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THE OTHER PHOENICIANS OF CYPRUS

A SURVEY OF PHOENICIAN PRESENCE IN CYPRUS OUTSIDE ITS MAIN ATTESTATION SITES (KITION, IDALION, TAMASSOS, LAPITHOS)

ANNA CANNAVÒ*

Abstract: When speaking of Phoenician presence in Cyprus, some major sites (Kition, Idalion, Tamassos, Lapithos) can be immediately evoked for having produced a consistent and important epigraphic documentation. The evidence concerning Phoenicians in Cyprus outside these main centres is less known, also because it has never been properly collected. More than fifty years after the important essay by Olivier Masson and Maurice Sznycer, *Recherches sur les Phéniciens à Chypre*, where several scattered Phoenician inscriptions from different Cypriot sites were published and discussed, we propose a survey of Phoenician epigraphical evidence in Cyprus highlighting this “secondary”, less exploited documentation.

Keywords: Phoenician; Cyprus; Epigraphy; Inscription.

*In ricordo di Maria Giulia Amadasi,
con riconoscenza e ammirazione*

1. INTRODUCTION

In a recent book, *Phoenicians among Others* (2023), Denise Demetriou, while composing «the first history of Phoenician immigrants in the ancient Mediterranean»,¹ correctly chose not to include Cyprus among the areas where Phoenicians were attested as migrants. Without justifying this choice extensively,² she correctly assumes that Phoenicians were at home in Cyprus, and particularly in Kition, from where they migrated in number to Greece and the Mediterranean. To put it in other words (by Sabine Fourrier): «Phoenician-speaking people were part of the Cypriot compound, [...] Phoenician was, in the Iron Age, a local Cypriot language, alongside Greek (in the form of the Arcado-Cypriot dialect) and one or more indigenous “Eteo-cypriot” languages».³

Beyond this general assumption, however, a more nuanced view from within is needed. Phoenicians were at home in Cyprus, but not everywhere, and not always to the same degree. When comparing the archaeological, epigraphical and historical evidence, Phoenicians are known and attested at Kition, Amathous, Paphos and Salamis (to mention just some of the Iron age Cypriot polities), but every one of these political

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1 Demetriou 2023, p. 2.

2 But see Demetriou 2023, p. 11, note 30.

3 Fourrier 2021, p. 62.

and cultural environments tells a different history of its Phoenician component. A general assessment of Phoenician presence in Cyprus is all the more difficult, as we lack essential working tools, first and most important a collection of Phoenician epigraphical evidence.⁴

This lack has been overshadowed by the availability of recent, up-to-date collections of texts originating from Kition and the main Phoenician population and political centres in Cyprus. Concerning Kition, the reference work by Marguerite Yon, *Kition dans les textes* (2004)⁵ can be completed with the documents published in the following years, particularly the inscriptions from the sanctuaries of Kition-*Bamboula* and *Kathari*.⁶ The same volume conveniently refers, within the *testimonia*, to the most important Phoenician or bilingual inscriptions coming from Idalion and Tamassos and dating from the Classical period, as these documents can be put in relation with the political domination of Kition over the region. In two recent articles, Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo provides an overall analysis of the Phoenician evidence coming from Idalion,⁷ and revisits the two important bilingual consecrations to Apollo from Tamassos-*Phrangissa*.⁸ The same scholar, together with José Ángel Zamora, published in several preliminary papers some major, provisional results of the expected publication of the Idalion archives, an impressive corpus of more than 700 documents uncovered by the Department of Antiquities within the Idalion administrative centre, and still under study.⁹ Archaeological activity is not left behind, and in 2021-2023 the French archaeological mission uncovered at Kition-*Bamboula* a dumping ground containing decades of 4th-century Phoenician ostraca,¹⁰ currently studied by a team composed of Stevens Bernardin, Françoise Briquel Chatonnet, Jimmy Daccache and Robert Hawley.¹¹ All this evidence has been recently collected and studied, as part of a French-German funded project called KIT.¹²

If the Kition-Idalion-Tamassos area is the object of ongoing excavations and renewed archaeological and epigraphical attention, the same cannot be said of another major Phoenician pole in Cyprus, that is Lapithos, on the northern coast. Situated in the part of the island occupied by the Turkish army since 1974, the site has never been properly excavated. Nevertheless, important epigraphic (Phoenician, bilingual and Greek alphabetic) evidence has been fortuitously discovered at the extra-urban sanctuary area of Larnaka-tis-Lapithou since the second half of the 19th century.¹³ This combines with the information provided by the coin legends of the kingdom of Lapithos, exclusively written in Phoenician. Recent studies have been published, concentrating on all this evidence.¹⁴ Even if a complete, up-to-date edition of the documents composing the important dossier from Larnaka-tis-Lapithou is still lacking, a team constituted by Stevens Bernardin, Françoise Briquel Chatonnet, Jimmy Daccache and Robert Hawley is studying the three Phoenician (and bilingual) texts with the aim of proposing a new edition and an improved reading.

4 The project of a three-volume corpus of Cypriot Phoenician texts by Robert Allan, as announced in Steele 2013, p. 173, has unfortunately never been realised.

5 Yon 2004.

6 Kition-*Bamboula*: Amadasi Guzzo 2015a; Kition-*Kathari*: Amadasi Guzzo 2003.

7 Amadasi Guzzo 2020.

8 Amadasi Guzzo 2021.

9 Amadasi Guzzo 2014, 2017; Amadasi Guzzo – Zamora 2018a, 2018b; Amadasi Guzzo – Zamora López 2016, 2020.

10 See the preliminary excavation reports: KITION. - Bamboula - 2021, *Chronique des fouilles en ligne*, no. 17973, <https://chronique.efa.gr/?r=report&id=17973>; KITION. - Bamboula - 2022, *Chronique des fouilles en ligne*, no. 18540, <https://chronique.efa.gr/?r=report&id=18540>; KITION. - Bamboula - 2023, *Chronique des fouilles en ligne*, no. 18610, <https://chronique.efa.gr/?r=report&id=18610>.

11 Briquel Chatonnet *et al.* 2024.

12 <https://anr.fr/Project-ANR-21-FRAL-0004>.

13 Masson 1977, pp. 323-327.

14 Fourrier 2015; Amadasi Guzzo 2015b; Giusfredi 2018; Cannavò 2021.

What about the other Phoenicians of Cyprus – that is the Phoenicians not attested at Kition, Idalion, Tamassos or Lapithos, but everywhere else in the island? Their presence is mostly documented by isolated discoveries, never collected in a comprehensive manner if it is not in the reference work by Olivier Masson and Maurice Sznycer, *Recherches sur les Phéniciens à Chypre*, more than fifty years ago.¹⁵ Without any pretention of completeness, this thin volume still stands as the only attempt to assess the “sparse” Phoenician presence in Cyprus by making available several small and previously unpublished documents.

The following pages are intended to propose a review of all this scattered, isolated evidence of Phoenician presence in Cyprus, outside the attestation sites already mentioned (Kition, Idalion, Tamassos, Lapithos) for which complete, recent or ongoing editorial projects exist, by adding to the documents collected by Masson and Sznycer several new discoveries of the last fifty years.¹⁶ This survey is also intended as a small and late tribute to the invaluable scientific and human contribution of Maria Giulia Amadasi to the Phoenician epigraphy of Cyprus.

