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A Musical Note from Roman Cyprus¹

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Abstract: In antiquity, the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos was Cyprus' most celebrated religious space. The high number of Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions discovered at the sanctuary reveals that it was an important environment for the celebration of the island's rulers, high profile visitors, and its local elite. While the accompanying statues of these inscriptions, or the structures that they may have been fixed to, do not survive, their texts point to the visually impressive character of the sanctuary. This article will present new readings of two inscriptions discovered at this sanctuary which commemorate the poet Lucius Septimius Nestor of Laranda and a certain Sergia Aurelia Regina. The relationship between poet and benefactress, as it appears from the two inscriptions, is to be placed beyond doubt in the framework of female euergetism in the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, during the second to third centuries AD. This study will reconsider the musical pun occurring in an inscription set up by Regina to honour Nestor as it sheds some new light on the nature of this relationship and may account for some puzzling features of the inscription, such as the self-celebrating tone in which Regina speaks of herself and the title of *hypatē* (hardly a substitute for the expected *hypatikē*) with which she credits herself.

Keywords: Roman Cyprus, euergetism, Ancient Greek music

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1 Introduction

In antiquity, the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos was one of the most celebrated religious spaces in Cyprus. It was the famed ‘home’ of the island’s chief deity, Aphrodite, and her main centre of worship on the island.² Inscriptions, predominantly from the Hellenistic and Roman periods, discovered at the sanctuary reveal that it was an important religious, political, and cultural hub of the island.³ While the accompanying statues of these inscriptions, or the structures that they may have been fixed to, do not survive, their texts point to the local importance of the sanctuary. Two inscriptions, discovered at the sanctuary and dated between the late second and early third centuries AD, offer a snapshot of the cultural scene at Paphos at this time. The inscriptions commemorate the poet Lucius Septimius Nestor of Laranda and a certain Sergia Aurelia Regina.⁴ The relationship between poet and benefactress, as it appears from the two inscriptions, is to be placed beyond doubt in the framework of female euergetism in the Eastern provinces of the Roman Empire during the second to third centuries AD. For instance, the musical pun occurring in the inscription set up by Regina to honour Nestor sheds light on the nature of their relationship and may account for some puzzling features of the inscription, such as the self-celebrating tone in which Regina speaks of herself and the title of *hypatē*, hardly a substitute for the expected *hypatikē*, with which she credits herself. This study builds upon previous interpretations of the monuments by discussing the composition and content of both inscriptions as a pair. Furthermore, this study offers speculation on the appearance of the accompanying statues, which are now lost, and the arrangement of the monuments together in the sanctuary.

2 For example, cf. Homer, *Od.*, 8.363–366, a well-known reference to the sanctuary which was the home of Aphrodite; Strabo, *Geogr.*, 14.6.3 mentions that many pilgrims travelled to the sanctuary to partake in the annually held Aphrodisia. For a complete overview of the literary texts which feature the sanctuary refer to Näf (2013).

3 For an example of the commemoration of a high profile visitor see *IGR* III 939 = *I.Paphos* no. 149: A plaque in honour of Marcia, the cousin of Augustus and wife of Paullus Fabius Maximus. Cf. *PIR* III. pp. 103–105, no. 47. The sanctuary was also visited by the future Emperor Titus in AD 69: Tacitus, *Hist.*, 2.2–4 and Suetonius, *Tit.*, 5. For general reading on the excavations at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia, Palaipaphos, and the layout of the sanctuary in the Roman period see Hogarth, James, et al. (1888); Maier (1975); Maier (1997).

4 Also named Nestor and Regina respectively throughout this article.

2 Lucius Septimus Nestor of Laranda and Sergia Aurelia Regina

An important poet of his age, Lucius Septimius Nestor of Laranda was celebrated during his lifetime and long after his death.⁵ This is evident from the discovery of other monuments which honour him elsewhere.⁶ Nestor's poetry was highly sophisticated and composed in a way that allowed for it to be accessible to the circles in which he moved – and beyond. He was the author of several works attested in later literary sources but it was his lipogrammatic version of the *Iliad* which brought him great renown and fame.⁷ The dedication to Nestor set up at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos could imply that he was active in Cyprus, perhaps residing there for a while, and that Regina was his benefactress. A monument from Ostia indicates that at some stage during his career Nestor was granted Roman citizenship.⁸ The question of whether Regina had a central role to play in attaining his citizenship from the Severans, as initially suggested by the epigraphist Terence Bruce Mitford, has been addressed recently and it appears unlikely that this was the case.⁹

