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Antiquité

Cypriot kings and their coins: new epigraphic and numismatic evidence from Amathous and Marion

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Abstracts

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For the edition of the corpus of Cypriot syllabic inscriptions of the 1st millennium BC, IG XV 1,1, which was published in 2020, a close collaboration between epigraphy and numismatics was inaugurated by the authors of the present paper. The fruits of this collaboration can be seen in the coin sections of the corpus (IG XV 1, 85-92, coins of Amathous ; IG XV 1, 406-410, coins of Marion). Cypriot coins of the 5th and 4th centuries are exceptional sources of historical information, since they carry royal names in most cases unknown from other primary sources. This paper traces the history of the intertwined study of Cypriot numismatics and epigraphy, highlights the conventions of this new edition that follow the editing principles of both fields, and discusses new, corrected readings of Cypriot kings' royal names.

Pour l'édition du corpus des inscriptions syllabiques du premier millénaire av. J.-C. (IG XV 1,1, publié en 2020), les auteurs du présent article ont instauré une étroite collaboration entre les domaines de l'épigraphie et de la numismatique. Les résultats de cette collaboration se manifestent dans les sections du corpus consacrées aux monnaies (IG XV 1, 85-92 pour Amathonte, IG XV 1, 406-410 pour Marion). Les monnaies chypriotes des 5^e et 4^e siècles constituent des sources d'information historique exceptionnelles, puisqu'elles portent des noms de rois le plus souvent inconnus dans le reste de la documentation. L'article ci-dessous retrace l'histoire imbriquée des



études numismatiques et épigraphiques, met en évidence les principes retenus pour cette nouvelle édition, qui applique les normes éditoriales des deux domaines et commente les corrections et les nouvelles lectures concernant certains noms royaux chypriotes.

Full text

Interaction between epigraphy and numismatics in Cypriot studies

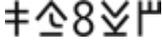
- 1 Epigraphy and numismatics have walked hand in hand since almost the beginning of the modern re-discovery of a writing system particular to the island of Cyprus during the 1st millennium BC, namely the Cypriot syllabary.¹ It was a French collector and numismatist, Honoré Albert de Luynes, who first realised that coins found in Cyprus carried legends written in a writing system unknown to the then erudite world, and published what can be considered as the founding volume of modern Cypriot epigraphy, *Numismatique et inscriptions cypriotes*, in 1852. Before him, as de Luynes himself lays out in the brief introduction to his book, others had seen these peculiar script characters, but always listed them as ‘Phoenician’.²
- 2 An important multi-volume numismatic edition of the late 18th century, Joseph Pellerin’s *Recueil de médailles de peuples et de villes* (1763-1778), already included some Cypriot coins. Pellerin attributed a few coins to Cyprus in his third volume, which was dedicated to coins from Africa and the islands of the Mediterranean, and he assigned them to Salamis and Soloi, all with legends in the Greek alphabet.³ But in the same volume he also included three coins acquired “de Caramanie par le port de Satalie” (**fig. 1**).⁴ Their similarity with coins from Celenderis, a Cilician port, prompted him to think that these mysterious coins legends should be attributed to that region.⁵

Figure 1 — Pellerin’s (1763-1778, pl. CXXII, 1-3) first depiction of Cypriot coins with syllabic legends.



- 3 De Luynes was shown more of these inscribed coins by Ludwig Ross upon his return from his travels to the eastern Mediterranean and Cyprus, which he visited in 1845.⁶ Ross also saw the transcripts of the rock-cut inscriptions Joseph von Hammer Purgstall had documented in Paphos,⁷ but his verdict was that they were written in Phoenician.⁸ De Luynes was aided in his understanding by the discovery of the Idalion bronze tablet in 1849,⁹ which he bought from the French consul in Beirut in 1850. After the discovery of the tablet, it became very difficult to sustain that these excerpts of writing were

Phoenician. De Luynes included in his monograph a sign grid of a script with 80 signs, of which seven were 'Phoenician' characters, twelve were 'Lycian' and 27 were 'Egyptian'.

4 After that initial step, the decipherment of this novel and intriguing writing system was aided decisively from discoveries of further inscribed finds, including coins.¹⁰ Some 20 years down the line Robert Hamilton Lang, the British consul in Larnaca, counted only 51 signs in the writing system and suggested a close affiliation, namely a common source, for the Cypriot and the Lycian alphabet ; he dismissed any Phoenician or Egyptian connections. On a more important note, he was the one who understood correctly that the various coin legends consistently repeating the word  designated the 'king'.¹¹ It was however his conviction about a Lycian association that led him astray and he could achieve no further progress, except for the precursory understanding that  in a Golgoi Greek/Cypriot digraph discovered in 1862 must have stood for εἰμι.¹²

5 It was a cuneiform expert, George Smith, who offered several correct readings for some 18-19 signs based on a Phoenician/Cypriot digraph from Idalion discovered in 1869.¹³ He also suggested that the script was in fact a syllabary of 54 signs, and that the word for 'king' was βασιλεὺς.¹⁴ In Smith's case, coins were used to confirm his readings of the Idalion digraph: he read 'Evagoras' and 'Evelthon', the names of two Salaminian kings previously known from the literary sources. As far as the language recorded, Smith saw immediately that noun declensions recalled Greek and Latin, and concluded that it was either Greek or a language closely allied. His fellow Egyptologist Samuel Birch further established that the language was Greek.¹⁵

6 Between 1872 and 1874 Johannes Brandis was the next numismatist to assist the decipherment ; his contribution was not so much based on numismatic evidence, but was a pure decipherment effort. Brandis identified some 27 signs correctly, some more half-correct (he spotted their initial consonant, but not their vowel), but he also erroneously attributed new values to some signs that had been correctly identified by Birch.¹⁶

7 Masson describes the study and decipherment efforts until then under a not so flattering light:

“À ce moment, le déchiffrement est acquis dans ses grandes lignes. Mais les pionniers qui viennent d'être nommés sont des amateurs, ou des spécialistes de disciplines diverses. La relève va être assurée par des savants rompus aux études classiques, qui complètent le travail de reconnaissance et commencent à établir les premières éditions de textes chypriotes.”¹⁷

8 From then on, the philologists took over the task, and the full decipherment came from two separate sides working independently one from the other. Moriz Schmidt, who was based in Jena, arrived at the desired result through his study of the Idalion tablet.¹⁸ A collaboration between Wilhelm Deecke and the young Justus Siegismund, who were based in Strasbourg, reached comparable results.¹⁹

9 In 1883 Jan Six attempted the first classification of the Cypriot coinages. The coinages were arranged by kingdom, then by king and denomination. Their legends were read in their respective scripts (syllabic, Phoenician, Greek alphabetic), and coins were depicted as drawings on two plates (pls. VI-VII) ; an additional plate was dedicated to the Cypriot syllabic coin legends (pl. VIII). As the author stressed in this fundamental contribution, for this enterprise to take place, the decipherment of the coin legends was imperative:

“Mais un ouvrage, dans lequel les monnaies autonomes de Chypre seraient réunies, groupées suivant les types et les légendes et classées aux différents royaumes entre lesquels l'île était divisée, n'a pas été composé... un travail de ce genre ne pourra être entrepris, avec quelque chance de succès, que par celui qui sera parvenu à lire et à déchiffrer toutes les légendes monétaires.”²⁰

- 10 The subsequent reference books in numismatics, which included classified coins but also referred to the coin legends, were by George Hill and Ernest Babelon. Their respective works in the late 19th - early 20th century presented the Cypriote coinages and their legends from the British Museum and the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale coin collections.²¹ But as Babelon mentioned in his introduction, although there had been notable progress in the decipherment of the local Cypriot script by Six, there were still too many obscure points that would hopefully be clarified with the help of new discoveries.²²
- 11 New coin types included in discoveries such as the Vouni hoard, brought to light by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in the 1920's, are included in the chapter dedicated to Cyprus in the handbook on archaic and classical Greek coins by Colin Kraay. Still accurate in many aspects to this day, it contained no special mention on the coin legends.²³
- 12 Coins and their syllabic legends were never again important for syllabic epigraphy in the way they had been towards the decipherment. Epigraphists took little notice of their evidence and their reading was left to excavators or numismatists. Masson, in his seminal for Cypriot epigraphy work, deals separately with coins only when he explains the structure of the *Recueil*:

“Aux inscriptions syllabiques qui appartiennent au domaine traditionnel de l'épigraphie, il a paru nécessaire d'adjoindre les principales légendes syllabiques qui figurent sur des monnaies chypriotes. Ces monnaies n'ont pas été groupées à part, mais sont énumérées, dans leur ordre chronologique, immédiatement après les textes des grandes cités ou royaumes antiques, soit : Ancienne-Paphos ; Marion ; Amathonte ; Idalion ; Salamine.
On sait que les derniers recueils de monnaies chypriotes, dus à Hill et Babelon, datent respectivement de 1904 et 1907-1910. Un nouveau *Corpus* de ces émissions devrait être réalisé. Ici, le but visé est naturellement beaucoup plus modeste : il s'agit d'incorporer à l'ensemble épigraphique et linguistique les monnaies dont les légendes sont les plus importantes, et dont l'origine et la chronologie sont relativement bien connues. En principe, les séries d'attribution trop douteuse ne seront pas étudiées ici, de même que les émissions anépigraphes.”²⁴

- 13 Masson collaborated with numismatists, and vice versa.²⁵ In doing so, he was about the only epigraphist who actively sought assistance with the numismatic inscribed evidence regarding the syllabic script. At the same time, and judging by the number of his own numismatic publications, he felt quite comfortable in handling numismatic material single-handedly.²⁶

Cypriot syllabic epigraphy between classical Greek epigraphy and Mycenology

- 14 Since it was founded, a little less than 170 years ago, Cypriot syllabic epigraphy of the 1st millennium BC has turned out to be a peculiarly isolated disciplinary field.²⁷ This is partly due to the inevitable fact, that Cyprus continued during the 1st millennium BC to use a writing system deriving from a family of writing systems that were invented and used during the 2nd millennium BC, the Cypro-Aegean script family.²⁸ We have no idea how contemporaries viewed or perceived the syllabary during the 1st millennium BC outside Cyprus, in the eastern Mediterranean or even further afield, since no testimonies survive. But we have a pretty good idea about how our modern contemporaries in the wider epigraphic discipline dealt with syllabic inscriptions, since the reaction spans from awe to contempt. Cypriot syllabic epigraphy, although it should interest classical studies after the decipherment, since it was found to record the otherwise scarcely attested ancient Greek

dialect that is Cypriot, never really joined nor did it become a part of classical epigraphy. On one hand, it is a fact that its study requires by the scholar involved additional writing and reading skills in a poorly attested writing system, on the other it is also clear that classical epigraphy, consciously or maybe subconsciously, identifies with alphabetic writing, be that the Greek or the Latin one. These difficulties can be topped with the often-repeated mantra, which is nothing more than a superficial estimate, that reading precision is something that modern scholars will never achieve, because these syllabic systems are ill-fit for writing the Greek language.²⁹

15 Cypriot syllabic epigraphy became the research field of scholars coming from the field of Greek philology and linguistics (Richard Meister, Ernst Sittig, Olivier Masson, Emilia Masson, Markus Egetmeyer, Anna Panayotou, Philippa Steele), of Classics (Terence B. Mitford), or archaeology (Ino Nicolaou, Bonnie Bazemore). Publications appear nowadays overwhelmingly in journals and series that focus exclusively on Cypriot material,³⁰ and only occasionally in journals of interest either to Greek archaeology and epigraphy or their Near Eastern counterparts.³¹ Yet, it has always reserved a spot, albeit limited and peripheral there as well, in the field of Mycenology, which was inaugurated in the 1950s with the decipherment of Linear B. The Mycenological conferences have included studies on the Cypriot syllabaries ever since they were first established,³² because there was always considerable interest and ground to investigate the matter of eventual relations, if any, between Linear B and the other scripts of the Cypro-Aegean family.³³ Mycenology, in its turn, has developed its own editing and publication methods, adapted from but distinctively different from the ones current in classical epigraphy.³⁴

16 Cypriot syllabic editions followed, but also distanced themselves from both the Mycenological and the classical epigraphy traditions. Classical epigraphy is not so much bothered with the effort to read, as much as with understanding the text at hand. It is not that badly preserved alphabetic inscriptions do not demonstrate reading ambiguities, but, when in doubt, the alphabet has fewer signs to choose from (24 letters in the Greek alphabet, 21-23 letters in the Latin alphabet) than the syllabary (54/55 signs) ; additionally, we have decidedly more alphabetic texts than syllabic, therefore we, modern readers and mostly alphabet-users ourselves, are all accustomed to the idea of alphabetic sign variants. Syllabic epigraphy is accordingly very much involved with sign recognition and sign variants, because these are fundamental to the correct reading of an inscription.³⁵ The drawing of inscriptions has more or less been the rule since the first syllabic inscription was published,³⁶ and photographic documentation has always been a substantial reading aid. In this respect, Cypriot syllabic epigraphy has constantly been closer to the Mycenological editing traditions, since they share similar problems.

The contribution of the syllabic Inscriptiones Graecae (IG) volume

17 The newly published first fascicle of a corpus of Cypriot syllabic inscriptions (2020) constitutes the first instance that syllabic epigraphy actually joins classical epigraphy and is given the opportunity to become part of a more mainstream and considerably more populous disciplinary field, that of classical epigraphy. There is an inherent irony in that syllabic inscriptions join the 'mainstream' through *Inscriptiones Graecae (IG)*, an epigraphic series that is, on one hand, a fundamental working tool for all epigraphists, but aims, on the other, mainly at a potentially restricted audience of epigraphists, linguists and ancient historians, also through its use of Latin as the editing language. As it will hopefully be evident to the reader and user of this new corpus, several mutual compromises had to be reached in order for a result to be produced, as is the case every

time that two different worlds meet and decide to co-exist. One such field of discussion was the very notion of what constitutes an inscription, therefore what should ultimately be included in the corpus, and how. Another was the very inclusion of coin legends as inscriptions, rarely included in the series, that should be treated the same, or, at least, in a manner similar to the rest of the inscribed material.

18 The editing of Greek inscriptions in the frame of the *IG* series, although by definition a corpus is the collection of all inscribed evidence, appears to preclude the systematic inclusion of what is known in epigraphy as the *instrumentum domesticum*, i.e. inscriptions on media other than the ones that were explicitly created as inscription carriers.³⁷ *IG* shies away from ceramic or metallic vessel inscriptions (usually referred to as ‘graffiti’ and reserved for separate editions), and the likes of amphora stamps or seals. Coins are ever only exceptionally included.³⁸

19 Cypriot syllabic inscriptions are relatively rare,³⁹ and the potential exclusion of the *instrumentum domesticum* would result in a very thin volume, not to mention that it would not exactly fit the definition of the corpus as an all-inclusive working tool. In studies that examine the phenomenon of literacy in the classical Greek world the wealth of the surviving written information pertaining mostly to the public sphere is commonly associated with the establishment of democracy, as opposed to classical Cyprus, where the heads of Cypriot kingdoms had no vested interest for public display of laws or decrees.⁴⁰ Although a more nuanced approach has developed with regard to the alphabet-using Greek world,⁴¹ the fact remains that stone inscriptions placed in public view in classical Cyprus are primarily tombstones and secondarily religious dedications or honorific titles, whereas decrees are almost entirely absent. It is this fundamental ancient cultural disparity that has prompted the creation of divergent epigraphic traditions in modern times, for which common ground was sought in the process of producing the corpus of Cypriot syllabic inscriptions to be embedded in a classical epigraphy series.

20 A writing system that is scantily attested also requires special attention to the palaeographic evidence, therefore even single or isolated sign attestations can be valuable for such purposes. All attestations of the syllabary, no matter how laconic or humble, were included in the new corpus, provided they matched already known attestations of syllabary signs. This principle was deemed necessary, even if the volume editors come from the field of Mycenology, where the Aegean corpora include inscribed material under the premise that an ‘inscription’ consists at least of two signs.⁴² In the ancient Cypriot world this was clearly not the case, since word abbreviations appear all too often inscribed on pottery and coins, whereas noun articles are not habitually omitted from the written speech.

Coin legends as inscriptions in the syllabic *IG* volume

21 Given the history of interaction between epigraphy and numismatics in Cypriot studies, but also because a 21st century epigraphic corpus cannot afford to ignore an undisputed reality of our era, namely that each class of archaeological material requires its own expert handling, the recently published first fascicle of the corpus of Cypriot syllabic inscriptions *IG XV 1* inaugurated a collaboration between epigraphy and numismatics under a novel format. It required years of discussions and adjustments on both ends, aiming in ensuring accuracy, readability and ease-of-use for the readers of both disciplines.

