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# The Greek Alphabetic Inscriptions of Paphos: Linguistic Remarks on the Paphian koine and Onomasticon during the Hellenistic and Roman Periods (Late 4th century BC – 4th century AD)



Master's Thesis

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The present master's thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the master's degree *Máster Universitario en Textos de la Antigüedad Clásica y su Pervivencia* at the Department of Classics and Indo-European of the University of Salamanca, as well as for the European Master in Classical Cultures (EMCC), the degree of which will be awarded by the Department of Classics and Philosophy of the University of Cyprus.

*In Memory of the very first and distinguished Cypriot epigraphist, Ino MICHAELIDOU-  
NICOLAOU...*

*for the prosperous legacy she bequeathed to us.*

&

*To my beloved niece and nephew/godson of Paphian origin, Maria & Giorgos ...*

*who have overwhelmed our lives with an unprecedented joy.*

§11. “[...] ἐβάλθηκα νὰ κάμω μίαν συλλογὴν ἢ μάζωμα  
τῶν σοφῶν καὶ ἐναρέτων ἀνθρώπων, ὅπου αὐτὸ  
τὸ φιλόχρι-  
στον νησι ἔβγαλεν, τόσον παλαιούς ὅσον καὶ νέους,  
τόσον ἐ-  
θνικούς ὅσον καὶ χριστιανούς, διὰ νὰ εἶναι εἰς μνημόσυνον  
καὶ δόξαν τῶν ἀπερασμένων καὶ παράδειγμα εἰς ἀρετὴν  
τῶν  
μελλόντων”.

*Περὶ ἡρώων, στρατηγῶν, φιλοσόφων, ἀγίων καὶ ἄλλων  
ὀνομαστῶν ἀνθρώπων, ὅπου ἐβγήκασιν ἀπὸ τὸ νησι τῆς  
Κύπρου*

Νεόφυτος Ροδινός<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Neophytos Rodinos was a distinguished Cypriot erudite who, i.a., studied theology and taught Greek at the University of Salamanca in the 17<sup>th</sup> c. AD. He wrote numerous works in the simple vernacular language of the period, essentially enriched with Cypriot dialectal features: see PAVLIDES 1988.

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## Preface/Acknowledgements

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I am also thankful to Prof. Panayotou for suggesting this very interesting subject to me on the valuable linguistic history of Paphos. I have had professional ties with the area, as since I was a freshman student, I participated for years (2015-2020) in the annual excavations at Palaepaphos, conducted by the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Cyprus, under the direction of Prof. M. Iacovou. Moreover, I am united by personal ties with Paphos since my beloved niece and nephew/godson—to whom this work is dedicated—have origins from there. I would also like to thank my fellow friends for their constant support and help, especially Elpida Christodoulou for sharing ideas and warm encouragement. The completion of my studies would have been difficult had it not been for the generous postgraduate scholarships from the Sylvia Ioannou Foundation, the A. G. Leventis Foundation, and the Cyprus State Scholarship Foundation, to which I express my sincere thanks.

Finally, I feel the need to honour the memory of the distinguished Cypriot scholar Ino Michaelidou-Nicolaou, who truly dedicated her life to the Cypriot epigraphy and archaeology. She will undoubtedly be missed for her scholarly contribution to the restoration of her motherland's ancient history, the profound honour she showed to the benefit of the research and the meticulously documented work she bequeathed to us. Her exceptional work has been a standard reference for all researchers of Cypriot epigraphy, and her principally well-known doctoral dissertation *Prosopography of Ptolemaic Cyprus (PPC)*, was an essential tool for the present work, as well.<sup>2</sup>

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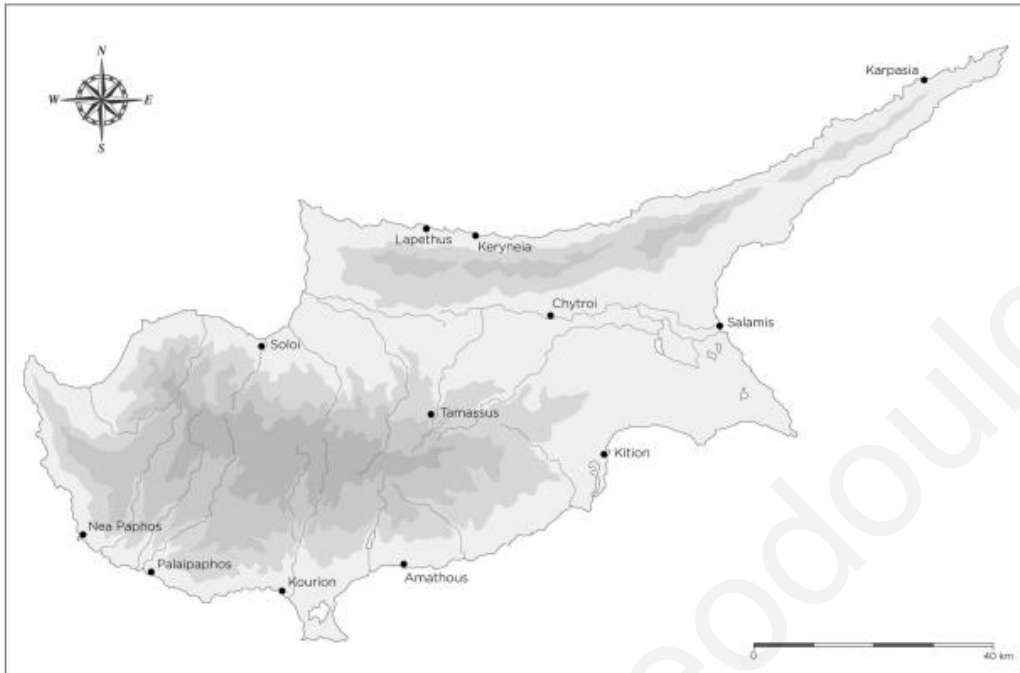
<sup>2</sup> Ino MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU passed away on 31 January 2018. For a detailed account on her biography and work: see PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2019.

**Chronological Table: From the Late Bronze Age to the Roman period.**

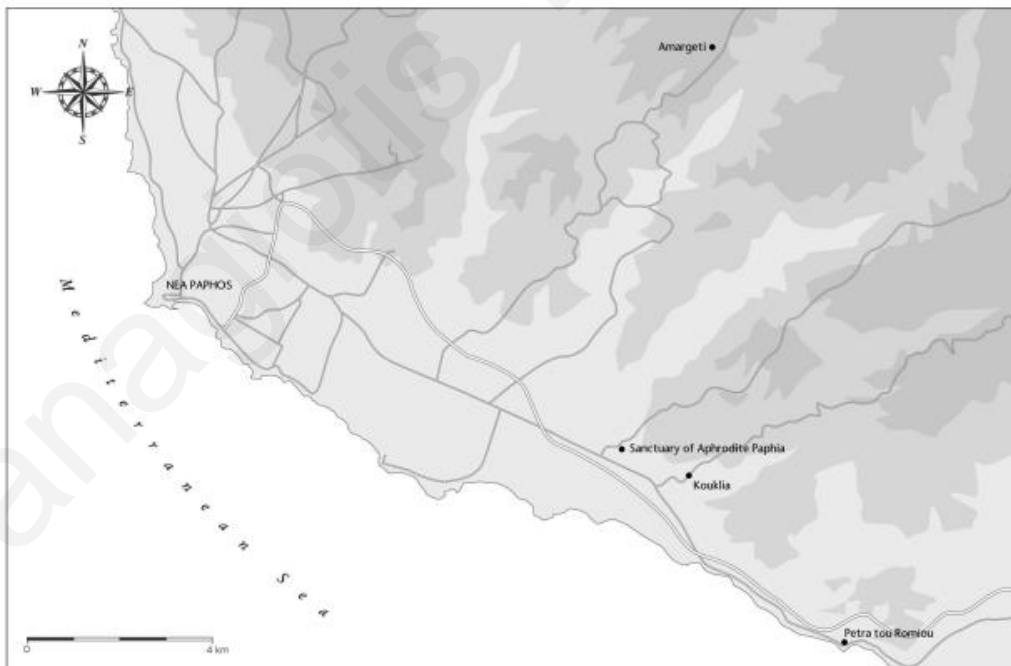
Cultural Period	Period Sub-divisions	Date Range
Late Bronze Age	Late Cypriot I–IIIA	ca. 1700–1125/1100 BC
Early Iron Age	Late Cypriot IIIB	ca. 1125/1100–1050 BC
	Cypro-Geometric I	ca. 1050–950 BC
	Cypro-Geometric II	ca. 950–900 BC
	Cypro-Geometric III	ca. 900–750 BC
The Cypriot “City-Kingdoms”	Cypro-Archaic I	ca. 750–600 BC
	Cypro-Archaic II	ca. 600–480 BC
	Cypro-Classical I	ca. 480–400 BC
	Cypro-Classical II	ca. 400–310 BC
Hellenistic	Hellenistic I	ca. 310–217 BC
	Hellenistic II	ca. 217–30 BC
Roman	Roman I–III	ca. 30 BC–330 AD
Late Roman/Early Byzantine	Roman III	ca. 330–650 AD

(After Papantoniou 2012).

## Map of Cyprus and Area plan of Paphos



Map of Cyprus with the sites of Palaepaphos and Nea Paphos in the southwest.  
(After HUSSEIN 2021, Map 3).



Area plan of Paphos  
(After HUSSEIN 2021, Map 4).

# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. Methodology & Aims

In the introduction, an effort is made to present to the reader the basic methodological approaches and principles on which this study is based. The first pursuit is a historic overview which is fundamental for understanding the transition from Classical to Hellenistic times at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, when a crucial historic episode took place on the island: the independent polities<sup>3</sup> of the Iron Age were replaced by an island-wide colonial administration.<sup>4</sup> Consequently, Cyprus became a unified territory, probably for the first time since the second millennium BC,<sup>5</sup> but be that as it may, it was not an independent state, but a province of the Ptolemaic kingdom of Egypt.<sup>6</sup> The original political structure of the island was transformed once and for all and this change had major and permanent consequences, which can be best understood “only within the context of the *longue durée*”.<sup>7</sup>

The unification of the island by the Ptolemaic administration was not accomplished immediately, but gradually.<sup>8</sup> This can be inferred from the historical sources, and especially from the epigraphic evidence. As Iacovou aptly stresses, “the complex history of Cyprus in antiquity [...] would have remained an untangled knot, had it not been for the primary evidence supplied by inscriptions in syllabic and alphabetic scribal systems”.<sup>9</sup> For this reason, I decided to focus on Paphos, a Cypriot city which has provided us with a considerable number of inscriptions, syllabic during the better part of the first millennium BC, and alphabetic from the Hellenistic period onwards. The inscriptions have much contributed to the reconstruction of the history of Paphos<sup>10</sup> and its epigraphical richness makes it a perfect candidate for a case-study, especially for linguistic studies, such as the present work.

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<sup>3</sup> The Iron Age Cypriot cities are known in the literature as “city-kingdoms” since the surviving Cypriot inscriptions refer to the highest official of each city as *basileus* (king). Although the conventional term “city-kingdoms” has a long tradition in literature, we should keep in mind that the Cypriot city-states did not differ much from the other contemporary ancient Greek city-states with respect to the complex state organisation: see IACOVOU 2014a, 98. In the present work, the terms *poleis*, polities, and city-states are indifferently used instead of “city-kingdoms”. For the proposal to avoid this term or use it within inverted commas: see IACOVOU 2013a, 13, 36.

<sup>4</sup> IACOVOU 2007, 465.

<sup>5</sup> IACOVOU 2006b, 315; 2007, 464.

<sup>6</sup> See MEHL 2000, 620; IACOVOU 2006b, 315.

<sup>7</sup> PAPANTONIOU 2012, 11.

<sup>8</sup> See BAGNALL 1976; PAPANTONIOU 2012, 11.

<sup>9</sup> IACOVOU 2013b, 275.

<sup>10</sup> MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1976a, 15-16; IACOVOU 2013b, 276.



Acknowledging the fundamental role of interdisciplinarity for the study of ancient history, this contribution attempts to make use of the available surviving evidence as much as possible. “In addition to the problems of archaeological visibility of pre-Roman levels in the Cypriot urban centres”,<sup>11</sup> this approach is largely the only way to analyse the transition from the Classical to the Hellenistic period.<sup>12</sup> During this pivotal period, the official script and dialect of each Cypriot *polis* were replaced by the Ionian alphabet and the Attic-Ionic koine.<sup>13</sup> I have decided to study the koine as used particularly at the city of Paphos and in its social context, by bringing together linguistic, epigraphical, historical, archaeological, and even numismatic sources.

The epigraphic material from Paphos will be subject to a thorough linguistic analysis, with a view to describing the evolution of the local variant of the koine in southwestern Cyprus during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, by analysing all errors and deviant spellings of special significance for phonology. The description of the local koine in its different components (i.e. phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon) will lead to further conclusions on the use of the Greek koine in the specific area and on its interference with other language varieties (e.g. the spoken language) and other languages (e.g. Latin). Although the local dialect eventually disappeared from the epigraphic record, it must have continued to be used in oral speech.<sup>14</sup> A second aim of this work is the study of the Greek personal names of Paphos of the same period. The primary analysis of their morphology and the semantics of their compounds may add to the history of the language of the city and its social history.<sup>15</sup> The PNs often “display systemic and persistent phonological and morphological (more rarely syntactic) characteristics of the local dialect.”<sup>16</sup> By comparing the PNs attested in the inscriptions of the Hellenistic-Roman periods with those of the earlier inscriptions, we may trace linguistic or customary (e.g. naming) continuities and/or discontinuities.

Ancient historians and archaeologists usually put the accent on ruptures, rather than on continuities in explaining changes.<sup>17</sup> The emphasis on conventional boundaries between historical periods is unrealistic,<sup>18</sup> as it obscures the “definition of ‘cycles of social

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<sup>11</sup> PAPANTONIOU 2012, 5; SATRAKI 2012, 38.

<sup>12</sup> PAPANTONIOU 2012, 4.

<sup>13</sup> IACOVOU 2004, 279-280; 2007, 465; PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2014, 401.

<sup>14</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2014, 403-404.

<sup>15</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2009, 1.

<sup>16</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2012, 607.

<sup>17</sup> PURCELL 2005, 267.

<sup>18</sup> SATRAKI 2012, 387; STEELE 2019, 45.

complexity' in the *longue durée* of the island's landscape",<sup>19</sup> especially when the "stability of certain socio-cultural phenomena across periods of transition [is] just as important as the changes".<sup>20</sup> The continuity of the syllabic scribal tradition is one of the "fundamental cultural continua that bridge the divide between the island's" ancient eras.<sup>21</sup> Studying separately the epigraphic record of earlier periods and that of the period under investigation (i. e. studying separately the texts in syllabic and alphabetic writing), has been one of the methodological flaws hampering severely the study of the island's history as a whole. In the case of Paphos, syllabic writing survived to some extent until the 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.<sup>22</sup> In this regard, my work attempts to assess the long-term significance of writing in ancient Cyprus, especially in Paphos, from the Late Bronze Age (LBA) through the Roman period.<sup>23</sup> This perspective is intended to dismiss the unqualified idea of a cultural break between Archaic-Classical and Hellenistic-Roman Cyprus. The archaeological evidence from Cyprus (e.g. burials) suggests that the Classical and early Hellenistic periods constitute one single cultural period. Furthermore, the continuity of religious and artistic practices is considerable.<sup>24</sup> Likewise, "the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods, if they are not seen in isolation, appear as part of one and the same *conjuncture*".<sup>25</sup> In this respect, it is not only the observable ruptures that are important but also the gradual socio-cultural developments.<sup>26</sup>

The assumption prevalent in earlier scholarship that political change and socio-cultural change go hand-in-hand is an oversimplification. These preconceptions undoubtedly fail to account properly for the mechanisms which induced cultural change. Considering that we have reasonably good evidence for individuals (e.g. linguistic evidence provided by the personal names), the local Cypriots themselves, we are able to elucidate largely the socio-cultural development of the island. All in all, to distract linearity, 'the *patterns* of human behaviour' are to be fundamentally preferred to 'the facts of the [historical] events'.<sup>27</sup> The linguistic study can shed light on microhistory, without overlooking that, vice versa, the historical context is important for the interpretation of the evidence.

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<sup>19</sup> IACOVOU 2013, 17-18.

<sup>20</sup> STEELE 2019, 46.

<sup>21</sup> IACOVOU 2008b, 626.

<sup>22</sup> MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1993, 346-347.

<sup>23</sup> For the use of language and writing as tools for the macrohistoric understanding of Cypriot cultural continuities and complexities: see e.g. COLLOMBIER 1993, 142-143; 2003, 140-142.

<sup>24</sup> See e.g. PAPANTONIOU 2012.

<sup>25</sup> ALCOCK 1993, 218; PAPANTONIOU 2012, 371.

<sup>26</sup> PURCELL 2005, 267; STEELE 2019, 45.

<sup>27</sup> PAPANTONIOU 2012, 2, 4.

## 1.2. Sources

The elaboration of this work would have been impossible, had it not been for the two *corpora* that collect all the alphabetic inscriptions of Hellenistic and Roman Paphos. The first *corpus* is an unpublished PhD thesis defended in 2008 at the University of Cyprus,<sup>28</sup> which contains the inscriptions of the whole of Roman Cyprus published by that time. The second one,<sup>29</sup> published in 2018, includes all the inscriptions found exclusively in the area of Paphos, from the Hellenistic through the Late Roman period.<sup>30</sup> As the latter author himself states in his conclusions, although the corpus exhibits a documentary coherence, a complete outline of the city's history remains elusive.<sup>31</sup> Drawing upon the more accessible documentation provided by the *corpora*, my work intends to partially cover this gap in research.

## 1.3. A Brief Survey of Modern Research on the Epigraphy of Paphos

The two *corpora* of Cypriot alphabetic inscriptions are largely based on the work of earlier scholars who had previously published most of the texts. The epigraphic material from most of the cities of the island had already been collected one way or the other, but even so, this was not the case for Paphos. Since the syllabic inscriptions (especially those from Paphos)<sup>32</sup> had already been edited by Olivier Masson (1922-1997) in his well-known *Les Inscriptions Chypriotes Syllabiques (ICS)*<sup>33</sup> and supplemented by Egetmeyer's collection (2010), a corpus of the Greek alphabetic inscriptions remained a desideratum. The project of compiling a corpus of Cypriot inscriptions can be traced back to the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>34</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> See KRINGOS 2008. This doctoral thesis remains unpublished, but is accessible on the internet (see bibliography).

<sup>29</sup> See CAYLA 2018.

<sup>30</sup> Unlike Kringos' work's time limit, which is the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD (KRINGOS 2008, 13). There is no agreement in the scholarship on the periodisation and the transition from the Antiquity to the Middle Ages. The boundaries are traditionally placed in 330, when Constantinople was officially founded. However, the transition is generally completed between 4<sup>th</sup>–7<sup>th</sup> c. AD., a period that is described indifferently as Late Roman/ Late Antiquity/Early Byzantine.

<sup>31</sup> CAYLA 2018, 409-411.

<sup>32</sup> Mainly the syllabic inscriptions of Rantidi-Paphos (MASSON & MITFORD 1983) and Kouklia-Paphos (MASSON & MITFORD 1986).

<sup>33</sup> MASSON 1961/1983<sup>2</sup>. A second augmented edition was published in 1983.

<sup>34</sup> A new endeavour of a corpus of all the Greek alphabetic inscriptions of Cyprus, under the direction of K. Hallof, has recently come about in the 15th volume of *Inscriptiones Graecae (IG XV.2)* of the Berlin Academy of Sciences. The first fascicle of this second series published in 2020 contains the inscriptions from the Eastern part of Cyprus: the ancient cities of Kition, Golgoi, Tremithus, Idalion, Tamassos, and Ledra, along with the inscribed pottery found in the Nymphaeum of Kafizin. The syllabic inscriptions are collected into the first series of Volume XV of the *Inscriptiones Graecae (IG XV.1)*. The first fascicle of *Inscriptiones Graecae XV.1*, which was also published in 2020, gathers all known inscriptions from three Cypriot Iron-Age "kingdoms": Marion in the far northwest and Kourion and Amathous on the southern coast. Included

The earliest organised archaeological expedition to Paphos, the so-called «Cyprus Exploration Fund», headed by E.A. Gardner, unearthed numerous alphabetic inscriptions, which were published as early as 1888.<sup>35</sup> Later on, the English pioneering epigraphist, Terence Bruce Mitford (1905-1978) published a first batch of inscriptions in 1937,<sup>36</sup> but it was not until the excavations that he conducted in the 1950s that he pursued a more systematic study of the epigraphical material. In 1961, he published or republished the Hellenistic inscriptions of Palaepaphos in a long article with an extensive commentary.<sup>37</sup> Besides Mitford, Ino Michaelidou-Nicolaou had been publishing the new alphabetic inscriptions in the annual *Report of the Department of the Antiquities of Cyprus (RDAC)* since 1963, under the heading “Inscriptiones Cypriae Alphabeticæ (ICA)”.<sup>38</sup> Meanwhile, two studies of Mitford on Roman Cyprus published in 1980 and 1990, contained some unpublished inscriptions from Paphos.<sup>39</sup> This has been one of the first contributions on the epigraphy of Roman Cyprus, which obviously had to be completed, as new discoveries have been made in the last forty years. Therefore, as might be expected, new field work, that is a revision of the inscriptions was indispensable.<sup>40</sup> The work of Kringos was the first comprehensive corpus of inscriptions from Roman Cyprus, which evidently covered a considerable research gap.<sup>41</sup> In that respect, and particularly with regard to Paphos, O. Masson had earlier planned a corpus of the Greek and Latin inscriptions of Paphos, a project that was assigned to Cayla in 1993, as a PhD thesis, under the supervision of S. Follet and L. Dubois.<sup>42</sup> His thesis *Les inscriptions de Paphos : corpus des inscriptions alphabétiques de Palaipaphos, de Néa Paphos et de la chôra paphienne* was defended in 2003. In 2018, a revised version of the dissertation was published as a book.<sup>43</sup>

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are also inscriptions from the Apollon-sanctuary at Drymou, belonging to the realm of either Paphos or Marion, and from Vassa Koilaniou, probably under the rule of Kourion.

<sup>35</sup> GARDNER *et al.* 1888.

<sup>36</sup> MITFORD 1937.

<sup>37</sup> MITFORD 1961.

<sup>38</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2019, 1084.

<sup>39</sup> MITFORD 1980a; 1990.

<sup>40</sup> CAYLA 2018, 24-25.

<sup>41</sup> KRINGOS 2008: see Abstract and Introduction.

<sup>42</sup> CAYLA 2018, 24.

<sup>43</sup> CAYLA 2018, 19: see “Avant-propos”.

## 2. Historical Context

### 2.1. History of Paphos

This chapter presents a historical survey of the city of Paphos. The site of Old Paphos (Palaia Paphos or Palaepaphos)<sup>44</sup> is located on the southwest coast of Cyprus, near the mouth of the Dhiazos River, in the area of modern Kouklia.<sup>45</sup> It was initially founded in the early Late Bronze Age (ca. 1650 BC) as a regional gateway centre,<sup>46</sup> and gradually developed into a flourishing Late Cypriot city.<sup>47</sup> During the late second millennium BC (13<sup>th</sup>/12<sup>th</sup> c. BC), it seems that Paphos was hardly affected by the general Mediterranean economic crisis,<sup>48</sup> since the richest burials of the site and possibly of the whole island are dated to the 12<sup>th</sup> c.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, it was during this period (end of the 13<sup>th</sup> c. BC) that the monumental sanctuary of the Paphian goddess was established.<sup>50</sup> The site remained uninterruptedly inhabited during the transition from the Late Bronze (ca. 1650-1050 BC) to the Early Iron Age (1050-850 BC).<sup>51</sup>

During the Iron Age, especially during the Archaic and Classical periods (8<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> centuries BC), Paphos thrived and became one of the most prominent and affluent Cypriot *poleis*. Its importance is reflected both in the rich archaeological findings (burial offerings, monumental buildings, etc.)<sup>52</sup> and in the abundant Greek inscriptions, as well as in the coinage. This archaeological and epigraphical material allows us to extensively recover the structure (administrative, religious, economic, etc.) of the *polis*,<sup>53</sup> which at least from the 7<sup>th</sup> c. was governed by an eponymous ruler bearing the title *basileus*.<sup>54</sup> The kings of Paphos were the first to have engraved royal inscriptions.<sup>55</sup> All in all, the inscriptions of

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<sup>44</sup> Paphos began to be referred to as Palaia, Paleopaphos or Palaepaphos from the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, when Nicocles, the last king of Paphos, shifted his administrative capital to Nea Paphos, some 15 km to the west, cf. MITFORD 1960, 198; *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, 93-94; MLYNARCZYK 1990, 23; IACOVOU 2006b, 319. The distinction between Nea Paphos and Old Paphos (i.e. Palaepaphos) is attested in the literary sources by the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, cf. MITFORD 1980a, 1309, fn. 83; MLYNARCZYK 1990, 23.

<sup>45</sup> SATRAKI 2012, 133.

<sup>46</sup> That means that it linked a chain of settlements that extended from the metalliferous zones of the Troodos foothills to the coast and by extension to long-distance trade: see IACOVOU 2012; 2014b, 163.

<sup>47</sup> SATRAKI 2012, 153; IACOVOU 2012, 60-61; 2013b, 285.

<sup>48</sup> WARD & JOUKOWSKY 1992; SATRAKI 2012, 383; GEORGIU 2015, 133, 135, 138; STEELE 2019, 50.

<sup>49</sup> SATRAKI 2012, 164-166. On the burials of the period in Palaepaphos: see KARAGEORGHIS & RAPTOU 2014; 2016.

<sup>50</sup> IACOVOU 2013b, 285; 2019, 217.

<sup>51</sup> Paphos, Kition and Idalion are the only Cypriot sites that were not abandoned during the transition from the LBA to the Iron Age: see e.g. SATRAKI 2012, 165, 181, 208.

<sup>52</sup> See KARAGEORGHIS 1983; E. & O. MASSON 1983, 412; RAPTOU 2002, 118-120; SATRAKI 2012, 197, 218-237.

<sup>53</sup> IACOVOU 2006a, 47; 2006b, 319; 2013b, 275-276; SATRAKI 2012, 218, 222.

<sup>54</sup> E.g. *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 176. The term *basileus* referred to the highest official of each Cypriot polity.

<sup>55</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2010, 38-39; 2014, 401; SATRAKI 2012, 218; IACOVOU 2013c, 140.

Paphos are by far the largest body of inscriptions (including royal) from a single Cypriot *polis*.<sup>56</sup> Apart from the inscriptions and monumental architecture,<sup>57</sup> external epigraphic evidence also attests to the existence of a central administrative authority.<sup>58</sup> The first written reference to the state of Paphos is provided by the prism of the Assyrian king Essarhaddon, which is dated to 673/2 BC. Paphos —or *Pappa*, as mentioned in the list of the prism— is one of the ten cities of *Iatnana* (Cyprus) during the 7<sup>th</sup> c. BC. The *basileus* of each city is also mentioned; Paphos was ruled by *sharru Ituandar* (King Eteandros).<sup>59</sup>

The Cypriot city-states are associated with the memory of the settlement of Greek-speaking populations on the island. This is reflected in the foundation myths which assign the origin of the Cypriot cities to the Homeric heroes in the aftermath of the Trojan war.<sup>60</sup> These myths (*Nostoi/Returns*) feature in numerous ancient literary sources,<sup>61</sup> and as for the city of Paphos, the foundation myth tells of Agapenor, King of Tegea and commander of the Arcadian troops at Troy, who on his way back to his homeland after the fall of Troy, settled on the west coast of Cyprus and founded Paphos<sup>62</sup> and the sanctuary of Aphrodite.<sup>63</sup> This myth alongside the myth of Teucer, Ajax's brother, who reportedly founded Salamis, are the two main myths that can be perceived as a reflection of the historical reality of the settlement of Greek-speaking populations in Cyprus. In fact, neither of these two myths concerns the establishment of an 'original' city, but they rather justify the takeover by Greek rulers of pre-existing sites; for example, in Paphos, Agapenor supposedly replaced the native ruler Kinyras.<sup>64</sup>

As informative as ancient sources are as regards the legendary founders of Paphos, the Paphian goddess and her sanctuary, they remain, by contrast, silent with regard to the political history of Paphos.<sup>65</sup> A wider range of evidence, mostly literary, but also epigraphic and numismatic, is available on the political context of the transition from the Classical to the Hellenistic Period in Cyprus. During Alexander the Great's campaign against the Persians, the Iron Age Cypriot *poleis* were part of the Achaemenid Empire. Even if they must have been paying tribute to the Persian monarch and obligatorily providing maritime

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<sup>56</sup> PANAYOTOU 2008b, 111; SATRAKI 2012, 219.

<sup>57</sup> SATRAKI 2012, 221.

<sup>58</sup> IACOVOU 2006a, 47; 2006b, 316; PAPANTONIOU 2012, 7.

<sup>59</sup> CAMPBELL THOMPSON 1931, 7-28; YON 2004, no. 39.

<sup>60</sup> PANAYOTOU -TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2006, 68; SATRAKI 2012, 193; CHRISTODOULOU 2014.

<sup>61</sup> E.g. a detailed account is given in Lycoph. *Alex.* 447-591.

<sup>62</sup> SATRAKI 2012, 193; CHRISTODOULOU 2014.

<sup>63</sup> Pausanias (8.5.2) ascribes the foundation of the sanctuary to the Arcadian Agapenor, cf. Tacitus (*Hist.* 2.3.1) who mentions that according to different traditions, the Paphian sanctuary had been founded by Aerias or Kinyras.

<sup>64</sup> IACOVOU 2008a, 270-271; SATRAKI 2012, 193.

<sup>65</sup> MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1976a, 15-16; IACOVOU 2013b, 276.

military assistance to the Persian kings (e.g. Hdt. 6.6, 7.90), they managed to preserve their political status and autonomy.<sup>66</sup> Arrian (*Anab.* 2.20.3) informs us that during the naval battle of Tyre (332 BC), the Cypriot kings joined Alexander the Great leading a fleet of 120 warships. The primary sources, especially the coins which appear to be common for all the cities with the legend *Ἀλεξάνδρου βασιλέως*, might indicate that they were incorporated into Alexander's kingdom. No specific reference is made by ancient historians to the city of Paphos and its kings, but its incorporation into Alexander's kingdom might be deduced from the fact that, from the 332 BC, the local royal coinage is replaced by coins of Alexander from a local mint.<sup>67</sup>

After Alexander's death in 323 BC, Cyprus became involved in a power conflict among his *diadochoi*. In the year 321 BC, the Paphian king Nicocles and the remaining Cypriot kings (Nicochreon of Salamis, Pasicles of Soli, and Androcles of Amathous), took part in the hostilities between the successors of Alexander and formed an alliance with Ptolemy I Soter (Arrian, *Affairs after Alexander* 8.1, *FGrH* 156 F 10.6).<sup>68</sup> Ptolemy I prevailed in Cyprus, and took control of all the Cypriot *poleis* at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> century BC.<sup>69</sup> Diodorus Siculus (*Library of History* 20.21) tells how in 310/9 BC, one year after the death of king Nicochreon of Salamis, Nicocles, the last *basileus* of Cyprus, was forced by Ptolemy I to commit suicide because he had then formed an alliance with Antigonus.<sup>70</sup> Nicocles' entire family died, so that the royal house of Paphos was completely exterminated.<sup>71</sup> In 306 BC, Demetrius I Poliorcetes, son of Antigonus, conquered the island until 295/4 BC, when Cyprus came again under Ptolemaic rule.

Neither Diodorus, nor any other ancient historian refers to the achievements of the gifted political personality of Nicocles,<sup>72</sup> who is mentioned in a significant number of eight inscriptions, syllabic, alphabetic and digraphic.<sup>73</sup> Five of them commemorate his offerings to the sanctuary of Aphrodite in Palaepaphos, and the sanctuaries of Hera in Ayia Moni and in Nea Paphos.<sup>74</sup> Likewise, a number of inscriptions attest to the intensive building

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<sup>66</sup> STYLIANOU 1989, 416; 2000, 515-516; RAPTOU 1999, 238; MEHL 2004, 14; CHRISTODOULOU 2006, 12; ZOURNATZI 2005, 58-60; IACOVU 2007, 464.

<sup>67</sup> DESTROOPER-GEORGIADIS 2007, 269, 271.

<sup>68</sup> See also STYLIANOU 1989, 113; COLLOMBIER 1993, 127-138; SATRAKI 2012, 235, 256.

<sup>69</sup> COLLOMBIER 1993, 132-138.

<sup>70</sup> The much later account of Diodorus Siculus (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD) has been considered problematic because he mentions the island primarily in connection with the military and political history of the eastern Mediterranean and does not focus on Cyprus: see COLLOMBIER 1993, 120; STYLIANOU 2000, 567-568, 612.

<sup>71</sup> See also MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1976a, 25; SATRAKI 2012, 235-236, 257; IACOVU 2013b, 280; STEELE 2019, 227.

<sup>72</sup> IACOVU 2013b, 280.

<sup>73</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 1, 6-8, 90-91; MASSON & MITFORD 1986, no. 237; CAYLA 2018, no. 2.

<sup>74</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 1, 6-7, 90-91; MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1976a, 18; SATRAKI 2012, 233; STEELE 2019, 227.

activity of Nicocles.<sup>75</sup> The geographical distribution of the inscriptions indicates the extent of his polity.<sup>76</sup> What is more, Nicocles is presented —like his father Timarchus—<sup>77</sup> both as a *basileus* of Paphos, and as a *priest of the wanassa*,<sup>78</sup> and on a 4<sup>th</sup> c. Greek alphabetic inscription from Ledra (modern Nicosia), as a descendant of Kinyras.<sup>79</sup>

To the last *basileus* of the dynasty of the *Kinyradai* of Paphos is also attributed the foundation of Nea Paphos, which most probably took place around the last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. Nicocles, seeking for a new port, transferred the capital of the *polis* from Palaepaphos to a pre-existing settlement, which was to become Nea Paphos. The choice of the location of the new capital just across Alexandria (founded in 332/1 BC) was not at all accidental; in addition to its important shipyards, it was also related to the plan of exploitation of commodities in Cyprus —timber for shipbuilding, grain, copper and stone from neighbouring quarries such as that of Cape Drepanon— which would end up in Alexandria, especially under the rule of the Lagides.<sup>80</sup> Palaea Paphos fell into decline and, by the early Hellenistic period, it had ceased to function as the regional administrative centre<sup>81</sup> and had become a sanctuary town.<sup>82</sup> Nea Paphos took over the role of the administrative centre of the region,<sup>83</sup> and subsequently, sometime in the late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, became the political and administrative centre of the entire island until 346 AD.<sup>84</sup>

Some important Cypriot city-states lost their former significance after their abolition in the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC<sup>85</sup> and according to Diodorus Siculus, one of these *poleis*, Marion, was completely destroyed in 312 BC by Ptolemy (later I Soter), and its inhabitants were transferred to Nea Paphos (Diod. Sic. 19.79.5). This notwithstanding, the city was re-established and renamed as Arsinoe by Ptolemy II Philadelphus around 270 BC.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>75</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 1, 90; CAYLA 2018, no. 2.

<sup>76</sup> STEELE 2019, 227. The epigraphic evidence found at the sanctuaries can point out the connection of polis' politico-economic power with the sacred topography and religion in general: see IACOVOU 2012, 65. It has been argued that the regional sanctuaries (e.g. that of Hera in Ayia Moni) functioned as the boundaries of the territory of the Cypriot polities: see FOURRIER 2002, 135-146; 2013, 103-122.

<sup>77</sup> E.g. *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 4.

<sup>78</sup> See e.g. *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 6-7, 90-91; MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1971, 17, pl. XVI; IACOVOU 2013b, 280.

<sup>79</sup> MITFORD 1961, 136-138; SATRAKI 2012, 234-235, 400, no. ΠΑ19; IACOVOU 2013b, 287-288.

<sup>80</sup> See MLYNARCZYK 1990, 26, 67-76, 108-9; SATRAKI 2012, 133, 153, 239; VITAS 2016, 241-246; MEHL 2000, 686; 2016, 249-250; BAKIRTZIS 2020, 29-30.