Sergia Aurelia Regina was a self-styled *femina consularis* and is known only from three inscriptions, two from the Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos (the subject of this study) and one from the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion, another important religious site close to Palaipaphos, where she was commemorated as a patron by two freedwomen.¹⁰ Combined, the three inscriptions provide us with her full name. She is unique in being a Roman citizen other than the Emperor, a member of the Imperial household, or a Roman official known to be commemorated in more than one city in Cyprus. Her 'presence' at

5 For the sake of brevity, refer to the excellent study Ma (2007a). Ma's study of Nestor provides a complete account of the poet's known monuments.

6 Ma (2007a), 88–103 for a full list of his monuments: Lycaonia – Karaman; Kyzikos; Ephesos; Ostia; Rome; Cyprus. For other studies of Nestor see also Guarducci (1942); Guarducci (1961); Guarducci (1977); Mitford (1950), 62, footnote 4. On the topic of wandering poets see Cameron (1965); Weiss (1990); Hunter, and Rutherford (eds.) (2009).

7 Ma (2007a), 83, 103; Swain (2007), 5.

8 Ma (2007a), 93, no. 4a.

9 *I.Kourion*, 184; Swain (2007), 5–6; Ma (2007a), 92.

10 For the monuments of Sergia Aurelia Regina from Palaipaphos see below. For her monument at Kourion (a fragmentary grey marble tablet) cf. *I.Kourion*, 182, no. 98. Present Location: Episkopi Museum, Cyprus. Inv. no. I 127 (a,b), I 169 (c). For studies of Sergia Aurelia Regina see Ma (2007a); *I.Paphos*, 275–276 and note pp. 417–418; Fraser (1984); *RE Suppl.* XIV Col. 663; Cf. *PIR*¹ III, 126, no. 27.

two high-profile sites is worth noting and is an issue that will be addressed later in this study. Despite this, little else is known about her as her identity, status, and activities are otherwise unknown. It is thought that she was descended from the *Sergii*, an illustrious family from Southern Anatolia, whose connections with Cyprus are attested in the early Empire.¹¹ While the identity of her distinguished ancestors, to which she makes reference to in her monument to Nestor, is unknown,¹² it is generally agreed that the monuments of Sergia Demetria and L. Sergius C. Arrianus, discovered at Nea Paphos and at the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos respectively, were her relatives. Either could have received citizenship from the Roman proconsul Sergius Paullus.¹³

The monuments of Nestor and Regina have attracted the attention of scholars, but it is the dedication set up by Regina to Nestor, written in elegiac couplets, that is the most intriguing. Two recent observations concerning these monuments are of interest. First is the suggestion that the sophistication of the elegiac couplet could imply that Nestor aided his benefactress in the composition of the text.¹⁴ The second concerns the identity of the individual who set up the monument to Regina at the sanctuary. While it has traditionally been assumed that the fragmentary inscription attests a dedication by Nestor, recently it has been suggested that this may not necessarily be the case because the text is composed in prose and not poetry.¹⁵

This study suggests that while it is possible that Nestor aided Regina in the composition of the inscription that she dedicated to him, Regina's musical talents

11 Potter (2000), 830–831; Ma (2007a), 105.

12 Mitford (1980), 1297, footnote 35; Potter (2000), 793 and 830–831. Cf. *IPaphos*, nos. 125 and 252.

13 *IPaphos*, 417–418; See Potter (2000), 790, footnote 76 and also 793, footnote 88. Cf. Bowersock (1982), 669–670. For the career of Sergius Paullus see Mitford (1980), 1301, proconsul number 20: Mitford dated his term in office between AD 37–41; Thomasson (1984), 296, no. 10: Thomasson dated his time in office between AD 46–48 and gives his full name as Q. Sergius Paullus whereas Mitford (1980), 1301 names the proconsul as L. Sergius Paulus; and Potter (2000), 790: Potter names the proconsul as L. Sergius Paullus. Cf. *PIR*¹ S 376. For the activities of this proconsul see the following passage and monuments: [A] *Acts of the Apostles*, 13.7. [B] Discovered at Chytroi, Cyprus: *IGR* III 935; *SEG* 20.302. The restoration of this text by *SEG* suggests that he was proconsul. [C] Discovered at Salamis, Cyprus: *Salamine de Chypre* XIII, no. 105.

