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## THE ANCIENT RELIGION OF CYPRUS THROUGH THE EPIGRAPHICAL DOCUMENTS OF CYPRUS AND GREECE: A COMPARATIVE STUDY<sup>1</sup>

Much has been written and talked about the great cultural and political influence of Greece in Cyprus since Pre-historic times (Late Bronze Age or Late Cypriote) up to our modern times. The present study, approaching the subject through the epigraphical documents found in the island of Cyprus as well as in Greece, and dating from the Cypro-Archaic period down to the Roman times, provides further support for this concept.

Indeed, if we were to attempt a comparative study concerning the cult of Greek divinities in Greece and that of the same divinities in Cyprus, we would come up with the following remarks:

In Cyprus the one single lined syllabic inscription mentioning the cult of Aphrodite Muxoía at Golgoi, at the site of 'Ayios Photios', has its parallel in the island of Yiaros, with a two-lined inscription engraved on a marble plaque and found in the ancient city of the island.<sup>3</sup>

If we pass now from Aphrodite to Apollo, we find in Cyprus the Pythian Apollo at the site of

- 1. The present article is an abridged version of my study presented at the Université de Paris-Sorbonne (Paris IV) in October 1981, for my degree of 'Maîtrise en Archéologie et Histoire de l'Art'. The original study was written in french and was entitled: Le Culte des Divinités Grecques à Chypre, à travers la documentation Epigraphique durant les époques Archaïque, Classique, Hellénistique et Romaine.
  - 2. See p. 13, No. 35 of the above original study.
  - 3. IG (Editio Maior), Vol. XII, fasc. V, No. 651.

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

AJA : American Journal of Archaelogy.

BCH : Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.

Guarducci M. : Epigraphia Greca, Vol. I-III, Rome, 1967-1974.

IG: Inscriptiones Graecae (Editio Maior and Editio Minor), Consilio et auctoritate Academiae litterarum regiae Borussicae editae, Berolini, 1897-1967 and 1924-1967.

JHS : Journal of Hellenic Studies.

Michel Ch. : Recueil d'Inscriptions Grecques, Bruxelles, 1900.

OpArch: Opuscula Archaelogica.OpAth: Opuscula Atheniensia.RA: Revue archéologique.

RDAC : Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

SCE : Gjerstad E. and others, The Swedish Cyprus Expedition, Vol. I-IV, Stockholm, 1934-

1948

SEG : Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.

the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion, on an alphabetical four-lined Helleuisine inscription.  $\Pi \delta \theta i \sigma \varsigma$  is a 'cultual' epithet, entirely hellenic in origin, which we find on many inscription discovered throughout the Greek world: in Attica, and especially on the Acropolis of Athens, at Epidaurus, at Delphi, at Laconia and Messenia, at Boeotia, in Northern Greece and in the Cyclades.<sup>5</sup>

The 'cultual' epithet of Apollo Λύκιος, attested in Cyprus by one alphabetical three-lined inscription of the Hellenistic period, found at the site of 'Mersinaki', 6 is widely prevalent in Greece; it is, for example, attested by inscriptions found in the Theatre of Dionysos in Athens, 7 in Argos, 8 in Megara, 9 in Lesbos, 10 in Epidaurus. 11

Two other epithets of the same god, which are attested in Cyprus with their dialectical form, <sup>12</sup> are quite hellenic. It is first the case of the 'cultual' epithet 'Aγυιεύς, which we find in Roman Attic inscriptions, <sup>13</sup> as well as in one inscription from Troezen today in the National Museum of Athens, <sup>14</sup> and second the case of the 'epiclesis'  $\Delta a \varphi v a \varphi \delta \rho i o \zeta / \Delta a \varphi v a \varphi \delta \rho i o \zeta$ , which we also find in Attic inscriptions, <sup>15</sup> as well as in other inscriptions found in Boeotia <sup>16</sup> and in Eretria. <sup>17</sup>

The cult of Artemis bearing the 'epiclesis' 'Aγροτέρα, which is attested in Coprus by one and only diagraphe, syllabic inscription of the last quarter of the 4th c. B.C., found at Nea Paphos, at the locality 'Loukkoi', 18 is also a Greek importation; the inscriptions mentioning this cult of the goddess Artemis, come from all over Greece: from the Acropolis of Athens, 19 from the whole area of Attica, 20 from Boeotia 21 and finally from Acarnania. 22