<sup>81</sup> SATRAKI 2012, 239.

<sup>82</sup> See MAIER 2007, 17; KRINGOS 2008, 133, 135.

<sup>83</sup> SATRAKI 2012, 237-238.

<sup>84</sup> MLYNARCZYK 1990, 121-129; cf. MEHL 2000, 686-687; KRINGOS 2008, 133; SATRAKI 2012, 239.

<sup>85</sup> SATRAKI 2012, 31.

<sup>86</sup> Stephanus Byzantius, *Ethnica*, s.v.v. Ἀρσινόη, Μάριον.



The first annexation of Cyprus to the Roman Empire took place in 58 BC, due mainly to Publius Clodius Pulcher's resentment towards Ptolemy of Cyprus,<sup>87</sup> but, in fact, after the subjection of Macedonia and the rest of Greece, Syria, and a major part of Asia Minor to the Roman Empire, the Romans had become extremely interested in conquering Egypt and Cyprus.<sup>88</sup> From 58 to 48/47 BC Cyprus did not constitute a separate province but was part of the Roman province of Cilicia, under the jurisdiction of Cilicia's governor. In 48/47 BC during Caesar's campaign in Egypt, Cyprus was probably ceded to Egypt (Dio Cass. 48.40.5-6).<sup>89</sup> Cyprus remained under the Egyptian rule until Mark Antony arrived in the eastern Mediterranean after the battle of Philippi.<sup>90</sup> In 42 BC Cleopatra ceded the island to Mark Antony, who visited Cyprus on his journey to Italy in 41 BC (Appian of Alexandria, *The Civil Wars* 5.9; 5.52). The control of Cyprus was probably returned to the governor of Cilicia (Dio Cass. 48.40.5-6).<sup>91</sup>

Nevertheless, Cyprus came again under Egyptian rule in 36 BC since Antony had acknowledged Cleopatra's three children —the elder twins Alexander and Cleopatra, and the younger Ptolemy, called also Philadelphus— as his own, to whom he allocated various regions of the Empire, including Cyprus (Dio Cass. 49.32.4-5).<sup>92</sup> In 34 BC, Antony reaffirms the Ptolemaic rule over Cyprus by redistributing Egypt and Cyprus to Cleopatra and Caesarion, Caesar's son (Dio Cass. 49.41.1-2).<sup>93</sup>

After the naval battle of Actium in September 31 BC and the defeat of Cleopatra, Cyprus was definitely annexed to the Roman Empire by Octavian. Cyprus remained an imperial province until 22 BC, when it became senatorial.<sup>94</sup> When the civil wars ended, the *pax Romana* prevailed throughout the territory of the Empire.<sup>95</sup> Peace was only twice disturbed in Cyprus, when a Jewish uprising broke out in Salamis, following the Jewish revolt in Egypt and Cyrene in 116 AD, during the reign of Emperor Trajan.<sup>96</sup> Unrest sprang up again two centuries later in 333/334 AD, when the *magister pecoris camelorum* Calocaerus revolted against Constantine I.<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> CHAPOT 1912, 60-61; KRINGOS 2008, 1-8.

<sup>88</sup> CHAPOT 1912, 63-65; KRINGOS 2008, 3.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. HILL 1940, 210; KRINGOS 2008, 7. Cf. BICKNELL 1977 (325, 330-331), who argues that it was not until 44 BC that Cyprus came under the administration of Cleopatra, granted by Antony.

<sup>90</sup> POTTER 2000, 783.

<sup>91</sup> See also BICKNELL 1977, 328, 331; KRINGOS 2008, 8.

<sup>92</sup> See also KRINGOS 2008, 8.

<sup>93</sup> See also CARY 1960, 113; ; KRINGOS 2008, 10.

<sup>94</sup> MITFORD 1980a, 1291; KARAGEORGHIS 1982, 177-178; KRINGOS 2008, 11.

<sup>95</sup> ROSTOVITZEFF 1984, 245; KRINGOS 2008, 9.

<sup>96</sup> HILL 1940, p. 242 and fn. 1.

<sup>97</sup> POTTER 2000, 861; KRINGOS 2008, 12-13.

Meanwhile, the Roman Emperor Diocletian instituted the system of Tetrarchy (293 AD), thereby Cyprus fell administratively within the praetorian prefecture of the East (*praefectus praetorio Orientis*). As Syrian Antioch became the seat of the Orient prefecture, Cyprus lost its local autonomy and finally, when Constantine the Great ended up as the only emperor, Cyprus remained under the Diocese of the East (*Diocesis Orientis*).<sup>98</sup> The Edict of Milan, the result of a political agreement between the Roman emperors Constantine (the Great) and Licinius in 313, gave Christianity legal status throughout the Empire. The end of the era was ultimately marked, when Cyprus was badly hit by two successive earthquakes in 332 and 342 AD. Salamis was rebuilt and renamed Constantia after the Roman Emperor Constantius II, son of Constantine the Great, and replaced Paphos as the capital of the island, putting an end to its long-standing.<sup>99</sup>

Παφία was one of the four provinces into which Cyprus was administratively divided during the Roman period. Σαλαμινία, Ἀμαθουσία and Λαπηθία were the others.<sup>100</sup> There must have been around twelve or thirteen cities,<sup>101</sup> although Pliny the Elder (*Nat. 5.130*) mentions 15 towns (*oppida*). This information seems to be invalid since, i.a., he considers Nea Paphos and Palaepaphos as two different cities - based on epigraphic as well as archaeological evidence, they must have continued to constitute one and the same city.<sup>102</sup> Palaepaphos functioned exclusively as the most important religious centre along the Hellenistic and Roman periods.<sup>103</sup> The temple and the worship of the goddess feature in the oldest literary sources (e.g. Hom. *Od. 8.363*),<sup>104</sup> it was also praised as the most ancient in Cyprus and retained its renown until the mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD.<sup>105</sup> The high priest of this sanctuary was considered the supreme religious authority of the island.<sup>106</sup> The sanctuary was granted the right of asylum by the Senate in 22 AD, during Tiberius' reign (*Tac. Ann. 3.62*). Plenty of inscriptions dedicated to the goddess during the Hellenistic and Roman periods have been brought to light.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> KRINGOS 2008, 12.

<sup>99</sup> KRINGOS 2008, 133, 160.

<sup>100</sup> Claudius Ptolemy 5.14. §5.

<sup>101</sup> HILL 1940, 239; KRINGOS 2008, 132.

<sup>102</sup> KRINGOS 2008, 132; SATRAKI 2012, 32.

<sup>103</sup> MAIER 2007, 17; IACOVOU 2013b, 282.

<sup>104</sup> On the worship of Aphrodite in Palaepaphos: see e.g. KRINGOS 2018, 94-99.

<sup>105</sup> MAIER 2007, 32; SATRAKI 2012, 239; KRINGOS 2008, 133, 135.

<sup>106</sup> KRINGOS 2008, 136.

<sup>107</sup> See e.g. CAYLA 2018, nos. 16, 37, 52 (?) 81, 93-95, 106-107, 110, 114, 132-134, 149-150, 155 (?), 156, 158 (?), 159, 160, 163, 167 (?), 169, 170 (?), 172, 174, 177 (?), 178-179, 180 (?), 182-183, 185, 187, 189, 191 (?), 192-193, 194 (?), 195-197, 198 (?), 202-203, 204-205 (?), 206-209, 215-218, 219 (?), 220, 222, 351 (?), 353 (?), 356 (?).

Paphos was destroyed by an earthquake in 15 BC and was rebuilt with the aid of Augustus. For this reason, it received the title *Augusta* (Σεβαστή) (Dio Cassius 54.23.7) and was also the first Cypriot city to adopt Augustus' Roman calendar. Before that date, the city is called ἡ πόλις ἡ Παφίων or ὁ δῆμος ὁ Παφίων in the official inscriptions. Paphos was also granted the title Claudia (Κλαυδία), probably in Nero's time, in the year 66 AD. It is significant in this regard that games were held in Paphos in honour of Nero.<sup>108</sup> The city of Paphos was reconstructed by the Flavii after the earthquake of 77 AD and received the title Φλαουία (Flavia), possibly from the emperor Titus in return for the warm welcome that he received in a visit to Paphos on his way to Syria in 69 AD (Tac. *Hist.* 2. 1-4; Suet. *Tit.* 5). During the rule of the Severan dynasty (196/7 to 212 AD), Paphos bore the title Σεβ(αστή) Κλ(αυδία) Φλα(ουία) Πάφος ἡ ἱερά μητρόπολις τῶν κατὰ Κύπρον πόλεων.<sup>109</sup> Due to the lack of evidence, it remains unclear under what circumstances and when Paphos received the title of *metropolis*.<sup>110</sup>

Paphos was surrounded by walls and had a port protected by two breakwaters. In addition, the city there had an Asclepieion, an Odeon since the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD (probably built during the reign of Augustus), a theatre with a semi-circular orchestra dated to the early Hellenistic period,<sup>111</sup> an amphitheatre, and a gymnasium, which has not yet been spotted. Four luxurious private houses of that time have been unearthed.<sup>112</sup>

## 2.2. History of language use and literacy

This chapter offers an overview of language use and literacy from the very first appearance of writing on the island in the first phase of the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1600 BC) down to the Hellenistic and Roman periods.<sup>113</sup> Special emphasis is given naturally to the city of Paphos. The suppression of Cypriot city-states affected severely the epigraphic and linguistic history of the island,<sup>114</sup> as the local scripts (and the languages written in them) were abandoned, excluding the Cypriot syllabary which continued until the 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC alongside the Greek alphabet.<sup>115</sup> The diachronic survey proposed here seeks to explain this discontinuation and to identify how the Cypriot identity was closely linked to the Cypriot

<sup>108</sup> KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 4.

<sup>109</sup> This title is encountered in the inscriptions KRINGOS 2008, nos. Πάφ. 14, 20, 22, 71, 108, 109, 117 and 152. The title of *metropolis* had been disputed by Σαλαμίς (ἡ Κύπρου μητρόπολις) during the reign of Hadrian (see e.g. KRINGOS 2008, no. Ἀμμ. 57), but obviously did not retain it.

<sup>110</sup> KRINGOS 2008, 134.

<sup>111</sup> See MITFORD 1980a, p. 1312, fn. 94, cf. MAIER & KARAGEORGHIS 1984, 15-22.

<sup>112</sup> See MICHAELIDES 1992; cf. SCHNEIDER 1997, 119-129; KRINGOS 2008, 134-135.

<sup>113</sup> See COLLOMBIER 1993, 142-143; 2003, 140-142; cf. STEELE 2019.

<sup>114</sup> PAPANTONIOU 2012, 2, 11.

<sup>115</sup> MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1993, 346-347.

writing.<sup>116</sup> The local Cypriot dialects and languages have always been connected to a specific writing system, which has ever since antiquity been an element of identity, inextricably linked to the idiosyncrasy of the Cypriots.

### 2.2.1. Languages and Scripts in Ancient Paphos

The history of writing in Cyprus begins with the appearance of the first Cypriot script, conventionally called ‘Cypro-Minoan’, which remains undeciphered up to the present time.<sup>117</sup> Based on the diversity of the Cypro-Minoan inscriptions, it has been assumed that they represented multiple writing systems which possibly rendered more than one language, i.e. that Cyprus was already linguistically heterogeneous by that period.<sup>118</sup> In any case, the arrival of a significant number of Greek-speaking newcomers to the island had, as a decisive consequence, the diffusion of Greek across the whole island. The Greek spoken in Cyprus was a linguistic variety closely related to the dialect of Arcadia in the Peloponnese and Pamphylia in Asia Minor.<sup>119</sup> Cypriot is epigraphically attested for the first time, as it seems, in the 11<sup>th</sup>/10<sup>th</sup> c. BC. This first Greek text appears on an inscribed bronze *obelos* found in tomb 49 at the Palaepaphos-*Skales* cemetery.<sup>120</sup> It consists of five signs, which according to the phonetic values of the Cypriot syllabary,<sup>121</sup> correspond to a genitive as *o-pe-le-ta-u /Opheltāu/* ‘*obelos* belonging to Opheltas’. The inscription is of the utmost importance to our understanding of the linguistic history of Cyprus and the history of the Greek language in general.<sup>122</sup>

Admittedly, the Cypro-Geometric period (1050-750 BC) has been considered by scholarship as an obscure period since the surviving inscriptions datable to this period are—as everywhere in the Greek-speaking world—scarce.<sup>123</sup> However, few as they may seem

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<sup>116</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2007, 417-418; 2012b, 113-114; 2014, 401; STEELE 2019, 39.

<sup>117</sup> STEELE 2019, 4, 33.

<sup>118</sup> See e.g. É. MASSON 1972, 100; STEELE 2019, 47, 155-156.

<sup>119</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2007, 417-418; 2012b, 114; 2014, 401.

<sup>120</sup> The archaeological assemblage of the tomb is roughly dated to the Cypro-Geometric I period (1050-950 BC), and the *obelos* is likely to belong in the same period. For studies on the inscription: see e.g. E. & O. MASSON 1983, 411-15; KARAGEORGHIS 1983, 60-61, no. 16; MASSON 1994a; IACOVOU 2006a, 38; 2006b, 320; PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2008, 654; SATRAKI 2012, 59-69; STEELE 2013, 90-91; STEELE 2019, 46.

<sup>121</sup> There is a certain controversy on the identification of the script used in the Opheltas inscription: E. & O. MASSON (1983) interpreted it as the oldest Cypriot syllabic text: see also *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, p. 408, 18g and MASSON 1994a. DUHOUX (2009, 73, fn. 199; 2012, 88-89) also adopted this viewpoint, but OLIVIER (2007, no. 170; 2008, 608; 2013, 17) has identified it as a Greek text written in the Cypro-Minoan Syllabary. He is followed by EGETMEYER (2013, 121) and STEELE (2019, 48).

<sup>122</sup> EGETMEYER 2013, 123-125. Inter alia, this is the earliest Greek text found in Cyprus to this day and the earliest of all surviving Greek texts after the Mycenaean Linear B documents of the Late Bronze Age (i.e. ca. 1450-1200 BC): see e.g. STEELE 2019, 46, 56.

<sup>123</sup> See e.g. STEELE 2019, 48, 55. In contrast to the scarce epigraphic record, the material culture of the period (originating mainly from tombs) is rich: see e.g. KARAGEORGHIS 1983.

in number, their significance is invaluable to understand the development of language and script on the island.<sup>124</sup> Especially, a single location which is no other than Palaepaphos, provides a window into the conditions of literacy at this time, as non-negligible number of seven inscriptions (out of a total of 20) have been unearthed in some Cypro-Geometric tombs of the area.<sup>125</sup> Apart from the abovementioned Opheltas' inscription, this evidence also attests to the continuity of the Cypro-Minoan script.<sup>126</sup>

We can assume that the Cypro-Minoan script of the Late Bronze Age evolved into a new one, i.e. the Cypriot Syllabary. According to Olivier, the reform should have taken place at some point in the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC (or possibly at an earlier date) and probably in Paphos, since over half of the most ancient inscriptions come from this region.<sup>127</sup> The earliest texts that can be securely attributed to the Cypriot Syllabary are dated to the 8<sup>th</sup> c. BC.<sup>128</sup> From this date through the end of the Hellenistic period, the Cypriot Greek dialect, the prevalent language of the island, is well-recorded in this script, which is attested in ca. 1400 inscriptions, including some legends on coins.<sup>129</sup> In this context, Cyprus presents an extensive collection of dialectal texts, which for the most part (ca. 700 inscriptions) are dated to the Archaic period. The Cypriot syllabary is used across the whole of Cyprus, but the great majority of inscriptions (ca. 500) come from Paphos.<sup>130</sup> The quantity, the quality and the diversity of the surviving inscriptions attest to a highly literate Cypriot society in the Archaic period,<sup>131</sup> especially in Paphos and its area of influence.<sup>132</sup> The syllabic script was known and used by people of a wide social range, and not only by the scribes of the sanctuaries. This ubiquitous literacy might be attributed to a certain extent to the role of school. To judge from the evidence available, literacy in archaic Paphos seems to have been much more widespread than in the rest of the Greek-speaking world.<sup>133</sup>

The ancient Cypriot dialect was not homogeneous, but included some sub-dialects with different features, the most notable being the Paphian dialect.<sup>134</sup> The local syllabic

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<sup>124</sup> STEELE 2019, 46.

<sup>125</sup> From Cypro-Geometric tombs at Palaepaphos-*Skales*: see É. & O. MASSON 1983, 412.

<sup>126</sup> STEELE 2019, 55-64.

<sup>127</sup> OLIVIER 2013, 20. The evolution of the local syllabic scripts is unique, since in the rest of the Greek world there is no trace of writing along the four-century period roughly extending from 1200 to 800 BC, WOODARD 1997, 224; IACOVOU 2006b, 320; STEELE 2019, 90.

<sup>128</sup> See e.g. EGETMEYER 2010, I, 30-31; STEELE 2019, 48.

<sup>129</sup> See EGETMEYER 2010, I, 8-9; PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2010, 38-39; 2014, 401; KARNAVA 2014, 407. I agree with the viewpoint that the Opheltas inscription is a Greek text written in the Cypro-Minoan Syllabary.

<sup>130</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2010, 38-39; 2014, 401.

<sup>131</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, 78-80; EGETMEYER 2010, I, 14, 19-20; PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2010, 39, 43.

<sup>132</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2010, 39; KARNAVA 2014, 407.

<sup>133</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2007, 408; 2008b, 127-128; 2010, 42-44.

<sup>134</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2012, 114.

scripts were not entirely homogeneous either, much like the local alphabetic scripts in other Greek regions.<sup>135</sup> The local Cypriot signaries existed in two different versions: one used mainly in Paphos (the Paphian syllabary) and the other used throughout the rest of the island (conventionally called the “common” syllabary). Understandably, since the syllabic script was used for a period of some eight centuries, the signaries varied along time and space. The differences between the two main versions of the Cypriot script concern the structure of the syllabary, the number and the form of certain signs as well as the *ductus*. The Paphian syllabary is usually dextroverse, while the “common” syllabaries are sinistroverse.<sup>136</sup>

The Paphian syllabary underwent considerable changes during the Classical period,<sup>137</sup> and a new version superseded the old one in the early Hellenistic period.<sup>138</sup> The reform affected the form and the number of the syllabograms, as well as their phonetic value. This reform is accompanied by the reintroduction of certain orthographic, morphological and lexical archaisms in the official texts of Paphos (e.g. *wa-na-sa-se* = **Φανάσ(σ)ας**,<sup>139</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup> no. 7), especially during the reign of Nicocles (last quarter of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC). The new Paphian syllabary and the shift towards a more conservative dialect must be attributed to a decision consciously made by the central authority with a view to symbolically protect the autonomy of the *polis*.<sup>140</sup> Nicocles of Paphos was the last Cypriot *basileus* who employed the Greek alphabet on his coins towards the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, even if he simultaneously favoured the reformed Paphian syllabary.<sup>141</sup>

The koine, a supra-regional variety based on the Attic dialect with many features borrowed from Ionic and other dialects, spread as a link-language throughout the Hellenistic world after the conquests of Alexander the Great and the formation of different kingdoms governed by his *diadochoi*. After the annexation of Cyprus to Ptolemaic Egypt, the koine became the administrative language of the freshly politically unified island and it replaced the local languages in written documents at first and, in time, had a major impact on the spoken language as well. The koine and a standardised variant of the Eastern Ionic

<sup>135</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2010, 38; 2014, 401.

<sup>136</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, p. 38; PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2006, 68-69; 2010, 38; KARNAVA 2014, 407.

<sup>137</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2010, 38, 42-49; 2014, 401.

<sup>138</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, 66-67; EGETMEYER 2010, I, 20; PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2010, 44. The distinction between an older and recent Paphian syllabary is the widely accepted consensus, cf. MITFORD 1961, who first identified three versions and phases of the Paphian Syllabary (6<sup>th</sup>, 5<sup>th</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC).

<sup>139</sup> The phoneme /w/ continues to be represented (<wa>) although it was no longer pronounced, as indicated by earlier and contemporaneous inscriptions, e.g. *vέας*, *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 90.

<sup>140</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2010, 47-49, 53; 2014, 401; 2017, 90-91. Conversely, no prescriptive policies in matters of script and dialect are observable in other Greek-speaking cities of the island, PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2010, 49-54.

<sup>141</sup> CONSANI 1990, 61-66; PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2007, 423; EGETMEYER 2010, I, 19-20.

alphabet (the Attic reformed alphabet) inextricably interconnected to each other, prevailed over all the local languages (Cypriot Greek, Eteocypriot and Phoenician) and scripts (Cypriot syllabaries and Phoenician abjad), which gradually retreated and eventually became extinct.<sup>142</sup>

The latest syllabic inscriptions (featuring abbreviated Greek names) are documented on sealings (20 out of 11.334) found in an archive in Nea Paphos which is dated between the mid-2<sup>nd</sup> and the late 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.<sup>143</sup> This means that at least some individuals related to the administration still had a good command of the syllabic writing.<sup>144</sup> Hence, Paphos is the region where, long after the suppression of the Cypriot city-states, the syllabary remained in use almost to the end of the first millennium BC.<sup>145</sup>

### 2.2.2. The Latin language in Paphos

Even though Cyprus came under the Roman rule, Greek (koine) remained the administrative language of the island as in all the provinces of the Eastern part of the Roman Empire.<sup>146</sup> Even so, the Latin language becomes evident in a small number of inscriptions from all over Cyprus during the Roman period.<sup>147</sup> It is notably used on milestones (miliaria),<sup>148</sup> on the imperial road network,<sup>149</sup> either on exclusively Latin or bilingual (Latin and Greek) inscriptions.<sup>150</sup> In total, 71 Latin inscriptions and 12 bilingual come from Roman Cyprus,<sup>151</sup> whereas the Latin inscriptions from the wider area of Paphos are 21<sup>152</sup> and the bilingual are 5.<sup>153</sup> The Latin inscriptions are related to Roman administrators/officers, who mainly settled in the administrative centre of the island, businessmen and traders from Italy (πραγματευόμενοι or *negotiatores*),<sup>154</sup> or to emperors,<sup>155</sup> soldiers<sup>156</sup> and other foreigners.<sup>157</sup> Some of the Latin inscriptions are

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<sup>142</sup> This took long to happen since, after a century of Ptolemaic control over the island, the Phoenician abjad and the Cypriot syllabary (and the languages written in them) continued to be used alongside the Greek alphabet and the koine, see e.g. COLLOMBIER 1993, 143; IACOVOU 2006a, 56-57; 2008a, 250-252; PANAYOTOU-TRIANANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2007, 407, 409, 413; 2008, 72-74; 2010, 41-42; 2014, 401.

<sup>143</sup> MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1993, 346-347; PANAYOTOU-TRIANANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2010, 53-54; 2012b, 118-119; 2014, 401; STEELE 2019, 240.

<sup>144</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2010, 53-54; 2014, 401.

<sup>145</sup> MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1993, 346-347; IACOVOU 2006b, 320; 2013c, 138; STEELE 2019, 241.

<sup>146</sup> MITFORD 1980a, 1355; KRINGOS 2008, 207.

<sup>147</sup> For a more extensive treatment on the use of the Latin language in Cyprus: see e.g. KRINGOS 2008, 207-212.

<sup>148</sup> See e.g. KRINGOS 2008, nos. Πάφ. 107, 108, 109?, 117, 141 and 142.

<sup>149</sup> For the road network: see BOWERSOCK 1983, 164-186; DILKE 1985, 113-120; POTTER 2000, 803.

<sup>150</sup> KRINGOS 2008, 207.

<sup>151</sup> KRINGOS 2008, VIII.

<sup>152</sup> See KRINGOS 2008, nos. Πάφ. 1, 9, 15, 30, 31, 64, 88, 107, 110-111, 151, 155; CAYLA 2018, nos. 128, 139-140, 241, 311, 333-335, 380?.

<sup>153</sup> See KRINGOS 2008, nos. Πάφ. 108, 109?, 117, 141-142.

<sup>154</sup> E.g. GARDNER *et al.* 1888, 234-235, no. 28; KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 15.

<sup>155</sup> E.g. KRINGOS 2008, nos. Πάφ. 64, 88.

dedications,<sup>158</sup> mostly found at the Pan-Cyprian sanctuary of Palaepaphos. The small number of Latin texts from Cyprus obviously reflects the limited diffusion of Latin on the island, much like in all the Greek-speaking provinces of the Eastern Roman Empire. To sum up, the Latin language was never adopted by the local society and its use was limited to transient high-ranking officials and Roman citizens,<sup>159</sup> i.e. the minority of Latin-speaking residents that lived in relative isolation from the local society.<sup>160</sup>

### 3. Linguistic Analysis and Sociography

#### 3.1. Orthographic deviations

Admittedly, linguistic changes, especially sound changes are reflected in deviant spellings and in grammatical errors. Some cautions, however, must be exercised in order not to overinterpret the data. For a given misspelling or mistake to be considered the reflex of a change, several parameters must be considered:

- a) the frequency of misspellings in the texts must be significant;
- b) the misspellings cannot be random, but must be related to some specific context(s);
- c) the hypothetical process must fit in a known type of change with clear typological parallels;
- d) the change must be consistent with the evidence available for the language in question at earlier and later periods.<sup>161</sup>

For this reason, the present work sometimes invokes later phases of the Greek language, especially focusing on present-day Cypriot. The Attic-Ionic koine is the starting point for the historical research of the modern Greek dialects.<sup>162</sup> Importantly, the Modern Greek dialects may provide valuable clues to the reconstruction of the koine since sound changes often recur in different varieties and at different periods in the history of one and the same language.

We must be cautious in assuming that the koine of local administration during the Hellenistic and Roman periods was also widely spoken by the average population. Even if the koine was used in everyday speech, this does not mean that it was the only spoken

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<sup>156</sup> E.g. KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 151.

<sup>157</sup> KRINGOS 2008, 180-185.

<sup>158</sup> KRINGOS 2008, nos. Πάφ. 15, 88, 111.

<sup>159</sup> E.g. KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 1.

<sup>160</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2006, 75; KANTIREA 2015, 5.

<sup>161</sup> See e.g. MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 2006, 273.

<sup>162</sup> It goes without saying that all the Modern Greek varieties (including the Modern Greek koine and the Cypriot Greek dialect) originate from the koine, with the only exception of Tsakonian which demonstrably goes back to Ancient Laconian.



language variety. What is more, it is impossible to equate the lack of dialect features in the alphabetic texts with the disappearance of the local dialect. Another question that remains unsolved to this day is whether the koine was locally coloured by the earlier Greek dialects. Although dialectal features are not expected to show up in alphabetic texts written in koine, the present work attempts to spot and identify any linguistic idiosyncrasies accidentally reflected in inscriptions.

A final caveat: in addition to the obvious fact that it is only the surviving epigraphic data that are examined, script is no more than a reflex of speech. The presence of phonetic (mis)spellings largely correlates with the writer's exposure to normative orthography and grammar, i.e. with the writer's literacy level. In addition, spelling is usually conservative and impervious to sound changes in their initial stages because script is based and reflects formal *lento* speech styles. Professional scribes having command of orthography were able to filter out most sound changes diffusing 'from below' (*allegro* informal speech, low-class). With these caveats in mind, we can consider what the surviving evidence can tell us about language use and potentially about dialect contact.

### 3.2. Typology of the inscriptions

As already indicated, this study is based on two *corpora* collecting the totality of the alphabetic inscriptions from Paphos. There is a certain disagreement on the date of some inscriptions included in both *corpora*.<sup>163</sup> Kringos ignores in his corpus some inscriptions which, unlike Cayla, he dates to the Hellenistic rather than to the Roman period.<sup>164</sup> Cayla in turn dates to the Roman period some inscriptions that had been previously assigned to the Hellenistic period.<sup>165</sup> Cayla also mentions some inscriptions unearthed by the Swiss-German Mission, which remain unpublished to this very day.<sup>166</sup> He has later published some new inscriptions.<sup>167</sup>

Some 3000 alphabetic inscriptions from the island of Cyprus have been published to this day.<sup>168</sup> Around 376 of them come from Paphos,<sup>169</sup> of which 226 are dated to the

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<sup>163</sup> See e.g. Geroskipou, funerary epigram (end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 144, cf. late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, CAYLA 2018, no. 222. My work usually refers to both works when the editors disagree as to the date or the reading of a given text.

<sup>164</sup> CAYLA 2018, nos. 145, 154, 202-204, 210, 241, 245, 265, 267, 249-250, 254-255, 265, 305, 308-309, 310, 311, 328-330, 333-336, 367, 375-378.

<sup>165</sup> E.g. CAYLA 2018, no. 134. Cayla considers Mitford's dating for this inscription (before 105 BC) erroneous and redates it between 50 BC - 50 AD.

<sup>166</sup> See CAYLA 2018, nos. 131, 135, 272, 190.

<sup>167</sup> CAYLA 2018, nos. 101, 139-140, 204, 288, 352-353, 362, 364, 374, 380. Kringos refers to the inscriptions nos. 101 = ΠΑΦ. 60 and 374 = ΠΑΦ. 111, as well. For the unpublished dated to the Hellenistic period: see nos. 194, 201, 229, 361.

<sup>168</sup> KANTIREA 2015, 1.

Hellenistic period and 150 to the Roman period. The epigraphical corpus of Paphos consists of decrees, honorific, votive/dedicatory, funerary inscriptions, and finally other types of short texts on lead tablets, sealings, mosaics, milestones, coins, etc.

For the linguistic analysis the relationship between the degree of spelling/grammar 'deviations' and the type of texts in which these deviations are found, is also significant. Demonstrably, fast writing tends to favour misspellings and grammatical mistakes: incorrection of all kinds is typical of informal, texts, written in a rush by non-professionals of writing like vase inscriptions, graffiti, oracular enquiries, curse tablets, etc.<sup>170</sup> Most of the epigraphic corpus of Paphos consists of inscriptions on hard materials (stone), usually containing texts of an official character which were composed by some civil servant/secretary and were inscribed by a professional stone-cutter. Both circumstances are utterly incompatible with fast writing and, consequently, inhibited the emergence of misspellings and mistakes.<sup>171</sup>

Apart from the more “correct” official texts, the verse inscriptions of this period are composed and written by professionals and thus —this is not always the case— they usually have fewer orthographic issues than other texts. Besides, the spelling in this kind of texts is sometimes conditioned by the verse. For instance, in the earliest alphabetic epigram<sup>172</sup> and probably the first text from Paphos written exclusively in the Milesian alphabet,<sup>173</sup> the word εὐρύχορος (CAYLA 2018, no. 2, 1) is the alternative epic form of εὐρύχωρος “spacious”;<sup>174</sup> the variant with an unexpected short vowel (as if deriving from χορός ‘dancing-place, choir’) is used for the sake of metre.<sup>175</sup> Similarly, consonantal ‘gemination’ occurs frequently for metrical reasons in these texts, as well (e.g. Δαμασσαγόρα<sup>176</sup>). Forms borrowed from the epos are usual and, evidently, tell us nothing about phonetic changes: e.g. νόον (CAYLA 2018, no. 3, 3) as against νοῦν on another metrical inscription.<sup>177</sup> The authors of epigrams, especially of funerary ones,<sup>178</sup> by a convention of the genre, tended to combine epic forms with dialectal features such as the

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<sup>169</sup> See the catalogue of the inscriptions in CAYLA 2018, 11-18. In this study are not taken into account the inscriptions dated after the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD.

<sup>170</sup> Cf. e.g. MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 2006, 272, 276.

<sup>171</sup> Cf. MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 2007, 364.

<sup>172</sup> Palaepaphos, epigram addressed to the king Nicocles (end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC): see e.g. GARDNER *et al.* 1888, 187, 239, no. 46; *JCS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 6; VOSKOS 1997, 80-81, 248-251: E12.

<sup>173</sup> CAYLA 2018, 125.

<sup>174</sup> See *LSJ*, s.v. εὐρύχορος.

<sup>175</sup> CAYLA 2018, 125.

<sup>176</sup> Palaepaphos, funerary epigram (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 224, 2.

<sup>177</sup> Dedication in verse (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC): see e.g. *RDAC* 1964, 211-213, no. 23; *SEG* 23, 1973, no. 639; VOSKOS 1997, 84-85, 257-260: E14.

<sup>178</sup> For the funerary epigrams: see GUARDUCCI 1987, 454-455.

non-Attic-Ionic  $\bar{\alpha}$ .<sup>179</sup> Forms with an  $\bar{\alpha}$  like e.g. τάνδε (= τήνδε), [μ]νᾶμα (= μνήμα), θυαπολία (= θυηπολία), τέχνας (= τέχνης) (CAYLA 2018, no. 3, ll. 1 and 2) and ἀγεμόνων (= ἡγεμόνων) (CAYLA 2018, no. 224, 4) are clearly poetic.<sup>180</sup>

## 4. Linguistic description of the koine

### 4.1. Phonology

#### 4.1.1. VOWELS AND DIPHTHONGS

##### 4.1.1.1. Confusion of <O> and <Ω>

The use of <O> for <Ω> in two examples, Πολιέος<sup>181</sup> (= Πολιέως) and Προτοκλήτου<sup>182</sup> (= Πρωτοκλήτου) probably attests to the merger of /ɔ:/ and /o/ by the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.<sup>183</sup>

##### 4.1.1.2. Interchange of <EI> and <I>

Clear evidence for iotacism is given by the interchange of the spellings <EI> and <I> which attests to the raising /e:/ > /i:/. The first and best instance of this phenomenon in Paphos occurs in a verse inscription<sup>184</sup> dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.<sup>185</sup> In this text, there is a recurring use of <I> for <EI>: ἴς (= εἶς), λέγι (= λέγει), ἰ (= εἰ) (CAYLA 2018, no. 96, 41-31 BC?, 1 and 4). <I> for <EI> also occurs sporadically in other texts of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD:

- Instances like ἀρχιέρια<sup>186</sup> and Ὑγία<sup>187</sup> probably indicate the raising /e:/ > /i:/ in prevocalic position.
- The raising /e:/ > /i:/ is also evident in pre-consonantal and word-final positions, e.g. ἰς,<sup>188</sup> Εύσεβῖ (2),<sup>189</sup> ἀρχιεῖ.<sup>190</sup>

In the early Roman period, there is also a widespread use of <EI> for <I>.<sup>191</sup> In fact, the digraph <EI> becomes the quasi-standard/default spelling for long /i:/.<sup>192</sup> The most

<sup>179</sup> SCHWYZER 1939, 108-109; STRUNK 1997, 153. For the epigrams in Cyprus and their language: see VOSKOS 1997, 52-55; 2012, 30-32.

<sup>180</sup> Cf. VOSKOS 1997, 257-260: E14; EGETMEYER 2010, I, 87, § 73.

<sup>181</sup> Διὸς Πολιέος, Palaepaphos, honorific inscription (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 86, 3.

<sup>182</sup> Amargeti, dedication (between 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC and 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 249, 4-5.

<sup>183</sup> Cf. THREATTE 1980, I, 223. The form Πολιέος should be taken with some reservations as it might be an Ionic form in genitive or an instance of analogy to nouns with an ending -ος in genitive.

<sup>184</sup> PERDRIZET 1914, p. 100; *Bull. Épig.* 1964, no. 622.

<sup>185</sup> This phenomenon was already evident at Kafizin (225-218 BC), BRIXHE 1988, 171.

<sup>186</sup> Palaepaphos, dedicatory inscription (88 AD?), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 90.

<sup>187</sup> Palaepaphos, inscription on a lamp (4<sup>th</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 112 (α).

<sup>188</sup> Palaepaphos, dedicatory inscription (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD?), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 101, 6.

<sup>189</sup> Palaepaphos, milestone (12 BC-14 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 108, 3 and Palaepaphos-Rantidi, milestone (198 AD), no. Πάφ. 117, 4.