14 Ma (2007a), 108.

15 *IPaphos*, 276–277, no. 127. It is difficult to support this notion because much work is yet to be done on the nature of dedications to benefactors in the Roman Empire that utilise poetry as opposed to prose. Cf. Roueché (1997), 353–368. This study provides a useful overview of the types of dedications that were set up to benefactors in the eastern empire and outlines that it was appropriate to set up honorific monuments using epigram rather than prose for particular individuals (such as poets or intellectual elites) and not for others.

could have been sophisticated enough for her to have composed the couplet herself in order to set up a monument that honoured the poet and commemorated her association with him in such a stylish way.¹⁶ Furthermore, this study supports the notion that the monument set up to Regina *was* set up by Nestor and that dedication and arrangement of the two inscriptions with their accompanying statues complemented one another.

3 The text of the monuments

3A. *I.Paphos* 275–276, no. 126

Ἀφροδείτῃ Παφίαι.
 Νέστορα τῇ Παφίῃ τὸν αἰοίδιμον, ἡ φιλόμουσ[ος]
 ῥηγίνα, σθεναρῶν ἐξ ὑπάτων ὑπάτη.

Translation:

To Aphrodite Paphia

Regina, lover of the Muses, *femina consularis* of mighty consular stock, (has set up a statue of) Nestor famous in song, to the Paphian (goddess).

Stemma: n/a.

Monument: Statue base of blue marble. Inscribed on a re-used statue base of 114–107 BC (erased), references: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 247, no. 93; Mitford (1961), 34–35, no. 94 (*SEG* 20.218); *I.Paphos*, no. 18.

Measurements in cm: *I.Paphos*: 33.4 × 83 × 68.

Find Spot: The Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia, Palaipaphos.

Date: Late second to third century AD.

References: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 246, no. 86; Sakellarios (1890), 104, no. 105; *IGR* III 958; *BE* (1944), 239–241, no. 2051; (*SEG* 34.1426); Mitford (1950), 58, no. 4; incorrect date: corrected by *BE* (1951), 205; Bücheler, (1965), 384, no. IV; Fraser (1984), 278–279; Ma (2007a), 92, no. 3.

Cf. *PIR*¹ III, 126, no. 27.

Present Location: Kouklia Museum, Cyprus. Inv. No. KM 32. (Squeeze consulted at The Museum of Classical Archaeology, University of Cambridge).

¹⁶ See Roueché (1997), 363–364.

3B.

As pointed out by Fraser, the inscription above contains a reference to musical terminology. ὑπάτη ὑπάτων is in fact the name of a note belonging to the so-called Greater Perfect System, a two-octave system used as the standard diastematic space of music theory and teaching from the time of Aristoxenus of Tarentum (Fourth century BC) onwards.¹⁷ The occurrence of this particular *iunctura* and the unique usage of ὑπάτη instead of the expected ὑπατική – which would have been the usual title for a woman of consular rank – leave no doubt about that. There can be little doubt as well that Regina wanted this pun to be the culmination (*argutia*) to the whole distich, as can be inferred quite straightforwardly from the collocation of the words at the end of the pentameter (that is, in the usual place for the ἀπροσδόκητον in the epigrammatic tradition) as well as from the hyperbaton Ῥηγίνα ... ὑπάτη combined with the chiasmus Ῥηγίνα σθENAΡῶΝ / ὑπάτων ὑπάτη – two rhetorical devices which are clearly meant to emphasize the second hemistich. However, Fraser was quite skeptical about our chances to understand fully the actual meaning of this pun:

Although the confusions of theoretical terminology, and the doubts as to its relation to musical practice as well as her [Regina's] own epigrammatic brevity prevent us from determining what her own place in the musical world may have been (perhaps no more than that of an interested amateur, φιλόμουσος), and how she herself envisaged the ὑπάτων ὑπάτη chord, her point is still clear enough, and was no doubt considerably clearer to Lucius Septimius Nestor.¹⁸

We hope that this brief discussion can shed some more light on the point Regina intended to make.

