSTITUTION IN ANCIENT CYPRUS, THE MYTH OF THE
PROPOETIDES IN OVID'S *METAMORPHOSES*
AND THE PERPETUATION OF A STEREOTYPE*

Spyridon Tzounakas
University of Cyprus

When a few years ago, while collaborating with the “ZEFYROS: Travel Texts on Cyprus (15th-18th c.)” research programme supervised by Professor Julia Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister, I was gathering all the Cyprus-related information found in either travel writing or essays written in Latin, one of the subjects that made an impression on me was the marked incidence of references to the promiscuity of the women of Cyprus in these later texts.¹ As these references were often accompanied by citations of ancient sources, I began to suspect that the travellers were not giving an account of their own personal experiences of what they had actually witnessed on the island, but were most likely repeating an ancient, entrenched belief, thus perpetuating a stereotype. As is known, such a practice is not rare in travel writing, a genre whose reliability is not always incontestable.² In the particular genre, it is often the case that an author will repeat information found in the writings of earlier travellers,³ or will promote their own knowledge of ancient works by presenting information that is consistent with that found in classical texts, or, even, will embellish their narrative with alluring descriptions; there are even those cases where the writers themselves never did travel to the places they are describing (known as ‘armchair travellers’). In my opinion, the subject of the promiscuity of the women of Cyprus found in travel writing from the 15th to 18th century should be viewed within this context and in conjunction with the authors’ communicative aims, and this is the topic I shall be exploring at length in the rest of this article. More specifically, I shall be examining certain ancient sources that mention prostitution in Cyprus, I shall focus on how this idea became established in Latin literature and I shall argue that historical

* This work was co-funded by the European Regional Development Fund and the Republic of Cyprus through the Research and Innovation Foundation (Project: EXCELLENCE/1216/0525). I am grateful to Prof. Julia Chatzipanagioti-Sangmeister for her valuable comments and suggestions on a previous version of this article.

¹ There is a fascinating parallel concerning the Sámi people of Norway in the eighteenth-century French literature; see WÄHLBERG 2009. I am indebted to Prof. Thea Selliaas Thorsen for this observation.

² Generally, for stereotypes and prejudices in the travel literature, see e.g. CHATZIPANAGIOTI-SANGMEISTER 2002.

³ On intertextuality and ‘second journeys’ in travel literature, see recently LINDGREN LEAVENWORTH 2020.

facts aside, it was the existence of such Latin accounts that primarily contributed to the entrenchment of the promiscuous Cypriot woman stereotype. Special emphasis shall be given to the account of Justin and to the myth of the Pro-poetides, as this is described in the 10th book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and I shall attempt to demonstrate that despite its short length, this myth greatly influenced later writings which explored the loss of modesty (*pudor*), especially that of a heroine, while at the same time contributing to the entrenchment of the stereotype in question. Finally, we shall see how the particular stereotype was exploited in various ways by travel writers within the context of their respective aims.

Situated where three continents converge, and being a frequent stop-over point for ships sailing in the area, it stands to reason that Cyprus, especially its ports, such as Paphos, would offer a variety of services to the sailors arriving there. Indeed, even the mere fact that Cyprus was an island would have contributed to the entrenchment of the idea of Cypriot women as promiscuous, as the stereotype of sexual dissoluteness is loosely connected to islands in the collective imagination.⁴ Furthermore, the worship of Aphrodite/Venus on the island believed to have been the birthplace of the goddess of love offered additional reasons for its association with prostitution, regardless of whether or not one accepts the existence of so-called 'sacred prostitution', a matter still troubling scholars.⁵ Herodotus' account that in some parts of Cyprus people upheld the Babylonian custom according to which every local woman must, at least once in her life, stay in the temple of Aphrodite and have sexual intercourse with a stranger (Hdt. 1.199.1 and 1.199.5),⁶ is one of the earliest accounts of prostitution on the island, although

⁴ An archetypal part regarding the representation of islands in European letters was played by the islands of the Sirens, Circe and Calypso; see DAEMMRICH / DAEMMRICH ²1995, 202; CHATZIPANAGIOTI-SANGMEISTER 2002, 267; FRENZEL ⁶2008, 383. There are accounts that claim there was evidence of prostitution in the marginalized sections of the islands' communities – on the smaller islands such cases were definitely the exception, not the rule as travellers present it; see CHATZIPANAGIOTI-SANGMEISTER 2002, 272, who concludes in her study that the stereotype of female prostitution mainly concerns the women of Kimolos and Melos (CHATZIPANAGIOTI-SANGMEISTER 2002, 266-270).

⁵ On this matter, see e.g. BUDIN 2008. For the relevant bibliography, see also, more recently, CAIRNS 2016, 120 and GIBSON 2019. For the cult of Aphrodite in ancient Greece, PIRENNE-DELFORGE 1994 remains a fundamental work of reference. For a discussion of the goddess's presence in ancient Greek literature, see also, among others, KARAGEORGHIS 2005; PIRONTI 2007. For a holistic investigation of the image of Aphrodite/Venus through time, see recently HUGHES 2020; GIANOTTI 2023b, esp. 9-29.

