

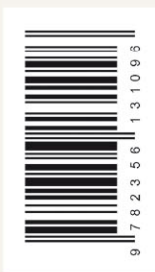
Plus qu'un simple état de la science sur les Cyclades antiques, ce livre entend interroger les perspectives géopolitiques, économiques, diplomatiques et culturelles induites par le rapport entre les Cyclades – comprises comme un ensemble cohérent dans ses diversités – et les différents pouvoirs ayant dominé la région égéenne au cours du millénaire envisagé ici. C'est ainsi face aux pouvoirs naxien, parien, samien, athénien, lagide, rhodien puis finalement romain que l'histoire des îles cycladiques est interrogée par les vingt contributeurs que réunit cet ouvrage, dans une approche fondée sur la convergence des sources historiques et archéologiques.

La question de la domination et le rapport dominant/dominés se trouvent au cœur de leurs préoccupations sans pour autant s'y limiter. C'est à la fois une histoire de l'Archipel entre le VII^e s. a.C. et le III^e s. p.C. qui est proposée, en même temps qu'une réflexion sur les jeux d'influences dans le cadre d'une domination exogène, ainsi qu'une lecture de la création progressive d'une identité nouvelle. En effet, c'est dans un rapport constant avec ces différents pouvoirs que s'est créée l'identité du groupe qui y était soumis, celui des Cyclades, les îles en cercle, situées à la fois à la marge des sphères d'influences de leurs puissants voisins et au cœur d'un espace égéen centré autour de Délos.

The present study aims at providing more than a straight forward summary regarding the ancient Cyclades. Its main purpose is to deal with geopolitical, economic, diplomatic, as well as cultural aspects of the interaction between the Archipelago and the different powers that had dominated the Aegean area for a thousand years. For that reason, a total of twenty papers were included in this volume, based on both a historical and an archaeological approach. The authors of these studies have attempted to reconstruct the history of the ancient Cycladic societies under the Naxian, Parian, Samian, Athenian, Lagide, Rhodian, and finally Roman hegemonies.

In particular, beyond examining the popular concept of domination, the present volume also intends to assess the history of the Archipelago from the 7th c. BC to the 3rd c. AD: under the conditions imposed by exogenous dominations, these islands witnessed the progressive birth of a new identity –the Cycladic one. Indeed, being both at the edge of their powerful neighbors' spheres of influence and at the heart of the Aegean area, this circular ring of islands gradually evolved into the "Cyclades" in an ongoing relationship with these different hegemonies.

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SA 64

Grégory Bonnin, Enora Le Quéré

Pouvoirs, îles et mer

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Formes et modalités de l'hégémonie dans les Cyclades antiques (VII^e s. a.C.-III^e s. p.C.)

édité par
Grégory
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LE QUÉRÉ



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Pouvoirs, îles et mer

Grégory Bonnin est docteur en Histoire, Langues et Littérature anciennes, université de Bordeaux - Montaigne ; chercheur associé à Ausonius - UMR 5607.

Enora Le Quéré est docteur en Archéologies et Sciences de l'Antiquité, université Paris 1 - Panthéon Sorbonne ; chercheur associé à ArScAn - UMR 7041.

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Frédéric HERBIN
Université Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne – UMR
7041, ArScAn ;
herbin.fred@free.fr

Enora LE QUÉRÉ
Université Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne – UMR
7041, ArScAn ;
enora.lequere@wanadoo.fr

Zozi D. PAPADOPOULOU
21^e Éphorie des Antiquités, Ministère grec de la
culture, Grèce ;
zozipap@googlemail.com

Christophe PÉBARTHE
Université Bordeaux Montaigne – UMR 5607,
Ausonius ;
christophe.pebarthe@u-bordeaux3.fr

Nikolaos PETROCHILOS
10^e Éphorie des Antiquités, Ministère grec de la
culture, Grèce ;
npetrochilos@hotmail.com

Francis PROST
Université Paris 1, Panthéon-Sorbonne – UMR
7041, ArScAn ;
francis.prost@univ-paris1.fr

Brian RUTISHAUSER
Fresno City College, California, USA ;
brian.rutishauser@fresnocitycollege.edu

Natacha TRIPPÉ
EPHE / Université Bordeaux Montaigne – UMR
5607, Ausonius ;
natacha.trippe@gmail.com

John A. TULLY
Princeton University, New Jersey, USA ;
jatully@gmail.com

Sophia ZOUMBAKI
Fondation Nationale de la Recherche Scientifique,
Institut de Recherches Historiques, Secteur de
l'Antiquité grecque et romaine (KERA-EIE),
Athènes, Grèce ;
szoumpa@eie.gr

“At the Mercy of Waves and Storms...”: Roman and Italiote Traders and Settlers in the Cyclades*

Sophia Zoumbaki

... *nemo refert quod Italia externae opis indiget, quod uita populi Romani per incerta maris et tempestatum cotidie uoluitur!* (Tac., *Ann.*, 3.54)

“No one represents to the Senate that Italy requires supplies from abroad, and that the very existence of the people of Rome is daily at the mercy of uncertain waves and storms”.

INTRODUCTION

The Emperor Tiberius, in his longest speech in the whole of Tacitus's *Annals* (AD 22), refers to the luxury involving every aspect of everyday life in Rome: dwellings, drinking and dining, clothes, jewels, precious metal stocks, art collections, slaves. This luxurious life needed to be fed by trade. It has been stated, probably rightly, that the appearance of private Romans in the East was a result of the immense flow of wealth to Italy, which accompanied the rise of Roman power, especially after the Punic wars, but also as a result of a series of political measures passed by the Senate intended to encourage commerce¹. Merchants therefore travelled along the sea-routes of the Eastern Mediterranean and along the Silk Route, in the East, their aim being to cater to the demand both for basic goods and for luxurious commodities from the East, such as Chinese silks and exotic spices and perfumes, by bringing them to the central markets of the Roman world.

The sea-routes that connected Western Mediterranean with the heart of Asia Minor and with Black Sea passed through the Cyclades, where western traders and other entrepreneurs left their traces. Westerners were in certain cases indeed, rather than merely passing through, actually residents in Greek *poleis* for some period, whether short or long. Despite the pessimistic image of the Cyclades sketched by literary sources of the Roman period, which refer to them as places of exile and poverty², the fact that some of the islands attracted Roman and Italian settlers, shows that the situation could not have been as miserable as they said, but that there were opportunities for profit. Furthermore, the Cyclades did not form a homogenous group

* References to Roman names attested on the NW Cyclades are to be found in Mendoni & Zoumbaki 2008 (AND = Andros, CE = Ceos, CY = Kythnos, GY = Gyaros, MEL = Melos, MY = Myconos, SE = Seriphos, SI = Siphnos, SYR = Syros, TEN = Tenos), for names attested on the remaining islands there are references to the relevant epigraphic publications.