In order to understand the text, we need not get tangled in the obscurities of Greek music vocabulary. It is true, as Fraser himself opportunely recalled, that the name of the note called ὑπάτη originated, at a very early stage of ancient Greek musical history, within the context of string instruments and indicated the string closest to the player's body – which also happened to be the highest in position; however, over the centuries this denomination, as well as the others of the same sort, were used regardless of the instruments that were being played, including wind instruments and the human voice – a process that took place well before the composition of the two inscriptions which are the focus of this study (for clarification ὑπάτων refers to the tetrachord to which the ὑπάτη belongs).

¹⁷ For example, see West (1992), 222.

¹⁸ Fraser (1984), 279.

As a consequence, the origins of these names lost significance and ended up having no bearings any more on the way in which they were used and understood. Accordingly, the history of Greek musical terminology appears to be totally irrelevant to our present purpose.

Instead, it is necessary to recall the structure of the so-called Greater Perfect System, the two-octave scale to which every music theorist, music teacher and musician referred almost invariably from Aristoxenus' time onwards. The whole structure is made clear in the chart displayed below. The modern names of musical notes are provided for the sake of clarity and should be intended in a 'diatonic' perfect system; **ὑπάτη ὑπάτων** is printed in bold.

Notes in the two-octave system

(σύστημα τέλειον ἀμετάβολον)

	(modern names)	(ancient Greek names)		(tetrachords)
	a'	νήτη ὑπερβολαίων	—	tetrachord of the ὑπερβολαῖαι
	g'	παρανήτη ὑπερβολαίων	—	
	f'	τρίτη ὑπερβολαίων	—	
	e'	νήτη διεzeugμένων	—	
	d'	παρανήτη διεzeugμένων	—	tetrachord of the διεzeugμέναι
→	c'	τρίτη διεzeugμένων	—	
high pitch	b'	παραμέση	—	disjunctive tone (διάζευξις)
	A	μέση	—	
υψηλὸι ὄχοι	G	λιχανὸς μέσων	—	tetrachord of the μέσαι
	F	παρυπάτη μέσων	—	
←	E	ὑπάτη μέσων	—	
	D	λιχανὸς ὑπάτων	—	tetrachord of the ὑπάται
	C	παρυπάτη ὑπάτων	—	
	B	ὑπάτη ὑπάτων	—	disjunctive tone (διάζευξις)
	A	προσλαμβανόμενος	—	

Figure 1: The Greater Perfect System, diagram created by Massimo Raffa.

It is worth noting that the Greeks, unlike us, thought of their musical scales as starting from the highest note – in pitch! – to the lowest. The system is made of four tetrachords, of which the first and the second were connected by συναφή – a “connection”, meaning that the last note of the previous tetrachord was the same as the first of the following – and so were the third and the fourth, whereas the second and the third tetrachords were separated by a tone – the διάζευξις, “disjunction”. To complete the two octaves at the bottom, one last note was needed; whose name was indeed προσλαμβανόμενος (i.e. the “added” note). While the sizes of the intervals within each tetrachord were a matter of intense and at times furious debate among ancient theorists, for the differences between the various genera, modes and shades depended on the magnitudes of these intervals,¹⁹ neither the overall structure nor the names of the notes have ever been questioned by any source, at least to our knowledge. Therefore, there is nothing problematic about the musical meaning of ὑπάτη ὑπάτων: in spite of the origin of its name, it was the lowest-pitched note of the lowest-pitched tetrachord. The notes’ names were well known both to music theorists and to practical musicians, either professionals or amateurs; so we can be utterly sure that no one with a minimum musical literacy could have been in the faintest doubt as to what note Regina was referring to.²⁰

To answer the question of ‘how are we to take the reference to this particular note in the context of our epigraph?’ we need to re-consider this epigraph in its context – that is, the relationship between a famous poet and a female member of a very important family from Paphos. Sergia Aurelia Regina seems to have been a learned woman, aware of poetry – if we are to judge from the exquisite making of her verses – and music. Besides, as a woman of ‘consular rank’ Regina is likely to have had a certain degree of visibility in civic life, even if the scantiness of the evidence at hand does not allow us to ascertain if she also happened to operate in any kind of public office.²¹ No wonder, thus, that she was keen to

¹⁹ The first and the last note of each tetrachord could not be altered; they were called ἑστῶτες φθόγγοι, “fixed notes”; the two inner notes could be tuned in a number of different ways, so that to obtain the three different genera (diatonic, chromatic and enharmonic) and the various shades (χρόαι, in Aristoxenus’ terminology) of each *genus* (e.g. tense diatonic, soft diatonic, etc.). Cf. West (1992), 221–224. This mechanism is described, for example, in Ptol. *Harm.* I, 12, pp. 28.15–29.9 Düring.