⁶ On this passage, see e.g. ASHERI / LLOYD / CORCELLA 2007, 211. On the multicultural influence on Cyprus, see recently the collection of essays in GIANOTTI 2023a.

it is a statement presumably based less on historical fact and more on the popular fantasies:⁷

Ὁ δὲ δὴ αἰσχιστος τῶν νόμων ἐστὶ τοῖσι Βαβυλωνίοισι ὅδε· δεῖ πᾶσαν γυναῖκα ἐπιχωρίην ἰζομένην ἐς ἱρὸν Ἀφροδίτης ἅπαξ ἐν τῇ ζῳῇ μιχθῆναι ἀνδρὶ ξείνῳ. [...] ἐνιαχῆ δὲ καὶ τῆς Κύπρου ἐστὶ παραπλήσιος τούτῳ νόμος.

The foulest Babylonian custom is that which compels every woman of the land once in her life to sit in the temple of Aphrodite and have intercourse with some stranger. [...] There is a custom like to this in some parts of Cyprus.⁸

In an attempt to undermine the old religion, Christian writers, of both Greek and Latin literature, highlighted its connection with immoral practices and, in this context, the worship of Aphrodite/Venus on Cyprus was frequently criticized for its association with prostitution. Characteristic examples are the cases of Clement of Alexandria, a theologian and philosopher who lived at the end of the 2nd and the beginning of the 3rd centuries AD, who, in his *The Exhortation to the Greeks* 2.13.4 and 2.14.1-2, describes widespread prostitution occurring during the worship of Aphrodite in Paphos:

οὐ γὰρ με ὁ Κύπριος ὁ νησιώτης Κινύρας παραπείσαι ποτ' ἄν, τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην μαχλῶντα ὄργια ἐκ νυκτὸς ἡμέρα παραδοῦναι τολμήσας, φιλοτιμούμενος θειάσαι πόρνην πολιτίδα.

...

Ἦδη δέ, καὶ γὰρ καιρός, αὐτὰ ὑμῶν τὰ ὄργια ἐξελέγξω ἀπάτης καὶ τερατείας ἔμπλεα. καὶ εἰ μεμύησθε, ἐπιγελάσεσθε μᾶλλον τοῖς μύθοις ὑμῶν τούτοις τοῖς τιμωμένοις. ἀγορεύσω δὲ ἀναφανδὸν τὰ κεκρυμμένα, οὐκ αἰδούμενος λέγειν ἢ προσκυνεῖν οὐκ αἰσχύνεσθε. ἢ μὲν οὖν “ἀφρογενής” τε καὶ “κυπρογενής,” ἢ Κινύρα φίλη (τὴν Ἀφροδίτην λέγω, τὴν “φιλομηδέα, ὅτι μηδέων ἐξεφαάνθη,” μηδέων ἐκείνων τῶν ἀποκεκομμένων Οὐρανοῦ, τῶν λάγων, τῶν μετὰ τὴν τομὴν τὸ κῦμα βεβιασμένων), ὡς ἀσελγῶν ὑμῖν μορίων ἄξιος [Ἀφροδίτη] γίνεται καρπός, ἐν ταῖς τελεταῖς ταύτης τῆς πελαγίας ἡδονῆς τεκμήριον τῆς γονῆς

⁷ See CAIRNS 2016, 120-121.

⁸ The Greek text of Herodotus' *Histories* and its English translation are from GODLEY 2019, 250-253.

ἀλῶν χόνδρος καὶ φαλλὸς τοῖς
μουμένοις τὴν τέχνην τὴν μοιχικὴν
ἐπιδίδοται νόμισμα δὲ εἰσφέρουσιν
αὐτῇ οἱ μούμενοι, ὡς ἑταίρα ἔρασταί.

For I could never be beguiled by the claims of the islander Cinyras, of Cyprus, who had the audacity to transfer the lascivious orgies of Aphrodite from night to day, in his ambition to deify a harlot of his own country.

...

But now, (and high time too,) I will convict your orgies themselves of being full of deception and jugglery, and if you have been initiated you will smile the more at these legends you are wont to honour. I will tell openly the secret things, and will not shrink from speaking of what you are not ashamed to worship. There is, then, the “foam-born” “Cyprus-born” goddess, the darling of Cinyras. I mean Aphrodite, who received the name Philomēdes because she was born from the *mēdea*, those lustful members that were cut off from Uranus and after the separation did violence to the wave. See how lewd are the members from which so worthy an offspring is born! And in the rites which celebrate this pleasure of the sea, as a symbol of her birth, the gift of a cake of salt and a phallos is made to those who are initiated in the art of fornication; and the initiated bring their tribute of a coin to the goddess, as lovers do to a mistress.⁹

of Arnobius, a Christian apologist who lived at the end of the 3rd and the beginning of the 4th centuries AD, who in his *Adversus nationes* 5.19.2 essentially repeats Clement’s remarks:

Nec non et Cypriae Veneris abstrusa illa initia praeterimus, quorum conditor indicatur Cinyras rex fuisse, in quibus sumentes ea certas stipes inferunt ut meretrici et referunt phallos propitii numinis signa donatos.