2. PHOENICIANS IN THE WEST: EVIDENCE FROM PAPHOS AND KOURION AREAS

With its plethora of epigraphic evidence, Paphos is possibly the polity of ancient Cyprus best documented by primary sources. Hundreds of Cypro-syllabic inscriptions have been collected and published from the sites of Kouklia-*Marchello* (the so-called Persian siege ramp)¹⁷ and the extra-urban sanctuary of Rantidi.¹⁸ To these two homogeneous corpora can be added numerous sparse discoveries, all this evidence documenting, among other things, several kings of Archaic and Classical Paphos.¹⁹ As is well known, at the necropolis of Palaepaphos-*Skales* (tomb 49) has been discovered a crucial inscription, illustrating a very first step of adaptation (11th-10th c.) of the local, Bronze age Cypro-Minoan script to the newly introduced Greek language.²⁰ Moreover, the epigraphy of Paphos is characterised by a local, specific variant of the Cypro-syllabic script, the Paphian syllabary, the development and the chronology of which are matter of discussion.²¹

Within this very rich evidence, it is not surprising to find attestations of Phoenician presence, as Paphos was one of the most powerful and well-connected polities of Cyprus, and certainly the most important in the western part of the island.²² This evidence spans from the 9th to the 3rd century and is of funerary as well as of cultic nature. One document (no. 7) does not come from the site of Palaepaphos, but from Kato (Nea) Paphos, the new site established towards the end of the 4th century and succeeding Palaepaphos as the urban centre of the region.

1. Jug from Palaepaphos-*Skales* with a Phoenician (?) graffito, 9th c.

Plain White III jug (diam. 45 cm) found in tomb 69 of the necropolis of Palaepaphos-*Skales*, in use between the mid CGII and the beginning of CGIII period, that is, approximately, 925-850. An in-

15 Masson – Sznycer 1972.

16 All dates are BCE. We adopt the following chronological conventions: CGI=1070-950 / CGII=950-900 / CGIII=900-750 / CAI=750-600 / CAII=600-480 / CCI=480-400 / CCII=400-323 / Hell.=323-58. For the documents (re)edited by Masson – Sznycer 1972, we do not quote the previous references unless it is useful: the reader can refer here for complete information.

17 Masson – Mitford 1986. On the so-called Persian siege ramp and the difficulties concerning its interpretation: Hermay 2020.

18 Mitford – Masson 1983; Karnava 2019.

19 Halczuk 2019a. Within the *Inscriptiones Graecae* XV 1, devoted to the syllabic inscriptions of Cyprus, the second volume in preparation by A. Karnava will collect all the Paphian evidence: <https://ig.bbaw.de/de/projekt/forschung-aktuell> (accessed 12 October 2024).

20 Egetmeyer 2017, pp. 182-183, with further references.

21 Olivier 2013; Halczuk 2019b.

22 On the early archaeological horizon see Iacovou 2021, pp. 297-298.



Fig. 1. Drawing of the inscription on a jug from Palaepaphos-Skales, tomb 69, 9th century (no. 1) (Drawing by P.M. Steele, reproduced from Egetmeyer 2017, p. 189, fig. 10.8).

scription of 23 signs (27,6 cm long) is engraved after firing on the body, without dividers.²³

The inscription is of Phoenician “allure” according to M. Sznycer, while it could represent a “transitional period” in the elaboration of the Phoenician alphabet, according to M. Egetmeyer. Its reading is in any way difficult, as many signs remain impossible to identify.

No photographs of the inscription are published. We reproduce here a drawing by P.M. Steele as published in Egetmeyer 2017, p. 189, fig. 10.8 (Fig. 1).

M. Sznycer in Karageorghis 1983, p. 416-417; Egetmeyer 2017, pp. 187-190; Kantirea 2019, pp. 64-65, no. 26.

g(?) n - m(?) k(?) - - t m(?) - b b g - - - ' d - p s(?) y -

2. Limestone stele from Kouklia-Marchello, 6th c.

Limestone fragmentary stele (H 29 cm, w. 16 cm), with two registers divided by a raised band (“H-stele”); the upper register carries an engraved Phoenician inscription of five lines (possibly preceded by others now lost), of which the right part is entirely missing, without dividers.

Identified by V. Tatton-Brown and published by M. Sznycer,²⁴ the stele (now lost) appears as no. 191 in the catalogue of sculptures and stone objects from the “Persian siege ramp”; however, no reference is made to Sznycer’s article, and the inscription is considered as “unleserlich”.²⁵ The published photograph,²⁶ the same on which relies M. Sznycer’s study, allows nevertheless a partial reading. Both palaeography and the archaeological context suggest a date in the 6th c.

Sznycer 1996.

1.]*zr bn* ‘
2.] - - *b'l* -
3.] *wkl 'š t*
4.] - - - *'š (?)* -
5.] *wkl 'š*
6.]

At ll. 1-2 some individuals are mentioned, with theophoric names composed respectively on *'zr* and *b'l*, the first one being the son, *bn*, of '[. At ll. 3 and 5 appears the same sequence *wkl 'š* (“everything/

23 It is unclear why M. Sznycer notes, in the *editio princeps* (Karageorghis 1983, p. 416): «Vingt-trois signes sont actuellement visibles, mais il y avait sans doute primitivement, plusieurs signes supplémentaires». The jug, recomposed from several fragments, seems indeed to be complete.

24 Sznycer 1996.

25 Leibundgut-Wieland – Tatton-Brown 2019, pp. 123-124. Cfr. Hermay 2020, p. 531; Fourrier 2020, p. 418.

26 Leibundgut-Wieland – Tatton-Brown 2019, pl. 29.

everyone/all those that»), which is recurrent in funerary texts; the object is probably of votive nature, but a funerary monument cannot be firmly excluded.²⁷ The inscription could not finish on the readable sequence at l. 5, it is then necessary to postulate the existence of a shorter sixth line in the missing right part of the stone.

3. Coins of king Timo(-) with *aleph* on the reverse, ca. 480.

Two coins (silver *sigloi*) are known, with the types of a standing bull left on the obverse, and an eagle's head left on the reverse, attributed to the mint of Paphos. On the obverse, a syllabic legend, *ti-mo*, preserves the beginning of the king's name; on the reverse, above the eagle's head, a sign *aleph*. No explanation can be advanced on the presence of the Phoenician sign. The coins are dated around 480, thanks in particular to the inclusion of one of them into the Larnaca hoard.

Masson – Amandry 1988, pp. 31-32 and pl. II, 1-2.

4. Amphora bearing an engraved anthroponym, 5th-4th c.

Sherd (composed of two fragments: H. 10,5 cm, w. 12,3 cm) of a White Painted amphora, with 6 signs incised after firing. The inscription is possibly complete.

M. Sznycer in Masson – Mitford 1986, pp. 109-110, no. 239, pl. 26.

l'ʿrʿl/nʿdʿ

The preposition *l* («to/for») introduces as usual certainly a name, which does not seem to be Phoenician.

5. Marble plaque with fragmentary inscription, 4th-3rd c.

Fragment of a white marble plaque (H. 6,5 cm, w. 4,5 cm), bearing 2 lines of 3 signs each, incomplete both on the left and on the right. The object is a fortuitous discovery from the area of Kouklia-*Stil-larka*, to the south-west of the village, near the seashore between the mouths of the rivers Xeros and Diarizos.

M. Sznycer in Masson – Mitford 1986, pp. 110-111, no. 240, pl. 26.

1.]*lʿrʿʿ*[

2.]*lʿʿ(?)*[

It is possible, but highly uncertain to see at the second line a mention of the goddess Astarte. Palaeographically, the inscription is of late date. The use of marble, a rare material in Cyprus, indicates in any case a probable votive destination. The proximity of this fragment with the following one (no. 6) and with a marble small plaque of unknown provenance in the Louvre (no. 35) must be underlined: the material, but also specific palaeographic characteristics such the peculiar form of the *'ayin*²⁸ possibly indicate a common origin, if not a common hand.