22 Epigraphic corpora function under the premise that each inscription is unique, since it resulted from individual, manual labour. In this respect, problems arise when one wishes to include coin inscriptions. As is the case with stamped inscriptions, several specimens

(coins) were meant to be produced from the same original source (coin dies). Tracking and establishing the various coin dies that were used to issue the coins surviving today is fundamental to numismatics: it allows to calculate the volume of production of a specific series that was minted in a specific place at a specific time, to cover specific needs in coined money. Different dies were used for the obverse and the reverse side of each coin and for the various denominations, and because all coins were struck one-by-one by hand, the life span of each die was not the same. Coin dies were replaced, for instance, when they were worn out, when they broke, or when a new ruler was enthroned. The die study is a fundamental methodological tool for the discipline of numismatics for another reason besides classification purposes: the number of surviving coins cannot function as proof for the volume of production of a specific series, unless they were minted by multiple coin die combinations.

23 A particular problem arises in the combined study of Cypriot numismatics and epigraphy, and it will be mentioned here only briefly, because it should make us cautious as to what we interpret as ‘local’ epigraphic habits when confronted with numismatic evidence. The truth is, we have no knowledge of how, where and on whose instructions coin dies were produced on account of the different Cypriot kingdoms. We also have little, if none at all, knowledge, of how the minute coin inscriptions were perceived by people who saw and used the coins, and to what degree their legends were visible or meaningful. There is, for instance, an epigraphic fact that one would hardly be able to verify by looking at coin evidence, namely that there are two different versions of the syllabary in use in Cyprus, the Paphian and the common. We would expect therefore Paphian coins to bear legends in the Paphian syllabary, but the majority of coins attributed with a degree of certainty to Paphos are in the common syllabary.⁴³

24 Premises and problems aside, for the epigraphic corpus purposes, an individual corpus entry number was assigned to all the coin issues of a single king, according to the precedent set by Masson in his *Recueil*. The problem of how to document the different coins as products of different dies persisted, since different dies usually contained disparate textual evidence. On some coin dies the name of the king or his title appeared in full ; sometimes his patronymic or an ethnonym were added, but in most instances all this information was inserted in an abbreviated form. Coin legends, when written in full, were inscribed in a possessive genitive: the coin ‘spoke’ through its legend, and informed the beholder who had issued it. When the inscription is abbreviated, the genitive remains, but is implied. This is a common formula on Cypriot numismatics, where coin legends most commonly attest to the royal title (often abbreviated to the first sign) and the royal name of the issuing authority (often also in an abbreviated form). Although this practice is expected in small denominations, where the surface of the coin is limited in size, it is also attested in bigger denominations such as sigloi.⁴⁴

25 For the purposes of the corpus it was therefore necessary to distinguish between these different versions of a king’s attributes on the coins issued by the same king. Under each king’s coin production, listed under the same number, each obverse and reverse coin die was grouped and assigned a (miniscule) letter of the Latin alphabet (**fig. 2**).

Figure 2 — The coinage of king Stasioikos I of Marion (450-420 BC), among which four different dies (for the verso and the recto of coins) were detected (IG XV 1, 407a-d).



26 A different parameter of the difficulty we encountered on how to present coin inscriptions derived from the fact that the original die had to be on occasions ‘reconstructed’ ; such reconstructions were based on more than one surviving coin. Once the dies were established through the numismatic study, several coins minted by the same obverse and reverse die combination were selected to be included in the corpus and were given consecutive Arabic numbers. All these coins are also depicted in the *Tabulae* section of the corpus at the end of the volume. The example of the coins chosen to be inserted under the corpus lemma of king Stasioikos I of Marion (**fig. 2**) shows how four different dies (*IG XV 1, 407a-c: recto* ; *IG XV 1, 407b-d: verso*) were issued by this king, and how five different coin specimens (*IG XV 1, 407 [1]-[5]*) were inserted in the corpus. The selected coins are the best-preserved specimens, produced by each of these dies.

27 For each die a drawing of the inscription was done. All drawings of archaeological objects contain a degree of subjectivity, and it is well known that they constitute an interpretation of what the draftsman sees. These coin drawings were executed with a higher degree of subjectivity than usual, since they were composed based on the testimony of multiple coin specimens produced from the same die but surviving in various states of preservation (all of which were included in the corpus). It was an old habit in numismatics to present coin drawings, as is evident in the editions of Pellerin, de Luynes and others that followed, but this was subsequently abandoned in the course of the 20th century in favour of coin photography that allows great detail by use of modern camera micro lenses. In our modern revival of this old coin publication habit, drawings solely of the coin legends were executed, but not of the whole die and without including the iconographic types. Such drawings would require a considerable investment of time and craftsmanship by the draftsman, which fell well beyond the scope of a corpus that focuses on the coin legends.

28 In the course of the combined study of coin dies and their coin legends for the purposes of the corpus, it was established that two royal name readings were erroneous. Our collaboration revealed two instances of such errors. The first instance is that of Paul Perdrizet, a classicist who first read the name of a king of Amathous as *Epipalos*,⁴⁵ now corrected to *Apipalos*. The second is that of Edward Robinson, a numismatist at the

British Museum who first read the patronymic of a king of Marion as *Doxandros*,⁴⁶ now corrected to *Lysandros*.

29 How come it took us so many years to correct these erroneous readings? The reasons for these mistakes are multiple. Firstly, they were done at a period when knowledge of the syllabary was still at an infantile stage. Secondly, they were done by scholars that had at their disposal a smaller number of well-preserved coins, compared to the material currently accessible in public and private collections, but also in coin online auctions. Thirdly, they were done by people who had no particular knowledge or expertise in syllabic inscriptions or Cypriot numismatics. And, finally, they were done in the past, but were not questioned until now because no detailed look on those inscriptions, including the material that came to light in the past decades, was performed in such a meticulous way.

The coinage of Amathous: eight kings (460-360 BC)

30 According to the editorial principles laid out previously, the corpus has listed a number of silver coin issues with syllabic legends that can be attributed to Amathous (**Table 1**).⁴⁷ The coinage of Amathous is well studied through the work of Michel Amandry, who proposed a coin die study in 1984, and supplemented it with additional specimens in 1997.⁴⁸ It was a significant advantage for our work of the corpus that Amandry had already established the succession and dating of the kings of Amathous, and that coins which appeared in recent auctions completed the known specimens.⁴⁹

31 Table 1 — Coins of Amathous with syllabic legends (*IG XV 1*, 85-92).

<i>IG XV 1</i>	syllabic transcription	(Greek) alphabetic transcription	king and date of reign
85	wo-ro-i-ko	ῤροίκω	ῤροίκω(ς) 460-450 BC
86a-b	mo[μο[Μο[450-430 BC
87a-l	ro[ρο[ῤρο[400-380 BC
88a-d	pu-ru-wo-so	πύρρωσω	Πύρρω(ς?) 385 BC
89a-h	zo-ti-mo	ζωτίμω	Ζωτίμο(ς) 385-380 BC
90a-c	e-wi-ti-mo	ἔφτιμω	Ἐφτιμο(ς) 385-380 BC
90d, f	zo-ti-mo	[ζωτίμω]	
90e, g	e-we-ti-mo	ἔφτιμω	
91a-h	lu-sa-to-ro	λυσάνδρω	Λύσανδρο(ς) 380-370 BC
92a-d	a-pi-pa-lo	ἀπιπάλω	Ἀβίβαλο(ς) 370-360 BC

32 Eight different kings are known at present evidence to have issued coins using the syllabic script for their legends. Their reigns roughly date in the Cypro-Classical I and Cypro-Classical II periods, between 460 and 360 BC, and their succession is established through coin hoard evidence. The coins attest to names either preserved in full or in an abbreviated form, most of them unknown through other historical sources. So far no coins have been attributed to Androcles, the only Amathousian king presented in Arrien's and Diodoros' accounts as being active in the events of the last decades of the 4th century.⁵⁰ Most of the names that appear on the coins of the kings of Amathous are also otherwise

unattested among the syllabic evidence: *wo-ro-i-ko*, Ϝροῖκο(ς) ; *ro-*[-, 'Po[; *zo-ti-mo*, Ζώτιμο(ς) ; *e-wi/we-ti-mo*, Ἔπιμο(ς) ; *a-pi-pa-lo*, Ἀπίπαλο(ς) . The nominative case of these names is not attested elsewhere, something which is particularly troubling in the instance of a name that ends with what is most likely an Eteocypriot genitive. In the discussion that follows here however it is also clear that it is no longer sufficient to simply put forward the often-repeated assertion that all the known kings of Amathous had Greek names.⁵¹ To the already known Eteocypriot overtone that was evident through the name of king *pu-ru-wo-so* (Πύρφο-), an additional thought-provoking Anatolian connection through the name *wo-ro-i-ko* (Ϝροῖκο-) needs to be inserted in our discussion. Finally, the corrected reading of *e-pi-pa-lo* (Ἀπίπαλο-) brings into the fore a name of Phoenician etymology, yet hellenised in its form.