<sup>190</sup> Palaepaphos-Rantidi, milestone (198 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 117, 6.

characteristic example is Ἀφροδείτη, probably first attested in the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC.<sup>193</sup> Since then it was used along with the “correct” form Ἀφροδίτη.<sup>194</sup> Other examples are: Νείκην,<sup>195</sup> ὑμεῖν,<sup>196</sup> φιλοτειμίας (2),<sup>197</sup> Τείμωνα,<sup>198</sup> μείμημα,<sup>199</sup> Μεινώ|ταυρος,<sup>200</sup> Ἀνείκτης,<sup>201</sup> Διονεί|κου.<sup>202</sup>

#### 4.1.1.3. Transcriptions from Latin to Greek: Interchange of <EI> and <I>

Further evidence for iotacism is provided by Latin names transcribed to Greek, in which Latin /i:/ (spelt <I>) is represented as Greek <EI>: cf. Ῥηγεῖ|ναν<sup>203</sup> (besides Ῥηγῖνα),<sup>204</sup> Κρισ|πεῖνον,<sup>205</sup> Μαρκελλεῖνον,<sup>206</sup> Φήλεικος/Φήλεια.<sup>207</sup>

#### 4.1.1.4. <E> for <H>

On an altar of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC,<sup>208</sup> <E> for <H> is used in Ἄρσινόεσ|ς (= Ἄρσινόης).<sup>209</sup> This must be a mistake, if we consider the repetition of word-final sigma in the same word, as well as the omission of lambda in Φιλαδέ|<λ>φου (CAYLA 2018, no. 4, 2-3). The mistake at that date can be attributed to imperfect mastery of the alphabet since the syllabary did not render the vowel quantity. The inverse spelling of <H> for <E> in the words ἡρατήν (= ἐρατήν) and μητά (= μετά) (CAYLA 2018, no. 228, 5-6) in an epigram from Paphos<sup>210</sup> might confirm this confusion. However, while the evidence of

<sup>191</sup> Cf. THREATTE 1980, I, 198-199; GIGNAC 1976, I, 189; BRIXHE 1987<sup>2</sup>, 51-53.

<sup>192</sup> Cf. VESSELLA 2018, 47-50.

<sup>193</sup> The most ancient inscription is dated to the second half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC or 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD: see CAYLA 2018, no. 163. The second earliest inscription is dated with certainty to the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD: see CAYLA 2018, no. 110. See also CAYLA 2018, nos. 114, 149-150, 207, 209, 215-216, 218, 219(?), 220, 356 (?).

<sup>194</sup> See CAYLA 2018, nos. 16, 37, 81, 93-95, 106-107, 132-134, 156, 159, 160, 169, 172, 174, 177-179, 182-183, 187, 192-193, 195-197, 202-203, 206 (a), 217, 222, 351 (?), 353 (?).

<sup>195</sup> Nea Paphos, dedicatory epigram (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 16, 1.

<sup>196</sup> Marion, invocation (mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 143, 1.

<sup>197</sup> Palaepaphos, honorific inscription (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 69, 3; Nea Paphos, honorific inscription (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), no. Πάφ. 101, 7.

<sup>198</sup> Nea Paphos, honorific inscription (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD?), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 11, 1.

<sup>199</sup> Palaepaphos, funerary inscription (2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 106, 1.

<sup>200</sup> Nea Paphos, Inscription on a mosaic floor from the House of Dionysus (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD-late 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 43, 3.

<sup>201</sup> Nea Paphos, inscribed lamp (4<sup>th</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 315.

<sup>202</sup> Nea Paphos, stamped pelvis (uncertain date), CAYLA 2018, no. 325, 1-2.

<sup>203</sup> KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 102, 2-3.

<sup>204</sup> KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 103, 3.

<sup>205</sup> Λούκιον Ουιτέλλιον Κρισ|πεῖνον, KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 99, 2-3.

<sup>206</sup> Palaepaphos, M. Κάριον Αἴλιον | Μαρκελλεῖνον, KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 96, 2-3.

<sup>207</sup> Πλαυτίου Φήλεικος | Ἰουλιανού, KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 104, 3-4; Δ. Πλαύτιον Φήλεια Ἰουλιανόν, no. Πάφ. 105, 2-3.

<sup>208</sup> MITTFORD 1961, p. 8, no. 14.

<sup>209</sup> Palaepaphos, altar of Arsinoe II Philadelphos (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 4. Cf. Ἄρσινόης, Palaepaphos, altar of Arsinoe II Philadelphos (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, nos. 5-8, 10.

<sup>210</sup> Geroskipou, funerary epigram, dated to the Roman period by PHILIPPOU 1948, 155 (text and comments of D. Robertson); *Bull. Épiqr.* 1950, no. 219; the text is dated to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD by PEEK 1955, no. 1509 and VÉRILHAC 1978, 58-59, no. 34 and the following editors VOSKOS 1997, 122-123, 395-401, E49;

<E> for <H> is abundant all over Cyprus,<sup>211</sup> converse spellings of <H> for <E><sup>212</sup> are rare.<sup>213</sup> Significantly, there are no instances of an interchange between <H> and <I> from Paphos, which are indicative of the iotacism /ε:/ > /i:/, whereas very few instances are attested in other areas of Roman Cyprus.<sup>214</sup>

Admittedly, some misspellings may be confidently attributed to some unskillful scribes making the transition from syllabic to alphabetic writing. This hypothesis is consistent with the numerous interchanges <E> and <H> at Kafizin in the last quarter of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC.<sup>215</sup> This would be clearly corroborated if there were also misspellings with <Ω> for <O>. For the time being, only the use of <O> for <Ω> is attested at Paphos.

#### 4.1.1.5. <E> for <AI>

The use of <E> for <AI> attests to the monophthongisation of the diphthong /aj/ > /ε(:)/: κέ (= και) (2), συνέποντε (= συνέπονται), έτέρε (= έταῖρε)<sup>216</sup> (CAYLA 2018, no. 96, 41-31 BC?, 3 and 6). <E> for <AI> is also found in another example, i.e. κέ<sup>217</sup> dated to the Roman period.

#### 4.1.1.6. <Y> for <OY>

The sporadic use of <Y> for <OY> in the words Β<ο>υλή<sup>218</sup> and Ἡρακλείτ<ο>υ<sup>219</sup> —if they are not mere trivial instances of letter omission— might indicate that the spellings represented a phonetic equivalent. The interchange between

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KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 144, cf. CAYLA 2018, no. 228, who, in contrast to all others, dates the inscription around the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, possibly because of the dialectal features, but without a clear explanation, see p. 67.

<sup>211</sup> It appears almost exclusively in χρηστός/ή but this must be due to statistical reasons since the occurrences of this word are usual in funerary texts: see e.g. χρηστέ, KRINGOS 2008, no. Κερ. 19, 2. See also nos. Κερ. 23; Λαρ. 77, 78, 107, 138, 143, 163, 170, 171, 175; Λεμ. 82, 83, 89, 207, 542, 559, 569, 573, 577, 656, 662, 663, 667, 687, 722; Λευκ. 59, 62, 96. See also Δεμετρία χρηστή, KRINGOS 2008, no. Λαρ. 163; Δεμετροῦ, nos. Λεμ. 663, 1; Λεμ. 722, 1; Ἄρτεμε, no. Λεμ. 667, 1; Δεμετρία, nos. Λεμ. 573, 687, 1.

<sup>212</sup> For the phenomenon at Kafizin: see e.g. BRIXHE 1988, 170. For the Roman period, I found only one example, ἔτεκην, magical text (3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Λεμ. 769, 14.

<sup>213</sup> For the interchange <E> ~ <H> elsewhere: cf. THREATTE, I, 1980, 163-164; GIGNAC 1976, I, 242-244; BRIXHE 1987<sup>2</sup>, 49.

<sup>214</sup> See e.g. χρηστέ, KRINGOS 2008, no. Λεμ. 643, 3; ἐν Ἄδι, nos. Λεμ. 770, 45; Λεμ. 776, 30; Λεμ. 777, 36; Λεμ. 778, 30; Λεοντί, Λευκ. 24, 2; χρηστόν, Λαρ. 167, 5. Cf. the phenomenon outside Cyprus, GIGNAC 1976, I, 242-244; BRIXHE 1987<sup>2</sup>, 49.

<sup>215</sup> BRIXHE 1988, 170.

<sup>216</sup> The short vowels in the first κέ in the third line and έτέρε in the fourth line, scan long for metrical reasons. The text consists of four hexameters and one iambic trimetre.

<sup>217</sup> Pano Arodes, milestone from Paphos to Arsinoe (192 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 152, 10.

<sup>218</sup> Palaepaphos, fragment of a decree? (Roman period), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 54.

<sup>219</sup> Amargeti, dedicaton (2<sup>nd</sup> c. - early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 133, 1.

<OY> and <Y><sup>220</sup> could be an indication that <Y> represented a back /u(:)/. It should also be noted that no example of interchange between <Y> and <OI> has survived in Paphos, unlike other Greek-speaking regions outside Cyprus,<sup>221</sup> where the diphthong /oi/ (<OI>) had merged with /y(:)/ by the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD.<sup>222</sup> The absence of an interchange between <Y> and <OI> could mean that the two graphemes did not have the same pronunciation in Paphos. Whatever the case, the absence of a spelling variation between <Y> and <EI>/<I>/<H> indicates that an unavoidable intermediate stage /y(:)/ had not yet been merged with /i(:)/. That there was a /y(:)/, which eventually shifted to /i/ at some time, possibly from that period in some areas,<sup>223</sup> is confirmed by Modern Greek.<sup>224</sup>

#### 4.1.1.7. Confusion of <Y> and <I>

The only example of confusion between <Y> and <I> at Paphos is Μιτυληναῖος (= Μυτιληναῖος).<sup>225</sup> This misspelling appears all over the Greek world (there are ca. 46 occurrences of Μιτυλ<sup>ο</sup>),<sup>226</sup> which makes it phonetically significant. Prima facie, this seems to point to a /y(:)/ pronunciation for <Y> which facilitated the transposition<sup>227</sup> of two letters corresponding to front vowels. This kind of transposition always occurs in the vicinity of labial consonants, in this case the /m/.<sup>228</sup>

#### 4.1.1.8. Interchange of spellings <YI> ~ <Y> and <I> ~ <YI>

Further evidence for the existence of an /y/ sound is provided by the interchange of <YI> and <Y>, e.g. ὑόν (5),<sup>229</sup> ὑοῖς,<sup>230</sup> ὑοῦ,<sup>231</sup> ὑωνό[ν],<sup>232</sup> clearly indicating that the diphthong /yi/ was monophthongised by the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC. The use of <I> for <YI> in

<sup>220</sup> In Paphos, no attestation of <OY> for <Y> has survived, but it has been spotted in other regions of Cyprus such as the neighbouring Kourion: see εούξά|μενος (KRINGOS 2008, Λεμ. 72, 2-3), where <OY> (for <Y>) corresponds to a back semivowel /u/, cf. MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 2021, 126-127.

<sup>221</sup> Cf. e.g. GIGNAC 1976, I, 197-199, 216; BRIXHE 1987<sup>2</sup>, 46.

<sup>222</sup> ALLEN 1987<sup>3</sup>, 80-81; MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 2021, 122.

<sup>223</sup> BRIXHE 1987<sup>2</sup>, 47-49; HOLTON *et al.* 2019, 11-13.

<sup>224</sup> HORROCKS 2010<sup>2</sup>, 118-119, 274; MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 2021, 121-122.

<sup>225</sup> Palaepaphos, List of contributions for oil supply (224-223 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 66.

<sup>226</sup> Accessed in *PHI*: <https://inscriptions.packhum.org/search? patt=%CE%9C%CE%B9%CF%84%CF%85%CE%BB>

<sup>227</sup> Cf. THREATTE 1980, I, 266, 391.

<sup>228</sup> MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 2021, 122 and fn. 10.

<sup>229</sup> Palaepaphos, dedication (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 172, 2. See also dedication (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), no. 210, 3; Lindos, Rhodes (but probably Paphian), honorific inscription (217-204 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 31, 6; Palaepaphos, oath to Tiberius (c. 14 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 53, 14 and Palaepaphos, dedicatory inscription (1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), no. Πάφ. 85, 4.

<sup>230</sup> Palaepaphos, oath to Tiberius (14 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 53, 19.

<sup>231</sup> Galataria, curse tablet (from 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD onwards), CAYLA 2018, no. 288, 2.

<sup>232</sup> Statue of Tiberius Claudius Teucros (after 41 AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 161, 6.

isolated *ión* (for <υ>*ión*),<sup>233</sup> might indicate that the sound /y/ was subsequently raised to /i/ or /j/ (by synizesis) in prevocalic position during the Roman period.<sup>234</sup> Nevertheless, since there are numerous occurrences of the expected *υί<sup>ο</sup>*, the possibility of a ‘slip of the pen’ with no phonetic relevance cannot be discarded for <υ>*ión*.

#### 4.1.1.9. <A> for <AY>: *έατοῦ*

In another word, i.e. *έατοῦ*<sup>235</sup> the omission of the letter <Y> could be at first sight explained as a ‘slip’ of the stone engraver, especially if we consider that in the same line of the inscription, a letter in a different word is omitted.<sup>236</sup> This is, however, no isolated fact: *έατοῦ* occurs in another text datable to the same period,<sup>237</sup> and the same phenomenon is repeatedly observed in other regions within and outside Cyprus. For example, it occurs in few inscriptions from Attica already by the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, but especially between ca. 50 BC and ca. 30 AD.<sup>238</sup> In another region of Cyprus, that of Lapethos, this phenomenon is already documented in the first half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD.<sup>239</sup> Thus, the spelling <A> for <AY><sup>240</sup> at Paphos, points to a diphthong-smoothing /ay/ > /a/ (reflecting allegro pronunciation).<sup>241</sup> Nevertheless, the evidence provided by <A> for <AY> in the pronoun *έατοῦ* cannot be indicative of an across-the-board evolution /ay/ > [a].

#### 4.1.1.10. Raising /o/ > /u/ before a nasal?

A text in verse<sup>242</sup> shows some features that have been attributed to the influence of the Cypriot dialect,<sup>243</sup> especially the raising of /o/ > [u] before a nasal<sup>244</sup> in *ύμήλικας* (= *όμήλικας*<sup>245</sup>), a feature shared with Arcadian and Lesbian.<sup>246</sup> The ‘outcrop’ of dialectal features in koine texts should not surprise us at an early period and that is why Cayla

<sup>233</sup> Amargeti, dedicatory inscription (2<sup>nd</sup> c.-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 129, 6. Cf. e.g. BRIXHE 1987<sup>2</sup> for the same phenomenon in Asia Minor.

<sup>234</sup> Cf. GIGNAC 1976, I, 202-203; BRIXHE 1987<sup>2</sup>, 48.

<sup>235</sup> Palaepaphos, dedicatory inscription (early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 99, 4.

<sup>236</sup> See Κρι<σ>πειανός, KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 99, 4.

<sup>237</sup> See Amargeti, dedicatory inscription (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 125, 3 and probably also [έ]ατοῦ, Amargeti, dedicatory inscription (2<sup>nd</sup>-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 129, 6.

<sup>238</sup> THREATTE 1980, I, 383-384.

<sup>239</sup> ατοῦ, Lapethos, honorific inscription (29 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Κερ. 9, 10.

<sup>240</sup> See e.g. έατοῦ, Amargeti, dedicatory inscription (2<sup>nd</sup> c.-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 131, 3 and έαυτης, Nea Paphos, honorific inscription (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD?), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 11, 3.

<sup>241</sup> Cf. GIGNAC 1976, I, 226; HORROCKS 2010<sup>2</sup>, 113.

<sup>242</sup> Geroskipou, funerary epigram, PHILIPPOU 1948, 155 (text and comments of D. Robertson); *Bull. Épigr.* 1950, no. 219; KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 144; CAYLA 2018, no. 228.

<sup>243</sup> CAYLA 2018, 322.

<sup>244</sup> See EGETMEYER 2010, I, 63-64, § 36.

<sup>245</sup> The syntax seems to require a nominative, i.e. *όμήλικες*, D. Robertson, see in PHILIPPOU 1948, 155.

<sup>246</sup> VOSKOS 1997, 400.

tentatively dates the inscription to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC.<sup>247</sup> Actually, dialect remnants are frequent in epigrams of all periods all over the Greek-speaking world, but are poetic forms, which in the case of Cyprus, occur even in the late antiquity.<sup>248</sup> After all, it is doubtful whether *ύμηλιξ* is even a dialectal form given that the true dialect variant should have been \**ύμᾱλιξ* with a long /a:/. What is more, *ύμήλικας* (U—UU) doesn't scan long, as it seems to be required by the metre, and thus the Peek's conjecture <σ>υ<νο>μήλικας<sup>249</sup> (UU—UU) cannot be disregarded.

#### 4.1.1.11. Vowel Assimilation

There is a possible instance —if it is not a mere spelling mistake— of regressive distant assimilation of a vowel to that of the following syllable, *Ἀπάονι* (for *Ἰπάονι*).<sup>250</sup>

#### 4.1.1.12. Long diphthongs

By the Hellenistic period, the iota representing the second element of long diphthongs is generally not written in Paphos. This is clear evidence that the sound was no longer pronounced. In the Cypriot dialect, *i-* and *u-* long diphthongs had lost their second element as early as the 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC.<sup>251</sup> This feature could be a remnant of the local dialect, but this is not necessarily so since at a certain point of time the omission of iota is Panhellenic. In the koine, the long diphthongs represented by <AI>, <ΩI> and <HI> lost their second element and by the early Roman period, they had all been reduced to long vowels /a:ĩ/ > /a:/, /ɔ:ĩ/ > /ɔ:/, /ɛ:ĩ/ > /ɛ:/ > /e:/ > /i:/ throughout the Greek-speaking world.<sup>252</sup> Consequently, the retention of iota in alphabetic inscriptions is clearly an orthographic spelling not representing real pronunciation anymore.

In Paphos, instances of iota-omission in alphabetic inscriptions appear from the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC onwards: e.g. *έν τῆ νῆσῳι*,<sup>253</sup> *ἀγαθῆ ψυχῆ*,<sup>254</sup> *τύχη ἀγαθῆ*,<sup>255</sup> *έγόνω*,<sup>256</sup>

<sup>247</sup> CAYLA 2018, 67. In contrast to the previous editors (PEEK 1955, *GVI*, no. 1509, VÉRILHAC 1978, 58-59, no. 34; VOSKOS 1997, 122-123, 395-401, E49; KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 144) who date the inscription to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD.

<sup>248</sup> VOSKOS 1997, 53-54; 2012, 31.

<sup>249</sup> See PEEK, *GVI*, no. 1509.

<sup>250</sup> Amargeti, dedicatory inscription (end of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 122, 1. Cf. CAYLA (2018, 330-331) who does not precisely date the inscriptions referring to Opaon Melanthios, but he adds that there is no doubt that most of these documents belong to a period between 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC–2<sup>nd</sup> or 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD.

<sup>251</sup> PANAYOTOU–TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2012b, 114; 2014, 402.

<sup>252</sup> Cf. GIGNAC 1976, I, 183.

<sup>253</sup> Palaepaphos, honorific inscription (145-131 or 124-116 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 76.

<sup>254</sup> Egypt, inscription on a gem (41-31 BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 96.

<sup>255</sup> Nea Paphos, honorific inscription (210-211 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 122.

<sup>256</sup> Palaepaphos, milestone (12 BC-14 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 108, 8.



Μελανθίω.<sup>257</sup> This notwithstanding, in other texts of the same period, the iota appears in the expected positions: e.g. Κύπρωι,<sup>258</sup> ἐν Πάφωι,<sup>259</sup> ἐν τῆι νήσωι,<sup>260</sup> ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι, σταφανῶσαι, στεφάνωι, ἐν τῶ ἱερῶι, ἐν Παλαιᾷ τῆι Ἀφροδίτῃ, ἐν Πάφωι, τῆι Λητοῖ, ἐν τῶι ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπωι,<sup>261</sup> Ἀλεξανδρεῖαι,<sup>262</sup> γραμματεῖωι,<sup>263</sup> Πτολεμαίωι τῶι [Ἀλ]εξάνδρωι, τῶι ἀδελφῶι, ἐν Πιερίαι, τῶι πατρί, τῆι φιλοστοργίαι.<sup>264</sup> The retention of iota is typically associated with official inscriptions. While iota is sometimes omitted from the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC in Ἀφροδίτη Παφία,<sup>265</sup> it is normally employed throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods in the cases where the specific theonym and cult epithet serve as a ‘title’, i.e. Ἀφροδίτη Παφία.<sup>266</sup>

#### 4.1.1.13. Gk. <OY> for Lat. /u/ in transcriptions into Greek

Latin consonantal *V* was regularly transcribed by Greek <OY> or <Y> in the Greek-speaking world,<sup>267</sup> while in some regions it was transcribed by <B> with increasing frequency from the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD onwards.<sup>268</sup> However, this was not the case for Paphos, as it is transcribed with <OY> at least until the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD: e.g. Ὀκτάουιος,<sup>269</sup> Ὀκταουία.<sup>270</sup>

<sup>257</sup> Amargeti, dedication (between 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC and 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 250.

<sup>258</sup> Palaepaphos, honorific inscription (163-157 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 39.

<sup>259</sup> Palaepaphos, honorific inscription (164/163-145 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 73; Palaepaphos, dedication (41-31 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 93.

<sup>260</sup> Nea Paphos, honorific inscription (ca. 130-124 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 41. See also nos. 46, 48, 51, 54, 57, 77.

<sup>261</sup> Palaepaphos, honorific inscription (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 75.

<sup>262</sup> Palaepaphos, dedication (88-80 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 89.

<sup>263</sup> Palaepaphos, honorific inscription (between 124 and 58 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 91.

<sup>264</sup> Palaepaphos, letter of Antiochos VIII to Ptolemy X Alexander I (6 September 109 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 22.

<sup>265</sup> See CAYLA 2018, nos. 167, 195, 217. See also Ἀφροδείτη Παφία, CAYLA 2018, nos. 114, 149, 150; Ἀφροδίτη, CAYLA 2018, nos. 187, 222; Ἀφροδείτη, CAYLA 2018, no. 356 (?).

<sup>266</sup> See Ἀφροδίτη Παφία, CAYLA 2018, nos. 16, 37, 81, 89, 93-94, 106, 132-134, 156, 160, 177-179, 182-183, 187, 192-193, 196-197, 202-203, 206 (a), 218. See also Ἀφροδείτη Παφία, CAYLA 2018, nos. 163, 209, 215, 220; Ἀφροδίτη/Ἀφροδείτη, CAYLA 2018, nos. 95, 169, 174, 177 (?), 178-179, 183, 219 (?), 351 (?), 353 (?); Παφία, CAYLA 2018, nos. 155, 158 (?), 168, 189, 206 (b). One of the earliest attestations of the epiclesis Παφία is found on a dedication from Palaepaphos, CAYLA 2018, no. 37, 1 (203-197 BC).

<sup>267</sup> Cf. e.g. GIGNAC 1976, I, 68-69.

<sup>268</sup> THREATTE 1980, I, 68.

<sup>269</sup> Palaepaphos, dedicatory inscription (1<sup>st</sup> c. AD-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 94, 2.

<sup>270</sup> Palaepaphos, dedicatory inscription (2<sup>nd</sup>/ 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 220, 5. The underlined text is no longer preserved, but the text had been thankfully earlier drawn, so the name appears with <OY>: see GARDNER *et al.* 1888, p. 246, no. 88.

## 4.1.2. CONSONANTS

### 4.1.2.1. Assimilation of nasals

The reflexion of regressive place assimilation of the final alveolar nasal /n/ to a following labial /p/ (/n/ → [m] / \_\_ /P/) in ὑψηλὸν πύργων (CAYLA 2018, no. 2, 2)<sup>271</sup> and ἱατρῶν Φαίταμ παῖδα.<sup>272</sup>

### 4.1.2.2. Interchange of <ΓΛ> ~ <ΚΛ>

<Γ> for <Κ> in ἐγλόγισμα (= ἐκλόγισμα)<sup>273</sup> shows that the voiceless plosive /k/ was subject to voicing assimilation /k/ > /γ/<sup>274</sup> before voiced /l/ (<λ>), which elsewhere was a typical phenomenon in the Roman period, especially with regards to the preposition ἐκ [ek], whether used as a bound or free morpheme.<sup>275</sup> It is important to note that assimilation only takes place across a morphological boundary, which favoured heterosyllabic clusters: ἐκ.λόγισμα (vs. ἔ.κλεψα).

### 4.1.2.3. <NB> ~ <MB>, <NG> ~ <ΓΓ>, <NK> ~ <ΓΚ>

The use of <N> in the words [σ]υνγενῆ,<sup>276</sup> and συνκλητικόν,<sup>277</sup> to represent the /n/ surfaced as a velar nasal [ŋ] before velar consonants (here /g/ and /k/ respectively), normally represented by <Γ>,<sup>278</sup> indicates that the writers identified the nasal with dental /n/. By the same token,<sup>279</sup> <N> stands for normative <M> reflecting assimilation in συνβῆ.<sup>280</sup>

This deviant spelling <N> probably indicates a ‘lack of assimilation’, which has been explained as “an epiphenomenon of ‘dictation style’, a form of lento speech characterised by artificial intersyllabic pauses.”<sup>281</sup> The nasals were in all probability

<sup>271</sup> Cf. BUCK 1955, 71, § 90; EGETMEYER 2010, I, 153, § 159.

<sup>272</sup> Palaepaphos, funerary epigram (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 224, 2.

<sup>273</sup> Palaepaphos, honorific inscription (between 124 and 58 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 91, 8.

<sup>274</sup> It is doubtful whether <Γ> represents a /γ/ or /g/ sound, since it is not certain at what precise time the classical voiced plosives /b, d, g/ were spirantised to /β, δ, γ/ in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, ALLEN 1987<sup>3</sup>, 29-32. This process took place in all positions, except after a nasal consonant. The velar /g/ must have first undergone the evolution as early as the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC (cf. TEODORSSON 1977, 254), then the labial /b/ by the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD and finally the dental /d/ from the 3<sup>rd</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> c. AD onwards. There is no evidence of the phenomenon in Paphos, but it is believed that it was carried through by the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD in most Greek-speaking world, HORROCKS 2010<sup>2</sup>, 170.

<sup>275</sup> GIGNAC 1976, I, 173-175; HORROCKS 2010<sup>2</sup>, 276.

<sup>276</sup> Palaepaphos, statue of Onesandros, priest of Ptolemy IX Soter II, head of the great library of Alexandria (88-80 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 89, 3.

<sup>277</sup> Palaepaphos, honorific inscription (1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 66, 2.

<sup>278</sup> The phenomenon is well attested, not only in Ancient Greek and koine, but also in Medieval Greek: see LEJEUNE 1972, 145-146; THREATTE 1980, I, 588-635; GIGNAC 1976, I, 165-171; NEWTON 1972, 94-99; HOLTON *et al.* 2012<sup>2</sup>, 20.

<sup>279</sup> [alveolar nasal] → [labial] / \_\_ [labial], i.e. /n/ → [m] / \_\_ C<sup>labial</sup>

<sup>280</sup> Nea Paphos, petition (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 70, 8, 12.

<sup>281</sup> MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 1993, 97-99; 2006, 276-277; 2017, 492.

perceived by the Paphian writers as a dental nasal /n/ because that was the only permitted nasal in prepausal and hence word-final position (συν-βῆ).<sup>282</sup> Considering that the data in question occur on texts that are formal (e.g. συνβῆ occurs on a petition addressed to the highest official of the Ptolemaic kingdom),<sup>283</sup> the formal lento speech of the writers might have been reflected in writing. In other words, if they wrote <N>, this must have been because they thought that they pronounced /n/.<sup>284</sup>

#### 4.1.2.4. Aspirates: <ΣΤ> for <ΣΘ> and <Χ> for <Κ> in ὑποκισθίδος

<ΣΤ> for <ΣΘ> in ὑποκισθίδος<sup>285</sup> (= ὑποκισθίδος, gen. sing. of ὑπόκισθις or ὑποκιστίς/ὑποκουστίς ‘Cytinus hypocisthis’), would suggest *prima facie* a phenomenon of manner-dissimilation of a fricative + fricative cluster (/sθ/) becoming a fricative + stop sequence /st/. Clearly, such a dissimilation would presuppose the spirantisation of /t<sup>h</sup>/ > /θ/, for which there is no independent evidence from Paphos.<sup>286</sup> That said, it is doubtful whether the hypothesis envisaged is really necessary in the case of the Paphian ὑποκισθίς, since, on the other hand, the alternative variant ὑποκιστίς (or possibly ὑπόκιστίς<sup>287</sup>) with a simple stop is attested elsewhere.<sup>288</sup> The word is a derivative of κίστος<sup>289</sup> (ὑπο- + κίστος / κίσθος + suffix -ίς, -ίδος),<sup>290</sup> which, for reasons unclear to me, is the Ionian variant (with no aspirate) of κίσθος.<sup>291</sup>

The variant ὑποκιστίς, spelled with <Χ> instead of <Κ>, is nowhere else attested,<sup>292</sup> and constitutes a hapax legomenon. <Χ> for <Κ> could be a case of ‘clerical confusion’, but an alternative explanation seems more appealing. By connecting the

<sup>282</sup> MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 2012, 492.

<sup>283</sup> GARDNER *et al.* 1888, p. 240, no. 50; MITFORD 1961, 40, no. 110.

<sup>284</sup> This phenomenon is widespread in Cyprus whatever the following phoneme: see Ἀνένκλητε (1<sup>st</sup> AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Λεμ. 200, 1; Θεόποντε Θεοπόν|που (1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), no. Λεμ. 248, 1-2; Ὀλύμπιε (2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), no. Λεμ. 645, 1, Σάνβωνος (2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD?), no. Λεμ. 744, 2. Πάνφιλε (2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> AD), no. Λευκ. 22, 1. Φένγος (3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), no. Λευκ. 26, 1 etc. For the same phenomenon elsewhere: see e.g. BRIXHE 1987<sup>2</sup>, 34.

<sup>285</sup> Nea Paphos, medical prescription (2<sup>nd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 37, 1.

<sup>286</sup> Neither elsewhere is the fricativisation of the aspirate plosives clearly evidenced (see GIGNAC 1976, I, 64; TEODORSSON 1977), but as Modern Greek shows, it is certain that at some point happened: see ALLEN 1987<sup>3</sup>, 23-26. There is evidence for a fricative pronunciation of /k<sup>h</sup>/ (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC) and /p<sup>h</sup>/ (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD) in Asia Minor and /p<sup>h</sup>/ (early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD) in Attica: see THREATTE 1980, I, 470. Fricativisation of /p<sup>h</sup> t<sup>h</sup> k<sup>h</sup>/ to /f θ x/ must have completed by the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD in most of the Greek-speaking world: see HORROCKS 2010<sup>2</sup>, 170-171. <ΣΤ> for <ΣΘ> has been viewed as evidence for the spirantisation of /t<sup>h</sup>/ > /θ/ in all positions, except when preceded by the sibilant, MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 1985, 333-394. There is one isolated example of <ΣΤ> for <ΣΘ>, whereas in all other cases the spelling <ΣΘ> is regular.

<sup>287</sup> Gal. 14.153. (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD).

<sup>288</sup> Plin. HN 26.49 (ca. 77 AD); Sor. 1.50 (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD); Gal. 8.114, 12.27 (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD). Cf. ὑποκισθίς, Dsc.1.97 (50-70 AD).

<sup>289</sup> Hp. Liqu. 5; Gal. 12.27.

<sup>290</sup> GEW s.v. κίσθος.

<sup>291</sup> See LSJ, s.v. ὑποκιστίς.

<sup>292</sup> From what I saw in TLG.

(mis)spellings <ΣΤ> and <Χ>, we can posit a case of transposition of aspiration /k/ \_\_/t<sup>h</sup>/ > /k<sup>h</sup>/ \_\_/t/.<sup>293</sup>

#### 4.1.2.5. Doubling of Consonants, non-etymological geminate

- *s*
  - Before a plosive: A double sigma in pre-consonantal position, usually before a plosive, e.g. Φ[ι]|[λ]όσστρατ|ον,<sup>294</sup> ὄσστᾶ,<sup>295</sup> σσπείρας,<sup>296</sup> is a phenomenon relatively common in Cyprus<sup>297</sup> but also all over the Greek speaking-world<sup>298</sup> already from earlier times.<sup>299</sup> There is no reason to interpret these double consonants (“graphic geminates”) as real geminates, since Greek did not tolerate preconsonantal or postconsonantal geminates. In short, whatever the reason of the doubling, this “gemination” did not reflect contrastive articulation.<sup>300</sup> This phenomenon has been usually interpreted as a mark of syllabification indicating heterosyllabicity<sup>301</sup> or ambisyllabicity<sup>302</sup> (or an ambiguous syllabification).
  - Medially: Non-etymological <σσ> is also attested in **Δαμασσαγόρας**,<sup>303</sup> which has been viewed as evidence for an alleged preventive strengthening of /s/ in response to its general weakening. However, the text is metrical, and the geminate seems to be an artifice to obtain a long syllable.<sup>304</sup>
- /n/
  - Intervocally: The sonorant /n/ appears geminated in intervocalic position in **Λικιννία**.<sup>305</sup> The expected Greek transcription for the Latin name *Licina* is **Λικινία**, as attested in other examples.<sup>306</sup> The double /n/ in **Λικιννία** could be explained as gemination induced by a yod ([likinnja]).

<sup>293</sup> For similar cases: see BUCK 1955, 56, § 65; THREATTE 1980, I, 444.

<sup>294</sup> Palaepaphos, dedicatory inscription (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 129, 3-5.

<sup>295</sup> Geroskipou, funerary epigram (end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 144, 8.

<sup>296</sup> KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 144, 3.

<sup>297</sup> See KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 129, 3-5; cf. Ἀρίστωνος, no. Λεμ. 770, 5 and 27; Ἀρίστω[νος], no. Λεμ. 770, 39; Ἀρίστωνων, nos. Λεμ. 770, 43; Λεμ. 782, 10, 17 and 25; Ἀρίστωνος, nos. Λεμ. 782, 16 and 35. Especially in the words χρηστός and χρηστή, e.g. χρηστέ, Tamassos, funerary cippus (2<sup>nd</sup> - 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Λευκ. 89, 2.

<sup>298</sup> See GIGNAC 1976, I, 159; THREATTE 1980, I, 524-530.

<sup>299</sup> See MASSON 1994, 90; 1994b.

<sup>300</sup> Cf. MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 1985b, 647-655; 1996, 104.

<sup>301</sup> LEJEUNE 1955<sup>2</sup>, § 296.

<sup>302</sup> See MASSON 1994, 90-92.

<sup>303</sup> Palaepaphos, funerary epigram (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 224, 2.

<sup>304</sup> EGETMEYER 2010, I, 169.

<sup>305</sup> **Λικιννία**, KRINGOS 2008, nos. Πάφ. 83, (α) 5; Πάφ. 83, (β) 6.

<sup>306</sup> **Λικιννία** (< *Licinius*, *Licina*), Palaepaphos, dedicatory inscription (mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 84, 4.

#### 4.1.2.6. Simplification / ‘Degemination’ of Double Consonants

Gemination must be considered in conjunction with another common phenomenon attested in all Greek-speaking regions during the Hellenistic and Roman periods, that is the simplification of double consonants, which —if it is a real phonetic phenomenon— it is supposed to have been accomplished by the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD.<sup>307</sup> This is also attested in Paphos: Καλλιπ<π>ίδης Καλλιπ<π>ίδο[υ],<sup>308</sup> βασιλι<σ>αν,<sup>309</sup> Ἀπόλ<λ>ωνι.<sup>310</sup> It is a common view that the radical modification in the koine consonant system included, inter alia, the degemination of consonants.<sup>311</sup> Hence, the simultaneous phenomena of graphic gemination and degemination might be explained as spelling mistakes, committed by speakers who did not pronounce geminates anymore, and so had trouble with orthography. However, this view seems largely inconsistent to the later history of some Medieval and Modern regional dialects, including the local Cypriot dialect, in which ancient (and secondary<sup>312</sup>) geminates have survived to this day.<sup>313</sup> Thus, it is paradoxical that instances of simplification of double consonants occurs also in Cyprus. The paradox cannot be satisfactorily explained at the present time, but since the Cypriot dialect is one of the few modern dialects that retain geminates, non-etymological geminates, as in the case of Λικιννία, cannot be explained as hypercorrect spellings induced by degemination.