6. Consecration to Astarte PP, 3rd c.

Fragment of white marble²⁹ (H. 16,5 cm, w. 24 cm, th. 12 cm), bearing an engraved Phoenician inscription of 4 lines (with traces of one more line above), without dividers, incomplete both on the right and on the left (Fig. 2). The object has been discovered fortuitously in 1908 at Kouklia-*Xyli-*

²⁷ Sznycer 1996, p. 5; cfr. Hermary 2020, pp. 528-529.

²⁸ On this see Daccache 2020, pp. 298-299 and fig. 3.

²⁹ While Masson – Sznycer 1972, p. 82 speak about limestone, the stone is actually of white marble, as in Peristianis 1910, p. 328 («ἐκ λευκοῦ μαρμάρου»).

nos, to the north-east of the village,³⁰ and published since then several times, before being re-studied by O. Masson and M. Sznycer, where previous bibliography is mentioned and commented.

Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 81-86, pl. I, 3.

1. . . [traces] . . .
2.]*qđš* '[
3.]. *wp* 'lt '[
4.] *štrt pp* .[
5.] *pmḥlpt* [

At l. 2, the possible mention of a sanctuary, *m]qđš* '[z («this sanctuary»), and the unequivocal reference to Astarte Paphia, *štrt pp*, at l. 4 (with l. 3, *wp* 'lt, «and I made»), clearly identify the fragment as a consecration to the goddess, of which a cult place possibly existed at the locality *Xylinos*.³¹ On the interpretation of *pp* as the Phoenician transcription of Paphos, correctly understood by M. Sznycer, a confirmation has come with the well-known trophy of Milkyaton, where the *ppym*, «the Paphians» are mentioned twice.³²

It is important to recall here the existence of a 2nd-millennium bronze sword engraved with a 1st-millennium, Greek syllabic consecration to the goddess Astarte (*ta-i-te-o-i-a-se-ta-ra-ta-i*) by a Paphian man bearing the Phoenician name Abdimilkos (*a-pi-ti-mi-li-ko*). The authenticity of the object is however discussed.³³

7. Proto-Rhodian amphora with Phoenician graffito, 4th-3rd c.

Proto-Rhodian amphora (H. 74 cm), with a two-lines Phoenician inscription engraved after firing on the shoulder, without dividers, complete. The amphora comes from a tomb excavated by the Department of Antiquities within a vast burial ground in the eastern necropolis on Nea Paphos. The tomb probably dates to the mid-3rd century, while the amphora (used for a child burial) dates from the end 4th-early 3rd century.

Michaelides – Sznycer 1985; Puech 1990, pp. 108-109.

1. *l'b(d)šḥr*
2. *hnsk*

The inscription indicates the name of the owner, as usual preceded by the preposition *l-*, and followed by a noun (with the article *h-*). For the anthroponym, the reading proposed by É. Puech is quite convincing, even if the fifth and sixth signs are indeed badly engraved.³⁴ At l. 2, the noun *nsk* corresponds

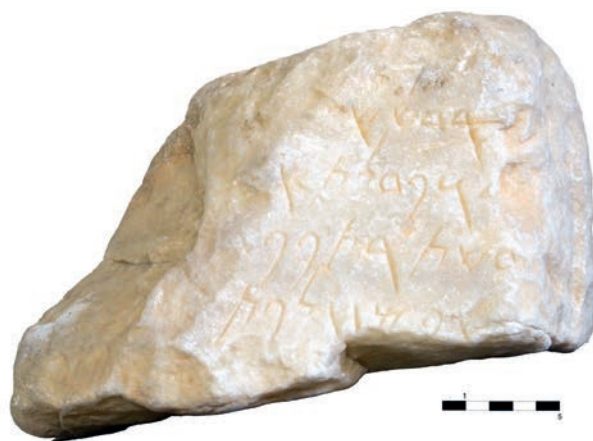


Fig. 2. Consecration to Astarte PP, 3rd century (no. 6) (Photo A. Cannavò, courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).

30 See Iacovou 2019, p. 211, fig. 7 for a map of Kouklia with the main archaeological localities. Precisely on the locality *Xylinos*: Cayla 1996.

31 Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 81-82.

32 Yon 2004, p. 201, no. 1144.

33 ICS 464 (considering it a fake); Bazemore 2001 (advocating for authenticity), Allan 2004b; Egetmeyer 2010, p. 833, no. 42.

34 On the name *bdšḥr*: Benz 1972, p. 163, pp. 414-415.

to the profession of *ʿbdšḥr*, «the caster/founder»,³⁵ already attested in Cyprus both in Phoenician and in Cypro-syllabic, testifying of the importance of metalworking in the island of copper.³⁶

To the seven documents from Paphos of certain Phoenician nature (even when considering the remarks on no. 1), we should add some considerations. A stone from Rantidi with signs of «quasi-Phoenician» style is excluded from the present catalogue, as the signs seem indeed hardly understandable as Phoenician.³⁷ There is no further information on the «Phoenician inscriptions» mentioned by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter as found in 1910 to the south-west of the village.³⁸ Finally, the attribution to the kingdom of Paphos of coins with the syllabic legend *si-ro-mo-se*, transcribing the Greek Σίρωμος, an anthroponym (already known for the royal dynasty of Salamis) of possible Phoenician (or local?) origin,³⁹ has to be revised, as these coins have been now reattributed to Chytroi.⁴⁰

The association of Kourion to the area of Paphos relies on the strong Paphian influence on the epigraphy of Kourion, at least during the Archaic period, when the Paphian variant of the syllabary is generally in use, although with some specificities notably in the direction of writing.⁴¹ This influence ceases in the Classical period, when the common syllabary is adopted. We are unable to understand the reasons of this evolution.

Limited Phoenician evidence has been discovered around Kourion, coming exclusively from funerary areas (see also below, no. 31).

8. Stele in the form of an empty window with bilingual inscription, 7th c. BCE

Limestone stone sculpted in the form of an empty window (h. 70 cm, w. 83 cm, th. 32 cm), with a balustrade supported by two pilasters with proto-Aeolian capitals, and double frame (Fig. 3). On the outer frame, a double inscription is engraved: above, one line with Cypro-syllabic signs of the Paphian syllabary, reading from right to left, with a divider; underneath, two lines in Phoenician, without dividers. Both inscriptions are incomplete and damaged because of the stone breakings. The palaeography of Phoenician suggests a dating to the 7th century, which is coherent with the style and the nature of the object.



Fig. 3. Stele in the form of an empty window with bilingual inscription, 7th c. BCE (no. 8) (Photo A. Cannavò, courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).

35 In the first, preliminary mention of the discovery of the inscription (in «BCH» 109, 1985, p. 964) the reference to a «*foulon*», «fuller» (Ph. *kbs*), is certainly erroneous. It is resumed without commentary by Puech 1990, p. 108, who however confirms the reading *hnsk*, «the founder».

36 Sznycer 1985a, p. 86; Masson 1985a, p. 88.

37 M. Sznycer and O. Masson in Mitford – Masson 1983, pp. 91-92.

38 Mitford – Masson 1983, p. 93, note 281; Masson 1985b, pp. 23-24.

39 Masson – Amandry 1988, pp. 29-31.

40 Kagan, forthcoming. I warmly thank Jonathan Kagan for having shared with me his forthcoming article.

41 The Cypro-syllabic evidence is now collected as *IG XV* 1, 93-158.

The monument is a fortuitous discovery from the necropolis of Kourion, close to the Agios Ermogenis church. It possibly came from a built tomb, as an anepigraphic parallel found in the same area a few decades before.⁴²

Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 89-91, pl. VII; Puech 1979, pp. 39-40; Consani 1988, p. 58, no. 6; Bonnet 1990, pp. 142-143; Lipiński 2004, pp. 55-56; Steele 2013, pp. 202-203 (Ph 10); *IG XV* 1, 102 (on the syllabic inscription, with further references).