Another 'epiclesis' for goddess Artemis is that of 'Ayopía, which is the Cypriot dialectical form of the Greek 'Ayopía or 'Ayopaía. The cult of Artemis 'Ayopía is attested in Cyprus by one alphabetical inscription dating from the Hellenistic period and found in the Sanctuary of Apollo at Voni, in the district of ancient Chytroi. The cult of Artemis 'Ayopáia or 'Ayopaía in Greece is

- 4. See p. 35, No. 44 of the original study, op. cit..
- 5. IG. (Ed. Maior) and IG (Editio Minor).
- 6. See p. 32, No. 34 of the original unpublished study.
- 7. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. III, No. 292.
- 8. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. IV, No. 559.
- 9. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. VII, No. 35.
- 10. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. XII, fasc. II, No. 526 b.
- 11. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. IV, No. 872.
- 12. In one hand we have the epithet 'Αγνιάτης, attested by one two-lined Hellenistic inscription found, probably, in the sanctuary of Apollo at Voni (?). On the other hand we have the epithet Δαυχναφόριος, attested in Cyprus by one syllabic inscription of the Hellenistic period, found near Lefkoniko village in the Famagusta district. See further the original study, p. 28, No. 25 and p. 29, No. 28.
  - 13. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. III, Part I, Nos. 159, 175 and 177.
  - 14. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. IV, No. 824.
  - 15. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. III, Nos. 298 and 720 a.
  - 16. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. VII, No. 3407.
  - 17. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. XII, fasc. IX, Nos. 202, 208 and 210.
  - 18. See p. 41, No. 4 of the original study.
  - 19. IG(Ed. Maior), Vol. I, Nos. 210 and 273.
  - 20. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. II, Part I, fasc. I, Nos. 468, 469, 470 etc.
  - 21. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. VII, No. 3564.
  - 22. IG (Ed. Minor), Vol. IX, fasc. II, No. 435; SEG Vol. I, fasc. II, No. 214.
  - 23. See p. 41, No. 3 of the original study.

attested by an inscription found in Thera, 24 as well as by another one found in the Temple of Apollo Malaeatas at Epidaurus. 25

The association of the cult of two other Greek divinities, that of the god Asclepios and that of the goddess Hygia, is also attested in Cyprus by two epigraphical documents: one Hellenistic, found in the Sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos, and one Roman, found at Dromolaxia village, in the district of Larnaca. <sup>26</sup> In Greece this association is attested throughout the peninsula and especially in Epidaurus with inscriptions found in the Temple of Asclepios. <sup>27</sup>

If we were now to turn our attention towards the goddess Athena, we find the cult of Athena  $Ni\kappa\eta\phi\delta\rho\sigma\varsigma$ , attested in Cyprus by only one alphabetical inscription, dating from the Hellenistic period and found in the Sanctuary of Zeus Keraunios at Kition. This 'cultual' epithet is the characteristic one for Athena the patron of Pergamos, where we also have the traditional ceremony called 'Nikiphoria'.

The names  $\Pi a \lambda \lambda \dot{a} \zeta$  and  $\Pi a \rho \theta \dot{e} v o \zeta$ , which are attested in Cyprus, each by a single epigraphical document, both of the Roman period, the first, referring to  $\Pi a \lambda \lambda \dot{a} \zeta$ , found at Nea Paphos, 30 the second, referring to  $\Pi a \rho \theta \dot{e} v o \zeta$ , found in Kouklia village, in the district of Famagusta, to the west of Salamis, 31 are above all, qualifying names of Athena protector of the Acropolis of Athens. 32 On the other hand, the association of two other epithets of Athena,  $\Sigma \dot{o} \tau \epsilon i \rho a$  and  $N i \kappa \eta$ , which we find attested in Cyprus by a single inscription dating from the last quarter of the 4th c. B.C., found in the temple of Poseidon Narnakios, at the village of Larnax tis Lapithou, to the northern part of the island, 33 is not attested in Greece; but we frequently find the mention of these two epithets separately. 34

Another Greek importation is the divine couple of Demetra and Kore, attested in Cyprus by one and only inscription, found at Kourion and dating from the Hellenistic period.<sup>35</sup> Evidence of the cult association of these two divinities is found all over Greece, on inscriptions found in Argos,<sup>36</sup> in Hermione,<sup>37</sup> at Epidaurus,<sup>38</sup> at Laconia, Messenia, Arcadia, Rhodes, Thera, etc.<sup>39</sup>

