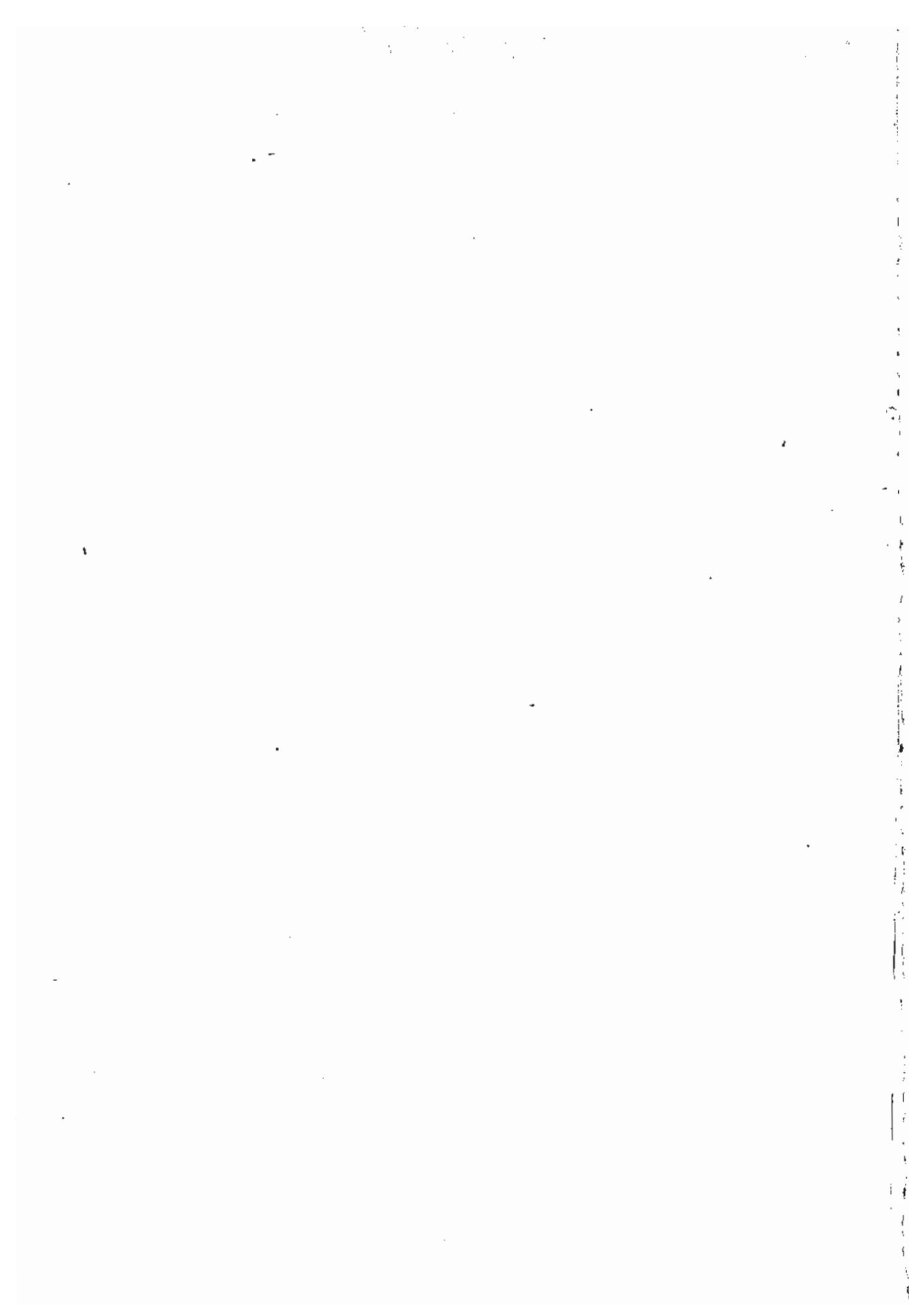


*CYPRUS in HELLENISTIC*

*and*

*ROMAN TIMES*

O.H.E. KHS. BURMESTER



# Cyprus in Hellenistic and Roman Times

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In order to obtain a better understanding of the political and social conditions which prevailed in Cyprus at the beginning of the Hellenistic period, it will be advisable to give a brief sketch of the Greek colonization of the Island and of the colonies which the Greek colonists founded in it.

At some period in the Late Bronze Age, approximately 1600-1100 B.C., colonists from Greece, and from Arcadia in particular, began to arrive in the island of Cyprus, and by the end of the second millennium B.C. they had established colonies in most parts of the Island. Naturally, these Greek settlements were planted along the seacoast as was usually the practice with Greek colonists in other parts of the Mediterranean, but in the case of Cyprus, Greek colonies were founded also in the interior of the Island.

From the Mycenaean remains which have been discovered on most of the ancient sites of the Island (1), we have archaeological evidence for the truth of the statements made by Pindar (2) and Theopompus (3) which ascribe the foundation of these colonies to the heroes of the Trojan War, and of the statement of Herodotus (4) which claims a Greek origin for them. A further proof of this being the period at which Greek colonies were first planted in Cyprus can be found in the Cypriot Syllabic Script which, indeed, persisted in the Island down to the end of the fourth century B.C., and shows that the colonists must have left the Peloponnesus before the introduction into Greece of the Phoenician alphabet.

In addition to this, we have further evidence that the majority of the small kingdoms of Cyprus were of Greek origin from an inscription of Esarhaddon, king of Assyria, dated 673 B.C., which records the submission of ten kings of Cyprus. Nine of the names of these kings can be read as Greek names but the tenth is Phoenician (5). These kingdoms were as follows:

(1) Cf. A.H.M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*, Oxford, 1937 p. 365.

(2) Pindar, *Nem.* IV, 75.

(3) C. Muller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Frag. III.

(4) Herodotus, VII, 90.

(5) For Esarhaddon's Stele, cf. Luckenbill, *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*, II, 690; and for the reading of the Greek names, cf. Hall, *The Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, p. 262.

Salamis, Paphos, Soli, Curium, Tamassus, Idalium, Chytri, Ledra, Nure and the Phoenician city of Karti Kadasti. It is probable that there were also at this time a further five kingdoms, and if they are not mentioned in Esarhaddon's list, their omission may be accounted for possibly on the grounds that they were not important enough to send their gifts to the Assyrian king. Of these fifteen kingdoms of Cyprus it will be seen that only four were not of Greek origin, namely the Phoenician cities of Karti Kadasti, Citium and Carpasia and the autochthonous city of Amathus.

If it is true that the culture of Cyprus was predominantly Greek, it must nevertheless be noted that it was a Greek culture of a primitive type which recalls much of Homeric Greece. Among other things, these states preserved right down to the beginning of the Hellenistic period their monarchal form of government, thus not sharing in the development of other Greek states in the rest of the Greek world. The kings of these states submitted voluntarily to Alexander the Great, and several are mentioned as taking part in the siege of Tyre in 332 B.C. (1) and all with the exception of one were confirmed in their kingdoms. On the death of Alexander the Great in 323 B.C., we find that there were in Cyprus nine kingdoms, but these, as we shall see, were not fated to survive under his Successors, the Diadochoi, as they are called.

Owing to its geographical position, the possession of Cyprus was of paramount importance for any power that wished to attack Syria, and at the same time its copper mines and its forests, the latter supplying timber for shipbuilding, made it of great economic importance. In consequence of this, Ptolemy I of Egypt and Antigonous I of Asia Minor strove to obtain control of the Island, and to this end each party sought to win over to its side the alliance of the local independent kings. This policy, however, ultimately gave the death-blow to these kingdoms, for their occupants were sooner or later accused of having treacherous relations with the other side and were either deposed or executed.

In 306 B.C. Dēmētrius Poliorcētēs, son of Antigonous I, having totally defeated the fleet of Ptolemy I off Salamis, the principal harbour of Cyprus, obtained possession of the Island (2), but eleven years later, he was forced to abandon it to Ptolemy I (3). From now onwards, i.e. from 295 B.C. down to 58 B.C., Cyprus remained a dependency of the Ptolemaic Empire, except for three short periods, when it had independent rulers, though these, however, were members of the Ptolemaic family.

We now come to what is termed the Hellenistic period of Cyprus. For the history of Cyprus during both the Hellenistic and the Roman periods our literary sources are unfortunately practically nil, and we have therefore

(1) Arrian, *Anab.* II, 22 and Plut. *Alex.* 29 (331 B.C.).

(2) Diod. XX 47.

(3) Plut. *Demetrius*, 35.

## MAP



# CYPRUS

Greek colonies in Cyprus. Citium and Carpatia are  
Phoenician colonies and Amathus is autochthonous.

## PLATE I -



Sleeping Eros. Provenance: Paphos. Third Century B. C.



PLATE II



Statue of the goddess Aphrodite.  
Provenance : Soli. Third Century B. C.

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PLATE III



Rock-hewn tomb with atrium and colonnade. Western necropolis, Paphos.  
Hellenistic period.

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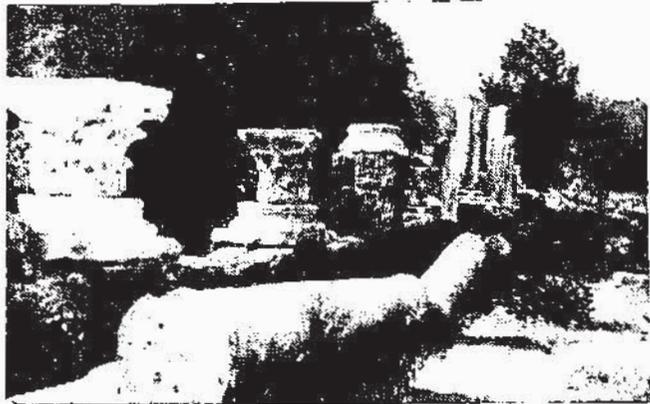


PLATE IV



Rock-hewn tomb with atrium and colonnade of the Doric order. Western necropolis, Paphos. Hellenistic period.

PLATE V

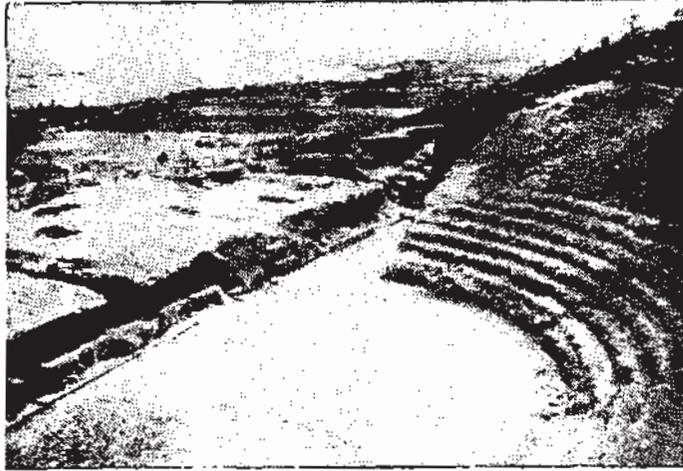


Third or Marble Forum, Salamis. Second to third century A.D.

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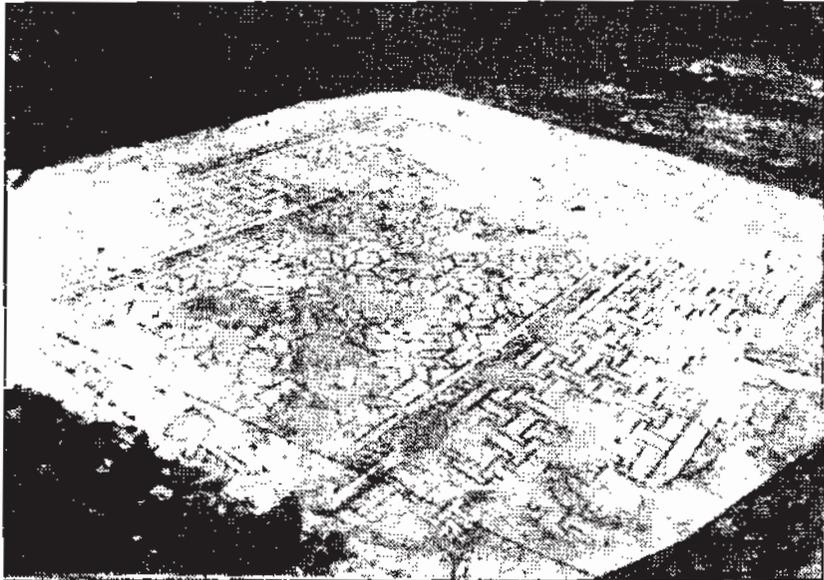


PLATE VI



Roman theatre at Soli, showing auditorium, orchestra and stage-buildings. Date : end of second to beginning of third century A. D.

PLATE VII



Mosaic flooring from a Roman villa at Old Paphos (Koukklia).  
Date : second to third century A. D.

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PLATE VIII



Mosaic flooring from a Roman villa at New Paphos. Subject: Heraklès and the Lion of Nemea (1st Labour of Heraklès). Date: ? second to third century A. D. (Published with the authorisation of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, No. 88 37 2).

PLATE IX

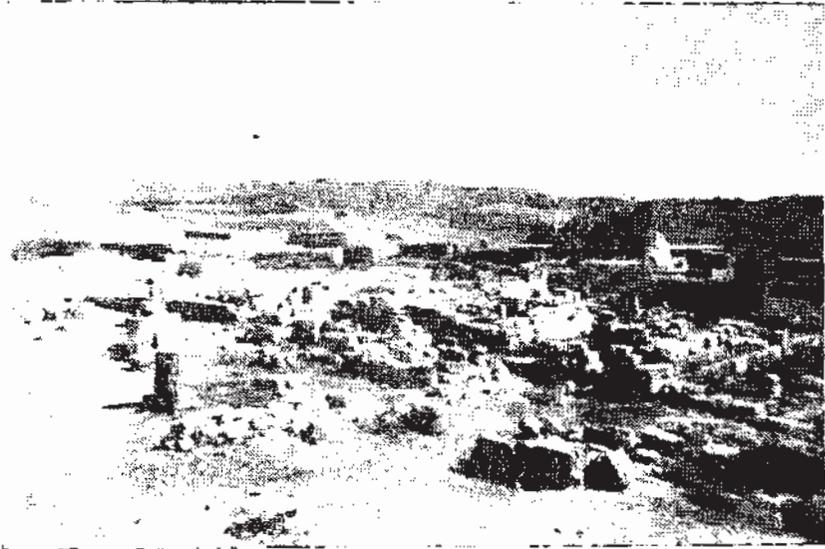


Mosaic flooring from a Roman villa at Curium. Inscription inside a garland surrounded by squares with geometrical designs. Date: first to third century A. D.

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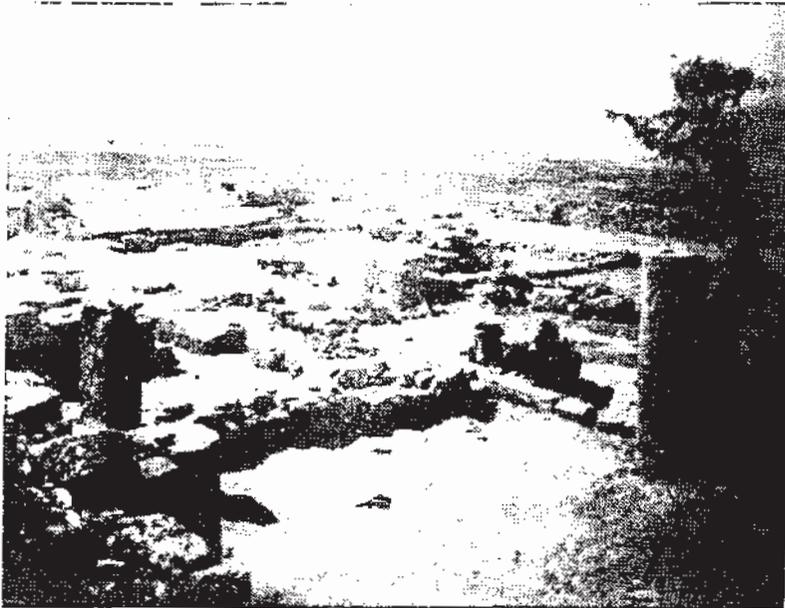
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PLATE V



Remains of buildings and walls in the temenos or enclosure of the Temple of the goddess Aphrodite at Old Paphos (Kouklia)

PLATE VI



The Acropolis of the city-state of Curium, looking south-east.