- a.] *i* [- - -] *se* | *ṁu-wo-wa-ṭe-se*
- b. 1.] - *m wbkry ḥsd[ny*
- 2.] - *t z[*

The reading adopted is the one proposed by M. Sznycer. If the sequence *bkry* is of uncertain meaning (personal name, or the preposition *b-* and the name of Kourion?), it is generally admitted that the ethnic of Sidon is mentioned at the end of l. 1. The Cypro-syllabic text cannot help in understanding the Phoenician one, as it remains obscure (even if it is possibly Greek).

- 9. Jar fragment with painted Phoenician inscription from Alassa, 5th c.
Sherd of a Plain White jar (approximate w. 12 cm),⁴³ bearing a three-lines painted Phoenician inscription, without dividers, incomplete on the left. It has been found in a looted tomb, in a CAII-CCI necropolis area at Alassa-Kolaouzou, in the northern part of the Kouris valley. The palaeography of Phoenician fits well into the 5th c.

Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 91-94, pl. VIII, 1; Puech 1979, p. 26; Naveh 1987, p. 28; Dixon 2013, pp. 207-209.

- 1. *b 35 lmlk* [
- 2. *bnsk - - - -* [
- 3. *mlkrm bn mlk -* [

At l. 1, a date is indicated according to the year of reign (35th or 36th)⁴⁴ of a king that was named in the missing part. At l. 3, an individual is mentioned (*mlkrm*), with the beginning of his patronym. No clear interpretation of l. 2 is possible. The inscription probably informed on the content and the owner of the jar.

The evidence just examined must be completed by the information concerning the discoveries of two vases with Phoenician inscriptions, found by Max Ohnefalsch-Richter in the necropolis of Kourion but lost before being published.⁴⁵

⁴² Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 89-90.

⁴³ No dimensions of the object are published, but the scale on the photograph in «BCH» 91, 1967, p. 301, fig. 72 can be used to provide an estimate.

⁴⁴ 36th according to Puech 1979, p. 26, but the reading is uncertain.

⁴⁵ Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 88-89.

3. THE NORTH-WESTERN AREA: MARION AND SOLOI

The polities of the north-western part of Cyprus are unequally documented. Marion benefits of abundant epigraphical evidence, mainly coming from its necropolis, moreover recently edited and collected.⁴⁶ On the contrary Soloi, situated in the occupied part of the island, has lacked in-depth archaeological investigation, and its epigraphical record remains limited.

Several Phoenician documents, mainly of Archaic and early Classical period, are known from the north-western area, running from Agia Irini to the cape Kormakitis. It is difficult to say to which extent these sparse attestations should be put in relation with the adjacent region of Lapithos, where Phoenician was widely in use.

10. White Painted jug with Phoenician (?) inscription from Agia Eirini, 8th c.

White painted ridged-neck jug (H. 15,5 cm) with an inscription incised after firing on the shoulder, composed of a group of 3 signs, separated by a *vacat* from another sequence of 7 signs. Several of the signs are problematic, and a safe reading cannot be proposed, except for the last 4 signs that seem to be readable as *ʾym*. The inscription would benefit from a new study after autopsy of the object. The jug is a clandestine discovery from the necropolis of Agia Eirini-*Palaeokastro*.⁴⁷

Masson – Sznycer 1972, p. 94-95, pl. IX, 1; Puech 1979, p. 27-28; Orsingher 2016, p. 317.

11. Funerary slab from Agia Eirini-*Palaeokastro*, 7th c.

Limestone slab (H. 81 cm, w. 46 cm, th. 24,5 cm) with one-line Phoenician inscription engraved on the upper part of the front face, pending towards the left, complete. The slab, with other stones, closed the funerary chamber of tomb 43 at the necropolis of Agia Eirini-*Palaeokastro*, dated to the 7th c.; palaeography is coherent with this date, pointing to the first half of the century.

Guzzo Amadasi 1978; Lipiński 2004, pp. 56-58; Orsingher 2016, p. 317.

lʾ] *ʾbdʾ bn kmr/dr/d*

If the name of the deceased, *ʾbdʾ*, is clear,⁴⁸ his father's name is of difficult interpretation.⁴⁹ The deceased's name was possibly preceded by the preposition *l-*.

12. Sherd with 4 signs engraved, ca. 600

Two joining fragments of an amphora (w. 18,5 cm) with 4 signs incised after firing. Fortuitous discovery from Liveras-*Tsouni* (to the south of the village), close to cape Kormakitis.

Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 96-97, pl. X, 1 (upside down); Puech 1979, pp. 40-41; Lipiński 2004, p. 87.

ltmy

The reading («to/for *tmy*»), proposed by É. Puech, seems convincing. The date proposed (around 600) relies on this reading.

13. Amphora with painted inscription on the neck, 5th-4th c.

Mendaian-type amphora (H. 62 cm) with two Phoenician signs painted in red on the neck. Even if of undeclared provenance, the amphora is considered as coming from the Agia Eirini necropolis because of the presence of the Phoenician inscription.

⁴⁶ IG XV 1, 165-410.

⁴⁷ On the site: Orsingher 2016.

⁴⁸ Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou 2013, p. 140.

⁴⁹ Cfr. Lipiński 2004, pp. 56-58, proposing a Greek interpretation.

Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 95-96, pl. IX, 2-3; Puech 1979, p. 27; Dixon 2013, pp. 209-210; Orsinger 2016, p. 317.

mḥ

If referring to the content of the amphora, the word could be interpreted as the noun «fat».

14. Jar with painted inscription from Deneia, 5th c.?

Torpedo jar (H. 41 cm) with a four-signs Phoenician inscription painted on the body. Found in tomb 12 at Deneia (20 km west of Nicosia), dated to the CC-Hell. periods.⁵⁰ The date attributed to the object according to palaeography and the archaeological context (late 6th-early 5th c.) must probably be lowered. Allan 2004a.

lgr'

After the preposition *l-*, the anthroponym *gr'* is a hypocoristic form composed on *gr*.⁵¹

15. “Royal” jar from Vouni, 4th c.

Torpedo jar⁵² (H. 69 cm) with a four-signs inscription painted on the body. The jar has been found on the floor of tomb 15 of the necropolis of Vouni by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Palaeography and the archaeological context situate the vase in the first half of the 4th c.

Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 86-88; Lipiński 2004, p. 70. Cfr. Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, pp. 335, 620, fig. 324, 2.

lmlk

The parallel with the *lmlk*-stamped jars known from various sites in the Levant, evoked already in the *editio princeps* and developed by Masson and Sznycer, is partially misleading, since the present inscription is not the witness of an organised, widespread administrative system.⁵³ But it is certain that the inscription indicates the royal origin of the object, subsequently deposited in the tomb for its symbolic and prestigious value.⁵⁴

A second vase of the same type and from the same site, from tomb no. 4, was also inscribed in Phoenician with numerals, but the signs have almost vanished, and the inscription is apparently unreadable.⁵⁵

16. Coins of king Sasmās of Marion with bilingual legend, ca. 470-450

Silver coin (a siglos⁵⁶ and a third of siglos⁵⁷ are known) issued by the king of Marion Sasmās, son of Lysandros, in second quarter of the 5th c. On the obverse, a crouching lion with a shield above it, and

50 Complete the preliminary information in Allan 2004a, p. 241 with the report in «BCH» 128-129, 2004-2005, pp. 1638-1639, where no mention is made of the jar, but a vase from another tomb (11) of Deneia with a Phoenician sign is illustrated, p. 1639, fig. 6.