Those hidden mysteries of Cyprian Venus we pass by also, whose founder is said to have been King Cinyras, in which

⁹ The Greek text of Clement’s *The Exhortation to the Greeks* and its English translation are from BUTTERWORTH 1919, 32-33.

being initiated, they bring stated fees as to a harlot, and carry away phalli, given as signs of the propitious deity.¹⁰

and of Firmicus Maternus, a Christian apologist of the 4th century AD, who, in his *De errore profanarum religionum* 10.1, states that Cinyras had a mistress called Venus, to whom he gifted a temple and whom he worshipped as a goddess, thus initiating many into prostitution:

Audio Cinyram Cyprium templum amicae meretrici donasse – ei erat Venus nomen –, initiasse etiam Cypriae Veneri plurimos et vanis consecrationibus deputasse, statuisset etiam ut quicumque initiari vellet secreto Veneris sibi tradito assem unum mercedis nomine deae daret. Quod secretum quale sit omnes taciti intellegere debemus, quia hoc ipsum propter turpitudinem manifestius explicare non possumus. Bene amator Cinyras meretriciis legibus servit; consecratae Veneri a sacerdotibus suis stipem dari iussit ut scorto.

I hear that Cinyras of Cyprus gave a temple to his harlot friend named Venus, and even initiated many in the rites of the Cyprian Venus, and devoted them to her by senseless consecrations – yes, even stipulated that whoever wanted to be initiated, with Venus' secret confided to him, should give the goddess one penny as pay. What sort of secret it was we all must understand without telling, because its shameful character is such that we cannot explain it in clearer detail. The lover Cinyras observed well the laws of whoredom: he bade the priests of the consecrated Venus give her a piece of money, as if to a whore.¹¹

However, despite the possible seeds of historical truth, and despite all that is written in the polemics of Christian writers against the worship of Aphrodite/Venus, the literary imagination also played a significant part in highlighting the subject of prostitution in Cyprus and perpetuating the particular belief. In this instance, Latin literature played a very important part. One of the older such examples is the following passage from Ennius'

¹⁰ The Latin text of Arnobius' *Adversus nationes* is from MARCHESI ²1953; the English translation of this text is from BRYCE / CAMPBELL 1871, 242.

¹¹ The Latin text of Firmicus Maternus' *De errore profanarum religionum* is from TURCAN 1982, 100; its English translation is from FORBES 1970, 65-66.

Euhemerus sive sacra historia,¹² as it is transmitted by Lactantius (*Euhemerus* 10 Goldberg and Manuwald = Lact. *inst.* 1.17.10), where Venus is portrayed according to the motif of *πρώτος εὐρετής* (“first inventor”) with regards to the subject of *ars meretricia*, and the impression is given that in Cyprus prostitution was widespread:

prima,
ut in *Historia Sacra* continetur,
artem meretriciam instituit auctorque mulieribus in Cypro
fuit, uti vulg<at>o corpore quaestum facerent: quod
idcirco imperavit, ne sola praeter alias mulieres inpudica et
virorum adpetens videretur.

the first,
as it is said in the *Sacred History*,
to introduce the profession of prostitution, and she was its
instigator for women in Cyprus, that they made profit from
prostituting their bodies: she ordered this so that she did
not appear to be the only one, surpassing other women, to
be unchaste and solicitous of men.

When Terence, in his comedy *Adelphoe* 228-231, refers to an incident involving human trafficking, he places the event in Cyprus, most likely because the island of Venus perfectly fits to the idea of a *mercatus meretricius*:¹³

SAN. o scelera! illud vide
ut in ipso articulo oppressit. emptae mulieres
complures et item hinc alia quae porto Cyprum.
nisi eo ad mercatum venio, damnum maxumumst.

SAN. (*to himself*) It's criminal! Look at that! Caught on my
weak spot! I've bought several women and some other

¹² On this work, where Ennius draws material from the work of the Greek philosopher Euhemerus of Messene, see PANAYOTAKIS 2023, 17-18. The Latin text of Ennius' *Euhemerus* and its English translation are from GOLDBERG / MANUWALD 2018, 256-257.

¹³ See e.g. MARTIN 1976, 140: “Cyprus, the island of Venus, would have a lively *mercatus meretricius*, cf. *Poen.* 339-40”; ΠΑΝΑΓΙΩΤΑΚΗΣ 1996, 167 n. 21; PANAYOTAKIS 2023, 24-27, who is sceptical about the historical accuracy of Terence's evidence and notes (27): “in the case of Cyprus, at least as far as we know about it from the extant works of the Roman comic stage, the notions of geographical place and literary commonplace merge and create a location which is adjusted to the needs of the theatrical genre and should not necessarily be taken as historically accurate”. The Latin text of Terence's *Adelphoe* and its English translation are from BARSBY 2001, 276-277.

goods here which I'm taking to Cyprus. If I don't get there in time for the market, it's a considerable loss.

However, in the same passage, Sannio's eagerness to get to the island and the festival in time so as to avoid suffering significant financial losses indicates that even if there indeed was widespread prostitution, it was limited to the time of the festival and was not a common occurrence irrespective of the time.