33 An Amathousian king Ῥοῖκος , who is mentioned in Hesychius as having sent wheat to Athens, is someone who should be sought in the middle of the 4th century, yet no coin issues under this name are known to us from that time. The two coin issues attesting to two kings, who are presently identified under this name (*wo-ro-i-ko*, Ϝροῖκο(ς) ; *ro-*[-, 'Po[), regard the middle of the 5th century.⁵² Masson suggested that the two names, the Ϝροῖκο(ς) of the coins and the historical figure Ῥοῖκος (and, most likely, the king's name starting with 'Po[) are "almost homophones" and that *wo-ro-i-ko* was the anticipated archaic form of **ro-i-ko*.⁵³ A probable similarly sounding name has been painted in the Phoenician script on a vase of local manufacture from Amathous dating to the beginning of the Cypro-Archaic I period, i.e. the end of the 8th century.⁵⁴ If the name is indeed attested in Amathous at such an early date, and appears to persist all the way to the 4th century as a royal name, then this either points to a certain degree of continuity in the royal Amathousian lineage, or one could think of a common Amathousian name, which also happened to be the name given to children of the nobility that ended up as kings.

34 Although Masson is quite convincing in his identification of *wo-ro-i-ko* as a name of Greek etymology, even alluding to the possible Mycenaean equivalent *wo-ro-ko-jo*,⁵⁵ the name remains rare among Greek onomastics and is found mostly on inscriptions from a multitude of sites in Anatolia.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, regardless of whether the name written in Phoenician on the local Amathousian vase previously mentioned matches the name of the king of Que or even that of *wo-ro-i-ko*, it appears difficult to ignore the matching consonantal sequence of the Cypriot syllabic *wo-ro-i-ko* with the name of the 8th century Cilician king, who is called Awarikas in Hieroglyphic Luwian, 'WRK in Phoenician and Urikki in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions.⁵⁷ The name 'Awarikas' is of obscure etymology, but is not considered of Luwian origin in current literature.⁵⁸ If the Cypriot *wo-ro-i-ko* were to be added to the above series of attestations of the name in different language and script contexts, this would further complicate the historical trajectories through which this name is attested in the eastern Mediterranean during the early 1st millennium BC.⁵⁹

35 The instance of the name *pu-ru-wo-so* is also interesting in that evidence points to a name that appears anchored in the Eteocypriot linguistic environment (Πύρφο(ς)).⁶⁰ Although the name itself could claim a Greek etymology ($\text{Πύρφο(ς) = Πύρρος(ς)}$), here it most clearly has an ending (*-so*) that characterizes the possessive genitive of Eteocypriot names, the declension that one expects on coin legends in any case.⁶¹ Additionally, *pu-ru-wa-* is also found in purely Eteocypriot texts with a variety of different endings,⁶² that show either different declinations or the making of composites, both indications of a word stem that is fully integrated in a given language.

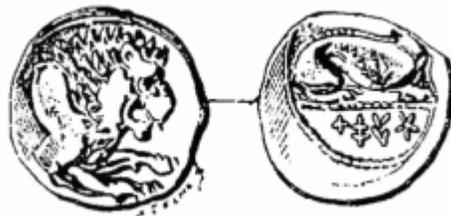
36 The declension ending *-so* is moreover noteworthy, because, in the environment of Amathous with its primarily Eteocypriot inscriptions, the sign also presents an unusual form that deviates from what is considered the standard form of *so* in the common syllabary, otherwise used in Amathous during this time. This idiosyncratic form of *so* has

come to be thought of as ‘Eteocypriot’ precisely because it is found mostly in inscriptions from Amathous. The *-so* attested on the coins issued by *pu-ru-wo-so* also has this form initially thought to be reserved primarily for an Eteocypriot phoneme, notwithstanding the fact that its use in Greek words or names is also verified (with *pu-ru-wo-so* as one such instance).⁶³ A possible interpretation of this sign form as a local or ‘simple’ graphic variant within the frame of the common syllabary rather than one that corresponds to some special ‘Eteocypriot’ phoneme is not without merit.⁶⁴ Since, however, this form is also attested outside Amathous, it cannot be dubbed as ‘local’ (*i.e.* Amathousian), unless we establish that all the inscriptions containing this *so*, wherever they are found in Cyprus, actually come from Amathous ; in any case, ‘local’ sign attestations cannot be established through coin legends, since it is not clear how or where coin dies were manufactured.⁶⁵ Additionally, its potential dissociation from the ‘Eteocypriot’ language altogether, or from a potential phonetic *so* variant lurking behind it is, at present evidence, not possible, especially since such an explanation could account for its island-wide diffusion. But the matter appears to be more complicated and is worthy of further investigation, because now Amathous attests to a further *-so* graphic variant previously unattested,⁶⁶ and the script demonstrates a number of ligatured variants connected with either *o* or *so*.⁶⁷

37 It is additionally worth making a reference to the name *lu-sa-to-ro*, because it renders a well-known Greek name, Λύσανδρος, which is otherwise attested only once again among the Cypriot syllabic evidence as the name of the father of a king of Marion. The equally otherwise unknown Λύσανδρος of Marion fathered a son that appears to have reigned between 470-450 BC (see below), whereas Λύσανδρος of Amathous reigned around 380-370 BC. In favour of the rarity of the name among Cypriot onomastics speaks the rarity of the sign (and, hence, the syllable) *lu* among the syllabic evidence. The sign only has some ten instances all together in the entire body of syllabic evidence, split between common and Paphian inscriptions, whereas the syllable itself appears both in Greek language texts as well as Eteocypriot ones.⁶⁸

38 Finally, the instance of the name *a-pi-pa-lo* is novel and intriguing. The original reading of this uniquely attested name in Cyprus was *e-pi-pa-lo*, Ἐπίπαλο(ς), and it has now been corrected to Ἀπίπαλο(ς). The reading *e-pi-pa-lo* was first proposed by Perdrizet based on two coins from a coin hoard found in Messaoria.⁶⁹ The first of the two coins found its way to the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, where Perdrizet saw it,⁷⁰ but the second is unaccounted for. Perdrizet published a drawing of the coin he autopsied (**fig. 3**).

Figure 3 — Drawing by Perdrizet (1898, p. 208) of the coin at Cabinet des Médailles.



39 Perdrizet does not explain how he arrived at the reading as Ἐπίπαλο(ς). His drawing actually shows his presumed *e-* to be a sign with five strokes, which are typical of sign *i* ; so, according to his drawing, the reading should be *i-pi-pa-lo*. If he hesitated in his reading (of the whole inscription, but most likely of the first sign as *e-*, since the other signs are clear and unambiguous), this is only clear in the short description he gives for the second coin (now gone missing), where he appears to want to affirm his reading: “... l’inscription du revers se lit sûrement *∨†† [e-pi-pa-lo]”.

40 The autopsy and new drawing of the one and only coin that preserves the first sign of the name resulted in an amended reading, *a-pi-pa-lo*, Ἀπίπαλω (**fig. 4**). The sign on the Cabinet des Médailles of the French National Library coin has decidedly more strokes than

the ones drawn by Perdrizet, namely six, which is the number of strokes that compose the syllabic sign α .⁷¹

Figure 4 — Coin of *a-pi-pa-lo*, Ἀβίβαλο(ς) (Cabinet des Médailles, Paris = *IG XV 1, 92a*).