51 Benz 1972, pp. 298-299; Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou 2013, p. 139.

52 Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, p. 335, pl. CVIII, 2; <https://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm/web/object/3211268> (accessed 12 October 2024).

53 Lipschits 2021.

54 Dixon 2013, pp. 212-213.

55 Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 87-88, cf. Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, p. 620, fig. 324, 1; <https://collections.smvk.se/carlotta-mhm/web/object/3211280> (without picture; accessed 12 October 2024).

56 New York, American Numismatic Society, 1944.100.58005; <https://kyprioscharacter.eie.gr/en/cyprus-coins/details/A7156> (accessed 12 October 2024). The syllabic legend on the obverse is not readable on this coin, for this reason it is not repertoried in *IG XV* 1, 406.

57 British Museum, 1842,0110.1: *IG XV* 1, 406 (8); https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/C_1842-0110-1 (accessed 12 October 2024).

a syllabic legend; on the reverse, Phrixos with the ram running left, and a two-signs Phoenician legend below (Fig. 4).

Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 78-81, pl. I, 1-2; *IG XV* 1, 406 (e) with further bibliography

- a. *sa-sa-ma-o-se* [shield] *to-lu-sa-to-ro*
- b. *ml*

The name of the king, Sasmas, has been widely commented, as it is the hellenised form of a Phoenician theophoric anthroponym (*ssm'*) composed on a deity of unknown origin; the king's father has a Greek but quite rare name in Cyprus, Lysandros.⁵⁸ The Phoenician legend *ml* has probably to be interpreted as an abbreviation for *mlk*, better than the Phoenician transcription of the name of the polity, Marion. It must however be noticed that in no other legend of king Sasmas is the royal title ever mentioned, neither in Phoenician nor in syllabic.⁵⁹



Fig. 4. Silver siglos of Sasmas of Marion, reverse, 470-450 (no. 15) (American Numismatic Society, <http://numismatics.org/collection/1944.100.58005>).

4. SALAMIS AND THE MESAORIA

Phoenician presence in Salamis is well known thanks to literary references: Isocrates' depiction of Phoenician-ruled Salamis as a "barbarised" city (πόλιν ἐκβεβαρβαρωμένην), without practice of arts and trade, that only Evagoras could raise above the level of the other Greek cities, is well known. The fugitive from Phoenicia (ἐκ Φοινίκης ἀνὴρ φυγάς) that usurped the throne of Evagoras' ancestors is not otherwise known, and the whole Phoenician episode of 5th-century Salamis is almost exclusively documented by the biased picture given by Isocrates.⁶⁰ A few, mainly Archaic inscriptions constitute the epigraphic testimonies of a centuries-long Phoenician presence in the area. To this can be associated the sparse evidence coming from different sites in the Mesaoria plain: Chytroi, Ledra, and Golgoi.

17. Bichrome bowl with theophoric name, 9th c.

Fragment from the rim of a Bichrome bowl (H. 2,8 cm), with a four-signs inscription painted on the outside face, incomplete on the right. The sherd comes from the Geometric and Archaic settlement area excavated by the French mission to the south of the Campanopetra. The archaeological context, as well as palaeography, point to a date during the 9th c.

Sznycer 1980, p. 127; Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, p. 9A; Lipiński 2004, p. 45; Steele 2013, p. 176 (Ph 4).

]tšm'

The second and third signs are superposed: the *m* was probably initially forgotten and was added later. The divine name terminating with *t* could be *štrt*, or *mlqrt*, followed by the root *šm'*, «to hear».

⁵⁸ Becking 1999; Egetmeyer 2010, pp. 377-378; Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou 2013, p. 139; Karnava – Markou 2020, pp. 127-129.

⁵⁹ Karnava – Markou 2020, p. 129.

⁶⁰ See Isocrates, *Evagoras* 19-20, 47, 49 for the relevant passages, to be completed with Diodorus Siculus, XIV 98 (providing the name of the Phoenician king of Salamis at the time of Evagoras' coup: Abdemon of Tyre). Contrary to what was previously thought, no coins can be attributed to the Phoenician kings of Salamis: Markou 2019, pp. 380-381.

18. Sherd with painted inscription, 9th-8th c.

Fragment from the rim of a bowl with horizontal handle (H. 5,3, w. 4,7 cm) with 3 signs painted on the inner face of the body; the inscription is probably incomplete both on the left and on the right. The sherd was found during the French excavations on the site of the Campanopetra;⁶¹ it has remained unpublished, and its photograph was only recently noticed within the archives of the French mission in Lyon (Fig. 5).⁶²

]pš[

The paleography suggests a date to the 9th or 8th c. (the sherd is said to be “géométrique” in its inventory card). The content remains obscure.



6237

Fig. 5. Inscribed sherd from Salamis (no. 18) (French archaeological mission at Salamis, inv. Sal. 6237, photograph 5015_05).

19. Jar with painted inscription from tomb 79, 7th c.

Torpedo jar (H. 40 cm) with an inscription painted in black on the body, 4 signs visible, at least two more almost illegible. The inscription is complete. The jar was found within the very rich tomb 79 in the “royal” necropolis of Salamis.

M.G. Guzzo Amadasi in Karageorghis 1973, p. 229, pl. XLVII and pl. CCXXV, no. 812; Puech 1979, pp. 41-42; Sznycer 1980, pp. 127-128; Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, p. 9B.

‘bdb[’

The reading above is the one proposed by M. Sznycer, reposing on an unpublished photograph. Different readings, less satisfying, have been proposed by M.G. Amadasi Guzzo and É. Puech. It must be noticed however that according to the photograph and the drawing published in the *editio princeps*,⁶³ the inscription seems longer than in Sznycer’s reading, including possibly two more signs.

Sznycer’s interpretation has been certainly influenced by a 5th-century Cypro-Syllabic epitaph from the Salamis-Cellarka necropolis: *a-pu-tu-pa-lo | e-mi · to-mo-le-wo-se*, «I am (the tomb) of Abdubalos, son of Moles», where the Phoenician name ‘bdb[’ is transcribed in syllabic Greek.⁶⁴

20. Sherd with painted inscription from tumulus 77, 5th-4th c.

Fragment from the body of a torpedo jar (H. 10,3 cm) with an inscription painted in black of seven signs, incomplete on the left but possibly complete on the right. The sherd was found in the tumulus 77 of the royal necropolis of Salamis, the so-called “cenotaph of Nicocreon”, dated to the transition from the Classical to the Hellenistic period.⁶⁵

61 According to archives: square K IV / γ-β 8-9, discovered on 2/10/1965. As related by J. Pouilloux in the report published in «BCH» 90, 1966, p. 349: «la cour à péristyle et les salles qui l’entourent [...] ont recouvert un site habité depuis l’époque géométrique au moins [...] Les fondations du bâtiment tardif ont traversé ces couches plus anciennes».

62 I wish to thank Sabine Fourier, director of the French archaeological mission at Salamis and Kition, for having granted access to the archives and having given her permission to publish here the photograph.

63 Photograph of the vase in Karageorghis 1973, pl. XLVII, no. 812; drawing Karageorghis 1973, pl. CCXXV, no. 812. Another drawing, made from the published photograph, is in Puech 1979, p. 42, fig. 5.

64 Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, p. 14, no. 18; cf. Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 127-128; Sznycer 1980, p. 128; Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou 2013, p. 137.