Another relevant account that appears to have influenced later writers significantly is that in the epitome of Pompeius Trogus' (1st century BC) *Historiae Philippicae* by Justin (probably 2nd or 3rd century AD), where it is mentioned that according to a custom prevalent on Cyprus, unwed girls would prostitute themselves on specific days on the beach in order to collect money for their dowry (Iust. 18.5):

Primus illis adpulsus terrae Cyprus insula fuit, ubi sacerdos Iovis cum coniuge et liberis deorum monitu comitem se Elissae sociumque praebuit pactus sibi posterisque perpetuum honorem sacerdotii. Conditio pro manifesto omine accepta. Mos erat Cypriis virgines ante nuptias statutis diebus dotalem pecuniam quaesituras in quaestum ad litus maris mittere, pro reliqua pudicitia libamenta Veneri soluturas. Harum igitur ex numero LXXX admodum virgines raptas navibus inponi Elissa iubet, ut et iuventus matrimonia et urbs subolem habere posset.

Their first landing place was the isle of Cyprus, where the priest of Jupiter, with his wife and children, offered himself to Elissa, at the instigation of the gods, as her companion and the sharer of her fortunes, stipulating for the perpetual honour of the priesthood for himself and his descendants. The stipulation was received as a manifest omen of good fortune. It was a custom among the Cyprians to send their daughters, on stated days before their marriage, to the seashore, to prostitute themselves, and thus procure money for their marriage portions, and to pay, at the same time, offerings to Venus for the preservation of their chastity in time to come. Of these Elissa ordered about eighty to be

seized and taken on board, that her men might have wives,
and her city a population.¹⁴

This information originates in the distant, mythical past, when Elissa/Dido, the queen of Tyre, persecuted by her brother, initially fled to Cyprus. Similar information is found in Clearchus of Soli, as delivered by Athenaeus (12.516a-b), where we read that Cypriots prostituted their daughters:

οὐ μόνον δὲ Λυδῶν γυναῖκες ἄφεται οὔσαι τοῖς ἐντυχοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ Λοκρῶν τῶν Ἐπιζεφυρίων, ἔτι δὲ τῶν περὶ Κύπρον καὶ
πάντων ἀπλῶς τῶν ἑταιρισμῶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν κόρας ἀφοσιούντων,
παλαιᾶς τινος ὕβρεως ἔοικεν εἶναι πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὑπόμνημα καὶ
τιμωρίας.

It was not just Lydian women who were allowed to have sex with anyone who came along, but also the women in Epizephyrian Locris, as well as in Cyprus and, simply put, in all the places where they dedicate their daughters to serve as prostitutes, which seems to be, in fact, a form of remembrance and recompense for some ancient act of violence.¹⁵

The matter of the prostitution of young girls on the beach of Paphos seems to be alluded to in the later Claudian (*In Entropium* 2.praef.63-66), where the girls of Paphos are shown to be waiting for the arrival of the ship, while it is also mentioned that Cyprus is not a place where purity and modesty (*pudicitia*) are foremost:

insula laeta choris, blandorum mater Amorum:
nulla pudicitiae cura placere potest.
prospectant Paphiae celsa de rupe puellae
sollicitae, salvam dum ferat unda ratem.

Dancing fills the island of Cyprus, home of the happy
loves; there purity commands no respect. Paphian maidens

¹⁴ The Latin text of Justin's *Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum* is from SEEL 1985, 160; the English translation is from WATSON 1853, 158.

¹⁵ The Greek text of Athenaeus' *Deipnosophistae* and its English translation are from OLSON 2010, 30-31, slightly revised.

gaze forth from the high cliffs, anxious till the wave has
brought thy bark safe to land.¹⁶

Claudian's propensity for *doctrina*¹⁷ and for numerous allusions to a host of earlier literary texts leads me to believe that in this instance he is following a literary *topos* rather than reflecting the historical reality of his day (end of 4th century AD).

Consequently, we do not have to consider such accounts to be completely reliable, especially in the historical times, and they could even be attributed to the obvious opportunities offered by a place so closely associated with the goddess of love for anecdotal-type accounts. In this case, such accounts were convenient outlets for the literary imagination of those wanting to pique the interest of a readership fond of scandalous topics, exploiting stereotypical connections or reworking earlier texts.

A similar mythical story that I shall be examining later in this article is that of the myth of the Propoetides, as it is presented in the 10th book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Ov. *met.* 10.220-223; 238-246),¹⁸ where it is one of the Cypriot stories Orpheus recounts in his song:

At si forte roges fecundam Amathunta metallis, 220
an genuisse velit Propoetidas, abnuat aequè
atque illos, gemino quondam quibus aspera cornu
frons erat, unde etiam nomen traxere Cerastae.

...

Sunt tamen obscenae Venerem Propoetides ausae
esse negare deam; pro quo sua numinis ira
corpora cum fama primae vulgasse feruntur, 240
utque pudor cessit, sanguisque induruit oris,
in rigidum parvo silicem discrimine versae.

Quas quia Pygmalion aevum per crimen agentis
viderat, offensus vitiiis, quae plurima menti
femineae natura dedit, sine coniuge caelebs 245
vivebat thalamique diu consorte carebat.

But if you should chance to ask Amathus, rich in veins of
ore, if she is proud of her Propoetides, she would repudiate
both them and those whose foreheads once were deformed
by two horns, whence also they took their name, Cerastae.

¹⁶ The Latin text of Claudian's *In Eutropium* and its English translation are from PLATNAUER 1922, 182-183.

