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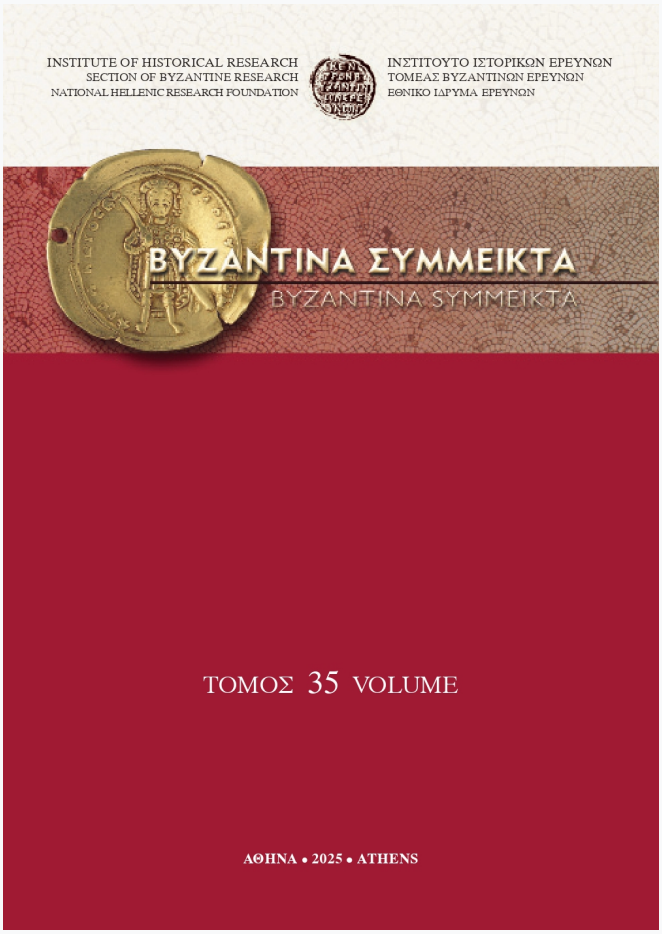

Georgios Deligiannakis, A Cultural History of Late Roman Cyprus (Cyprus Research Centre Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus XC), Nicosia 2022

Olga KARAGIORGOU

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Georgios Deligiannakis, *A Cultural History of Late Roman Cyprus* (Cyprus Research Centre Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus XC), Nicosia 2022, 194 pages, 42 figures (including two coloured maps, 12 coloured photos and 28 B/W photos). ISBN 978-9963-0-8169-1

Deligiannakis' recent book on the cultural history of Late Roman Cyprus examines a narrower time frame than what is normally referred to as Late Antiquity. The author clearly states in his *Introduction* that he will concentrate "for the most part on the third and fourth centuries", more specifically on the period starting from the reign of Diocletian (284-305) until 431, when the Church of Cyprus was granted autocephaly. The author justifies his choice by the fact that this period has been less extensively studied than the 5th-7th centuries and has been left out in Metcalf's book (*Byzantine Cyprus*, 491-1191, Nicosia 2009), which constitutes the chief reference work on the subject (p. 2-3). Indeed, even recently published works on the history and archaeology of Cyprus concentrate also on the centuries immediately before and after the period studied by Deligiannakis in this volume[1]. It should be noted, however, that despite his diligent efforts to adhere to the strict chronological limits he has set, the author very often strays from the barrier of the year 431, reaching as far as the mid-seventh century (see the tables on Chronology and Prosopography at the end of this review article).

The book is divided in five chapters, which explore Cyprus' move from the Imperial period to the mid-7th century (first chapter), the encounter of "late

1. L. Calvelli, *Il tesoro di Cipro. Clodio, Catone e la conquista romana dell'isola*, Venice 2020; *Cyprus in the Long Late Antiquity: History and Archaeology Between the Sixth and the Eighth Centuries*, eds. P. Panayides, I. Jacobs, Oxford 2023; C. Keane, *More than a Church: Late Antique Ecclesiastical Complexes in Cyprus*, Berlin 2024. I wish to thank Tasos Papacostas for kindly indicating to me the works by L. Calvelli and C. Keane.

paganism" with Christianity (second chapter), the urban culture of Cyprus as evident in the iconography of several exuberant mosaic floors like the ones in the House of Aion, the Palace of Theseus and the villa of the Hippodrome at Akaki (third chapter), the spread of Christianity in Cyprus in comparison to neighboring regions (fourth chapter), and the personality of Bishop Epiphanios whose work and writings sealed the cultural life of Cyprus in the second half of the 4th century (fifth chapter). The appendix on the Jews at the end of the volume completes the picture of the various religious communities on the island during the period under examination.

The first chapter on "Cypriot identities" is organized in three sub-chapters, which offer a general introduction to the history of Cyprus during the Roman period (p. 6-13), the "decisive fourth century" (p. 13-17) and the period between 431 (when Cyprus gains autocephaly) to the Arab raids (mid-7th century). The author discusses evidence (written sources, epigraphy, archaeological finds) which challenge previously held claims that Cyprus was "without a history under the Roman Empire" (G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, Cambridge 1940) and that the island was of interest to the Romans only as a place of ancestral cults, a supplementary source of provisions and a port of call when the Roman army was campaigning in the Near East. The author notes (p. 10) that the extraordinary number and quality of figurative floor and wall mosaics in urban and rural settings discovered in Cyprus (most of them dating between the late 2nd and the 5th centuries) reflect the island's prosperity, while their repertoire including myths popular across the whole of the Greek world (Orpheus and the animals, Leda and the Swan, the rape of Ganymede, the cycles of Achilles), rather than local cults and foundation myths, is indicative of the cultural Romanisation of the Greek speaking local elite. At this point, it would have been extremely useful, if the author had provided a concise overview (possibly in tabulated form) of the *corpus* of mosaics in Cyprus accompanied by their themes and proposed dates, so that the reader could gain an immediate appreciation of the amount and quality of this type of evidence, especially in what concerns the mosaics placed in the 3rd century when key categories of material evidence, such as coins (bronze coin production ceases in the 240s), sculpture and architecture, become scarce. The *koinon Kyprion*, the provincial federal council that addressed the proconsul, the emperor and the Senate, promoted a province- and island-wide identity, but Cypriots (like many other Roman provincials) continued to identify themselves (both on the island and abroad) by their native city and parentage.

Cyprus comes more into the mainstream from the early 4th century onwards, due to the gradual transfer of the imperial and military power to the East (founding of the new capital of the Eastern Roman Empire in the Bosporus) and its vicinity to Antioch, seat of the Patriarchate and of the *comes Orientis*, who (between ca. 311 and 535) was the supervisor of the *praeses*, and by the mid-4th century of the *consularis*, who governed Cyprus. Three 4th-century Antiochene sources (Ammianus Marcellinus, Libanios and the *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*) underline Cyprus' competence in seamanship and self-sufficiency in produce (see esp. p. 15, fn. 51), a picture further supported by the material evidence. Important events in Cyprus during the 4th century include the usurpation of Kalokairos (in 333/4)[2], a series of severe earthquakes (in 332, 342 and 364) that thwarted the island's increasing prosperity, the emergence of Salamis/Constantia as the new capital of the province of Cyprus (just before 350) and the appearance of Bishop Epiphanios (367-403), "a far-famed, pan-Cypriot celebrity" who sealed the cultural life of Cyprus during his lifetime, as well as posthumously (his miraculous relics displayed in his basilica at Salamis became the focus of a cult extending beyond Cyprus). During the 5th century and reaching a peak in the 6th century, economic activity and settlement growth in Cyprus expanded further, as indicated by the testimony of the 6th-century *Synekdemos* on cities, the building of grandiose basilicas in the large coastal cities, the revival of copper production in the foothills of the Troodos mountains (much-needed after the state lost control over the metalliferous regions in the West and the Balkans), and the inclusion in 536 of Cyprus (together with Moesia Inferior, Scythia Minor, Caria and the Aegean Islands) into the newly-created prefecture of the *quaestura excercitus* which supported the troops in the Danubian frontier. By that time, Cyprus was well integrated into a vast exchange network that linked the Levant to Constantinople along the major *annona* (*civilis* and *militaris*) sea routes. The new important role of Cyprus in state affairs, its impressive number of sees (fifteen around the end of the 4th century) each claiming founders with apostolic pretensions, and the highly prestigious status of autocephaly (granted in 431) contributed to the formation of a new Cypriot identity in the Christian era. With the arrival of the Arabs in the mid-7th century, Cyprus moves on the borderlands between Byzantium and the Arabs.