²⁰ That music encompassed every aspect of Greek life is emphasised by West (1992), 13–38.

²¹ Note that *IPaphos*, no. 125 (*IGR* III no. 960) attests one of her relatives, a [L]ucius Sergius Cl[...]. Arrianos, as tribune of senatorial order (συγκλητικὸν τριβούνον). On women and public offices in the Greek East during the Roman period see in general van Bremen (1996), 41–81. For a summary on the evidence concerning the status of women in Roman Cypriot society see Mitford

display her status and skills in her epigraph. But on the other hand, *qua* woman, she was also expected to comply with the traditional set of female virtues, among which modesty enjoyed pride of place. Therefore, it is possible that she shaped the inscription in such a way to achieve a sort of balance between these opposite instances.

This is more apparent if the text is read in relation to the second inscription that was set up at the sanctuary.

3C. Ma (2007a), 92, no. 3

Ἀφροδείτη Παφί[α]

vacat

[Σεργίαν] Αύρηλ[ία]ν Ῥηγεῖ[ναν]

[τήν] ὑπατικὴν

[Νέστ]ωρ ὁ [ποιητῆς τ]ήν εὐεργ[έτιν] 5.

Stemma:

Line 2: ... Ῥηγεῖ- Sakellarios || [- - - - - ? - - - - -] *I.Paphos*

Line 3: Ῥηγεῖ- Hogarth, James, et al. || ναν τήν] ὑπατικὴν Sakellarios || ΔΙΑΙΑ ... N IGR || [Σεργίαν Αύρηλ]ι[α]ν (?) Ῥηγε[ῖ]ναν] *I.Paphos*

Line 4: ναν τήν] ὑπατικὴν Hogarth, James, et al. || εὐεργεσίας Sakellarios || [- - -] ΡΡΩ[- - -]ΗΝ IGR || [τήν] ὑπατικὴν, *I.Paphos*

Line 5: εὐεργεσίας Hogarth, James, et al. || εὐεργ[εσίας] IGR || [- - - -] ΡΡΩ[- - - - - τ]ήν εὐεργ[έτιν]. *I.Paphos*

N. B. Restoration offered by *I.Kourion*, 183–184, footnote. 1 [*BE* (1972), 513, no. 585] without linebreaks:

Ἀφροδείτη Παφί[α] | Σεργίαν] Αύρηλ[ία]ν Ῥηγεῖ[ναν] ὑπατικὴν [Νέστ]ωρ ὁ [ἀοιδὸς τ]ήν εὐεργ[έτιν].

Monument: Inscribed on a re-used statue base of pink marble of 217–209 BC, references: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 252, no. 112; Sakellarios (1890), 102, no. 87; (*OGI* I 84); Mitford (1961), 15, no. 39 (*SEG* 20.218); *I.Paphos*, no. 21.

Measurements: Unknown.

(1980), 1369–1370. Note also that the identification of a certain ‘Claudia Musonia’ by Mitford in this summary has been re-interpreted in Cayla (1997).

Find Spot: The Sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia, Palaipaphos.

Date: End of second century AD.

References: Hogarth, James, et al. (1888), 253, no.113; Sakellarios (1890), 105–106, no.113; *IGR* III 959; *I.Kourion*, 183–184, footnote 1; *BE* (1972), 513, no.585: *I.Paphos*, 276–277, no. 172: Cf. Fraser (1984).

Present Location: Lost. (Squeeze consulted at The University of Cambridge, Museum of Archaeology Library Archives).

3D.