¹⁷ Generally, for Claudian as a *poeta doctus*, see e.g. CAMERON 1970, 305-348.

¹⁸ For this myth, see BÖMER 1980, 88-89.

...

But the foul Propoetides dared to deny the divinity of Venus. In consequence of this, through the wrath of the goddess they are said to have been the first to prostitute their bodies and their fame; and as their shame vanished and the blood of their faces hardened, they were turned with but small change to hard stones.

Pygmalion had seen these women spending their lives in shame, and, disgusted with the faults which in such full measure nature had given the female mind, he lived unmarried and long was without a partner of his couch.¹⁹

The fact that the story of the Propoetides is told by Orpheus, who has rejected *femineam Venerem* (Ov. *met.* 10.80), is a good reason to regard it as misogynistic²⁰ and hence manipulative. This myth does not occur in another surviving source, although line 10.240: *corpora cum fama primae vulgasse feruntur*, with its inclusion of the term *feruntur*, implies that there is an intertextual dialogue with an earlier text and has characteristics that are in keeping with an Alexandrian footnote. Still, a similar story is found in (pseudo-)Apollodorus' *Library* (3.14.3), where it is mentioned that the daughters of Cinyras had sexual intercourse with men as a result of Venus' rage:

αὐται δὲ διὰ μῆνιν Ἀφροδίτης ἀλλοτρίοις ἀνδράσι
συνευναζόμεναι τὸν βίον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μετήλλαξαν.

These by reason of the wrath of Aphrodite cohabited with foreigners, and ended their life in Egypt.²¹

A close reading of the Ovidian passage leads us to conclude that the matter of prostitution is one that concerns only the Propoetides, and not Cypriot women in general, as we have seen in earlier cases. Furthermore, Amathus' regret at having borne the Propoetides shows that these women had been morally condemned by their town, letting it be implied that their case was unique and not the general rule and that their behaviour was not condoned by the rest of the people. They did not prostitute themselves as a result of their own choice, but as a result of Venus' punishment, who was

¹⁹ The Latin text of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and its English translation are from MILLER / GOOLD 1984, 80-81.

²⁰ For Orpheus' misogyny, see THORSEN 2023.

²¹ The Greek text of (pseudo-)Apollodorus' *Library* and its English translation are from FRAZER 1921, 84-85.

enraged that they dared reject her divinity, exhibiting *audacia* that deserved her condemnation.

The extent of their sexual promiscuity and the fact that they were the first (*primae*)²² to prostitute themselves, make the Propoetides an archetype of such behaviour and, consequently, a fitting model for later writers who wanted to write about women who had departed from the modest behaviour society expected. Within this context, the loss of *pudor* in the case of the Propoetides (*pudor cessit*) seems to have been exploited by later Latin poets, who, by alluding to the particular Ovidian phrase,²³ attempted to give their heroines a touch of *obscenitas*. More specifically, we find the phrase to be echoed frequently in Seneca's tragedies, as e.g. in *Oedipus*, when the Chorus mentions Jocasta who committed the *obscenitas* of incest (Sen. *Oed.* 1008-1009):²⁴

iam malis cessit pudor,
sed haeret ore prima vox.

Now her distress overcomes her shame, but still the first
words stick in her mouth.

in *Phaedra*, when the heroine is desperately trying to contain her passion for her husband's son Hippolytus, and states (Sen. *Phaedr.* 250):

Non omnis animo cessit ingenuo pudor.

My spirit has not lost all sense of shame and honour.

or in *Medea*, when the betrayed wife reminds Jason that for his sake she lost everything – country, father, brother, modesty²⁵ (Sen. *Med.* 488):

tibi patria cessit, tibi pater frater pudor.

²² For the *topos* of *πρῶτος εὐρετής* here, see BÖMER 1980, 88.

²³ Before Ovid, the same phrase also occurs in Lucil. 1049 M. = 1046 W.: *quandoque pudor ex pectore cessit*, “and since shame has yielded place and gone from their hearts”. The English translation is from WARMINGTON ²1967, 341.

²⁴ On this passage, see, for instance, BOYLE 2011, 345, who also notes: “The minds of Senecan tragic figures are on occasion depicted as battlegrounds between *pudor* and another emotion (*amor*, *Pha.* 250-2; *furor*, *HF* 1240-1; *metus*, *Ag.* 288)”.

²⁵ For Medea's *pudor* here as part of her ‘dowry’ to Jason that needs to be returned, see BOYLE 2014, 255-256.

My fatherland fell to you, my father, my brother, my modesty.²⁶

Valerius Flaccus presents his own Medea in a similar fashion in his *Argonautica*, also choosing the phrase *cessit ... pudor* to connect the princess of Colchis with the Propoetides (Val. Fl. 7.461-466):²⁷

Inde ubi facta nocens et non revocabilis umquam
c e s s i t a b o r e p u d o r p r o p i o r q u e i m p l e v i t
Erinys,
carmina nunc totos volvit figitque per artus
Aesonidae et totum septeno murmure fertur
per clipeum atque viro graviorem reddidit hastam, 465
iamque sui tauris languent absentibus ignes.