- 1 Frank [1914] 2003, 152, 153-155 for political measures; Hatzfeld 1919, 18; Wilson 1966, 88, 103-105; Brunt 1979, esp. 126-131 for the connection of war with commercial benefits; Dari-Mattiacci & Plisecka 2012 for luxury and sumptuary laws in Rome.
- 2 References to the islands as places of exile, to their poverty, and to biting anecdotes, such as that referring to the horrible rats that drove the inhabitants of Gyaros away, drawing a picture of misery, see Plin., *Nat.*, 4.69; 8.104 ([...] *ex Gyara Cycladum insula incolas a muribus fugatos* [...]); Steph. Byz., *s.v.* “Γύαρος”; Str. 10.5.3 ([...] *σιθηρείη Φολεγάνδρω δειλή ἢ Γυάρω* [...]), where negative epithets are used to describe certain islands, such as “worthless” and “iron-like”. See also Tac., *Ann.*, 3.68-69 ([...] *addidit insulam Gyarum immitem et sine cultu hominum esse* [...]).

and did not share the same historical fate nor enjoy the same economic opportunities. Strabo calls certain Cyclades –Andros, Naxos, Paros, and Melos– “notable”³; it is not surprising that the majority of the attestations of a Western presence come exactly from these islands.

The present work attempts an investigation of the presence of Romans and Italiote Greeks on the Cyclades, of their mobility and economic role in the region from the 3rd c. BC onwards. We will focus mainly on private individuals who were temporarily or permanently resident on islands beyond Delos. Since Delos has been more systematically studied than other sites, we will use material from there as supplementary and comparative evidence.

Direct evidence comes mainly from inscriptions and from a few literary texts mentioning individuals from Italy who were active in the Cyclades. Indirect indications of their presence are to be found in the use of Latin language, which testifies that there was a Latin-speaking community on the islands, and in the attestation of Roman names at an early date, since proliferation of Roman names among Greeks is not to be found before the first years of the 1st c. AD. This becomes more obvious if we recall that a regular spread of Roman names in the local population of Athens is not to be observed before the time of Claudius⁴. In the small and –compared to Athens– marginal communities of the islands, bearers of Roman names are in general not especially numerous. Isolated cases of the early appearance of Roman names can therefore be regarded as an indication of a presence of Westerners.

ITALIOTE GREEKS AND ROMANS ON THE CYCLADES

Contacts between Italy and the East increased over the second half of the 3rd c. BC, although Greeks from *Magna Graecia* always maintained relations, both cultural and economic, with metropolitan Greece⁵. Individuals of Greek-Italiote origin were the pioneers in the economic relations between the Cyclades and Italy, as inscriptions from Tenos, Thera, Melos, and Naxos testify.

Greek names of individuals from Croton, Taras, Rhegion and Syracuse, perhaps *proxenoi*, are preserved in a fragmentary inscription from Tenos dated to the middle of the 3rd c. BC (*IG*, XII *Suppl.*, 313). A certain Timon, son of Nymphodoros, from Syracuse is honoured in two decrees found on Tenos, one erected by the *polis* of Tenos and the other by the Nesiote League (*IG*, XII.5, 816 and 817). Timon helped the Nesiote League in the purchase of grain, in addition to aiding the *demos* and private individuals from Tenos, about 192 BC⁶. He was a banker –perhaps settled on Delos (*IG*, XI.4, 759), as his son appears as a banker on Delos⁷. The Siceliote Timon and an individual from Neapolis, [- -]δου Νεαπολίτης (*IG*, XII.5, 843; 2nd c. BC), honoured as *proxenos* for his benefactions to the *polis* and its citizens, were granted several privileges and

3 Strabo who gives a completely pessimistic account of Gyarus, states (Str. 10.5.7) that Andros, Naxos and Paros are noteworthy; Melos is mentioned by Strabo (Str. 10.5.1) as noteworthy in comparison with its neighbours, Siphnos, Sikinos, Kimolos, Anaphe and Pholegandros. Even the gray image of Andros drawn by Avillius Flaccus banished there by Caligula, as it is shown in his lamentation preserved by Philo (*In Flacc.*, 159), probably reflects his grief, as Flaccus himself admits at a further point that Andros was a beautiful country.

4 Byrne 2003, p. XII.

5 Wilson 1966, 86-87; Nocita 2012, 143-147.

6 For the date see Étienne 1990, 174.

7 Hatzfeld 1912, 57 (Delian attestations of the individual); Hatzfeld 1919, 28; Wilson 1966, 120.

the right to acquire land and a house on Tenos. About the turn to the 1st c. BC, an individual whose name is not preserved, bearing a Greek patronymic [- - -] Ἀπολλωνίου Ῥωμαῖος, is honoured on Tenos, probably as *proxenos*, as far as the fragmentary inscription allows us to make a guess⁸. He was apparently an Italiote Greek, who in the eyes of the Tenians was no different from a Roman.

Westerners are attested on Thera about the turn to the 1st c. BC. A certain Isidoros, son of Theon, from Syracuse, is mentioned in a list of *proxenoi* and foreign benefactors⁹. Two further individuals who appear in the second part of the list bear the ethnic name Καλαβ[ροί], Dexitheos, son of Cha[- - -], and [- - -], son of Zoarchos¹⁰. We incline to the view that their origin was in Calabria in Southern Italy, rather than the island of Kalauria (Poros), whose inhabitants are attested as Καλαυρεῖται or Καλαυρεῖται¹¹.

The presence of Westerners on Melos is testified to as early as the Hellenistic period. A funerary inscription mentions the Roman *gentilicium* Coelius and another (?) individual from Taras, whilst the father of the deceased Hicane is named Tiberius¹². A certain Ζῆνις Καλλικράτ[ου]ς Ἐλεάτης, whose name is attested in a Hellenistic funerary inscription from Naxos, is very probably to be assigned to Elea, in Southern Italy, and not to the town in Western Greece. Indeed, the name Ζῆνις is attested in the Italian Elea and mention of several further Eleatai from Italy was found on Delos¹³. A further grave stele from Naxos, now held in the Musée Calvet in Avignon, dated to the 2nd or 1st c. BC, bears the name of Tertia, daughter of Iason, from Brundisium (*IG*, XII.5, 86).

Apart from the Italiote Greeks –this group includes also individuals who bear Latin names, such as the aforementioned Coelius and Tertia on Melos and Naxos, and individuals who bear Greek personal names along with the ethnic name Ῥωμαῖος– Romans are also mentioned at an early period in the Cyclades. The presence of Romans is indirectly attested in the *polis* of Aegiale on Amorgos, since they appear in the groups that take part in public banquets funded by an endowment to the memory of a certain Aleximachos, son of Kritolaos, dated to the late 2nd c. BC¹⁴. The special mention of Romans who are placed in the banquet separately from other foreigners shows the importance of the Roman community on the island¹⁵.

Two Romans, apparently brothers, [- - - Π]οπλίου Ῥωμαῖοι, are listed about the turn of the 1st c. BC in the already mentioned inscription from Thera, which includes more individuals of

8 *IG*, XII *Suppl.*, 308; cf. TEN 64.

9 *IG*, XII.3 *Suppl.*, 1299, l. 15-19: [...] γεγονότα | εὐεργέταν | Ἰσιδώρον | Θέωνος | Συρακόσιον.

10 *IG*, XII.3 *Suppl.*, 1299, l. 22-23; cf. Hatzfeld 1919, 88.

11 Bachmann 1828, *Λέξεις Αλεξάνδρας Λυκόφρονος*, v. 852: ἔστι δὲ ἔθνος Ἰταλίας, οἱ Καλαβροί. Cf. also Stephanus Byzantius (see van Berkel *et al.* 1825, *s.v.* “Καλαβρία”): χώρα πληθισίον Ἰταλίας. ὁ οἰκῆτωρ Καλαβρός. Καὶ Καλάβρα θηλυκόν καὶ Καλαβρίς; while a little further, *s.v.* “Καλαυρεία”: νησίδιον πρὸς τῇ Κρήτῃ, κύκλον ἔχουσα ὅσον τριάκοντα σταδίων ἀπὸ Καλαύρου τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος. ἐκαλεῖτο καὶ Εἰρήνη. ὁ πολίτης Καλαυρεῖτης.