65 On this much controverted monument see Baurain 2014.

N. Avigad in Karageorghis 1973, p. 229; Szzyrmer 1980, pp. 128-129; Pouilloux *et al.* 1987, p. 9C.

l'bd'sm[n

To the evidence above must be added the problematic but probably authentic inscriptions, in Phoenician and Cypro-Syllabic, on bone rings allegedly found «in a tomb near Famagusta» by Alessandro Palma di Cesnola. Re-edited by Maria Giulia Amadasi Guzzo and Massimo Perna, these inscriptions remain meaningless, their provenance impossible to ascertain and their chronology doubtful.⁶⁶

21. Fragment of a terracotta sarcophagus from Chytroi, 7th c. Fragment of pentagonal shape from a terracotta object (H. 17 cm, w. 15,7 cm, th. 7,7 cm), inscribed on four lines, incomplete both on the left and on the right, with dividers (Fig. 6). The inscription was certainly much longer. The object is a fortuitous discovery from Kythera-*Skali*, where other (syllabic) inscriptions have come to light. It can be dated paleographically to the 7th c.

Masson – Szzyrmer 1972, pp. 104-107, pl. VIII, 2; Lipiński 2004, pp. 58-59.

1.]š · my[· h'
2.]m · mlk · h' m · [dm
3. 'lyp]th · hqbr · [z
4.] - · k · 'y [-]]

Szzyrmer's and Lipiński's readings converge in interpreting the preserved lines as the imprecation formulas against the violators of tombs (*qbr*, l. 3), thus indicating that the inscription is of funerary character and that the object must be a fragment of sarcophagus. Any speculation on the identity of the deceased is impossible: the mention of *mlk* at l. 2, within the formulaic expression “be he king or be he ordinary man, let not open this grave!”, does not allow to deduce (as in Lipiński) that the occupant of the sarcophagus was himself the king of Chytroi.

Nevertheless, it must be underlined that a prestigious object such as terracotta sarcophagus was certainly not used for a common grave; moreover, the closest parallel to the formulaic expression at ll. 2-3 comes from the inscriptions on the Eshmunazar sarcophagus (*CIS I* 3, ll. 4, 20), thus reinforcing the hypothesis of a royal origin for this inscribed object.

A king of Chytroi is known from the Esarhaddon prism (dated 673: Pilagura king of Kitrusi = Philagoras king of Chytroi),⁶⁷ but also Alexander Polyhistor (1st c.), quoted by Stephanus of Byzantium (*Ethnika s.v. Χύτροι* = *FGrH* 273 F 31), mentions the existence of a king of Chytroi (unnamed) referring to an undetermined past. Finally, J. Kagan has recently attributed a coinage to the kingdom of Chytroi, characterised by the type of the river-god Acheloos and spanning from the end of the Archaic period to the mid fifth century. Some coins (formerly attributed to Paphos) bear the syllabic legend *pa()* *si-ro-mo-se*, «king Siromos», possibly a Greek syllabic transcription of the Phoenician name *h'm*.⁶⁸



Fig. 6. Fragment of a terracotta sarcophagus from Chytroi (no. 21) (Photo A. Cannavò, courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).

⁶⁶ Amadasi Guzzo *et al.* 2013, pp. 136-143.

⁶⁷ Bagg 2007, p. 141; Weszeli 2002.

⁶⁸ Kagan, forthcoming.

The alternative attestation of Greek and Phoenician names and the alternative use of syllabic Greek and Phoenician at Chytroi is not surprising: outside the main example of Lapethos,⁶⁹ we already mentioned king Samas of Marion, son of Lysandros (no. 16), but also Siromos, son of king Evelthon of Salamis (Hdt. V 104.1). Another example, not coming from the royal milieu, is the graffito of a mercenary soldier from Lendra, engraved with many other on the chapel of Akoris at Karnak at the beginning of the 4th c.: the graffito, in alphabetic Greek, is the signature of Βαλσαμων | Φιλοδῆμου | Λέδριος.⁷⁰

22. Jar with painted inscription from Golgoi, 6th c.

Torpedo jar (H. 50 cm) with a four-signs inscription painted on the body, complete. The jar (now in the Cyprus Museum of Nicosia) comes from a private collection, its place of discovery is only approximately known (the surroundings of Athienou) from information recovered by the former owner. The inscription is dated paleographically to the 6th c.

Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 113-114, pl. XIV, 3-4; Puech 1979, p. 27; Lipiński 2004, p. 59.

šb l⁷¹

23. Fragment of a votive sculpture from Golgoi, Classical period?

Fragment of a limestone sculpture, now lost, only known from drawings (w. 8,5 cm): a left hand holding a scroll, of which the upper left corner survives, with the end of three lines, with dividers.⁷² Published in the *CIS* from a squeeze and a drawing by Colonna-Ceccaldi, it is said to be from Golgoi.

CIS I 96, pl. X 96B, pl. XIV 96-96A; Schröder 1880, p. 680, pl. no. 4.

1.]-m'
2.]dñ šmn .
3.]ql . ybrk

The reading of the first two signs at l. 2 is not certain, as they not appear clearly on the squeeze; an alternative reading is also possible:]. l'šmn . At l. 3 appears the final part of the classical ending formula on votive inscription: kšm' ql ybrk, "because (the god) heard (his) voice; may he bless (him)".⁷³

Further evidence coming from Golgoi should also be mentioned: on two Cypro-syllabic text (a limestone plaque of the Cesnola collection, and an ostrakon coming from the Greek excavations of the city of Golgoi), Phoenician signs are possibly used as abbreviations or counting symbols within Greek syllabic texts of which the accounting nature is certain; but the meaning of the (possible) Phoenician signs remains obscure.⁷⁴

5. AMATHOUS

It is questionable if Amathous should be considered as a site concerned by sparse Phoenician evidence, and not as one of the main attestation sites of Phoenicians in Cyprus (excluded by the present review). The reasons for including it here is mainly related to the state of publications, as no complete overview of the Phoenician epigraphical material found at Amathous is available, while the Cypro-syllabic inscriptions have

69 Cannavò 2021.

70 Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 101-102; Traunecker *et al.* 1981, p. 260, no. 1.

71 Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou 2013, p. 139.

72 For parallels of the iconographic type of the seated scribe see Hermay 1989, p. 293, no. 590; Hermay 2004, p. 48, no. 8; Hermay – Mertens 2014, pp. 156-1576, no. 181 and pp. 158-159, no. 184. The dividers are visible on the squeeze, *CIS* pl. XIV 96A, and on the drawing by P. Schröder (1880, pl. 4), but not on its reproduction in *CIS*, pl. X 96B.

73 Bonnet *et al.* 2021.

74 Masson 1989.

been recently collected and edited.⁷⁵ To the evidence from Amathous must be added sparse attestations from the area, particularly an ancient but very fragmentary inscription from Choirokoitia (no. 24).

Amathous provides important archaeological evidence of Phoenician presence since the late Geometric period. This evidence is moreover unique: an incineration necropolis, the so-called “pseudo-tophet” of the Four Seasons Hotel, is the only funerary site of Phoenician type in Cyprus, attesting of the existence of a community keeping its distinctive funerary habits within the Cypriot local context.⁷⁶ The distinctiveness and isolation of the Phoenician community at Amathous seem apparent also in the cultic sphere, as CAII extra-urban sanctuaries are known in the area characterised by peculiar Phoenician assemblages, disconnected from the local material culture⁷⁷. We ignore the reasons why Phoenicians at Amathous formed in the Archaic period an isolated group, and what happened to them in the following centuries, when they seem disappearing from the material record. It is however worth noting that a few coin legends of the 4th century inform us that one of the kings of Amathous (ca. 370-360) was named Apipalos, *a-pi-pa-lo* (in the genitive case), that is the syllabic Greek transcription of Phoenician *ʿbbʿl*.⁷⁸

Does Amathous correspond to Cypriot Qarthadasht? The only document found in Cyprus mentioning a «new city» (*qrt-ḥdšt*) possibly comes from the region of Amathous (no. 25), but this argument seems not enough to convince of the identity of the two cities. There are no new decisive elements to settle this long-lasting issue, and Cypriot Qarthadašt still waits to be securely localised.⁷⁹

24. Inscribed plaque from Choirokoitia, 9th c.

Fragment from a limestone slab (H. 28 cm, w. 40 cm, th. 6 cm), bearing the upper part of two signs engraved with care, apparently marking the beginning of the inscription; surface discovery from the Neolithic site. The peculiar palaeography suggests a date to the 9th c.

Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 102-104, pl. XXI, 2; Lipiński 2004, pp. 44-45.

qr[

25. Double consecration to *bʿl lbnn*, 8th c.

Eight fragments from two identical bronze bowls (six fragments belonging to the first, two to the second; reconstituted diam. 31 cm).⁸⁰ The inscriptions were engraved on the external face, below the rim, on one line without dividers. Both are incomplete at the beginning and at the end; moreover, the second inscription only conserves a few words, with precise correspondence in the first inscription with the notable exception of the very first, fragmentary word. The chronology of the inscriptions is established not only by the palaeography, pointing to the 8th c., but also by the identification of the king mentioned, certainly Hiram II of Tyre (ca. 739-730).⁸¹ The provenance of the fragments, a fortuitous find, is not completely certain, but the information available indicates the region of Limassol as the most probable place of discovery.⁸²

CIS I 5; *KAI* 31; *TSSI* III 17; Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 77-78; Masson 1985c; Sznycer 1985b; Yon 2004, pp. 51-52, no. 34; Lipiński 2004, pp. 46-51; Puech 2009, pp. 396-397; Matthäus 2010; Zamo-

75 *IG* XV 1, 1-92.

76 Christou 1998; Fourrier 2021, pp. 67-69.

77 Karageorghis 1977; Alpe 2007; Fourrier – Petit-Aupert 2007.

78 *IG* XV 1, 92; Karnava – Markou 2020, pp. 123-125.

79 Cannavò 2015, pp. 149-150 resuming the evidence and the bibliography, and advocating in favour of the identification with Kition.

80 On the typology of the bowls and their chronology: Matthäus 2010. For a precise description of the fragments: Sznycer 1985b.

81 Boyes 2012, p. 39; Amadasi Guzzo 2013, p. 257.

82 Analysis and relevant archival documents in Masson 1985c.

ra López 2015, pp. 30-32; database MAP, source #129: <https://base-map-polytheisms.huma-num.fr/source/129> (accessed 12 October 2024).

- A.]w skn qrtḥdšt 'bd ḥrm ml[k] ṣdnm 'z ytn lb'l lbnn 'dny br'št nḥšt ḥ[
B.]ṭb skn qrtḥdšt [lb] 'l lbnn 'dny

According to the inscriptions, the bowls are a consecration «to Ba'al of Lebanon, my lord» (*lb'l lbnn 'dny*) made by the governor (*skn*) of Qarṭhadašt, who declares to be a «servant of Ḥiram, king of Sidon» (*'bd ḥrm mlk ṣdnm*).⁸³ The bowls are said to be «of choicest bronze» (*br'št nḥšt*), thus suggesting that their offering is related to the economic exploitation of the copper mines in the Limassol hinterland.⁸⁴ The signs preceding the term *skn* in the two inscriptions are different, indicating that the two texts were not identical.

26. Archaic pithos from the sanctuary of the acropolis, 7th c. Fragmentary pithos (diam. 34,8 cm, preserved H. 22 cm) with a six signs inscription painted below the rim, complete (Fig. 7). The object comes from the *bothros*, a votive pit within the sanctuary of the acropolis of Amathous filled in with CAI material.

Szzyner 1999; Lemaire 2007, pp. 136-137; Fourrier 2008, p. 120, no. 5; Puech 2009.

l'mryk

Inscription of belonging, with an anthroponym of non-semitic nature; alternative readings have been proposed (A. Lemaire, É. Puech).

At least two more sherds from the same context bear isolated Phoenician signs.⁸⁵



Fig. 7. Archaic pithos from the sanctuary of the acropolis of Amathous (no. 26) (Photo Ph. Collet, École française d'Athènes).

27. Inscribed sherds from the deposit of the North rampart, 6th c. Two sherds: A. fragment from a Plain White bowl (H.0,9 cm, w. 1,4 cm), with two signs engraved after firing on the body, on the external face; inscription incomplete on the left. B. Fragment from a basket-handled local amphora (H. 2 cm, w. 3,4 cm), from the bottom of the vase, with a two-signs inscription, complete, engraved before firing.

The deposit of the North rampart dates from the end of archaic period; the inscriptions can then be attributed to the 6th c.

M. Szzyner in Fourrier 2004-2005, p. 91; Fourrier 2008, p. 122, no. 21, p. 123, no. 26.

- A. *lš*
B. *ml*

Inscription A indicates as usual the belonging, with the preposition *l* followed by an anthroponym starting with *š*. Inscription B is possibly an abbreviation.

28. Black glazed Attic cup with Phoenician graffito, 5th c.

83 On the form of the toponym, a plural form of the name of Sidon: Amadasi Guzzo 2013.

84 Zamora López 2015, p. 32.

85 Fourrier 2008, p. 120, no. 6 and p. 122, no. 12.

Fragmentary base of a black glazed Attic cup (diam. of the base 5,4 cm), with a six signs graffito engraved below the base, incomplete on the left. The sherd has been found within the sanctuary of the acropolis. Both palaeography and the typology of the vase point to a date in the first half of the 5th c. Sznycer 1987; Fourrier 2008, p. 122, no. 13.

lyknšm[š]

Inscription of belonging: *l* followed by an anthroponym composed on the name of the god Šamaš, “may Šamaš establish”.

29. Inscribed sherd from the sanctuary of the acropolis, uncertain date
Fragment from the body of an amphora (H. 11 cm, w. 11 cm), with traces of six or seven signs engraved after firing. Reading and date are uncertain.
M. Sznycer in Hermay – Masson 1982, pp. 243-244; Fourrier 2008, p. 122, no. 14.

]r bṇ - - -[

30. Inscribed amphoriskos from tomb 515 (western necropolis), 5th c.
Plain White amphoriskos (H. 10,8 cm) with a three signs inscription, complete, painted on the shoulder of the vase. The object has been found in tomb 515, in the western necropolis of Amathous, occupied from CAI to the Roman period; the inscription dates probably to the 5th c.
M. Sznycer in Karageorghis 1987, pp. 711-716, fig. 159; Fourrier 2008, p. 120, no. 1.

l'l

The reading is uncertain, as the signs have partly faded. If confirmed, the inscription must be interpreted as an indication of belonging, with an abbreviated anthroponym.

31. Jar with painted inscription from tomb 14 of Ypsonas, 5th-4th c.
Torpedo jar (H. 50,5 cm) with two groups of two signs each painted on the body, the size of the first group of signs being smaller than for the other group. The vase has been found in tomb 14 of Ypsonas, to the west of Limassol: this area is conventionally attached here to Amathous, but it could also well belong to Kourion.
M. Sznycer in Karageorghis 1988, pp. 799, 802, fig. 20.

*'g
ym*

Both groups of signs are possibly abbreviations.

6. EVIDENCE OF UNKNOWN PROVENANCE

We lack precise information on the origin of some Cypriot documents inscribed in Phoenician. This is particularly regrettable for the 9th c. funerary inscription conserved at the Cyprus Museum (no. 32).