The cult of Hera 'Apyla, attested in Cyprus by only one inscription, of the Hellenistic period, found in the Central Court of the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion, 40 is purely a hellenic importation. 41

- 24. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. XII Suppl. of Vol. III, No. 452.
- 25. IG (Ed. Minor), Vol. IV (I), No. 405.
- 26. See p. 47. No. 1 (on the foot of the page) of the original study.
- 27. IG (Ed. Minor), Vol. IV (I).
- 28. See p. 44, No. 5 of the original study.
- 29. Cf. Guarducci, No. 517; Michel, Nos. 299, 550.
- 30. See p. 59, No. 3 of the original study.
- 31. See p. 58, No. 2 of the original study.
- 32. For Pallas: IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. I, Nos. 363, 364; SEG Vol. XIV, No. 12. For Parthenos: IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. I, Nos. 51, 374; SEG Vol. XII, No. 37.
  - 33. See p. 44, No. 6 of the original study.
  - 34. IG (Ed. Maior).
  - 35. See p. 45, No. 1 of the original study.
  - 36. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. IV, No. 664.
  - 37. Idem, No. 685.
  - 38. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. IV, No. 689.
  - 39. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. V and Vol. XII, fasc. I and III.
  - 40. See p. 46, No. 5 of the original study.
  - 41. Cf. Michel, No. 861; SEG, Vol. XIII, No. 240.

Another importation from Greece is the cult association of the god Hermes and the hero Herakles, protectors of the Gymnasium. The association of this cult is attested in Cyprus by two epigraphical documents of the Hellenistic period, found at Chytroi. In Greece this cult association is attested in Delos, in the ancient town of Astypalaea, in Thera, in Andros, in Paros and in Tenos.

Concerning now the 'cultual' epithet  $X\theta \delta vio \zeta$  of god Hermes, attested in Cyprus by various inscriptions, dating from the Roman period and found at Kourion,<sup>49</sup> it is also of Greek origin and it is mentioned on numerous Attic inscriptions, also of the Roman period,<sup>50</sup> as well as on other inscriptions found in the north of Greece.<sup>51</sup>

In Cyprus, the unique epigraphical evidence of the cult of the goddess Hestia, mentions the 'cultual' epithet *Bουλαία*, an entirely Greek epithet. Hestia *Bουλαία* is attested in Cyprus by an inscription of the Roman period, found in the village of Nikokleia, near Palaepaphos.<sup>52</sup> In Greece we find this 'cultual' epithet of Hestia in epigraphical documents dating generally from the Roman period and found in Thera,<sup>53</sup> in Andros<sup>54</sup> and in Thasos.<sup>55</sup>

The poetical name  $\Phi \epsilon \rho \sigma \epsilon \phi \delta v \eta$  of goddess Persephone, attested in Cyprus also by one and only epigraphical document, dating from the second century B.C. and found in Salamis, <sup>56</sup> comes also from Greece, where we find it mentioned on epigrams or inscriptions engraved on funerary stelae found in Piraeus, <sup>57</sup> in Athens, <sup>58</sup> in Argos <sup>59</sup> and in Syros. <sup>60</sup>

Concerning now the cult of the father of gods, Zeus, we have in Cyprus the importation of the cult of the Cretan god  $F \epsilon \lambda \chi \acute{a} v o \varsigma$ , attested in Cyprus under the dialectical form of the 'anthroponymion'  $F a \lambda \chi \acute{a} v o \varsigma$ , by a single epigraphical document, syllabic, found in the temple(?) of Apollo at Golgoi, at the site of 'Ayios Photios' and dating from the second half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. B.C. 61 Moreover, we have the importation of six other 'cultual' epithets of Zeus, which are:  $M \epsilon \iota \lambda \acute{t} \chi \iota o \varsigma$ , attested in Cyprus by one inscription, dating from the Hellenistic period and found in the village of Ayios Tychon, in the district of Amathus;  $\delta v \acute{t} v$ 

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42. See p. 47, Nos. 1, 2 of the original study.
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<sup>43.</sup> IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. XI, fasc. IV, No. 1284 (it is an ex-voto found near the Gymnasium of Delos).

<sup>44.</sup> IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. XII, fasc. III, No. 193.