- 41 Over 120 years after the name was read as Ἐπίπαλο(ς), this supposedly Greek-sounding name is still not attested elsewhere.⁷² Its ending, however, is attested in the syllabary as part of the name *a-pu-tu-pa-lo*, a syllabified version of the Phoenician 'BDB'L ('*abduba'al*, “servant of Baal”), found in a tomb in Salamis.⁷³ Masson supposes an ending of the name in the nominative as *-pa-lo-se*, which “... correspond exactement à la transcription alphabétique hellénisante *-βαλος* qui est normale en grec pour les noms phéniciens en *-B'L*.” (p. 271).
- 42 By extension, therefore, *a-pi-pa-lo* seems to correspond to an original Phoenician name such as 'BB'L ('*abiba'al*, “my father is Baal”).⁷⁴ A conspectus of the name and its variations in Phoenician and Punic inscriptions results in some ten attestations, split between the eastern and western Mediterranean over the 1st millennium ; the names attested refer to both male and female individuals.⁷⁵ Interestingly, later Greek authors, such as Eusebius and Josephus, mention the fully hellenised version of the name, which is most fitting in our case, Ἀβίβαλος.⁷⁶

The coinage of Kourion: no known coins with clear syllabic inscriptions

- 43 Although the *IG* volume included inscriptions from Kourion, no coins have been securely attributed to this kingdom so far.
- 44 Kourion is one of the active kingdoms in the history of archaic and classical Cyprus. And although several Cypriot coinages with abbreviated legends still remain ‘orphan’ in terms of attribution, it is uncertain which king of which kingdom minted them. Such is the case of Kourion, since no coins with a complete legend or coins in the name of the known kings of that kingdom from the literary sources have come to light until now.
- 45 There is a coin series dated in the early 5th century, where the single syllabic sign *ko* appears on the obverse and the reverse. Initially, those coins were attributed to Golgoi, but Jonathan Kagan correctly read the sign as *ko* and not as *go*, excluding Golgoi as a possibility. He then proposed to move the group of coins to the early issues of Kourion.⁷⁷ Although this suggestion sounds attractive, unless more coins with more complete legends come to light, there is no concrete evidence that a single sign can allow this attribution beyond any doubt.⁷⁸

- 46 For this reason, the coins with this sign will be included in one of the following *IG* volumes, together with other finds of uncertain, unverified or under-discussion attribution.⁷⁹

The coinage of Marion: five kings (470-312 BC)

- 47 According to the editorial principles laid out previously, the corpus has listed a number of silver and bronze coin issues with syllabic legends that can be attributed to Marion (**Table 2**).⁸⁰

- 48 Table 2 — Coins of Marion with syllabic legends (*IG XV* 1, 406-410). Capital letters for legends in the Greek alphabet.

<i>IG XV</i> 1	syllabic transcription	(Greek) alphabetic transcription	king and date of reign
406a, c	sa-sa-ma-o-se to lu-sa-to-ro	σασμᾶος τῷ λυσάνδρῳ	Σασμᾶς 470-450 BC
406b, d, g	ma-ri-e-u-se	μαριεύς	
406f	sa-sa-ma-o-se	σασμᾶος	
407a, c	pa-si-le-wo-se sa-ta-si-wo-i-ko	βασιλῆφος στασιφοίκῳ	Στασίοικος (I) 450-420 BC
407b, d	pa-si-le-wo-se sa-ta-si-wo-i-ko-ne	βασιλῆφος στασιφοίκων	
408a, h	pa-si- ti-mo- [βασι- τιμο- [Τιμοχάρης 420-380 BC
408b	pa-si-le-wo-se ti-mo-ka-ri-wo-se ma-ri-e-u-se	βασιλῆφος τιμοχάριφος μαριεύς	
408c-d	pa-si- ti-mo-ka-ri-wo-se	βασι- τιμοχάριφος	
408e-f-g	pa-si-le-o-se ti-mo-ka-ri-wo-se	βασιλῆος τιμοχάριφος	
408i-j	pa-si-le-wo-se ti-mo-ka-ri-wo-se	βασιλῆφος τιμοχάριφος	
408k-l-m-n-o	pa- ti- [βα- τι- [
408p	ti- pa- [τι- βα- [
409	BA pa ti MAPIE	BA βα- τι- MAPIE	Τι(μοχάρης II) 350 BC
410a	pa (v.) MA	βα- (v.) MA- [Σ(τασίοικος II) 330-312 BC
410b	pa sa (v.) MA	βα- σ(α)- (v.) MA- [
410c	sa-ta (v.) MAPI	σ(α)-τα- (v.) MAPI- [
410d	pa sa-ta	βα- σ(α)-τα- [
410e-f-g-h	sa pa	σ(α)- βα- [
410i	pa	βα- [

410j	pa sa (v.) MAPIEYΣ	βα-[σ(α)-[(v.) MAPIEYΣ
410k	sa (v.) MAPIEYΣ	σ(α)-[(v.) MAPIEYΣ
410l	pa sa (v.) MAPI	βα-[σ(α)-[(v.) MAPI-[

49 The coinage of Marion is less well studied than that of Amathous, because no coin study has been previously published.⁸¹ It was necessary first to gather the numismatic material, and then to establish the coin dies, in order to present them in the corpus. The syllabic coinage of Marion appears to cover the years between 470 and 312 BC, a little less than 160 years, and the kings that are known through their coin production are five, fewer than the ones attested in Amathous. A long period within this time frame is taken up by the reign of king Timocharis (420-380 BC), who is known not only through an impressive number of surviving coins, but also through his tomb inscription.⁸²

50 The coinage of the kings of Marion was partially presented in the coin corpora of Hill and Babelon, who did not however suspect the existence of the king Sasma.⁸³ Sasma became known via new coin types that were brought to light over the years. Our knowledge of 5th century coinage of Marion was enhanced by the Vouni hoard, an important hoard discovered in the palace of Vouni in 1928 by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. The hoard was placed in a jar together with silver bowls, gold and silver bracelets, silver pendants and lumps of gold. It included 252 coins, the majority from Marion, and brought to light new, previously unknown types and denominations of two successive kings (Stasioikos I and Timocharis), thus providing a firm stepping stone for the study of the Marion coinage.⁸⁴

51 In terms of epigraphic evidence, our material is even poorer, because two names, those of Timocharis and Stasioikos, seem to be repeated in time. This repetition of royal names points to uninterrupted reigning dynasties, with names and titles being passed on from a grandfather to his grandson and so on. The numismatic evidence from Marion however is important in different respects, in that it points to a degree of co-habitation at a higher societal level of the different scribal and linguistic cultures that are attested in classical Cyprus, and, more importantly, it seems to reflect a series of shifts, or changes over time that are most fundamental for our eventual historical perception of the period.

52 The first instance we have of a king that issues coins with syllabic legends is around 470 BC. The king has a hellenised Phoenician name (*sa-sa-ma-o-se*, “of Sasma”, gen.), he adds his patronymic (previously read erroneously as *to-ka-sa-to-ro*, “(son) of Doxandros”, now amended to *to lu-sa-to-ro*, “(son) of Lysandros”, gen.). On the obverse of the coin an ethnonym also appears (*ma-ri-e-u-se*, “of Marion”, nom.).⁸⁵ He uses at least one die with a legend in Phoenician (both the language and the script) for the verso of coins, for which the recto is stricken with a die bearing the syllabic legend *sa-sa-ma-o-se to lu-sa-to-ro*, “of Sasma, (son) of Lysandros”. As seen previously in the instance of Amathous, Sasma was not the only king with a hellenised Phoenician name,⁸⁶ nor was he the only one who used the Phoenician alphabet for coin legends: but he remains, to this day, the only one who used both the Cypriot syllabary and the Phoenician alphabet on the same coin.

53 On account of this fact, we are left with more questions than answers. Why would a father with a name of Greek etymology give his son a hellenised Phoenician name? Was the father or the son some sort of ‘pioneer’? Did he wish to make a statement through his coins, and if so, what would his message have been? Was this an experiment, a political exercise, or a reaction? And, if so, what resulted from this ‘experiment’?