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PLATE XII



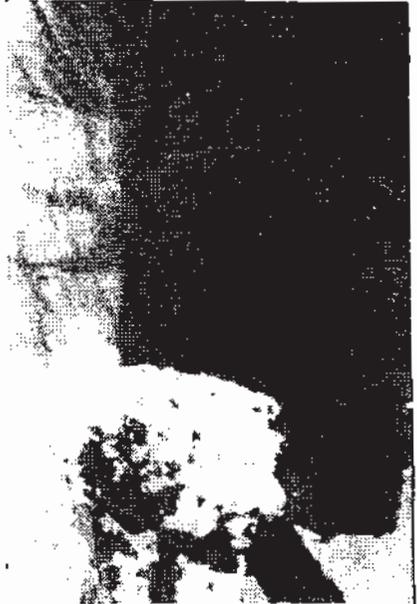
Entrance to Cave-Sanctuary of Apollo Hylatés at New Paphos, showing inclined dromos and Cypriot Syllabic Script inscription on face of rock above.

PLATE XIII

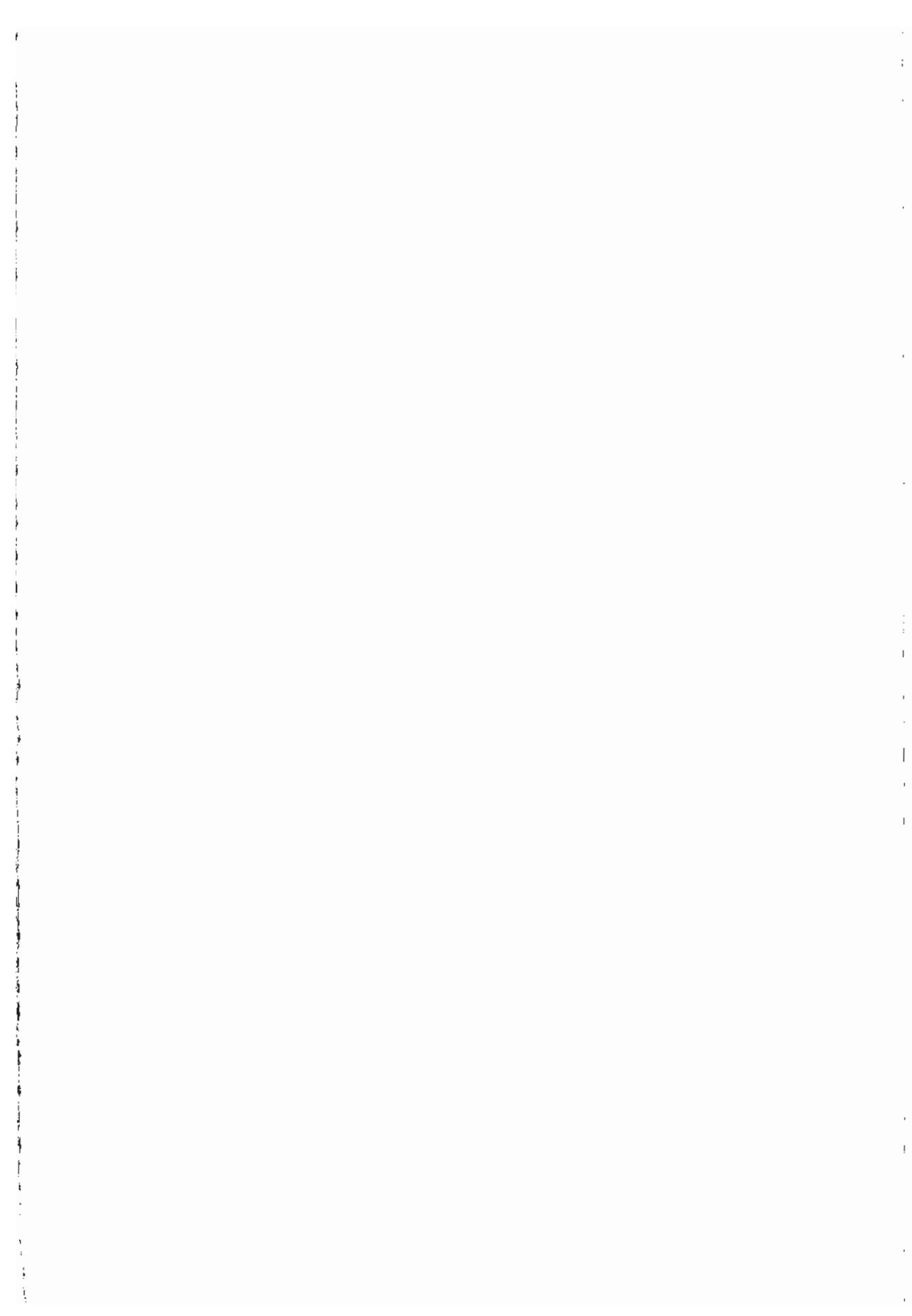


Entrance to circular vault of Cave-Sanctuary of ? Mithras at New Paphos, showing thick stone column set up in the centre.

PLATE XIV



Entrance to oblong, nave-like chamber of Cave-Sanctuary of ? Mithras at New Paphos.



to fall back on inscriptions, coins and archaeological remains, and here again we are handicapped by the fact that very little excavation work has been done so far on the Hellenistic and the Roman sites in the Island. One of the reasons for the lack of literary sources is undoubtedly due to the more or less uneventful history of the Island during the period in question. In studying the Hellenistic and the Roman periods, I propose to assume that, in their broadest outlines and with due regard to local requirements, the conditions in Cyprus were much the same as those which obtained in other countries of the Near East at the time, and to set forth such particulars of the social and economic life of the Island, as are furnished by the sources to which I have already referred.

To begin with, apart from some local disturbances, there are but two outstanding events in this otherwise uneventful period of the history of Cyprus. The first of these was the attack on the Island by Antiochus IV Epiphanēs of Syria in the year 168 B.C. Ptolemaeus, the governor of the Island at that time, deserted Ptolemy VI Philomētōr and went over to Antiochus, and although the Cyprians put up some resistance to the invader, Ptolemy's forces were defeated both on land and sea, and the Island was thrown into utter disorder. This condition of things, however, did not last for long, for, when Antiochus invaded Egypt, he was met by the Roman envoy at Alexandria, who forced him not only to abandon his plans for Egypt, but also to withdraw his fleet from Cyprus. The second event of importance occurred in the latter part of 143 or the early part of 142 B.C. when, owing to the loss of his footing in the Aegean, Ptolemy VII made Cyprus the headquarters of the Egyptian fleet, and a certain Crocos, the then governor of the Island, had as his first additional title that of admiral (*ναύαρχος*). a title also borne by the son of his successor.

As regards the administration of Cyprus under the Ptolemies, the Island was organized as a military command, the governor-general having the title of *stratēgos* (1) to which under or after Ptolemy VII (146-116 B.C.), was added that of *ναύαρχος* (2), as mentioned above. From the time of Ptolemy V Epiphanēs (203-181 B.C.) this governor-general had also the title of highpriest of the sanctuaries in the Island (*Ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν κατὰ τὴν νήσον ἱερῶν*). (3). Though this title may merely mean that the governor-general was *ex-officio* head of the Dynastic Cult, it seems also probable that it indicates that the exceedingly wealthy temples of Cyprus were made to contribute to the royal exchequer to a greater extent than before. These *stratēgoi* all belonged to the highest rank in the Egyptian Court, the «kinsmen» of the king. Under the *stratēgos* there was a sort of adjutant-general who

(1) *Oriens Graeci Inscriptiones selectae* (W. Dittenberger), [referred to afterwards as *O.G.I.*], 84 στρατηγ[οῦ τῆς νῆ]σ[ου] but in inscriptions outside Cyprus στρατηγός τῶν κατὰ Κύπρον cf. Sir George Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. I, p. 175.

(2) *ναύαρχος* *O.G.I.*, 143, 145, 151-3, 155, 157-62.

(3) Mitford in *Arch. f. Pap.* XIII, p. 25.

bore the title of *grammateus* (secretary of the forces) (1), and the separate regiments had their own commanders who were usually known as *hēgemones*, or, in the case of the cavalry, *hipparchai*. Here we must note that there was a very large number of mercenary troops stationed in Cyprus at this period who seem to have been divided into regiments according to the nationality of the men: thus we have Achaeans, Ionians, Cretans and other Greeks, Lycians, Cilicians and Thracians (2). These all had their unions or *koīna*, and we have a number of inscriptions of dedications made by the Union of the Cyprians (Τὸ Κοινὸν τῶν Κυπρίων). (3). Lastly, we have an officer who had the title of *epistatēs* who seems to have been a sort of high-commissioner with full authority to execute the orders of the sovereign power.

There also seems to be some evidence that Cyprus was divided into districts under the Ptolemies, as may be gathered from two Phoenician subscriptions of the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, found at Lapēthus. According to these, the title «lord of the land of Cormi» is given to a certain Iatanbaal, and his father before him. This term «land of Cormi» seems to indicate a larger circumscription than a city territory. Cormi appears to be the same as the Greek Crommyon (Κρόμμυον). (4). This name was applied to the principal promontory on the north west coast of the Island. Ptolemy (5), evidently using early material (6), records a division of Cyprus into four districts, an eastern and western one under Salamis and Paphos, and a north central and south central one under Lapēthus and Amathus. These Phoenician inscriptions indicate that this arrangement dates back to the Ptolemaic period, and «Cormi» must be the Phoenician name for the north central district whose capital was Lapēthus.

The cities of Cyprus were garrisoned, and the commanding officer bore the title of *phrouarchos* (7), but this was modified later, sometime after the date of Ptolemy III, Evergetēs, to that of «he who is over (the city)» (8). In the administrative scheme of Cyprus the city was the ultimate unit (9). Lapēthus, for example, started a civic era as early as 306 B.C. (10). Evidence, however, for the republican institutions in the other cities is of much later date. The «city of the Paphians» mentioned under Ptolemy IV Philo-

(1) *O.G.I.*, 154, ὁ γραμματεὺς τῶν δυνάμεων.

(2) *O.G.I.*, 151, 145, 108 and 153, 146-7, 148 and 157, 143.

(3) *O.G.I.*, 164, 165.

(4) Strabo, *Geogr.* XIV, VI, 3 and Ptolemy V, xiii, 4.

(5) Ptolemy, V, xiii, 5.

(6) Cf. A.H.M. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

(7) *O.G.I.*, 20, Φρούραρχο[ς] καὶ κατὰ Κίτιον.

(8) *O.G.I.*, 155, ἐπὶ Σαλαμίνος. and D. Cohen, *De Magistratibus Aegyptiis externas Lagidarum Regni provincias administrantibus*, Hague, 1912, pp. 42 ff., ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως [ἡγεμόν].

(9) Cf. A.H.M. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

(10) Cf. *Rev. d'Ass.*, III, pp. 72 seqq.

patôr (1), the «city of the Salaminians» under Ptolemy VI Philomêtôr (2), the «city of the Curians» (See Plate XI) and that of the Arsinoians under Ptolemy IX Euergetês II (3) Arsinoë, it should be noted, was a re-foundation by Ptolemy II of Marium destroyed by Ptolemy I. From an inscription found at Chytri (4) it would seem that, when the native dynasties were suppressed, their kingdoms were broken up into their constituent cities (5). Idalium, however, remained a dependency of Citium and from the number of Phœnician inscriptions, seems to have been a thoroughly Phœnician city. Of the internal constitution of the cities very little is known, though they would seem to have had certain democratic forms of government. At Citium there is mention of a suffete or judge, the title usually borne by the chief magistrates of Phœnician cities (6) as well as a treasurer (7) For the Greek cities our evidence comes from the last days of the Ptolemaic supremacy. For example, at Paphos we have mention of magistrates, gymnasiarchs (8) and a clerk of the council and of the people (9), but the autonomy of the cities was merely formal, for each had its military governor appointed by the king, as has already been mentioned. Most of the larger cities had probably their theatres, though only those of New Paphos have so far been discovered (10). Although the government of Cyprus was in fact autocratic, it is probable that the Island was considered officially as a group of cities under the protection of the king of Egypt.

As regards the architecture of sacred and secular buildings, we must await excavation of the Hellenistic sites before we can obtain a true appreciation of the style of building of this period, but we shall probably not be very wrong in assuming that in general the *liwan*-type prevailed. This type of building consisting of a middle room opening on a court, with smaller rooms on either side of it, was prevalent in Anatolia and survived from the Bronze Age down to Roman times. As for building materials, stone would have been used for the foundation walls and mud bricks for the upper walls. These mud bricks were most probably of the thin tile-shaped variety such as have been found at the Palace of Vouni in Cyprus, where we have buildings dating from 500-300 B.C., and these bricks are almost of the same dimensions as the modern Cyprian mud bricks. It would seem that the dwellings of the wealthy were provided in some cases with mosaic flooring, for we have in the Cyprus Museum, Leukosia, two fine examples of such mosaics. They date from either the late Hellenistic or early Roman period

(1) *O.G.I.*, 84, 163, 166, 172.

(2) *O.G.I.*, 108, 156.

(3) *O.G.I.*, 152 and 155.

(4) *O.G.I.*, 160.

(5) Cf. A.H.M. Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 372.

(6) *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* I, 47.

(7) *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* I, 74.

(8) *O.G.I.*, 164 τῶν ἐν Πάφῳ γεγυμνασιαρχηκότων 165 τὸν γυμνασιαρχόν.

(9) *O.G.I.*, 166 εἰς γραμματεύσαντα τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου καὶ ἡρχευκότα τῆς πόλεως..... τὸν γραμματέα τῆς πόλε[ω]ς γυμνασιαρχήσαντα καλῶς τὸ β'.

(10) Cf. Loizos Philippou & O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *Paphos*, Nicosia, 1948, p. 21.

and have very charming designs. On one there is represented a female hunting dog treading with her paws on a partridge and the inscription « Φηρία καλή ». (Good hunting). The other has a representation of a youth carrying in his raised left hand a tray full of fruit (1).

As regards the copper mines of Cyprus of which we shall have more to say when we come to the Roman period, they had been formerly the property of the Cyprian kings and were naturally taken over by their successors, the Ptolemies. They provided one of the sources of revenue of the island, and were probably under the control of the chief financial officer. From an inscription on the basis of a statue erected at Paphos to a certain Potamon who was antistratêgos in the reign of Ptolemy X, Sôtêr II, we learn that he was also chief administrator of the mines (2).

In addition to the mining of copper, shipbuilding formed an important industry in Cyprus in Hellenistic times. It was apparently in Cyprus that Ptolemy II Philadelphus built two of his largest ships, a triakonteres and an eikoseres. His naval architect was a certain Pyrgoletês of whom he thought so highly that he had a statue erected to him at Paphos (3). From this we may assume that this Pyrgoletês was a Cyprian.

The principal agricultural produce of the island was wheat and wine, and it was from Cyprus that Ptolemy III, Euergetês I, had wheat brought to Egypt when this country was suffering from a drought (4). The wine was also exported, for we have a reference to its use in the sacrifices at the Temple at Jerusalem (5).

The pottery of Cyprus during the Hellenistic period is represented by various wares, the chief of which are plain white, painted, and black and red lustrous. During the later Hellenistic and early Roman period glass became more and more popular, and it replaced pottery for many purposes. The commonest fabrics during this period were the red glazed wares known as *terra sigillata*, ware of clay with moulded or impressed decoration.

With regard to jewelry, we have examples of earrings of three types, a) a simple pendant suspended from the ear by a long hook or wire b) a simple hoop of wire with a hook-and-eye fastening concealed behind a ball, disc or rosette, and provided with a pendant c) a flat crescent with filigree or granulated work. The material of the earrings is gold (6). Necklaces are generally rope-like chains secured by ornate hook-and-eye clasps. Bracelets are rare and sometimes of bronze. Rings are plentiful with engraved stones, cornelian, sard, etc.