<sup>45.</sup> Idem, No. 331.

<sup>46.</sup> IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. XII, fasc. V, No. 279.

<sup>47.</sup> Idem. No. 290.

<sup>48.</sup> Idem, No. 911.

<sup>49.</sup> See p. 60 of the original study.

<sup>50.</sup> IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. III, Nos 83 b, 91, 101, 105, 106, 107.

<sup>51.</sup> IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. IX.

<sup>52.</sup> Cf. p. 60 of the original study.

<sup>53.</sup> IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. XII, fasc. III, No. 1392.

<sup>54.</sup> IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. XII, fasc. V, Nos. 722, 732.

<sup>55.</sup> IG (Ed. Maior), Suppl., No. 404.

<sup>56.</sup> Cf. p. 48, No. 3 of the original study.

<sup>57.</sup> IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. II, Part III, No. 1774.

<sup>58.</sup> Idem, Nos. 2225 and 2718.

<sup>59.</sup> IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. IV, Part VII, No. 496.

<sup>60.</sup> IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. XII fasc. V, No. 677.

<sup>61.</sup> Cf. p. 50, No. 5 of the original study.

<sup>62.</sup> Cf. p. 50, No. 6 of the original study. In Greece: Piraeus: cf. BCH VII (1883), pp. 507-514; Athens: cf. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. I, No. 4 etc.

from the Archaic period and found in the temple(?) of Apollo at Golgoi, at the site of 'Ayios Photios',  $^{63}$   $\Pi o \lambda \iota e \acute{\nu} \varsigma$ , attested in Cyprus by three inscriptions, dating from the Hellenistic period and found at Palaepaphos;  $^{64}$   $\Sigma \omega \tau \acute{n} \rho$ , attested in Cyprus by one inscription, of Hellenistic period, found in the Sanctuary of Zeus Keraunios at Kition;  $^{65}$   $K \epsilon \rho a \acute{\nu} \iota \nu \iota \varsigma$ , attested in Cyprus by two Roman inscriptions, found at the Sanctuary of Zeus Keraunios at Kition;  $^{66}$  and finally,  $^{\prime} O \lambda \acute{\nu} \mu \pi \iota \iota \varsigma$ , attested in Cyprus by four epigraphical documents, dating all from the Roman period, and found, all four, at Salamis.  $^{67}$ 

Another Greek importation is the cult of the god of the underworld, Pluto, whose cult was only secondary. In Cyprus, the epigraphical documents mentioning this god are all dated in the Roman period and most of them found at Kourion, where the cult of this god is associated with that of the god Hermes  $X\theta \delta v_1 o \zeta$ , <sup>68</sup> and only one found, reputedly, at Soloi. <sup>69</sup> In Greece, we find the name of this god attested on funerary epigrams found almost all over Greece. <sup>70</sup>

The cult now of the god of war, Ares, is not attested in Cyprus by epigraphical documents. Neither in Greece is the cult of this god greatly attested through epigraphical documents. The same remarks could be put forward for the god Hephaistos, of whom I have not been able to find recorded traces,<sup>71</sup> even though both divinities are part of the generation of the Twelve Olympian Gods.

Finally, we have the cult of the gods *Oὐράνιοι*, attested in Cyprus by two inscriptions, dating both from the Roman period, one found at Khandria village, near Amathus, <sup>72</sup> and the other found in ancient Ledra(=Nicosia). <sup>73</sup> In Greece, the evidence of the cult of the gods *Οὐράνιοι* is provided by one and only document which is a restored inscription found at Syros. <sup>74</sup>

It is now time to turn towards the purely Cypriot 'hypostasis' of the island. Although the geographical position of the island encourages the permeability concerning the foreign influences — and especially those coming from the Greek world — Cyprus offers to the world an exceptional cultural originality. This originality is also visible through the ancient religion of the island. The epigraphical documentation concerning the cult of the Greek divinities in Cyprus shows very well the permanence of the Cypriot substratum. This is why we have evidence of the cult of numerous local divinities.

First we have the case of goddess Aphrodite bearing the following 'cutlual' epithets: Γολγία,

<sup>63.</sup> Cf. p. 51 of the original study. In Greece: Dodona: cf. IG (Ed. Minor), Vol. II/III, fasc. I, No. 4707.

<sup>64.</sup> Cf. p. 52, Nos. 10, 11 and 12 of the original study. In Greece, we find it almost everywhere: cf. IG (Ed. Maior and Ed. Minor).