2. Deligiannakis mentions that "Kalokairos became the island's first and last usurper of imperial power" (p. 15), although a similar case is that of Isaac Komnenos, ruler of Cyprus between 1185 and 1191.

In the second chapter Deligiannakis tries to enhance the narrative on the last pagans on Cyprus, that has, so far, relied exclusively on much later Christian (mostly hagiographical) sources, by exploring scraps of evidence that have not previously been brought into play. However, the usual methodological difficulties, that is the lack of contemporary written sources and precise chronologies (due to unclear archaeological documentation and the absence of published stratified data), as well as the contemporary complexities of religious and social change, still impede concrete answers on when exactly, and how, urban and rural sanctuaries in Cyprus ceased to function (was their destruction violent or non-violent?, Was it caused by humans or other agents?). The discussion in this chapter is divided in three sub-chapters: "Pagan sanctuaries", "Beyond pagan sanctuaries: heis theos and theos hypsistos", and "Pagan-Christian relations in Late Roman Cyprus".

The most important centres of pagan cult in Cyprus (Zeus Olympios at Salamis, Aphrodite at Palaipaphos and Amathous, and Apollo Hylates at Kourion) must have suffered during the severe earthquakes of the mid- and late-4th century (the ones in Paphos in 332 and 342 were exceptionally severe). Also, the transfer of the provincial capital to Salamis/Constantia must have contributed to the earlier decline of the temples at Paphos. The author notes (p. 27) that in the 380s Ammianus Marcellinus (who knew Cyprus very well) refers to the temples of Zeus in Salamis and Aphrodite in Paphos as the island's most celebrated landmarks. However, a few pages before (p. 13-14) we were warned that this testimony must reflect on an earlier period, since the public cult of Aphrodite seems to cease in the first decades of the 4th century. Evidence on the function of pagan sanctuaries in rural areas in Cyprus remains inconclusive for the same reasons.

Contemporary religious complexities are vividly exemplified in the epigraphic *corpus* relating to the cult of the supreme God: εἷς θεὸς (One God) and θεὸς ὕψιστος (Highest God). These acclamations were very common in the eastern Mediterranean during the Imperial Roman era and Late Antiquity, but as they were indistinguishably used by all major religious groups (pagans, Jews, Samaritans, Christians), they could express considerably different conceptions of an almighty god. The author reports that the "εἷς θεὸς" formula appears inscribed on five (p. 30 and 33) artefacts discovered in Cyprus, although only the following four are mentioned: (1) a piece of limestone with an inscribed prayer found near Golgoi (3rd or 4th century), which the author connects to the local cult of Apollo, thus suggesting its survival into Late Antiquity, see fig. 13 on p. 31, (2) a pendant amulet in the British Museum, depicting Abraham's aborted sacrifice of Isaac, reportedly

found in Cyprus (4th-5th century), see fig. 14 on p. 34, (3) a pair of bronze bracelets (4th-6th centuries) (without illustration), and (4) a sigma-shaped marble liturgical table from the Campanopetra Basilica in Salamis (6th century), see fig. 15, on p. 35. The Cypriot record of the θεὸς ὕψιστος acclamation is more voluminous, as it comprises 37 dedications (including five ex-voto plaques from Golgoi) attested mainly in the Limassol district, Larnaka, and Paphos. All these examples are traditionally dated before the end of the 3rd century, although this dating "warrants revision" (p. 36 and fn. 56 on p. 38). The serious ambiguities in the extant epigraphic record of the θεὸς ὕψιστος acclamations do not allow concrete conclusions on the exact nature of the Cypriot Hypsistarians and the author notes (p. 36) that "None of the Cypriot votive inscriptions (include) any indication that would place them in a distinctly Jewish context". A few lines further down, however, he concludes (p. 38) that the Hypsistarians were "eclectically pagan, Jewish and henotheistic". Defining the character of the social/religious group (or groups) using the formulas εἷς θεὸς and θεὸς ὕψιστος in Cyprus is undoubtedly a very demanding task due also to the size and character of the available material. It is exactly for this reason that the purposes of this sub-chapter would have been better served if, next to the list of simple references, discussing the known epigraphic record of these two acclamations (see fns. 21, 38, 40-41, 47), the author had included a substantial commentary on the exact known number of these inscriptions[3], their micro-location and context (urban or rural?), possible association with specific social/religious groups and dating, which would have offered the necessary solid background for any attempt to interpret the (far smaller) Cypriot sample.

In the third sub-chapter, Deligiannakis discusses the clash between pagans and Christians with data from the conversion of pagan temples into churches, prosopography and onomastics, epigraphy, hagiography and the mosaic verse inscriptions of the Eustolios complex at Kourion. The evidence on the two (at least) cases of temples converted into churches (the 5th/early 6th-century church

3. We are informed only on the "around seventy" inscriptions with the εἷς θεὸς formula from the Samaritan sanctuary of Mount Gerizim (p. 33), which should be added to the large (although unspecified) record of similar acclamations attested also in literary sources. The record of the θεὸς ὕψιστος acclamations includes "a few hundred" dedications which "have been discovered from the Black Sea to Egypt including the Aegean, Asia Minor and the Near East" (p. 35). From what the author states on p. 36, it can be deduced that the known number of the θεὸς ὕψιστος acclamations includes around 370 entries. Yet, their exact geographic distribution (micro-provenance) is not discussed.

incorporated into the east portico of Zeus Olympios of Salamis and the three-aisled basilica of the late 6th/early 7th-century over the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the acropolis of Amathous) constitutes a very crucial part of the thematic developed in this book and should have been treated at more length, rather than in a footnote (p. 38-39, fn. 57)[4]. The author dismisses abruptly the contribution of prosopography and onomastics, because "in the case of Cyprus they are too limited" (p. 40). Some further elaboration would have been useful here, including perhaps a specifically compiled gazetteer with all the names attested in Cyprus during the period under investigation, given as an appendix at the end of the book. The evidence from hagiography, namely the *Lives* of Sts. Epiphanios of Salamis, Herakleidios of Tamassos, Auxibios of Soloi and Tychon of Amathous, as well as the *Acta Barnabae*, is also dismissed as "of limited value" (p. 42), which is possibly true considering that these texts (compiled in certain cases much later than the events they describe) narrate (in certain cases) the lives and deeds of holy men whose historicity is dubious. The relevant hagiographic sources could have been treated more extensively in a separate sub-chapter that would offer the reader a clearer overview of the most recent critical analysis of these texts: their date of compilation, the author's identity and specific agenda, their value as historical sources. The second chapter concludes with a discussion on three of the mosaic inscriptions (nos. 202-204) in the Eustolios complex at Kourion (p. 42-45). The reader, who is not well acquainted with this exquisite monument, would have followed the author's argumentation much more easily if this had been preceded by a brief description of the complex (including perhaps a plan indicating the location of the inscriptions under discussion) and the general characteristics of its epigraphy (exact number, content, poetic formula). For example, nowhere is it mentioned that the Eustolios complex has six mosaic inscriptions (most of them in Homeric dactylic hexameter and elegiac distich), and nowhere is it justified why the author has chosen to discuss only three of them.

In the third chapter Deligiannakis announces that he will discuss in detail "the archaeology of three key monuments of Late Roman Cyprus", that is the late Roman urban mansion known as the House of Aion (p. 47-90) and the Palace of Theseus (p. 90-98), both in Paphos, and the villa of the Hippodrome at Akaki (p. 98-105). By the end of his introductory paragraph, however, it becomes clear that the focus

4. Another church built on the site of a pagan temple is the Basilica on Fabrika Hill at Nea Paphos, see C. Keane (as above, fn. 1), 308.

of his investigation is the iconography of the floor mosaics in these monuments (rather than their archaeology as a whole), since "the only urban villa that has been fully excavated and published is the so-called L'Huilerie at Salamis (first phase: 5th century)" (p. 47, fn. 1). This is a very important piece of information, as it draws attention to the fact that any tentative interpretation of the archaeological material is directly dependent on what is currently available (excavated and/or accessible for study). In this sense it is of interest to note that the mosaic panels in the Palace of Theseus have been dated purely on stylistic grounds and that the necessary "systematic publication of the building" (which would perhaps verify or modify these dates) is still pending (p. 97). Equally, the excavation of the luxurious rural villa at Akaki "is still underway, and many parts of the building remain unexplored", thus (as noted by the author) "much of what is presented and discussed here should be considered provisional" (p. 98).