(1) Cf. P. Dikaios, *A Guide to the Cyprus Museum*, Nicosia, 1947, p. 101.

(2) *O.G.I.*, 165 ἐπὶ τῶν μετέλλων.

(3) *O.G.I.*, 39.

(4) Cf. *The Canopus Decree* 239/8.

(5) Cf. Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talmud*, p. 369.

(6) Cf. P. Dikaios, *A Guide to the Cyprus Museum*, pp. 111-112.

As regards sculpture, we may discern two periods in Hellenistic times in Cyprus. In the first which occupies the whole of the third century B.C., the productions of the Cyprian sculptors reflect the influence of the Hellenistic workshops which then supplied sculpture for the Near East. Marble statues were imported from elsewhere and copied in Cyprus; while the philosopher type of statue which became popular in Greece by the early third century B.C. was frequently copied in Cyprus in local limestone. In the second period which begins from the second century B.C. a local style of sculpture developed which continued down to the time of the Roman occupation of the Island. This new style appears to have resulted from the fact that the predominantly Greek art of the Hellenistic age became penetrated by the influence of Egyptian national art and was slowly absorbed by it, and this new art the Cyprian sculptors could not follow.

As examples of the philosopher type of statue copied in local limestone, we have two interesting statues from the sanctuary of Apollo at Vóné near Kythrea, the ancient Chytri (1). Among the marble statuary of the third century B.C. now on exhibit at the Cyprus Museum, Leukosia, there should be specially noted the following: a) the marble statue of a boy with smiling face, clad in a long *chiton* with overfold and girdle below the chest. There is a bird in his left hand and the right hand is raised, but partly missing. Provenance: Paphos (2). Children holding sacrificial birds are a favourite theme in Hellenistic art. b) the marble (perhaps Parian) statue of a sleeping Eros (See Plate I). Eros reclines on drapery spread on rocky ground with a cylindrical hole on the right side suggesting a spring. The right arm lies across the body with a *kylix* in the hand, and the left arm supports the head and holds a mutilated object, perhaps a torch or a bow. The face is smiling and the hair is short and wavy. The theme of sleeping Eros was also common in Hellenistic times. Provenance: New Paphos (3). c) the marble statue of the goddess Aphrodite (See Plate II). The body of the goddess rests mainly on the right leg, while the left leg advances slightly. This causes a slight bending of the body to the right and the lowering of the right arm. The attitude in general is reminiscent of the statue of Aphrodite of Cyrene. The head of the goddess is oval and slightly turned to the left, and the hair is gathered into two thick locks which frame the face, and form a knot over the forehead and end falling on the shoulder. It is not possible to say what was the position of the arms as these are broken a little below the shoulders, but the left arm appears to be directed downwards, while the right arm seems inclined to the left. On the side of both thighs there appear places of attachment of some other object, one may have been for a dolphin and drapery, as in the Cyrene Aphrodite, and the other for the accompanying figure of Eros. The representation of the goddess is realistic. She appears as a beautiful woman, probably represented in the act of stepping into her bath, and suddenly attracted by a spectator's

(1) Cf. P. Dikaios, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128.

(2) Exhibit Pedestal 4A, Cyprus Museum, Leukosia.

(3) Exhibit Pedestal 10, Cyprus Museum, Leukosia.

gaze (1) Provenance: This statue was found by a villager at Soli in 1901, but the original place of discovery is not known. It may, however, have belonged to the temple of Aphrodite-Isis that existed at Soli (2).

For the coinage of Cyprus during the Hellenistic period we have evidence for three definite mints at the cities of Paphos, Salamis and Citium. The mint mark of these three cities first appears in the heavy gold coinage issued under Ptolemy II Philadelphus as memorial coins with the portrait after the dedication of Arsinoë II (which dated from before her death in July 269 B.C.). Of the other series of Ptolemy II some may well have been struck in Cyprus from 269-261 B.C. Ptolemy III, Euergetēs I, (246-221 B.C.) issued bronze coins with a cultus-figure of the goddess Aphrodite on the reverse which may very probably be from a mint in Cyprus, as also the class of gold coins issued under Ptolemy IV Philopatōr (221-205 B.C.) with the portrait of Arsinoë III. A series of silver coins with the bust of Ptolemy IV as Dionysus was begun in his reign and was continued over several reigns. Ptolemy V Epiphanēs (205-180 B.C.) began a great series of issues chiefly of silver which were minted at Paphos, Salamis, Citium and Amathus. There is also a small undated group of silver tetradrachms which belong to the period 203-197 B.C. for they bear the first two letters of the name of the stratēgos Polycratēs. It is very interesting to note that in the thirtieth year of Ptolemy IX, Euergetēs II, the mint mark of the city of Paphos came to be placed on coins issued from Alexandria. These Alexandrian issues can, however, be distinguished from their poorer though individual style. An explanation of this may be that Paphos had so much monopolized the silver coinage that, when silver coinage was struck elsewhere, its mint mark was slavishly copied (3). From now on, however, the coinage of Cyprus becomes extremely complicated and difficult, and the attributions to various kings are often very uncertain.

In the field of learning, the outstanding figure of the Hellenistic period in Cyprus is, of course, the philosopher Zeno who was born at Citium about 336 B.C. In 311 B.C., however, he emigrated to Athens where, after studying some ten years with the Cynics, he began to teach independently in the Painted Hall, the *Stoa Poikilē*, which gave its name to his school — the Stoics. If Semitic blood ran in his veins, for it seems that his father was a Phoenician, nevertheless Zeno's teaching is Hellenic, even though his method of implanting it as the utterance of a prophet is non-Greek.

As regards the burial of the dead in Cyprus in the Hellenistic period, all cities had their necropolis, and some, as in the case of Paphos, had two, one situated at the east and the other, at the north west of the city. The

(1) Exhibit Pedestal 8, Room VII, Cyprus Museum, Leukosia; see also P. Dikaios, *op. cit.*, pp. 74 seqq.

(2) For a description of this temple, see paragraph dealing with religion in Hellenistic times in Cyprus.

(3) Cf. J.G. Milne in *Journal of Eg. Arch.* XV, 1929, pp. 152 seqq.

north western necropolis of Paphos is situated on rocky ground which may be literally said to be honeycombed with tombs, though practically all have been rifled. Some of these tombs are of such a size and magnificence that they are locally known as the «Tombs of the Kings». These superb tombs consist of an atrium hewn out of the living rock to which access is had either by a stairway or an inclined dromos. This atrium which is open to the sky is surrounded by a portico which, in some cases, has pillars of the Doric order carved out of the rock (See Plates III & IV). From the portico chambers lead off and within them loculi are cut into the rock walls. These tombs recall in a striking manner the famous rock-tombs of Lindos in Rhodes.

In addition to the earlier cults from Hellenic times, such as that of the goddess Aphrodite at her famous temple at Paphos (1) (See Plate X) and of Apollo Hylatês and of other Greek deities, the Hellenistic period saw the introduction into Cyprus of a number of new cults from abroad. Chief among these was that of certain Egyptian deities: Osiris, Isis and Serapis to which we must also add the Dynastic Cult of the Ptolemies. With regard to the cult of Osiris, there was a temple to him at Lapêthus (2). At Soli there was a temple or even two temples to Isis. Strabo who travelled along the west coast of Cyprus about 20 B.C. mentions this temple in his *Geogr.* XIV. 683: Then the city of Soli which has a harbour and river and a temple of Aphrodite and Isis *εἶτα Σόλοι πόλις, λιμένα ἔχουσα καὶ ποταμὸν καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Ἰσιδος*. These temples have been identified with probability with the Temples B-C excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (3). The construction of these temples is assigned to the middle of the first century B.C. i.e. at the time of the Roman occupation of the Island (4). but Prof. T. Mitford inclines to a much earlier date, even third century, for a number of the inscriptions. From just outside the cella of Temple C comes the statuette in hard grey limestone representing a mourning Isis kneeling on a piece of a column, i.e. the pillar in which the coffin of Osiris was concealed by Set (5). Interest in the cult of Serapis began earlier. Macrobi. *Sat.* I, 20. 16ff records that Nicocreon of Salamis enquired concerning the god, and this enquiry is dated about 312 B.C. The temple to Serapis at Soli has been identified as that of Temple E which was most probably constructed about the middle of the third century A.D. (6). This temple is probably the one called *templum Jovis Dei* (7) by St. Auxibius who was a Roman and who left the capital and came to

(1) Cf. O.H.E. Khs-Burmester, «The Temple and Cult of Aphrodite at Paphos» in *Farouk I University Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts*, vol. IV, 1948, pp. 12 seqq.

(2) Cf. Sir George Hill, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 100n and 182n.

(3) *Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, vol. III, (text) p. 546.

(4) *Swed. Cyp. Ex.* vol. III (text), p. 543.

(5) *Swed. Cyp. Ex.* vol. III (text), p. 501, number 427 and p. 544.

(6) *Swed. Cyp. Ex.* vol. III (text), p. 543.

(7) *Acta Auxibii*, parag. 6 cap. II.

Soli, where he preached Christianity. The god Serapis might well be identified with Jupiter by a Christian from Rome.

A temple to Priapus also existed at Soli as we learn from an inscription on a stone re-used as a building-stone which had fallen from the wall of the Temple F. This inscription reads: «Built (founded) at the order of Serapis» «Μοσχίων Κριτοδῆ [ υ ] ου Ῥόδιος Παύλου [ ! ] ερὸν ἱερὸν ἱερῶσιν Σαράπιος ποδσταγμα. (1). The site of this temple of Serapis, has however, not been located.

From the Temple B comes the following interesting inscription: «To Aphrodite of the mountains listening favourably, Titus Flavius Zeno having promised (dedicated) a statue of Hypnos» Ἀφροδίτη Ὀρεία ἐπηκέτω τὸν ὕπνον Τίτος Φλάβουιος Ζήνων ἐδέξμενος. (2) Here, it seems, we have a fusion between the Anatolian goddess Cybele who is usually called Μήτηρ Ὀρεία and the Cyprian goddess Aphrodite who takes the name Ἀφροδίτη Ὀρεία. This is the first time that we meet with this name, though Cybele is often identified with Aphrodite.

As regards Temple F at Soli, it may from its architecture have been a sanctuary of Mithras, but as no inscription nor sculptures were found, it has not been possible to assign it to any god or goddess (3).

The first mention that we have of the Dynastic Cult in Cyprus comes from an inscription dated 275 B.C. from Larnaka tēs Lapēthou. This inscription records that a certain Abd Ashtart, son of the governor of the district of Lapēthus, was eponymous priest of «the lord of kings, Ptolemy» (4). A dedication dated 254 B.C. from Idalium likewise records that a certain Amath-osir was kanēphoros of Arsinoë Philadelphus (5). At Citium, probably under Ptolemy IV Philopatōr, a priest of the god Euergetai is recorded (6). and Onēsander of Paphos was priest for life of Ptolemy X, Sōter II (Lathyrus), and of the Ptolemaieon which he himself founded at Paphos (7). This Onēsander is of particular interest for us, as he afterwards became librarian at Alexandria. From the time of the deification of Arsinoë Philadelphus, the cult of the goddess, who was frequently identified with Aphrodite, enjoyed a vogue in Cyprus. At Idalium there was an Arsinoeion (8). and there must have been shrines in honour of Arsinoë at the various places renamed after her, such as Marium and Ammochostus. The Dynastic Cult in Cyprus was the religious focus of the

(1) Cf. *Swed. Cyp. Ex.* vol. III (text), p. 625.

(2) *Swed. Cyp. Ex.* vol. III, (text), p. 626.

(3) *Swed. Cyp. Ex.* vol. III, (text), p. 546.

(4) Cf. N. Cooke, *Sem. Inscr.* no. 29.

(5) N. Cooke, *op. cit.* no. 27.

(6) *O.G.I.*, 134.

(7) *O.G.I.*, 172.

(8) *Rev. Arch.*, XXXVII, 1870, p. 90, no. 2.

Koinon of the Cyprians, and there was also a guild of Basilistai, which, as elsewhere, must have been concerned with the Dynastic Cult.

Naturally the earlier cults continued to be practised, e.g. the worship of the goddess Aphrodite at her sanctuary at Old Paphos and at her sanctuaries at Amathus, Soli, Salamis (1). Chytri, etc. Apollo had a sanctuary at Vônē (2) and at Drimou in the west of the Island, and at Curium there was a grove sacred to him which was inviolable for deer. At New Paphos there is a sanctuary to Apollo Hylatēs, situated to the east of the city. This sanctuary, or rather cave-sanctuary, is hewn out of the rock, and is reached by an inclined dromos. It consists of two chambers one of which is circular with an opening in the roof; possibly an imitation of the oracular vault, the μαντεῖον or χρηστήριον of the Temple of Apollo at Delphi. Above the main entrance (See Plate XII), as also on the north wall in front of the oracular vault, there are inscriptions in the Cypriot Syllabic Script which would date its construction before the end of the fourth century B.C. (3). Hēra was worshipped at Amathus (4), Idalium, etc. and Athēna at Idalium and Vouni.

We now come to the Roman period in Cyprus, a period which furnishes us with much interesting material, archaeological, social and economic.

In 58 B.C. the tribune P. Clodius Pulcher carried a law to reduce Cyprus to the condition of a province and to confiscate the royal treasure (5). To effect this, Cato was appointed quaestor pro praetore, and as he no doubt expected that some resistance would be offered to him, and since he had no force with him, he sent on in advance a friend of his to try to persuade the then king of Cyprus, Ptolemy, the Cyprian, to yield peacefully. In exchange for his kingship, Ptolemy, the Cyprian, was to be offered the highpriesthood of the Temple of the goddess Aphrodite at Old Paphos, a position, indeed, which would have provided him with both wealth and honour. While awaiting Ptolemy's reply, Cato remained at Rhodes. Ptolemy, however, refused the offer, and realising that the Romans would probably remove him sooner or later, preferred to end his life by poison. Thereupon Cato proceeded to carry out with remarkable thoroughness the discreditable business of confiscating the royal treasure of Ptolemy the Cyprian. This treasure was immense, consisting of plate, furniture, precious stones and purple stuffs which Cato sold by auction for something under 7000 talents (6). If we assume that these talents were Attic silver talents of 6000 drachmae, and that the drachma represented

(1) Cf. *Homeric Hymn* 10, 'Hail goddess, guardian of well-built Salamis and seagirt Cyprus; grant to me a lovely song'.

(2) P. Dikaios, *op. cit.*, pp. 127-128.

(3) Cf. Loizos Philippon & O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *op. cit.*, pp. 23-26.

(4) *Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum*, Berlin, 1828-77, no. 2643.

(5) For particulars of the Roman annexation of Cyprus, cf. Cassius Dio, XXXVIII, 30, XXXIX, 22.

(6) Strabo, XIV, vi. 6.

nine English pence, then the sum fetched by the sale of this royal treasure would be equivalent to more than one and a half million pounds sterling. This amount of money, it should be noted, was accumulated by Ptolemy the Cyprian during his reign which lasted from 80 to 58 B.C., so that we may estimate his average yearly revenue at about 350 talents; his slaves passed into the service of the state, Cyprus thus became a Roman province, and remained so, except for a short period, when Julius Caesar, either before or after the riot which preceded the Alexandrine War, is said to have restored the Island to the Ptolemies, as an appanage to be enjoyed by the two younger children of Ptolemy XIII Aulētēs, Arsinoë and the younger Ptolemy (1). Cleopatra, it should be noted, drew the revenues and issued coins for the Island. On these coins she is represented holding in her arms the infant Ptolemy Caesar, her child by Julius Caesar (2). The possession of Cyprus together with Egypt was confirmed to Cleopatra by Mark Antony in 36 B.C. (3), but with her death in 30 B.C. and the murder of Ptolemy Caesar, Cyprus reverted to Rome. Up to 47 B.C. Cyprus was under the quaestor of Cilicia-Cyprus, but in this year it received its own quaestor (4), to whom Cicero wrote warmly commending to him all the Cyprians, especially the Paphians (5). When in 27 B.C. the Roman provinces were divided between the emperor and the Senate, Cyprus, perhaps together with Cilicia, was allotted to Augustus, but in 22 B.C. it was returned to the Senate (6) to be governed from now on by an ex-praetor with the title of pro-consul, on whose staff were a legatus and a quaestor. With the reorganization of the Roman Empire by Diocletian which was carried further by S. Constantine the Great, the province of Cyprus was placed in the first of the twelve great dioceses, that of the Oriens, commanded originally by a praefectus praetorio Orientis, then by the vicarius Orientis and finally, from about 331 A.D., by the comes Orientis.