12 MEL 16.

13 *IG*, XII.5, 1018; cf. Vecchio 2003 for the presence of Eleatai on Delos; Nocita 2012, 144, 221.

14 *IG*, XII.7, 515; *SEG*, 25, 995; *SEG*, 30, 1084.

15 According to the restoration of the text by Gauthier 1980, 210-218 (l. 57-58), Romans and their sons were allowed to dine κατὰ ἑννέα (*i.e.* in groups of nine individuals), separately from other foreigners, following Roman *triclinium* culture, thus putting three couches with three places each, around the table.

Italiote origin¹⁶. A further characteristic example of an early Roman presence on the Cyclades is the family of Pandusini. The earliest attestation of this *gens* in the East is to be found in a copy of a *senatus consultum* of the year 170 BC from the Boeotian *polis* of Thisbe¹⁷. Members of the family of Pandusini are to be found as *negotiatores* on Delos and Tenos (c. 100 BC; *IG*, XII.5, 917). Caius Pandusinus, son of Cnaeus, who refers to himself as a *proxenos* of Tenos, dedicated a group of Victories, Erotes and Anterotes, the work of the Ephesian sculptor Agasias, in the sanctuary of Poseidon and Amphitrite¹⁸. This individual was identified by J. Hatzfeld as the grandson of Pandusinus who was active in Thisbe¹⁹. It is not known whether he was permanently settled on Tenos or he lived on Delos.

Epigraphic texts reveal the presence of a Latin speaking circle on Andros in the second half of the 2nd c. BC. For instance, a bilingual dedication of the *libertus* M. Varisidius M. l. Trophimus to the *Metrei theon* is dated by the editor, N. Petrochilos, to the end of the 2nd c. BC²⁰. A Latin inscription dated to the early 1st c. BC and displaying a remarkable blend of Latin and Greek characters, commemorates the repair of a *piscina* by a certain Diogenes²¹. More inscriptions from Andros are perhaps to be connected with Westerners²², yet difficulties are involved in attempting to date these texts, since they do not offer any arguments based on internal historical evidence that might lead to an accurate date.

DIFFUSION OF ROMANS IN THE CYCLADES: ONOMASTICS AS A TOOL

The evidence that we have just looked at, although it is merely a sample, shows that the presence of Romans and Italiotes is attested on the islands already from the 3rd c. BC, whilst the evidence indicating that they settled there is to be dated to the 2nd c. BC onwards. It is not easy to trace their route to the East, that is, to discover, whether they chose to settle on a particular island which they used as their base or whether they initially settled somewhere on the Greek mainland, in Asia Minor or on Delos, and later decided to look for a new place of residence or for an additional base from which they could conduct their affairs.

As a matter of fact, mobility both within the Cyclades and within the Aegean basin is already evident before the Mithridatic War. As a commercial center, a destination in itself, situated on important trade routes in the Eastern Mediterranean, Delos attracted a large number of foreigners up to the first decades of the 1st c. BC. and facilitated wider mobility throughout the Cyclades. The abandonment of Delos by the Romans brought about a different mobility, that of businessmen who had to look in various directions for a new base. This raises the question

16 *IG*, XII.3 *Suppl.*, 1299, l. 52.

17 *IG*, VII, 2225; cf. Johnson *et al.* 2003, 28-29, n°30.

18 Two bases of statue groups of Victories, Erotes and Anterotes have been found in the sanctuary, dated to the end of the 2nd c. BC. Étienne 1990, 197 identifies both groups as dedications of Pandusinus. For the individual, for the sculptor Agasias, who was very popular on Delos, for the name Pandusinus and other Pandusini on Delos, see TEN 46.

19 Hatzfeld 1919, 27.

20 Petrochilos 2010a, n°103.

21 *IG*, XII *Suppl.*, 290; cf. AND 30. Šašel-Kos 1977, 203 dates this text to the end of the 2nd c. BC; Sauciuc 1914, 145, n°21 (cf. *ILGR*, 30) dates it to the early 1st c. BC.

22 For possible Westerners settled on Andros for economic reasons (exiles and magistrates are excluded here), see AND 6, 7, 9, 10, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 52, 53, 54.

of the scale of their movement to other islands of the Cyclades. The general view that Romans encountered in the Aegean world and on the Greek mainland were always former inhabitants of Delos who had survived the hostilities of 88 and 69 BC²³, should be regarded with caution, as the aforementioned early attestations to the presence of Romans on other Cyclades indicate.

An interesting picture emerges from a consideration of onomastics. O. Salomies²⁴ stated that, on the basis of his statistical evidence, there are about 1400 different Roman *nomina* in the East. Our investigation on Roman names in the Aegean had shown that only about 77 *gentilicia* are attested in the Cyclades, beyond Delos²⁵. *Gentilicia* borne by individuals who are with certainty identified as Roman magistrates or as exiles are not included in this number. Imperial *gentilicia* are not included either.

J. Hatzfeld, in his classical work on Italians on Delos²⁶, listed about 166 Roman gentile names attested there, whereas J.-L. Ferrary and his collaborators in *Les Italiens dans le monde grec*²⁷ added some more nomina, thus raising the total number to 187. A number of 38 of the aforementioned 77 Roman gentile names encountered in the Cyclades are not to be found on Delos²⁸. Even if we take into account the randomness of the preserved epigraphic sources, doubts arise as to whether all Romans ended up on other islands of the Cyclades after they left Delos. Although the departure of the Westerners from Delos after the sack by the forces of Mithridates must have dispersed several branches of Roman and Italian families throughout the Aegean and at various spots of the Greek mainland²⁹, it seems that not all Romans whose presence is attested on the Cyclades, moved from Delos. Besides, the evidence discussed above shows that Romans resided on other Cyclades already in the 2nd c. BC.

The image that emerges from the diffusion of the 77 Roman gentile names on the other islands of the Cyclades is equally remarkable (fig. 1). Only 15 *gentilicia*³⁰ of the total 77 are to

23 Van Berchem 1962 for Argolis; Hoff 1989, 7 for Athens; Müller & Hasenohr 2002, 17-18 with more bibliography; Salomies 2007, 1274-1276 for dispersion of Delian families.

24 Salomies 2007, 1271.

25 The material from the North-Western Cyclades, published by Mendoni & Zoumbaki 2008, as well as the material from the remaining islands, which is currently processed, include the following gentile names which are attested in the Cyclades beyond Delos: Aaranius, Afranius, Albanus, Ammius (?), Ampelius, Antistius, Antonius, Arellius, Atinnius, Audius, Aufidius, Avonius, Babulius, Caecilius, Caedicius, Caelius, Calpurnius, Catus, Clodius, Coelius, Cornelius, Cossutius, Curtius, Domitius, Egnatius, Firmius, Fulius, Fulvius, Iunius, Licinius, Magius, Maius, Mamius, Marius, Memmius, Messius, Milonius, Munatius, Mustius, Nostius, Novius, Octavius, Offellius, Pandusinus, Papius, Perperna, Plotius, Pollius, Pomponius, Pontius, Popillius, Postumius, Publilius, Quintilius, Quinctius, Rubius, Rustius, Salvius, Scribonius, Septicius, Sergius, Servilius, Sextilius, Solficius/Sulpicius, Stertinius, Tertius, Turpilius, Valerius, Vareius, Varius, Varisidius, Vettius, Vibius, Vinicius.