The lion's share in the third chapter is taken up by the discussion of the multi-paneled mythological mosaic floors discovered in the triclinium of the House of Aion (42 pages, in contrast to 8 pages for the Palace of Theseus and no more than 4 pages for the villa at Akaki). After the necessary description and information on the date of these mosaic panels (p. 50: "the overall archaeological profile of the site suggests that the house was decorated in the second quarter of the fourth century and was destroyed towards the end of that century"), Deligiannakis offers the most learned, informative and complete overview of the various interpretations that have been expressed, so far, for these fascinating floor mosaics[5]. Of importance here is the theory first expressed by W.A. Daszewski (the excavator) and later enthusiastically endorsed by G. W. Bowersock, who opted for a philosophical/allegorical interpretation of these mosaics based on the (allegedly) central presence of Dionysos in them as the new supreme god of late paganism and a response to Christian monotheism around the time of emperors Constantine and Julian (Dionysos-der-Erlöser theory); Jean-Charles and Janine Balty, on the other hand, saw a hidden Neoplatonic dogma in these mosaics (e.g. the Kassiopeia myth was regarded as an allusion to the central Neoplatonic dogma on the relationship of the soul with matter). Despite comprehensive criticism by Johannes Deckers

5. The discussion of the mosaics in the House of Aion would have been better served by an additional ground plan like, for example, the one published by J. Mikocka, "The late Roman Insula in Nea Paphos in the Light of New Research", *Athens Journal of History* 4.2 (2018), 122, fig. 3, showing their exact position and orientation in the triclinium.

(who proposed that these mosaics highlight the idea of good life, eroticism and learned culture), and Günther Zuntz (who opposed any Christian models and/or connotations in these mosaics) the Daszewski school remains active and in the next thirty pages (p. 59-90) Deligiannakis offers a solid critical overview of the main supporters of the philosophical/allegorical school (Liebeschuetz, Parrish, Quet, Kessler-Dimm, Musso, La Rocca, Olszewski and López-Ruiz) as well as his own interpretation of these mosaics.

The author prudently reminds his readers that any interpretations of ancient works of art are influenced by preconceptions that modern researchers have about the historical period when these works of art were made. This is a very important point, especially for the 4th century, which has been regarded both as an era of extreme rivalry between pagans and Christians, as well as (more recently) of a peaceful osmosis between these two cultures. Furthermore, the way that ancient viewers perceived/interpreted contemporary works of art should also consider their own level of education, the influences they received from their overall cultural, intellectual and religious environment (the amount and type of literary/philosophical texts that were in circulation, the public spectacles, the impact of religion in everyday life), as well as the *where* (setting) and the *how* (medium) in the reproduction of a specific theme.

Next to these pertinent points, we would also add the factor of the "accident of discovery". What is the number of mythological scenes in floor mosaics and/or paintings excavated and/or preserved to our days dated in the 4th, 5th or even the 6th century? Do these mosaics on their own suffice to correctly interpret these works of art and the social context that produced them? Any reading (philosophical, religious, allegorical, etc.) of mythological scenes in floor mosaics, such as the ones in the House of Aion, should consider their wider archaeological context. Apart from identifying the purpose of the room that they decorate (in this specific case a triclinium), one should also examine the household goods retrieved during the excavation, especially glass and ceramic finds (lamps, plates, amphorae), whose decoration may offer a clearer indication concerning the social and religious identity of their owners. Finally, the fate of these works of art is of importance. When, how and why were they destroyed and, what is far more interesting, why were they not recreated/replaced? Does this indicate the absence of skilled mosaicists, severe financial difficulties, or that the meaning of this kind of art was completely irrelevant to contemporary society?

Deligiannakis brings into the discussion more arguments from textual sources (the *Tabula* of Cebes, 1st/2nd century, the Philostrati's *Imagines*, 3rd century, the *Ekphrasis eikonos* of Prokopios of Gaza, 6th century) and the archaeological record (the triclinium floor mosaics in the Meander villa in Mytilene, late 3rd or late 4th century), which cast doubts on Daszewski's philosophical interpretation of the mosaics in the House of Aion in Nea Paphos. Other pertinent observations by the author concern (a) the lack of overall planning and consistency in the mythological scenes [the large central panel with Kassiopeia's myth in its oriental version (placing her in Phoenicia rather than Ethiopia) is flanked by four other panels (figs. 22-23 on p. 50-51) showing Leda and the Swan (above left), Hermes handing the infant Dionysus to the Nymphs and Tropheus (above right), Dionysus' triumphal procession (below left) and Apollo's punishment of Marsyas (below right)], (b) the intriguing (and unique in this instance) replacement in the Kassiopeia panel of (the usually depicted) Poseidon (who punishes Kassiopeia) by the personification of Aion (the most unusual feature in the Paphos mosaic), and (c) the placement of all these panels on the floor of a triclinium, a room intended mainly for sympotic entertainment. The author puts special emphasis on the meaning of the term "Aion" and its personification and discusses at length (p. 71-89) the appearances of Aion in literature and art and in the context of public festivities, seeking to understand on what grounds it replaced Poseidon in the Paphos mosaic. Aion, as personification of Time in the Levant (the equivalent of Annus in the western part of the Empire), is unequivocally identified by the accompanying inscriptions in four other mosaics: (a) the Shahba-Philippopolis mosaic in Syria (mid-3rd century), (b) the Prometheus mosaic in Edessa (3rd century), (c) the (now lost) *Tabula Mundi* in a winter bathhouse in Gaza or Antioch known through the 6th-century *ekphrasis* of John of Gaza, and (d) the mosaic floor of a triclinium in Antioch (3rd-4th century). The author discusses also a (now lost) statue of Aion from Eleusis (Augustan period), a depiction of Aion on the funerary monument of C. Julius Zoilos in Aphrodisias (shortly after 28 BC) and (possibly) another one in the relief decoration of the *scenae frons* of the theatre of Hierapolis (first decade of the 3rd century), where the personification of Aion emphasizes the idea of everlasting continuation (of the Eleusis mysteries), honour (of the deceased Zoilos), and brilliance (of the local festivities at Hierapolis), respectively. Some literary references (Pseudo-Kallisthenes' *Alexander Romance*, Epiphanios, Damaskios, John Lydos) seem to offer evidence for the cult of Aion (as a cyclically reborn god) in Alexandria or elsewhere, which could imply the (possible) existence of a similar cult also in Cyprus (although this

is not supported by any local evidence). The author prefers to draw attention to the presence of Aion in the Paphos mosaic in association with the depiction of a table with wreaths, the personified Kleros and the amphora/"ballot box", allowing him thus to speculate that the source for the Kassiopeia scene may be sought in popular public festivals, such as the Kalends, the Maioumas or the Adonia/Rosalia (the latter are attested in Cyprus). Equally possible is that the mosaics in Nea Paphos reproduce myths adapted to public or even private (domestic) theatrical performances (mime and/or pantomime), which could have been sponsored by the owner of the house for his guests. In any case, what seems to be widely accepted is that these mythological mosaics were designed to offer their owners the opportunity to project aristocratic values (material opulence, leisure time, eroticism and especially their classical paideia), and (as argued by Susanne Muth[6]) to manifest the connection of the higher social classes to the Empire's bureaucratic hierarchy and ceremonial. The discussion in this sub-chapter ends with the author's innovative suggestion that the depiction of Aion in the Paphos mosaic may allude to the homonymous owner of the House, who may have thus wished to plant himself in these mythological scenes (Aion is a common personal name at least in Egypt, as attested in papyrological sources of the 4th, 5th and 6th centuries, see p. 88-89). In such a case, we would prefer to entertain the hypothesis that the owner of the House was an Egyptian who (irrespective of what his personal name was) wished to introduce the (popular in Egypt) cult of Aion (also) in Cyprus.