As regards general conditions in Cyprus during the Roman period, they were on the whole peaceful and were disturbed seriously only thrice. The first disturbance was, however, a veritable disaster for the Island, and it came about in this way. In the winter of 115 A.D. or spring of 116 the Jews in Cyprus, led by one Artemion are said to have perpetrated unspeakable outrages on the population, following the example which had been set to them by their brethren in Cyrene and Egypt. It is said that the dead in Cyprus amounted to 240,000, and that the city of Salamis was utterly destroyed and the non-Jewish population exterminated. Of the above number we do not know how many of the dead were themselves Jews who were slain in the suppression of the revolt. Among the troops which

(1) Cassius Dio, XLII, 35.

(2) *British Museum Catalogue of Coins*, Ptolemies, Pl. XXX, 6.

(3) *Plut. Anton.* 36, 5<sup>a</sup>; Cassius Dio, XLIX, 32, 5; 41, 2.

(4) C. Sextilius Rufus.

(5) Cicero, *Ad fam.* XIII, 48.

(6) Cassius Dio, LIV, 4, 1; Strabo, XVII, 3, 25.

were sent to put down this revolt there was a detachment of the Legio VII Claudia (1) and a mixed infantry and cavalry detachment, the Cohors VII Breucorum civium Romanorum equitata (2). The second disturbance was caused by a raid on Cyprus by the Goths in 269 A.D., but it seems that they did not do much damage in the Island (3). The third disturbance occurred in the reign of S. Constantine the Great, when an attempt was made by a certain Calocaerus to set himself up as master of the Island (4). It seems that this Calocaerus had been sent to take measures for the restoration of Cyprus after the earthquake of 332-333 A.D. He was, however, captured by Delmatius, nephew of the Emperor, and carried off to Tarsus where he was either crucified or burnt alive.

With regard to the administration of Cyprus under the Romans, the Island was governed, as has already been stated, from 22 B.C. onwards by an *ex-praetor* with the title of proconsul who had on his staff a *legatus* and a *quaestor*. The proconsul had his official residence at Paphos which became the capital of the Island. The list of proconsuls and other officials is still very defective, and to that given by Sir George Hill (5) there must be added the name of Philius Pontus which occurs in an inscription from a Roman temple recently brought to light at Paphos (6). The best known of these proconsuls is L. Sergius Paulus, circa 46-48 A.D., before whom St. Paul and the magician Elymas appeared. Astonished at the miracle which St. Paul performed on this occasion, L. Sergius Paulus believed in the doctrine which he preached (7). The municipal office of *stratēgos* of which mention has already been made, survived into Roman times (8), and the municipal institutions of the Hellenistic period, such as the *boulē*, *dēmos* and *gerousia* were continued. For example, the senate, presumably the *boulē* of Salamis played an unhappy part in the quarrel with M. Scaptius, the agent of M. Brutus (9). Sometimes, action was taken by the city ( $\pi \acute{o} \lambda \iota \varsigma$ ) as a whole, as at Salamis, Paphos, Citium and Curium, and sometimes by individual bodies, e.g. by the *boulē* at Salamis, Citium, by the *boulē* and the *dēmos* jointly at Salamis, Paphos and Lapēthus, by the *dēmos* alone at Salamis and Paphos, by the *gerousia* at Salamis. At Soli, and probably elsewhere, the *boulē* was chosen by a censor. Roman men of business, it would seem, had an organization of their own apart from the municipal constitution. For the management of the finances of the Island,

(1) H. Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Sel.*, 9491.

(2) *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* III, p. 41, no. 215.

(3) Trebell. Pollio, *Vita Claudii*, XII, 1 «et Cyprum vastare tentarunt».

(4) Aurel. Victor, *De Caes.*, 41, 11 «Cyprum insulam specie regni demens capessiverat».

(5) Sir George Hill, *op. cit.* Vol. I, pp. 254-256.

(6) Cf. Loizos Philippou & O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

(7) *Acts* XIII, 6-12.

(8) *B.M. Inscr.* 975 (Amathus).

(9) Cicero, *Ad Att.* V, 21 & VI, 2.

officials termed *logistês* or *curator civitatis* were sent out by Rome (1), which also seems to have appointed an official termed *limenarcha* or inspector of harbours (2) who had probably control of harbour dues. The Cyprian fleet still existed though much reduced, as may be gathered from the fact that, when Licinius was collecting ships for his final struggle against S. Constantine the Great in 324 A.D., he obtained a contingent of only thirty ships from the Island, whereas, Egypt and Phoenicia contributed eighty each, the Ionians and the «Dorians in Asia» sixty. Libya, fifty, Bithynia thirty and Caria twenty. Moreover, a great part of this fleet was lost in a storm after an unsuccessful engagement in the Hellespont with Crispus, son of S. Constantine the Great, in the last months of 324 A.D.

As regards the cities, the most important were: New Paphos (a double community which included Old Paphos at which was situated the Temple of Aphrodite), Salamis (afterwards Constantia), Amathus, Arsinoë, Chytri, Carpasia, Kerynia, Citium, Curium, Lapêthus, Soli, Tamassus and Tremithus.

Already under the Ptolemies Paphos had been increasing in importance, and, in the absence of any local rulers, its fame as the religious centre of the cult of the goddess Aphrodite gave it a superior dignity. Another factor which led to its being made the capital of the Island under the Romans was undoubtedly the silting up of the harbour of Salamis and likewise the fact that being situated in the west of the Island it was nearer to Italy for communications and trade.

A severe earthquake laid Paphos in ruins in 15 B.C., and the emperor Augustus came to its rescue with a gift of money and decreed that the city should bear the name «Augusta» (3). This title appears in inscriptions immediately or soon after that year (4). In 22 A.D. the two temples of the goddess Aphrodite at Paphos and Amathus as well as that of Zeus Olympius at Salamis established their right of asylum before the tribunal of enquiry ordered by the Roman Senate to examine the claims of temples to the right of asylum (5). It was undoubtedly due to the excellent reception that Paphos gave to Titus, when he visited it in 69 A.D. on his way to Syria (6), that this city received the additional title of Flavia, although the inscriptions which record this are not earlier than the time of the emperor Septimius Severus (7).

(1) One is recorded at Citium in the reign of Septimius Severus and another at Paphos under Caracalla, cf. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, Athens & Paris, LI, 1927, pp. 139-141. Σεβαστή

(2) *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, VI, 1440.

(3) Cassius Dio, LIV, 23. 7. Σεβαστή.

(4) *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes*, Paris, 1906, III, 939.

(5) Tacitus, *Ann.* III, 62-63.

(6) Tacitus, *Hist.* II, 2-4; Suetonius, *Titus* 5.

(7) *Inscriptiones Graecae*, etc., III, 937, 939, et Σεβαστή Κλαυδία Φλαουία Πάφος, ἡ ἱερὰ μητρόπολις τῶν κατὰ Κύπρον πόλεων.

As regards the architecture of Paphos, Strabo who visited the city in the beginning of the first century A.D., describes it as «having a harbour and well-built temples» (1). Of the actual architectural remains of Roman date at Paphos there are few visible above the ground. There are, for example, a number of erect monolithic granite columns near the 13th century church of St. Kyriakê Khrysopolitissa, which may have belonged to a forum, and on an elevation near the harbour there are lying on the ground a number of monolithic granite columns which belonged to a building that appears to have measured some 250 feet by 200 feet. Beneath it there are underground chambers and galleries which, according to a report given at the beginning of the nineteenth century, connect with a locality known as the Fabrica Hill, a quarter of a mile away (2). At this same locality there was discovered recently a Roman temple which was probably dedicated to the Imperial Cult, if we are to judge by the dedication inscriptions found on its site; one dedicates the statues and slopes to Antonius and his son M. Au[relius], i.e. the Roman emperors Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, and the other to Marcus Aurelius alone. Both inscriptions are in Greek, and a third, in Latin, mentions a dedication made by the citizens of Paphos to a certain Philius Pontus, *proconcul* (3). The city wall is particularly interesting, as a considerable part of its western end is hewn out of the living rock. This wall is pierced by two narrow entrances, and from the top a causeway also cut out of the rock, leads down to the western necropolis. No traces of stone or brick courses of this wall now remain (4). In the fourth century A.D. a series of earthquakes knocked Paphos about so badly that it was not rebuilt for some time. Indeed, when St Hilarion, a contemporary of S. Constantine the Great, visited this city, his biographer, St. Jerome, says of it «that city so celebrated by the poets which, destroyed by frequent earthquakes, has now only its ruins to show what once it was» (5).

As regards Salamis, a survey of the site of this city and some preliminary clearing — the whole area is covered with sand and shrub — was made in 1890 (6), and some further clearing was made in 1925 (7). The most important constructions laid bare are as follows: 1) The First or Great Forum. This may be considered the chief and earliest of the Roman memorials in Cyprus and was erected previously to the year 22 B.C., for we have an inscription which records a restoration of this forum by a *propraetor* (8), and as has been already said, the title of the governor

(1) Strabo, *Geogr.* XIV, 6.

(2) Loizos Philippou & O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *op. cit.*, p. 21

(3) Loizos Philippou & O.H.E. KHS-Burmester, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

(4) *Ibidem*, p. 23.

(5) Hieron., *Vita S. Hilar.* 42 (Migne, *P.L.* XXIII, col. 50).

(6) *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. XII (1891).

(7) Geo. Jeffery, *The Ruins of Salamis*, Nic. sin, 1946, p. 11.

(8) *Ibidem*, p. 14 «Aug propraetore Salaminorum forum dilapsum restituit.»

of Cyprus was changed in 22 B.C. to that of *proconsul*. This forum was entirely built of stone with columns of the Corinthian order nearly twenty-seven feet high. The joints of the drums of the columns, as well as their shallow flutings, are covered with cement which gives the columns a peculiar appearance. All the capitals seem to have been made in two pieces, each two feet thick, with a horizontal joint. The area comprised within the outer walls of this forum was immense, and amounts to at least three and a half acres. The space within the enclosing houses and shops measures about 750 feet by 180 feet. At the south end of this forum there is a *podium* or platform on which stood a temple of the usual Roman square proportions. The Corinthian order of its columns was considerably larger than that of the forum colonnades —the proportion being as 3 to 4, and are an indication of the magnitude of this temple. Its *peristyle* and *cella* have been explored, and the former measures 96 feet by 72 feet and the latter (the east wall has not been found) 52 feet by 50 feet. The general width of the walls is 6 feet, and the existing surface is even and partly flagged with large flat stones. The dedication of this temple to Zeus Olympius is confirmed by an important inscription referring to lands belonging to the shrine found in 1890 (1) and by two or three other fragmentary inscriptions in Greek and Latin (2). An inscription of the emperor Trajan found nearby proves that this temple was standing at the beginning of the second century A.D.

(1) After the forum and temple had been thrown down by an earthquake, the majority of the drums and capitals of the columns were carried away and re-used in the construction of the Byzantine city of Constantia (3).

2) *The Second or Granite Forum.* This is a collection of monolithic granite columns which appear to have formed the west colonnade of the forum. This site has not been explored, but it now appears that the original measurement of the enclosure, 190 feet, should be considerably more, and this would point to its being a forum, since such measurements would be too great for any edifice.

3) *The Third or Marble Forum.* This consists of a ruined stoa or colonnade with magnificent marble columns, traces of thirteen survive. Most are lying in the sand, though a few broken ones still remain standing. The height of the columns is about thirty feet and they are of a beautiful white colour and the capitals are carefully carved (See Plate V). This forum is attributed to the third or possibly second century, though in the fourth century or later the stoa was adapted as one side of a square enclosure of which the other three sides were on a smaller scale, about 20 feet high. A number of marble statues of inferior quality were found when this forum was excavated, and they were removed to the Cyprus Museum, Leukosia.

4) *The Thermæ.* In 1925 an attempt was

(1) *Ibidem*, p. 8 and *J.H.S.* XII, p. 78.

(2) One of these is in honour of Livia Augusta (*Inscriptiones Græcæ ad Res Romanas pertinentes* III, 984), and since she is not called Julia, this inscription dates from before the death of Augustus in 14 A.D.

(3) *Geo. Jeffery op. cit.*, p. 10).

made to penetrate a vast mound of ruins which in the map in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. XII is termed «Castellum» (1). Subsequent investigation showed that these ruins consisted of a group of large halls and chambers which seem almost certainly to be Baths. The large and ponderous masonry and the spacious proportion of these ruins would seem to suggest a date in the first or second centuries A.D. As far as can be at present identified, these Baths consisted of three long chambers, side by side, each about 150 feet by 30 feet, inside measurement. Two, if not all three, of these chambers were completely vaulted, and the one in the centre terminated on the north side in a great semicircular apse or recess of the same width as the chamber. These three chambers are probably the *caldarium*, *tepidarium* and *frigidarium* in their usual relative position. The *hypocaust* and its heating ramifications will probably be discovered among them when the site is thoroughly explored. The total width of these three chambers is about 200 feet, owing to the immense thickness of the dividing and external walls. The construction is of a common and poor character, with large rough-hewn stones averaging 5 feet by 2 feet by 1 foot. The whole roof was covered with a strong cement of lime and puzzolana, of which a few traces have been identified.

5) Roman Villa. The well preserved plan of a villa has been partly laid bare at a point midway between the second and third forums. The lower courses of the walls remain to a height of a few feet. At one corner of the enclosure there are the remains of a bath house consisting of several rooms, two of which, communicating with each other, had *hypocausts* beneath them. The *hypocaust* with its sixteen little columns and floor above is completely preserved, and from the main walls of this part of the building it is not difficult to see that its construction was in vaulting. The inner chambers were approached through a vestibule with narrow doors arranged to retain the hot air within. The innermost chamber was built with three baths contrived in recesses. One chamber has a fine mosaic flooring, and others still preserve their marble floors. From its position near the forums this villa may well have been the dwelling of some wealthy merchant. There are many such villas and houses, as yet unexplored, in various parts of the city.

6) The Great Reservoir. At the north end of the First or Great Forum there is an immense tank built of masonry, locally known as the «Vouta» (vaulted building). It seems to have been a great distributing tank for the water supply of Salamis, but until the site has been properly excavated it is impossible to say anything definite about the water supply of the city. The date of the first building of the aqueduct which brought water to Salamis from Kythrea, some 35 miles away, is unknown, and the first records of it belong to Byzantine times. It may, however, date from the time of the emperor Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.), since a magnificent bronze statue of him was discovered at Kythrea, and may have been erected there to commemorate the building of this aqueduct. It has been calculated that this aqueduct would serve some 120,000 inhabitants, a point to be remembered when estimating the population of Salamis.

(1) Geo. Jeffery, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

The great silted up harbour together with the vast area of the lower town still remains to be explored (1).

In 332 A.D., and again ten years later, an earthquake knocked Salamis about very badly, and on the latter occasion a tidal wave levelled to the ground what had escaped the earthquakes (2). It was rebuilt on a smaller scale by Constantius II (337-361 A.D.) (3) and renamed Constantia after him. The survivors of the disaster were relieved of taxation for four years. At some time in this century Constantia definitely replaced Paphos as capital of Cyprus. It was also the see of the archbishop of the Island (4). It was finally ruined during the second Arab invasion of Cyprus in A.H. 33= 653-4 A.D.