#### 4.1.2.7. Omission of nasals

The omission of nasals —whether due to phonetic causes or not— is a Panhellenic phenomenon also attested in Paphos:

- Before a consonant: Μελα<ν>θίω.<sup>314</sup>

Μελα<ν>θίω is roughly dated between 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC and 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD, a period in which it is not certain whether <Θ> still represents an aspirate /t<sup>h</sup>/ or a fricative /θ/. If the fricativisation of all the aspirate plosives was in most areas completed by the end of the

<sup>307</sup> See e.g. GIGNAC 1976, I, 154-156, 183. Cf. THREATTE 1980, I, 511.

<sup>308</sup> Palaepaphos, List of contributions for oil supply (224-223 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 66.

<sup>309</sup> Lindos, Rhodes (but probably Paphian), honorific inscription (217-204 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 31.

<sup>310</sup> Amargeti, dedication (between 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC and 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 254.

<sup>311</sup> GIGNAC 1976, I, 154-162; HORROCKS 2010<sup>2</sup>, 274; MANOLESSOU & BASEA-BEZANDAKOU 2012, 956. A view that has been disputed is that degemination in Greek was completed before the introduction of the koine (and the alphabet) in Cyprus, BRIXHE 1987<sup>2</sup>, 32, cf. DAVY & PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2004, 8.

<sup>312</sup> The so-called ‘spontaneous’ consonantal gemination in the Modern Cypriot dialect which is “neither original to Ancient Greek nor accountable in terms of borrowing, analogy, or regular phonological change”: see NEWTON 1968; DAVY & PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2003, 151.

<sup>313</sup> See e.g. DAVY & PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2004, 8; HORROCKS 2010<sup>2</sup>, 274.

<sup>314</sup> Amargeti, dedication (between 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC and 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 254.

4<sup>th</sup> c. AD,<sup>315</sup> then the omission of the nasal could reflect its deletion before fricative /θ/.<sup>316</sup> Differently, one would attribute this to a spelling error.

- Word-finally

Paphos provides some examples with /n/ omitted in word-final position: εὖ χρῶ ὑγιένω<v>,<sup>317</sup> Κοινό<v> Κυπρίων. In both cases, /n/ occurs in prepausal position in short texts written on a lamp and a coin. The legend ‘KOINO<N> ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ’ is surrounded by a laurel wreath on the reverse of the coin,<sup>318</sup> which was struck by the *Koinon Kyprion* (League of the Cypriots)<sup>319</sup> probably in 43/4 AD, during the reign of the emperor Claudius (41-54 AD).<sup>320</sup> The local style of the coinage shows that it was most likely struck at Paphos. Other coins struck by the *Koinon* under Claudius bear the legend KOINON ΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ with final <N>.<sup>321</sup> Similarly, in all other inscriptions from Cyprus mentioning the *Koinon*,<sup>322</sup> final <N> is always written. That said, if a phonetic explanation could be given for the omission of the nasal in the above instances, this would be its deletion in prepausal position.<sup>323</sup>

#### 4.1.2.8. Omission of <Σ>

A number of examples in koine texts from Paphos exhibit omission of <Σ>. It is omitted before voiceless stops and prepausal position, e.g. “Ἡλειο<ς>,<sup>324</sup> Κρι<σ>πειανός,<sup>325</sup> βροτοῖ<ς> πᾶ{1}σιν (CAYLA 2018, no. 228, 5-6).

Omission of <Σ> is, however, sporadic, in contrast to the more numerous examples where the sibilant is present in the same positions. The instance of βροτοῖ<ς>

<sup>315</sup> HORROCKS 2010<sup>2</sup>, 170-171.

<sup>316</sup> HORROCKS 2010<sup>2</sup>, 275.

<sup>317</sup> Nea Paphos, lamp (Roman period), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 38.

<sup>318</sup> This is a well-known coin, being the official logo of the Bank of Cyprus since 1963.

<sup>319</sup> For the *Koinon Kyprion*: see e.g. POTTER 2000, 817-820; CAYLA 2004, 239-241; KRINGOS 2008, 186-191.

<sup>320</sup> RPC I, p. 580, no. 3927; MICHAELIDOU & ZAPITI 2008, p. 145, no. 12; ZAPITI 2015; AMANDRY 2015.

<sup>321</sup> See e.g. RPC I, p. 580, nos. 3928-3931, pls 149-150.

<sup>322</sup> κοινὸν τὸ [Κ]υπρίων, KRINGOS 2008, nos. Πάφ. 2, 4; Κυπρίων τὸ κοινὸν, Πάφ. 5, 1; Πάφ. 78, 2; Πάφ. 92, 2; Ἀμμ. 80, 2; [κοινὸν τ]ὸ Κυπ[ρίων], Πάφ. 75, 2; τοῦ κοινοῦ Κυπρίων, Πάφ. 78, 5; κοινὸν Κυπρίων, Πάφ. 101, 2; Ἀμμ. 51, 1; τὸ κοι[νὸν τῶν - - - ], Λεμ. 46, 4; [τ]οῦ κοινοῦ Κυπρίων, Κερ. 13, 2; κοινὸν τὸ Κυπρίων, Λάρ. 6, 1; κοινὸν τὸ Κυπρίων, Λάρ. 10, 1.

<sup>323</sup> This view is consistent with the elision of a prepausally word-final /n/ in the Medieval and Modern Cypriot dialect (e.g. /ka<sup>1</sup>mnumen/ → [ˈkammume]), a feature that is traced back to the first half of the 9<sup>th</sup> c. AD, in the first hitherto direct (epigraphical) evidence on the formation of Modern Cypriot Greek, provided by an inscribed fresco found in the church of Saint Athanasia at Rizokarpaso: see Ἀποστόλω<v> (line 2), καρπὸ<v> τῆς... (line 4), FOULIAS 2010, 203-229; PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2012b, 122.

<sup>324</sup> Nea Paphos, dedication (4<sup>th</sup> - 5<sup>th</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 268.

<sup>325</sup> Palaepaphos, dedicatory inscription (early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 99, 4. This may be a clerical error, as in the previous lines (2-3), the name Κρισ|πεῖνον has <Σ>.

must be a ‘slip’ since it is found on a text with various mistakes.<sup>326</sup> As for the other two instances, the sibilant is omitted in some of the positions that was also frequently omitted in texts written in the Cypriot Syllabary,<sup>327</sup> which is considered to be proof of a phonetic process of weakening (i.e. deoralisation or aspiration), possibly with subsequent loss of /s/<sup>328</sup> in specific contexts.<sup>329</sup>

The occasional omission of <Σ> of the alphabetic data in the same positions where this phonological process was attested in Cypriot syllabic inscriptions, must be accidental. The absence of sibilant notation before a voiceless plosive is attested in many other regions, not only inside but also outside Cyprus during the period under consideration. It is mainly observed in the adjective *χρηστός* -ή (cf. e.g. Ἄρι<σ>ταγόρας<sup>330</sup>), often found on late funerary cippi (grave altars).<sup>331</sup> The spellings *χρητή*, *χρητός* also sporadically occur in Athens in the Roman period, not to mention the analogous misspellings in names (e.g. Ἄρι<σ>τις, Ἄρι<σ>των, Ἄρι<σ>τίων etc.) from other places and other periods, as well.<sup>332</sup> Despite the fact that this kind of misspellings appear on grave altars, which can usually be indicative of a phonetic phenomenon, this is not necessarily so. The fact that the omission of the sibilant occurs with high frequency in the standard burial address *χρη<σ>τέ* -ή, especially as a constituent of the typical burial greeting ‘*χρηστέ* -ή *χαῖρε*’,<sup>333</sup> statistically increases the chances of omissions of <Σ>. What is more, albeit the

<sup>326</sup> See e.g. <σε>, ἐγένε<υ>, πᾶ{τ}σιν, CAYLA 2018, no. 228, 1-3.

<sup>327</sup> In syllabic texts the sibilant was omitted 1) before voiceless plosives; 2) in intervocalic position; and 3) in word-final position.

<sup>328</sup> Intermediate aspiration of /s/ is mandatory before its loss. Cf. the intervocalic /s/-aspiration and its subsequent deletion in some Modern Cypriot varieties, especially the Paphian one, e.g. ἐπκίασα > ἐπκίαθα > ἐπκίαα: see e.g. SYMEONIDES 2006, 187.

<sup>329</sup> See MASSON 1994, 89; PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2004, 3-7; 2014, 402; ALONSO DÉNIZ 2008, 350-362, 409-411; MORPURGO DAVIES 2012, 109. The /s/-weakening seems to have taken place both in preconsonantal and intervocalic positions. The specific environments of aspiration or loss of word-final /s/ have not with certainty defined yet, see ALONSO DÉNIZ 2008, 375-403; MORPURGO DAVIES 2012, 110.

<sup>330</sup> See MASSON 1994, where the phenomenon is explicated.

<sup>331</sup> See e.g. *χρε<σ>τή*, KRINGOS 2008, no. Λεμ. 82. See also nos. Λεμ. 187, 232, 358, 374, 406, 422, 445, 453, 476, 494, 498, 567, 600, 660, 662, 700, 738, 748, 752, 754, 768; Λευκ. 62; Λάρ. 162 and Ἄβ. Πρ. 21. See also MASSON 1981, p. 643, fn. 61; 1994, 90. In Paphos, the vast majority of funerary cippi (*kioniskoi*), where the burial greeting “*χρηστέ* or *χρηστή χαῖρε*” appears with the greater frequency, are uninscribed, KRINGOS 2008, 135, 273. That is why we have only one example with this formula from there: *χρηστ[ή] χ[αῖ]ρε*, Nea Paphos, funerary inscription (2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 29, 1-2; p. 273.

<sup>332</sup> TEODORSSON 1977, 200; THREATTE 1980, I, 506; MASSON 1981, p. 643, fn. 61; 1994, 90. The phenomenon is paralleled also in Egypt and Asia Minor, MAYSER 1970, 179; GIGNAC 1976, I, 130; BRICHHE 1987<sup>2</sup>, 114.

<sup>333</sup> In Cyprus, it was especially prevalent in Amathous and Kition, e.g. KRINGOS 2008, nos. Λεμ. 96; Λεμ. 550; Λάρ. 100; Λάρ. 209; Ἄμμ. 238 etc.

omission of the sibilant happens mostly before /t/, this might be a mirage due to the greater frequency of the στ cluster in Ancient Greek.<sup>334</sup>

The phenomenon seems to be irrelevant to phonetic process. The preconsonantal /s/-aspiration is uncommon in languages, in which phonological length contrast (between a short /s/ and a long /s:/) exists, including Ancient Greek.<sup>335</sup> In any case, voiceless plosives, unlike sonorants and voiced stops, are typologically less likely to induce /s/-aspiration.<sup>336</sup> Concluding, the possibility of ‘slips of the pen’ with no phonetic relevance for the abovementioned <Σ> omissions in preconsonantal position seems to be the most probable explanation. The rarity of the phenomenon in word-final position (“Ἡλειο<ς>”) also points to a case of a ‘slip’.

#### 4.1.2.9. Insertion of <I>: an antihhiatic glide?

Another form worthy of attention is ἀρχιερεὺς (τῶν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον ‘high-priest of Cyprus’)<sup>337</sup> with repeated <I>. What would be expected is the deletion of /i/ in ἀρχι-, before a root-initial vowel: ἀρχ-ιερεὺς. The spelling ἀρχιερ<sup>ο</sup> has parallels elsewhere,<sup>338</sup> a fact that strongly suggests a linguistic motivation. This can be interpreted as, either an etymological spelling ἀρχι-ιερεὺς (cf. \*ἀρχι-φοινοχόος > ἀρχι-οινοχόος, but here elision was prevented by /w/) or an antihhiatic glide which is expected to occur, especially in hyperarticulate formal styles. The instance of ἀρχιερεὺς occurs on an honorific statue of the deified king Ptolemy VI Philometor dedicated by a *Strategos* (Governor-General) of Cyprus, a formal text. On top of that, the other example from Cyprus displays the same spelling in exactly the same title, again on a formal honorific inscription dated around the same period.<sup>339</sup>

<sup>334</sup> The στ cluster is statistically much more frequent than σπ and σκ, see MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 1985b; 2007, 358.

<sup>335</sup> In contrast to intervocalic /s/ which seems to be more prone to aspiration than in other positions, MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 1996, 98-104.

<sup>336</sup> MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 1996, 100-101. Also, cross-linguistically, /s/-weakening is more likely to happen before non-homorganic labial and velar stops than before homorganic dental stops, MÉNDEZ DOSUNA 1985b; 2000, 282; 2007, 357-358.

<sup>337</sup> Palaepaphos, honorific inscription (ca. 157-145 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 15.

<sup>338</sup> Accessed in *PHI*: <https://inscriptions.packhum.org/search?patt=%E1%BC%80%CF%81%CF%87%CE%B9%CE%B9>

<sup>339</sup> ἀρχιερέα τῶν κατὰ τὴν νῆσον, Kourion (142-131 BC), MITFORD 1971, no. 45, 2-3.



## 4.2. Morphology

### 4.2.1. Changes in nominal inflection:

— Interferences in masculine proper names between the genitive of the first declension and that of *s*-stems: e.g. gen. Ἀπελλέου<sup>340</sup> (for Ἀπελλέου), and Στασικράτου<sup>341</sup> (for Στασικράτους). This is due to confusion between the masculines of the first declension in -ης (e.g., στρατιώτης, gen. στρατιώτου) and the masculines of the third declension in -ης (e.g. Στασικράτης, gen. Στασικράτους). This also led to the new genitive in -ους for first-declension masculines in -έας (with contracted forms in -ῆς), an extension of the *s*-stem (third-declension) paradigm (hence, Ἀπελλέας, gen. Ἀπελλέους). The partial merger of the first and third declensions began in Attic as early as the late Classical period and diffused into the rest of the Greek-speaking regions during the Hellenistic-Roman periods.<sup>342</sup>

— The proper name Παπεῖς of the third declension presents a genitive of masculines of the first declension in -ου, Παπεΐτου,<sup>343</sup> indicative of the confusion that must have resulted from the homophony of the masculine nominative in -εῖς with that of first declension masculine nouns in -ής.

— Masculine proper names of the first declension take the innovative genitive ending -α instead of the -ου:<sup>344</sup> Νικία (for Νικίου),<sup>345</sup> Δαμασσαγόρα (for Δαμασσαγόρου).<sup>346</sup> This points to the internal development of the first declension and the emergence of an innovative paradigm through the creation of new genitives in -α on analogy to the nominative in -ας and the accusative in -αν.<sup>347</sup>

— If Εὐτυχήτος<sup>348</sup> was not a dental stem form of the name Εὐτύχης in the genitive, derived from the *s*-stem adjective εὐτυχής,<sup>349</sup> it could be a modified form in the

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<sup>340</sup> Ἀπελλέας (father of Ἀρχετίμη, maternal grandfather of Ὀνησίλος and Σάμιον): Ἀπελλέους (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 168, 1. Cf. Ἀπελλῆς (mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), PPC A 57.

<sup>341</sup> Στασικράτης: Στασικράτου (41-31 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 95, 2. Cf. his son [...ιπ]πος (2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), PPC Σ 28; see also 105-88 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Στασικράτης 4.

In this form of genitive, this name occurs also on a funerary inscription from Amathous (1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD?), KRINGOS 2008, no. Λεμ. 299, 2.

<sup>342</sup> MAYSER 1970<sup>2</sup>, I, 2, 38, § 64; GIGNAC 1976, I, 69-70; THREATTE 1996, 154-171.

<sup>343</sup> Παπεῖς II (quaestor, son of Παπεῖς I): Παπεΐτου Παπεί[το]υ (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 77, 2. See also 1<sup>st</sup> BC/1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Παπεῖς 1.

<sup>344</sup> Cf. THREATTE 1980, I, 82-85.

<sup>345</sup> Νικίας (son of Νικίας): Νικίαν Νικία (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 85, 3. Cf. late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC N 26; 114-107 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Νικίας 29.

<sup>346</sup> Δαμασσαγόρας (father of Φαίτας [of Tenedos?]): Δαμασσαγόρα (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 224, 2. Cf. early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC Δ 1; mid-4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Δαμασσαγόρας 2.

<sup>347</sup> Cf. HORROCKS 2010<sup>2</sup>, 121.

<sup>348</sup> Εὐτυχήτος (nom.) or Εὐτύχητος (gen. of Εὐτύχης), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 36, 1.

<sup>349</sup> Cf. GIGNAC 1976, II, 75.

nominative<sup>350</sup> on analogy to the nominative of masculines of the second declension (the type in -ος). This could be indicative of the partial shift of masculine nouns from the third declension to the second declension.

#### 4.2.2. Reduplication in perfect:

The hapax ὤληλα in a lacunary text (KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 153, 4, 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD) seems to be a secondary by-form of regular intr. ὄλωλα<sup>351</sup> (< \*h<sub>3</sub>le-h<sub>3</sub>ol-) with so-called ‘Attic reduplication’.<sup>352</sup>

#### 4.2.3. Pronouns:

- As everywhere, the reflexive pronouns are widely used as possessive pronouns.<sup>353</sup> During the Hellenistic period, the shortened form αὐτοῦ, αὐτῆς of the reflexive pronoun of the 3<sup>rd</sup> person ἑαυτοῦ, ἑαυτῆς merge with the anaphoric pronoun αὐτόν, αὐτήν, αὐτό due to the loss of the aspiration.<sup>354</sup>

τὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα, CAYLA 2018, no. 171, 2 (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC).

τὸν αὐτῆς υἰόν, CAYLA 2018, no. 80, 2 (mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC).

τὸν υἰὸν αὐτῶν, CAYLA 2018, no. 31, 6 (217-204 BC).

τὴν ἑαυτῶν θυγατέρα, CAYLA 2018, no. 81, 5 (3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC).

τὸν αὐτῆς καὶ Χαρίου | θυγατέρα, CAYLA 2018, no. 182, 2-3 (3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC).

- 2<sup>nd</sup> person singular σός, -ή, -όν only occurs in an epigram, τὴν σὴν ἡρατῆν (CAYLA 2018, no. 228, 5).
- Several instances of 1<sup>st</sup> person pl. ἡμέτερος are attested in a single official inscription (KRINGOS 2008, no. Παφ. 53, 14 AD), an oath to the Roman emperor Tiberius:<sup>355</sup>  
ἡμετέραν Ἀκράϊαν Ἀφροδίτην; [ἡ]μετέραν Κόρην; ἡμέτερον Ὑλάτη[ν Ἀπόλλ]ω;  
ἡμέτερον Κε[ρ]υγήτην Ἀπόλλω καὶ τοὺς ἡμετέρους σωτῆρας Διοσκούρους.

4.2.4. The addition of the so-called nu-*ephekkystikon* (movable ny) to the dative plural in -σι(ν) and to some verbal endings in -σι(ν), -τι(ν), or -ε(ν):

— third person plural present -σι, e.g. πενθοῦσιν, κλαίουσιν.

<sup>350</sup> MLYNARCZYK 1992, 260.

<sup>351</sup> VOSKOS 1997, 447.

<sup>352</sup> Cf. EGETMEYER 2010, I, 496, § 609; HORROCKS 2010<sup>2</sup>, 177.

<sup>353</sup> Cf. BRIXHE 1987<sup>2</sup>, 82-83 § 3.2.3.1.

<sup>354</sup> BRIXHE 1987<sup>2</sup>, 80-81 § 3.2.2.1.

<sup>355</sup> SEG XVIII, no. 578; Bull. Épigr. 1950, no. 219.

— dative plural -σι, e.g. πᾶσιν, πᾶ{ι}σιν.<sup>356</sup>

All these forms appear on one metrical text<sup>357</sup> (KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 144, end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), in which the metre seems to require the movable ny in πενθοῦσιν and πᾶ{ι}σιν. The appearance of the phenomenon goes as far back as the early 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC in different dialectal areas, but, since it is mainly a feature of Attic-Ionic, it was probably (re)diffused through the koine to the rest of the Greek-speaking regions.<sup>358</sup>

### 4.3. Syntax

As elsewhere, the koine texts of Paphos have parallels in Classical Attic. Only few syntactic constructions seem to be indicative of the increasing use of the accusative case against dative:

- In cases that the accusative and dative alternate freely in indirect object function in Classical Attic, e.g. after the verb ἀναγράφω ‘copy’,<sup>359</sup> the use of the accusative is preferred in the koine at Paphos. No example of ἀναγράφω + ἐν occurs in Paphos:

ἀναγράψαι εἰς | στήλην, CAYLA 2018, no. 75, 15-16 (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC).

ἀναγράψαντας...εἰς στήλην, CAYLA 2018, no. 91, 10-11 (124-58 BC).

- The use of the prepositional phrase ὑπό + **accusative** indicating subjection (under one's power or at one's command):<sup>360</sup>

ὑπ' αὐτὸν τεταγμένοι, CAYLA 2018, no. 69, 3 (early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?)

[ὑ]πὸ Νικάνορα | [τα]σόμενοι, CAYLA 2018, no. 67, 1-2 (mid or end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC).

- The repeated use of the prepositional phrase εἰς + **accusative** in the construction εὐνοίας/ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα/ἔνεκεν...(ἔχων) εἰς instead of another construction such as that of εὐνοίαν ἔχων and a dative for the indirect object (Cf. e.g. D.18.1). There are many examples of inscriptions displaying this standard syntax.

<sup>356</sup> It is probably confused with πασί(ν), the dative plural of masculine/feminine form of noun παῖς.

<sup>357</sup> PEEK 1955, GVI, no. 1509, VÉRILHAC 1978, 58-59, no. 34; VOSKOS 1997, 122-123, 395-401, E49.

<sup>358</sup> ALLEN 1987<sup>3</sup>, 102; PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2007, 412; MARTÍN GONZÁLEZ 2011, 308, 318-319.

<sup>359</sup> LSJ, s.v. ἀναγράφω.

<sup>360</sup> See LSJ, s.v. ὑπό. B.II.2.

Honorand	Dedicants	Phrase	Date
Myrsine, wife of Pelops, <i>strategos</i> of Cyprus	the city of Paphos	εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν [ῆ]ς ἔχων δια[τελεῖ Πέλοψ] εἰς βασιλέ[α] (CAYLA 2018, no. 30).	217-210 BC
Ptolemy, son of Pelops	the seniors of the gymnasium	ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων...εἰς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ βασίλισσαν (CAYLA 2018, no. 31).	217-204 BC
Ptolemy, son of Polycrates	the seniors of the gymnasium	ἔνεκ[α κα]ὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς βασιλέ[α Π]τολεμαῖον (CAYLA 2018, no. 38).	203-197 BC?
Archias, <i>Strategos</i> of Cyprus	the infantry and the cavalry	ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν [κα]ὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς βασιλέα Π[το]λεμαῖον (CAYLA 2018, no. 39).	ca. 163-157 BC
Theodoros, <i>Strategos</i> of Cyprus	the <i>koinon</i> of the Lyciens	ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς β[ασιλέα] Πτολεμαῖον καὶ βασίλισσαν Κλεοπάτραν (CAYLA 2018, no. 46).	124-118 BC
Callicles of Alexandria	the synarchy of the <i>strategoí</i>	ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς βασιλέ[α] Πτολεμαῖον (CAYLA 2018, no. 73).	164/163-145 BC
Callicles of Alexandria	the city of Paphos	εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς... (CAYLA 2018, no. 74).	164/163-145 BC
[---]	the Cilician officials	...εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων διατελεῖ εἰς τε βασιλέα... (CAYLA 2018, no. 76, 4).	(145-131 or 124-116 BC)

#### 4.4. Lexicon

##### 4.4.1. hapax legomena:

- The acc. pl. ἐπίνια (CAYLA 2018, no. 1, 3, 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC) of ἐπίνιαον ‘addition to a temple’<sup>361</sup> (< ἐπί ‘on top of’ or ‘in addition’<sup>362</sup> + ναός ‘temple’).<sup>363</sup>
- ὑποχιστίς ‘Cytinus hypocisthis’ (see Phonology).
- ὦληλα (see Morphology).

##### 4.4.2. Rare forms / words:

- The verb ἀρχιτεκτονέω with the meaning ‘design, construct’ (cf. κάρχιτεκτόνει ‘contrive’, Ar. *Pax.* 305) in the part. ἀρχιτεκτονήσ[αντα] (CAYLA 2018, no. 64, 2, 306 BC?).
- The pf. part. ἡρχευκώς (ἡρχευκότα, CAYLA 2018, no. 94, 3, 41-40 BC?) is a rare occurrence of the verb ἀρχεύω ‘to be chief magistrate or official’<sup>364</sup> in a text in

<sup>361</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἐπίνιαον.

<sup>362</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἐπί, B.I.1.c.

<sup>363</sup> Cf. EGETMEYER 2010, I, 309, § 353.

prose.<sup>365</sup> Ἀρχεύω is a denominative coming from ἀρχός<sup>366</sup> and poetic synonym of the verb ἄρχω.

- The rare noun ἐγλόγισμα<sup>367</sup> (= ἐκλόγισμα) (see 4.1.1.2) ‘amount of money’ (CAYLA 2018, no. 91, 8, 124-58 BC), which is first attested in the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (cf. *P. Stras.* 103.2) and produced from the same root as the —more commonly used— second-declension masculine noun ἐκλογισμός and the verb ἐκλογίζομαι.

#### 4.4.3. Some items of the lexicon related to certain offices, dignitaries, or titles are worth mentioning:

- There is a set of names of offices and aulic titles compounded with ἀρχ(ι)-:
- a) The term ἀρχεδέατρος (CAYLA 2018, no. 21, 4, ca. 114/113-107/106 BC) is composed of ἀρχ-<sup>368</sup> and ἐδέατρος, which must be associated with the stem of the verb ἔδω ‘eat’. This title was designating the chief seneschal at the Ptolemaic court.<sup>369</sup>
  - b) Another term is ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ ‘chief of the body-guard’<sup>370</sup> (CAYLA 2018, no. 38, 2, 203-197 BC), which in this instance is probably not an aulic title (unlike in Egypt), but a prestigious function.<sup>371</sup> Later on, the term did no longer designate a function but a rank of the aulic hierarchy (CAYLA 2018, nos. 14, 4, 163-145 BC; 74, 3, 164/163-145 BC).<sup>372</sup>
- Another title is that of ἀρχὸς τῶν Κινυραδῶν (CAYLA 2018, no. 81, 3<sup>rd</sup>/ 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), which might be associated with the cult of Apollo and Aphrodite, since these were deities that, in Paphos, were probably related to the hero Kinyras.<sup>373</sup> Another religious function is μαντιάρχης (CAYLA 2018, nos. 86, 2; 87, 4, 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), which must have been synonymous to the preceding title μαντίαρχος (< μάντις) ‘chief of diviners’.<sup>374</sup>

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<sup>364</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἀρχεύω.

<sup>365</sup> MITFORD 1961, p. 36-37, no. 98.

<sup>366</sup> *DELG*, s.v. ἄρχω.

<sup>367</sup> *DGE*, s.v. ἐκλόγισμα.

<sup>368</sup> *DELG*, s.v. ἄρχω.

<sup>369</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἀρχεδέατρος.

<sup>370</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἀρχισωματοφύλαξ.

<sup>371</sup> CAYLA 2018, 163.

<sup>372</sup> CAYLA 2018, 197.

<sup>373</sup> CAYLA 2018, 204.

<sup>374</sup> EGETMEYER 2010, I, 244, § 271.

## 5. Paphian Onomastics: Etymological, Morphological and Semantic Analysis of the Greek names

5.1. In this section, the linguistic analysis of the personal names is accompanied by their extra-linguistic context, i.e. references to prosopographic and onomastic sources which may add to the semantics of each anthroponym.<sup>375</sup> By way of illustration, considering the prosopographic data of its bearer(s) specified in the sources (usually the patronymic, the occupation) and the historical and sociocultural context, we can shed more light on the contemporary fashions that affected naming practices; the choice of a given name was often influenced by cultural/ideological factors. Where an indication of origin (the city or the ethnic) of the bearer(s)' name is not specified on inscriptions found at Paphos, the names are considered to belong to Paphians.

5.2. From a morphological point of view, Paphian personal names are classified —as in the rest of the Greek-speaking world— into three main categories:<sup>376</sup> 1) the compound names (e.g. Ἀριστονίκη, Νίκανδρος, Ὀνήσανδρος etc.); 2) the abbreviated / shortened names (“Kurznamen”) deriving from compound names, usually by clipping one of the components and adding a suffix (e.g. Ἐπαφρᾶς, Θεανώ, Χρυσάριον) with or without expressive gemination (Μεννέας); 3) ‘simple’/non-compound names consisted of adjectives or nouns with or without a suffix (e.g. Ἡσύχιος, Εἰρηναῖος, Ἐλπίς, Πλοῦς). This category includes adjectives that are used (with accent recession) as personal names (e.g. Βόηθος, Κράτερος).<sup>377</sup>

### 5.2.1. Hypocoristic suffixes:

- There are many hypocoristic suffixes employed in shortened/abbreviated forms of compound names:
  - -ων:<sup>378</sup> e.g. Ἄνδρων, Ἀρίστων, Ἠγήσων, Κρίτων.
  - -ώ:<sup>379</sup> e.g. Δημώ, Ἐλλαπώ.
  - The fem. hypocoristic suffix (of neuter grammatical gender) -ιον ‘relating to’:<sup>380</sup> e.g. Ἀρίστιον, Καλλίστιον.

<sup>375</sup> Regarding the personal names as appearing on the texts, their date and the basic prosopographical data of their bearers: see Appendix. In order to save space, references to the texts, in which the names are found, are provided in this chapter only when the date is important for the analysis, or when the name is doubtful.

<sup>376</sup> For the morphological classification of the personal names: cf. the corresponding classification of PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU (2009, 182; 2012, 609; 2014, 402).

<sup>377</sup> For the use of an adjective as a proper name with accent recession: see DEBRUNNER 1917, 14, § 5.

<sup>378</sup> *HPN*, 558. Cf. MASSON 1995a, 83 (= *OGS*, 234).

<sup>379</sup> For the hypocoristic suffix -ώ: see CHANTRAINE 1933, 115-117.

— -ώς: e.g. Ἀπολλῶς.<sup>381</sup>

— From the Hellenistic period onwards the hypocoristic suffix -άριον (neuter)<sup>382</sup> is used for female names such as Χρυσάριον, Ἀμφάριον, Νικάριον, whereas in the Roman period it also appears with syncope > -άριν: Ζωσάριν.

— Like in other regions, the hypocoristic suffix -ᾶς became in the koine one of the most popular suffixes for personal names:<sup>383</sup> e.g. Ἐπαφρᾶς, Ὀνασᾶς, Σωτᾶς, Τιμᾶς.

— -ίλος:<sup>384</sup> e.g. Ζωίλος.

— -ίς:<sup>385</sup> Ἀγαθημερίς, Ζωίς.

### 5.2.2. Roman onomastics

Roman citizens, or foreigners to whom was granted the Roman citizenship, would exhibit the Roman naming system/onomastic practice, which basically involved three names: a *praenomen* (e.g. Lucius, Marcus), a *nomen gentilicium* (Antonius, Aurelius) and a *cognomen* (e.g. *Hispanus*, *Asiaticus*). The cognomen was sometimes followed by the name of the father (Lucii f. = Filius) or a kind of a nickname (*signum*) along with the 'explanatory' formulae ὁ καὶ or ὁ ἐπιλεγόμενος in Greek:<sup>386</sup> e.g. Ῥοδοκλῆς ὁ καὶ Στασικράτης, Μητρῶ ἢ καὶ Σώτιον in Paphos. Despite that, Greeks appear to bear Roman names as single names, as well: e.g. the Paphian Δόμνος.<sup>387</sup> What is more, Greeks receiving Roman citizenship would adopt the praenomen and nomen of the donor such as *Flavius* and *Iulius* which, for example, in Paphos, are spelt in Greek as Φλαύιος (KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 99, 3-4) and Ἰούλιος (KRINGOS 2008, nos. Πάφ. 62, 3; Πάφ. 83, 3). Though Greeks sometimes adopted Roman names, they ordinarily retained their Greek name as a *cognomen*: e.g. Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἀριστόδαμος,<sup>388</sup> Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἐρμογένης,<sup>389</sup> Γάιος Οὐμίδιος Πάνταυχος Κουαδρατιανός,<sup>390</sup> Τίτος Φλαύιος Κρισπιανός Φίλων,<sup>391</sup> etc.

<sup>380</sup> CHANTRAINE 1933, 54-60, 64-65 §§44-47, 50. For the use of the suffix as hypocoristic in feminine names: cf. GIGNAC 1976, II, 26 and BRIXHE 1987<sup>2</sup>, 67.

<sup>381</sup> Cf. MASSONb, 1994, 259 (= OGS, 192).

<sup>382</sup> CHANTRAINE 1933, 74-75.

<sup>383</sup> For the hypocoristic suffix -ᾶς: see CHANTRAINE 1933, 31 § 27.

<sup>384</sup> For the use of the suffix -ίλος as diminutive: see CHANTRAINE 1933, 248-249 § 195.

<sup>385</sup> For the hypocoristic suffix -ίς: see CHANTRAINE 1933, 338-339 § 272; cf. idem 1933, 31-32 § 27.

<sup>386</sup> For this naming practice: see CAGNAT 1914, 37-87.

<sup>387</sup> Δόμνος (of Paphos, epistates): ὑπὸ ἐπιστάτην [—] Δόμνον Πάφ[ιου] (inscription found at Ephesos) (imp.), *Ephesos*, no. 1631, 3-4. Etymology: < domnus, shortened form of dominus 'lord, master', NIKITAS & TROMARAS 2019, s.v.v. domnus, dominus.

<sup>388</sup> Γάιον Ἰούλιον | Ἀριστόδαμον (mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 62, 3-4. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ἀριστόδαμος 16.

<sup>389</sup> Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἐρμογένης (1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 85, 2-3. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ἐρμογένης 13.

### 5.3. Semantic classification and analysis<sup>392</sup>

5.3.1. From a semantic point of view,<sup>393</sup> the vast majority of the names of Paphos are associated with war and the army:

- Examples of local personal names composed of the nouns μάχη ‘battle’ (Ἀνδρόμαχος, Νικομάχ[η?]<sup>394</sup>) and στρατός ‘army’<sup>395</sup> (Μενέστρατος, Στρατονίκη, Φιλόστρατος<sup>396</sup>). Μενέστρατος<sup>397</sup> was probably a soldier, which shows semantic relevance between his name and his occupation.
- Other names exemplifying the war are the derivatives of πτόλεμος/πόλεμος<sup>398</sup> (Πτολεμαῖος and Νεοπτόλεμος<sup>399</sup>), but these must have rather been disseminated to the local society, as dynastic and epic/royal names, that is because of the widespread popularity of Macedonian names and names of Homeric epics, respectively.
- In the sphere of war belong also names derived from νίκη ‘victory’<sup>400</sup>. Some of them might be associated with Nike, the goddess who personified victory:<sup>401</sup> Ἀριστονίκη, Διόνικος, Εὐνίκη, Νίκανδρος, Νικάριον, Νίκη, Νικηφόρος,<sup>402</sup> Νικίας, Νίκιον, Νίκων.
- Derivatives of ἀνήρ<sup>403</sup> ‘man, male’ are obviously connected to ἀνδρεία ‘manliness’ and secondarily to war: Ἀγαπήνωρ, Ἄνδρων, Κλεάνωρ,<sup>404</sup> Μένανδρος, Νίκανδρος, Στασάνδρα,<sup>405</sup> Σώσανδρος.

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<sup>390</sup> Γ. Οὐμίδιος Κουαδράτος Πανταυχιανός (son of Γάιος Οὐμίδιος Πάνταυχος Κουαδρατιανός): Γάιον Οὐμίδιον Τηρητῖνα Κουαδράτον τὸν καὶ Πανταυχιανὸν (88 AD?), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 90, 2-4. See also 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Πανταυχιανός 1.

<sup>391</sup> Τίτος Φλαύιος | Κρι<σ>πειανὸς Φίλων (early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 99, 3-4. See also ca. 100 AD, LGPN I, s.v. Φίλων 35.

<sup>392</sup> The semantic classification and analysis of the names is largely based on that of PANAYOTOU-TRIANΤΑΡΗΥΛΛΟΥΠΟΥΛΟΥ (2009, 182; 2012, 609).