<sup>65.</sup> Cf. p. 52, No. 13 of the original study. In Greece, we find it almost everywhere: cf. IG (Ed. Maior and Ed. Minor).

<sup>66.</sup> Cf. p. 61 of the original study. In Greece: Lesbos: cf. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. XIII, fasc. II, No. 126; Thasos: cf. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. XII, fasc. VIII, No. 362; Milos: cf. IG (Ed. Maior), Vol. XII, Suppl., No. 165.

<sup>67.</sup> Cf. p. 64 and p. 65 of the original study. In Greece, we find it almost everywhere: cf. IG (Ed. Maior) and IG (Ed. Minor).

<sup>68.</sup> See above (p. 60 ) and note 49.

<sup>69.</sup> Cf. p. 60 and p. 61 of the original study.

<sup>70.</sup> IG (Ed. Maior and Minor); SEG.

<sup>71.</sup> Idem. See also p. 79 of the original study.

<sup>72.</sup> Cf. Original study, p. 65, No. 1.

<sup>73.</sup> Op. cit. p. 65, No. 2.

<sup>74.</sup> SEG, Vol. I, No. 405 (B).

attested by one Archaic inscription found at Idalion, <sup>75</sup> three Ptolemaic ones found at Golgoi, <sup>76</sup> and another one of Ptolemaic period found at Achna village, in the district of Famagusta; <sup>77</sup>  $Kv\pi\rho ia$ , attested by one Hellenistic inscription found at the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Amathus, <sup>78</sup> and two Roman, one found at the same site as the Hellenistic inscription, <sup>79</sup> and the other at Nea Paphos; <sup>80</sup>  $Mv\kappa\eta\rho\delta\delta\iota\varsigma$ , attested by a Roman inscription found in the district of Golgoi; <sup>81</sup>  $^{7}A\kappa\rho aia/^{4}A\kappa\rho a$ , attested by two Roman inscriptions, one found at Nikokleia village, near Palaepaphos, <sup>82</sup> and the other at Rizokarpasso village, in the Karpassia district; <sup>83</sup> and above all  $\Pi a\phi ia$ , attested by ten Classical inscriptions of which eight are found at ancient Chytroi, <sup>84</sup> one at Golgoi<sup>85</sup> and one at Ledra, <sup>86</sup> and also by numerous Hellenistic inscriptions found at Palaepaphos and at Nea Paphos. <sup>87</sup>

Another Cypriot 'epiclesis' of goddess Aphrodite is that of Fávaσσa or "Avaσσa, attested at Palaepaphos by two Classical syllabic inscriptions, 88 and in the district of Paphos, as well as at Palaepaphos, by six Hellenistic inscriptions. 89 We have here a name showing a unique royal character for goddess Aphrodite. The link between the royalty and priesthood of Aphrodite is an entirely Cypriot characteristic; in Greece, we never find this royal character of Aphrodite.

The case now of god Apollo is even more vivid if we take, for example, the following local names of this god: 'Αλασιώτας, attested at Tamassos, at the locality 'Phrangissa', by one Classical syllabic inscription; ' $^{90}$  'Αμφιδέξιος, attested by one early Hellenistic syllabic inscription of unknown provenance;  $^{91}$  Κύπριος, attested at Soloi by one Hellenistic inscription;  $^{92}$  'Απείλων 'Ελείτας, attested at 'Phrangissa' by one Classical inscription;  $^{93}$  Μαγίριος, attested at Pyla, at the locality 'Stavros', by two Classical inscriptions and two Hellenistic ones;  $^{94}$  'Οπάων Μελάνθιος, attested at Amargetti village, in the district of Paphos, at the locality 'Petros Anthropos', by fifteen inscriptions, most of them dating from the Roman period and only four from the Hellenistic period;  $^{95}$  Μυρτάτης, attested by one Hellenistic inscription of unknown provenance;  $^{96}$  Κερυνήτης,