The mines in the Island which had been the property of the Cyprian kings and of their successors the Ptolemies, naturally fell to the Roman State. In 12 B.C. the emperor Augustus allowed Herod the Great to take over a half of the output of the copper mines at Soli against a payment of a round sum of 300 talents (5). From Galen who visited Cyprus about the middle of the second century we have a description of a mine which he visited about thirty stades (5 1/2 km.) from Soli. He tells us that the official in charge, the epitropos of the Emperor, allowed him to visit the workings and to take away specimens (6). Among the miners in the fourth century were a number of Christians who had been transferred from the mines in Palestine to those in the Island (7). Among these was the famous St. Spyridon, bishop of Tremithus, who had been one of the confessors whom Galerius Maximianus, after putting out his right eye and hamstringing him in the left leg had condemned to the mines (8). Operations at these mines seem to have ceased about 400 A.D. Interesting tools, ladders, ropes, baskets, props, pottery-lamps, windlasses etc. have been found in the Roman workings and are described in the publications of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (9). It is interesting to note that no iron nails or nail holes in the timber have been found. It is probable that dowel pins were used in place of nails; pieces of wood with dowel holes have been found (10).

From the Tabula Peutingeriana, a thirteenth century reproduction of a map of the Roman Empire, second to third century, as well as from a few milestones we know that a circular road ran round the Island, keeping generally near the coast, as indeed does the actual circular road, except where it avoided the Akamas promontory and where it turned inwards over the Kyrenia mountain range to Chytri (Kythrea) and thence to Salamis. From

(1) Geo. Jeffery, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

(2) Elias of Nisibin (*Chron. tr. Dclaporte*, p. 65) gives Olymp. 278. 2 (334-5 A.D.) as the date of this earthquake which others place two years earlier.

(3) Malalas (XII, p. 313, Bonn), but Constantius Chlorus should have been Constantius II.

(4) St. Epiphanius was archbishop of Constantia, and died 403 A.D. 5) Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, XVI, 4, 5.

(6) Galen, *De Antidotis (Opera, ed. Kuhn, XIV, p. 7)*.

(7) Eusebius, *De martyr. Palest.* 13.

(8) *Martyrologium Romanum*, 19 Kal. Jan.

(9) Swed. Cyp. Ex., *op. cit.* vol. III (Text), pp. 653-655.

(10) For a detailed report on these ancient copper mines, cf. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, vol. III. (Text), Appendix V 'Antiquities in the Mines of Cyprus' by J. L. Bruce, pp. 639-671.

Citium a cross-road passed through Tremithus and Tamassus to Soli. There was also a central road which ran through the whole length of the central plain from Salamis to Soli, with side roads entering from the south, at Tremithus from Citium, and at Tamassus from Amathus. There was also another road from Salamis which served the Karpass (1).

As regards jewelry, we have earrings of three types. a) the Loop-type b) the Delta-shaped type c) a Loop-type in which the loop of the earring disappears and a secondary hook is attached directly to the back of the ornament (disc, setting with stone or paste). The commonest ornament is the convex disc or setting for pearl, which, moreover, is provided with a pendant (pearls, amethysts, glass-paste threaded on a fine wire). Necklaces are of the chain type with alternate links of flat paste beads and of perforated gold plates. Bracelets are of twisted wire with hook-and-eye fastening.

Of sculpture from the Roman period little of outstanding merit has as yet been found. The most important piece is a bronze statue of the emperor Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.). It was discovered in fragments near Kythrea (the ancient Chytri) in 1928. In 1940 a complete reconstruction was undertaken and successfully carried out in the Cyprus Museum workshops (2). It is now on exhibition in the Septimius Severus Room of the Cyprus Museum, Leukosia. The Emperor is represented over life-size in an heroic attitude, possibly in the act of delivering a speech, as is evidenced by the gesticulation of the hands. The weight of the body rests on the right leg which is slightly advanced, while the left leg is bent and touches the ground with the toes. The head is a masterpiece of portraiture and the rendering of the body is both powerful and elegant. There are also two marble sarcophagi of good Roman workmanship of the second century. One is at the Abbey of Bellepais, where it was converted by the mediaeval monks into a lavabo, and the other is now in a small enclosure at Varosha, where it serves as a tomb for the first English Commissioner of Famagousta.

The only Roman theatre that has been excavated so far in Cyprus is that at Soli which the Swedish Cyprus Expedition cleared in 1930 (3). This theatre seems to be Roman from the beginning, and to belong to the end of the second or beginning of the third century: there is no evidence that it has been restored or its plan altered after erection. The architectural type of this theatre shows similarity, partly to the Roman theatres in Asia Minor, partly to those in North Africa, Transjordan, and Arabia, and is therefore most probably approximately contemporary with them. As late as the 18th century there were considerable quantities of Roman architectural remains at Soli, but unhappily this site, like others in Cyprus, was then ruthlessly plundered for building stone for Egypt, and it is unlikely that this theatre escaped the fate of the other buildings.

This theatre (See Plate VI) consists of the three normal parts of an ancient theatre: orchestra, auditorium and stage building. The Orchestra

(1) Cf. T. Mitford, *Milestones in Western Cyprus*, London, 1940.

(2) Cf. *Archaeology*, vol. I, no. 3, September, 1948, New York, "The Bronze Statue of Septimius Severus in the Cyprus Museum", pp. 146-147.

(3) Cf. *Swed. Cypr. Ex., op. cit.*, vol. III, pp. 548-582.

This is semicircular in shape and cut out of the rock, and there is a rectangular addition in front of it. The semicircle has a diameter of 17.0 metres, and the protracted, rectangular part, a width of 21.50 metres by 2.90 metres. The floor of the orchestra was plastered with lime-cement. Two passages lead into it, the western and eastern *parodoi*, and they were covered by a vaulted roof. **The Auditorium.** This is semicircular in shape with a diameter of 52.0 metres, and the greater part of it is cut in the rock of the sloping hillside. It is divided by a *diazoma* in two circles, and this *diazoma* which is 0.55 metres wide was covered with limestone slabs of which thirty-one in the middle are preserved. The seats are cut in semicircular concentric rows rising by steps and following the curvature of the auditorium. They also were originally covered with stone slabs probably of limestone, but of these not a single one is preserved. The seats measure 0.40 metres high and 0.40 metres wide, of which 0.35 metres is reserved for the feet of the person sitting on the row above. Only the nine lowermost rows of the seats are still traceable from the cuttings in the rock; every trace of the higher rows has disappeared through the weathering of the rock. It can be calculated that the lower circle contained seventeen rows and the upper circle thirteen rows, and it is estimated that there was room for 3500 spectators in the auditorium. The spectators reached their places on the rows by means of narrow stairs, 0.50 metres wide, radiating from the orchestra and from the *diazoma*. Two entrance passages give access to the auditorium from the outside, one to the west and the other to the east, on the level of the *diazoma*. These passages of which the walls have almost entirely disappeared, measure 10.50 metres long and 1.50 metres wide. They were originally covered by vaulted roofs and closed at their exterior ends. **The Stage-building.** This is a rectangular building 36.15 metres long and 13.20 metres wide. It is built on and around a rock-cut platform which forms an excised part of the natural rock. This stage-building consists of three parts: *logeion*, *paraskēnia* and *skēnē*. The *logeion* measures 23.95 metres long, 5.50 metres wide and 12.00 metres high. The front wall of it is decorated with pilasters in low relief flanking semicircular niches in which sculptures were once placed, but the back wall, i.e. the *scaenae frons* is missing. Three doorways open in the front wall on to a subterranean passage which is cut in the rock through the whole width of the stage-building. It measures 0.75-1.70 metres wide and 1.65 metres deep and is entered by a narrow door in the back wall of the stage-building. In the front wall of the *skēnē* there were probably also three doors by which the *logeion* communicated with the *skēnē*. The many fragments of the columns indicate that the superstructure of the *scaenae* had the appearance of the usual Roman, ornamental facade. The *paraskēnia* are rather narrow and rectangular in shape, measuring 11.50 metres in length and 3.35 metres in width, and are divided into two front rooms and two back rooms. The *skēnē* is rectangular in shape and measures 23.95 metres in length and 6.00 metres in width. It was divided into two parts by a longitudinal wall. The subterranean passage was covered with stone slabs of which only one was found approximately in situ. The roof of the stage-building was covered with tiles of terracotta of which many fragments were found.

No coinage appears to have been issued by the Romans in the Island until the time of Augustus, but from then on to Caracalla, and perhaps to Ela-

gabalus (1), there is a fairly important series of issues. On the coins of Claudius the Koinon of the Cyprians makes its appearance, and henceforth on all the ordinary bronze issues (2). It seems that the control of the bronze coinage was one of the chief functions of the Koinon of the Cyprians. During the last three years of Vespasian there was an extensive issue of silver, a continuation of the one which had been begun seven years before at Antioch on the Orontes, and was transferred to Cyprus, perhaps in connection with the measures taken to relieve the Island after the disastrous earthquake which is generally dated 77-78 A.D., but which may have taken place a year earlier. The most interesting type of coinage of the Roman period is undoubtedly that which depicts the Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos with the inscription «KOINON KYPRION (3) and another depicting Zeus holding a libation-saucer in his right hand, and resting his left, on the wrist of which his eagle perches, on a short sceptre. This doubtless reproduced the statue of Zeus Olympius in his temple at Salamis, though probably issued like all the other coins of the Island from the capital Paphos.

Public education was in the hands of gymnasiarchs who frequently undertook the office as a liturgy at their own cost, the chief expense of which seems to have been the provision of oil, as in Graeco-Roman cities generally. For example, at Lapethus a certain Adrastus, son of Adrastus, built the temple and set up the statue of the emperor Tiberius in the gymnasium, appointing himself and his descendants gymnasiarch and priest of the gods of the gymnasium. Hermes and Herakles, in conjunction with his son Adrastus, who also chose himself to be gymnasiarch of the boys, all at their own cost. An *ephebarch* is mentioned in the same inscription (4) as also in one from Chytri. At Soli there was a public library (*bibliophylakion*).

In addition to the mosaic floors in villas explored and unexplored at Salamis, we have also examples from Old Paphos, New Paphos and Curium. That from Old Paphos (See Plate VII) is in coloured tesserae arranged in geometrical figures, and probably dates from the second to third century A.D. It has no inscription. The mosaic flooring from New Paphos, recently discovered, is in coloured tesserae and depicts the struggle of Herakles with the Lion of Nemea (5) (See Plate VIII). The hero is represented as about to seize the lion by the throat as it leaps upon him. His club leans against the wall of the cave behind him. The lion has the short mane of the Asiatic species. This mosaic dates also most probably from the second to third century A.D. (6) From Curium we have a very interesting mosaic flooring with an inscription (See Plate IX) which is in coloured tesserae and is circular in shape. The inscription is enclosed in a garland which is sur-

(1) Cf. Westholm, *Temples of Soli*, p. 135.

(2) There was an extensive issue of bronze of two denominations with the heads of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius C. Caesar. Although it bears no indication that it was made in Cyprus, it seems certain that it was minted there, as specimens always come from the Island.

(3) Cf. Swed. Cyp. Exp., *op. cit.*, vol III, (Text), p. 497 n. 333 obverse bust of Trajan; p. 502, n. 445 obverse bust of Caracalla; p. 503, n. 456 obverse bust of Julia Domna.

(4) *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas pertinentes* III, 933.

(5) Apollodorus, *Libr. II*, v. 1 (The First Labour of Herakles).

(6) Permission to publish the photograph of this mosaic was graciously accorded to the writer by the Director of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, under letter No. 88/37/2.

rounded by squares containing geometrical figures. In order that the squares could be arranged around the garland, wedges were inserted between them. The inscription with the proposed restorations (1) reads as follows:

ΕΙΣΑ(ΕΙ) ΕΠΑΓΑΘ(Ω) ΕΥΤΥΧΩΣ ΤΩ ΟΙΚΩ

which we may render as: «For ever [be it] for good [and] good luck to the house». Its date may be placed anywhere in the first three centuries A.D.

Although the institution of the Province of Cyprus did not carry with it the inauguration of a provincial era, a new calendar was, however, introduced at Paphos under the emperor Augustus, possibly in 15 B.C., when the city received special favour from him after the disastrous earthquake it suffered. In this new calendar the names of the months all referred to Rome and more particularly to the Julian family. The year opens with the month called Aphrodisios in honour of the goddess Aphrodite, not only as the goddess of Paphos but also as an ancestress of the Julian family. In 2 B.C., however, a revision of this calendar had to be made owing to the fact that Julia had disgraced her name whilst other members of the family had died and Tiberius himself had gone into exile. In this revised calendar the month of Aphrodisios still opens the year, but the opening date is changed to 23rd September, the birthday of Augustus, and the names of the remaining months refer to the offices held by Augustus. At Salamis, the Egyptian calendar which the city had observed under the Ptolemies was retained. The year, however, began on 4th September and the order of the Egyptian names of the months was changed. This calendar was kept long into the Imperial period.

As regards the burial of the dead during the Roman period, tombs are found at all the historic cities of the Island. At Paphos, we have examples of two types of Roman tombs both situated at the locality locally known as «Sé-madi». One of these is rock-hewn and the other is stone-built (2). At Salamis, many of the Roman tombs which lined the road which led to the city have long since vanished. The greater part were long ago rifled, though one near the village of Engomi was found to contain a considerable amount of the usual grave-furniture and jewelry, but, unfortunately, this find has been dispersed. The principal tomb is that known as «St. Catherine's Prison». It is a Roman structure of a large and unusual form and recalls the famous tombs of Palmyra. Its date may be the second century A.D. (3).

With regard to religion in Cyprus during Roman times, we have, in addition to the cults already mentioned in the Hellenistic period, the mention of a Tychaion at Paphos founded by a certain Apollonia and her husband Patrocles who were also high-priests for life of the goddess Tychê. The inscription which mentions this (4) probably dates from the time when Paphos received the title «Augusta». From an inscription found at Salamis (5) we learn that a certain Hyllus acted as gymnasiarch at his own

(1) For the restoration Α [ΕΙ] which not only fits into the space allotted for the lettering of the inscription, but also suits the context very well, I am indebted to my colleague Mr. J. Holland who very kindly proposed it to me.

(2) Cf. Loizos Philippou & O. H. E. KHS-Burmester, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

(3) Cf. the article by Geo. Jeffery in *Archaeologia* for 1915.

(4) *O.G.I.* 585.

(5) *O.G.I.* 582.

expense in the year thirty-three of Augustus, i.e. 4 A.D. and as high-priest of Divus Augustus Caesar in Cyprus. We have also mention of a high-priestess of the temples of Dēmētēr throughout the Island (1). Although the evidence as yet is not conclusive, there may have been also a sanctuary of Mithras at New Paphos. Situated between the Fabrica Hill and the modern lighthouse of Katō Paphos there are some rock-hewn chambers of which two have been cleared this year (1949). One of them is a circular vault similar to the oracular vault already mentionēd in the cave-sanctuary of Apollo Hylatēs to the east of the city, but without an opening in the roof. A low stone platform running round the sides of the circular vault and fixed to the walls may have served as a bench. In the middle of the floor a short, thick stone column was found overturned. This column which has now been set up has a hole in the top into which a statue may have been fitted (See Plate XIII). In the east wall of this vault a door-way cut in the rock leads into an oblong, nave-like chamber in the north, or end wall of which a niche is cut out of the rock and probably contained a statue of the god (See Plate XIV). No inscription or statue has been found in either of the two chambers of this sanctuary so far cleared. The evidence in favour of the use of this cave-sanctuary for the worship of Mithras is as follows: a) the oblong, nave-like, rock-hewn chamber with shrine-recess in the end wall and the shallow stone platform running round the circular vault and fixed to the walls, both of which things are paralleled in the cave-sanctuary of Mithras at Ostia, the harbour of Rome (2) b) that as the cult of Mithras had its devotees among the foreign, especially Asian soldiery of the Roman army and among merchants, and was consequently found especially where there was a garrison and also in sea-ports, it is reasonable to suppose that New Paphos which was a sea-port and had also a garrison, would likewise have possessed a sanctuary of Mithras c) that this cave-sanctuary is of Roman date seems probable from the large monolithic granite column lying at the side of it which possibly belonged to some building either in front of or above this cave-sanctuary. This column is of the same design as the other monolithic granite columns found on Roman sites in other parts of the city. Its size and weight are in favour of its being *in situ*. In addition to this, the remains of the Roman temple assigned to the Imperial Cult which has already been mentioned at the Fabrica Hill that is only a short distance from this cave-sanctuary, would suggest a date towards the end of the 2nd century A.D. for Roman building in this locality, a time, indeed, at which the cult of Mithras was becoming increasingly more popular and wide-spread.