In this inscription Nestor praises Regina as his benefactress (εὐεργέτις), addressing her with the appropriate title of ὑπατική; the epithet he chooses for himself has been restored either as “poet” (ποιητής) or “singer” (ᾠοιδός). I would suggest that Regina’s inscription should be taken as a reply to Nestor’s; instead of, for on the one hand she magnifies the epithet that Nestor had used for himself (I would suggest that her usage of ᾠοιδίμος, “worth singing of”, “glorious”, should induce us to restore ᾠοιδός instead of ποιητής), while on the other hand downplays her own position: not only is there no mention of her being a benefactress, but also ὑπατική is replaced by the unexpected ὑπάτη.²² Regina’s pun is therefore to be interpreted in the framework of this exquisite display of modesty: in comparison with Nestor she is just an amateur (φιλόμουσος, as correctly interpreted by Fraser) and her position is that of the almost lowest note in the scale. Why the penultimate note and not the very last one?, one might ask. It is possible that for her pun to work, she needed to pick the lowest note that would allow her to use the adjective ὑπάτη; had she chosen the προασλαμβανόμενος, there would have been no pun at all and the interesting dialogue between the two inscriptions and the corresponding monuments would have been utterly spoilt.

4 The missing accompanying statues

Without doubt the pedestal bearing the dedication to Nestor would have carried a statue of him as traces of footprints and punctures for fixtures have been detected,

²² Ma’s recent interpretation of this inscription restores ποιητής instead of ᾠοιδός. While either interpretation is possible given that the final line of the text is damaged, we would like to consider the restoration as ᾠοιδός. The analysis of this second inscription, and its dialogue with *I.Paphos*, 275–276, no. 126, holds water with either ᾠοιδός or ποιητής.

though its materiality and the stance of the poet are completely unknown.²³ Monuments from across the Empire that are thought to represent Nestor are useful to compare, particularly the near complete monument from Ostia.²⁴ The likelihood that Nestor set up a statue to Regina, as indicated by the accusative of the honorand in the second, fragmentary inscription of this study, not only prompts questions about its appearance but also about how the images could have engaged with one another. Were the monuments set up and positioned together as a pair at the sanctuary? What would the accompanying statues have looked like? Could the setting of the sanctuary have heightened a viewer's interpretation of the monuments? These questions are important to consider given that the display of statues in public and private spaces were never haphazard but carefully considered in order to fulfil a variety of functions, but particularly to promote the individual being honoured and the person or body sponsoring the monument.²⁵

How and where the monuments of Regina and Nestor were arranged in the sanctuary is unknown. The find spots of surviving statue bases and inscriptions do not give us any insight as they were mostly discovered in re-used contexts. Furthermore, the surviving statuary from this sanctuary is scarce, particularly in comparison to other well-documented sites.²⁶ Nevertheless, given the dialogue that can be detected between the two inscriptions, one would hope that the statues of Regina and Nestor were positioned closely together to allow the viewer to fully appreciate this.²⁷ While representations of Nestor set up elsewhere in the empire indicate his appearance, the same cannot be said for Regina. We should imagine that a statue representing her high status and modesty would have been likely and appropriate, though these attributes were often combined with sculptural features which also portrayed women in public life as desirable and affluent.²⁸ Recently, case studies from Thasos, Aphrodisias and Perge have been drawn

23 *I.Paphos*, 275. Dillon (2010), 23–24 and footnote 86 suggests that depressions in a pedestal could indicate that the accompanying statue was made of bronze. Cf. Ma (2007b), 203 which highlights that from the second and third centuries BC onwards the established practice of honouring individuals with statues of bronze, gilt bronze, marble, or a painted portrait increased.

24 Cf. Barbieri (1953); Guarducci (1977); Ma (2007a), 112–113.

25 Cf. Smith (1998) which highlights the way in which bilingual cultural identity was expressed in sculpture in the second century AD. See also Stewart (2003), 136; and most recently Dillon (2010). For the origins of setting up honorific statues refer to Ma (2007b) and Ma (2013).

26 For example, see Smith (2006). For a recent study on the sculptural remains from the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos see Wieland and Frey-Asche (2011).