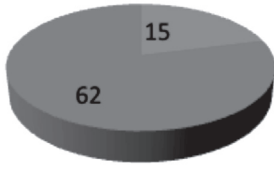
26 Hatzfeld 1912, 5-218.

27 Ferrary *et al.* 2002, 183-239.

28 *Gentilicia* attested in the islands of the Cyclades except Delos are: Aranius, Afranius, Albanus, Ammius (?), Ampelius, Antistius, Atinnius, Caedicius, Caelius, Catus, Coelius, Curtius, Domitius, Firmius, Fulius, Iunius, Livius, Magius, Maius, Mamius, Marius, Milonius, Mustius, Nostius, Papius, Perperna, Pollius, Pontius, Quinctilius, Rubius, Rustius, Salvius, Scribonius, Septicius, Sergius, Vareius, Varisidius, Vettius.

29 For possible destinations of the Romans, see Hasenohr & Müller 2002, 17-18 with bibliography.

30 **Antonius** (MEL 2; MY 1; SYR 2), **Arellius** (Thera: *IG*, XII.3 *Suppl.*, 1643; Naxos: *IG*, XII.5, 39), **Babulius** (CY 1; Naxos: *IG*, XII.5, 93; Paros: *IG*, XII.5, 171 & 307; Amorgos: *IG*, XII.7, 418 & 425), **Clodius** (AND 24-27; MEL 15; Paros: *IG*, XII.5, 453 & 458), **Cornelius** (MEL 17-27; SYR 9; Pholegandros:



Total: 77 gentile names
 Names attested on more islands: 15
 Names attested on one island each: 62

Fig. 1. Diffusion of the Roman gentile names in the Cyclades, beyond Delos.

be found on more than one island, which may reflect a splitting of a family into several branches or of the business of a certain entrepreneur in several neighbouring directions, at places where he was represented by his agents, who often were his *liberti*.

The approximately 62 remaining *gentilicia* are attested on one island each. Moreover, their majority is represented only by one or two individuals on each island; only three of them are borne by 4 individuals; three further names are borne respectively by 5, 6 and 11 individuals (fig. 2)³¹. Given this fact, it is clear that both a small number of Roman gentile names and a limited number of bearers of these names are to be located on the islands of the Cyclades.

	TEN	AND	MEL	MY	SY	CY	THE	NA	PA	PHO	IOS	AM
Antonius			1	1	1							
Arellius							1	1				
Babullius						1		1	6			1
Clodius		4	1						2			
Cornelius			11		1					1		
Cossutius									2		1	
Curtius								1				2
Egnatius	1	2										
Iunius		1			2							
Marius			1		1							
Novius			1				2					1
Ofellius			1						1			
Plotius			1				4					
Sextilius								1				1
Tertius							1		1			

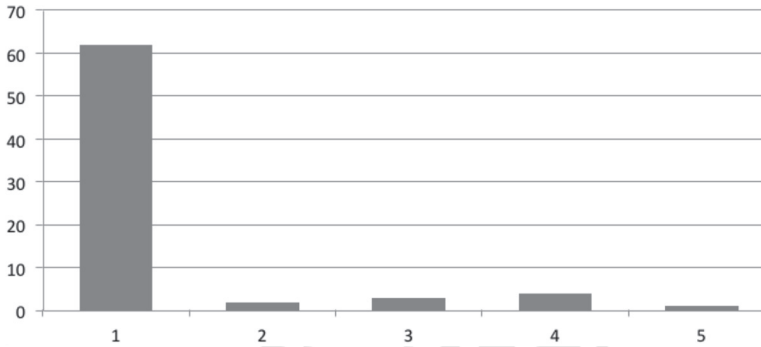
Fig. 2. Non-imperial *gentilicia* attested on more islands.

IG, XII.3, 1063; *CIL*, III.1, 489), **Cossutius** (Paros: *IG*, XII.5, 422 & 1049 *add.*; Ios: *IG*, XII.5, 11), **Curtius** (Naxos: *IG*, XII.5, 44 & 61; Amorgos: *IG*, XII.7, 338 & 425), **Egnatius** (AND 31-32; TEN 29), **Iunius** (AND 39; SYR [17]-18), **Marius** (MEL 38; SYR 21), **Novius** (MEL 41; Thera: *IG*, XII.3, 870), **Ofellius** (MEL 42; Paros: *IG*, XII.5, 377), **Plotius** (MEL 43; Thera: *IG*, XII.3, 529, 531, 532, 533 & 898), **Servilius** (SYR 48-51), **Sextilius** (Naxos: *IG*, XII.5, 39; Amorgos: *IG*, XII.7, 247 & 353), **Tertius** (Thera: *IG*, XII.3, 434; Paros: *IG*, XII *Suppl.*, 226).

31 The names Clodius, Plotius and Servilius are borne by 4 individuals respectively on Andros (AND 24-27), Thera (*IG*, XII.3, 529; 531; 532; 533; 898) and Syros (SYR 48-51). The names Avonius and Babullius are borne respectively by 5 and 6 individuals on Paros: Avonius: *IG*, XII.5, 157 & 315; *IG*, XII.5 *add.*, 1019 B, l. 11-14 (3 individuals are mentioned in this inscription); Babullius: *IG*, XII.5, 171 (5 bearers of the name are mentioned in this inscription) & 307. The name Cornelius is borne by 11 individuals on Melos (MEL 17-27).

The attestation of Cornelii on Melos are not only numerous but also display a continuity which is rare to observe in the Roman names of the Cyclades. It is worth noting that a considerable portion of the *gentilicia* is to be encountered on the islands only up to the end of the 1st c. BC (fig. 3)³². Furthermore, there are names attested only in the 1st c. AD or only in the 2nd/3rd c. AD³³. A continuity of use is to be observed only for a small number of the attested names³⁴: just 3 *gentilicia* attested in the Republican period are also encountered in the Imperial period on the same island: Clodius on Andros, Curtius on Naxos, Publilius on Tenos³⁵. From the names which are attested for the first time in the 1st c. AD, only a limited number of names are still to be found on the same island over the following centuries, e.g. Cornelius on Melos, Iunius and Milonius on Syros. A picture of lack of continuity and homogeneity emerges also from the pattern of diffusion of certain names. Certain names are to be encountered in different periods on different islands, e.g. Arellius is to be encountered in the Republican age on Naxos and reappears in the 2nd/3rd c. on Thera; Babullius is attested in the Republican period on Kythnos and Naxos and in the 1st c. AD on Paros and Amorgos. The image emerging from these observations can be summarized as follows:

- 32 Names such as Atinnius (AND 5-6), Aufidius (TEN 5-6; Naxos: *IG*, XII.5, 39), Caedicius (Naxos: *IG*, XII.5, 39), Caelius (MEL 7), Calpurnius (TEN *25), Coelius (MEL 16), Lutarius (TEN 43), Magius (MEL 32-33), Munatius (Naxos: *IG*, XII.5, 62), Pandusinus (TEN 46), Pollius (Naxos: *IG*, XII.5, 39), Popillius (Naxos: *IG*, XII.5, 55), Postumius (SYR 42), Rubius (TEN 56), Rustius (TEN 49), Solficius/Sulpicius (Naxos: *IG*, XII.5, 39), Vareius (AND 52), Varisidius (AND 54) are encountered only in the Republican period.
- 33 **Names attested only in the 1st c. AD:** Afranius (TEN 1-2), Antistius (AND 3-4), Antonius (MEL 2, MY 1, SYR 2), Audius (AND 7), Catius (MY 1), Fulius (SYR 13), Livius (MEL 1), Maius (Paros: *IG*, XII.5, 172), Nostius (Paros: *IG*, XII.5, 307), Pomponius (Amorgos: *IG*, XII.7, 467). **Names attested from the 2nd c. AD onwards:** Ammius (Paros: *IG*, XII.5, 389), Ampelius (Paros: *IG*, XII.5, 339), Domitius (Paros: *IG*, XII.5, 428), Egnatius (TEN 29; AND 32), Firmius (Thera: *IG*, XII.3, 963), Fulvius (MEL 33), Mamius (Paros: *IG*, XII.5, 424), Memmius (AND 44), Mustius (Anaphe: *IG*, XII.3 *add. et cor.*, 1264; *IG*, XII.3 *Suppl.*, 1287), Novius (MEL 41; Thera: *IG*, XII.3, 870), Octavius (SYR 32), Offellius (MEL 42), Papius (TEN 46-47), Perperna (SYR 36), Salvius (Paros: *SEG*, 45, 1146), Scribonius (MEL 46), Sergius (CE 7; SYR 47), Servilius (SYR 51), Stertinius (Paros: *IG*, XII.5, 445 B 1), Turpilius (Paros: *IG*, XII.5, 144), Valerius (Paros: *IG*, XII.5, 1020 *add.*), Vettius (SYR 53), Vibius (Anaphe: *IG*, XII.3, 280).
- 34 **Arellius:** Naxos: *IG*, XII.5, 39 (Republican); Thera: *IG*, XII.3 *Suppl.*, 1643 (2nd/3rd c. AD); **Babullius:** CY 1; Naxos: *IG*, XII.5, 93 (Republican); Paros: *IG*, XII.5, 171 & 307 (1st c. AD); **Clodius:** AND 26-27 (Republican); MEL 15 (1st c. AD); Paros: *IG*, XII.5, 453 & 458 (2nd/3rd c. AD); **Cornelius:** AND 28 (Republican?); MEL 21-27 (1st-3rd c. AD); SYR 9 (2nd/3rd c. AD); Pholegandros: *IG*, XII.3, 1063; *CIL*, III.1, 489; **Cossutius:** Paros: *IG*, XII.5, 422 & 1049 *add.* (Republican); Ios: *IG*, XII.5, 11 (Imperial); **Curtius:** Naxos: *IG*, XII.5, 61 (Republican); *IG*, XII.5, 44 (1st/2nd c. AD); Amorgos: *IG*, XII.7, 338 (2nd/3rd c. AD); **Iunius:** SYR 17-18 (1st-2nd c. AD); AND 39 (2nd/3rd c. AD); **Marius:** SYR 21 (1st c. AD); MEL 38 (2nd/3rd c. AD); **Milonius:** SYR 27-29 (1st-2nd/3rd c. AD); **Publilius:** TEN 50-51 (Republican and 1st c. AD); **Sextilius:** Naxos: *IG*, XII.5, 39 (Republican); Amorgos: *IG*, XII.7, 247 & 353 (2nd/3rd c. AD); **Tertius:** Thera: *IG*, XII.3, 434 (Republican); Paros: *IG*, XII *Suppl.*, 226 (2nd/3rd c. AD); *IG*, XII.3, 963 (3rd c. AD).
- 35 Clodius: AND 24-27; Curtius: *IG*, XII.5, 44 (end of the 1st/beginning of the 2nd c. AD) & 61 (1st c. BC); Publilius: TEN 50-51.



1. Attestations without continuity.
2. Names attested in the Republican period and in the 1st c. AD.
3. Names attested in the Republican period and in the 2nd and 3rd c. AD.
4. Names attested in the 1st, 2nd and 3rd c. AD.
5. Continuity of attestations from the Republican to the Imperial period.

Fig. 3. Distribution of attestations in the Republican and the Imperial period.

All these tedious statistics reflect to some extent a situation which is difficult to describe and perhaps even more complex to understand. It is namely difficult to find the reason why the majority of the attestations are isolated and why they lack continuity. A characteristic case: about the middle and in the second half of the 1st c. BC, the *agoranomoi* Publius Lutatius A. f. (*IG*, XII.5, 880), Marcus Publilius M. f. (*IG*, XII.5, 881), Lucius Rubius D. f. (*IG*, XII.5, 880), the *strategos* Lucius Rustius L. f. (*IG*, XII.5, 885) and the *praktor* Quintus, son of Marcus (*IG*, XII.5, 886), are to be recognized as members of a Roman community of Tenos, who were integrated into local life to the point that they undertook offices of the *polis*. It is however remarkable that even names borne by individuals who performed local civic magistracies, such as Lutatius, Rubius, Rustius, are not attested after this on Tenos. Magii who acted as local benefactors on Melos about the end of the 1st c. BC³⁶ are not further attested either. The situation on Naxos displays a similar gap: almost all Roman names attested on the island are dated to the Republican period and do not seem to have survived into the Imperial period. This is the case with several Roman names listed in an ephebic catalogue (*IG*, XII.5, 39) dated to the late 1st c. BC/early 1st c. AD, which are not attested beyond this. Paros, on the contrary, displays an increasing number of Roman names over the Imperial period.

Responses to changing circumstances were presumably the reason for the dramatic decrease in Roman names in the Imperial period on some islands and their increase on others, or their appearance on some islands and their disappearance on others. It must, however, be admitted that the reasons for these changes remain largely conjectural, as there is little documentary evidence. This situation suggests the presence of isolated bearers of names, who had roots in only a very few places. Further, it suggests the existence of settlements lacking continuity and stability. It seems that the majority of the Roman entrepreneurs made up a free-floating entity which came and went. The overall picture is corroborated by the situation on Delos, where the

36 *IG*, XII.3, 1078; *CIL*, III *Suppl.*, 14203¹¹ and *IG*, XII.3, 1079; *CIL*, III.1, 490. Cf. MEL 34 and 35.

body of Romans apparently underwent constant change with new arrivals and departures³⁷. The fact that new names are still attested in the 2nd and 3rd c. AD, may indicate that fresh Westerners continued to migrate to the Cyclades during the Imperial period, whether from the West or from other places in the East, we do not know³⁸. It is perhaps characteristic of this floating Roman population that there is so far no attestation of an official legal collective organization of Romans as a body in the Cyclades beyond Delos; apart from the reference to Ῥωμαῖοι in the aforementioned Aleximachos' endowment on Amorgos, there is not even a collective unofficial mention of Roman residents on the Cyclades. Even families which display an advanced degree of integration into local societies do not establish real roots, as aforementioned, since they cannot be followed over the next generation and their names do not appear any more on the islands where they resided for a while. Should we imagine that they chose to retire and to end their days in some other place? Or did wealthy businessmen choose to send agents out to the islands, who were often their freedmen, whilst they themselves were based at some central place in Greece or Asia Minor? A look at the *cognomina* –wherever they exist– of the individuals who are attested in the Cyclades may reveal the presence of persons of freedman origin (Eros, Onesimus, Cladus, Philargyrus) among them. Moreover, an isolated attestation of a Roman, even a dedication or reference to some euergetic activity on his part, does not necessarily indicate a permanent establishment on a particular island. Instead, business interests meant perhaps short, but regular, periods of presence of certain Romans on certain islands. The presence of a Babulius on Kythnos, for instance, does not mean that he was a resident of Kythnos, since he is known only by his dedication to *Theos Hypsistos*.