The transition from the old beliefs to that of Christianity is well illustrated by a remarkably interesting, inscribed mosaic found in a 4th century building recently excavated at Curium. This inscription written in elegiacs describes how the house now rests on the support of Christ and how a new protector has arisen for Curium, taking the place of Phoebus Apollo (3).

(1) Cf. P. Lebas & W. H. Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, vol. III, Part. I, Paris, 1870, no. 2801.

(2) Cf. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*, Oxford, 1949, p. 576, under the word "Mithras".

(3) Cf. *Bull. of University Mus. of Pennsylvania*, VII, 2, April, 1938, pp. 6 seqq.

The most important Christian monument of the Roman period in Cyprus is undoubtedly the great basilica of Constantia (Salamis) (1). This basilica has not yet been completely excavated, the narthex and atrium being still underground. This church possessed five aisles divided into fifteen bays, and the doors in the west wall probably led to the narthex and atrium. It had a single apse projecting from the east wall of the central nave. There are some compartments at the east end, but their exact relation to the basilica can be determined only when they have been properly excavated. This basilica belongs to what is known as the Hellenistic type. The main body of the church measures 70 metres long and 49 metres wide, and if we add to this the unexcavated narthex and atrium, this basilica must have measured over 120 metres in length, and would thus have been one of the largest, outside Rome. The stone columns were built of drums from the First or Great Forum of Salamis, but were provided with new capitals. It is most probable that this basilica was the one which Saint Epiphanius, archbishop of Constantia, who died in 403 A. D., is said to have built, and in which he was afterwards buried.

O.H.E.KHS-Burmester.

(1) Cf. *Antiquaries Journal*, VIII, 1928, pp. 344 seqq.

64  
*Concerning Urbanism*

*and*

*Anti-Urbanism in Antiquity*

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William Linn Westermann.

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# Concerning Urbanism and Anti-Urbanism in Antiquity

by

WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN

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In the nineteenth century there was a wide-spread feeling that the massing of human beings in the the great urban agglomerations which were then re-shaping the social problems of the time tended to foster social viciousness in the individuals who lived in the cities. The same kinds of people did not develop or display these vicious tendencies when they were dispersed in the separate households of farm life or in the healthy rural surroundings of the villages. This is an attitude which some sociologists have called «the rural bias». Because its literary expression has taken the form of a negative reaction against the city rather than a positive reaction toward village or countryside, for the purpose of this paper it is better to call this feeling «the anti-urban bias».

The negative reaction against city living expressed itself in the United States and in Europe in two phases. The first phase appeared at the time when urban aggregations had begun to bring about fundamental changes in the existing structure of the then agricultural societies, predominantly organized in village, town and small-city units. The traditional mores majorum were disintegrating. In this period, which may roughly be said to have covered the first half of the nineteenth century, the anti-urban reaction took the form of hatred, or of fear, of the city. This attitude found expression in poems similar to the following naive American verses addressed to a country girl «who had expressed a wish to lead a town life»:

«Sweet Mary, sigh not for the town  
Where vice and folly reign;  
.....  
There foul Ambition loves to dwell,  
False Pride and lust of Fame,  
There Malice and Revenge rebel  
Against the good man's name.  
Ah! little do you know, sweet maid,  
What art the city spoils,  
Where villians ply the canting trade  
and fraud is drest in smiles ». (1)

(1) «To a Country Girl», by H. H. Jr., which appeared in *Plough Boy*, an early American Agricultural paper published at Albany, N. Y. See vol. II, (1820-1821) p. 89, in the issue of August 19, 1920. The reference comes to me from Professor A. L. Demaree of Dartmouth College. He informs me that the poem is characteristic of a fear of the city which found frequent expression in the agricultural journals of that period.

After the big city had become an inescapable fact, a new literary evaluation of the urban community appeared. It was still negative; but it was much more sophisticated in tone. It took the form of a sentimentalized attitude toward farm life and, more practically, led to the growth of suburban communities. It has become a conventional theme of social history. In the poetry of our day which deals with social forces it is a somewhat constant theme:

«Of blood and dreams are built the towns of men;  
Of bitter blood and lustful dreams of power,  
And dreams of beauty». (1)

So the city develops a «soul» of its own and represents in itself the highest aspirations and the lowest degradations of mankind. In the grandiose and pretentious work of Oswald Spengler the megalopolis becomes an outstanding symptom of decline. In Spengler's view only civic man has a history. All great cultures are town cultures. The great city «marks the end of organic growth — the beginning of an inorganic, and therefore unrestrained, process of massing without limit». And this process is the last act for Oswald Spengler in the present version of the drama of humanity which plays itself through in long cycles of time. To Spengler the urban development represents an «organic growth leading to self-destruction». (2)

If we refuse to accept this view of the parasitic origin and nature of the city and prefer to follow the pathway to an understanding of the city which has been set by the modern city-planners and many of the sociologists, we may approach the megalopolis without prejudice, as a collectivity and a concentration point of human beings which has great economic and great social advantages, both for its individual units and for the totality which it represents. (3) Whatever end we may reach, a new inquiry into the city form and the social results of that growth seems to be warranted.

In the following consideration of the mental attitude of the ancient Greeks and Romans toward urbanism and its problems a number of primary postulates of this paper must be stated. The first is that the literature of Greco-Roman antiquity was aristocratic. The man of the people wrote but little. If he talked upon the street and found an audience, only occasionally did anyone bother to write down what he said to save it for the coming generations (4). Therefore the popular attitude toward urbanism, that of the actual man of the city streets, is to be seen only on pale reflections found in middle-class and upper-class literature. The second pre-supposition is that we must sharply distinguish the type of urban life which developed during the two millennia of the pre-Greek, oriental, cultures from that which we find in the Hellenic city-states. Cities unquestionably existed in the pre-Greek period, in the sense of large urban aggregations with the necessary political

(1) Hartley Alexander, *Odes on the Generation of Man* (New York, 1910), p. 68.

(2) Oswald Spengler, *Decline of the Western World*, vol. II, pp. 90, 95, 96, 100.

(3) See Robert M. Haig, *Toward an Understanding of the Metropolis*, in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* for 1926, p. 187.

(4) Three notable exceptions are the cases of Socrates, of Jesus of Nazareth, and of Epictetus, the former slave of Stoic faith.

organization and mechanism of defense which would be required to control the nomes in Egypt and lesser city kingdoms of the Babylonian area. (1) The differentiation of the pre-Hellenic cities from the Greek city form lay fundamentally in the sphere of political organization. Egyptian and Babylonian towns were completely dominated by the great palaces and temple structures around which they were built. (2) This royal and temple overshadowing was cultural and spiritual as well as political and visual architecturally. The Greek city-states, also, had their temples which were prominent elements of the architectural outlook of each city. But these temples were integral parts of the physical city and of the political community, dominated by the concept of the self-governing polity and subordinated to that idea. It was, in fact, the Agora, the market of place, and its activities, with a minimum of city-state regulation to hamper it, which was the directing center of the life of the Greek cities.

Economically, also, urban groupings of the pre-Hellenic period were confined to functions which were essentially rural, to the extractive and transportation activities connected with agricultural production. Even here the village peasants, the fellahin of Ancient Egypt, worked under the shadow of the Pharaoh (the Great House) or of the temple. Production in the handicrafts, buying and selling, management — all of those functions which the ancient Greeks and the modern world have attached, and still attach to the concept of civic life — were completely under monarchic or sacerdotal domination. (3) In the first half of the twelfth century before Christ, for example, as we know from the Papyrus Harris, the God Amon by royal grant was ruler of 169 towns situated in Nubia, in Egypt itself, and in Syria (4).

The ancient Greek attitude toward the urban centers of the Babylonian sector is clearly reflected in Aristotle's statement regarding the great capital, Babylon. To him it was not a city, but an agglomeration of people resembling the territory of a nation (5). Implicit in this statement is the idea that the areal spread of Babylon was so great that its inhabitants were semi-

(1) For Egypt see Edward Meyer, *Geschichte der Altertums*, 2d ed., (Berlin, 1909), I 2, p. 177. For Babylonia and the prefects of the Babylonian cities consult Bruno Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien* I pp. 121, 128.

(2) Upon Dura - Europus on the Euphrates River and other similar Seleucid city foundations in the ancient Near East see M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Social and Economic History of the Hellenistic World*, vol. I, pp. 479 and 490-492 (Oxford 1941). Upon the municipal spirit which remained alive in these cities of the Hellenistic period see vol. II p. 1075.

(3) M. I. Rostovtzeff in Richard T. Ely's *Urban Land Economics* (Ann Arbor, 1922), p. 57. For those economic functions which are considered to be essentially urban, consult Robert Haig, *Quart. Jour. of Economics*, 1926, p. 189.

(4) James H. Breasted in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, II, p. 182. Breasted's translation of the Papyrus Harris will be found in his *Ancient Records of Egypt*, IV, 85-206.

(5) Aristotle, *Politics*, III, 1, 12. No doubt Aristotle, who had not visited Babylon, followed the description in Herodotus I, 178 ff. Archaeological investigation has proven that Babylon, instead of being the 480 stades (about 55 miles) in circumference, or 14 miles on a side, was about 4 miles in length on each side. Even so it would have contained Corinth, which had a more extensive walled area than any other Greek city, about three times. For the walls of Corinth see Rhys Carpenter and Antoine Bon, *Corinth III*, part 2, p. 80 (Cambridge, Mass., 1936); and compare for Babylon, F. Haverfield, *Ancient Town Planning* (1913), pp. 20, 26.

autarchic from the standpoint of food supply. Politically the Babylonian cities were not in the slightest degree self-ruling.

Wherever the lower limit may be set for that quantity of people which constitutes a city, in the modern terminology the number of the residents of any urban community always plays a part in the definition of the word «city» (1). This quantitative appraisal was completely absent from the «polis» concept of the Greeks who were the first people to develop a culture based upon city life in anything like the modern meaning of that term. Fundamentally polis was a political concept, meaning states; but the type of state represented in the word was unique. Within that polis which was state there was another polis -- a physical city. The physical polis was the heart of the territorial polis, that is, the state. Athens was a city and Athens was a state. Attica was a geographical area; but it was not a state. This symbolizes the essential differentiating characteristic of the Greek polis. It was physical city, plus state. Each microcosmic city-state made its pretentious and insistent claim to separate nationhood. This claim included recognition of its own set of its own set of laws, its separate coinage system, its own diplomatic service. The Greeks maintained for centuries this political philosophy of the little city-state; but the Italian cities lost it by 272 B.C., to the spread of Roman urban unification. Except for this concept of the city and state as one of the Greek and the Roman urban centers approached our cities of today in respect to their civic life and structure.

When did the polis of antiquity, this community of city type, first appear? I do not hesitate to put its inception even before the Greek colonization movement of the eighth century B.C. By this I mean to include both the urban aggregation into economic and social community, corresponding to the modern demands implied by the word «city», and the political concept of the city-plus-state which was so characteristically Greek (2). From the period of the eighth and seventh century colonization downward to the date of the establishment of Constantinople as the new Rome, the Mediterranean presented its typical and unchanging picture of a great inland sea whose edges were strung with towns and cities. Through these harbor cities the Mediterranean hinterlands sent out their products by ships to the utmost ends of that traders' sea. Similar towns and cities received these shipments and sent back goods of local production which were elsewhere desired or needed. This I take to be the outstanding fact of the ancient Greco-Roman culture, that it was fundamentally a culture of lands abutting upon the Mediterranean Sea and that it was thalassic-minded. Only two men really broke away from its

(1) The lower limit of resident population may be set, either legally or by general acceptance, at 2000, as in several of the countries of Europe and in some of the United States. Or it may be legally fixed at 10,000 or 12,000 as in other states of the North American Union. See the references collected by Scott E. W. Bedford in his *Readings in Urban Sociology* (New York, 1927), pp. 29-32.

(2) Victor Ehrenberg, in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, LVII (1937), pp. 147-159, has come to the same conclusion upon the polis as political concept, as against Helmut Berve in *Die Antike*, XII (1936), 1, f. Berve would put the realization of the political polis at about 500 B.C.

Professor C. W. Blegen, who is in charge of the revival of the Schliemann-Dorpfeld excavations upon the site of ancient Troy stated, in a lecture at the Metropolitan Museum in New York upon Nov. 5, 1938, that Troy was never a city. Throughout its career it remained a fortress surrounded by villages.

dominant intra-Mediterranean and thalassic viewpoint. These were Alexander the Great and Gaius Julius Caesar. Alexander broke down completely the political barriers between the Mediterranean and the Middle East as far as India. Against the opposition of the dominant party in the Roman Senate Julius Caesar cast aside that Mediterranean introvertism which constricted the imagination of most of the other leaders of his time.

The vital importance of a location on the shore of the sea was fully recognized alike by the theorists and by the practical politicians of antiquity. Plato in his *State of the Laws* would protect the administrative and central city of his state from the vices connected with harbor towns and their traffic. To do this he would locate the city about 80 stades distant from the sea. This is about ten miles (1). In 149 B.C. the importance of a ten mile distance from the coast was recognized both by the Roman Senate and by the Carthaginian state, when the Roman embassy, headed by the consul Censorinus, met with the envoys from the doomed city of Carthage. These envoys, whatever their grief may have been, gave over without protest the hostages demanded of them. They surrendered their war material, both naval and land equipment, including 2,000 catapults. But when Censorinus declared that they might keep their land and be autonomous, but must remove the city itself 10 miles back from the sea shore, their grief surpassed all bounds. Like men in the throes of death or men insane «they threw themselves upon the ground and beat it with their hands and heads», wailing and tearing their clothes. Suddenly complete silence gripped them all, a silence «as of dead men lying there». Even the hard-bitten Romans shed tears at this tragic sight. Well might the Carthaginians mourn for their city and their state, speaking to her «as to a woman who might hear», because 10 miles back from the sea meant the end of the might of Carthage. The Carthaginians knew it, and the Romans knew it (2).

The ideas which still dominate our thinking about urban development in antiquity were set in 1884 through an essay written by Robert Pöhlmann (3). His study was prepared and submitted in competition for a prize, with the given task of making «a collection, as complete as possible, of the facts relating to overpopulation, and particularly to the housing shortage in the great cities of antiquity» (4). Writing ad hoc and with the anti-urban preconceptions of his time, Pöhlmann had little difficulty in assembling information which proved to himself, and has set, for some part of the scholarly world since his time, a definite attitude. According to the Pöhlmann conviction, the urban populations of the Hellenistic and Roman periods were excessive; and, being excessive, the human aggregations in their urban communities were both exposed to, and productive of, the worst

(1) Plato, *Laws* IV, 704.

(2) For the vivid description of this scene see Appian, *Foreign Wars*, Libya 82. It goes back to the account of Polybius who was with Scipio Africanus when he carried the war to its bitter end in 147 and 146 B. C. To Strabo Rome was an inland city although it was located only 14 miles back from the sea ἐν ὄρεϊ τῆι μεσογαίᾳ, Strabo V 3, 7).

(3) Robert Pöhlmann, *Die Übervölkerung der antiken Grossstädte*, Leipzig, 1884.

(4) This is stated in Pöhlmann's work on the page facing the table of contents at the beginning of the essay.

sort of social discomfort and contamination (1). One of the less distinguished offspring of Pöhlmann's ideas was a hasty paper by Guilelmo Ferrero, still read and still quoted occasionally as authoritative. This article maintained that hyperurbanism in antiquity was one of the principal causes of the decline of ancient civilization (2). But Ferrero's paper failed to come to grips with the essential problems involved. Where was the line to be drawn between urbanism and excessive urbanism? If it were true that the cities were actually too large for a healthy social and state life, the real question becomes even more pressing. In what sense were the urban communities too large, and why so?