The Palace (or House[7]) of Theseus is a luxurious mansion, comprising a central peristyle courtyard surrounded by over 100 lavishly decorated rooms, which was constructed probably in the second half of the 2nd century and remained in use until the early 7th century. The author discusses three panels from the Palace of Theseus. The first one depicts Achilles' birth and first bath. The author notes that the appearance here of the three Fates (Klotho, Lachesis and Atropos) "may foreshadow

6. S. Muth, Eine Kultur zwischen Veränderung und Stagnation. Zum Umgang mit den Mythenbildern im spätantiken Haus, in: F. A. Bauer and N. Zimmermann (eds.), *Epochenwandel? Kunst und Kultur zwischen Antike und Mittelalter* (Sonderbände der Antiken Welt; Zaberns Bildbände zur Archäologie), Mainz am Rhein 2001, 95-116.

7. The term "Palace" of Theseus comes forward more often (p. 90, figs. 29 and 30), but the term "House" of Theseus is also used (see p. 90). Also, the ground plan on p. 48 (Fig. 21), dated 1999, is essential for the discussion of the House of Theseus (p. 90-98), but the numbers identifying the various rooms should have been larger and the location of the various mosaic panels discussed in the book should have been marked in a clearer way.

Achilles' prowess as a warrior at Troy" (p. 96). We believe, however, that the depiction of the Fates in this mosaic is linked to their main role, which is to ensure that every being would live out their destiny as it was assigned to them by the laws of the universe. Bearing in mind that birth and death are the most important parts of the natural order, the appropriate time to define one's death is at their birth and in this sense the presence of the three Fates at the birth of Achilles underlines the common fate (mortality) of every living creature, even of semi-gods (like Achilles), and the futility of any actions (Themis dipping Achilles in the Styx) against the unavoidable. Of great interest is also the (unique here) appearance of Peleus, depicted in toga and bearing the attributes (diadem and staff) of Late Roman imperial magistrates. The author, rightly in our view, dismisses the supposition that the choice of Achilles here is a direct allusion to emperor Julian, and opts for a link "between the patron's aristocratic family and a position in the imperial bureaucracy", which leads him to the very interesting hypothesis that the Palace of Theseus was the residence of the provincial governor as long as the seat of government was at Paphos (most probably until the mid-4th century). However, we should not forget that the main actor of these panels, with whom the patron of this House would have liked to entertain close associations, is in fact Achilles (not Peleus). In this instance, we automatically think of the 14th-century illuminated Alexander Romance at San Giorgio dei Greci in Venice, where the main actor of the story, Alexander the Great, is depicted entirely in the contemporary Late Byzantine fashion, obviously to further engage the contemporary reader and stimulate his interest in the narrated events. Therefore, the appearance here of Peleus in contemporary attire must have served similiar intentions. In any case, the Achilles lifecycle seems to have been among the most favourite public spectacles performed in Paphos and reproduced here in the form of *tableaux vivants*. Consequently, we are not so convinced by the parallelism that the author draws in the epilogue of this chapter (p. 104) between Peleus (as the allegedly disguised owner of the Palace of Theseus) with Timotheos in the *ekphrasis eikonos* by Prokopios of Gaza, especially because these two individuals are depicted in a completely different way in the respective works of art: the owner (if, indeed, the owner) of the Palace of Theseus hides his identity in the attire of Peleus, while Timotheos, as the wealthy donor of his painting, stands proudly amid the ships that he obviously owns. Deligiannakis ends his discussion of the mosaic panels in the Palace of Theseus with the satisfactory hypothesis that in the later 4th or the beginning of the 5th century the west (more private) wing of the Palace of Theseus may have hosted public business and perhaps also provided luxurious accommodation

for the provincial governor and his entourage whenever they visited the old capital of Cyprus.

Deligiannakis' third case study of mosaic decoration from a domestic context comes from the so-called villa of the Hippodrome at Akaki, whose excavation is still in progress. The mosaic panels that have been revealed, so far, decorate a triclinium (these depict Orpheus and the Beasts, ships at sea and a colonnaded building) and a portico (these depict a chariot race from start to finish and medallions with the nine Muses and male figures). The mosaics have been provisionally dated to the late 3rd/early 4th century based on stray coin finds and stylistic observations. The author makes the very welcome (although unfounded) supposition that the depicted chariot race memorialises an actual event that took place in Cyprus and subsequently uses the (provisional) date of this mosaic as *terminus ante quem* for the building of the Roman circus in Salamis (otherwise attested no earlier than the late 5th/7th century). He also supposes that the owner of the villa at Akaki may have been a sponsor of the chariot races or even a private breeder or trainer of horses. Although there is no solid evidence on the existence of a circus in Cyprus, we have no reason to reject this interpretation, especially if one considers how popular circuses were during the 4th century in several cities in the immediate vicinity of Cyprus (p. 101 and fig. 2). In that case, the names of the charioteers (Damasos, Polyphemos, Kosmion, and Protogenes) should enter the prosopography of late antique Cyprus.

In the fourth chapter Deligiannakis discusses the process of the Christianisation of Cyprus with emphasis on important landmarks and the critical appreciation of the various relevant sources: the Acts of the Apostles; the *Acta* and the *Laudatio* of Barnabas; the pseudo-Barnabas literature (the Epistle of Barnabas); hagiography (which the author has also discussed in the second chapter), the conciliar lists of the First and Second Ecumenical Synods; archaeology. Evidence on the gradual evangelization of Cyprus is studied chronologically: from the apostolic era with Paul, Barnabas and John Mark (possibly Barnabas' nephew) to the tetrarchic period and finally the 4th century. A basic observation in this chapter is that before the period of the so-called Peace of the Church (Edict of Milan in 313) there are almost no textual or physical traces of Christian communities in Cyprus (the 3rd-century cippus from Kofinou with staurograms, discussed on p. 112, fig. 35, is a unique find). Furthermore, during this period, Christian congregation halls have no fixed architectural articulation and are, thus, difficult to identify in the archaeological record. The first tangible architectural evidence of the new faith in Cyprus

comes from Tamassos (a small mausoleum of the mid-4th century) and Soloi (an underground chapel, possibly of the late 4th century)[8].

Deligiannakis seems to endorse Günter Stemberger's view that, due to the unambiguity of the archaeological material our best guide for the spread of Christianity are the conciliar lists. He thus states that the number of Cypriot bishops in the First Ecumenical Synod at Nicaea in 325 (3 bishops) quadrupled in the Synod at Serdica in 343 (12 bishops). We would have expected here the necessary references to the relevant primary sources attesting to these numbers, as well as a short commentary on the justified skepticism that has been expressed regarding the actual number of participant bishops in these two Synods[9]. The author also notes that Cyprus is completely absent in the early *martyrologia*, suggesting that anti-Christian edicts caused little turmoil on the island either because the (apparently) small Christian community on the island at that point wished to avoid confrontation with the pagans, or because the local provincial governors avoided the strict implementation of anti-Christian edicts. However, the online database *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity from its origins to circa AD 700, across the entire Christian world* (Oxford University, see https://cultofsaints.history.ox.ac.uk/) includes entries on Arkadios and Nestor, bishops of Trimythous and martyrs (SO1378), Theodotos, bishop and martyr of Kyreneia (SO1351), and Therapon, bishop and martyr under Diocletian (SO1751), which should have been discussed. As far as hagiography is concerned, Deligiannakis refers *en passant* to St. Auxibios, first bishop of Soloi (p. 114), and St. Herakleidios, bishop of Tamassos (p. 115), but here we would have welcomed a discussion of the fact that although both bishops are placed by tradition in the time of Apostle Mark (Auxibios) and Apostle Barnabas (Herakleidios), textual evidence on them is not dated earlier than the 7th century, a period of distinct uncertainty and fear due to the Arab invasions. Similarly, the earliest sources which state that Barnabas died or was martyred in Cyprus are the

8. The first phase of the Panagia Chrysopolitissa at Nea Paphos (the only, so far, know basilica in Cyprus with seven aisles) has also been dated in the late 4th/early 5th century, see C. Keane (as above, fn. 1), 318.

9. E. Honigmann, The original lists of the members of the Council of Nicaea, the Robber-Synod and the Council of Chalcedon, *Byz* 16.1 (1942-1943), 20-80; A. C. Zenos, Chapter XX. Of the Council at Sardica, in: *A select library of the Nicene and post-Nicene fathers of the Christian Church*, vol. 2, eds. P. Schaff, H. Wace, New York 1890. See also, C. Mango, The meeting-place of the First Ecumenical Council and the church of the Holy Fathers at Nicaea, *DChAE* 26 (2005), 27-34, esp. 27 and fn. 1 (on Nicaea).

late 5th-century *Acta*, which formed part of the Cypriots' struggle for apostolicity and independence from the patriarchate of Antioch (p. 109). The chronological discrepancy between the first secure reference of a local saint in the sources and the period of activity assigned to him by tradition is a phenomenon also observed in other areas[10]. Thus, it would be worth investigating this phenomenon further, as an indicator of how the local community clings on (fabricated?) local divine support to overcome difficulties or fulfill specific aspirations important for its future well-being.