ENGAGEMENTS OF ROMANS IN THE CYCLADES AND THE EXPLOITATION OF LOCAL RESOURCES

A crucial question which, however, has no easy answer, concerns the occupations of the Westerners on the Cyclades. As a rule, professions or economic activities are not systematically or explicitly mentioned in the sources. The crucial location of the Cyclades on the sea routes linking Italy to Asia Minor certainly favoured trade, transport, shipping, commerce and banking. Yet direct mentions of bankers, traders, or those involved in shipping are extremely limited. Bankers and moneylenders are settled on, or connected with, Tenos: the Siciliote Timon and his son (early 2nd c. BC), L. Aufidius Bassus and his father (early 1st c. BC); both families appear to have been established on Tenos or Delos for two generations at least³⁹. Similarly, although publicans harried the whole region, the presence of only one, Vareius, is attested by name on Andros⁴⁰. As for traders, one gets a sense of the multitude of travelers from the numerous names incised on the rocks of the bay of Grammata on Syros, which provided shelter from bad weather. Latin or bilingual inscriptions from the islands dated from the 1st c. BC to the 2nd c. AD indicate that the world of Cyclades was, if not a destination in itself, certainly on the route leading further to the East and that Westerners travelled this route⁴¹. However, there is only one direct attestation of

37 Wilson 1966, 111-113.

38 This is stated by Salomies 2007, 1279-1280.

39 Timon: *IG*, XII.5, 816 & 817; L. Aufidius: *IG*, XII.5, 860 (cf. TEN 5).

40 *IG*, XII *Suppl.*, 261; Petrochilos 2010a, n°5 (cf. AND 52).

41 **Syros**: the bilingual funerary inscription of L. Postumius Cladus: *IG*, XII.5, 701; cf. SYR 42 (1st c. BC/1st c. AD); the grave stone of a man from Puteoli (Pozzuoli), Marcus Severus Potiolanus: after *IG*,

a trader in an inscription from Melos, where a certain C. Caelius C. l. Eros⁴² defines himself as a *mercator*, that is a merchant. It is impossible to decide whether Eros was a Romanized Greek, who was acting as an agent for his patron. The scale of his business was perhaps not enormous, since it is generally accepted that the term *negotiator* was to be employed when speaking of an important merchant⁴³. Whether he was based on Melos or was merely a passenger who left a trace of his temporary presence there, is not known. The commodity or commodities in which he dealt are likewise unknown. Indeed, this is the case for the traders in the Cyclades in general, although they probably dealt in local resources and products.

Speaking of Melos, a consideration of the epigraphic and literary sources and the archaeological evidence suggests that the most valuable resources for the island, together with that of the neighbouring Kimolos, were the mining and quarrying products; all the substances having an alum base were used for both industrial and medicinal purposes and were in great demand in Rome and in other large markets⁴⁴. The exploitation of this mineral wealth must have been very profitable and the mining, processing, transport and trade in these coveted products may have been controlled by Roman businessmen. Archaeological evidence testifies to an intensive presence during the Roman period at sites of “industrial” or “commercial” character, some of them also being residential in function⁴⁵. Foundations of stone and tile-buildings, kilns, slag, and pottery wasters testify to the presence of *in situ* manufacturing and to mining, processing, and exporting of mineral products. This is made clear by the abundant traces of the presence of transport vessels, in the form of e.g. amphorae. These sites are thought to have been small coastal

XII.5, 700, p. 195; cf. SYR 21 (1st / 2nd c. AD); the fragmentary bilingual funerary inscription of Sabinus: *IG*, XII.5, 700; the inscriptions incised on the rocks of the bay Grammata: *IG*, XII.5, 712, n°3, 4 & 45. **Andros**: the inscription commemorating the repair of a *piscina* by Diogenes, a text with a remarkable blend of Latin and Greek elements: *IG*, XII *Suppl.*, 290 (1st c. BC); the votive inscription of M. Varisidius M. l. Trophimus: Petrochilos 2010a, n°103; cf. AND 53 (end of 2nd/beginning of 1st c. BC). **Melos**: the inscription of the *mercator* C. Caelius C. l. Eros: *CIL*, III *Suppl.*, 14203¹⁰; cf. MEL 7 (1st c. BC?); the bilingual dedications of Magia Pulchra: *IG*, XII.3, 1079; *CIL*, III.1, 490; cf. MEL 34 (1st c. BC/1st c. AD) and her father L. Magius Eros: *IG*, XII.3, 1078; *CIL*, III *Suppl.*, 14203¹¹; cf. MEL 35 (1st c. BC/1st c. AD). **Pholegandros**: the names of Auctus, P. Cornelius [... f.], and Cornelia Rufus incised both in Greek and Latin in Chrysospelia: *IG*, XII.3, 1063, l. 2; *CIL*, III.1, 489, l. 2 & *IG*, XII.3, 1063, l. 6-10; *CIL*, III.1, 489, l. 6-10. **Paros**: the inscription CHREZ(IMUS) LIB(ERTUS), perhaps from the marble quarries: *SEG*, 38, 1006; the bilingual funerary inscription of [- -] L. Eros Labienanus: *IG*, XII.5, 426. Inscriptions concerning Roman magistrates or other state functionaries or soldiers are not included here, such as e.g. the dedication of the *viator tribunicius* Claudius Secundus on Syros (*IG*, XII.5, *post* 674; cf. SYR 7), the inscription of C. Iulius Naso *praef(ectus) tesserar(iarum) in Asia nav(ium)* on Tenos (*IG*, XII.5, 941; cf. TEN *35), the bilingual inscription from Tenos commemorating the repair of a statue group by the *proconsul* P. Serveilius P. [[f.]] Isauricus (*IG*, XII.5, 917), a dedication by the *evocatus Augustorum* M. Aurelius Rufinus and a group of praetorian soldiers on Andros (*IG*, XII *Suppl.*, 274).

42 *CIL*, III *Suppl.*, 14203¹⁰ (1st c. BC?); cf. MEL 7.

43 For a presentation of the earlier views on the topic, see Verboven 2007, 89-118 who accepts that the difference between the two terms is mainly of a semiotic nature, but it also refers to the scale of business.

44 Pittinger 1975, 191-197; Sparkes 1982b, 232-234 has collected detailed references in ancient sources to every mining product from Melos, along with the associated terminology; Nigdelis 1990, 256.

45 Mackenzie 1897b, 129-133; Wagstaff & Cherry 1982, 145-146. Sites offering evidence for mining activity are *Tria Pigadia*, *Kato Komia*, *Rema*, *Soleta*, *Palaiochori*, *Rivari*, *Emporio*, *Aspros Kavos*, *Sta Glastria* and *Aghia Kyriaki* (cf. Sparkes 1982b, 235). For Aghia Kyriaki in particular, see Photos-Jones *et al.* 1999, 377-413.

stations (*emporía*). Certain architectural structures of this period at the harbour of Klima, still partly visible underwater, are perhaps to be connected with the systematic organisation of trade, chiefly of mineral products⁴⁶.