Size is a relative term like «time» and «space». The areal spread of a city, if it includes internal sustenance spaces, or even «breathing spaces», in the sense of public parks and gardens, is more important consideration than size in the sense of absolute numbers of inhabitants. More essential than either of these considerations is the question of the function of a city in relation to the life of its restricted locality or to the life of the wider area with which it is immediately involved, both economically and socially. This problem of city function is the one which has been most neglected in the treatment of urbanism in antiquity (3). If, however, we are to deal critically with the hyperurbanism of Pöhlmann an inquiry into the actual numerical size of typical ancient towns and cities cannot be avoided.

The scholar who attempts to deal with the size of the urban populations of Greco-Roman antiquity must fall back upon the approximations set up by Julius Beloch (4). The era of important urban development with which we are concerned covers the 800 years from the first Persian invasions of Greece to the accession of Constantine, called the Great. Within these eight hundred years two periods must be distinguished. The first is the stretch of 200 years from about 500 B.C. to Alexander's time, the «classical age» of Greek culture. The «great» cities of this time were not over-big; and the large ones which did exist were located, in general, in the eastern Mediterranean. In its western half the cities of any considerable size were confined to Carthage and its neighboring Punic towns and to the coast line of Sicily, lower Italy, lower Gaul and eastern Spain. Where city populations can be guessed at the big cities ranged from the 115,000 which may be ascribed to Athens and the Piraeus (5), to the 200,000 which is a possibility for the two

(1) *Ibid.* p. 8.

(2) Guilelmo Ferrero in *Hearst's Magazine*, XXI (1912), pp. 1723 ff.

(3) A beginning of the study of the economic functioning of the cities of antiquity has been made by M. I. Rostovtzeff — by types in his *Caravan Cities* (1932) — by essential connections in his article, Alexandria and Rhodes in *Klio* XXX (1937), pp. 70-76.

(4) Julius Beloch, *Bevölkerung der antiken Grossstädte*, Leipzig, 1886. The enduring value of Beloch's work arises from the candor and realism with which he acknowledged the limitations set upon numerical accuracy by the loss of the ancient data upon population numbers and his clear recognition of the fact that the margin of error in his calculations was very wide. See Beloch's study, *Die Volkszahl als Faktor und Grundmesser der historischen Entwicklung* in *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXI (1913), p. 324.

(5) Beloch, *Bevölkerung*, p. 101. A. W. Gomme, *Population of Athens*, p. 47, approaching the problem from a different angle from that of Beloch, gives the population of Athens and the Piraeus as about 155,000 in 430 B.C. and about 168,000 in 330 B.C. His figures are based upon the assumption that about one-third of the population of the entire state lived in the city area. It is my belief that he exaggerates the number of the slaves in the city proper.

Sicilian cities of Syracuse and Agrigentum (1). The typical cities ran from 20,000 to 100,000. Few, even of these, were backland towns. The large urban aggregations were all seaboard. As defined in terms of ancient transport, of city food supply and of public health and welfare, there is little reason to believe that cities of this time with the thalassic locations characteristic of Mediterranean urbanism, had outgrown the bounds of simple urbanism, or of optimum population, into the field of that vague social menace called hyperurbanization. Pöhlmann himself was quite aware of the moderate size of even the largest cities in the Greek classic age. Accepting this conclusion, he confined his discussion of overpopulation to the Hellenistic and Roman periods (2).

The period of the big cities of antiquity covers the six and one-half centuries extending from the death of Alexander to the end of Constantine's reign. The typical urban community, so far as population goes, falls within the limits of 20,000 to 100,000 inhabitants. The list includes a very large number of towns ranging about an estimated population of 20,000, such as Pompeii, or approximating 50,000 to 60,000, such as Italian Tarentum or Halicarnassus in Asia Minor (3). The number of cities which can definitely be placed within the population range of 100,000 to 200,000 is surprisingly small. It includes Pergamum, Rhodes and Jerusalem (4). Ephesus and Smyrna may have had as many as 225,000 inhabitants (5). The number of the real megalopolities which we can be sure of, if we rely upon Beloch's estimates is only five. These five of which the population range was from 300,000 to the 700,000 or 750,000 sometimes ascribed to Rome, were, in addition to Rome, Seleucia on the Tigris, estimated at 600,000. Antioch on the Orontes at 400,000 (6). Alexandria at somewhere near 500,000, and the possibility that Carthage, in the Roman imperial times, may have approached that number (7).

The conspicuous observations to be recorded from the Beloch estimates of urban populations are these:

In the long period of the acme of ancient urbanism five cities stood out which, within their time, were great population centers. Four of these — Seleucia, Antioch, Alexandria and Rome — were administrative centers of

(1) *Ibid.*, p. 281.

(2) Pöhlmann, *Überbevölkerung*, pp. 7-8.

(3) For Pompeii see Beloch, *Bevölkerung*, p. 480; for Tarentum and Halicarnassus, pp. 302, 227.

(4) *Ibid.*, pp. 236, 227, 248 respectively. Possibly Tarsus falls in this population class, *ibid.*, p. 238. The information upon Pergamum derives from Galen, the well-known physician of the second century of our era, who was a native of the place. It is the most precise evidence which has come down to us regarding the population of any city of antiquity. The wide range of variation proposed by Beloch even for Pergamum will serve to warn the reader against accepting any of the figures of Beloch otherwise than as approximations toward the truth.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 231.

(6) Seleucia *ibid.*, p. 479. Beloch, p. 245, puts the free population of Antioch at 300,000. It is my own guess that the slave numbers would not be over 25% to 30% of the free persons which gives the total of 400,000 used above. See my rough estimate of proportions of slaves to free in the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, XIV, p. 76.

(7) The Alexandrian estimate is given by Beloch in his *Bevölkerung*, p. 259. Roman Carthage is compared in size with Alexandria on p. 467.

great kingdoms or empires. In three cases definite explanations can be offered for the attainment of that big-city size which was normal under ancient conditions of trade, of transportation facilities and of food requirements. This normal size for megalopolies may roughly be put at about 300,000. Both Seleucia and Antioch lay upon the southern caravan route from the Aegean Sea and Egypt to middle Asia. In Ptolemaic times Alexandria became the outlet for the trade in aromatic plants used in the manufacture of incense and for other goods supplied by the east African coast and southwestern Arabia, to all Mediterranean markets. With these shipments went the large volume of surpluses of the handicraft production of Alexandria itself and of the busy towns of the Egyptian chora (1). The discovery of the constant direction of the monsoons, shifting from and toward India in six months periods, made the city founded by Alexander the Great at the western edge of the Delta the port of exchange for a large part of the goods between the two distant cultural and economic worlds of India and the Mediterranean. This importance of Alexandria was augmented by a comprehensive trade policy inaugurated by Augustus Caesar (2).

Briefly summarized the population of the three great centers, Seleucia, Antioch and Alexandria, were justified, in considerable degree, by their positions at nodal points upon very important trade routes. But it was the political function in the case of these cities which accounts for the population bloating beyond that conception of urban bigness which seems to be organically justified and typical during the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The function of Carthage in the Roman period was almost wholly economic. The constant economic need of a city situated upon or near its side is sufficiently proven by the modern population of Tunis, its present counterpart, which was given in the census of 1936 as 219,578 (3).

(1) M. J. Rostovtzeff, 'Zur Geschichte des Ost und Südhandels' in *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* IV, 298-315, and his more general discussion in the *Cambridge Ancient History*, VII 134-135. Ulrich Wilcken's publication of a bottomry loan made in Egypt upon the incense trade of the Red Sea shows how widespread the participation in this business was in the Mediterranean world in the second century B.C. See *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, LX (1925), 89 ff.

(2) M. L. Charlesworth, *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire* (1924), pp. 27-30; H. Idris Bell in *Cambridge Ancient History*, X, pp. 306-307. The admirable location of Alexandria and the farsightedness of Alexander in its selection explains the continuity of its historical function as economic center. In 1840, at a low ebb of its importance, its population was estimated at 60,000 inhabitants (Malte-Brun and Balbi, *System of Universal Geography*, Edinburgh, 1844, p. 823). Its present population is given at about 1,000,000 in 1949. The *World Almanac* for 1928, p. 620, put the number of its residents at 573,000.

I have wondered if Ernest Kornemann could substantiate from ancient sources his reference to Alexandria, made in *Raccolta di Scritti in Onore di Giacomo Lombroso* (Milan, 1925), p. 245, as 'the hated Greek city on the sea'. A fragment of Polybius quoted by Strabo, XVII 1, 12, C 797, states that Polybius, when he visited Alexandria, developed a feeling of loathing for the city. The quotation does indicate that he felt an active dislike for its mongrel population. Except in the Christian Fathers, in their anger at 'the harlot city' which clung to its pagan worship, I fail to find any real feeling of hatred for the place. A large collection of the ancient and modern references to Alexandria will be found in A. Calderini's *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell' Egitto Greco-Romano* (Cairo, 1935), I, pp. 55-206. The attitude of the Christian writers appears on p. 180.

(3) *Whitaker's Almanac*, 1948, p. 893. Even at a low ebb of population, about 1840, under the blight of nominal Turkish rule and before the common use of steam transportation, the population of Tunis was estimated at about 100,000. See Malte-Brun and Balbi, *Universal Geography*, p. 828.

Ancient Rome is the city which, above all others, has been the source of our modern exaggerated views of over-population in the world of Greco-Roman antiquity; and it was completely atypical. Never did it have, after the Punic Wars, any economic function commensurate with its numerical greatness (1). It was an overgrown city of homes, a consumer of goods, the military and bureaucratic center of a great empire (2).

The three ancient megalopolies which owed their size solely, or predominantly, to political function — Seleucia, Antioch, Rome — were further untypical in that they are all non-thalassic. The extraordinary size of the other two — Alexandria and Carthage — is economically explicable. The outstanding fact of ancient urban history is that mesopolities were the rule, not the tremendous human agglomerations which we associate with the term hyperurbanism. I would therefore urge that a renewed study of city and rural district in antiquity be started, without starting from the presupposition that an economic imbalance between the country populations and the size of cities was necessarily atypical feature of ancient society.

On this basis the question may now be put: — What was the feeling which appears in the ancient literature regarding the countryside and country people as contrasted with the urban populations? Otherwise stated, was the «rural bias» which the sociologists of our day still feel constrained to combat, actually prevalent in Greco-Roman antiquity? From the political point of view there was little reason for the development of this sentiment under the Greek conception of the city states. For, in the city states, the citizen privileges of office holding, of voting and of fighting for the state were held on the tribal theory that citizenship was heritable (3). Citizenship was in no sense dependent on geographic distribution. The voting booths for the elective and legislative activities of the direct assembly were, it is true, in the city proper; but aside from the handicap of his greater distance from the center of political activities, the farmers of the three plains of Attica and the charcoal-burners of the hills had complete equality of voting with any city-dweller. In the period of the independent Greek city-states one a priori consideration arising from the economic character of Greek life operated strongly against the development of a class struggle based upon country life against city life. This lay in the restriction of the right of land ownership to members of the citizen body and in the limited opportunities for capital investment. These facts set a premium upon investment in farm lands. Because citizenship, and with it the right to own landed properties, was an accident of birth which might befall a poor man as it might a rich man, the money interests of the wealthy citizen of urban residence were never completely divorced from those of the land-owning and land-working poor man of the countryside if he were of citizen status. In the history of Rome's development, after

(1) Beloch, *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXI (1913), p. 335.

(2) See the commendable study upon *Industry and Commerce of the City of Rome* by Helen J. Loane, Baltimore, 1938. Covering in her book the period of Rome's greatest size and highest power from 50 B.C. to 200 A.D., Miss Loane has supplied the detailed information for the general conclusion already reached by Beloch that Rome was not a manufacturing city in any sense comparable to its size.

(3) After 451 B.C. in the Attic state the inheritance of citizen rights was confined to those of full Athenian blood both from the father and the mother.

200 B.C., into an Empire with dominions overseas the famous latifundia of Italy and the provinces certainly destroyed this healthy balance. But the big landowners of the Roman world never completely identified themselves with big-city life to the point of complete abandonment of their rural contacts. The conflict which they represented was that of the oppression of little farmers by big farmers. The latifundists had their city homes, it is true. But also they maintained rural homes upon their estates; and the feeling was not prevalent in antiquity that the countryside and the small farming folk were being exploited by the classes of urban dwellers with industrial and banking interests which differentiated them as essentially city people.

In Greek literature the first phase of anti-urban expression, that of dismay and fear of a change obviously destructive to the then existing social forms, had passed before 600 B.C. If this early and naive reaction to city life were anywhere to be found it should be in Hesiod's poems. I find no trace of it. His world was one of injustice done to the hardworking and the honest. The petty princes of his time were bribe swallows and their decisions were crooked (1); but there was no distinction between townsman and rustic in respect to the suffering which their crooked counsels caused.

In the literature of the Greek city-state period little support is to be found for any anti-urban feeling prevalent in the countryside. Even when Thucydides gives his unforgettable description of the ravages of the plague at Athens he does not blame the cities themselves as breeders of disease. The epidemic struck Athens most severely and, elsewhere, it affected the most populous places. As for Athens, the crowding of the people of the countryside into the city was a direct result of the war plan of Pericles; and it served to aggravate, only, the misery which originally the plague alone had caused. In the funeral oration delivered by Pericles in the year 431 B.C., as it comes to us from the pen of Thucydides, the sacrifice of those who died was made for the polis as state, not for the urban residents of Athens. The yearly sacrifices and games which were provided to refresh the citizens from their labors were those of the countryside as well as those of the city of Athens (2). In the spirit of this great speech «polis» always means the state. Nowhere does the city alone, as urban center, appear as distinct from the state. In fact the physical city itself, Athens, receives no mention in the entire oration. Pride in the state and the advantages which it brought to its citizen members had no local limitation either to the asty (the walled city) or to its rural territory. The distinguished French scholar Maurice Croiset has maintained that the comedies of Aristophanes catered to a feeling of hostility held by the citizens from the rural districts against the city of Athens and the leaders whom the city admired (3). The caricatures of the democratic favorites in the comedies, in Croiset's judgment, represent the revenge which

(1) E.g., Hesiod, *Works and Days*, lines 260-264.

(2) Thucydides, II 38. See the article of W. S. Ferguson, "The Salaminiot of the Heptaphylian and Sounion", *Hesperia*, VII (1938), pp. 45, 71. The maintenance of the group organizations and spirit of the old village and other local units into the fourth century, as exhibited in the history of the *gene* of the Sounians and the Salaminiotians, must have done much to satisfy the local feeling within the state.

(3) M. Croiset: *Aristophane et les partis à Athènes* (Paris, 1906), pp. 6-11.

the ruralite took upon these demagogues. Upon closer analysis this interpretation of the old comedy, as representing a hatred of the simple Attic countryside against the war mongering and the sophisticated ways of the Athenians of the city, does not hold (1).

« Divine Nature gave us the fields, human art built the towns ». So says Varro in the book which he wrote with the intent of proving the economic and social value of farming, and of enticing the Italians of his day from absentee landlordism back to farming under personal management. This is a contrast between nature and art, rural scene and city — not a value judgment upon the societal advantages of country life and city life. The assumption is commonly made that Greek and Latin literature is full of the contrast of the simplicity and health of country life as opposed to the sophistication and social distempers of urban living. Or the idea may be reversed. City life produced a type which felt itself, in its greater sophistication, superior to the country man, the boor. In the extensive literature of antiquity which deals with primitivism (2) there is surprisingly little mention of that urban life which is the outstanding feature of Greco-Roman culture skirting the Mediterranean. To the primitivists human society had, indeed, degenerated progressively in its passage from the idealized simplicity of the early days of mankind to the days of earth's « gradual tabescence », to quote from the talented and thoughtful Lucretius (3). It was luxury which had degraded mankind. But this luxury of living is not connected specifically with urban life. No more is its opposite, the degradation caused by poverty, connected with rural life alone.