To contextualise the Cypriot case, this chapter attempts an overview of the progress of Christianity in key areas close to Cyprus, such as Antioch, Berytus, Tyros, Caesarea Maritima, Gaza and the Kalykadnos area of Cilicia/Isauria. The author has an excellent command of the necessary (and admittedly vast) relevant literature; however, this overview is a very demanding task (both in terms of geographical extent and innate methodological difficulties) that cannot be adequately discussed in just six pages (p. 117-123), especially in the absence of topographical plans (ideally under the same scale), which would indicate to the reader the relative size of the cities under discussion and the chronological appearance of Christian monuments and their exact location *intra* and *extra muros*[11]. From a methodological point of view, one also wonders how helpful it is to draw comparisons of Christianisation between a whole island-province (Cyprus) and isolated urban centres (Antioch, Berytus, Tyros, Caesarea Maritima, Gaza). Wouldn't a comparison between typologically similar units be more suitable? (e.g. comparing the Christianisation of, for example, Paphos and Gaza, both capitals of Late Roman provinces?) Finally, it would be useful to know why the author chose these specific five cities and the area

10. Relevant in this respect are the cases of the „composite" saints Achillios of Larisa and Nikolaos of Myra, both placed by tradition in the 4th century, although their personalities are closely associated with their 6th-century homonymoi, see Nancy Patterson Ševčenko, *The Life of St. Nicholas in Byzantine Art*, Torino 1983; O. Karagiorgou, St. Achillios and the city of Larissa in Late Antiquity: hagiographical and archaeological evidence (an alternative interpretation) [in Greek with English abstract], *Papers in honour of Prof. P. L. Vocotopoulos*, ed. V. Katsaros, Athens 2015, 233-246.

11. As an indication of the relative size of some of the cities under discussion the author offers data on their estimated population (Antioch: quarter of a million inhabitants; Caesarea Maritima: 70.000 people and Gaza: ca. 30.000 people), without commenting on how these calculations were made, by whom, for what exact period and whether these numbers include also the population living *extra muros*.

of Kalykandos for this comparison (is the relevant literature richer in the selected areas?). Considering the very close links between Cyprus and Egypt, we would have expected also Alexandria to be part of this group.

In the fifth (and final) chapter the author discusses the career of Epiphanios, the metropolitan bishop of Cyprus, a charismatic leader and certainly the most influential ecclesiastical figure in Cyprus for nearly four decades in the second half of the 4th century (367-403). In five sub-chapters the author tries to illuminate the mysterious life of Epiphanios as an active metropolitan by examining his attitude towards Hellenism (the traditional religion and the Graeco-Roman culture), monasticism and the heretics, as well as his influence and contribution to Christian art (church building and figurative decoration). This is a demanding task considering that the available sources are limited only to what Epiphanios, himself, and four other authors provide: his friend Jerome (ca. 342/7-420), the ecclesiastical historians Sokrates (ca. 380-450) and Sozomenos (ca. 400-450) and the anonymous author (probably a monk or priest) of his *Vita*, compiled in the second half of the 5th or in the 6th century. In what concerns Epiphanios´ attitude to Hellenism, the author, based on the available literary and material evidence (he specifically examines the repairs in the Gymnasium-Baths at Salamis), concludes that the role of Epiphanios in the Christianisation of the baths (a focal point of public display for the late antique city) appears to be minimal. The author also notes (albeit with no further explanation) that "more evidence coming from the Palace of Theseus in Paphos and the House of Eustolios in Kourion confirms this impression" (p. 139). Directly relevant here is also the evidence that the author discusses in the sub-chapter on heretics, indicating that life in Cyprus during Epiphanios' tenure was more troubled by various Christian heretical groups than by anti-pagan policies. Heretics specifically mentioned in connection to Cyprus include Ebionites and Marcionites (mentioned in the *Panarion*) and Valentinians, Ophites, Sabellians, Nicolaitans, Simonians, Basilidians, Carpocratians (mentioned in the *Vita Epiphanii*, which, however, was compiled almost a century after Epiphanios' lifetime). The presence of Valentinians in Salamis/Constantia around the time of Epiphanios' death seems, however, to be corroborated also by the content of a letter that John Chrysostom sent to a certain Constantius, who was his preferred candidate for the episcopate of Antioch. Epiphanios' role in the spread of monasticism in Cyprus appears fundamental, although this is based solely on the testimony of the available literary sources (Jerome's *Vita Hilarionis,* Jerome's epitaph for Paula, information on Olympias; *Vita Epiphanii).* Unfortunately, so far, there are no contemporary

archaeological remains of monastic foundations in Cyprus (the monastic complex at Kalavassos-Sirmata is dated to the late 6th or early 7th century), a fact that may suggest (as rightly noted by the author) that the Cypriot monastic foundations during Epiphanios' time may have been of the eremitic, rather than the coenobitic type. Based on the available sources, the involvement of Epiphanios in the fund-raising and construction of Christian buildings in Cyprus looks limited only to St. Epiphanios Basilica in Salamis (no other church building is attested in Salamis around this period). As rightly remarked by the author, a major difficulty in this discussion is the vague chronology of the Early Christian basilicas in Cyprus, which is not based on carefully published excavation reports, but on stylistic analysis. Among the earliest Christian monuments in Cyprus (placed in the late 4th and the 5th century) he enumerates specifically five: three at Paphos (the Chrysopolitissa, the Martyrion near the North Gate of the city and the Limeniotissa), one at Trimythous (the first of the four churches built on the same site associated with St. Spyridon) and one at Lapethos/Lamboussa (the Basilica beneath the katholikon of the Acheiropoietos monastery). For the reader who is not well acquainted with the late antique archaeology of Cyprus, it would have been very useful to insert here a very brief comment on the exceptionally high number of late antique basilicas in Cyprus (some excavated and some identified as such during surveys, but never properly studied), which would immediately reveal the very small percentage of basilicas dated within the period examined in this book[12].

Appendix I is dedicated to the Jews. The sizeable and flourishing Jewish communities attested in Cyprus by the late 2nd century BC were severely affected during the 2nd-century revolts against the Romans. It may be that in the aftermath of their repression in Palestine and elsewhere, Jews consciously kept a low profile by following the values of Graeco-Roman urban life and the cult of θεὸς ὕψιστος, which in turn may explain the absence of discernible Jewish markers in epigraphy and material culture during the 2nd and 3rd centuries. Although the available material is fragmentary, it seems that Jews in Cyprus experienced a late antique recovery, as attested by references to synagogues in Salamis/Constantia, Lapethos and Golgoi. In any case, the Cyprus hagiographical *corpus* shows a significant hostility to Jews: St. Barnabas was killed by a Jewish mob in Salamis and Jews are often portrayed as magicians.

12. A. Papageorghiou L'architecture paléochrétienne de Chypre, *CorsiRav* 32 (1985), 299-324 refers to more than eighty Early Christian basilicas in Cyprus. See also the gazetteer by Catherine Keane (see above, fn. 1), p. 281-331, with further bibliography.