Mining and quarrying products of other islands were equally important, but there are questions regarding their exploitation in the Roman period. The gold-mines of Siphnos were apparently exhausted by the Classical period and copper production on Kythnos, which started in Prehistoric times, does not seem to have existed in the Roman period either⁴⁷. The coarse-grained Naxian marble, popular in the Archaic period, fell out of use. On the other hand, Naxian emery, which was already in use in prehistoric times as a means of smoothing marble, was still in demand, as the text of Pliny the Elder shows (Plin., *Nat.*, 36.7.10; 37.8.32). Parian marble was coveted; Pliny refers to it (Plin., *Nat.*, 36.14)⁴⁸. The presence of Romans on Paros, especially of Cossutii, has been connected with the exploitation of marble quarries; in any case, in the Imperial period, the marble quarries of Paros were an imperial property, as an inscription of the imperial slave Eros defining himself as *erpepistates* shows⁴⁹.

Agriculture as the predominant factor of economy throughout the preindustrial world was certainly an activity of the local population⁵⁰. The Romans were in general not indifferent to the possibility of the possession of land, given that it was highly esteemed by Roman traditional social values. In certain cases, rights of *enktesis*⁵¹ (*i.e.* the right to possess land) may have been merely symbolic formality, but in other cases they may indicate Roman intention to acquire land in the place in question. However, since the Cyclades do not have rich land resources, land exploitation is not likely to have been the main occupation of Romans there, but perhaps indicates their interest in permanent settlement on the islands in question.

Nevertheless, certain settlements of Roman style may indicate that Romans possessed some piece of land. For example, small farmsteads continue to exist on Melos, but a certain number of sites, defined by the archaeologists as rural *villae*, “testify to an elegant style of country living not previously seen in Melos”⁵². They are located in charming sites with panoramic views of the sea and have extensive, well-built foundations, mosaic floors and stuccoed walls⁵³. A further

46 Cherry & Sparkes 1982, 53. On trade of mineral products from Melos see remarks by Le Quéré 2013.

47 For gold mines of Siphnos, see Paus. 10.8, 11.2; Str. 10.5.1 (cf. Wagner *et al.* 1985). For the bibliography on the archaeological evidence of copper production on Kythnos, see Mendoni & Zoumbaki 2008, 32-33 and n. 43. Generally on mineral resources in the Aegean, see Bennet 2007, 175-176.

48 Burnett Grossman 2003, 70, 74; Hirt 2010, 157, 303, 309, 313, 324, 331, 352.

49 Cossutii: *IG*, XII.5, 422 & 1049; cf. Hatzfeld 1919, 228. *Erpepistates* Eros: *IG*, XII.5, 253.

50 For the agricultural practice of cultivation on terraces in the Cyclades, see Doukellis 1998, 309-330 and especially for Tenos, see Doukellis & Mendoni, <http://www.agrotinos.com/life-TINOS>.

51 Cases of *enktesis* on the Cyclades: **Delos**: Βοῦζος Ὀρτεῖρα Κανυσίνος: *IG*, XI.4, 642 (241-232 BC); Ἡρακλείδης Εὐδήμου Συρακόσιος: *IG*, XI.4, 723 (end of the 3rd c. BC); Τίμων Νυμφοδώρου Συρακόσιος: *IG*, XI.4, 759 (beginning of the 2nd c. BC); Μάαρκος [- - - Ποπλίου Ῥωμῆαίος: *IG*, XI.4, 809 (beginning of the 2nd c. BC); Μάαρκος Σέστιος Μαάρκου Φρεγελλανός: *IG*, XI.4, 757 (beginning of the 2nd c. BC). **Tenos**: Τίμων Νυμφοδώρου Συρακόσιος: *IG*, XII.5, 816 (end of the 3rd c. BC); Κόνιντος Κοίντου [Κ]αλπόρνιος ὁ ἔπαρχος: *IG*, XII.5, 841 (2nd c. BC); [- - -]δου Νεαπολίτης: *IG*, XII.5, 843 (2nd c. BC). On the role of agriculture for Tenos, see Doukellis & Mendoni, <http://www.agrotinos.com/life-TINOS>.

52 Citation from Wagstaff & Cherry 1982, 146; sites n°56, 81, 100, 108 can be defined as *villae*.

53 For further details concerning Roman sites, which are to be considered private domestic areas, see Dimitriadis 2001, 132-133.

interesting find is a black-and-white mosaic on Seriphos⁵⁴ of the type which was very widespread in Italy and the Western part of the Roman Empire in the 1st/2nd c. AD. According to its editor, it belonged to a private house. In any case, it is perhaps to be interpreted as an indication of the presence of individuals who were –if not of Western origin– at least in contact with West and well aware of the art and techniques flourishing in Italy and Western Mediterranean. It is tempting to connect the Roman atmosphere of these structures with the Roman families known from the inscriptions.

We are thus dealing with Romans who, although still traders, may have actually settled. Regarding Melos, this is perhaps of a piece with the continuity of certain Roman names, such as the Cornelii. The Roman aqueduct that apparently supplied the gymnasium, a Roman bath in the centre of the ancient *polis*, and the rock-cut cemetery of the catacombs dated mainly to the 3rd and 4th c. AD (albeit with a few earlier graves), are perhaps also to be connected with these Roman settlers⁵⁵. The wealth of the foreigners came, however, not from their *villae*, but from mining and quarrying resources.

On the other hand, certain agricultural products of the islands were coveted commodities in central markets and in sophisticated gastronomic circles of the Roman world. It is unknown whether Romans derived profit from the exploitation of certain local commodities, nor is it clear on what scale they did so and when their period of activity is to be dated. The wine from the Cyclades was considered to be of excellent quality, equal to that of Baetica and Gallia⁵⁶ and it was imported to Italy up to the beginning of the Imperial period. Naxos, for example, produced a famous high-quality wine, compared to nectar by Archilochus and mentioned by Athenaeus⁵⁷. J. Hatzfeld and younger scholars have linked the presence of a certain C. Curtius Mithres⁵⁸ on Naxos with wine production or trade. This individual is identified with the homonymous freedman of the wealthy banker C. Curtius Postumus, known from a letter of recommendation (Cic., *Fam.*, 13.69) addressed by Cicero to the governor of Asia, P. Servilius P. f. Isauricus, asking for support for Mithres, who was engaged in a lawsuit with a certain Colophonian regarding the possession of some landed property⁵⁹. Cultivation of vineyards must have been considerable on Andros too, as the important cult of Dionysus shows⁶⁰.

Further products which were considered of high quality may have been of interest for Roman traders, but there is no direct evidence for this. Naxian almonds are mentioned by Athenaeus as being of excellent quality (Ath. 52). He suggests eating them before *symposia*, in order to stimulate thirst. The exploitation of the production of, and trade in, a coveted variety of cheese,

54 Yannouli 2006, 305-314.

55 Cherry & Sparkes 1982, 56; Dimitriadis 2001, 132.

56 Columella, *Rust.*, 1.Pr.20: "...et vindemias condemus ex insulis Cycladibus ac regionibus Baeticis Gallicisque..."; cf. Brun 1996, 64 sq.