The enigmatic inscription engraved under the base of a steatite amphora of the Cesnola collection, also of unknown origin, is excluded from the present review, as the vase is frequently considered as coming from Kition and then included in the relevant *corpora*.⁸⁶ The same is true for the sarcophagus of Eshmunadon, *skn* of Tyre, formerly in the Cyprus Museum and now lost.⁸⁷

86 *Kition* III, F3 ; Yon 2004, p. 192 no. 1127.

87 *Kition* III, F6 ; Yon 2004, p. 192 no. 1130.

32. Archaic epitaph, 9th c.

Limestone block (H. 40 cm, w. 47 cm, th. 20 cm) bearing seven lines, incomplete on the right, with dividers (Fig. 8). Conserved at the Cyprus Museum, the stone lacks any information of provenance and acquisition. According to the palaeography, the inscription dates from the 9th c.

KAI 30; *TSSI* III 12; Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 13-20; Puech 1979, pp. 19-26; Lipiński 2004, pp. 43-44.

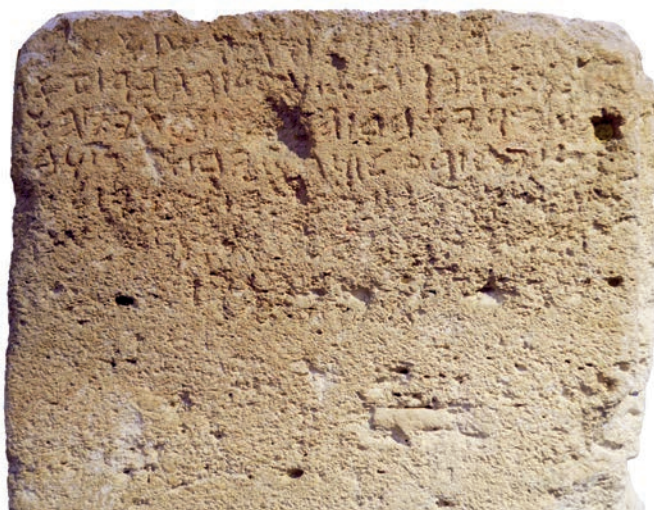


Fig. 8. 9th-century epitaph of unknown origin (no. 32) (Photo A. Cannavò, courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus).

1.] 'h' | 'y | mpt | whš | š | -
2.]-m | lqbr | z' | k'l | hgbr | z' |
3.]šy | wy'bd | h[- - -] - | z' yt | h'
4.]- | 'b'n | yd | b'l | w'b'n | yd | 'dm | wb[n
5.]-r' r' | r' lm | [] | l - - y | l -
6.]- - - | r' yt | [] - [] š[
7.]-r' m[]y[]ny |

The reading proposed here, by M. Sznycer, is the most prudent and respectful of the visible traces. It considers that the stone is complete on the left, but not on the right, and that one or more lines are possibly missing above. The mention of a grave (*qbr*) at l. 2 is certain, as well as the verb *'bd* at l. 3 in the form *y'bd*, «let he destroy». At l. 4, the formula *bn yd b'l wbn yd 'dm*, «in the hands of Ba'al and in the hands of a man» (or: «of *'dm*», intended as a divine name?), possibly continues at l. 5, with the mention of *'lm*, «gods». It can be safely assumed that the stone registers malediction formulas against the violation of the tomb, for which cf. no. 21 above.

33. Jug with painted inscription, 7th c.

White painted jug (H. 13,7 cm, diam. 11 cm) with an inscription of nine signs and numerical characters painted on the shoulder on the opposite side of the handle, without dividers. The jug was bought in 1981 by the Cyprus Museum without information of provenance. The typology of the vase, as well as palaeography, date the inscription to the 7th c.

M. Sznycer in Karageorghis 1982, p. 687, p. 688, fig. 5; Puech 2022.

š'r ršwn 4 p

The first word possibly indicates the content of the vase (a liquid), the second the name of the owner (to be interpreted as non-Semitic). Then the number followed by a symbol or abbreviation indicates the quantity of liquid, that is the capacity of the vase.⁸⁸ An alternative reading with different interpretation is proposed by É. Puech.

88 For parallels see Hermay – Masson 1990, pp. 209-210.

34. Basket-handled amphora with engraved inscription, 6th c.

Basket-handled amphora (H. 76,5 cm), one handle missing, with a seven signs inscription engraved after firing on the shoulder. Formerly belonging to a private collection, the vase has no recorded provenance. It dates typologically from the 6th c. and the palaeography fits well into this date.

Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 131-132, pl. XIX, 2 and XX, 2; Karageorghis 1975, pp. 817, 815, fig. 26.

*l'dnmlk*⁸⁹

Inscription of belonging.

35. Marble fragment in the Louvre, 4th c.

Fragment of a marble slab (H. 15,5 cm, w. 15 cm, th. 4 cm) with six signs and traces of a seventh engraved with care; the inscription is incomplete both on the left and on the right (Fig. 9). The object has been found in Cyprus by Paul Perdrizet, and acquired by the Louvre in 1896. The palaeography suggests a date to the Classical period (4th c.).

Masson – Sznycer 1972, pp. 130-131, pl. XX, 1.

]y' tn bn 'bd[

The final part of an anthroponym is conserved (*-ytn*), and the beginning of the patronym (*bn 'bd-*). It is regrettable that no further information is available on this object: the relatively rare material (marble) and palaeography find close parallels in the consecration to Paphian Astarte (no. 6) and in the small fragment from Kouklia-*Stillarka* (no. 5).



Fig. 9. Inscribed marble fragment in the Louvre, 4th c. (no. 35). (Photo Musée du Louvre / Antiquités orientales).

7. CONCLUSIONS

The evidence collected here attests a sparse but diffused Phoenician presence in all regions of Cyprus, from the very beginning of the first millennium, and until the Hellenistic period. The relevance of the different documents examined is variable: torpedo jars with anthroponyms painted on the shoulder do not carry the same meaning than, for example, Phoenician signs on coin legends. Votive inscriptions, but also epitaphs, document a real, secure presence on more solid grounds than graffiti on vases – even if it must be noticed that the greatest part of such inscriptions studied here are engraved on local pottery. Without generalisation and keeping in mind the highly fragmentation of the information available, we can conclude that Phoenicians (and Phoenician as a language) permeated ancient Cypriot societies and communities at various level, and in various contexts. The sporadic character of their presence does not make them invisible, despite the elliptic nature of our documentation. A global, comprehensive assessment of Phoenician sources from Cyprus (including the much more documented sites of Kition, Idalion, Tamassos and Lapithos) remains a desideratum, of which the present review has shown once for good, hopefully, the urgent need.

89 Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou 2013, p. 134.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CIS I = *Corpus inscriptionum semiticarum. Pars prima inscriptiones Phoenicias continens. Tomus I*, Paris 1881.
 ICS = O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques. Recueil critique et commenté*, Paris 1983² («Études chypriotes», 1).
 IG XV 1 = A. Karnava – M. Perna (edd.), *Inscriptiones Graecae, XV 1. Inscriptiones Cypri syllabicae, fasc. 1: Inscriptiones Amathontis, Curii, Marii*, Berlin 2020.
 KAI = H. Donner – W. Röllig (edd.), *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften. Band 1*, Wiesbaden 1971³.
 Kition III = M.G. Guzzo Amadasi – V. Karageorghis, *Fouilles de Kition, III. Inscriptions phéniciennes*, Nicosia 1977.
 TSSI III = J.C.L. Gibson, *Textbook of Syrian Semitic Inscriptions, volume 3: Phoenician Inscriptions Including Inscriptions in the Mixed Dialect of Arslan Tash*, Oxford 1982.

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