The « blameless Ethiopians » (4) were not holy and pious because they lived in the simplicity of rural surroundings. Nicolaus of Damascus indeed, distinctly places them in towns with streets (5). In fact the entire literature of primitivism shows a surprising indifference to the setting of its primitives, whether in cities or in country surroundings. The blessed people of the Sun-state of Iambulus lived in the fields in separate groups which did not run over four hundred (6). The Essenes, a small group which lived in a communal society in Palestine at the time of Jesus, avoided city life because of its lack of discipline and the contamination of character unavoidably connected with urban living (7). But the Hypoboreans of Diodorus lived in cities (8). The fabled ideal land of Meropis contained two immense cities

(1) See A. W. Gomme's article, Aristophanes and Politics in *Classical Review*, I, II (1938), p. 98. In *Acharnians*, 33, Dicaeopolis looks out upon the fields, hating the city and longing for his own deme. But he is a farmer, long cooped up in a crowded city with nothing to do. This is merely the desire for his own life and his own work in a man torn up by the roots through the exigencies of war.

(2) The ideas of the ancient primitivists have been conveniently presented and discussed by A. O. Lovejoy and George Boas in their *Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity*, Baltimore, 1935.

(3) Lucretius, *de Rerum Natura* II, 1162.

(4) Homer, *Iliad* I, 423.

(5) Nicolaus Damascenus in Stobaeus, *Florilegium* XLIV 25 (45 in Meineke's edition).

(6) Diodorus, *Siculus* II, 55-60.

(7) Philo, *Quod omnis probus* XI, 49.

(8) Diodorus, *Siculus* XI, 15.

of 2,000,000 inhabitants each (1); and Lucian wrote a parody upon the Isles of the Blest in which the central unit is a great city of gold with a wall of emerald (2). The Germans, as their forthrightness is compared by Tacitus with the sophisticated mores of the degenerate Italians, lived in villages of disconnected houses — not in cities (3). Nowhere, however, does Tacitus imply that the absence of urban life among them was a cause of their moral superiority.

The Romans of the Republic — at least as represented by Cicero — were more clear than the Greeks in distinguishing between physical city — *urbs* — and the city as political entity — the *res publica*. If the Roman Senate, says Cicero, had taken away from Capua its magistrates, its senate and its public assembly, it would have cut out the nervous system which is the dynamic part of the political unit called a *res publica*. Only an *urbs* would remain (4). To paraphrase Cicero's meaning, a *res publica* has a nervous system, namely, its political machinery. An *urbs* has it not.

What depth of feeling between urbanites in the Roman period and men of the small towns does this actually represent? How deeply did the small-town man resent the city? Horace may serve us as a type. A townee of humble origin, he received his education in the big city. For this boon he was grateful (5). Always there clung to him an undoubted love for the restfulness of the small town. The wish that his old age may be lived at pleasant Tibur is genuine enough (6). A simple man whom simple things pleased, nevertheless Rome was to him the « regal » city, however much empty Tibur and unwarlike Tarentum pleased him (7). His feeling for the country is that of the weary sophisticated who has spent years in the crowded city and appreciates the restfulness of small-town life. He may talk of the «madness of the city (8); but the growth of cities is, nevertheless, to Horace one of the factors in the forward movement of man from primitivism to cultured living (9). It was the molding hand of dire poverty which made the Roman heroes of the old days the men that they were. It was not country life *per se* (10).

It is the literature of the early Empire which set the fashion of painting the life of the big city in distressing colors, with its many discomforts for the poor and the envy aroused in the literary hangers-on of the rich by their vulgar exhibitions of « conspicuous waste » on the part of the financially fortunate.

In a speech delivered in the Senate in 44 B.C. Cicero illuminated for us, in one of those flashes of light which are rare in antiquity, the feeling of a

(1) See the fragment of Theopompus in Jacoby: *Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker* II B, p. 551.

(2) Lucian, *True Histories*, II, 4-16.

(3) Tacitus, *Germania*, 16.

(4) Cicero, *de lege agraria*, II, 32, sections 88, 90 and particularly in section 91, *nervis urbis omnibus exseciis*.

(5) Horace, *Satires* I 6, 71-78.

(6) Horace, *Odes* II 6, 5-8.

(7) Horace, *Epistles* I 7, 44-45.

(8) *Rabiem. . . . civicam* in *Odes* III 24.

(9) Horace, *Satires* I 3, 104-106.

(10) Horace, *Odes* I 12, 41-44.

man like Marcus Antonius, Roman born and descended from one of the old leading political families, for the politicians who hailed from the municipalities of Italy. « You see » — Cicero is speaking to the Senate — « how all of us are despised who are from the municipalities. That means all of us, obviously » (1). Without doubt there was some feeling of superiority in this limited group, which Marcus Antonius represented, over the sons of the municipalities. This scorn Cicero, mentally alert as he was (2), skillfully turned against his clumsier opponent.

During the early days of his consulship in 63 B.C. Cicero waged successfully before the Roman people fight against a crooked bill called the Rullan Land Proposal (3). Though he was fundamentally honest in his opposition to the Rullan Bill, it would be too naive of us to take Cicero's arguments against the bill at their face value. He was hitting straight from the shoulder not necessarily talking straight from the heart. He was a Roman politician; and Roman politicians were not exactly ingenuous. He urged his Roman hearers not to be wheedled into supporting a bill for land assignments which were agriculturally sterile and situated in an unhealthy locality. When he contrasted the advantages they already enjoyed through their urban life in Rome he was calling upon arguments which certainly would appeal to his Roman listeners. « So far as you are concerned, Romans, if you wish to listen to my advice, keep that possession which you have — of gracious living, of freedom, of the suffrage, of favoured position, of the city, of the forum, of the games, of festival days, and your other advantages. Do this — unless perhaps you prefer to renounce all these things and the glamor of the fatherland to be installed under Rullus' leadership in the arid territory of Sipontum or in the pestilential area of Salpini » (4).

Such were the advantages of life in the city of Rome, or the sources of advantages which could be enumerated in appeal to those inhabitants who were of its lowest citizen stratum.

From the literature of one period, the early Empire, and from a literature which dealt with one city, we have derived that picture of ancient urban life which dominates the vibrant pages of Pöhlmann's *Urbervölkessung* and, in his wake, has colored most of the present writing about urbanism in antiquity. The period was that covered by the Roman rule of the Claudian and Flavian dynasties. The city was Rome, the most crowded and the least typical city in the entire circuit of Mediterranean lands. The outstanding writers in this genre are three — Lucius Annaeus Seneca, Martial, and Juvenal. The first two were townsmen from Spain who lived most of their productive lives in Rome. Juvenal may have been Roman born, from the most crowded of its

(1) Cicero, *Philippic* III 6, 15. Compare Cicero, *pro Publio Sulla* 7, 22 where he says that he was accused of being the third «foreign king» of Rome.

(2) Note how skillfully, again in *Philippic* III 6, 15, he uses a simple statement of fact to the detriment of Antony. Antony had stated that the mother of Octavianus Caesar was from the town of Aricia. Cicero twists this innocent remark into an intentional insult.

(3) For an interesting analysis of the Rullan Land Proposal see M. D. Rostovtzeff, «Some Roman Problems», in *The Saturday Review of Literature*, Sept. 26, 1925.

(4) Cicero, *De lege agraria* II 71-72.

streets, the Subura (1). Of the three, the poet Juvenal made his living as an exponent of the straight satire. The other poet - Martial - had made his reputation by turning the Greek epigram into a Latin polemic-satiric form. These two were hangers-on of the artificial life of the imperial court and its satellites. This was a society which harbored nostalgic memories of the days when to be a Roman resident in Rome still meant freedom to say what one might wish to say. The earliest of the three, Seneca, was a political figure of stoic faith, who, without converting himself or anybody else, was grieved about sin (2). If one desires to read realistic descriptions of ancient city life one may find them in a photographic mime of Theocritus or in the names of Herondas, who was utterly, without any feeling of modesty and utterly without moralistic inhibitions. Their pictures are credible; but those of the Roman satirists are not. It was the profession of the satirists to caricature; and the stencils which they used were fairly constant and unchanging.

The famous third satire of Juvenal is the classic source of most of the anti-urban diatribe. What was it that the supposed city-haters complained of? Of «the thousand perils of the cruel city», of its fires and the constant threat of falling houses, and of the poets who gave matinees in August (3). Of the necessity for bluff and display if one was to get onward (4). There is no living to be made by honest skill in any calling in the city (5). But there is a living to be made by a pleader of cases in Gaul or Africa; and Juvenal's disgusted Roman urges the lawyer to go there (6). In Rome, rent, food and clothing are high (7). The expenditure required for clothing at Rome, where one must dress well is much higher, for example, than in Martial's birthplace in Spain where one toga will last you through four autumns (7). The apartments of Rome are many storied and the poor man must live up under the roof where the cooing pigeons lay their eggs (9). The height of the houses is a matter of constant complaint to Juvenal and Martial; but the architect Vitruvius extols the increase in building height at Rome as a sensible method of furnishing excellent living quarters for an increasing urban population (10). Pöhlmann preferred to follow the whimsies or the complaints of the satirists (11). In my judgment it was Vitruvius, the technician and master-builder, who could better evaluate the population problem of the city and better assess the soundness of its solution.

(1) Gilbert Highet in *Trans. of the American Phil. Assoc.* LXVIII (1937) p. 489, note 54.

(2) See the analysis of Seneca's character, as displayed in his writings, by Rudolf von Delius, *Zur Psychologie der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Munich 1911) pp. 15-19.

(3) Juvenal, *Satires* III, 7-9. The matter of the falling houses is a literary convention of Juvenal. Cf. *Satires* II, 194. For Martial's satirization of the clique at matinees see his *Epigrams* VI 48; X 10.

(4) Juvenal, *Satires* II, 105-138.

(5) *Ibid.* III, 21-24. Cf. the poor living earned by teachers at Rome, *ibid.* VII 142, 215 ff. — except by the music teachers of rich men's sons, *ibid.* 175-177.

(6) *Ibid.* 147-149.

(7) Martial X 96; Juvenal III 166.

(8) Martial X 96, 12.

(9) Juvenal III 199 ff.

(10) Vitruvius, *de architectura* II 17. His phrase is: *populus Romanus egregias habet sine impeditione habitationes*. Cf. Aelius Aristides, *Encomium Romae* Or. XIV, section 199, where the admiration for the «skyscraper» solution at Rome is evident.

(11) Pöhlmann, *Überbevölkerung*, p. 90.

Shall we accept or reject an hypothesis emanating from the fertile and brilliant mind of Rostovtzeff which seeks to explain the military and social crisis of the middle of the third century? It runs to this effect (1). At the end of the second century the urban dwellers ceased to appear as recruits in the army (2). The army rosters were now filled with peasants of a lower cultural niveau, recruited in peripheral provinces — Spain, the Gauls, Britain, the Danubian provinces and inner Anatolia (3). These former serfs and *coloni* hated and wished to destroy the cities, because the cities harbored as their residents the leading classes, the senators and equestrian ranks and the bourgeoisie upon which the imperial power was based (4).

This is a brilliant attempt to resolve a situation for which no other more adequate explanation had, as yet, been offered. A priori it runs counter to the findings of this study which would eliminate from the ancient literature, in large part at least, that city-hatred which customarily has been predicated as characteristic of the ancient social order. The sources used by the great scholar, Rostovtzeff, to substantiate the theory are of an earlier or of a later date (5); and it is doubtful that they will establish, even for their own time, any considerable depth of anti-urban feeling. Against the theory it is possible to enter new materials for the period 200 to 300 A.D., deriving, it is true, from Palestine and Egypt. These data serve to emphasize anew an old conviction, that fiscal pressure from the federal authority of the Empire had gradually spread upward until it covered, with a single blanket of economic wretchedness, the peasants of the countryside and villages, the townes, and the formerly privileged classes of the cities.

The measure which, in the end, enacted in legislative concentration the equalizing of economic oppression was the Constitution of Caracalla (*Constitutio Antoniniana*) of 212 A.D. By Caracalla's decree most of the free inhabitants of the metropoleis and villages throughout the Empire became Roman citizens. This resulted in these places in the establishment of Councils, selected by compulsory appointment from the ranks of the local well-to-do. Privileges and social advantages which had once adhered only to the Bouleutai (the Council Members) of these larger cities which had municipal autonomy were now widely spread to town and country people of the same, or of lower, economic standing. This extension of privileges sounds well. What it really meant, however, was the equalization of town and city classes with classes of the countryside under an increasingly burdensome personal domination. Specifically it meant that the well-to-do of the small towns, now forced into the Councils, were responsible collectively and individually for an amount of taxes from their town or village district which was previously fixed. The

(1) Rostovtzeff's idea was first developed in the *Musée. Belge XXVII* (1923) pp. 233-242 and is incorporated in his *Social and Economic History of the Roman Empire*, pp. 443-448 with the data given in notes 63-68 to ch. XI on pp. 627-628.

(2) *Musée. Belge XXVII* p. 239.

(3) *Ibidem*.

(4) *Ibid.*, pp. 240-241; *Soc. and Econ. History of Rome* p. 443 f.

(5) *Ibid.*, p. 628 note 7, Rostovtzeff relies solely upon Libanius *de patrocinius* (or XLVII) which is actually a letter written to the Emperor Theodosius sometimes between 388 and 393 A.D. In the text, p. 446 he mentions also Dio Chrysostom in this connection. The one is much too late, the other much too early, to serve as adequate witness to events in the cities of the middle section of the third century.

pleasant social distinctions of the Councillors had long since turned into heavy, financial burdens.

From the middle of the third century and from the town of Arsinoe in Egypt we now have a fragmentary court record of a case argued on appeal before the Roman prefect Aurelius Appius Sabinus (1). To relieve their own distress the Senators of Arsinoe had attempted to dump a part of their tax obligations to the state upon some peasants by compelling them to undertake certain of the magistracies of the town. Counsel for the peasants introduced in evidence a law promulgated by Septimius Severus which forbade impressment of villagers for metropolitan offices with their liturgical burdens (2). The advocate for the side of the senators, addressing the Prefect, then introduced a most illuminating rejoinder: "The laws are worthy of respect and reverence. But you must judge by giving heed to (the decision of) the Prefects who have had regard for the needs of the city. It is the need of the city which limits the strength of the law" (3).

At a time for which the theory presented by Rostovtzeff would establish a hatred on the part of the countryside so strong that peasant armies sought to destroy the cities, we find that the urban communities and the countryside were united in fact, in a common misery recognized by both sides. It is only a little later that Rabbi Johanan of Tiberias in Palestine gave this advice to men threatened with appointment to the Senates of towns and cities: "If they have mentioned you among the [members of the] Senate, the Jordan shall be thy neighbor" (4). That means: "In such case flee to the Jordan".

Who could put the equalized wretchedness of city man and peasant of the villages and country with better knowledge, or more succinctly, than did the Prefect of Egypt in the trial mentioned above, over which he presided at Arsinoe? The argument was presented that the Emperor Septimius Severus had passed the law protecting the peasants from impressment for fiscal obligations at a time when the cities were prosperous. To this the Prefect remarked: "The argument based upon prosperity, or the decline of prosperity, is equally valid for the villages and the cities" (5).

(1) The shattered and difficult document, London Papyrus Inventory 2565, was admirably published by T. C. Skeat and E. P. Wegener in the *Journ. of Egyptian Archaeology* XXI (1935) pp. 224-247. Brief references and interpretations of the document will be found in *Chronique d'Egypte*, 1938, pp. 359-361 by H. Idris Bell; and by Paul Koschaker in *Zeitschrift der Savignystiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Rom. Abt.*, LXVIII (1938) p. 358, note 2.

(2) P. Lond. Inv. 2565, lines 82-83 in *Journ. Egypt. Arch.* XXI p. 232.

(3) *Ibid.* lines 85-87.

(4) Palestinian Talmud, Moed Katan II 81 b. Rabbi Johanan died in 270 A.D. I am indebted to my friend Professor Salo Baron for this reference.

(5) Literally translated his words were: "The argument of prosperity, or of the change from prosperity". P. Lond. Inv. 2565, lines 99-102, in *Journ. Egypt. Arch.* XXI p. 232.