27 Cf. *I.Paphos*, 23–25.

28 Smith (1998), 70; Dillon (2010) in general.

upon to illustrate the ways in which benefactresses and female patrons utilised both traditional forms of self-representation, characteristic of the Classical and Hellenistic periods, with contemporary styles in their monuments.²⁹ Most importantly there does not appear to be a uniform way in which traditional and modern styles were combined across these sites in the Roman period. For example, while the well-known portrait statue of Plancia Magna from Perge is a useful model to consider as representative of the way in which a powerful benefactress could be represented as modest and virtuous it should not necessarily be assumed that an influential woman like Regina was represented in a similar manner. Plancia Magna's portrait statues, along with others at Perge, were idealised and reflective of traditional styles developed in the Hellenistic period. Although Plancia Magna enjoyed close connections with the royal household at Rome her portrait statues do not show her with symbols that would visually reflect these ties and high status.³⁰ Because of the limited evidence for representations of elite women from Roman Cyprus it is impossible to consider trends that were popular on the island.³¹ Furthermore, it is difficult to compare the evidence for Regina with evidence for female benefactresses and patrons discovered across the Roman Empire because the extent of her benefactions and activities among the wider Cypriot community are unknown.³² Although the evidence is frustratingly silent, it is important to consider the sculptural elements of Regina's monument as they would have been viewed with the accompanying inscription, undoubtedly contributing to the overall message of her identity as a Cypriot benefactress who enjoyed ties with well-known individuals from beyond the island.

Finally, the surroundings of the sanctuary could have added further nuanced meaning and interpretation of the commemoration of poet and benefactress. As a high-profile religious hub, the sanctuary was no doubt a deliberate choice for the setting of these monuments; it was *the* place to be honoured not only because of the scores of travellers and pilgrims who would have journeyed there, but also because music, song, and dance played an important role in religious ritual and celebrations in the ancient Greek world. More than this, the erection of the monument does raise questions about Nestor and Regina's interaction with the site itself. Did they themselves visit it as 'pilgrims' or devotees of the goddess? Or was

29 Dillon (2010), 136–149 for evidence from Thasos, 149–155 for evidence from Aphrodisias, and 155–161 for evidence from Perge.

30 Dillon (2010), 135–163.

31 It is worth noting Poyiadji-Richter (2009) reveals that women represented in Roman Cypriot funerary sculpture were sculpted with hairstyles that reflected the trends of the wider empire.

32 For example, see Hemelrijk (2004); Bielman (2012); Meyers (2012).

the location of the sanctuary chosen to house their monuments simply because of its prestigious profile? It is worth noting that these two statue bases are complemented by the monument to Regina, set up by her freedwomen at the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates. One aspect of Apollo's identity was as a god of artistic performance and music which could have made his sanctuary another deliberate choice location for her monument.

5 Conclusions

The monuments of Regina and Nestor tell us much about local identities and the celebration of 'outsiders' in Roman Cyprus. Surviving epigraphic evidence from the sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia at Palaipaphos reveals two monuments which record the activities of the poet Lucius Septimius Nestor of Laranda. The first monument, *I.Paphos* 275–276, no. 126, firmly attests the name of the poet and his benefactress, Sergia Aurelia Regina, and it appears that the inscription – an elegiac couplet – was composed by her not to only flatter Nestor but also to display her own status. Although Nestor's name is not recorded in the fragmentary remains of the second monument, Ma (2007a), 92, no. 3, the language of this monument appears to echo and complement the monument set up by Regina and so it appears very likely that it was set up by him. While it is impossible to imagine where these monuments stood in the sanctuary it is possible to estimate that the statues representing both poet and benefactress were erected as a pair in the sanctuary.

Selected Abbreviations:

Bücheler	F. Bücheler, <i>Kleine Schriften III</i> (Osnabrück. 1965)
<i>IGR</i>	R. Cagnat, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes</i> (Paris. 1906–27) 4 Vols.
<i>I.Kourion</i>	T. B. Mitford, <i>The Inscriptions of Kourion</i> (Philadelphia. 1971)
<i>I.Paphos</i>	J. B. Cayla ed., <i>Les inscriptions de Paphos, Unpublished Thesis</i> , (Paris. 2003).
Mitford (1961)	T. B. Mitford, 'The Hellenistic Inscriptions of Old Paphos', <i>Annual of the British School at Athens</i> 56 (1961): 1–41.
Sakellarios P. D.	Sakellarios, <i>Τα Κυπριακά</i> (Athens. 1890).
<i>Salamine de Chypre</i> XIII	J. Pouilloux, P. Roesch, and J. Marcillet-Jaubert eds. <i>Salamine de Chypre XIII: Testimonia Salamina 2, Corpus Épigraphique</i> , (Paris. 1987).

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