There is no doubt that Deligiannakis' knowledgeable study on the social and religious landscape of Late Roman Cyprus during the 3rd and 4th centuries fills a long-standing gap and is, therefore, very welcome. The extensive summary that we offered here illustrates, we hope, the extremely demanding task that the author has undertaken. The book examines "a period that promoted a kind of melting pot in which different traditions were brought together and produced something new, but also deeply indebted to the classical tradition" (p. 85). Despite its division in five chapters, the whole book is permeated by one central question: the progress of Christianisation on Cyprus. A full appreciation of this phenomenon (not just in Cyprus but everywhere) presupposes the scrutiny of many and different types of local (literary and archaeological) evidence, which should then be contextualised with similar evidence from neighbouring areas and examined against the official state policy (legislation). We believe therefore that the *Cultural History of Late Roman Cyprus* would have benefitted more, if it had been preceded by a chapter exclusively dedicated to the amount and nature of the available Cypriot evidence, including its potentialities and restrictions. This evidence should have enumerated literary sources, such as the official imperial legislation towards the new religion and its impact on Cyprus, historiography (with specific references to Cyprus), the proceedings of ecclesiastical councils (attesting to the presence of Cypriot prelates), hagiography and martyrologia (accompanied by recent views on the critical analysis on these texts and the amount of the trustworthy information they convey), as well as an overview of archaeological discoveries (religious architecture, epigraphy, onomastics and prosopography) with emphasis on the problems caused by uncertain dates, incomplete final excavation reports, and the "accident of discovery". Only after the strict definition of the available and trustworthy evidence can one attempt to answer questions such as the pace of Christianisation in urban and non-urban areas (in relation to their geographical location and administrative status), the role of the monasteries (clusters of eremitic and coenobitic communities), the chronology of Christian symbolism in inscriptions and material culture, the gradual abandonment (or destruction) of pagan temples and/or their transformation into places of Christian worship, the survival of pagan rituals, the impact of the various social groups (pagans, Jews, Christians, heretics). This kind of approach is imperative especially when one studies a period of cultural osmosis, where boundaries among the various social/religious groups are hardly discernible.

In the absence of such an introductory chapter that would have clearly stated the type, the quantity, and quality of his evidence (perhaps also in comparison to

neighbouring areas), the author plunges straight into his five chapters (these can be easily read on their own as individual essays), where methodological difficulties due to the scarcity or limited exploitation of the available sources (especially in what concerns the critical interpretation of hagiographic sources and the still unpublished archaeological data) form a recurring theme. Despite these difficulties, Deligiannakis has approached this period in a very scholarly way. The vast bibliography at the end of the book, comprising 541 entries over 35 pages, attests to the author's deep engagement with this period in all its perspectives: literary, archaeological, epigraphic. The linguistic style is highly attractive, and this is extremely helpful, as the reader will often feel the need (as we did) to revisit many of the sub-chapters to fully absorb the very dense amount of information that the author provides. This density of information, combined with a relative poverty in the accompanying illustrations, gives often the impression that the book is addressed exclusively to a specialized audience, well versed into the literary and artistic production of the period. Cruising through the (admittedly) very captivating content of this book would have been much more comfortable (also for the experts) with the addition of some extra figures (e.g. ground plans of buildings and pictures of archaeological artefacts) and the appending of two necessary (in our view) tables: one offering an overview of the most important historical events associated with Cyprus (Chronology), and one on Late Roman Cypriot prosopography (Prosopography), as exemplified in the following (non-exhaustive) chronological tables, which we put together based on the notes we kept while reading Deligiannakis' fascinating account on Late Roman Cyprus.

Chronology

DATE	EVENT
14	«Oath of allegiance to Tiberius» attempting to demonstrate the imperial household's descent from Aphrodite and emphasize the antiquity of the cult of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos.
45	First mission of Paul, Barnabas and John Mark to Cyprus (preaching in a synagogue in Salamis).
48-49	Second mission of Barnabas and John Mark to Cyprus.
60	Death of St. Barnabas.
69	Titus visited the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaipaphos on his way to Judea.
113	Trajan seems to have been the only emperor who stopped in Cyprus on his way to Antioch.
115-117	The Diaspora (or Kitos) Revolt (115-117), sometimes called the Second Jewish–Roman War, involved the Jews of Judea, Egypt, Kyrene and Cyprus. Cyprus Jews are reported to have massacred hundreds of thousands of Gentiles especially in Salamis, causing the first major dispatch of Roman troops to Cyprus from Syria, and the subsequent annihilation of the substantial Jewish community in Cyprus.
132-136	The Bar Kokhba revolt (132-136) was the third major rebellion and the last of the Jewish–Roman wars. With Simon bar Kokhba acclaimed as a messiah, the revolt established an independent state of Israel over parts of Judaea for more than two years, but the Roman army crushed it. This revolt did not affect Cyprus.
212	*Constitutio Antoniniana*: from now on Roman citizenship is granted to more Cypriots.
240s	Bronze coin production in Cyprus ceases.
250	Decius's decree ordering everyone in the Empire to perform animal sacrifice. This decree became a marker of self-identification, and it also prompted Christian leaders to insist that it was incompatible with Christian allegiance.
257-259	Measures by Valerian against Christian communities and their leaders: Christian clergy was banned from meeting their congregation and entering cemeteries, unless they demonstrated their adherence to Rome's gods through a cultic act.
299	Persecutions of Christians in Antioch, Caesarea and elsewhere.

299-302	Diocletian is based in Antioch.
303-313	Diocletianic or Great Persecution.
305 (May)	Persecutions of Christians in Syria and Palestine (most severe).
309-310	The governor of Palestine informed Maximinus that Christian prisoners in the copper mines of Palestine had built their own churches; Maximinus ordered that these prisoners are dispersed to Cyprus, Lebanon and other parts of Palestine.
310s-320s	Repairs (possibly) carried out at the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates of Kourion.
311	Edict of Toleration by Galerius.
312	Embassies from Nicomedia, Antioch and Tyros request that Augustus Maximinus orders the expulsion of Christians from their cities.
324	Cyprus contributed 30 ships to the fleet of Licinius against Constantine.
332	Earthquakes in Cyprus (Paphos is severely affected).
333-334	Kalokairos, *a magister pecoris camelorum* (keeper of the pack of camels or leading imperial shepherd slave), led a revolt in Cyprus against the emperor, but the censor Fl. Dallmatius subdued it.
335-340	Construction of the floor mosaics in the House of Aion and in the so-called House of Theseus.
342	Edict of Constantius II and Constans prohibiting pagan ceremonies, although the temples were to remain undamaged since it was there where games and feasts continued to be celebrated.
337-361	Destruction of the Roman statues in the Gymnasium of Salamis under Constantius II.
342	Earthquakes in Cyprus (Paphos is severely affected).
350 (ca.)	The rhetor Himerios welcomed Cypriot students at his school in Athens.
350 (ca.)	Salamis (given a new imperial name: Constantia) became the provincial capital of the island.
359-360 (ca.)	The *Expositio totius mundi et gentium* underlines Cyprus' competence in seamanship and its abundance in produce (copper-mining, however, is not mentioned).
364	Severe earthquakes affect Salamis and Paphos (contributing possibly to the final abandonment of public pagan worship).
367	Epiphanios becomes bishop at Salamis.
374/5-377/8	Compilation of the *Panarion* (or *Adversus Haereses*) by Epiphanios.

380 (27 February)	Edict of Theodosius I: Christianity is recognised as the unique official religion in the Roman State.
380s	Ammianus Marcellinus (ca. 330-ca. 391/400) portrays Cyprus as a very prosperous island (his references to the temples of Zeus in Salamis and Venus in Paphos as celebrated landmarks may refer to an earlier period, since the public cult of Aphrodite seems to cease in the first decades of the 4th century).
388	The Kallinikos affair: Christians burned down a Valentinian Gnostic temple and a synagogue in the city of Kallinikos on the Euphrates in the province of Osrhoene.
391-392	Edict of Theodosius I, prohibiting the pagan cults: Cod. Theod. XVI 10,11 (16 June 391); XVI 10,12 (8 November 392).
390s	The Christian Eustolios built a complex at Kourion (possibly identified with the public baths of the local Christian Church).
397	John Chrysostom appointed archbishop of Constantinople.
403	Death of St. Epiphanios. Shortly afterwards the Basilica of St. Epiphanios is built in Salamis/Constantia.
404-407	Exile of John Chrysostom in Cucusus (Göksun) in Cappadocia.
431 (ca.) or 448	Fl. Antiochus Ammianus Valerius, the Praetorian Perfect of the East, carried out repairs in the Gymnasium-Baths complex of Salamis (the public baths remained a focal point of public display for the late antique city).
425	Foundation of the University (*Pandidakterion*) in Constantinople.
430s ca.	Building of the Basilica at Kourion (built over an early 4th-century civic basilica adjacent to the city's forum).
431	Council of Ephesos, called after Cyril, Bishop of Alexandria (412-444) to deal with the heresy of Nestorius (the Council agreed for the first time that the Bishops of Cyprus could ordain their leaders without external interference from Antioch).
435	Edict of Theodosius II, authorising the use of the pagan temples by the Christians: Cod. Theod. XVI, 10, 25 (14 November 435).
438	Publication of the *Codex Theodosianus.*
450s (post) (or even 6th c.)	Compilation of the *Life of St. Epiphanios* (the text describes no outbursts of violence and yet sets its hero in a society where the members of the local nobility are still pagan until near the end of his life, by which time he had converted them all).