54 As to the first and the second questions, we can draw on a (limited, as things stand) number of examples attested in Cypriot syllabic epigraphy of parents and their offspring having names that belong to different language families.⁸⁷ A sample is given here:

- (father) Anatolian → (son) Phoenician: *a-pu-tu-pa-lo ... to mo-le-wo-se*, “Ἀβδουβάλω... τῷ Μόληρος”, “of Abdoual ... (son) of Moles”, a deceased with a hellenised Phoenician name and a father with an Anatolian name, buried in Salamis ;⁸⁸
- (father) Eteocypriot → (son) Greek: *zo-wa-to-ro la-ja-ka-to-we*, “Ζωφάνδρω τῷ Λαϊακατο..”, “of Zowandros (son of) Lajakatowe”, a deceased with a Greek name and a father with an Eteocypriot name, buried in Amathous ;⁸⁹
- (father) Greek → (son) Eteocypriot: *--mo-ja-we-o to ta-mo-tu-ko*, “--μοιαφεο τῷ Δαμοτύχω”, “--mojaweo (son) of Damotychos”, a deceased with a name with Eteocypriot declination and a father with Greek name, buried in Marion ;⁹⁰
- (grandfather) Greek → (father) Greek → (son) non-Greek: *--a-tu-zo-mo-se [..] [o sa]-ta-si-wo-i-ko [o ti]-ma-ko-ra-u*, “--αδύ[.]μος, ο Στασιφοϊκῷ [ο Τι]μαγοράν”, “--adi[.]mos, (son) of Stasioikos, (son) of Timagoras”, a deceased with a non-Greek name, and a father and grandfather with a Greek name, buried in Marion ; the use of a ‘papponym’ (the grandfather’s name) is rare ;⁹¹
- (father) Greek → (son) Anatolian + (wife) Greek: *ti-mo-ku-pa-ra ... ku-na ma-ne-wo-se to sa-ta-sa-no-ro-se*, “Τιμόκυπρα γυνή Μάνηρος τῷ Στασάνορος”, “Timokypra, wife of Manes, (son) of Stasanor”, the wife with a Greek name of a man with an Anatolian name, whose father has a Greek name, buried in Marion.⁹²

55 The above instances are admittedly too few to allow for the extraction of a rule. We cannot know the social status of people who placed inscribed stelae on their graves, and whether or not they belonged to a particular class. One could argue that sometimes foreigners and foreign families were involved, such as could be the case of Abdoual, the (son) of Moles. But in some other instances this appears not to have been the case, such as Stasanor who opts to give an Anatolian name to his son ; the father is clearly a Cypriot, the son takes a ‘foreign’ name, but then he marries a Cypriot woman, as the name testimony reveals. In all the above instances, the unifying factor is the use of the syllabary: if Abdoual and his father Moles were complete strangers to Cyprus, and Abdoual just happened to die in Salamis, why would he receive a stele in the Cypriot syllabary? And why would he not add his papponym, as seems to have been the habit in Phoenician-speaking environments?

56 The clue we are missing in all these instances is whether the mother of the children that were given a linguistically diverse name than their father had something to do with the choice of name. But marriages of people who came from linguistically diverse environments are not unheard of in ancient times, and ancient authors frequently narrate similar stories. This could explain why and how two boys with hellenised Phoenician names, such as Apipalos in Amathous and Sasma in Marion, made it as high as the office of the king. There is not enough evidence to think in terms of anomalies, intrusions or usurpers, although such possibilities cannot be excluded. Inter-elite unions of people with disparate languages or backgrounds is an alternative explanation as to how these people reached the highest office of the polity.

57 As to the question of detecting eventual reactions to the above phenomena, the fact remains so far, that our numismatic evidence from all over Cyprus does not show again the phenomenon of co-habitation on the same coin of the Cypriot syllabary and the Phoenician alphabet: it was either one, or the other. In this respect, Sasma’s coins remain unique and we have no evidence of an attempted repetition of this phenomenon. In the Cypriot numismatic evidence there is another originality regarding these coins ; the name of the king is followed by the patronym and no royal title is mentioned on the coin legend.

58 Sasma and his monetary choices are at one end of the chronological spectrum of the coinage of Marion, but a (second) Timocharis⁹³ and a (second) Stasioikos⁹⁴ are found at the other end. Timocharis II, who seems to issue coins around 350 BC, is the first one to

amalgamate in Marion on the same die the Cypriot syllabary and the Greek alphabet: he uses the by then well-known syllabic abbreviations *pa-[si-le-wo-se]* *ti-[mo-ka-ri-wo-se]*, he ‘transcribes’ the Cypriot royal coin formula ‘*pa-[si-le-wo-se]*’ into the Greek alphabet by inscribing BA[ΣΙΑΗΟΣ], but also adds the abbreviated ethnonym MAPIE[ΥΣ].

59 The king that follows, Stasioikos II, who was probably the last one before the polity was destroyed, also used both the Cypriot syllabary and the Greek alphabet on the same coin, although not on the same die: the two scripts appeared on different dies and thus on different sides of the coin. It is interesting that Stasioikos uses the syllabary for his name and his title, but he reserves the Greek alphabet for the ethnic. Such a choice poses the question as to who knew by then in Marion, or in Cyprus in general, how to read in the Greek alphabet, and why it was important to inscribe the ethnonym, and only that, in the Greek alphabet.

60 Stasioikos II also proceeded on his coins to form sign ligatures in the syllabary. Sign ligatures, i.e. the mingling of signs to form one unique, combined monogrammatic sign, are familiar in the syllabic epigraphy of Marion mostly from many pottery inscriptions that have been retrieved from the Marion necropoleis.⁹⁵ Post-firing pottery inscriptions, usually known as ‘graffiti’, in the syllabary are not an exclusivity of Marion, nor are they an exclusivity of funerary contexts: more are known from Amathous,⁹⁶ Kourion,⁹⁷ Salamis,⁹⁸ Palaipaphos,⁹⁹ Tamassos,¹⁰⁰ and more generally from all over Cyprus.¹⁰¹ The majority of these inscribed vessels are Attic, black-glazed, undecorated cups and plates, and inscriptions include the Cypriot syllabary, but also the Greek alphabet and the Phoenician one. The habit of marking one’s (usually) Attic pots is not exclusively Cypriot, but appears to extend in other areas of the eastern Mediterranean where Attic black-glazed plainware of the Classical period was exported to.

61 In the case of Cyprus and its syllabic ligatures, it is difficult to investigate when syllabic ligatures on vases started being inscribed. Since all these inscriptions are post-firing, they could, in theory, have been incised at any point after the manufacture of the vase. The vase itself functions however as a *terminus post quem* for the incision of the ligature and we seem to have the first (datable) vases from the first half of the 5th century.¹⁰² The vases continue to the second half of the 5th century,¹⁰³ the first half of the 4th century,¹⁰⁴ and the second half of the 4th century.¹⁰⁵ In a nutshell, Attic black-glazed vases were imported to Marion and kept being inscribed in the syllabary throughout the whole of the 5th and 4th centuries, and they were ultimately placed into graves to accompany the deceased. The scribes go as far as to combine four syllabic signs, as the inscription squeeze of a now lost pottery inscription testifies (**fig. 5**) ; the ligature, when ‘unrolled’, gives the genitive Onasago-[rau], which is a common Cypriot name.

Figure 5 — A ligature of four different Cypriot syllabic signs (IG XV 1, 280), that reads o-na-sa-ko ; each sign makes use of strokes of its neighbouring signs.



62 Stasioikos II issued coins with syllabic sign ligatures, but at a level more sophisticated than the one we see on vases, adopting the same reverse type introduced for the first time by Evelthon's successors in Salamis during the first half of the 5th century.¹⁰⁶ Not only did he combine the initial syllables of his name and his title (*pa*-[*si-le-wo-se*] *sa*-[*ta-sa-si-wo-i-ko-ne*]), but he placed them in such a way, that they gave the optical illusion of a pseudo-ankh sign (**fig. 6**). The ankh sign is actually combined in its lower part with the Cypriot syllabic sign *pa*, whereas *sa* is placed inside the circle at the top.

Figure 6 — Coins of Stasioikos II (330-312 BC) of Marion, with a ligature of the initials of his name and title in a pseudo-*ankh* fashion (IG XV 1, 410e-f-g-h).