<sup>393</sup> For the etymology and the possible meaning of the anthroponyms: see the catalogue of Paphian names (Appendix). Not in all the cases have the names been translated, since names are largely viewed as abstract entities. There are also certain ‘meaningless’ irrational compounds and lots of shortened forms of compounds, thus the semantic analysis is mostly limited to the level of their constitutive element(s).

<sup>394</sup> Νικομάχ[ην?] or Νικόμαχ[ον?] (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 194, 2.

<sup>395</sup> LSJ, s.v. στρατός.

<sup>396</sup> Φ[ι|λ]όστρατ[ος] (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 129, 3-5. See also imp., LGPN I, s.v. Φιλόστρατος 6.

<sup>397</sup> Μενέστρατ[ος] (a soldier?, son of [Πτο]λε[μαῖος]): Μενέστρατ[ος Πτο]λε[μαῖου] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 11. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC M 21.

<sup>398</sup> LSJ, s.v. πόλεμος.

<sup>399</sup> Νεοπτολ[έμου] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 4. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC N 7.

<sup>400</sup> LSJ, s.v. νίκη.

<sup>401</sup> See HPN, 565.

<sup>402</sup> [Ν]ικηφό[ρος] (3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. AD?), CAYLA 2018, no. 375, 1-2.

<sup>403</sup> LSJ, s.v. ἀνήρ.

<sup>404</sup> Κλεά[νο]ρος? (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 10; mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC K 37.

<sup>405</sup> Στάσάνδ[ρα] (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 184, 3. See also early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC Σ 22; first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Στάσανδρα 1.



- Military prowess is expressed by the synonymous verbs ἀμύνω ‘defend’ (Ἀμύντωρ) and ἀλέξω ‘defend’<sup>406</sup> (Ἀλέξανδρος<sup>407</sup>), the latter name probably borne by a soldier as a dynastic name originating from the homonymous and renowned Alexander III (the Great). A similar meaning has also Ἐπίκουρος<sup>408</sup> ‘defender/protector’.<sup>409</sup>
- The personal name Βόηθος ‘hasting to the cry for help or the call to arms/hasting to the battle’ (< adjective βοηθός ‘aiding, helping, assisting’)<sup>410</sup> apparently designates military assistance.
- In a military context, names must also be viewed from μένω<sup>411</sup> ‘stay, stand fast (in battle)’ or μένος<sup>412</sup> ‘might, force etc.’: Μένανδρος, Μενέλαος, Μενεκράτης,<sup>413</sup> Μενέστρατος, Μεννέας. These names must symbolise ‘stability (in battle), (military) resistance’.
- Names derived from the noun σθένος ‘(bodily or moral) strength, might, power’ belong to the same semantic field, e.g. Διασθένης (with the first component διά acting as an intensifier) and Τιμοσθένης. To these examples, the name Ἀντισθένης ‘strong, mighty (in confrontation)’ is added, being composed of ἀντί ‘equal to, like’ or ‘in front of, in response to’<sup>414</sup> as its first element.
- Military power is also denoted by personal names derived from the following adjectives: e.g. Κράτερος (< κρατερός ‘strong’<sup>415</sup>), and Ἰσχυρίων<sup>416</sup> (< ἰσχυρός ‘strong’<sup>417</sup>).
- Names derived from κράτος ‘strength, power, authority’<sup>418</sup> might have military and political connotations: Ἀριστοκράτης, Μενεκράτης, Ναυσικράτης, Στασικράτης, Τιμοκράτης and the feminine Κρετώ, Στασικράτεια. Since the Paphian Στασικράτης I holds an office (he served as benefactor and proxenos of the city of Delphi in 207/206 BC), his name seems to be semantically related to his occupation.

<sup>406</sup> *LSJ*, s.v.v. ἀμύνω, ἀλέξω.

<sup>407</sup> Ἀλέξανδρος (a soldier?, son of Ἀσκληπ[...]): Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀσκληπ[ιοδώρου (?)] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 71, 8. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* A 22.

<sup>408</sup> Ἐπίκουρο[ς] (1<sup>st</sup> half or mid of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC?), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 240. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* E 13.

<sup>409</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἐπίκουρος.

<sup>410</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. βοηθός.

<sup>411</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. μένω.

<sup>412</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. μένος.

<sup>413</sup> Μενεκρ[άτους] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 71, 9. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* M 16.

<sup>414</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἀντί; MONTANARI 2013, s.v. ἀντί.

<sup>415</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. κρατερός.

<sup>416</sup> Ἰσχυ[ρίων?] (a Paphian or foreigner?): [[ Ἰσχυ[ρίων?] ]] (114/113 – 107 BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 23, 2. See also 114 – 107/106 BC, *PPC* I 12.

<sup>417</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἰσχυρός.

<sup>418</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. κράτος.

Other than that, his father's name (Ὀνησικράτης) is also composed of -κράτης, which can be indicative of a family with authority.

- Another set of related names and significant in number are the names derived from the verb ἄρχω 'being the first, rule/ing'<sup>419</sup> as first or second element (Ἀρχετίμη, Ἀρχίας, Ἴππαρχος, Κινύραρχος,<sup>420</sup> Πρώταρχος), as well as those from τιμή 'honour, esteem, dignity, office, magistracy':<sup>421</sup> Ἀρχετίμη, Ἐχετίμη, Στασίτιμος, Τιμᾶς, Τιμοκράτης, Τιμόκριτος,<sup>422</sup> Τῆμος, Τιμοσθένης, Τιμόχαρις, Τίμων, Τιμῶναξ.
- The one and only name with ἵππος as its first component (Ἴππαρχος<sup>423</sup> 'cavalry general') may refer to the strategic title of *hipparchos*, given that a homonymous Ἴππαρχος did not pre-exist in the Cypriot dialectal onomastics.<sup>424</sup> In fact, no personal name with an element ἵππος is known from the syllabic texts until the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC.<sup>425</sup>
- Ναυσικράτης 'who commands the naval forces' (< dat. pl. ναυσί [ναῦς]<sup>426</sup> 'ship' + κράτος 'power') must semantically be associated with soldiering.
- Names composed of the noun κλέος 'fame, glory' must have military connotations:<sup>427</sup> Ἀριστοκλῆς, Κλεάνωρ, Κλέων, Πατροκλῆς, Φιλοκλῆς.<sup>428</sup>
- The compounds Σώσανδρος (< σαφῶσαι 'save from death, keep alive') and Σώπατρος (< σώζω 'keep safe'), which, moreover, are combined with the terms ἀνὴρ and πάτρα 'fatherland, native land'<sup>429</sup> (or πατήρ 'father'<sup>430</sup>), can well be classified into the category of names relating to a military context.

<sup>419</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἄρχω.

<sup>420</sup> Κινύραρχος? (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 69, 3. KRINGOS (2008, p. 1451) includes it in the historical anthroponyms, *contra* MITFORD (1961, p. 13, no. 32) who interpreted it as a honourific title, cf. ἀρχὸς τῶν Κινυραδῶν, CAYLA 2018, no. 81, 3.

<sup>421</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. τιμή.

<sup>422</sup> Τιμόκριτος or [Δ]ημόκριτος (son of [...π]πος, grandson of Στασικράτης II): Τιμόκριτον, Le Bas, *LBW*, no. 2794; Τιμόκριτον (41-31 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 95, 4. Cf. [Δ]ημόκριτον (?), MITFORD 1961, p. 37, no. 100; [Δ]ημόκριτος (2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), *PPC* Δ 27; *LGPNI*, s.v. Δημόκριτος 6.

<sup>423</sup> Ἴππαρχος Πάφιος (*P.Herc.* 1021 XXIII 10-11). Mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ἴππαρχος 9; 200-130 BC, ΤΑΙΦΑΚΟΣ 2007, lviii, 210-211, 517 / T1 XXIII 10-11: 517. See also *PPC* II 6α.

<sup>424</sup> See *LGPNI*, s.v. Ἴππαρχος.

<sup>425</sup> EGETMEYER 2010, I, 326, § 375, 289, § 324.

<sup>426</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ναῦς.

<sup>427</sup> The PNs formed with ἄριστος might well include the sense of 'best', 'noblest' by birth, see *LSJ*, s.v. ἄριστος.

<sup>428</sup> Φιλοκλῆς (father of [Ὀλυ]μπιόδωρος): Φιλοκλέους (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 171, 1. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Φ 21, cf. mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, Φιλοκλέης, *LGPNI*, s.v. Φιλοκλέης 1.

<sup>429</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. πάτρα.

<sup>430</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. πατήρ.

- Other names included in this category are those suggesting ‘leadership’: Ἠγήσων (< ἡγέομαι, ἡγητής ‘lead, command, rule, guide’<sup>431</sup>) and the dialectal fem. Ἀγεμόνα ‘guide, leader’.
- Λυσίας derived from λύω ‘undo, release’<sup>432</sup> and Σύμμαχος (< σύμμαχος ‘fighting along with’<sup>433</sup>) fall obviously into the category of names connected to war and the army, too.

**5.3.2.** Another major category of personal names is those expressing a wish (obviously of the namers/parents who were making a choice of their child’s name). This means that the society believed in the principle of *nomen omen*, i.e. that the name could bring with it the quality denoted – these names are classified into further categories: Ἀγαθημερίς ‘enjoying good days’, Ἀγαπωμένη ‘beloved’, Αἰνείας<sup>434</sup> ‘praised’, Ἄρατος (< ἀρατός ‘the Prayed-for’<sup>435</sup>), Ἀπφάριον ‘beloved, darling, sweetheart’, Ἀριστόκριτος ‘selected or distinguished among excellent’, Ἀριστονίκη ‘victor over the best’, Ἀρίστων, Ἐλπίς ‘hope’, Εὐτύχης<sup>436</sup> ‘successful, fortunate’, Ἐπαφρᾶς (< Ἐπαφρόδιτος ‘lovely, fascinating, charming’<sup>437</sup>), Θαλίαρχος ‘being the first in joy, good cheer, festivity’, Καρπίων (< καρπός ‘profits’), Κέρδος ‘gain, profit’, Κρίτων (< κριτός ‘chosen, excellent’), Ὀναμενός<sup>438</sup> ‘blessed, benefited’, Ὀνάσιμος<sup>439</sup> ‘useful, profitable, beneficial’,<sup>440</sup> Πάλαιος ‘venerable, held in esteem’,<sup>441</sup> Πλοῦτος ‘wealth, rich’, Πολυβιανός (< πολύβιος ‘wealthy’), Τρύφαινα ‘who lives luxuriously’, Τρύφων, Τρυφῶσα ‘luxurious’, Φάνιον (< φανερός, φανός ‘manifest, conspicuous’<sup>442</sup>), Χαιρέας (< χαίρω<sup>443</sup> ‘rejoice, be glad’), Χρήσιμος ‘serviceable, useful’,<sup>444</sup> Χρυσάριον (< χρυσός ‘gold, golden, anything dear or precious’<sup>445</sup>), Σωτᾶς, Σώτιον, Σώζουσα (< σώζω ‘save, keep alive’) etc.

<sup>431</sup> *LSJ*, s.v.v. ἡγέομαι, ἡγητής.

<sup>432</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. λύω.

<sup>433</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. σύμμαχος.

<sup>434</sup> Αἰνεί[ου] (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 77, 1.

<sup>435</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἀρατός.

<sup>436</sup> Εὐτύχητος (gen. of Εὐτύχης) or Εὐτυχητός (nom.), KRINGOS 2008, nos. Πάφ. 36, 1; Πάφ. 112, (β) 1, (4<sup>th</sup> c. AD).

<sup>437</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἐπαφρόδιτος.

<sup>438</sup> Ὀναμε[νόν] (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 180, 2. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* O 9; 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ὀναμενός 2.

<sup>439</sup> Ὀνάσιμ[ε], MENARDOS 1910, p. 145, ll. 1-2. Cf. *LGPNI*, s.v. Ὀνάσιμος 8.

<sup>440</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ὀνήσιμος.

<sup>441</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. παλαιός.

<sup>442</sup> *LSJ*, s.v.v. φανερός, φανός.

<sup>443</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. χαίρω.

<sup>444</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. χρήσιμος.

<sup>445</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. χρυσός.

**5.3.3.** There are names composed of terms relating to public life/affairs and political institutions such as δῆμος/δᾶμος ‘people, citizens’<sup>446</sup> (Δημοκράτης, Δημόκριτος,<sup>447</sup> Δημῶ, Ἀριστόδαμος, Στασίδημος), πείθω ‘persuade’ (Πειθαγόρας), ἀγορά ‘assembly’<sup>448</sup> (Ἀρισταγόρας, Εὐαγόρας, Εὐαγόρατις,<sup>449</sup> Πειθαγόρας, Τιμαγόρας, Φυλαγόρας,<sup>450</sup>), and ἄναξ (< Φάναξ) ‘lord’, ‘master’<sup>451</sup> (Ἀριστᾶναξ, Ἀριστῶναξ, Τιμῶναξ).

**5.3.4.** Names related to social/civic values, virtues, and society in general:

- Those with the adverb εὖ as their first element (Εὐαγόρας, Εὐαγόρατις ‘good speaker/orator’, Εὐβούλα ‘of good counsel’, Εὐπείθης ‘obedient, compliant’).
- The adjective ἄριστος ‘best’, ‘excellent’<sup>452</sup> which is —already from previous periods— notably productive in local onomastics:<sup>453</sup> Ἀρίστιον, Ἀριστοκλῆς, Ἀριστοκράτης, Ἀριστόκριτος,<sup>454</sup> Ἀριστονίκη, Ἀρίστων.
- Derivative names of φιλῶ ‘love’/φίλος ‘friend’, ‘(be)loved/loving’<sup>455</sup> can case-by-case differ in sense, but there are some that must designate dearly loved persons (could also express a wish/character trait): Πασίφιλος ‘friend/beloved/dear to all’, Φιλίστα ‘most (be)loved’, Φίλαιος ‘beloved/dear’.
- There are names that must denote concerns on the health, healing, long life:<sup>456</sup> Names that are composed of Ζω- (< ζωφός ‘alive, living’<sup>457</sup>) and Ζωσι- (ζῶσαι ‘live’) as their first element and *Kurznamen* with various suffixes (Ζωάλιος, Ζώης, Ζώϊλος, Ζωίς, Ζωσάριν) and the Σω- names (< σώζω ‘save, keep alive’<sup>458</sup>) like Σώζουσα,<sup>459</sup>

<sup>446</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. δῆμος.

<sup>447</sup> [Δ]ημόκριτος or Τιμόκριτος (son of [...ιπ]πος, grandson of Στασικράτης II), [Δ]ημόκριτον (?), MITFORD 1961, p. 37, no. 100; 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Δ 27; *LGPN* I, s.v. Δημόκριτος 6. Cf. Τιμόκριτον, Le Bas, *LBW*, no. 2794; Τιμόκριτον (41-31 BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 95, 4.

<sup>448</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἀγορά.

<sup>449</sup> [Εὐα]γοράτιν (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 189, 3. See mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?, *PPC* E 28; mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Εὐαγορατίς 1.

<sup>450</sup> [Φ]υλαγόρο[υ or υ?]) (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 87, 2. See [Φ]υλαγόρας (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), *PPC* Φ 38. It could be another name: see e.g. *LGPN*, s.v.v. Βουλαγόρας or Πυλαγόρας; *CAYLA* 2018, p. 10.

<sup>451</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἄναξ.

<sup>452</sup> MONTANARI 2013, s.v. ἄριστος.

<sup>453</sup> The PNs formed with ἄριστος might well include the sense of ‘best’, ‘noblest’ by birth, see *LSJ*, s.v. ἄριστος. They can also be classified into the category of names with military connotations, cf. PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2012, 610-611.

<sup>454</sup> [[Ἀρι]στοκρίτος?: [[Ἀρι?]]στοκρίτου (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 181, 4. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* A 116; 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Ἀριστόκριτος 4.

<sup>455</sup> MONTANARI 2013, s.v. φίλος.

<sup>456</sup> Cf. PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2009, 187; 2012, 613.

<sup>457</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ζωός.

<sup>458</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. σώζω.

Σωσίβιος). This category also includes the names formed with the element Σωπ- (< σαφωτός<sup>460</sup>), which had the passive meaning ‘(being) safe’, e.g. Σωτᾶς and Σώτιον.

- The compounds formed with Στασ(ι)- (< dial. στᾶσαι = Ion.-Att. στῆσαι < ἴστημι, ἰστάω) or Στασι(ι)-, which might be composed of the noun στάσις, when used metaphorically, can mean ‘stand firm’,<sup>461</sup> i.e. ‘stability’ and possibly also ‘prudence’:<sup>462</sup> Στασίδημος, Στασίοικος,<sup>463</sup> Στασίτιμος.
- Names formed with Ὀνάσι-/ Ὀνησι- (< dial. ὄνασις/ ὄνησις<sup>464</sup> ‘use, profit, advantage’ < ὀνίνᾱμι/ ὀνίνημι < ‘profit, benefit, help’<sup>465</sup>) are also related to society: Ὀνάσας, Ὀνασᾶς, Ὀνάσιον, Ὀνασος, Ὀνάσιμος, Ὀνα( ), Ὀνήσανδρος, Ὀνησικράτης. The compounds with ὄνασι-/ ὄνησι- as their first element normally indicate the transfer of the motion from the first to the second element, thus expressing the benefit for the second element.<sup>466</sup> Hence, e.g. Ὀνησίκυπρος<sup>467</sup> can mean ‘useful/profitable/beneficial to the island of Cyprus’.
- In the category of names that reflect social values and characteristics must also fall Ἐλπίς ‘hope’ coming from the abstract noun/abstraction or the mythical personification of hope.

**5.3.5.** A number of non-compound names, usually derivatives of adjectives, may refer to an aspect of the bearer’s physical appearance or to his character (or it could simply reflect wishes and expectations of the namers, or be inherited from an ancestor and no longer related to the child’s own appearance):

- Physical characteristics:

- hair colour: Ζάνθος/ίας<sup>468</sup> ‘fair-haired’.<sup>469</sup>

- Κροκινᾶς<sup>470</sup> (< κρόκινος ‘of saffron’<sup>471</sup>) may describe a person ‘whose skin colour resembles that of saffron’.

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<sup>459</sup> Σώζουσα or Σωζούς or Σώζους: Σώζουσ[α], MITFORD 1990, p. 2206, no. 163 (= SEG XI, 1370); (late 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 18, 2, cf. Σώζους, MICHAELIDOU – NICOLAOU 1966, p. 64, no. 2, cf. Σωζούς, (imp.), CAYLA 2018, no. 269, 2.

<sup>460</sup> MONTANARI 2013, s.v. σῶζω.

<sup>461</sup> LSJ, s.v. ἴστημι.

<sup>462</sup> See DELG, s.v. στάσις; PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2009, 186.

<sup>463</sup> [Στ]ασίοικο[ς] (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 227, 1. [Στ]ασίοικο[ς] or [Στ]ασίοικο[υ] restituted by MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1976b, 251, no. 14 (= SEG XXVI, 1471). See also 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> BC, LGPN I, s.v. Στασίοικος 9; early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC II Σ 31α.

<sup>464</sup> HPN, 348.

<sup>465</sup> LSJ, s.v.v. ὀνίνημι, ὄνησις.

<sup>466</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2009, 184-185.

<sup>467</sup> [Ο|υ]ησικύπρου (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD?), CAYLA 2018, no. 210, 1-2.

<sup>468</sup> Ζάν[θο]ς? or Ζαν[θα]ς? (early or mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 263, 3. Cf. Ζάν[θο]ς? (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), PPC Ξ 1; mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ζάνθος 3.

<sup>469</sup> LSJ, s.v. ξανθός.

— Κατάγραφος ‘colourful’.<sup>472</sup>

— Καλλίστιον (< κάλλιστος ‘the most beautiful’).

- Character traits: Ειρηναῖος ‘peaceful’, Εὐπείθης, Ἡσύχιος ‘mild, solitary’, Θρασείας/Θρασεάς (< θρασύς ‘bold, audacious’<sup>473</sup>), Κροκίνας/Κρωκίνας/Κρωκηναῖς (< κρόκαλον, κρωκαλέον ‘a cunning child’),<sup>474</sup> Μνήμων ‘(ever-)mindful, having a good memory’,<sup>475</sup> Πάνταυχος ‘completely braggart, proud’, Πανταυχιανός, Χαρίας (< χάρις ‘grace’), Χαρίτων ‘graceful’.

— Derivatives of γλυκερός or γλυκός ‘sweet, dear’<sup>476</sup> must refer to ‘a pleasant character’: Γλυκέρα and Γλύκων, mother and son, a fact that manifests a partial homonymy between relatives, a semantic relation between each other’s name.

5.3.6. Certain names are related to phytonyms (Κρόκος, Κροκινᾶς) and zoonyms: Μοσχίων (< μόσχος<sup>477</sup> ‘calf, young bull’), Βοῖσκος (< βοῦς<sup>478</sup> ‘ox’).

5.3.7. Other names refer to the circumstances of birth: Ἐτεριδίων<sup>479</sup> ‘(born on the day) of the festival of Zeus’, Νουμήνιος ‘(born on the day) of the new moon’, Πρωτόκτητος ‘first acquired, first born’, Ἐπιγένης ‘born after (other brothers)’.

5.3.8. Other names come from toponyms (Αἴγυπτος, Θραϊκίδας,<sup>480</sup> Ὀλυμπος) and ethnonyms: Σαμιάδης,<sup>481</sup> Σάμιον, and possibly Δάρδανος,<sup>482</sup> which alternatively might be seen as a mythological name.

5.3.9. Theophoric names: A significant category of names of Paphos, as everywhere, are those derived from theonyms, i.e. so-called ‘theophoric’ names. Notably, theophoric

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<sup>470</sup> Unless it is the name Κροκίνας/Κρωκίνας/Κρωκηναῖς, see Κροκι|ναῖς (late 4<sup>th</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 226, 1, cf. Κροκίνας (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), MICHAELIDOU – NICOLAOU 1977, 217–218, no. 67 (fig. 6). Cf. Κρωκηναῖς (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), SEG XXVII, 970; 4<sup>th</sup>?/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Κρωκηναῖς 1. See also Κρωκηναῖς, PPC II K 64α.

<sup>471</sup> DELG, s.v. κρόκινος.

<sup>472</sup> For the meaning of the name: see MASSON 1994d, 266, fn. 25; EGETMEYER 2010, I, 309, § 354.

<sup>473</sup> LSJ, s.v. θρασύς.

<sup>474</sup> Hsch., s.v.v. κρόκαλον· τὸ πανοῦργον παιδίον; κρωκαλέον· παιδίον πανοῦργον, ‘a cunning child’, cf. PANAYOTOU-TRIANΤΑΡΗΥΛΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ 2012, 617 and fn. 55.

<sup>475</sup> LSJ, s.v. μνήμων.

<sup>476</sup> LSJ, s.v. γλυκός.

<sup>477</sup> LSJ, s.v. μόσχος.

<sup>478</sup> LSJ, s.v. βοῦς.

<sup>479</sup> Τείμωνα Ὀνησί|λον Ἐτ[ε]ριδίωνα (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 11, 1–2.

<sup>480</sup> Θραϊκί[δ]αν[ι] (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 84, 1. Cf. 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, PPC Θ 22.

<sup>481</sup> [Σ]αμιάδη[ς] or Ἀμιάδης: [Σ]αμιάδο[υ], (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 63, 3 (restitution of the name by L. Robert, Bull. Épiqr. 1944, no. 168; ROBERT 1945, p. 156, no. 44). See also 2<sup>nd</sup>–1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Σαμιάδης 1. Cf. [---]Ἀμιάδου[ο---], MITFORD 1961, p. 41, no. 111 and also Ἀμιάδης (?) (Late Ptolemaic), PPC A 25.

<sup>482</sup> [Δ]αρδάνους?, KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 70, 4.

names constitute a large part of the local compound names in contrast to earlier periods in which this kind of names were uncommon, except those which had as their first or second element the word for god, θεός.<sup>483</sup> Curiously, during the period under consideration, Paphian names with the component θεός are demonstrably rare: Δωσίθεος,<sup>484</sup> [Θ]εανώ,<sup>485</sup> [Θε]ιόδοτος.<sup>486</sup>

— Conversely, theophoric names —either compounds or *Kurznamen*— based on a particular deity, whose name is always the first element of the compound, are numerous: Ἀμμώνιος, Ἀπελλέας, Ἀπολλωνία, Ἀπολλώνιος, Ἀπολλώς, Ἀπολλώ,<sup>487</sup> [Ἀσκ]ληπιάδης,<sup>488</sup> Ἀσκληπ[ιόδωρος?],<sup>489</sup> Ἀρτέμων, Ἀρτεμώ, Ἀρτεμίδωρος,<sup>490</sup> Βάκχιος, Δημήτριος, Δημητρία, Διογένης, Διόδωρος, Διονύσιος, Διονυσία, Διονυσιανός, Διονυσόδωρος, Διοφάντης, Διόνικος, Διόφαντος, Διόνυσος, Ἑρμῆς, Ἑρμογένης, Ἑρμαγόρας, [Ἑρ]μόδοτος,<sup>491</sup> Ἑρμων,<sup>492</sup> Ἑρως,<sup>493</sup> Ἡράκλειτος, Ἡρόδοτος, Ἰσίδωρος, Καλλίμανδρος, Μηνᾶς, Μητρώ, Μητροδωρος, Νικάριον, Νυμφίας, Ὀλυμπος, Εἰρηναῖος, etc.

— Certain theonyms are used as personal names: Διόνυσος, Ἑρμῆς, Ἑρως, Νίκη.

— In addition, theophoric names are derived from cult sites or festivals of a deity or cult epithets of gods: Ἑτεριδίων, Ὀλυμπος, [Ὀλυ]μπιόδωρος,<sup>494</sup> Πυθο-<sup>495</sup> (probably from the epithets Πύθιος or Πυθαεύς of Apollo) and Ἀφροδισία, which, paradoxically, along with Ἐπαφρᾶς (shortened form of the compound

<sup>483</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2009, 188-189; 2014, 402.

<sup>484</sup> Δωσίθεον (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 169, 3. Cf. late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC Δ 75; 225 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Δωσίθεος 2.

<sup>485</sup> [Θ]εανώ?: [...][ΕΑΝΩ][...] (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 186, 2, cf. [Θ]εανώ, MITFORD 1961, p. 19, no. 48a. Cf. early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC Θ 4; hell?, LGPN I, s.v. Θεανώ 3.

<sup>486</sup> [Θε]ιόδοτος or [Ἑρ]μόδοτος: [Θε]ιόδοτος, OVERBECK 1868, no. 764, (1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 208, 4. Cf. [Ἑρ]μόδοτος, LE BAS, LBW, no. 2788; KAIBEL, EG, no. 794a-b; (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 16, 4.

<sup>487</sup> Ἀπολλώ or Ἀπολλώς: Ἀπολλώ τοῦ Ἀπολλώ Παφίου (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC/Rom. Imp. Period), PATON & HICKS 1891, p. 174, no. 182, 1-2. Cf. Ἀπολλώ Ἀπολλώ Παφίου (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC or later), PPC A 64, cf. Ἀπολλώς (imp. = 31 BC–310 AD), LGPN I, s.v. Ἀπολλώς 1.

<sup>488</sup> [Ἀσκ]ληπιάδην (2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 88, 2. Cf. early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, PPC A 164; 105-80 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀσκληπιάδης 30.

<sup>489</sup> Ἀσκληπ[ιόδωρος?] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 8. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 165.

<sup>490</sup> E.g. Ἀρτεμίδωρος (before mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 187. Cf. early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 153; 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀρτεμίδωρος 50.

<sup>491</sup> [Ἑρ]μόδοτος or [Θε]ιόδοτος: [Ἑρ]μόδοτος, LE BAS, LBW, no. 2788; KAIBEL, EG, no. 794a-b; early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 16, 4. Cf. [Θε]ιόδοτος, OVERBECK 1868, no. 764, 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, CAYLA 2018, no. 208, 4.

<sup>492</sup> <Ἑ>ρμωνος (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 2. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC E 24.

<sup>493</sup> Ἑρωτ<ο>ς (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD?), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 147, 1.

<sup>494</sup> [Ὀλυ]μπιόδωρον Φιλοκλέους (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 171, 1. Cf. late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC O 6; 250-225 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ὀλυμπιόδωρος 2.

<sup>495</sup> Πυθο[...] (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC or 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 265, (b) 1. Cf. Πυθο[κρέοντος] (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1965, pp. 118-119, no. 8. See also 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC Π 72.

Ἐπαφρόδιτος), constitute the only two attestations of personal names related to the patron local goddess of Paphos, Aphrodite.

- There are other theophoric names deriving from minor deities such as the river god (or the hydronym) Ἰστρος, and Νυμφίας relating to the nymphs.
- The theophoric names with -δωρος (< δῶρον<sup>496</sup> ‘gift’) and -δοτος (< δίδωμι<sup>497</sup> ‘to give, grant’) as their second element (e.g. Ἀρτεμίδωρος, Διονυσόδωρος, Ἰσίδωρος, Μητρόδωρος, Ἡρόδοτος) must be related to the favour of gods, which means that the children, bearing these names, were granted as a gift by a god.<sup>498</sup> Similar meaning must have had the name Διόφαντος ‘born of/thanks to the god Zeus’.<sup>499</sup>
- In two cases, theophoric names are probably borne by priests (Ἀσκληπιάδης<sup>500</sup> and Διονυσόδωρος<sup>501</sup>), which might imply that their bearers were called upon to serve the relevant god.

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<sup>496</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. δῶρον.

<sup>497</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. δίδωμι.

<sup>498</sup> PARKER 2000, 59-63.

<sup>499</sup> See MONTANARI 2013, s.v. φαίνω.

<sup>500</sup> [Ἀσκ]ληπιάδης (a priest): [Ἀσκ]ληπιάδην (2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 88, 2. Cf. early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *PPC* A 164; 105-80 BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Ἀσκληπιάδης 30.

<sup>501</sup> Διονυσό[δωρος] (*archiereus* / high-priest?): Διονυσό[δωρος] (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 69, 2. See also 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, *LGPN* I, s.v. Διονυσόδωρος 15.



## 5.4. Continuities and/or discontinuities in local onomastics

5.4.1. Another category of anthroponyms is that of historical/traditional names: e.g. Ἡράκλειτος, Ἡρόδοτος and Σωκράτης. Other names like Φίλιππος, Ἀλέξανδρος, Πτολεμαῖος, Δημήτριος are historical names, most of which, probably as Macedonian dynastic names<sup>502</sup> were also introduced in Paphos. This category includes local traditional names of erstwhile *basileis* of southwestern Cyprus (Paphos and Marion): Τιμόχαρις,<sup>503</sup> Στασίοικος<sup>504</sup> and Ἐχετίμη, a fem. from the *basileus* of Paphos Ἐχέτιμος.<sup>505</sup> Royal in origin might also be the name Εὐαγόρας<sup>506</sup> referring to the homonymous and well-known all over the island —and beyond— *basileus* of Salamis. The fem. form of the name (Εὐαγόρατις)<sup>507</sup> is formed with the suffix -αγόρατις (< ἀγορά + suffix -τις), characteristic of Cypriot feminine names, particularly in Western Cyprus<sup>508</sup> (cf. Τιμαγόρατις,<sup>509</sup> Νικαγόρατις<sup>510</sup> and Ἀρισταγόρατις<sup>511</sup>). Ἀγαπήνωρ is a traditional name inspired —either as mythological or historical— by the legendary Arcadian founder of Palaepaphos. It is important to note that Ἀγαπήνωρ, Ἐχετίμη and Εὐαγόρατις are names that belong to a single, probably aristocratic family;<sup>512</sup> the choice of royal names must bear witness to specific naming practices and preferences of the local elite.<sup>513</sup> Another name, Κινύραρχος,<sup>514</sup> is related to the native Paphian hero Kinyras.

5.4.2. That traditional names of Cyprus, some of which displaying a dialectal feature, were still in use until the late Hellenistic/early Roman period is undoubtedly confirmed by the latest syllabic inscriptions of the archive of Nea Paphos (mid-2<sup>nd</sup>–late 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC):<sup>515</sup> Ὄνα( ), Τίμο( ), Τίμο̄ (dial. gen. sg. of Τίμος). Names of earlier periods formed with the noun τιμή, appear also in alphabetic texts: Στασίτιμος,<sup>516</sup> Τιμαγόρας,<sup>517</sup> Τιμᾶς.<sup>518</sup> The element

<sup>502</sup> Cf. PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2012, 617.

<sup>503</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 16 (390-370?), 27 (385?), 80, 170a (late 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC), 172a (4<sup>th</sup> c. BC?).

<sup>504</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 169 (from 449 BC onwards).

<sup>505</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 17, 2 (360?).

<sup>506</sup> Εὐαγόρου (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 202, 2. See 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *PPC* E 27; 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Εὐαγόρας 4.

<sup>507</sup> [Εὐα]γοράτιν (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 189, 3. See mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?, *PPC* E 28; mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Εὐαγορατίς 1.

<sup>508</sup> EGETMEYER 2010, I, 318, § 362, 320, § 364.

<sup>509</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 18f.1 (late 6<sup>th</sup> c. BC?).

<sup>510</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 123.

<sup>511</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 367.

<sup>512</sup> [Ἀγα]πήνωρ I (father of Ἐχετίμη, maternal grandfather of Ἀγαπήνωρ II and [Εὐα]γορατίς): [Ἀγα]πήνωρος (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 189, 1. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?, *PPC* A 6; mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ἀγαπήνωρ 2.

<sup>513</sup> Cf. MICHEL 2020, 91.

<sup>514</sup> Κινύραρχ[χον?] (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 69, 3.

<sup>515</sup> MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1993, 346-347; PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2010, 53-54; 2012b, 118-119; 2014, 401.

<sup>516</sup> Cf. Στασιτίμα, *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 167a.

Ζω- was also usually employed in names of Cyprus in the dialectal period and its continuity in the Hellenistic and Roman periods is considerable: Ζωάλιος,<sup>519</sup> Ζώης,<sup>520</sup> Ζωΐλος,<sup>521</sup> etc. This is also valid for names composed of Ἀριστ(ο)- (< ἄριστος ‘best’, ‘excellent’ / ἀριστεία ‘excellence’) as their first element: Ἀρισταγόρας,<sup>522</sup> Ἀριστοκλῆς,<sup>523</sup> Ἀρίστων,<sup>524</sup> Ἀριστόδαμος<sup>525</sup> etc. Ἐλλαπῶ must be a name composed of the dialectal element Ἐλλ(ο)-<sup>526</sup> (< Ἐσλ(ο)- < ἐσθλός),<sup>527</sup> given that names formed with that as their first element are rare, almost exclusively borne by Cypriots,<sup>528</sup> and more importantly, Ἐλλαπῶ occurs just once, exclusively in Paphos (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC).<sup>529</sup> Another name dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, Μινο[...],<sup>530</sup> possibly displays the dialectal element Μινο- (cf. e.g. Μινόδαμος,<sup>531</sup> Μινοκρέτης<sup>532</sup> < Μενο- < μένω or μένος).

Compound names formed with Ὀνησι-/ Ὀνᾱσι- (< ὀνίνημι / ὀνίνᾱμι) as their first element were widespread in the Greek world, but they were particularly popular in Cyprus during the 1<sup>st</sup> millennium BC; the dialectal form Ὀνᾱσι- was actually the most frequent name element in the Cypriot onomastic stock.<sup>533</sup> The dialectal element survives in names of Paphos into the Hellenistic, and even into the Roman period, but it singularly appears in shortened forms of compounds or other derivatives with suffixes: Ὀνάσας, Ὀνασαῶς, Ὀνάσιον, Ὀνασος, Ὀνάσιμος, Ὀνα( ). Interestingly, Ὀνάσας is not attested outside Paphos during the Hellenistic period, and although it does not appear there after Hellenistic times, it is once again documented in a text from Amathous, in the Roman period.<sup>534</sup> The Paphian Ὀνάσας II,<sup>535</sup> Ὀναμενός<sup>536</sup> and Στασιθέα/ς,<sup>537</sup> belong to a family

<sup>517</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 120, 126, 154b, 263 and 434.

<sup>518</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 427.

<sup>519</sup> Cf. Ζωφάλιος, *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 204, 424.

<sup>520</sup> Cf. Ζώφης, *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 405.

<sup>521</sup> Cf. *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 167d.

<sup>522</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 11a, 86, 92, 162a and 367.