Next, now that she has become guilty, and shame, never to be recalled, has withdrawn from her face and Erinys has come closer and taken full possession, now she recites her incantations and implants them through all the limbs of Aeson's son and proceeds over the whole shield with sevenfold murmur and renders the hero's spear more dangerous, and, even though the bulls are far away, their fires grow weak.²⁸

As is well known, the concept of *pudor* enjoys a central place in the portrayal of Medea in the particular work.²⁹ Here *amor*, despite its support by divine powers such as Juno and Venus, has to try very hard to overpower the heroine's *pietas*, as, thanks to her characteristic *pudor*, she resists with all her might before finally submitting.³⁰ As soon as her *pudor* weakens, however,

²⁶ The Latin text of Seneca's *Oedipus* and its English translation are from FITCH 2018b, 106-107. The Latin texts of Seneca's *Phaedra* and *Medea* and their English translations are from FITCH 2018a, 438-439 and 358-359 respectively.

²⁷ See DAVIS 2020, 216, who notes the link with Ovid's Propoetides and Seneca's Medea through the phrase *cessit ... pudor*. Of course, the influence of Apollonius Rhodius 3.1068: δὴ γὰρ οἱ ἅπ' ὀφθαλμοῦς λιπεν αἰδώς, "for indeed shame had left her eyes" (the Greek text of Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica* and its English translation are from RACE 2008, 300-301) should not be ignored; cf. SPALTENSTEIN 2005, 329; DAVIS 2020, 216.

²⁸ The Latin text of Valerius Flaccus' *Argonautica* and its English translation are from DAVIS 2020, 68-69.

²⁹ Cf., for instance, HULL 1975, esp. 7-11; TALIERCIO 1992, 123; HERSHKOWITZ 1998, 100 with n. 248; AGRI 2014, esp. 726-736; DAVIS 2020, 183. For the depiction of Medea in Valerius' epic, see MANUWALD 2014, 58-61, who discusses the relevant bibliography from 1980 to 2013. See also, more recently, among others, DAVIS 2014; STOCKS 2016; BATTISTELLA / GALLI MILIĆ 2020.

³⁰ Cf. e.g. TALIERCIO 1992, 138-139; CORRIGAN 2013, 235-236; DAVIS 2020, 214.

Medea is transformed from an innocent *virgo* into a figure of powerful magical powers, a veritable *virago*, a figure who can destroy anything and anyone that stands in the way or turns against her.³¹ Her loss of *pudor* and her submission to her erotic passion led the poet to refer to her as guilty (*nocens*), a guilt that seems to increase as a result of her indirect association with the Propoetides. It is worth noting that the very use of legal terminology further contributes to this effect, reinforcing the connection between the Valerian Medea and the Ovidian Propoetides even more (cf. Ov. *met.* 10.243-244: *Quas quia Pygmalion aevum per crimen agentis / viderat* and Val. Fl. 7.461: *Inde ubi facta nocens*).

Such accounts of women's sexuality in ancient Cyprus, whether they had some historical basis or were simply the product of literary imagination, survived for centuries and contributed to the creation of a social stereotype. Europe's fascination with the study of classical texts, especially from the early Renaissance onwards, further perpetuated the stereotype,³² a stereotype which even found its way into numerous travel texts (especially in the 14th to 17th centuries), which presented the Cyprus of the day according to entrenched, common *topoi* and not necessarily according to what the travellers had actually witnessed. Thus, within the context of the common *topos* of the *luxuria* of the island,³³ there are references to its inhabitants' *libido* and to its women's sexual promiscuity, to the extent that some, such as Marco Rustici, believed the island to be dedicated to Aphrodite more so than to the Virgin Mary,³⁴ while during the 16th century a priest from Vicenza, Francesco Grassetto da Lonigo, wrote in his journal that the island was rich in three things: horses, dust and prostitutes ("in questa insula queste cose abbondano: cavalli portanti, polvere e putane").³⁵ Without doubt, the intention behind some of these statements should be attributed to particular expediencies, and, more often than not, ones of a religious nature, as there was marked tension between the Catholic

³¹ Cf. e.g. CORRIGAN 2013, 191-260.

³² For example, Petrarch, who never travelled to Cyprus, in his *Itinerarium ad sepulcrum Domini nostri Iesu Christi* 52, written in 1358, reproaches the island and its inhabitants, and attributes to them, *inter alia*, laziness (*inertia*), devotion to Venus, softness (*mollitia*), lust (*voluptas*) and sexual desire (*libido*): *Ante Ciliciae frontem Cyprus est, terra nulla re alia quam inertia ac deliciis nota, quam merito Veneri sacram dixere et nunc quoque Veneri magis quam Marti seu Palladi sacra est. Raro ibi seu nunquam vir aliquis clarus fuit, neque enim in molli agro voluptatis virtutum rigida semina coalescunt. Libidinem incolarum terrae coelique fervor indicat. Cum enim regiones tractu maximo soli viciniore gratia temperie perfruantur, haec prope contra naturam intolerandis ardoribus aestuat, quasi hominum complexio ad elementa transierit. Noli ibi multum immorari. Non est enim militaris certe neque virilis habitatio. Fastus Gallicus, Syra mollities, Graecae blanditiae ac fraudes unam in insulam convenere. Quod optimum atque pretiosissimum habent: illic dissimillimis moribus aliunde veniens, iacet Hilarion.* On this passage, see DORNINGER 2011.