450s-480s	Compilation of the *Acta Barnabae* by an anonymous (local) author (the text mentions the travels of Barnabas, Paul and John in the 1st-century Cyprus; possible contemporary information, i.e. of the mid-5th century, is that Amathous, Lapethos and Kition are presented as particularly pagan).
480s	Anthemios, archbishop of Cyprus, resisted the efforts of the non-Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch, Peter the Fuller, to restore his patriarchal authority in Cyprus. In the process, Anthemios discovered what he claimed were the relics of St. Barnabas, buried with a copy of the Gospel of Matthew. This served to prove that the Church of Cyprus was of apostolic foundation. After discovering the saint's body, Anthemios went to Constantinople and gave the gospel to Emperor Zeno, who had the patriarch of Constantinople summon a synod to rule in favour of Cyprus against Antioch.
488	Zeno confirmed the autocephaly of the Church of Cyprus
490 (ca.) or later	The Campanopetra Basilica (pilgrimage or monastic church) was built, either as martyrion for St. Barnabas or as a shrine for a relic of the True Cross.
490s-6th c. (beginning)	Gymnasium-Baths complex of Salamis (West portico of the courtyard annexe to the complex): incision of an acclamatory invocation to the Theotokos for the protection of Constantine, *comes.*
500-550	The earliest Christian painted decoration at the Hagiasma of St. Nikodemos at Salamis.
550s (under Justinian, 527-565)	Compilation of the *Laudatio Barnabae* by Alexander, a monk in a monastery at Salamis, near the place where the tomb of St. Barnabas was discovered.
600 ca.	Collapse of the Roman defence system in the Danubian provinces of the *quaestura exercitus.*
600 ca. (6th or 7th century)	Compilation of the *Life of St. Herakleidios*, bishop of Tamassos, by a certain Rhodon (it recounts the life and miracles of its hero, presented as a follower of apostle Barnabas, who established the ministry of the Cypriot Church through numerous ordinations).
600-649	Compilation of the *Life of St. Auxibios of Soloi* (another legendary saint of apostolic times) by an anonymous author (the city of Soloi is portrayed as entirely pagan).
610-641 (reign of Herakleios)	Concerted investment on Salamis/Constantia, including a local mint.

610	The Jewish community in Cyprus sent armed men to Tyros to help local Jews who were attacking the Christian population during the Persian invasions of 610.
610s-620s	Compilation of the *Life of St. Tychon of Amathous*, who allegedly lived in the 4th-century and was a contemporary of St. Epiphanios. The *Life* is assigned to John the Almsgiver. The text (of doubtful historical value) contains episodes of violence and conflict between St. Tychon and the worshippers of the pagan idols in Amathous.
617 post	The Egyptian *annona* is disrupted.
649	Arab raid on Cyprus, mentioned in the Soloi inscription (using the *anno Diocletiani*).
655	Bishop Ioannes carried out repairs at the Basilica of Soloi (Soloi inscription).

Prosopography

DATE	NAME	NOTES
40 (ca.)	Barnabas	Patron-saint of Cyprus (Salamis). He was a Cypriot Levite (*Acts* 4:36), identified as an apostle (*Acts* 14:14). He undertook missionary journeys together with Paul. Contemporary of Auxibios (I), according to the late 6th/early 7th c. anonymous *Life* of St. Auxibios. According to the *Acta Barnabae*, he was killed by a Jewish mob in Salamis.
41 (ca.)	Herakleidios of Tamassos	Bishop of Tamassos. Follower of apostle Barnabas and contemporary of Auxibios (I), according to the late 6th/early 7th-century anonymous *Life* of St. Auxibios. A certain Rhodon recounts the life and miracles of Herakleidios in the 6th or 7th century.
45 (ca.)	Sergius Paulus (or Lucius Sergius Paullus)	Proconsul of Cyprus, present when Paul confronted the Jewish false prophet Elymas-Bar-Jesus in Paphos.
45 (ca.)	Elymas-Bar-Jesus	Jewish false prophet (magician) in the entourage of proconsul Sergius Paulus, confronted by Paul in Paphos.

48 (ca.)	Mnason of Cyprus	Hellenized Jew, member of the Jerusalem community.
50 (ca.)	Tychikos of Neapolis	Bishop of Neapolis. Contemporary of Auxibios (I), according to the late 6th/early 7th c. anonymous *Life* of St. Auxibios.
57 (ca.)	Auxibios (I) of Soloi	Bishop of Soloi (Αυξίβιος or Ευξίφιος). He fled Rome and came to Soloi when Barnabas and Mark were preaching and consecrating priests on the island. He was baptised and consecrated by apostle Mark in 57.
60 (post)	Epaphras of Paphos	Bishop of Paphos (Επαφρᾶς or Επαφρόδιτος). Came to Cyprus after the death of St. Barnabas. Contemporary of Auxibios (I), according to the late 6th/early 7th c. anonymous *Life* of St. Auxibios.
80 (ca.)	Auxibios (II) of Soloi	Bishop of Soloi, the disciple and successor of Auxibios (I).
180-220 (ca.)	Titus (or Gaius) Pinnius Restitutus	Most probably a Roman citizen (incomer living in Cyprus) and owner of the mansion known as House of Orpheus in Nea Paphos, whose name is mentioned in the Orpheus and the Animals mosaic.
280-300 (ca.)	Mnemonios of Amathous	Bishop of Amathous, predecessor of Tychon of Amathous.
280s-320s	Damasos	Charioteer depicted in the mosaic decorating the portico of the Villa of the Hippodrome at Akaki.
280s-320s	Polyphemos	Charioteer depicted in the mosaic decorating the portico of the Villa of the Hippodrome at Akaki.
280s-320s	Kosmion	Charioteer depicted in the mosaic decorating the portico of the Villa of the Hippodrome at Akaki.
280s-320s	Protogenes	Charioteer depicted in the mosaic decorating the portico of the Villa of the Hippodrome at Akaki.
293-305	Antistius Sabinus	Governor of Cyprus, who organised festivities at the theatre of Salamis to honour the Tetrarchs and put up a group of statues of the Tetrarchs, see http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk/database/detail-base.php?record = LSA-865.

306-337 (ca.)	Palladios	Philosopher, born in Methone, who lived during the reign of Constantine the Great (306-337). He extols Cyprus' abundance in goods such as figs, pigs, wine, honey, oil and wheat (PA 9.487).
309 (post)	Pappos of Chytroi	Bishop of Chytroi (Kythrea), described as a confessor in the *Life* of St. Epiphanios.
314-392 (ca.)	Libanios	Rhetorician and teacher; born Antioch 314, died Antioch (ca.) 393. Libanios was educated at Antioch and Athens. According to his testimony, Cypriots are the most seafaring of Syria's neighbours and the most frequent visitors by sea to his native city.
315-386 (ca.)	Himerios	Greek sophist and rhetorician, born at Prusias ad Hypium in Bithynia. He completed his education at Athens, whence he was summoned to Constantinople in 362 by the emperor Julian, possibly to act as his private secretary. After the death of Julian in the following year Himerius returned to Athens, where he established a school of rhetoric, which he compared with that of Isocrates and the Delphic oracle, owing to the number of those who flocked from all parts of the world to hear him. Amongst his pupils were Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil the Great, bishop of Caesarea. He calls Cyprus a heavenly place (Decl. et Orat. 17.6-7).
320s (ca.)	Theodotos of Kyreneia	Local saint, who lived in the beginning of the 4th c.
325	Kyrillos (or Kyriakos) of Paphos	Bishop of Paphos, who participated in the First Ecumenical Synod of Nicaea (325). Most probably identical to Kyriakos of Paphos, the confessor, mentioned by Photios and Leontios of Byzantion.
325	Gelasios of Salamis	Bishop of Salamis, who participated in the First Ecumenical Synod of Nicaea (325) and in the Synod of Serdica (343). He is described as confessor in the *Life* of St. Epiphanios.
325	Spyridon (I) of Trimythous	Bishop of Trimythous, who participated in the First Ecumenical Synod of Nicaea (325) and in the Synod of Serdica (343).