<sup>523</sup> Cf. Ἀριστοκλέφης, *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 352, 359, 395.

<sup>524</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 196, a, 1.

<sup>525</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 447, 450.

<sup>526</sup> For the specific element: cf. PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2009, 184; EGETMEYER 2010, I, 171-173, § 185.

<sup>527</sup> *Contra* Ἐλλαπῶ (< Ἐλλ(ο)- < Ἐλλᾱ/ Ἐλλοι, *HPN*, 152), proposed by MASSON (1963, 5). Cf. “la rubrique « Ἐλλο- zu Ἐλλᾱ- dem Sitze der Ἐλλοι » (*HPN*, 152) devrait être revu”, EGETMEYER 2010, I, 173, § 185.

<sup>528</sup> MASSON 1963, 5; *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, 197.

<sup>529</sup> Ἐλλαπῶς (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 177, 3. Cf. mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* E 6; *LGPN* I, s.v. Ἐλλαπῶ I.

<sup>530</sup> Μίνος?, Μίνας?: Μίνου, MICHAELIDOU – NICOLAOU 1963, pp. 45-46, no. 7; Μίνος (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), *PPC* M 36; mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Μίνος I. Cf. Μίνου[---], CAYLA 2018, no. 250, 3.

<sup>531</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 167.

<sup>532</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 403.

<sup>533</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2009, 184-185; EGETMEYER 2010, I, 676 § 311.

<sup>534</sup> MITFORD 1971, no. 140; CAYLA 2018, p. 292.

of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC that keeps preserving dialectal names. Meanwhile, unlike the absence of Ὀνᾱσι- compounds in local onomastics, the presence of the non-dialectal form Ὀνησι-, in mostly compound names, is noteworthy: Ὀνήσανδρος,<sup>538</sup> Ὀνησικράτης, Ὀνησίλος.

Ὀνησίκυπρος is the only example of Paphian compound names from the name of the island Κύπρος during the period under consideration, which contrasts with the numerous compounds of Κύπρο-/-κύπρος as their first or second element throughout the Cypro-Classical period (e.g. Κυπρόθεμις,<sup>539</sup> Κυπραγώρας,<sup>540</sup> Ἀριστόκυπρος<sup>541</sup>). These names were reasonably used to indicate the distinctive ethnicity of the Greek-speaking inhabitants from the rest resident populations of Cyprus. This view is based on the fact that the use of a relative geographical name or ethnonym in the onomastics of other Greek regions —where there were no other ethnic groups— was extremely rare in contrast to Cyprus. The rarity of this kind of names in the local onomasticon of Paphos from the Early Hellenistic period must rather be attributed to the fact that there was no longer a point to stress the idiosyncratic ethnic identity under the originally polyethnic, but more and more linguistically and culturally homogenous Ptolemaic kingdom.<sup>542</sup> In this respect, it is interesting to note that the sole Paphian occurrence of Ὀνησίκυπρος, which formerly was only composed along with the dialectal element Ὀνασί- (cf. Ὀνασίκυπρος),<sup>543</sup> now appears with the corresponding non-dialectal form Ὀνησί-.

In addition to Ὀνᾱσ(i)-, there is another Cypriot persistent name element with the dialectal ᾱ, i.e. Στασ(i)-, that continues to be employed in various compound names (Στασάνδρα, Στασιθέα/ς, Στασικράτης, Στασίοικος, Στασίτιμος) during the greater part of the Hellenistic-Roman periods. The last attested Στασ(i)- name, specifically Στασικράτης, is dated to the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD.<sup>544</sup> There are few more personal names displaying the Cypriot feature ᾱ: e.g. Ἀγεμόνα, Ἀριστόδαμος. Evidently, names formed with an ᾱ

<sup>535</sup> Ὀνάσας II or Ὀνασᾱς (son of Πειθαγόρας, father of Ὀναμε[νός], Πειθαγόρας and Στασιθέα/ς, brother of [Πτολεμ?]αῖος III): Ὀνάσας Πειθαγόρου (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 180, 1. See Ὀνάσας, MASSON 1963, p. 6-7. Cf. Ὀνασᾱς, MITFORD 1961, p. 14, no. 38. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC O 17; 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ὀνασᾱς 6.

<sup>536</sup> Ὀναμε[νός]: Ὀναμε[νόν] (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 180, 2. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC O 9; 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ὀναμενός 2.

<sup>537</sup> Στασιθέα or Στασιθέας: Στασιθέαν (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 180, 3. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC Σ 24; LGPN I, s.v. Στασιθέα 1.

<sup>538</sup> Ὀνήσανδρον Ναυσικράτους (88-80 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 89, 2. Cf. ca. 107-88 BC, PPC O 28; 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ὀνήσανδρος 6.

<sup>539</sup> ICS<sup>2</sup>, no. 15f.

<sup>540</sup> ICS<sup>2</sup>, no. 155, 1.

<sup>541</sup> ICS<sup>2</sup>, no. 102, 2.

<sup>542</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRILANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2009, 188.

<sup>543</sup> ICS<sup>2</sup>, no. 175.

<sup>544</sup> Ῥοδοκλῆς ὁ καὶ Στασικράτης: Ῥοδοκλέα Ῥοδοκλέους τὸν | καὶ Στασικράτην (18 or 19 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 78, 2-3. See 18 AD, LGPN I, s.v. Στασικράτης 5.

occur sporadically and alongside with forms of η even in the Roman period, but demonstrably, those of  $\bar{\alpha}$  tend to become more and more rare. The dialectal name of Ἀγεμόνα was apparently anticipated in such an early period of 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC,<sup>545</sup> but another name presents, after a while, the koine form Ἡγήσων<sup>546</sup> (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC). Ὀνάσιμος remains isolated at a much later period, but regrettably the inscription is only roughly dated to the Roman period.<sup>547</sup> The other example with  $\bar{\alpha}$  dating to the Roman period, Ἀριστόδαμος,<sup>548</sup> coexists with the non-dialectal Ἀριστόδημος.<sup>549</sup> Ἀριστόδαμος is borne by a member of a family of upper social classes, which again shows their preference for the traditional names. In conclusion,  $\bar{\alpha}$  was to some extent retained until a late date, but this should be considered a mere lexicalised rather than a phonological feature,<sup>550</sup> since it appears in specific names or components of names, almost exclusively in Ὀνασ(ι)- and Στασ(ι)-. It was basically preserved in the conservative area of onomastics, which is often permeated by ideology, and did not penetrate in the koine, whose grammar must have been remained unaffected.<sup>551</sup>

The fact that the dialectal personal names were assimilated to those of the koine is also deduced by the compound names with -κράτης (< κράτος) as their second element (e.g. Ἀριστοκράτης,<sup>552</sup> Ναυσικράτης,<sup>553</sup> Στασικράτης,<sup>554</sup> Σωκράτης, Τιμοκράτης<sup>555</sup>), which is used in place of the earlier Arcadocypriot (and Aeolian) -κρέτης. In Paphos, the characteristic dialectal form Κρετ- (< κρέτος) is preserved until the late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC<sup>556</sup> in the name Κρετώ.<sup>557</sup> After this period, the dialectal names of κρέτος recede wholly to those with κράτος of the koine. Although names composed of the element of koine origin -κράτης were evident in Cyprus already by the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, they actually remained very rare

<sup>545</sup> Ἀγεμόνα (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 171, 3. Cf. late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 9; 250-225 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀγεμόνα 1.

<sup>546</sup> Ἡγήσωνος (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 183, 2. Cf. early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC H 2; 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἡγήσων 1.

<sup>547</sup> Ὀνάσιμ[ε], MENARDOS 1910, p. 145, 1. The inscription was found in Anogyra (modern Limassol District) but attributed to Paphos (imp.) by the editors of LGPN I, s.v. Ὀνάσιμος 8.

<sup>548</sup> Γάιον Ἰούλιον | Ἀριστόδαμον (mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 62, 3-4. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀριστόδαμος 16.

<sup>549</sup> Ἀριστοδήμου (late 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 121, 3-4. Cf. 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD?, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀριστόδημος 12.

<sup>550</sup> Cf. EGETMEYER 2010, I, 329, § 379.

<sup>551</sup> Cf. PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2009, 188; 2012, 617.

<sup>552</sup> Cf. Ἀριστοκρέτης, ICS<sup>2</sup>, 261.

<sup>553</sup> Ναυσικράτης is the father of the Cypriot high official, Ὀνήσανδρος, both bearing names with koine forms.

<sup>554</sup> Cf. Στασικρέτης, ICS<sup>2</sup>, 80; p. 424, 453f.

<sup>555</sup> Cf. Τιμοκρέτης, ICS<sup>2</sup>, 80, 1; 120, 2-3.

<sup>556</sup> MASSON 1963, 4-5.

<sup>557</sup> Κρετώ (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 178, 3. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC K 59; 225-200 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Κρετώ 1.

in the dialectal period.<sup>558</sup> Moreover, feminine compounds with -κράτεια, i.e. with κράτος as their second element, were completely absent from the epigraphical record of Cyprus in the dialectal period,<sup>559</sup> but later on, one example (Στασικράτεια) has appeared in the alphabetic data of Paphos;<sup>560</sup> this root/feminine element was obviously introduced together with koine.

Despite the earlier attestations of masculine names with the non-dialectal κράτος (e.g. Κράτανδρος<sup>561</sup>), when used as a second element (i.e. -κράτης), it was only in combination with the dialectal elements Στασι- and most probably also Όνασι-, forming in this way ‘hybrid names’: Στασικράτης,<sup>562</sup> Όνασικράτης.<sup>563</sup> As for the former name, in the period under consideration, again, -κράτης is solely added to the dialectal Στασι-<sup>564</sup> rather than the equivalent Ion.-Att. Στησ-, which was introduced as an element of the koine elsewhere in Cyprus (e.g. Στησικράτης in Kition, 4<sup>th</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, see *PPC* II Σ 36α); the dialectal form remained the one and only constituent in Paphian names inasmuch as there are no attestations of Στήσ- names in Paphos at all. Another ‘hybrid’ name, which shows that the Στασ- compounds were only partially assimilated to those of koine is Στασίδημος<sup>565</sup> (cf. the dialectal Στασίδαμος<sup>566</sup>). On the other hand, there is good evidence that other compounds with -κράτης were wholly assimilated to those of koine (Δημοκράτης,<sup>567</sup> Όνησικράτης), as both their elements belong to koine forms. It is noteworthy that the Στασ(ι)- compound names were only partially assimilated to those of koine, contrary to Όνασ(ι)- compounds which were totally superseded by the corresponding koine form. Curiously, while Στασ(ι)- appears only in compound names, conversely, Όνασ(ι)- was not used anymore in compounds.

Significantly, members of a single family, like the parent Όνησικράτης, bear a fully adapted koine form, while the child (Στασικράτης I) bears a partially assimilated

<sup>558</sup> MORPURGO DAVIES 2000, 32-34; EGETMEYER 2010, I, § 378-379; PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2009, 185 and fn. 46.

<sup>559</sup> EGETMEYER 2010, I, 330, § 379.

<sup>560</sup> [Στα]σικράτεια (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 185, 3. See also 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Σ 25; 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *LGNP* I, s.v. Στασικράτεια 1.

<sup>561</sup> See *ka-ra-ta-to-ro-se* = Κράτα(ν)δρος, *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 371, 1 (5<sup>th</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. BC).

<sup>562</sup> See Στασικράτης, *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 211, 2; 212.

<sup>563</sup> See *o-na-si-ka-[ra-te-o-se]* = Όνασικ[ράτεος?], *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 246, 3.

<sup>564</sup> Στασικράτης I (of Paphos): Στασικράτης Όνησικράτους Πάφιος (240-200 BC), *SGDI* II 2613, 3. Cf. 207/206 BC, *PPC* Σ 26; *LGNP* I, s.v. Στασικράτης 3; Στασικράτης II: Στασικράτου (41-31 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 95, 2. Cf. his son [...ιπ]πος (2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), *PPC* Σ 28; see also 105-88 BC, *LGNP* I, s.v. Στασικράτης 4.

<sup>565</sup> Στασίδημος (of Paphos): Στασίδημον| [Έρω]τος Πάφιον (180-150 BC), *SEG* XX, 321, 3-5; 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Σ 23; ca. 160 BC, *LGNP* I, s.v. Στασίδημος 1.

<sup>566</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, 278.

<sup>567</sup> E.g. Δημοκράτης II: Δημοκράτης Πτολεμαίου (3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 81, 2. Cf. late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Δ 26; 221-205 BC, *LGNP* I, s.v. Δημοκράτης 8.

name to koine (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC).<sup>568</sup> In another case, while Στρατονίκη is a mother whose name is formed with the koine element -νικη, her daughter's name Ὀνάσιον<sup>569</sup> displays the dialectal Ὀνάσ- (ca. 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC). What is concluded is that, even though the ancestors have names in koine, they choose for their descendant's names in the dialect, but only with the specific Ὀνάσ- and Στασι- elements, which, as shown above, are actually the only ones that continued into the period under consideration.

Besides Δημοκράτης, there are more names displaying the koine element Δημ- / -δημος (< δῆμος) such as Δημῶ<sup>570</sup> and Ἀριστόδημος (cf. Ἀριστόδαμος < δᾶμος). The koine η is contained also in the theophoric names Ἀσκληπιάδης,<sup>571</sup> Ἀσκληπ[...]<sup>572</sup> (< Ἀσκληπιός), Δημήτριος<sup>573</sup> (< Δημήτηρ) and Μητρῶ<sup>574</sup> (< Μητρ-), whereas there are no attestations of the corresponding dialectal forms of the theonym with  $\bar{\alpha}$  (cf. the earlier Δαμάτηρ<sup>575</sup>). Other kind of names with koine elements are the compounds with νίκη (= dial. νικά) as their second element (Ἀριστονίκη,<sup>576</sup> Εὐνίκη,<sup>577</sup> Στρατονίκη<sup>578</sup>). Μενέλαος also presents the koine element -λαός (< λᾶρός).<sup>579</sup> There is a number of names formed with a Ἴππ- / -ίππος in the alphabetic inscriptions of Paphos (Ἴππαρχος, Κάλλιππος<sup>580</sup>, Φίλιππος<sup>581</sup>), while so far, the Cypriot syllabic inscriptions have produced no name of Ἴππος, except in one but very late case of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (gen. *i-po-wa-ta-u* = nom. Ἴπποφάδα<sup>582</sup>) from Paphos.<sup>583</sup>

<sup>568</sup> Ὀνησικράτης (father of Στασικράτης I): Στασικράτης Ὀνησικράτους Πάφιος (240-200 BC), *SGDI* Π 2613, 3. See also 207/206 BC, *PPC* O 32; *LGNP* I, s.v. Ὀνησικράτης 17.

<sup>569</sup> Ὀνάσιον (daughter of Ἄνδρων and Στρατονίκη): Ὀνάσιον (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 193, 4. Cf. mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* O 20; *LGNP* I, s.v. Ὀνάσιον 8.

<sup>570</sup> E.g. Δημῶ I: Δημῶ Μοσχίωνος (late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 182, 1. See also 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Δ 33; *LGNP* I, s.v. Δημῶ 4; Δημῶ II (of Paphos): Δημοῦς Παφίης, Gow & Page 1968, I, 354, ll. 3196. 2<sup>nd</sup>?/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *LGNP* I, s.v. Δημῶ 3. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *PPC* II Δ 33α.

<sup>571</sup> [Ἀσκ]ληπιάδην (2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 88, 2. Cf. early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *PPC* A 164; 105-80 BC, *LGNP* I, s.v. Ἀσκληπιάδης 30.

<sup>572</sup> Ἀσκληπ[ιοδωρου?]: Ἀσκληπ[ιοδωρου?] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 71, 8. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* A 165.

<sup>573</sup> Δημήτριος II (son of Δημήτριος I): Δημήτριος Δημητριό[υ] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 71, 5. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Δ 19.

<sup>574</sup> Μητρῶ ἡ καὶ Σώτιον: Μητρῶ (1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), *KRINGOS* 2008, no. Πάφ. 85, 1. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGNP* I, s.v. Μητρῶ 1.

<sup>575</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, 182.b; *EGETMEYER* 2010, I, 474 § 590.

<sup>576</sup> Ἀριστονίκη (117/116 – 88 c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 92, 2. Cf. 114-107 BC, *PPC* A 121.

<sup>577</sup> Εὐνίκη (3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 81, 4. Cf. late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* E 40; 221-205 BC, *LGNP* I, s.v. Εὐνίκη 2.

<sup>578</sup> Στρατονίκη (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 193, 3. Cf. mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Σ 40; *LGNP* I, s.v. Στρατονίκη 3.

<sup>579</sup> Μενελάο[υ] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 71, 6. See *PPC* M 19.

<sup>580</sup> Κάλλιππος II (son of Κάλλιππος I): Κάλλιππον Καλλιπίπου (41-40 BC?), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 94, 2. Cf. 105/104? BC *PPC* K 16; *LGNP* I, s.v. Κάλλιππος 7.

<sup>581</sup> Φίλιππον (1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), *KRINGOS* 2008, no. Πάφ. 85, 3. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGNP* I, s.v. Φίλιππος 19.

<sup>582</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, p. 407, 10.

<sup>583</sup> *EGETMEYER* 2010, I, 140 § 138, 326 § 375, 289 § 324.

In just two Cypriot syllabic inscriptions<sup>584</sup> is probably preserved the Cypriot equivalent form Ἀπείλων /*Apeilōn*/ for the theonym of Apollo (= Ion.-Att. Ἀπόλλων). There is no attestation of a form Ἀπολλ- before the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC,<sup>585</sup> except two examples<sup>586</sup> that could be dated to the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC.<sup>587</sup> There are many persons bearing a theophoric name formed with Ἀπολλ- during the Hellenistic-Roman periods, apart from Ἀπελλέας who seems to bear the Doric form Ἀπελλ- (< theonym Ἀπέλλων). This might mean that the name was borne by a foreigner, but the context of the inscription does not allow us to clarify it.<sup>588</sup> In any case, the dialectal Ἀπελλέας belongs to a person whose descendants Ἀρχετίμη and Ὀνησίλος bear names formed with the koine elements -τίμη (< τιμή, cf. dial. Ἀριστοτίμα<sup>589</sup>) and Ὀνησί-, indicating a shift to forms of koine. At any rate, the plethora of Ἀπολλ- names in Paphos bear further witness to the substitution of dialectal forms by those of the koine. The fact that theophoric names are chiefly derived from Ἀπόλλων in Paphos, is explained by the increasing and widespread popularity of the god in the region, which is confirmed by a number of dedications<sup>590</sup> to Apollo *Melanthios* from the sanctuary at Amargetti, or the cult of Apollo *Hylates* at Nea Paphos and at Dhrymou. Apollo was also worshipped at Palaipaphos, Rantidi and (Apollo *Myrtates*<sup>591</sup>) at Marathounda village.<sup>592</sup>

Despite the fact that theophoric names, particularly those generated from names of deities, were locally rare before the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC (e.g. Ἀπολλώνιος<sup>593</sup>) —except those formed with Δι- (< Διφο- < Διφός/Ζεύς, e.g. Δίων<sup>594</sup>)—, this does not mean that their cult was unknown in that period. It had rather to do with the contemporary fashions,<sup>595</sup> which later changed, as shown by the large number of theophoric names in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.

<sup>584</sup> Tamassos, *a-pe-i-lo-ni* (= Ἀπείλωνι) (ca. 362 BC), *IGS*<sup>2</sup>, 215. b. 4; Palaepaphos, *a-pe-i-lo-* (mid-6<sup>th</sup> c. BC), MASSON & MITFORD 1986, no. 67.

<sup>585</sup> Marion, *a-po-lo-ni-o* (= Ἀπολλωνίω), *IGS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 148.

<sup>586</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, nos. 185 and 210.

<sup>587</sup> EGETMEYER 2010, I, 124, § 124, 270, § 299.

<sup>588</sup> Ἀπελλέας (father of Ἀρχετίμη, maternal grandfather of Ὀνησίλος and Σάμιον): Ἀπελλέου (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 168, 1. Cf. Ἀπελλῆς (mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), *PPC* A 57.

<sup>589</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 31.

<sup>590</sup> E.g. KRINGOS 2008, nos. Πάφ. 121, 122, 124-132.

<sup>591</sup> E.g. CAYLA 2018, no. 263 (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC).

<sup>592</sup> For the cult of Apollo in Paphos' region: see NICOLAOU 1965, 15; KRINGOS 2008, 105-106; VERNET 2015.

<sup>593</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 148.

<sup>594</sup> Cf. Διφίων, *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 327 (6<sup>th</sup> c. BC).

<sup>595</sup> PARKER 2000, 66; PANAYOTOU-TRIANTAPHYLLOPOULOU 2009, 189.

## 5.5. Family ties and tradition in local onomastics:

### — Grandsons named after their paternal grandfather:

1. Πλοῦτος I (paternal grandfather of Πλοῦτος II).
2. Μνήμων I – Μνήμων II.
3. Ἴστρος I – Ἴστρος II.
4. Πειθαγόρας I – Πειθαγόρας III.
5. Πτολεμαῖος I – Πτολεμαῖος II.
6. Partial homonymy: Τίμων, paternal grandfather of Τιμῶναξ.

### — Grandsons named after their maternal grandfather:

1. [Ἄγα]πήνωρ I (maternal grandfather of Ἀγαπήνωρ II).<sup>596</sup>
2. Βοῖσκος I – Βοῖσκος II.
3. Γλύκων I – Γλύκων II.

### — Sons named after their fathers (total homonymy):

1. Καρπίων I (father of Καρπίων II).
2. Νικίας I – Νικίας II.
3. Κάλλιππος I – Κάλλιππος II.
4. Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ποτάμων I – Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ποτάμων II.
5. Ἀπολλῶς – Ἀπολλῶς/ώ.
6. Δημήτριος I – Δημήτριος II.
7. Ἐρμογένης I – Ἐρμογένης II.
8. Ζωῖλος I – Ζωῖλος II.
9. Κατάγραφος I – Κατάγραφος II.
10. Παπεῖς I – Παπεῖς II.
11. Πατροκλῆς I – Πατροκλῆς II.
12. Ῥοδοκλῆς I – Ῥοδοκλῆς II.
13. Τιμαγόρας III – Τιμαγόρας IV.
14. Τρύφων I – Τρύφων II.

### — Partial homonymy between father and son:

1. Εὐαγόρας (father of Τιμαγόρας II).
2. Ὀνάσας II/Ὀνασᾶς – Ὀναμενός.
3. Ὀνησικράτης – Στασικράτης I.

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<sup>596</sup> Cf. MASSON 1963, 5-6.



#### 4. Φίλων – Τίμων.

##### — Partial homonymy between father and daughter:

1. Χαρίας (father of Χαριτίμη).
2. Ἀριστοκράτης – Ἀρίστιον.
3. Γλύκων – Γλυκέρα.

##### — Partial homonymy between mother and son:

1. Γλυκέρα (mother of Γλύκων).

#### 5.5.1. Name continuity in local families

The most well-documented onomastic custom in Hellenistic-Roman Paphos is the naming of a son after his father's name. While there are many examples of total homonymy between father and son, the partial homonymy is less frequent and achieved by the creation of compound names preserving an element of the father's name (e.g. Εὐ-αγόρας, father of Τιμ-αγόρας II [ $< -αγόρας < ἀγορά$ ]).<sup>597</sup> The naming after father's name is a well-documented custom due to statistical reasons since the personal name was often accompanied by the patronymic, which normally took the form of the father's name in the genitive case (e.g. Κάλλιππον Καλλίππου).<sup>598</sup> Partial homonymy is also achieved by the employment of the same hypocoristic suffix *-ων* in the name of a father (Φίλ-ων) and his son (Τίμ-ων).<sup>599</sup>

There are rare examples of partial homonymy between a father and a daughter, with the creation of a compound name (Χαρι-τίμη) based on the element of the father's shortened compound (Χαρί-ας),<sup>600</sup> or conversely, the creation of a shortened form for the daughter's name (Ἀρίστ-ιον), preserving an element of the father's compound name, Ἀριστ(ο)-κράτης.<sup>601</sup> It is noteworthy that the naming traditions associated with girls are less known because females feature more rarely than males in the documentary record.

In many cases, the grandchildren take the name of their paternal grandfather, whereas, in one case, only partial homonymy exists, with the grandson (Τιμῶναξ) bearing

<sup>597</sup> Εὐαγόρας (father of Τιμαγόρας II): Εὐαγόρου (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 202, 2. See 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, PPC E 27; 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Εὐαγόρας 4.

<sup>598</sup> Κάλλιππον Καλλίππου (41-40 BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 94, 2. Cf. 105/104? BC PPC K 16; LGPN I, s.v. Κάλλιππος 7.

<sup>599</sup> Φίλων (son of Τίμων, father of Τιμῶναξ): Φίλων Τίμωνος (mid or 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 192, 2. See also 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC Φ 33; mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Φίλων 34.

<sup>600</sup> Χαρίας (father of Χαριτίμη): Χαρίου (late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 182, 2. See also 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC X 5; LGPN I, s.v. Χαρίας 1.

<sup>601</sup> Ἀρίστιον (daughter of Ἀριστοκράτης): Ἀρίστιον (1<sup>st</sup> c. AD – 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 19, 1. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀρίστιον 4.

a compound name formed with the element of the shortened compound name of his grandfather (Τίμ-ων < τιμή).<sup>602</sup> Grandsons are also named after their maternal grandfather, a custom that seems to be locally a quite usual phenomenon during the period under consideration.<sup>603</sup> Within a family there are names that share the same etymology: Γλύκων I, the father of Γλυκέρα who the mother of Γλύκων II was (< γλυκός/γλυκερός).<sup>604</sup> Hence, the maternal grandfather (Γλύκων I) displays total homonymy with his grandson and partial homonymy with his daughter Γλυκέρα. In the same way, partial homonymy between the mother (Γλυκέρα) and her son (Γλύκων II) exists.

Judging by the frequency of partial or total homonymy between a parent and a child or between a grandparent and a grandchild, it is concluded that name continuity in the Paphian families was of great importance. Naming procedures such as the naming after father's or grandfather's name, which were well-documented already in the dialectal period,<sup>605</sup> continue to the Hellenistic-Roman periods. Ancestry/Genealogy continues to be indicated by using the patronymic and more rarely the grandfather's name.<sup>606</sup> The formation of abbreviated compound names, functioning as hypocoristic, by adding a suffix to the first element of the compound name of the parent (see Ἀρίστιον, daughter of Ἀριστοκράτης), is another pre-existing procedure underlining family unit and tradition. Although it was a rare phenomenon already from the dialectal period,<sup>607</sup> there are still some cases in which the ancestor—rather than the descendant—bears the hypocoristic name: e.g. Χαρίας (the father of Χαριτίμη<sup>608</sup>), and Τίμων (the paternal grandfather of Τιμώναξ<sup>609</sup>).

<sup>602</sup> Τίμων (father of Φίλων, paternal grandfather of Τιμώναξ): Τίμωνος (mid or 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 192, 2. See also 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* T 50; mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Τίμων 34.

<sup>603</sup> MASSON 1963, p. 4 and fn. 6; CAYLA 2018, 189, 204.

<sup>604</sup> Γλύκων I (father of Γλυκέρα, maternal grandfather of Γλύκων II): Γλύκωνος (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 203, 3. Cf. 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *PPC* II Γ 4β.

<sup>605</sup> For the procedures showing onomastic continuity in Cypriot families during the first millennium BC: see PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2009, 191; 2010b, 2014, 402.

<sup>606</sup> Cf. PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2009, 191.

<sup>607</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2009, 190.

<sup>608</sup> Χαριτίμη (daughter of Χαρίας and Δημώ, granddaughter of Μοσχίων): Χαριτίμη (late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 182, 3. See also 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* X 8; *LGPNI*, s.v. Χαριτίμη 1.

<sup>609</sup> Τιμώναξ (son of Φίλων, grandson of Τίμων): Τιμώνακτα (mid or 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 192, 3. See 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* T 58; mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Τιμώναξ 4.

## 6. Conclusions

Following the abolition of the independent Cypriot city-states at the end of the 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC and the annexation of the entire territory of Cyprus to the Ptolemaic kingdom in 295/4 BC, koine was introduced on the island as the language of administration and then gradually superseded, as everywhere, all the local languages. This historical fact also marked the beginning of the end of the Greek variety spoken in Paphos during the first millennium BC. The dialect ceased to serve as an element of identity in the new historical and political reality.

Henceforth, all the official texts in Cyprus are written, as in the rest of the Greek-speaking world, in koine and the Milesian alphabet. The examination of the abundant alphabetic inscriptions coming from the Hellenistic-Roman capital of Cyprus allowed us to describe, through linguistic analyses of repetitive deviant spellings and grammatical errors attested in them, the evolution of the koine as used particularly in the wider southwestern region of Cyprus from the late 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC to 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD.

Despite the large amount of alphabetic epigraphic material from Paphos, this consists largely of “correct” official texts, in which the conservative (classical) orthography—unlike the more unofficial private documents—largely conceals the linguistic developments in terms of grammar and lexicon. Even so, koine texts from Paphos present certain significant phonological developments from the Hellenistic period, many of which are also attested in koine texts from other regions, and remain characteristic of Modern Greek:

- the iotacism, that is the merger of /e:/ (represented by <EI>) with /i:/.
- the merger of /ɔ:/ with /o/.
- the monophthongisation of the diphthong /aj/ > /ɛ(:)/.
- the monophthongisation of the diphthong /yɪ/ > /y/ in the Hellenistic period and its probably subsequent raising to /i/ or /j/ in prevocalic position in the Roman period.
- the co-occurrence of <A> and <AY> spellings in a specific word, in the pronoun ἑατοῦ, points to the diphthong-smoothing /aɥ/ > [a].
- the very likely transposition of aspiration /k/ \_\_/th/ > /kh/ \_\_/t/ in one word, ὑπὸρχιστίδος (= ὑποκισθίδος), can bear witness to the retention of voiceless aspirates.

There are also problems with vowel quantity, as strongly suggested by spelling confusions between <E> and <H> (see 4.1.1.4). This is partly indicative of interference with syllabic writing, which —exclusively— in Paphos remained to a certain extent in use up until the Late Hellenistic-Early Roman periods (2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC). In some cases, misspellings such as the <Σ> omissions in preconsonantal or final position must simply equate to ‘slips of the pen’ irrelevant to the phonological analysis. The explanation of certain issues, for example, the loss of nasals in specific environments (see 4.1.2.7), is not always straightforward and indisputable due to the infrequency of relevant misspellings. The study of the koine in a broader geographical context, i.e., for the whole of Cyprus, would provide more evidence that can corroborate some of the conclusions drawn in the present work. In this respect, it will also be possible to dismiss generalisations and oversimplifications like the general view that the radical modification in the koine consonant system resulted in the ‘degemination’ of double consonants throughout the Greek-speaking world. The phonetic positions in which the consonantal gemination pre-existed in Classical Greek was retained as an archaism in certain peripheral areas (Cyprus, eastern Aegean, and southern Italy), and thus the co-occurrence of instances of simplification of double consonants and non-etymological geminates in koine texts from these regions cannot be viewed as hypercorrect spellings induced by degemination (see 4.1.2.6).

In the areas of morphology, syntax and lexicon, no significant peculiarities have been traced. In morphology, particular reference is made to the evolutions in the nominal inflection (see 4.2.1), notably the partial merger of the first and third declensions or the new genitives in -α (in first-declension masculines) built to the nominatives in -ας and the accusatives in -αυ. In syntax, most of the data have parallels in Classical Attic. Interestingly, although there is no clear index of the decline of the dative in the koine, the absence of examples of constructions with (ἐν +) dative against those with accusative for the same functions, may at least show a tendency towards the increasing use of the accusative. The changes/innovations in terms of morphology and syntax could be seen as a simplification in comparison to the respective grammatical characteristics of Classical Greek. Beyond a few hapax legomena and rare forms, no other important divergence was detected in the vocabulary (see 4.4).

A question that remains open in research is whether there were regionally differentiated versions of the Attic-based and Ionicised koine, especially if it was influenced by other Greek dialects. The fact that there are no exclusive features in the Hellenistic

koine of Paphos is an indication that it was indeed a uniform and standardised language of the administration that had not penetrated the vernacular language yet - koine must have not existed at least in the spoken language of the lower classes at the time. It cannot be ruled out that features of the local dialect might have been inherited in the local koine as a substratum phenomenon, but for the time being, no clear interference with the spoken vernacular has been spotted. There is possibly only an indication that the dialectal /u/ pronunciation might have passed into the koine. This view is based on the indications that <Y> represented both a front /y(:)/ and a back /u(:)/ (see 4.1.1.6, cf. 4.1.1.7, 4.1.1.8). The matter needs further investigation. No interference with other languages, i.e. the Latin from the Roman period, has been traced.

The gap between the conservative spelling of the (classical) Attic and the innovative linguistic developments of koine, widens steadily as we pass into the later Hellenistic and Roman periods, which probably means that the originally written koine had later a major impact on the spoken language too. The lack of deviations, especially in the epigraphic record of the Early Hellenistic period, must be partially attributed to the prescriptive policies in matters of orthography and language under the authority of the Lagides and the need for linguistic uniformity in the newly formed, culturally heterogenous Ptolemaic kingdom. The linguistic uniformity was provided by the school and education, which became a means of social promotion and advancement. Koine offered opportunities such as access to the administration and the opportunity for social integration and advancement.

As elsewhere in the Greek-speaking world, significant changes have taken place in the local nomenclature due to the new historical conditions from the Hellenistic period onwards. Local Greek nomenclature also underwent changes because of Roman rule. The semantic analysis and classification of the Greek personal names of Paphos, which are mostly compounds or shortened forms of compounds (“Kurznamen”), has shown that the vast majority is—in contrast to the earlier periods—related to war and the army. These kinds of names reflect the Panhellenic military and warlike values which come to dominate the Hellenistic world. Other names are semantically associated with timeless/everlasting values, i.e. social virtues, health, long life, public life, the society more broadly. A large category of names is those reflecting wishes and expectations, classified into further categories, like those referring to physical characteristics or character traits of the bearer. Less frequent are the anthroponyms relating to the fauna and flora or those coming from

toponyms and ethnonyms. The few names from mythology and Homeric epics indicate the influence of heroic poetry on the local society.

Most names have been replaced by fashion names, as indicated, for example, by the significant number of theophoric names formed from names of deities. These kinds of names were almost non-existent in earlier periods in Cyprus, and additionally, the use of theonyms as personal names is another innovative naming practice starting from the Early Hellenistic period. The change is also indicated by the increasing use of not particularly Cypriot names, and the adoption of Panhellenic names, some of which being diffused as Macedonian dynastic names in local onomastics due to the influence of the kings of Macedonia and the *diadokhoi*. Moreover, koine not only did gradually prevail over the local dialect, but it also had a severe effect on the local onomastics, given that many names began to be partially or wholly assimilated to those of the koine already by the Early Hellenistic period.

Nevertheless, some traditional personal names have survived from previous periods. Notably, the characteristic  $\bar{\alpha}$  of the local dialect was preserved as a fossil in names down to the Roman period but this is by no means indicative of a continuation of the phonological feature in the local koine. It was retained as a lexicalised characteristic almost exclusively in specific elements of names like  $\text{Ὀνασ(ι)-}$  and  $\text{Στασ(ι)-}$ , which continued to be very productive in local onomastics. While  $\text{Ὀνᾱσ(ι)-}$  coexisted with the non-dialectal  $\text{Ὀνησ(ι)-}$ , no  $\text{Στησ(ι)-}$  name occurs in the local onomastic stock, which means, judging by the hitherto evidence, that  $\text{Στασ(ι)-}$  remained the only dialectal element that was not assimilated to its corresponding form of the koine - that doesn't mean, however, that it continued to be a mark of local identity. The employment principally of this persistent dialectal element in compound names formed together with an element of the koine as their second constitutive resulted in the formation of 'hybrid' names, i.e. names partially assimilated to the corresponding names of the koine. All the other names were sooner or later adapted wholly to the koine.

Considering the partial or total homonymy between ancestors and descendants, onomastic continuity in Paphian families continued to be very important during the Hellenistic-Roman periods.