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75. Cf. Original study, p. 11, No. 29.
76. Op. cit., p. 12, Nos. 30, 31, 32.
77. Op. cit., p. 12, No. 33.
78. Op. cit., p. 13, No. 34.
79. Op. cit., p. 54, No. 3.
80. Op. cit., p. 54, No. 4.
81. Op. cit., p. 54, No. 5.
82. Op. cit., p. 53, No. 1.
83. Op. cit., p. 53, No. 2.
84. Op. cit., pp. 14-15.
85. Op. cit., p. 13, No. 36.
86. Op. cit., p. 14, No. 37.
87. Op. cit., pp. 16-22, Nos. 46-70.
88. Op. cit., p. 9, Nos. 21 and 22.
89. Op. cit., pp. 10-11, Nos. 23-28.
90. Op. cit., pp. 28-29, No. 26.
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<sup>91.</sup> Op. cit. p. 29 No. 27. According to Cesnola and Myres this inscription is attributed to Palaepaphos; according to Schmidt and Hoffmann it is attributed to Idalion; the latter gives also the attribution to Paphos.

<sup>92.</sup> Op. cit., pp. 30-31, No. 31.

<sup>93.</sup> Op. cit., p. 30, No. 29.

<sup>94.</sup> Op. cit. pp. 32-33, Nos. 35-38.

<sup>95.</sup> Op. cit., pp. 33-35, No. 97.

<sup>96.</sup> Op. cit., p. 35, No. 43.

attested at Nikokleia village, near Palaepaphos, by one Roman inscription;  $^{97}$   $Ka\bar{\imath}\sigma a\rho$ , attested at the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion by five Roman inscriptions;  $^{98}$  and above all, Apollo ' $Y\lambda\dot{\alpha}\tau\eta\varsigma$ , attested at Nea Paphos, by a syllabic double dedication dating from the Classical period,  $^{99}$  at Dhrymou village, in the district of Paphos, by three early Hellenistic inscriptions,  $^{100}$  at Chytroi, by two early Hellenistic inscriptions  $^{101}$  and finally, at the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion, by numerous Hellenistic and Roman inscriptions.  $^{102}$  We, probably, also have the local cult of Apollo(?)  $\Lambda\eta\nu a\bar{\imath}o\varsigma$ , attested by one Classical syllabic inscription at the Sanctuary of Apollo Hylates at Kourion,  $^{103}$  which is a unique case, if the attribution to this god is correct, because  $\Lambda\eta\nu a\bar{\imath}o\varsigma$  is, above all, the 'cultual' epithet of Dionysos.

Three other local divinities are Artemis  $\Pi apa\lambda ia$ , the cult of which is attested at Kition by four Roman inscriptions, <sup>104</sup> Athena  $K \epsilon \rho a v v ia$ , attested also at Kition by one Roman inscription <sup>105</sup> and Poseidon  $N a \rho v ia \kappa io \varsigma$ , attested at Larnax tis Lapithou by one Hellenistic inscription. <sup>106</sup> Besides,  $\Phi \epsilon \rho \sigma \epsilon \rho i \tau a$  seems to be a local name for goddess Persephone, attested at ancient Marion by one Cypro-Archaic inscription. <sup>107</sup>

Finally, we have three local Zeus: Zeus Εἰλαπιναστής, attested at Voni in association with the cult of Apollo, by one Hellenistic inscription, <sup>108</sup> Zeus 'Oρομπάτας, attested at the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Amathus by one Ptolemaic inscription, in association with the cult of Aphrodite Κυπρία, <sup>109</sup> and Zeus Λαβράνιος, attested at Phassoula village, in the Limassol district, by ten Roman inscriptions, <sup>110</sup> and at Khandria village, near Amathus, by one Roman inscription. <sup>111</sup> The cult of the latter at the village of Phassoula, is an exeptional case because it is attested at a time when the new religion of Christianity is already spread throughout the island.

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97. Op. cit., p. 55, No. 1.

98. Op. cit., pp. 55-57, Nos. 2-6.

99. Op. cit., p. 36, No. 45.

100. Op. cit., p. 36, Nos. 46, 47 and p. 37, No. 48.

101. Op. cit., p. 37, Nos. 49, 50.

102. Op. cit., pp. 37-39, and p. 71.

103. Op. cit., pp. 31-32, No. 33.

104. Op. cit., pp. 57-58, Nos. 1-4.

105. Op. cit., p. 58, No. 1.

106. Op. cit., p. 48.

107. Idem.

108. Op. cit., pp. 49-50, No. 4.
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109. Op. cit., pp. 51-52, No. 9. 110. Op. cit., pp. 61-64, Nos. 1-10. 111. Op. cit., p. 64, No. 11.

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