330-400 (ca.)	Ammianus Marcellinus	Ammianus Marcellinus (Αμμιανός Μαρκελλίνος; ca. 330 – ca. 391/400), was a Roman soldier and historian who wrote the penultimate major historical account surviving from antiquity (preceding Procopius). Written in Latin and known as the *Res gestae*, his work chronicled the history of Rome from the accession of the Emperor Nerva in 96 to the death of Valens at the Battle of Adrianople in 378. Only the sections covering the period 353 to 378 survive. He speaks of Cyprus as a very prosperous island (he does not mention copper mining).
333-334	Kalokairos	The island's first and last usurper of imperial power. This revolt was subdued by censor Fl. Dalmatius.
342-343	Aphrodisios	Bishop of (?), who participated in the Synod of Serdica (343).
342-343	Athanasios	Bishop of (?), who participated in the Synod of Serdica (343).
342-343	Auxibios (III) of Soloi (?)	Bishop of Soloi (?), who participated in the Synod of Serdica (343).
342-343	Eirenikos	Bishop of (?), who participated in the Synod of Serdica (343).
342-343	Makedonios	Bishop of (?), who participated in the Synod of Serdica (343).
342-343	Norbanos	Bishop of (?), who participated in the Synod of Serdica (343).
342-343	Nunechios	Bishop of (?), who participated in the Synod of Serdica (343).
342-343	Photios of Paphos (?)	Bishop of Paphos (?), who participated in the Synod of Serdica (343).
342-343	Sosikrates	Bishop of (?), who participated in the Synod of Serdica (343).
342-343	Triphyllios	Bishop of Ledra/Lefkosia, who participated in the Synod of Serdica (343). He studied and practised law in Berytos and was a man of advanced education. In the 350s, he wrote the *Life* of St. Spyridon (I) in verse. This text together with oral tradition formed the basis of the two mid-7th-century *Lives* of Spyridon also written by Cypriot bishops: one by Theodore of Paphos and another possibly by Leontios of Neapolis.

350s	Quirinus	A native of Antioch, probably also a senator in Constantinople, who became governor (consul) of Cyprus.
350s	Anonymous Cypriot (counsellor)	Became an overnight millionaire at the expense of his compatriots (as attested by Libanios).
350s	Anonymous Cypriot (student)	Came to Antioch to study rhetoric (as attested by Libanios).
367-403	Epiphanios of Salamis	Bishop Epiphanios of Salamis/Constantia (367-410). He was born in 310 near Eleutheropolis in Palestine; died in Salamis on 12 May 403.
370s	Faustinianus	A pagan, one of the wealthiest citizens of Salamis, owner of a granary and several ships.
370s	Isaac	A converted rabbi residing in the Episkopeion of Salamis, close to Epiphanios (*Life of Epiphanios*, ch. 82).
371 (ca.)	Hilarion	Anchorite in Palestine and Cyprus, considered by his biographer, Jerome, to be the founder of Palestinian monasticism. Hilarion was in Paphos between 363/4 and 371.
373-414 (ca.)	Synesios	Bishop of Ptolemais in ancient Libya, a part of the Western Pentapolis of Cyrenaica after 410. He extols Cyprus' abundance in goods such as figs, pigs, wine, honey, oil and wheat (Ep. 148).
380 (ca.)	Kimon (Cimon Arabius)	The only son of Libanios who was not appointed provincial governor of the island (he was trying to avoid his curial obligations by obtaining a government post).
380-427 (ca.)	Spyridon (II) of Trimythous	Bishop of Trimythous (namesake of St. Spyridon of Trimythous).
381	Mnemon of Kition	Bishop of Kition, who participated in the Second Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople (381).
381	Ioulios of Paphos	Bishop of Paphos, who participated in the Second Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople (381).
381	Tychon of Tamassos	Bishop of Tamassos, who participated in the Second Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople (381). Most probably identical to Tychon of Amathous mentioned in a homily by John the Almsgiver.

381	Theopompos of Trimythous	Bishop of Trimythous, who participated in the Second Ecumenical Synod of Constantinople (381).
381	Flavian I of Antioch	Flavianus I (ca. 320 – February 404) was bishop or Patriarch of Antioch from 381 until his death.
382	Paula	Paula (347-404), a widow hailing from one of the richest senatorial families of Rome, who met Epiphanios in Rome. She later visited many monasteries in Cyprus and lavishly endowed them with funds.
382	Philon of Karpasia	Bishop of Karpasia. He was consecrated by Epiphanios when the latter travelled to Rome in 382. It was also Epiphanios who commanded him to assume his role as metropolitan during his absence. He was a former rhetor, who wrote biblical commentaries (on the *Song of the Songs* and on the *Hexaemeron*) and an ecclesiastical history.
380s-390s	Olympias	Olympias (361-408) was a pious and noble Roman widow based in Constantinople, who sponsored the foundations of Epiphanios.
380s-420s	Oecumenius	A *consularis* whose portrait head was found inside an elegant mansion in the southern part of Salamis (possibly a pagan or a half-hearted Christian).
399	Eutropios	Despite being a eunuch, he managed to be appointed consul and patrikios in Constantinople. He was exiled to Cyprus, but later recalled, tried for treason and executed in Chalcedon.
400 (ca.)	Heretical groups attested in Cyprus	Basilidians, Carpocratians, Ebionites, Ophites, Marcionites, Nicolaitans, Sabellians, Simonians, Valentinians. The *Panarion* reports only on Ebionites and Marcionites. All other heretical groups are mentioned in the *Vita Epiphanii*.
400-450 (ca.)	Sozomenos	Roman lawyer and historian of the Christian Church, who may have visited Cyprus. The *komai* that he mentions in Cyprus are identical to the cities listed in the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (dated before 535).
403	Longinos	A deacon, member of the heretical group of the Valentinians, who opposed the burial of Epiphanios in his newly built church at Salamis.

403	Petronios	A deacon, member of the heretical group of the Valentinians, who opposed the burial of Epiphanios in his newly built church at Salamis.
403 (post)	Sabinus	The successor of Epiphanios in the episcopal throne of Cyprus. He was a hegoumenos.
404 (post)	Constantius	Correspondent of John Chrysostom and organiser of missionary work in Phoenicia, Cyprus and the whole of the diocese of the Orient and Arabia. He was Chrysostom's preferred candidate for the episcopate of Antioch.
410s (ca.)	Eustolios	Local grandee at Kourion.
431 (ca.) or 448	Trilos	Bishop of Salamis, who was physically maltreated on a visit to Antioch at the instigation of the local bishop.
431 (ca.) or 448	Flavius Antiochus Ammianus Valerius	Praetorian Prefect of the East, based at Salamis. He undertook repairs in the Gymnasium-Baths at Salamis (if he is rightly identified with the Valerius mentioned in the two *tabula ansata* inscriptions inserted in the opus sectile pavement of the east portico of the atrium).
443/448	Uranius	Provincial governor sent to Cyprus as *consularis*. He had only recently converted to Christianity.
450s (ca.)	Olympios	Son of Flavius Antiochus Ammianus Valerius, who repaired the baths at Salamis and added gardens to them.
491-518 (ca.)	Zosimus	Greek historian who lived in Constantinople during the reign of the Eastern Roman Emperor Anastasius I (491–518). He notes that Cyprus contributed 30 ships to the fleet of Licinius against Constantine in 324 (*New History* 2.22.2).
500 (ca.)	Eustorgios	A high magistrate who provided the funds for repairs in the gymnasium and the theatre of Constantia/ Salamis, as well as in the theatre of Paphos.
550s (under Justinian, 527-565)	Alexander the monk	A monk in a monastery at Salamis, near the place where the tomb of St. Barnabas was discovered. He wrote the *Laudatio* of St. Barnabas.

550s-570s (ca.)	Corippus	Late Roman epic poet of the 6th century, who flourished under Justinian I and Justin II. He extols Cyprus' abundance in goods such as figs, pigs, wine, honey, oil and wheat (In *laudem Iustini* 3.91).
580-600 (ca.)	Stephanos	Provincial governor of Cyprus, father of John the Almsgiver, and a native of Amathous.
600-620 (ca.)	John the Almsgiver, Patriarch of Alexandria	Patriarch of Alexandria (Ἰωάννης ὁ Ἐλεήμων), born in Amathous around 560. He wrote a homily celebrating St. Tychon of Amathous.
626-641/2	Arkadios	Archbishop of Cyprus

Olga Karagiorgou
Academy of Athens