## 7. Appendix: Catalogue of Greek Male and Female names of Paphos

### HELLENISTIC PERIOD

#### A

**Ἀγαπήνωρ:** [Ἀγα]πήνωρ I (father of Ἐχετίμη, maternal grandfather of Ἀγαπήνωρ II and [Εὐα]γόρατις): [Ἀγα]πήνωρος (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 189, 1. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?, PPC A 6; mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀγαπήνωρ 2.<sup>610</sup>

Ἀγαπήνωρ II (son of Ἐχετίμη, grandson of [Ἀγα]πήνωρ I, brother of [Εὐα]γόρατις): Ἀγαπήνωρα (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 189. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?, PPC A 7; mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀγαπήνωρ 3.

Etymology:<sup>611</sup> Ἀγαπήνωρ (< ἀγαπάω ‘to love’ + ἀνήρ ‘man, male’)<sup>612</sup> is a rare but traditional/long-established/time-honoured name that goes back to the homonymous Arcadian founder of Palaepaphos (Paus. 8.5.2).<sup>613</sup>

**Ἀγεμόνα:** Ἀγεμόνα (daughter of Παλαιός, wife of [Ὀλυ]μπιόδωρος, the son of Φιλοκλήης): Ἀγεμόνα (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 171, 3. Cf. late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 9; 250-225 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀγεμόνα 1.

Etymology:<sup>614</sup> < dialectal form of the name Ἡγεμών<sup>615</sup> ‘guide, leader’.

**Αἴγυπτος:** Αἴγυπτ[ος] (father of Ποτάμων): Αἴγυπτ[ου] (41-31 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 93, 2; Αἰγύπτου (49-48 BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 134, 2.<sup>616</sup> Cf. 105-88 BC, PPC A 19; LGPN I, s.v. Αἴγυπτος 1.

Etymology: the toponym Αἴγυπτος used as a personal name.<sup>617</sup>

**Ἀλέξανδρος:** Ἀλέξανδρος (a soldier?, son of Ἀσκληπ[...]): Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀσκληπ[ιοδώρου (?)] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 8. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 22.

Etymology:<sup>618</sup> ἀλέξω ‘defend’ + ἀνήρ ‘man, male’ = ‘protector/warder off of men’.

**Ἀμμώνιος:** Ἀμμώνιος I (relative of the king?): Ἀμμώνιος ὁ σ[υγγενῆς τοῦ βασιλέως] (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 85, 2. Cf. 114-107 BC?, PPC A 28.

<sup>610</sup> Where there are different readings on certain names, the earliest publications with their respective proposals are also provided.

<sup>611</sup> For the name Ἀγαπήνωρ: see HPN, 10, 47.

<sup>612</sup> LSJ, s.v. ἀγαπήνωρ.

<sup>613</sup> CAYLA 2018, 298.

<sup>614</sup> Cf. HPN, 513.

<sup>615</sup> LSJ, s.v. ἡγεμών.

<sup>616</sup> According to Cayla, this inscription cannot be dated before the mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. For this reason, Ποτάμων (son of Αἴγυπτος) is classified in the Roman period.

<sup>617</sup> See HPN, 550.

<sup>618</sup> For the name Ἀλέξανδρος: see HPN, 33, 49.

Ἀμμώνιος Β (father of Ἀριστονίκη [wife of Ἀριστοκράτης], probably the same person with Ἀμμώνιος Ι): Ἀμμωνίου (from 117/116 to 88 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 92, 2. Cf. 114-107 BC, PPC A 26.

Ἀμμώνιος ΙΙΙ (son of Πλοῦτος and father of Πλοῦτος): Ἀμμωνίου (late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 196, 3. Cf. 1<sup>st</sup> BC, PPC A 27; 1<sup>st</sup> AD, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀμμώνιος 9.

Etymology:<sup>619</sup> < theonym Ἄμμων + -ιος<sup>620</sup> ‘relating to / referring to’ = ‘related to the god Ammon’.

Ἀν[...]: Ἀν[δρόμαχος?] (son? of Ζενοφῶν): Ἀν[.....] (88-80 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 58, 3. See Ἀν[δρόμαχος?] MITFORD 1961, p. 24, no. 60 (SEG X, 200); mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 36.

Ἀνδρόμαχος: Ἀνδρόμαχος (son of Μεννέας, brother of Ἀριστᾶναξ): Ἀνδρόμαχος, PEEK, GVI, no. 920, 1. Late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 40; 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀνδρόμαχος 4.

Etymology:<sup>621</sup> ἀνήρ ‘man, male’ + μάχη ‘battle’ = ‘who fights men’.

Ἄνδρων: Ἄνδρων (son of Καρπίων Ι [the engineer-in-chief of Cyprus], brother of Ἡρόδοτος, Καρπίων ΙΙ and Πτολεμαῖος ΙV): Ἄνδρων (early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 69, 1. Cf. mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 42.

Ἄνδρων (husband of Στρατονίκη and father of Ὀνάσιον): Ἄνδρων (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 193, 2. Cf. mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 41; LGPN I, s.v. Ἄνδρων 2.

Etymology:<sup>622</sup> a shortened compound name like e.g. Ἀνδράγαθος (< ἀνήρ ‘man, male’ + hypocoristic suffix -ων).

Ἀντισθένης: Ἀντισθένης (a poet?): Ἀντισθένους Παφίου με[λοποιού] (ca. 100 BC), ID, 2549; SEG XVII, 358, ll. 26. See also 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 55; c. 100 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀντισθένης 1.

Etymology:<sup>623</sup> prep. ἀντί ‘equal to, like’ or ‘in front of, in response to’ + σθένος ‘strength, might, power’ = ‘strong, mighty (in confrontation)’.

Ἀντίφιλος: Ἀντίφιλος (a soldier?, son of Νεοπτόλ[εμος]): Ἀντίφιλος Νεοπτο[λέμου] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 4. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 55.

<sup>619</sup> For the theophoric names < Ἄμμων: see HPN, 40. For the theophoric name Ἀμμώνιος: see HPN, 526.

<sup>620</sup> This is a common suffix of Greek, added to nouns, adjectives, toponyms and theonyms, thus forming epithets, ethnonyms, anthroponyms which have the same meaning with them or acquire the meaning of ‘relating to / referring to them’: see CHANTRAINE 1933, 37 § 31-32; cf. idem 1933, 55 §44.

<sup>621</sup> For the name Ἀνδρόμαχος: see HPN, 48, 296.

<sup>622</sup> For the name Ἄνδρων derived from the noun ἀνήρ: see HPN, 53.

<sup>623</sup> For the name Ἀντισθένης: see HPN, 59, 399.



Etymology:<sup>624</sup> prep. ἀντί ‘in front of, in response to’ + φίλος ‘friend’ = ‘counter-friend, friend in response’.

Ἀπελλέας: Ἀπελλέας (father of Ἀρχετίμη, maternal grandfather of Ὀνησίλος and Σάμιον): Ἀπελλέους (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 168, 1. Cf. Ἀπελλῆς (mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), PPC A 57.

Etymology:<sup>625</sup> < Ἀπέλλων (= Ἀπόλλων) + suffix -έας.

Ἀπολλώνιος?: Ἀπολλώ[νιος]?: Ἀπόλλω (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 341, 1.

Etymology:<sup>626</sup> theonym Ἀπόλλων + suffix -ιος ‘relating to / referring to’ = ‘who is related to the god Apollo’.

Ἀπολλῶς: Ἀπολλῶς (of Paphos, father of Ἀπολλῶς or Ἀπολλῶ): Ἀπολλῶι τοῦ Ἀπολλῶι Παφίου (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC/Rom. Imp. period), RATON & HICKS 1891, p. 174, no. 182, 1-2. Cf. Ἀπολλῶς Πάφιος (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC or later), PPC A 77, cf. Ἀπολλῶτ[ος] (imp. = 31 BC–310 AD), LGPN I, s.v. Ἀπολλῶς 2.

Ἀπολλῶς or Ἀπολλῶ (son or daughter of Ἀπολλῶς, his/her epitaph was found in Kos): Ἀπολλῶι τοῦ Ἀπολλῶι Παφίου (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC/Rom. Imp. Period), RATON & HICKS 1891, p. 174, no. 182, 1-2. Cf. Ἀπολλῶ Ἀπολλῶ Παφίου (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC or later), PPC A 64; imp. = 31 BC – 310 AD, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀπολλῶς 1.

[Ἀ]πολλ[ῶ]ς? (son? of Καλ[...]): [Ἀ]πολλ[ῶ]ς? (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 201.

Etymology:<sup>627</sup> < theonym Ἀπόλλων + suffix -ῶς.

Ἀπολλῶ: Ἀπολλῶ or Ἀπολλῶς (daughter or son of Ἀπολλῶς, her/his epitaph was found in Kos): Ἀπολλῶι τοῦ Ἀπολλῶι Παφίου (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC/Rom. Imp. Period), RATON & HICKS 1891, p. 174, no. 182, 1-2. Cf. Ἀπολλῶ Ἀπολλῶ Παφίου (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC or later), PPC A 64, cf. Ἀπολλῶς (imp. = 31 BC–310 AD), LGPN I, s.v. Ἀπολλῶς 1.

Etymology:<sup>628</sup> an abbreviated compound name (< theonym Ἀπόλλων + hypocoristic suffix -ῶ or -ῶς).

<sup>624</sup> For the name Ἀντίφιλος: see HPN, 60, 449.

<sup>625</sup> For the name Ἀπελλέας: see HPN, 61.

<sup>626</sup> For the theophoric name Ἀπολλώνιος: see HPN, 526. For names derived from the name of the god Ἀπόλλων: see HPN, 61-62.

<sup>627</sup> For the theophoric name Ἀπολλῶς: see HPN, 526.

<sup>628</sup> For the theophoric name Ἀπολλῶ: see HPN, 62.

Ἄρατος: Ἄρατος (συγγενῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ‘relative of the king’, husband of Εὐβούλα): Ἄρατου τοῦ συγγενοῦς (late 2<sup>nd</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 195, 2. Cf. late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC?, PPC A 79.

Etymology:<sup>629</sup> < the adj. ἀρατός (< ἀρφατός), which as a personal name (with accent recession) means ‘the Prayed-for’.

Ἄρισ[...]: Ἄρισ[---] (mid or late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 175, 2. Cf. Ἄρισ[τ-----] (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), PPC A 81.

Ἀριστᾶναξ: Ἀριστᾶναξ (a Paphian who died in the island of Rhodes, son of Μεννέας, brother of Ἀνδρόμαχος): Ἀριστᾶνακτος, PEEK, GVI, no. 920, 1. Late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 87; 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀριστᾶναξ 1.

Etymology:<sup>630</sup> ἄριστος ‘best’, ‘excellent’ + ἄναξ (< Φάναξ) ‘lord’, ‘master’ = ‘the excellent lord/master’.

Ἀρίστιον: Ἀρίστιον (daughter of Δημοκράτης [the chief of Kinnyrads] and Εὐνίκη, granddaughter of Πτολεμαῖος I, sister of Πτολεμαῖος II): Ἀρίστιον (3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 81, 6. Cf. late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 94; 221-205 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀρίστιον 5.

Ἀρίστιο[v] (daughter or wife of Σωκράτ[ης]): Ἀρίστιο[v] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 191, 3. Cf. 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 95; 163-145 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀρίστιον 6.

Etymology:<sup>631</sup> an abbreviated compound name like e.g. Ἀριστοκράτεια (< ἄριστος ‘best’, ‘excellent’ / ἀριστεία ‘excellence’ + hypocoristic suffix of neuter grammatical gender -ιον ‘relating to’).

Ἀριστοκλῆς: Ἀριστοκλῆς (father of Ἑλλαπώ, maternal grandfather of Τιμώ): Ἀριστοκλέους (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 177, 3. Cf. mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 103; LGPN I, s.v. Ἀριστοκλῆς 16.

Etymology:<sup>632</sup> ἄριστος ‘best’, ‘excellent’ + -κλῆς (< -κλήης)<sup>633</sup> < κλέος < κλέφος ‘fame, glory’ = ‘(who has) great fame/glory’.

Ἀριστοκράτης: [Ἄρισ]τοκράτη[ς]?: [Ἄρισ]τοκράτη[---] (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 11, (b) 2. Cf. early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 109; mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀριστοκράτης 22.

<sup>629</sup> For compound names from the noun ἀρφατός: see *HPN*, 63-64.

<sup>630</sup> For names composed of the adj. ἄριστος as their first element: see *HPN*, 69. For names composed of the noun Φάναξ as their second element: see *HPN*, 45-47.

<sup>631</sup> For names derived from the adj. ἄριστος: cf. Ἀριστώ, *HPN*, 73.

<sup>632</sup> For the name Ἀριστοκλῆς: see its other form Ἀριστοκλήης, with non-contracted or decontracted -κλήης (> κλῆς), *HPN*, 238, 243.

<sup>633</sup> See BUCK, § 166.1.

Ἀριστοκράτης (συγγενής καὶ ὑπομνηματογράφος καὶ τῶν κατὰ Κύπρον περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τεχνιτῶν, husband of Ἀριστονίκη): Ἀριστοκράτ[ης] (117/116 – 88 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 27, 2; Ἀριστοκράτους (117/116 – 88 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 92, 2. Cf. 114-107 BC, PPC A 108.

Etymology:<sup>634</sup> ἄριστος ‘best’, ‘excellent’ + κράτος ‘strength, might, power, authority, mastery, victory’ = ‘best in birth and rank/as a chief’.

Ἀριστόκριτος: [[Ἀρι]]στόκριτος?: [[Ἀρι?]]στοκρίτου (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 181, 4. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 116; 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀριστόκριτος 4.

Etymology:<sup>635</sup> ἄριστος ‘best’, ‘excellent’ + κριτός<sup>636</sup> ‘chosen, excellent’ = ‘who is selected or distinguished among excellent’.

Ἀριστονίκη: Ἀριστονίκη (daughter of Ἀμμώνιος and wife of Ἀριστοκράτης): Ἀριστονίκη (117/116 – 88 c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 92, 2. Cf. 114-107 BC, PPC A 121.

Etymology:<sup>637</sup> ἄριστος ‘best’, ‘excellent’ + νίκη ‘victory, ascendancy’ = ‘victor over the best/bravests’.

Ἀρίστων: Ἀρίστων (son of Μνήμων and father of Μνήμων): Ἀρίστων Μνήμονο[ς] (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 176, 1; Cf. late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 136, A 141; 225 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀρίστων 56.

Etymology:<sup>638</sup> a shortened compound name like e.g. Ἀριστοκράτης (< ἄριστος ‘best’, ‘excellent’ + hypocoristic suffix -ων).

Ἀρίστων[...]: Ἀρίστων? or Ἀριστῶν[αξ?] or Ἀριστῶν[υμος?]: Ἀρίστων[---] (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 194, 3.

Ἀριστῶναξ: Ἀ[ρισ]τῶνα[ξ] I (father of [---]α and maternal grandfather of [Ἀριστ]ῶναξ): Ἀ[ρισ]τῶνα[κτος] (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 179, 1. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 146; 225-200 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀριστῶναξ 8.

[Ἀριστ]ῶναξ II (grandson of Ἀ[ρισ]τῶνα[ξ] I): [Ἀριστ]ῶνακτα (?) (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 179, 2. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 147; undated, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀριστῶναξ 7.

<sup>634</sup> For the name Ἀριστοκράτης: see HPN, 70, 256.

<sup>635</sup> For the name Ἀριστόκριτος: see HPN, 71, 264.

<sup>636</sup> LSJ, s.v. κριτός.

<sup>637</sup> For the compounds of the name: cf. Ἀριστόνικος HPN, 71, 333.

<sup>638</sup> For the name Ἀρίστων (< adj. ἄριστος): see HPN, 73. Cf. MASSON 1995a, 83 (= OGS, 234).

Ἀριστῶναξ III (of Paphos, son of Νουμήνιος): [Ἀριστ]ῶναξ Νουμηνίου Πάφιος; Ἀριστῶνακτα Νουμηνη[ίου Πάφιον], 200-150 BC, *SEG* II, 47, no. 290; *FD* III, 4, 426, ll. 2, 6. See also 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* A 150; *LGNP* I, s.v. Ἀριστῶναξ 4.

Ἀριστῶναξ IV (father of [Ἀριστῶν]αξ V of Paphos): Ἀριστῶνακ[τ]ος (early 1st c. BC), *IG* XII,9.91, 6; See also early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *PPC* A 148; *LGNP* I, s.v. Ἀριστῶναξ 5.

[Ἀριστῶν]αξ V (of Paphos, son of Ἀριστῶναξ IV): [Ἀριστῶν]αξ Ἀριστῶνακ[τ]ος Πάφιος (early 1st c. BC), *IG* XII,9.91, 6; See also early 1st c. BC, *PPC* A 149; *LGNP* I, s.v. Ἀριστῶναξ 6.

Ἀριστῶν[αξ?] or Ἀρίστων? or Ἀριστῶν[υμος?]: Ἀριστῶν[ακτος] (?) (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 194, 3.

Etymology:<sup>639</sup> ἄριστος ‘best’, ‘excellent’ + Φάναξ ‘lord’, ‘master’ = ‘the best master’.

Ἀρτεμίδωρος: Ἀρτεμίδωρος (before mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 187. Cf. early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* A 153; 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *LGNP* I, s.v. Ἀρτεμίδωρος 50.

Ἀρτεμίδωρ[ος] (father of Ἐπιγένης): Ἀρτεμίδωρ[ου] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 71, 7. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* A 152.

Ἀρτεμίδωρος (a soldier?, son of Μενεκρ[άτης]): Ἀρτεμίδωρος Μενεκρ[άτους] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 71, 9. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* A 155.

Ἀρτεμίδωρος (son of Μενέλαο[ς]): Ἀρτεμίδωρος Μενελάο[υ] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 71, 6. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* A 156.

Etymology:<sup>640</sup> Ἀρτεμί- (< theonym Ἄρτεμις) + -δωρος (< δῶρον) = ‘a gift of the goddess Artemis’.<sup>641</sup>

Ἀρτεμίδω[...]: Ἀρτεμίδω[ρ---], *CAYLA* 2018, no. 366, 1. See also Ἀρτεμίδω[ρος]?, *GARDNER et al.* 1888, p. 245, no. 83; Ἀρτεμίδω[ρος]? or Ἀρτεμίδώ[ρα]? (hell?), *LGNP* I, s.v. Ἀρτεμίδωρος 49. See also hellenistic or later, *PPC* II A 153α.

<sup>639</sup> For the name Ἀριστῶναξ: see *HPN*, 45, 72. The long vowel in Ἀριστῶναξ, which is the alternative form of Ἀριστᾶναξ, is due to compositional lengthening, the so-called Wackernagel’s lengthening (Ἀριστῶναξ < Ἀριστο- + -αναξ < Φάναξ).

<sup>640</sup> For the theophoric name Ἀρτεμίδωρος: see *HPN*, 77, 145.

<sup>641</sup> For the meaning of theophoric names with δῶρον as their second element: see *PARKER* 2000, 59.

Ἀρχετίμη: Ἀρχετίμη (daughter of Ἀπελλέας and mother of Σάμιον and Ὀνησίλος): Ἀρχετίμην Ἀπελλέας (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 168, 1. Cf. mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 160.

Etymology:<sup>642</sup> ἄρχω ‘rule/ing’ + τιμή ‘honour, esteem, dignity, office, magistracy’ = ‘who holds a magistracy’.

Ἀρχίας: Ἀρχίας (*Strategos* / Governor-General of Cyprus?): Ἀρχίαν (ca. 163-157 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 39, 1. See also 164/163-158/157, PPC A 161.

Etymology:<sup>643</sup> a shortened compound name like e.g. Ἀρχίβιος (< ἄρχω ‘rule/ing’ + suffix -ίας<sup>644</sup>).

Ἀσκληπιάδης: [Ἀσκ]ληπιάδης (a priest): [Ἀσκ]ληπιάδην (2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 88, 2. Cf. early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, PPC A 164; 105-80 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀσκληπιάδης 30.

Etymology:<sup>645</sup> theonym Ἀσκληπιός + patronymic suffix -ιάδης.

Ἀσκληπ[...]: Ἀσκληπ[ιόδωρος?] (father of Ἀλέξανδρος): Ἀσκληπ[ιοδώρου?] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 8. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC A 165.

Etymology:<sup>646</sup> theonym Ἀσκληπιός + δῶρον<sup>647</sup> ‘gift’ = ‘a gift of the god Asclepius’.

Ἀφροδισία: Ἀφροδισία (of Paphos, she died in Rhodes): Ἀφροδισία Παφία (undated), IG XII,1.451, 1. Cf. 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC?, PPC A 166; LGPN I, s.v. Ἀφροδισία 12.

Etymology: either the epithet Ἀφροδισίος/-α used as a personal name and designating the name’s bearer as property of the goddess Ἀφροδίτη or from the annual festival of Aphrodisia ([τὰ] Ἀφροδισία),<sup>648</sup> held notably in Paphos in honour of the goddess.

## B

Βόηθος: Βόηθος (son of Ἥγησων and father of Νίκιον): Βόηθον Ἥγησωνος (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 183, 2. Cf. early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC B 9; 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Βόηθος 3.

Etymology:<sup>649</sup> < the adj. βοηθός (with recessive accent) ‘aiding, helping, assisting’, ‘hasting to the cry for help or the call to arms, hastening to the battle’.

<sup>642</sup> For the names composed of the verb ἄρχω > Ἀρχε- as their first element, e.g. Ἀρχέτιμος: see HPN, 78-79. For the names composed of the noun τιμή as their second element: see HPN 428-430.

<sup>643</sup> For the name Ἀρχίας: see HPN, 78-80; MASSON 1989a, 163 (= OGS III, 39).

<sup>644</sup> Cf. MASSON 1990a, 155; 1992, 109 (= OGS III, 114, 128).

<sup>645</sup> For the names composed of the noun Ἀσκληπιός as their first element: see HPN, 85-86. For theophoric names with the suffix -ιάδης/-ιάδας, e.g. Ἀσκληπιάδας: see HPN, 533.

<sup>646</sup> For the name see the corresponding dialectal Ἀσκληπιόδωρος, HPN, 85, 145.

<sup>647</sup> For the names composed of the noun δῶρον as their second element: see HPN, 144-147.

<sup>648</sup> See HPN, 528.

<sup>649</sup> For the name Βόηθος: see HPN, 512.

Βοΐσκος: Βοΐσκος I (father of Φάνιον the priestess, maternal grandfather of Βοΐσκος, the same person with Βοΐσκος, the father of Καλλικράτης or Βοΐσκος III?);<sup>650</sup> Βοΐσκου (mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 80, 1. See PPC B 14; LGPN I, s.v. Βοΐσκος 2.

Βοΐσκος II (grandson of Βοΐσκος I and son of Φάνιον the priestess): Βοΐσκον (mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 80, 2. See also (mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), PPC B 11; LGPN I, s.v. Βοΐσκος 1.

Βοΐσκος III (father of Όνασᾶς II): Βοΐσκου (early or mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 263, 5. See also 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC B 12; mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Βοΐσκος 4.

Etymology:<sup>651</sup> < zoonym βοῦς<sup>652</sup> ‘ox’, ‘(of people) who keep silence from some weighty reason’+ hypocoristic suffix -ίσκος.<sup>653</sup>

## Γ

Γλυκέρα: Γλυκέρα (daughter of Γλύκων I, wife of Καλλίμανδρος Σωσιβίου, mother of Γλύκων II): Γλυκέρα Γλύκωνος (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 203, 3. Cf. PPC II Γ 4α.

Etymology: < γλυκερός = γλυκός<sup>654</sup> (with recessive accent) ‘sweet, dear’ + suffix -α = ‘who is sweet/dear’.

Γλύκων: Γλύκων I (father of Γλυκέρα [wife of Καλλίμανδρος Σωσιβίου], maternal grandfather of Γλύκων II): Γλύκωνος (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 203, 3. Cf. 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, PPC II Γ 4β.

Γλύκων II (son of Καλλίμανδρος and Γλυκέρα, grandson of Σωσίβιος and Γλύκων I): Γλύκωνα (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 203, 4. Cf. 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, PPC II Γ 4γ.

Etymology:<sup>655</sup> < γλυκός ‘sweet, dear’ + suffix -ων.

Γοργο[...]: Γοργο[---](1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 11, (a) 3.

<sup>650</sup> Cayla believes that this is a Cypriot family (Βοΐσκος I-Φάνιον- Βοΐσκος II).

<sup>651</sup> For the name: cf. the fem. Βοΐσκα, HPN, 589.

<sup>652</sup> LSJ, s.v. βοῦς.

<sup>653</sup> The diminutive suffix -ίσκος also indicates the similarity between the bearer of the name and the noun (usually a zoononym or phytonym) from which it derives. From the Hellenistic period, it is used with derogatory connotations: see CHANTRAINE 1933, 405-413 § 334-342.

<sup>654</sup> LSJ, s.v. γλυκός.

<sup>655</sup> For the name Γλύκων derived from the adj. γλυκός: see HPN, 510.

## Δ

- Δημ[...]: Δημ[ήτρ---.....](mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 82, 2. Cf. Δημ[----] (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *PPC* Δ 4.
- Δημητ[...]: Δημητ[---](mid or late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 175, 1. Cf. Δημήτ[ριος (?)] (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), *PPC* Δ 8.
- Δημήτριος: Δημήτριος[ς] I (father of Δημήτριος II): Δημητριό[υ] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 5. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Δ 10.
- Δημήτριος II (a soldier?, son of Δημήτριος[ς] I): Δημήτριος Δημητριό[υ] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 5. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Δ 19.

Etymology:<sup>656</sup> theonym Δημήτηρ + -ιος ‘relating to / referring to’ = ‘who is related to the goddess Demeter’.

- Δημοκράτης: [Δη]μο[κρ]άτης? I (the same person with Δημοκράτης II below?): [Δη]μο[κρ]άτους (mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 173, 1.
- Δημοκράτης II (ὁ ἀρχὸς τῶν Κινυραδῶν ‘the chief of Kinnyrads’, the priests of the Paphian Aphrodite, who claimed descent from the mythical King Kinyras, the first High Priest of the goddess. Son of Πτολεμαῖος I, husband of Εὐνίκη and father of Πτολεμαῖος II and Ἄριστιον): Δημοκράτης Πτολεμαίου (3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 81, 2. Cf. late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Δ 26; 221-205 BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Δημοκράτης 8.

Etymology:<sup>657</sup> δῆμος ‘people, citizens’ + κράτος ‘authority, mastery, office’ = ‘who is governed by the people/citizens’.

- Δημόκριτος?: [Δη]μόκριτος or Τιμόκριτος? (son of [...ιτ]πος, grandson of Στασικράτης II): [Δη]μόκριτον (?), MITFORD 1961, p. 37, no. 100; 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Δ 27; *LGPN* I, s.v. Δημόκριτος 6. Cf. Τιμόκριτον, LE BAS, *LBW*, no. 2794; Τιμόκριτον (41-31 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 95, 4.

Etymology:<sup>658</sup> δῆμος ‘people, citizens’ or τιμή ‘honour, esteem, dignity’ + κριτός<sup>659</sup> ‘chosen’ = Δημόκριτος ‘chosen by the people/citizens’ or Τιμόκριτος<sup>660</sup> ‘chosen by honour’.

<sup>656</sup> For the theophoric name Δημήτριος: cf. Δαμμάτριος, *HPN*, 527. For the compound Δημήτηρ: see *HPN*, 123.

<sup>657</sup> For the name Δημοκράτης: see *HPN*, 124, 257.

<sup>658</sup> For the compounds of the name: cf. the corresponding dialectal Δαμόκριτος, *HPN*, 124.

<sup>659</sup> For the names composed of κριτός as their second element: see *HPN*, 264-265.

<sup>660</sup> For the name Τιμόκριτος: see *HPN*, 266, 427.

**Δημώ:** Δημώ I (daughter of Μοσχίων, wife of Χαρίας and mother of Χαριτίμη): Δημώ Μοσχίωνος (late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 182, 1. See also 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC Δ 33; LGPN I, s.v. Δημώ 4.

Δημώ II (of Paphos): Δημοῦς Παφίης (on an epigram from Gadara), GOW & PAGE 1968, I, 354, ll. 3196. 2<sup>nd</sup>?/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Δημώ 3. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, PPC II Δ 33α.

Etymology:<sup>661</sup> a shortened form of a compound name like e.g. Δημονίκη (< δῆμος ‘people/citizens’ + hypocoristic suffix -ώ).

**Διασθένης:** Διασθένης (συγγενής τοῦ βασιλέως ‘relative of the king’): Διασθένη (114-88 BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 77, 2. Cf. 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?, PPC Δ 38.

Etymology:<sup>662</sup> prep. διά (which acts as an intensifier of the following term)<sup>663</sup> + σθένος ‘(bodily or moral) strength, might, power, a force of men’ = ‘who is extremely strong, mighty (bodily or in moral sense)’.

**Διογένης:** Διογένη[ς] (husband of Κρετώ): Διογένη[ς] (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 178, 1. See late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC Δ 43; 225-200 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Διογένης 28.

Etymology:<sup>664</sup> Διο- (< Διφο) + -γένης (< γένος<sup>665</sup> ‘race, generation, birth’) = ‘born of/descendant of the god Zeus’.

**Διόδωρος:** Διόδωρος (a soldier?, son of Διονύσιο[ς] I): Διόδωρος Διονυσίο[υ] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 3. Cf. 180-146/5 BC, PPC Δ 52.

Etymology:<sup>666</sup> Διό- (< Διφο-) + -δωρος (< δῶρον ‘gift’) = ‘a gift of the god Zeus’.

**Διονύσιος:** Διονύσιο[ς] I (father of Διόδωρος): Διονυσίο[υ] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 3. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC Δ 57.

Διονύσιος II (poet): Διονυσίου ποιητοῦ τραγω[ιδιῶν] (144-131 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 90, 7. Cf. mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC Δ 58; 144-131 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Διονύσιος 86.

Διονύσιος III (a coroplast?): Διονυσίου, CAYLA 2018, no. 309. See also MICHAELIDOU – NICOLAOU 1982, p. 507;

<sup>661</sup> For the name Δημώ: see HPN, 130.

<sup>662</sup> For the name Διασθένης: see HPN, 131, 400.

<sup>663</sup> HPN, 130.

<sup>664</sup> For the theophoric name Διογένης (< γένος): see HPN, 105. For names composed of Διφο- as their first element: see HPN, 132-134.

<sup>665</sup> MONTANARI 2013, s.v. γένος.

<sup>666</sup> For the theophoric names composed of Διο-: see HPN, 132-134. For names composed of -δωρος < δῶρον as their second element: see HPN, 144-147.



*SEG XXXII*, 1381; 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *LGNP I*, s.v. Διονύσιος 85. See also late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC II Δ 61β*.

Etymology:<sup>667</sup> theonym Διόνυσος + suffix -ιος ‘relating to / referring to’ = ‘who is related to the god Dionysus’.

**Διονυσόδωρος:** Διονυσόδωρος (of Paphos, son of Σύμμαχος, his epitaph was found at Demetrias [Pagasai] in Thessaly): Διονυσόδωρος Συμμάχου Πάφιος (ca. 300-250 BC), *Thess. Mnemeia* 460, no. 214, 1-3. See also 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC Δ 68*; 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *LGNP I*, s.v. Διονυσόδωρος 14.

Etymology:<sup>668</sup> theonym Διόνυσος + δῶρον ‘gift’ = ‘a gift of the god Dionysus’.

**Διοφάντης:** 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *CAYLA* 2018, no. 339.

Etymology:<sup>669</sup> Διο- + agent<sup>670</sup> -φαντης (< φαν < φαίνω ‘make appear’).

**Δίων?:** [Δί?]ων (a soldier?, son of Φαι[---]): [Δί?]ων Φαι[---] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 71, 2. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC Δ 72*.

Etymology:<sup>671</sup> < Διφός/Ζεύς: 1) Δίων (Δί + -ων<sup>672</sup> < Διφίων<sup>673</sup>) or 2) Δΐων (Δί + suffix -ων < Δίφων).

**Δωσίθεος:** Δωσίθεος (son of Φιλόκιον): Δωσίθεον (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 169, 3. See late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC Δ 75*; 225 BC, *LGNP I*, s.v. Δωσίθεος 2.

Etymology:<sup>674</sup> Δωσί- (< δίδωμι ‘to give, grant, assign, offer [to the gods]’<sup>675</sup>) + -θεος (< θεός ‘god’) = ‘who grants/offers to the gods’.

## E

**Έλλαπώ:** Έλλαπώ (a Paphian?, daughter of Άριστοκλής, wife of Άρισ[το]κράτης Όνήτορος of Arsinoe, mother of Τιμώ): Έλλαπῶς<sup>676</sup> (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 177, 3. Cf. mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC E 6*; *LGNP I*, s.v. Έλλαπώ 1.

<sup>667</sup> For theophoric names derived from the name of the god Διόνυσος: see *HPN*, 138, 528.

<sup>668</sup> For the theophoric name Διονυσόδωρος: see *HPN*, 138, 145.

<sup>669</sup> For the names composed of the verb φαίνω: see *HPN*, 441.

<sup>670</sup> -της, see DUBOIS 2000, 51.

<sup>671</sup> For the name Δίων (< Διφίων) or Δΐων (< Δίφων): see *HPN*, 132, 134.

<sup>672</sup> For names with the patronymic termination -ίων denoting a descendant of a god or a hero: see *HPN*, 535.

<sup>673</sup> Cf. *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, 327 (6<sup>th</sup> c. BC).

<sup>674</sup> For the name Δωσίθεος: see *HPN*, 148, 206.

<sup>675</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. δίδωμι.

<sup>676</sup> With genitive ending corresponding to -όος/-οῦς, EGETMEYER 2010, I, 415, § 523.

Etymology: probably a shortened hypocoristic of a compound name: Ἐλλαπῶ < dial. Ἐλλ(ο)- < Ἐσλ(ο)- < ἐσθλός<sup>677</sup> ‘who is brave, stout, (morally) good, faithful’ + hypocoristic suffix -ῶ.<sup>678</sup>

Ἐπαφρᾶς: Ἐπαφρᾶς (θεοποιός = ‘coroplast’<sup>679</sup>): Ἐπαφρᾶς (late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 307. Cf. 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Ἐπαφρᾶς 5; late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* II E 7α.

Etymology:<sup>680</sup> the shortened form of the theophoric name Ἐπαφρόδιτος<sup>681</sup> < ἐπαφρόδιτος ‘lovely, fascinating, charming person’<sup>682</sup> (< ἐπί + ἀφρόδιτος [< Ἀφροδίτη] + hypocoristic -ᾶς).

Ἐπιγένης: Ἐπιγένης (a soldier?, father of Ἀρτεμίδωρ[ος]): Ἐπιγένης (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 7. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* E 9.

Etymology:<sup>683</sup> < ἐπιγενής<sup>684</sup> ‘growing after’ (ἐπί<sup>685</sup> ‘upon, after’ + γένος ‘race, generation, birth’) = ‘born after (other brothers)’.

Ἐπίκουρος: Ἐπίκουρο[ς] (1<sup>st</sup> half or mid of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 240. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* E 13.

Etymology:<sup>686</sup> < ἐπίκουρος<sup>687</sup> (ἐπί + κοῦρος) ‘helper, ally, mercenary’, ‘defending or protecting against’.

[Ἐρ(?)]γοτέλης: [Ἐρ?]γοτέλης or [Πυρ?]γοτέλης (naval architect, son of Ζώης): [Ἐρ or Πυρ?]γοτέλην Ζώητος (306 BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 64, 2. Cf. 284-246 BC, *PPC* Π 74.

Etymology: ... + -τέλης (< τελέω ‘fulfill’).

Ἐρμαγώρας: Ἐρμαγόρου, CAYLA 2018, no. 330. See hell., *LGPN* I, s.v. Ἐρμαγώρας 3.

Etymology:<sup>688</sup> Ἐρμ- (< the messenger god Ἐρμῆς/Hermes<sup>689</sup>) + -αγόρας ‘who speaks’ (< ἄγορά) = ‘a messenger of news/he whose speech comes from the god Hermes?’.

Ἐρμῆς: Ἐρμῆς (3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 229, 3.

Etymology: the theonym Ἐρμῆς used as a personal name.<sup>690</sup>

<sup>677</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἐσθλός.