57 Archil., fig. 151; Ath. 1.30. The importance of wine production for the island is obvious in the wine-spring of Naxos in the Naxian mythical cycle (Steph. Byz., s.v. "Naxos"; Prop. 3.17, 27; Ctes. *apud* Phot., *Bibl.*, P. 46, col. a; Heraclid. Pont., *apud* Suda, s.v. "Naxia") and in the iconography of the coinage, where motifs such as *kantharos* bound with ivy-wreath, bunches of grapes, head of Dionysus and his symbols, craters and *thyrsos*, are employed (*BMC* Crete and the Aegean islands, 110-112, n°1-23).

58 Hatzfeld 1919, 220; Nigdelis 1990, 269-270.

59 Pelekidis 1969, 13-15 (*Bull. Ép.*, 1970, 438).

60 Plin., *Nat.*, 2.103; 2.231; Philostr., *Imag.*, 1.25. Cf. AND 33 on Flavia Paederotis and her votive altar to Dionysus.

the so-called κύθνιος τυρός⁶¹, may have afforded an opportunity for profit for Marcus Babulius, the only Roman attested on Kythnos⁶². The presence of the *gens Babulia* is also attested on Paros, Amorgos, Delos and Naxos⁶³.

Marine resources, from fish and oysters –as food for direct consumption– to salted fish, which can be preserved and transported in special amphorae, as well as salt, were also important natural resources for the Cyclades. Epigraphic texts from Delos referring to taxes relating to fishing and a sacred law from Myconos mentioning duties on fish, show that this activity was extremely important at least for the islanders⁶⁴. State control of marine resources, which seems to have been routine in the Hellenistic period, continued and became even more intense in the Roman period⁶⁵. Salt and purple-dye, far from being free resources were tightly controlled by Roman law⁶⁶. That purple was an exploitable resource in the Cyclades is clear from Delian inscriptions which show that purple that was fished around Delos and Myconos, generated profit for the Delian sanctuary through a tax which was imposed on fishing or delivery of the sea-shells⁶⁷. Architectural remains and broken murex shells on Delos dated to the first half of the 1st c. BC have been identified by Ph. Bruneau as installations for purple-dye processing; the processing spot is placed by E. Lytle on Rheneia⁶⁸.

Luxurious products, such as purple from the Aegean waters as well as the famous ἀμόργινοι χιτῶνες, should have offered additional economic interest. The manufacture of ἀμόργινοι χιτῶνες⁶⁹, “Amorgian tunics”, which were regarded as being especially expensive⁷⁰, was an important factor in the local economy of Amorgos. It has been argued that the island’s present name is derived from a plant called αμούργος or αμούργη, from which a rare red dye was extracted to colour royal tunics. The species in question, however, cannot be identified with certainty. Some scholars have identified it with a kind of flax (λινοκάλαμη) from which delicate and transparent garments were woven, whereas the red colour was obtained from a tinctorial lichen, *rocella tinctoria*. This lichen is mentioned by Joseph Pitton de Tournefort, who visited Amorgos in the 18th c. and saw this species –still expensive and in demand in Alexandria and in England– in abundance on the rocks of the island as well as on Nikouria. He gives a description

61 Mendoni 2008, 127-139.

62 Meritt 1949, 217; cf. CY 1.

63 Paros (*JG*, XII.5, 171 & 307); Amorgos (*JG*, XII.7, 418 & 425); Delos (Hatzfeld 1912, 21); Naxos (*JG*, XII.5, 93).

64 On fish duties on Delos and the related sources, see Reger 1994c, 256-257 and Lytle 2006, 146 sq. & 170 on taxes on both fish and murex. Sacred law from Myconos: *Syll.*³, 1024, l. 10 (end of the 3rd c. BC).

65 For regulations and taxation of marine resources and the related ancient sources see Lytle 2006, 170; Bekker-Nielsen 2007, 195-197. De Laet 1949, 206-208 mentions that fish were subject to the *portorium* in the Roman period, whilst standard duties in the Hellenistic period included also taxes on fish.

66 Bekker-Nielsen 2007, 197.

67 On purple on Delos, see Bruneau 1969; Lytle 2006, 157 sq., 166, 313 sq. Cf. also Karali & Megaloudi 2008, 181-184 for purple in the Aegean.

68 Bruneau 1969, 767-791; Lytle, 319-320.

69 Liampi 2004 n. 17: the manufacture of this famous cloth was probably local and it may well have continued after Classical times. For the written sources and comments, see Lambros 1870, 353; Nigdelis 1990, 53 n. 155; Brun 1996, 136-137.

70 Pl., *Ep.*, 13.363A: ταῖς Κέβητος θυγατράσι χιτῶνια τρία ἐπαπίχη, μὴ τῶν πολυτελῶν τῶν Ἀμοργίνων, ἀλλὰ τῶν Σικελικῶν τῶν λινῶν. See Richter 1929, 27-33 for ancient sources on luxurious textiles of ancient Greece.

of this *lichen graecus polypoides tinctorius*⁷¹. Another theory identifies the plant ἀμοργίς with *malva silvestris*, which is mentioned by Theophrastus in his *Historia Plantarum* (Theophr., *Hist. pl.*, 7.7.2; 7.8.1) as a wild herbaceous plant with a prostrate stem and classified under “uncultivated herbs”. G. M. A. Richter, however, doubts all these explanations and identifies the Amorgian tunics as silk garments. In her view, they were termed Amorgian because Amorgos was on the trade route by which raw silk was imported into Greece, perhaps functioning as a station conveniently neighbouring Cos, which Aristotle mentions as the home of the Greek silk manufacture, a fact apparently still known to the Romans, who called silk garments ‘Coan’ (*Coae vestes*)⁷².

CONCLUSION

The marginal world of the Cyclades enjoyed thus various natural resources that could be exploited. We would be guilty of over-simplification, however, if we suggested that certain local resources attracted Romans with a view to profitable exploitation, since there is no direct evidence from the Cyclades that this actually occurred. Evidence from other places where Romans were settled shows that they exploited various local resources⁷³. In any case, Cyclades, located on the commercial sea routes, benefited above all from the interconnectivity within the Mediterranean. This crucial location was the most important advantage of the islands. As Cicero (Cic., *Rep.*, 2.9) stated in regard to the maritime cities “... they possess one great advantage –all products of the world can be brought by water to the city in which you live, and all your people in turn can convey or send whatever their own fields produce to any country they like”.

- 71 Tournefort 1718, 89 : “Il y a beaucoup d’apparence qu’on y employoit pour le mettre en rouge, une espèce de Lichen très commune sur les rochers de l’isle et sur ces de Nicouria. Cette plante s’y vend encore dix écus le quintal pour la transporter à Alexandrie et en Angleterre...”.
- 72 Richter 1929, 32. As Richter mentions, there were apparently two chief routes connecting the Far East with the Mediterranean, one, the Northern, *via* Samarkand and the Caspian Sea, another further South, *via* the Persian Gulf to Babylon and Tyre. Amorgos would be a convenient station on this second route.
- 73 Cf. R. M. Errington’s suggestion: “It is now clear that they turned a hand to pretty well anything that could bring in a nice profit and can appear almost anywhere, where reasonably ordered commercial conditions could be found” (Errington 1988, 143).

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