³³ On this *topos*, see CALVELLI 2009, 264-275; DORNINGER 2011, 69-73.

³⁴ See BALARD 2007, 218.

³⁵ See CALVELLI 2009, 91; MALTEZOU 2023, 61-62.

and Orthodox Christian communities following the Schism of the two Churches. As has already been noted, in the texts of Western writers of the period, stereotypes concerning Greeks constitute a system of interconnected, negative stereotypes which ascribe a host of negative qualities to the Greeks.³⁶ These stereotypes stem from the experience of the Schism and are rationalized by means of Christian beliefs with regard to sin.³⁷ A perceived moral licentiousness as a manifestation of lust is presented as one of the sins of which the Greeks are guilty, as God deprived them of his grace punishing them for the Schism.³⁸ Within this broader context of Western condemnation of the Greeks for their supposed licentiousness, the case of Cyprus provided an additional reason with its association with Aphrodite/Venus and, more generally, with the *lascivia* mentioned in ancient sources, all of which reinforced the reliability of accounts regarding the lustfulness of the island's women.

An interesting case regarding the influence of classical texts on the narratives of later writers is that of Ioannes Cotovicus, the Latinized name of Johann van Kootwyck, Professor of Law at Utrecht University, who visited the Holy Lands at the end of the 16th century (1598-1599) and twenty years later (1619), in Antwerp, published an account of his experiences in a five-volume work entitled *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum*.³⁹ Cotovicus offers a variety of information about Cyprus, praising, as a rule, the Greek population of the island, but when his narrative talks about Cypriot women, he refers to them as *lascivae*, drawing a connection between them and antiquity and referring to the information provided by Justin with regards to their pre-marital prostitution (1.16, COTOVICUS 1619, 109):

Foeminae pleraeque lascivae, et a veteribus haudquaquam degeneres, quae (ut Iustinus refert) priusquam nuptui traderentur, exteris nautis se prostituebant: ut non abs re Veneri sacratam Cyprum a Veteribus proditum sit; vel eo

³⁶ It is worth noting, however, that in the second half of the 18th century, the view foreign travellers had of the Greeks was determined by the climatic theory of Montesquieu, by Rousseau's critique of European culture and by the idealization of Greek antiquity by Winckelmann. Within this context, the stereotypes regarding the Greeks become positive. Greek women, especially, are presented – in their role as mothers – as guardians of the national character to possess imagination, intelligence, good taste and to be dynamic and sensitive. Within this new system of stereotypes, there is no longer much room for the old stereotype of prostitution, so it declines. See CHATZIPANAGIOTI-SANGMEISTER 2002, 290-322 and 373-378.

³⁷ See CHATZIPANAGIOTI-SANGMEISTER 2002, 209-218.

³⁸ See CHATZIPANAGIOTI-SANGMEISTER 2002, 265-266.

³⁹ COTOVICUS 1619. For the author and his work, see COBHAM 1908, 187-188; VAN DEN BOOGERT / STEENBRINK 2017.

magis, quod omnia ibi affatim suppetant, quae Veneri fomenta subministrant.

Their women are generally lascivious, true to the character of their ancestors, who (as Justin tells us), before they contracted a lawful marriage, prostituted themselves to foreign sailors. The ancients had reason then for telling us that the island was dedicated to Venus, especially as it produced abundantly all that ministers to lush.⁴⁰

Cotovicus wrote his work shortly after the beginning of the Ottoman occupation of Cyprus (1570-1571) and tries, through his descriptions, to alert the Christians of Europe so that the island is reclaimed and can return to Christian administration.⁴¹ Thus, he skilfully juxtaposes Venetian and Ottoman administration and attributes elements of barbarity to the latter; at the same time, he highlights a number of positive traits of the Cypriot people, so as to make them appear more proximate to European culture and, therefore, deserving of being rescued by the Christian kings of Europe. Furthermore, even though he does not fail to mention mistakes the Cypriots made during the Venetian rule, he goes to lengths to stress that the regret they have shown for those is sufficient. Even though the Greeks of the island are at this point described in a positive context – clearly for reasons of political expediency – especially when compared to the Ottomans, or even to other Greeks, it seems that the reference to the promiscuity of Cypriot women was such a deeply entrenched stereotype at the time that it would have been difficult for it not to be included, especially by a writer with literary pretensions and a classical education. The reference to Justin’s account reveals not only the author’s breadth of knowledge, but also his desire to present his information as being consistent with a classical source and, therefore, reliable. In other words, one is given the impression that the author’s main concern was to reproduce and confirm the ancient model, rather than provide an accurate account of the situation on the island at the end of the 16th century.

The same information provided by Justin is reproduced by a host of other writers and it seems to have become a common *topos* in Cyprus-related travel writing from the 16th century onwards. Characteristic are the examples of PURCHAS 1617, 665; FÜRER VON HAIMENDORF 1621, 104-105; SANDYS 1621, 218; DE STOCHOVE 1643, 269; VERYARD 1701, 328; SAVONAROLA 1713, 315. Another work we should also consider is the study of Johannes van Meurs (MEURSIUS 1675), the second volume of which contains a number

⁴⁰ The English translation of Cotovicus’s Latin text is from COBHAM 1908, 199.