Conclusions

- 63 The early history of the modern re-discovery of inscriptions in the Cypriot syllabary clearly advocates in favour of inviting collaborations of specialists in different fields in order for research problems to be resolved: the contributions of numismatists, philologists, a cuneiform specialist and an Egyptologist were crucial to achieving the decipherment of an unknown writing system in an unknown language in 1874. Cypriot numismatics in particular is closely associated with Cypriot epigraphy, because not only is coin testimony unique and supplements the meagre epigraphic evidence at hand, but it also offers precious insights into the social, political and economic history of the island. Cypriot epigraphy, on the other hand, is a *sine qua non* for the attribution of coins to kings ruling in different polities in Cyprus.
- 64 Cypriot syllabic epigraphy always lay between the traditions of classical Greek epigraphy and the Mycenological ones, i.e. those that dominate the field of Linear B and its related scripts. The Cypriot syllabary of the 1st millennium BC derives from the Cypro-Aegean script family that prevailed during the 2nd millennium BC in the Aegean and Cyprus, and is a late survival of this family. As such, it shares common editing problems and objectives with the Mycenological material. As Cypriot syllabic inscriptions have now been edited in an *Inscriptiones Graecae* volume (XV 1,1, 2020), new questions were posed: what constitutes an inscription was the primary one, therefore what should ultimately be included in the corpus, and under which conditions. The inclusion of coin legends was part of this question, and the answer is given through coin entries in the corpus (*IG XV 1, 85-92*, coins of Amathous ; *IG XV 1, 406-410*, coins of Marion). The coin entries were jointly curated by an epigraphist and a numismatist, who also sign the present paper. The main idea was to render service to both disciplines and to allow the combination of specialised expertise to be mutually beneficial.
- 65 The close collaboration in re-reading coin legends allowed not only to clarify the variations of the different dies used to mint the surviving coins from a palaeographical point of view, but also to correct erroneous readings of the past, with the assistance of the better-preserved coins that came to light in the past years. The name of a king of Amathous that was read as Epipalos is now corrected to Apipalos, and the patronymic of a king of Marion, which was thought to be Doxandros is now corrected to Lysandros. The coins of Amathous with syllabic legends cover the years between 460 and 360 BC, during which eight different kings are attested, whereas the respective coins of Marion cover the years between 470 and 312 BC, but only attest to five different kings' names. The linguistic information from the names of the kings of Amathous confirms the overwhelmingly Greek etymological evidence among them, supplemented by the occasional Eteocypriot element, both of which were known in Amathousian onomastics. Yet, it now adds what appears to be the hellenised version of a Phoenician name, a phenomenon attested also in other instances through the syllabic evidence in Cyprus. Moreover, a possible Anatolian, most notably Cilician, connection for a series of Amathousian kings, that share the same name, should be kept in mind ; the relevant evidence, for now, is patchy and inconclusive, yet future finds will hopefully clarify the matter. The crux of numismatic evidence from Marion, on the other hand, concerns more the complex and interchanging use of scripts on coins, that appear to reflect social phenomena otherwise poorly attested and thus underrepresented so far.
- 66 The afflux of new material available, the better quality of images that allow a detailed study of the coin legends, the autopsies of the surviving examples by the specialists but also the many fruitful discussions even on single syllabic signs over a period of many years, allowed a new collaborative approach with fresh and promising results, which will hopefully continue with the following *IG* volumes in the future.

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Notes

- 1 See also the account in *ICS*, pp. 18-24, 48-51.
- 2 Luynes 1852, pp. 1-2.
- 3 Pellerin 1763-1778, pp. 76-78, pls. CI-CII.
- 4 Pellerin 1763-1778, pp. 155-156, pl. CXXII, 1-3. The coins were listed under a lengthy section entitled "Médailles incertaines, phoeniciennes, puniques, et en caractères inconnus." 'Satalie' is Antalya in the south coast of Anatolia, and 'Caramania' was an Ottoman *eyalet* comprising Pamphylia and eastern Cilicia.
- 5 Pellerin 1763-1778, p. 156: "On a déjà observé qu'il y avoit en Cilicie, ainsi qu'en Pisidie & en Pamphylie, diverses nations barbares qui parloient des langues différentes ; & l'on conçoit aisément que quelques-uns de ces peuples ont pu se former, pour leur écriture, des caractères particuliers, & différents de ceux des autres peuples."
- 6 Ross 1852, pp. 81-212.
- 7 Hammer 1811, pp. 154, 190 (no. 69).
- 8 Ross 1851, p. 324 ; Ross 1852, pp. 181-182.
- 9 *ICS* 217.
- 10 Lang 1871.
- 11 Lang 1872, p. 125.
- 12 *ICS* 260 ; Lang 1872, p. 128.
- 13 *ICS* 220.
- 14 Smith 1872.
- 15 Birch 1872.
- 16 His manuscript appears to have been left unfinished due to his untimely death ; the paper was read by Curtius in the meeting of the Royal Prussian Academy on 5 May 1873 (Brandis 1874).
- 17 *ICS*, p. 49.
- 18 Schmidt 1874.
- 19 Deecke, Siegismund 1875. The pair had also finished their work in 1874, but their publication came out a year later.
- 20 Six 1883, pp. 250-251.
- 21 Hill 1904 ; Babelon 1893 ; Babelon 1910.
- 22 Babelon 1910, pp. 695-696.
- 23 Kraay 1976.
- 24 *ICS*, pp. 89-90.
- 25 Masson, Amandry 1988.
- 26 Masson 1968 ; Masson 1982a ; Masson 1991 ; Masson 1996a ; Masson 1996b.
- 27 As noted above, the foundation of Cypriot syllabic epigraphy was a numismatic publication (Luynes 1852). One should, theoretically, also include Cypro-Minoan epigraphy under the above term, the study of Cypriot inscriptions of the 2nd millennium BC, which is closely related to the Cypriot syllabary inscriptions of the 1st millennium BC because of their parent-offspring relation. But these two subfields took relatively different paths, for reasons that are not of interest here.
- 28 The complex relations between (at least) five writing systems split between the Aegean (Cretan Hieroglyphic, Linear A, Linear B) and Cyprus (Cypro-Minoan scripts, Cypriot syllabary of the 1st millennium BC) have been repeatedly traced and analyzed (cf. Ventris, Chadwick 1973, pp. 28-42, 60-66 ; the most recent outline of the situation is Steele 2017).
- 29 The same has been repeatedly said for Linear B, cf. Ventris, Chadwick 1973, pp. 42-43.

30 The present journal volumes (*CCEC*), and the French School monograph series *Études Chyprïotes*, both inaugurated by O. Masson.

31 Among others: *JHS*, *AJA*, *OpArch* and then *OpAthen*, *BCH*, *ABSA* on one side, *BASOR* on the other.

32 Lejeune 1956.

33 The Cypriot inscribed material always finds its way into the two main journals that publish primarily Aegean inscriptions, *Kadmos* and *Minos*.

34 Classical epigraphy follows principles that are established by conventions, such as the Leiden ones ; Mycenology also decides on texts editions by way of resolutions adopted during the Mycenological conferences, held since 1956 every five years.

35 It is for this reason that the *IG XV* 1,1 corpus fascicle has a section where all sign variants of all inscriptions included in the volume are listed in tabular form (*IG XV* 1,1, pp. 211-237: *Synopsis litterarum syllabicarum*).

36 Hammer 1811, p. 190 (no. 69).

37 The situation regarding the same matter in the realm of Latin epigraphy is eloquently laid out in Pucci 2001. There, and on account of the necessity to examine literacy and the economy of the Roman world, *CIL*, the corpus of Latin inscriptions and the *IG* 'twin' in the classical epigraphic world, went so far as to reserve since the 19th century a separate volume on the *instrumentum domesticum*, namely *CIL XV*.

38 Only *IG XII* 6, which contains the inscriptions of the island of Samos, includes coins.

39 Overall numbers given in Karnava 2014, p. 407: some 1,400 inscriptions in total.

40 The case is eloquently laid out in Detienne 1988, pp. 29-81. A most characteristic excerpt: "la fidélité insolite des Chyprïotes à un régime monarchique, monnayé en petits royaumes voisins" (p. 57).

41 Thomas 1992, pp. 128-157 ; Pébarthe 2006, pp. 244-247. More recently, classical epigraphy has taken a keener interest in the *instrumentum domesticum*, resulting in the detection of 'literacies' other than the civic one, cf. Thomas 2009.

42 One needs to quote here Olivier 1981 (pp. 107-108), who advocated for the inclusion of documents in the Aegean scripts corpora of inscriptions that consist of at least two signs: "les syllabaires répugnent généralement à écrire des mots d'une seule syllabe, c'est-à-dire d'un seul signe".

43 *ICS*, p. 64, note 2.

44 See, for example, the silver siglos of the king of Paphos Stasandros, with the syllabic legend *sa-ta-sa[-to-ro]* (the king's name) on the obverse, and *pa-si[-le-wo-se]* (the title) in the reverse (Hill 1904, p. 38, no. 17).

45 Perdrizet 1898.

46 Robinson 1932, pp. 209-212.

47 *IG XV* 1, 85-92.

48 Amandry 1984 ; Amandry 1997.

49 Markou 2018.

50 Arrien, *Anabasis of Alexander* II, 22.2 ; Diodorus XIX, 59.1.

51 Egetmeyer 2010, vol. I, p. 372 § 451 ; Steele 2018, p. 163.

52 *IG XV* 1, 85 and 87. Markou 2018, pp. 225-227, with previous bibliography. King *wo-ro-i-ko* (*IG XV* 1, 85) is known through a single inscribed die, whereas we know of twelve different inscribed dies for king *ro-* (*IG XV* 1, 87).