⁴¹ For Cotovicus’s intention in his description of Cyprus, see TZOUNAKAS 2023.

of ancient sources on Cyprus, among which are the passage of Justin's regarding the prostitution of young girls (MEURSIUS 1675, II, 147) and the reference to the Propoetides in Ovid (MEURSIUS 1675, II, 25). It is worth taking some time to consider the particular study, as it was widely circulated and greatly influenced Johannes van Meurs's contemporaries and successors.

Some of these writers are careful to note that such instances of prostitution occurred during antiquity, without referring to anything similar occurring in their day, yet, even so, they succeed in perpetuating the stereotype. Thus, references to the libertinism of the Cypriot women abound in later writers, who claim that it was inherited to them by their ancestors.⁴² Of special importance and, in my opinion, closer to the truth, is a comment of Thomaso Porcacchi's in his *L'Isole piu famose del Mondo etc.*, published in Venice in 1572 (PORCACCHI 1572, 22), where he remarks that in his day the situation was much changed and that the women of Cyprus, especially those of the higher classes, were very modest indeed ("castissime e honestissime"):

I Cipriotti usavano di metter le loro fanciulle a guadagnarsi co'l corpo loro la dote nel lito del mare co' forestieri, che v'arrivavano, & poi le maritavano. Ma hoggi mutata la natura delle cose, generalmente sono le donne di Cipro, e in particolar le nobili tutte castissime & honestissime.

The Cypriots used to make their daughters earn their dowry before marriage with their bodies on the beach, by having intercourse with foreigners who arrived there. Today, however, things have changed and the women of Cyprus, especially those of noble descent, are very pure and honest. (My translation)

As an *isolario*, a book that mainly aims to be a guide for travellers and merchants,⁴³ Porcacchi's work could very well be a more reliable source compared to many other works of travel literature, which primarily had either political or religious motives. Even in the case of Porcacchi's *isolario*, however, and although he draws a more accurate picture of the island in his day so that travellers could know what to expect, the scandalous fact regarding what used to transpire there in the distant past is not excluded, information that is

⁴² See GIBSON 2023, 278-279 with n. 36, who mentions the cases of POCOCKE 1745, 232, DRUMMOND 1754, 143-144, PLAISTED 1758, 139, BRAMSEN 1818, I, 304-305 and cites SERGHIDOU 2001, 24-31, KARAYANNI 2014 and NUNZIATA 2020, 49-99.

⁴³ For this genre, see esp. TOLIAS 2007.

adopted and reproduced regardless, as it seems to have become a common *topos* in Cyprus-related travel literature.

Social stereotypes are based on overgeneralizations regarding groups or categories of people and tend to attribute particular characteristics to the entire group, without examining individual cases separately; as a result, they tend to be, to a greater or lesser extent, arbitrary and erroneous. I believe something similar occurred regarding the case of Cypriot women. Without doubt, there would have been some incidence of prostitution on the island.⁴⁴ The matter, however, was exaggerated as a result of various factors. The strong connection of the island with the worship of Aphrodite/Venus fired both the popular and the literary imagination. As we have seen, Christian writers, in their effort to condemn the old religion by linking it to manifestations of debauchery, contributed to this, as did various texts of Latin literature, such as Justin's account and Ovid's Cypriot myths, especially that of the Propoetides, all of which helped entrench the image of Cypriot women as *obscenae* and *lascivae*. So firmly was this image entrenched, that it is even found as a stereotype in the works of travellers many centuries later, when standards had changed and the Christian religion was completely established on the island. The part played by literature in shaping literary *imagines* that survive through time, and in creating stereotypes, is known from antiquity and, I believe, is clearly demonstrated by the case we have presently examined.

⁴⁴ Cf. e.g. FEYERABEND ²1609, 826.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANS = American Numismatic Society.

BMC Greek (Cyprus) = *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum*, vol. 24: G. F. Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyprus*, London 1904.

BMCRE = H. Mattingly *et al.*, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, London 1923-1976.

CNNM = J. Mazard, *Corpus Nummorum Numidiae Mauretaniaeque*, Paris 1955-1958.

DK = H. Diels, W. Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*, Berlin ⁶1952.

EAA = *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Classica e Orientale*, Roma 1958-1997.

ExcCyp = D. G. Hogarth *et al.*, "Excavations in Cyprus, 1887-88. Paphos, Leontari, Amargetti", in: *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 9 (1888) 147-271.

FGrHist = F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*, Berlin 1923-.

FHG = K. Müller *et al.*, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Parisiis 1841-1938.

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IPaphos = J.-B. Cayla, *Les Inscriptions de Paphos: Corpus des inscriptions alphabétiques de Palaipaphos, de Néa Paphos et de la chôra paphienne*, Diss. Univ. Paris-Sorbonne 2003.

IG = *Inscriptiones Graecae*, Berlin 1873-.

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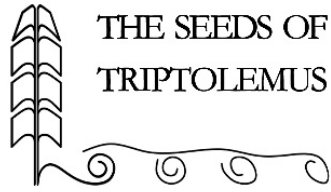
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