53 Masson 1982b.

54 Puech (2009) reads L'WRYK ('belonging to 'WRYK'), and he discusses the name of a coetaneous ruler of the kingdom of Que in Cilicia, but he also draws into the discussion *wo-ro-i-ko*. Earlier readings of the same inscription read L'MRYK ('belonging to 'MRYK') (Sznycer 2000), or L'WRYM ('belonging to 'WRYM') (Lemaire 2007). See discussion of the context and its meaning in Fourrier, Hermary 2006, p. 94 ; Fourrier 2008, pp. 120-121, no. 5 ; Hermary 2015, p. 11.

55 Olivier, Del Freo 2020, p. 229, on a tablet from Pylos (PY Sa 763). Cf. Aura Jorro 1993, p. 447, entry *wo-ro-ko-jo*.

56 *LGPN* lists seven more attestations of the name to-date ; almost all center around Anatolia (Samos, Ikaria, Cyme in Aeolis, Miletus) and only one instance is found in Athens. They are still more or less the same attestations found in Masson 1982b, p. 151.

57 The comparison in Puech 2009, but discussed earlier in Lipiński 2004, pp. 119-123. The name is known from bilingual and digraphic inscriptions from the Cilician sites of Karatepe and Çineköy dating to the end of the 8th century (Tekoglu *et al.* 2000). Through its multiple attestations, even one that is dated some one hundred years later in an inscription from Cebelireis Dağı, it is suggested to have been one and the same (Gander 2012, pp. 292-294, *pace* Lipiński 2004, pp. 123-127). The relevant discussion can be traced back to Goetze 1962, p. 53, who had suggested an originally Hurrian etymology.

58 Yakubovich 2015, p. 36. Attempts to connect ‘Awarikas’ with the Greek name Εἰαρχος (Lipiński 2004, pp. 120-121, based on Krahmalkov’s Phoenician-Punic dictionary) should probably be discarded if the connection with the Cypriot *wo-ro-i-ko* is to be accepted.

59 Cf. Egetmeyer 2010, vol. I, pp. 352-353 § 421, who thinks in terms of Greek presence in Anatolia ; Gander 2012, pp. 302-303, dissociates the ‘Ahhiyawa’ of the Hittite texts from ‘Hiyawa’ and suggests that the latter should be seen as the designation of the region known to us as Cilicia. More recent discussions in Yakubovich 2015, *passim* ; Simon 2018.

60 Egetmeyer appears less certain of this ‘Eteocypriot’ attribution (2010, vol. I, p. 135 § 131 ; p. 372 § 451), whereas Steele is more assertive (2018, p. 163).

61 Bork 1930, p. 17 ; *ICS*, p. 61 ; Masson 1957, *passim*. For the intricacies of Eteocypriot suffixes, cf. Steele 2013, pp. 133-138. Egetmeyer obviously prefers to characterize these texts as ‘non-Greek’, cf. Egetmeyer 2009, *passim*.

62 *IG XV* 1, 6 l. 3: *pu-ru-wa-no-ti* ; *IG XV* 1, 6 l. 5 ; *pu-ru-wa-no*, cf. Egetmeyer 2010, vol. I, p. 135 § 131.

63 Masson 1957, pp. 75-80.

64 Egetmeyer 2009, p. 83. The matter can be related to varieties of *o*, *ibid.* pp. 80-85.

65 See the discussion on the use of the common syllabary on Paphian coins, above, p. 117.

66 *IG XV* 1, 40.

67 Cf. *IG XV* 1, 47 ; 322.

68 The attestations are conveniently collected in Egetmeyer 2008, pp. 252-254.

69 Perdrizet 1898, p. 208, nos. 2 and 3.

70 Perdrizet 1898, p. 208, no. 2, now *IG XV* 1, 92 (1).

71 A possible seventh stroke (indicated in the drawing with a series of dots in the right-hand side of the sign) appears to have been created accidentally during the striking of the die ; this is the reason why the reading *a-* is transcribed in the corpus as doubtful. For the attestations of both signs among the inscriptions of Amathous, Kourion and Marion, see the tables under the section of the corpus *Synopsis litterarum syllabicarum*, pp. 211-212.

72 Some (few) composites in –παλος exist, cf. Bechtel 1917, p. 356.

73 Masson 1970, pp. 269-273.

74 The authors thank J. Á. Zamora López for confirming A. Karnava’s suspicions in 2019 and for providing her with transcription alternatives and bibliography, cf. *IG XV* 1, 92. The evidence that follows here is based on his expertise. It now seems that the suggestion was already put forward in Lipiński 2004, p. 74, even when the reading of the name was still thought to be *e-pi-pa-lo*.

75 Benz 1972, pp. 54-55, 57-58 ; Israel 2013, p. 219. One of the inscriptions is the famous ‘Abibaal inscription’ that dates between the 10th and the 8th centuries (*KAI* 5), where Abibaal is a king of Byblos. In J. Á. Zamora López’s estimate, “it is a name perfectly fit for a king” (pers. comm.).

76 Also known to Masson 1970, p. 271.

77 Kagan 1999.

78 Markou 2016, p. 335.

79 For a more complete account, see *IG XV* 1,1, pp. 61-62.

80 *IG XV* 1, 406-410.

81 An overview of the coinages of the kings of Marion and their circulation can be found in Destrooper-Georgiades 2001.

82 *IG XV* 1, 238.

83 Hill 1904, pp. 32-34 ; Babelon 1910, pp. 803-814.

84 Schwabacher 1946 ; Schwabacher 1949 ; Zournatzi 2017.

85 There is no parallel on Cypriot coins for the full ethnonym in the nominative case that appears on these Marion coins (epithets in –*eus*, reserved for professional and ethnic designations,

cf. Egetmeyer 2010, vol. I, pp. 266-267 § 294 ; more recently, see Karnava 2019, p. 29, for a new ethnonym in the genitive). Coin issues from Salamis dated to the first half of the 5th century attest to the abbreviated legend *se-la-mi-ni* (ICS 323). Also, Idalion coins of similar date attest to the similarly abbreviated legend *e-ta-li* (ICS 228 ; but cf. Masson 1996a, for the complicated discussion on how the word should be understood and filled in).

86 For more instances, cf. Steele 2013, p. 216.

87 Potential, but extremely uncertain, instances of Phoenician and Greek names within the same family in Steele 2013, pp. 218-225.

88 Masson 1970, pp. 269-273.

89 *IG XV 1*, 14, previously unpublished inscription.

90 *IG XV 1*, 213.

91 *IG XV 1*, 189.

92 *IG XV 1*, 201.

93 *IG XV 1*, 409.

94 *IG XV 1*, 410.

95 See the extended corpus section that hosts all the instances of pottery inscriptions from Marion (*IG XV 1*, 250-399). Cf. also Karnava forthcoming.

96 *IG XV 1*, 68-74.

97 *IG XV 1*, 146-153.

98 Pouilloux 1978, pp. 97-109.

99 Halczuk, Peverelli 2018.

100 Michaelidou-Nikolaou 2010.

101 Some are also to be found in private collections (Buchholz, Egetmeyer 2011).

102 *IG XV 1*, 275 (1) ; 312 (2) and (3).

103 *IG XV 1*, 275 (3) and (4) ; 288 (1) ; 291 (4) ; 307 (3), (4), (8) ; 378 (1), (2), vases dated between 430 and 400 BC.

104 *IG XV 1*, 281 (1) and (2), vases dated in 380 BC.

105 *IG XV 1*, 307 (11), vase dated between 325-310 BC.

106 Markou 2014, pp. 398-399.

List of illustrations

	Title	Figure 1 — Pellerin's (1763-1778, pl. CXXII, 1-3) first depiction of Cypriot coins with syllabic legends.
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	File	image/jpeg, 428k
	Title	Figure 2 — The coinage of king Stasioikos I of Marion (450-420 BC), among which four different dies (for the verso and the recto of coins) were detected (<i>IG XV 1</i> , 407a-d).
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	URL	http://journals.openedition.org/cchyp/docannexe/image/500/img-7.jpg
	File	image/jpeg, 159k



Title Figure 5 — A ligature of four different Cypriot syllabic signs (*IG XV 1, 280*), that reads *o-na-sa-ko*; each sign makes use of strokes of its neighbouring signs.

URL <http://journals.openedition.org/cchyp/docannexe/image/500/img-8.jpg>

File image/jpeg, 435k



Title Figure 6 — Coins of Stasioikos II (330-312 BC) of Marion, with a ligature of the initials of his name and title in a pseudo-*ankh* fashion (*IG XV 1, 410e-f-g-h*).

URL <http://journals.openedition.org/cchyp/docannexe/image/500/img-9.jpg>

File image/jpeg, 465k

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By this author

In memoriam Jean-Pierre Olivier [Full text]

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