<sup>678</sup> MASSON 1963, 5; EGETMEYER 2010, I, 365, § 441.

<sup>679</sup> MICHAELIDOU - NICOLAOU 1982, 505-507.

<sup>680</sup> For the name Ἐπαφρᾶς: see PANAYOTOU 1985, 16; KRINGOS 2008, p. 1448.

<sup>681</sup> For the name Ἐπαφρόδιτος: see *HPN*, 156.

<sup>682</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἐπαφρόδιτος.

<sup>683</sup> For the name Ἐπιγένης: see *HPN*, 105, 157.

<sup>684</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἐπιγενής.

<sup>685</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἐπί.

<sup>686</sup> For the name Ἐπίκουρος: see *HPN*, 157.

<sup>687</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἐπίκουρος.

<sup>688</sup> Cf. Ἐρμαγόρης: see *HPN*, 16, 164.

<sup>689</sup> *DELG*, s.v. Ἐρμῆς.

<sup>690</sup> For the use of theonyms as personal names: see PARKER 2000, 57, 59.

Ἑρμογένης: Ἑρμογένης I (father of Ἑρμογένης II): Ἑρμογένους (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 197, 4. Cf. 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC E 21.

Ἑρμογένης II (son of Ἑρμογένης I): Ἑρμογένην Ἑρμογένους (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 197, 3-4. Cf. 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC E 22.

Etymology:<sup>691</sup> Ἑρμ(ο)- (< Ἑρμῆς) + -γένης (< γένος ‘race, generation, birth’) = ‘born of /descendant of the god Hermes’.

Ἑρμων: <Ἑ>ρμων (father of [Ο]ινέας): <Ἑ>ρμωνος (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 2. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC E 24.

Etymology:<sup>692</sup> a shortened compound name like e.g. Ἑρμαγόρας (< theonym Ἑρμῆς + hypocoristic suffix -ων).

Ἑρως?: [Ἑρω]ς? (father of Στασίδημος of Paphos): [Ἑρω]τος (180-150 BC), SEG XX, 321, 4; 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC E 25; ca. 160 BC.

Εὐαγόρας: Εὐαγόρας (father of Τιμαγόρας II): Εὐαγόρου (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 202, 2. See 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, PPC E 27; 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Εὐαγόρας 4.

Etymology:<sup>693</sup> adv. εὖ<sup>694</sup> ‘well’ + -αγόρας ‘who speaks (in assembly)’ (< ἀγορά) = ‘who speaks fluently/eloquently, good speaker/orator’.

Εὐαγόρατις: [Εὐα]γόρατις (daughter of Ἑχετίμη, granddaughter of [Ἀγα]πήνωρ, sister of Ἀγαπήνωρ): [Εὐα]γοράτιν (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 189, 3. See mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?, PPC E 28; mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Εὐαγορατίς 1.<sup>695</sup>

Etymology:<sup>696</sup> adv. εὖ + αγόρατις (< ἀγορά + suffix -τις) ‘who speaks (in assembly)’ = ‘who speaks fluently/eloquently, the good speaker/orator’.

Εὐβούλα: Εὐβούλα (wife of Ἄρατος): Εὐβούλα (late 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 195, 1. See late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC?, PPC E 32; hell., LGPN I, s.v. Εὐβούλα 1.

Etymology:<sup>697</sup> εὖ + βουλή<sup>698</sup> ‘will, determination, counsel, design etc.’ = ‘of good counsel’.

<sup>691</sup> For the name Ἑρμογένης: see *HPN*, 105, 164.

<sup>692</sup> For the name Ἑρμων: see *HPN*, 163, 166.

<sup>693</sup> For the name Εὐαγόρας: see *HPN*, 16, 169.

<sup>694</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. εὖ.

<sup>695</sup> For the accentuation of the name as Εὐαγόρατις instead of Εὐαγορατίς: see EGETMEYER 2010, I, 320, § 364.

<sup>696</sup> Cf. Εὐαγόρας, *HPN*, 16, 169.

<sup>697</sup> For the names composed of the adverb εὖ: see *HPN*, 169-176. For the names composed of the noun βουλή as their second element (cf. Ῥοδοβούλα): see *HPN*, 99-100.

<sup>698</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. βουλή.

Εὐνίκη: Εὐνίκη (wife of Δημοκράτης [son of Πτολεμαῖος I, the chief of Kinnyrads] and mother of Πτολεμαῖος II and Ἀρίστιον): Εὐνίκη (3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 81, 4. Cf. late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC E 40; 221-205 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Εὐνίκη 2.

Etymology:<sup>699</sup> adv. εὖ + νίκη ‘victory’ = ‘of good/fair victory’.

Εὐνομος?: [[Εὐνομος (?)] (a soldier?, son of Κλεῖ[νω]ρ?): [[Εὐνομος Κλεῖ[νο]ρος (?)](mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 10. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC E 41.

Εὐπείθης: Εὐπείθης (of Paphos, a student of the Stoic philosopher Καρνεάδης from Cyrene). Εὐπείθης Πάφιος (*P.Herc.* 1021 XXIII 44-45; XXXII 37). Mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Εὐπείθης 1; 200-130 BC, ΤΑΙΦΑΚΟΣ 2007, lviii, 214-215, 517 / T1 XXXIII 44-45, XXXII 37: 517; See also PPC II E 42a.

Etymology:<sup>700</sup> adj. εὐπειθής<sup>701</sup> (with accent recession) ‘ready to obey, obedient, compliant’ (< adv. εὖ + πείθω ‘persuade’<sup>702</sup>).

Ἐχετίμη: Ἐχετίμη (daughter of [Ἀγα]πήνωρ, mother of Ἀγαπήνωρ and [Εὐα]γόρατις): Ἐχετίμη (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 189. See mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?, PPC E 53; mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἐχετίμη 1.

Etymology:<sup>703</sup> Ἐχε- (< ἔχω) + -τίμη (< τιμή ‘honour, dignity, office, magistracy’) = ‘who has an office/dignity’.

## Z

Ζωάλιος: Ζωάλιος (father of Ὀνασαῖς I of Paphos): Ὀνασαῖς Ζωαλίου Πάφιος, *Graffites d'Abydos*, p. 18, no. 104, 1-2. Early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC?, PPC Z 14; cf. 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ζωάλιος 3.

Etymology:<sup>704</sup> a hypocoristic form of a Ζωφ(o)- compound (< ζωφός ‘alive, living’):<sup>705</sup> Ζω- + suffix -αλ-ιος < Ζωφάλιος<sup>706</sup> < Ζώφαλος.<sup>707</sup>

Ζώης: Ζώης (father of [Πυρ or Ἐρ(?)]γοτέλης): Ζώητος (306 BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 64, 2. See 284-246 BC, PPC Z 15.

<sup>699</sup> For the name Εὐνίκη: cf. Εὐνικός, *HPN*, 173, 333.

<sup>700</sup> For the name Εὐπείθης: see *HPN*, 173, 366.

<sup>701</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. εὐπειθής.

<sup>702</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. πείθω.

<sup>703</sup> For the name: cf. Ἐχετίμος, *HPN*, 183, 429.

<sup>704</sup> For names composed of Ζω- (< ζωφός) as their first element: see *HPN*, 186-187.

<sup>705</sup> MASSON 1957, 165-166 (= *OGS* I, 9-10). Cf. *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, p. 120.

<sup>706</sup> For the name Ζωφάλιος, being a name of Paphian *basileus* attested already by the Classical period: see *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, 24; MASSON 1994b, 257 (= *OGS* III, 190).

<sup>707</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 160.

Etymology:<sup>708</sup> Ζώης (-ητος), a shortened compound like e.g. Ζωαγόρας (< ζωφός ‘alive, living’ + suffix -ης).

Ζωΐλος: Ζωΐλος I (father of Ζωΐλος II of Paphos, the rhapsode): Ζωΐλος Ζωΐλου Πάφιος | ραψωιδός (early 1st c. BC), *IG* VII, 3197, 6-7. See also early 1st c. BC, *PPC* Z 18; 1st half of the 1st c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ζωΐλος 27.

Ζωΐλος II (of Paphos, a rhapsode, son of Ζωΐλος I): Ζωΐλος Ζωΐλου Πάφιος | ραψωιδός (early 1st c. BC), *IG* VII, 3197, 6-7. See also early 1st c. BC, *PPC* Z 22; 1st half of the 1st c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ζωΐλος 28.

Etymology:<sup>709</sup> a shortened Ζωφ(ο)- compound (< ζωφός ‘alive, living’) + hypocoristic suffix -ίλος.

Ζωΐς: Ζωΐς (daughter of Τιμαγόρας II and Τρύφαινα): Ζωΐδα (1st c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 202, 4. See also 1st c. BC, *PPC* Z 24; 1st half of the 1st c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ζωΐς 3.

Etymology:<sup>710</sup> a shortened Ζω- compound (< ζωφός ‘alive, living’) + hypocoristic suffix -ίς.

## Η

Ἡγήσων: Ἡγήσων (father of Βόηθος, paternal grandfather of Νίκιον): Ἡγήσωνος (1st half of the 2nd c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 183, 2. See early 2nd c. BC, *PPC* Η 2; 2nd c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ἡγήσων 1.

Etymology:<sup>711</sup> probably a shortened compound like e.g. Ἡγησαγόρας (< ἡγέομαι, ἡγητής<sup>712</sup> ‘lead, command, rule, guide’ + hypocoristic suffix -ων).

Ἡ[ρα]κλε[...]: Ἡ[ρα]κλε[ιδης?] or Ἡ[ρά]κλε[ιτος?] or Ἡ[ρά]κλε[ια?] (2nd half of the 2nd c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 194, 4.

Ἡράκλειτος: Ἡράκλ[ειτος?] (1st half or mid of the 3rd c. BC?), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 239. Cf. 2nd half of the 3rd c. BC, *PPC* Η 17.

Etymology:<sup>713</sup> theonym Ἥρα<sup>714</sup> + κλειτός (< κλεφετός) ‘famous, renowned, glorious’ = ‘glory of Hera’.

Ἡρόδοτος: Ἡρόδοτος (son of Καρπίων I [the engineer-in-chief of Cyprus], brother of Ἄνδρων, Καρπίων II and

<sup>708</sup> For the name Ζώης (-ητος): see *HPN*, 187; *MASSON* 1957, 163.

<sup>709</sup> For the name Ζωΐλος derived from ζωφός: see *HPN*, 187. Cf. Ζωφίλος, *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, 454a; *MASSON* 1990a, 144-145 (= *OGS* III, 103-104).

<sup>710</sup> For the name Ζωΐς derived from ζωφός: see *HPN*, 187.

<sup>711</sup> For names derived from ἡγέομαι, ἡγητής: see *HPN*, 189-191.

<sup>712</sup> *LSJ*, s.v.v. ἡγέομαι, ἡγητής.

<sup>713</sup> For the theophoric name Ἡράκλειτος: see *HPN*, 192, 251.

<sup>714</sup> For the names derived from names of heroes: see *HPN*, 571-580.

Πτολεμαῖος IV): Ἡρόδοτος (early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 69, 2. Cf. mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC H 20.

Etymology:<sup>715</sup> Ἡρό- (< Ἥρα) + -δοτος<sup>716</sup> ‘giving, grant’<sup>717</sup> = ‘granted by the goddess Hera’.

## Θ

Θεανῶ?: [Θ]εανῶ? (daughter of Κλέων? II): [...][ΕΑΝΩ][...] (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 186, 2, cf. [Θ]εανῶ, MITFORD 1961, p. 19, no. 48a. Cf. early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC Θ 4; hell?, LGPN I, s.v. Θεανῶ 3.

Etymology:<sup>718</sup> a shortened compound name like e.g. Θεάνδρος, Θεανδρίδης etc.<sup>719</sup> (θεός<sup>720</sup> + ἀνὴρ + hypocoristic suffix -ῶ).

Θραϊκίδας: Θραϊκίδ[ας] (a Paphian?, an official of the Ptolemaic court honoured by the priests? of the Paphian Aphrodite): Θραϊκίδ[αν] (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 84, 1. Cf. 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, PPC Θ 22.

Etymology:<sup>721</sup> toponym Θράκη + patronymic suffix -ιδᾶς/-ιδης<sup>722</sup> = ‘the Thracian’.

Θρασείας/Θρασεάς: 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, CAYLA 2018, no. 338.

Etymology:<sup>723</sup> probably a shortened form of a Θρασ(υ)- compound like e.g. Θρασύβουλος (< Θρασύς ‘bold, audacious’) + nominal suffix -εᾶς (-είας is another spelling for -εας).<sup>724</sup>

## Ι

Ἴππαρχος: Ἴππαρχος (of Paphos, a student of the Stoic philosopher Καρνεάδης from Cyrene). Ἴππαρχος Πάφιος (*P.Herc.* 1021 XXIII 10-11). Mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ἴππαρχος 9; 200-130 BC, ΤΑΙΦΑΚΟΣ 2007, lviii, 210-211, 517 / T1 XXIII 10-11: 517. See also PPC II I 6α.

Etymology:<sup>725</sup> ἵππος<sup>726</sup> + ἄρχω<sup>727</sup> ‘(be) the first, begin, lead, the leader (of), rule/command’ = ‘who commands the cavalry’.

<sup>715</sup> For the theophoric name Ἡρόδοτος: see HPN, 141, 192.

<sup>716</sup> For the theophoric names with -δοτος as their second element: see PARKER 2000, 60.

<sup>717</sup> See DELG, s.v. δίδωμι.

<sup>718</sup> For the name Θεανῶ derived from the noun ἀνὴρ and the heroine of the same name: see HPN, 54, 579; PANAYOTOU 1985, 15.

<sup>719</sup> Cf. Θεάνος < Θεάνωρ, HPN, 53, 202.

<sup>720</sup> For names derived from the noun θεός: see HPN, 202-207.

<sup>721</sup> For the name Θραϊκίδας: see HPN, 547.

<sup>722</sup> The suffix -(ι)δᾶς/-(ι)δης originally denoted the descendant of a god, of a hero or of a human (see CHANTRAINE 1933, 362-363 § 295), but since the Classical period had lost its original meaning, DUBOIS 2000, 42-43.

<sup>723</sup> For the name Θρασεάς derived from the adj. θρασύς: see HPN, 212. For the same name spelled as Θρασείας: see HPN, 76.

<sup>724</sup> For the suffix -εας < ἔφας and -είας: cf. MASSON 1990a, 149-150 (= OGS III, 108-109).

<sup>725</sup> For the name Ἴππαρχος: see HPN, 81, 220.

Ἰστρος: Ἰστρος I (father of Μένανδρος, paternal grandfather of Ἰστρος II): Ἰστροῦ. *Suda*, s.v. Ἰστρος; *FGrH* 334 T1; 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* I 11α.

Ἰστρος II (of Paphos, son of Μένανδρος, grandson of Ἰστρος I, author of works in prose): Μενάνδρου τοῦ Ἰστροῦ, Πάφιος. *Suda*, s.v. Ἰστρος; *FGrH* 334 T1; 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* II 11β.

Etymology: either from the river or the river god of the same name (Ἰστρος).<sup>728</sup>

Ἰσχυρίων?: Ἰσχυ[ρίων]? (a Paphian or foreigner? Ptolemaic official: [[τῶν πρώτῳ[ν φίλ]ων]] ‘first friend’): [[Ἰσχυ[ρίων?]]] (114/113 – 107 BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 23, 2. See also 114 – 107/106 BC, *PPC* I 12.

Etymology:<sup>729</sup> ἰσχυρός ‘mighty, powerful, strong’ + suffix -ίων?.

## Κ

Καλ[...]: Καλ[...] (father? of Ἀπολ[λ]ώς?) (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC?), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 201.

Καλλίμανδρος: Καλλίμανδρος (son of Σωσίβιος, husband of Γλυκέρα [daughter of Γλύκων I] and father of Γλύκων II): Καλλίμανδρος Σωσιβίου (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 203, 2. Cf. 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *PPC* II K 11α.

Etymology:<sup>730</sup> Καλλί- (< κάλλος<sup>731</sup> ‘beauty’) + -μανδρος (< Μάνδρος, the name of a god of Near East) = ‘who has the beauty of the god Mandros’.

Κάλλιππος: Κάλλιππος I (father of Κάλλιππος II): Καλλίππου (41-40 BC?), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 94, 2. Cf. 105/104? BC, *PPC* K 15; *LGPN* I, s.v. Κάλλιππος 6.

Κάλλιππος II (a local official, son of Κάλλιππος I): Καλλίππον Καλλίππου (41-40 BC?), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 94, 2. Cf. 105/104? BC *PPC* K 16; *LGPN* I, s.v. Κάλλιππος 7.

Etymology:<sup>732</sup> Κάλλ- (< κάλλος ‘beauty’) + -ίππος (< ἵππος).<sup>733</sup>

Καλλίστιον: Καλλίστιον (daughter of [...ίπ]πος, granddaughter of Στασικράτης): Καλλίστιον (41-31 BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no.

<sup>726</sup> For the use of ἵππος as first component of compounds: see DUBOIS 2000.

<sup>727</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἄρχω.

<sup>728</sup> See *HPN*, 555.

<sup>729</sup> For the name Ἰσχυρίων: see *HPN*, 487.

<sup>730</sup> For the theophoric name Καλλίμανδρος: see *HPN*, 230, 293.

<sup>731</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. κάλλος.

<sup>732</sup> For the name Κάλλιππος: see *HPN* 222, 229.

<sup>733</sup> The term ἵππος as a second component lost its main meaning (‘horse’) during the Hellenistic period and was used as a mere suffix with aristocratic connotation: see DUBOIS 2000, 41-52, especially 42-43.

95, 4. Cf. 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *PPC* K 18; 105-88 BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Καλλίστιον 1.

Etymology:<sup>734</sup> possibly a shortened form of a compound like e.g. Καλλιστομάχη (< κάλλιστος, sup. of καλός<sup>735</sup> ‘the most beautiful’ + hypocoristic suffix -ιον).

Καρπίων: Καρπίων I (Engineer-in-chief of Cyprus between the years 163-145 BC, father of Ἄνδρων, Ἡρόδοτος, Καρπίων II and Πτολεμαῖος IV): Καρπίωνα (early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 69, 1. See also *PPC* K 26.

Καρπίων II (son of Καρπίων I, brother of Ἄνδρων, Ἡρόδοτος and Πτολεμαῖος IV): Καρπίων (early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 69, 2. See also *PPC* K 27.

Etymology:<sup>736</sup> an abbreviated compound name like e.g. Καρπόδωρος (καρπός<sup>737</sup> ‘fruit, reward, returns, profits’) + suffix -ιον.

Κλεάνωρ?: Κλεά[νω]ρ? (father of [[Εὔνομος]]): Κλεά[νω]ρος? (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 71, 10. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* K 37.

Etymology:<sup>738</sup> Κλε- (< κλέφος ‘fame, glory’) + -άνωρ (< ἀνὴρ ‘man, male’) = ‘who has the glory of manliness’.

Κλέων: Κλέων I (father of Κρετώ): Κλέωνος (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 178, 3. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* K 44; 225-200 BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Κλέων 21.

Κλέων? II (father of [Θ]εανώ?): Κλέωνος? (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 186, 2. See also early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* K 45; *LGPN* I, s.v. Κλέων 15; 22<sup>739</sup>.

Etymology:<sup>740</sup> κλέφος ‘fame, glory’ + hypocoristic suffix -ων = ‘who is glorious’.

Κρετώ: Κρετώ (daughter of Κλέων I): Κρετώ τὴν Κλέωνος (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 178, 3. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* K 59; 225-200 BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Κρετώ 1.

Etymology:<sup>741</sup> < Arc.-Cyp. κρέτος<sup>742</sup> (Att. κράτος) ‘strength, power, authority’ + hypocoristic suffix -ώ.

<sup>734</sup> For names derived from the adj. κάλλιστος: see *HPN*, 233.

<sup>735</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. καλός.

<sup>736</sup> For the name Καρπίων: see *HPN*, 234.

<sup>737</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. καρπός.

<sup>738</sup> For the name Κλεάνωρ: see *HPN*, 54, 238.

<sup>739</sup> *LGPN* I erroneously refers to the same person twice: 1) Cyprus? (hell.): see *LGPN* I, s.v. Κλέων 15 and 2) Paphos? (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC): see *LGPN* I, s.v. Κλέων 22).

<sup>740</sup> For names derived from the noun κλέφος: see *HPN*, 238, 242.

<sup>741</sup> For the name Κρετώ derived from the noun κρέτος: cf. Κρατώ, *HPN*, 260. See also EGETMEYER 2010, I, 330, § 379.

<sup>742</sup> Cf. MASSON 1963, 4-5.



**Κρίτων:** Κρίτων (κιθαρῳι[δός], one of the archons of the guild of the Dionysiac Artists at Paphos): Κρίτωνος κιθαρῳι[δοῦ] (144-131 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 90, 5. See also 143 BC?, PPC K 61; 144-131 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Κρίτων 12.

Etymology:<sup>743</sup> an abbreviated compound name like e.g. Κριταγόρας (< κριτός ‘chosen, excellent’+ hypocoristic suffix -ων).

**Κροκινᾶς/Κροκίνας:** Κροκι|νᾶς (late 4<sup>th</sup> – 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 226, 1. Cf. Κροκίνας (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), MICHAELIDOU – NICOLAOU 1977, 217-218, no. 67 (fig. 6); Κρωκηνᾶς (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), SEG XXVII, 970; 4<sup>th</sup>?/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Κρωκηνᾶς 1. See also Κρωκηνᾶς, PPC II K 64α.

Etymology: adj. κρόκινος ‘of saffron’ (< noun κρόκος)<sup>744</sup> + hypocoristic suffix -ᾶς. Cf. Κροκίνας/Κρωκίνας/ Κρωκηνᾶς < (Hsch., s.v.v.) κρόκαλον· τὸ πανοῦργον παιδίον· κρωκαλέον· παιδίον πανοῦργον, ‘a cunning child’.<sup>745</sup>

**Κρόκος:** Κρόκος (*Strategos* / Governor-General of Cyprus): Κρόκον (ca. 130 – 124 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 40, 1; [Κρόκον?] (ca. 130 – 124 BC), no. 41, 1. See also PPC K 64.

Etymology: the plant κρόκος used as a personal name.<sup>746</sup>

## M

**Μένανδρος:** Μένανδρος (Son of Ἴστρος I, father of Ἴστρος II): Μενάνδρου. *Suda*, s.v. Ἴστρος; FGrH 334 T1; 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC II M 13α.

Etymology:<sup>747</sup> < μένανδρος ‘strong man or awaiting a man’<sup>748</sup> (< μένος ‘might, force, spirit, passion, life, intent’ or from μένω ‘stay, stand fast [in battle]’ + ἀνήρ ‘man, male’).

**Μενεκράτης:** Μενεκρ[άτης?] (father of Ἀρτεμίδωρος): Μενεκρ[άτους] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 9. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC M 16.

Etymology:<sup>749</sup> μένω ‘stay, stand fast (in battle)’ + κράτος ‘strength, might, power, authority, mastery, victory’ = ‘staying in power’.

**Μενέλαος:** Μενέλαο[ς] (father of Ἀρτεμίδωρος): Μενελάο[υ] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 6. See PPC M 19.

Etymology: from the epic hero of the same name.<sup>750</sup> Most probably from μένω ‘stay, stand fast (in battle)’ rather than μένος<sup>751</sup> + λαός (< λαῖφος)<sup>752</sup> ‘men, people’<sup>753</sup> = ‘Abiding-men’<sup>754</sup>/who stands by his men/people’.

<sup>743</sup> For the name Κρίτων derived from the verb. adj. κριτός: see HPN, 266.

<sup>744</sup> For names derived from the plant κρόκος: see HPN, 593.

<sup>745</sup> Cf. PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2012, 617 and fn. 55.

<sup>746</sup> See HPN, 593.

<sup>747</sup> For the name Μένανδρος: see HPN, 50, 308.

<sup>748</sup> LSJ, s.v. μένανδρος.

<sup>749</sup> For the name Μενεκράτης: see HPN, 258, 306, 308.

Μενέστρατος: Μενέστρατ[ος] (a soldier?, son of [Πτο]λε[μαῖος]): Μενέστρατ[ος Πτο]λε[μαίου] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 11. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* M 21.

Etymology: most probably from μένω ‘stay, stand fast (in battle)’ rather than μένος<sup>755</sup> + στρατός ‘army’ = ‘staunch in army’.

Μεννέας: Μεννέας (a Paphian, father of Ἀνδρόμαχος and Ἀριστᾶναξ): Μεννέα, PEEK, *GVI*, no. 920, 4. Late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* M 24; 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Μεννέας 4.

Etymology:<sup>756</sup> probably a shortened compound name like e.g. Μενέμαχος with expressive gemination (< μένω ‘stay, stand fast’ + suffix -εας).<sup>757</sup>

Μητρόδωρος: [Μ]ητρόδωρος (father of [----]): [Μ]ητροδώρου (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 185, 1. Cf. early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* M 33; 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Μητρόδωρος 38.

Etymology:<sup>758</sup> Μητρό- (from the name of Mother Goddess) + -δωρος (< δῶρον ‘gift’) = ‘a gift of the Mother Goddess’.

Μηνᾶς: 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, CAYLA 2018, no. 339.

Etymology:<sup>759</sup> < Μην- (from the name of the phrygian moon-god) + suffix -ᾶς.

Μινο[...]/ Μίνος?: Μίνος?, Μίνας?: Μίνου, MICHAELIDOU – NICOLAOU 1963, pp. 45-46, no. 7; Μίνος (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), *PPC* M 36; mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Μίνος 1. Cf. Μίνου[---], CAYLA 2018, no. 250, 3.

Etymology: possibly the first (dialectal) element Μινο- (Μενο- < μένω or μένος)<sup>760</sup> of a compound name like e.g. Μινόδαμος,<sup>761</sup> Μινοκρέτης.<sup>762</sup>

Μνήμων: Μνήμων I (father of Ἀρίστων and paternal grandfather of Μνήμων II): Μνήμονο[ς] (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 176, 1. Cf. late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* M 43; ca. 225 BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Μνήμων 2.

<sup>750</sup> See *HPN*, 575.

<sup>751</sup> Μενέλαος (< μένος), *HPN*, 308.

<sup>752</sup> For names composed of -λαός (< λαῖός) as their second element: see *HPN*, 281-285.

<sup>753</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. λαός.

<sup>754</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. Μενέλαος.

<sup>755</sup> For the name Μενέστρατος (< μένος): see *HPN*, 308, 409.

<sup>756</sup> For the name Μεννέας derived from the verb μένω: see *HPN*, 307.

<sup>757</sup> Compound names were often turned into hypocoristic by doubling the only remaining consonant of the abstracted constituent, e.g. Κλέομις < Κλεομένης, MORPURGO DAVIES 2000, 18.

<sup>758</sup> For the name Μητρόδωρος: see *HPN*, 147. For names composed of Μητρο- as their first element: see *HPN*, 317.

<sup>759</sup> For the theophoric names composed of Μην- as their first element: see *HPN*, 316, 526. For the name Μηνᾶς: cf. MASSON 1994e, 141-142 (= *OGS* III, 210-211).

<sup>760</sup> Cf. Μενέδημος, *HPN*, 308 and Μενοκράτης, *HPN*, 306.

<sup>761</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 167.

<sup>762</sup> *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 403.

Μνήμων ΙΙ (of Paphos, a proxene of Delphoi in 176/175 BC, son of Ἀρίστων and grandson of Μνήμων Ι): [Μ]νήμων Ἀρίστωνος Πά[φιος] (197-175 BC), *Syll.*<sup>3</sup> 585, no. 119; cf. Μνήμων Ἀρίστωνος Πάφιος, *SEG* XVII, 236; *SEG* XIX, 383, 274. 176/175 BC, *PPC* M 44; *LGPN* I, s.v. Μνήμων 1.

Etymology: Μνήμων ‘(ever-)mindful, having a good memory, counsellor’<sup>763</sup> (< μνήμη<sup>764</sup> + suffix -ων).

Μοσχίων: Μοσχίων (father of Δημῶ Ι, maternal grandfather of Χαριτίμη): Μοσχίωνος (late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 182, 1. Cf. 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* M 46; *LGPN* I, s.v. Μοσχίων 14.

Etymology:<sup>765</sup> < zoonym μόσχος ‘calf, young bull, boy, girl, maid’<sup>766</sup> + suffix -ίων.

## N

Ναυσικράτης: Ναυσικράτης (father of Ὀνήσανδρος): Ναυσικράτους (88-80 BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 89, 2. Cf. ca. 107-88 BC, *PPC* N 6; 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Ναυσικράτης 2.

Etymology:<sup>767</sup> dat. pl. ναυσί (ναῦς) ‘ship’ + κράτος ‘strength, might, power, authority, mastery, victory’ = ‘who commands the naval forces’.

Νεοπτόλεμος: Νεοπτόλ[εμος] (father of Ἀντίφιλος): Νεοπτολ[έμου] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 71, 4. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* N 7.

Etymology:<sup>768</sup> epic (and dynastic) name from the hero of the same name<sup>769</sup> (νέφος<sup>770</sup> ‘young, youthful, new’ + πτόλεμος/πόλεμος ‘war’) = ‘new war or a young warrior’.

Νέστωρ: Νέστωρ: Νέστορ[ι] (3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 229, 2.

Etymology: epic (and royal) name from the hero of the same name,<sup>771</sup> who was a wise old counsellor, < νέομαι<sup>772</sup> ‘go (back), return (home)’ = ‘one who returns from travels or metaph., the oldest and most experienced/wise man of a class or company’.

Νικίας: Νικίας Ι (father of Νικίας ΙΙ [of Kourion?]): Νικία (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 85, 3. Cf. late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* N 23; 114-107 BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Νικίας 28.

<sup>763</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. μνήμων.

<sup>764</sup> Contrary to Bechtel’s view that Μνήμων is a name derived from the noun μνήμα: see *HPN*, 319.

<sup>765</sup> For names derived from the noun μόσχος: see *HPN*, 590.

<sup>766</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. μόσχος.

<sup>767</sup> For the name Ναυσικράτης: see *HPN*, 258, 326.

<sup>768</sup> For names composed of the noun νέφος as their first element: see *HPN*, 328. For names composed of the noun πτόλεμος as their second element: see *HPN*, 374-375.

<sup>769</sup> See *HPN*, 575.

<sup>770</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. νέος.

<sup>771</sup> See *HPN*, 575.

<sup>772</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. νέομαι, νόστος.

Νικίας II (of Kourion?<sup>773</sup>, son of Νικίας I): Νικίαν Νικία κα[ι] (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 85, 3. Cf. late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC N 26; 114-107 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Νικίας 29.

Etymology:<sup>774</sup> an abbreviated compound name like e.g. Νικόδημος (< νίκη ‘victory’ + suffix -ίας<sup>775</sup>).

Νίκιον: Νίκιον (daughter of Βόηθος, granddaughter of Ἡγήσων): Νίκιον (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 183, 1. Cf. early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC N 28; 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Νίκιον 2.

Etymology:<sup>776</sup> an abbreviated compound like e.g. Νικομάχη (< νίκη ‘victory’ + hypocoristic suffix -ιον).

Νικοκλήης: Νικοκλήης (the last *basileus* / king of Paphos): [Νικοκλήης], CAYLA 2018, no. 1, 1; Νικόκλεες (late 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC), no. 2, 1.<sup>777</sup> Cf. 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 5<sup>th</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Νικοκλήης 5.

Etymology:<sup>778</sup> νίκη ‘victory’ + κλέφος ‘fame, glory’ = ‘famous for his victory’.

Νίκων: 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, CAYLA 2018, no. 338.

Etymology:<sup>779</sup> probably an abbreviated compound like e.g. Νικόδημος (< νίκη [Νίκη] ‘victory’ + hypocoristic suffix -ων).

Νουμήνιος: Νουμήνιος (father of Ἀριστῶναξ of Paphos): [Ἀριστ]ῶναξ Νουμηνίου Πάφιος; Ἀριστῶνακτα Νουμηνη[ίου Πάφιον], SEG II, 290; FD III, 4, 426, ll. 2, 6. See also 3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC N 42; LGPN I, s.v. Νίκιον 12.

Etymology:<sup>780</sup> contracted form of νεομήνιος (νέος ‘new’ + μήνη ‘moon’) < νουμηνία<sup>781</sup> ‘new moon: the first day of the (lunar) month’<sup>782</sup> = ‘(who was born on the day) of the new moon’.

Νυμφίας: Νυμφίας (son of Φιλίστα, grandson of Στασίτιμος): Νυμφίαν (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 172, 2. Cf. 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC N 45; mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Νυμφίας 1.

<sup>773</sup> That he is from Kourion is based on the restitution Νικίαν Νικία Κο[υριέα? τὸν Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ] of MITFORD (1961, p. 38, no. 102). As this restoration is very precarious, I prefer to consider Νικίας II and his father Νικίας I as Paphians.

<sup>774</sup> For the name Νικίας (< νίκη): see HPN, 335.

<sup>775</sup> For the suffix -ας: see e.g. MASSON 1990a, 155; 1992, 109; 1993, 160 (= OGS III, 114, 128, 152).

<sup>776</sup> For the name Νίκιον (< νίκη): see HPN, 335.

<sup>777</sup> See also the syllabic inscriptions mentioned above (in the introduction).

<sup>778</sup> For the name Νικοκλήης: see HPN, 246, 331.

<sup>779</sup> For names derived from νίκη: see HPN, 335.

<sup>780</sup> For the name Νουμήνιος: see MASSON 1994f, 167-173 (= OGS III, 172-178).

<sup>781</sup> LSJ, s.v. νουμηνία.

<sup>782</sup> BECHTEL (HPN, 522) classifies the derivative names of νουμηνία in the category of the personal names that are associated with the birthday: cf. MASSON 1997, 68 (= OGS III, 275).

Etymology:<sup>783</sup> an abbreviated compound name like e.g. Νυμφόδωρος (< Νύμφη + suffix -ίας).

Νικομαχ[...]: Νικομάχ[η?] or Νικόμαχ[ος?]: Νικομάχ[ην?] or Νικόμαχ[ον?] (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 194, 2.

Etymology:<sup>784</sup> νίκη ‘victory’ + μάχη ‘battle’ = ‘battle of victory, who wins the battle’.

## Ξ

Ξάνθος/ίας?: Ξάν[θο]ς? or Ξαν[θία]ς? (early or mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 263, 3. Cf. Ξάν[θο]ς? (3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), PPC Ξ 1; mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Ξάνθος 3.

Etymology:<sup>785</sup> either 1) the adj. ξανθός ‘fair-haired’ used (with recessive accent) as a personal name or 2) ξανθός + suffix -ίας.<sup>786</sup>

Ξενοφῶν: Ξενοφῶν (*Strategos* / Governor-General, high-priest, father? of Ἄν[δρόμαχος?]): Ξενοφῶντ[α] (88-80 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 58, 1. Cf. mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC Ξ 3.

Etymology:<sup>787</sup> ξένφος<sup>788</sup> ‘guest-friend, foreign’ + φωνή<sup>789</sup> ‘sound, speech, voice, language’<sup>790</sup> = ‘foreign voice/sound, who speaks a foreign language’.

## Ο

Οίνεας: [Ο]ινέας (a soldier?, son of <’E>ρμων): [Ο]ινέας <’E>ρμωνος (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 2. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC Ο 2.

Etymology: an abbreviated compound name like e.g. Οινόβιος<sup>791</sup> (< Φοῖνος ‘wine’ + suffix -έας).

Όλυμπιόδωρος: [Όλυ]μπιόδωρος (son of Φιλοκλήης, husband of Ἄγεμόνα): [Όλυ]μπιόδωρον Φιλοκλέους (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 171, 1. Cf. late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC Ο 6; 250-225 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Όλυμπιόδωρος 2.

Etymology:<sup>792</sup> Όλύμπιος (epithet of the Olympian gods) + δῶρον ‘gift’ = ‘a gift of the Olympian gods’.

Όνα?: *o-na*-(?) (syll. text) = Όνα(?). Abbreviated name (?) documented in the Cypriot syllabary on a sealing found in

<sup>783</sup> For the theophoric names derived from Νύμφη: see HPN, 338.

<sup>784</sup> For the name Νικόμαχος/-η: see HPN, 297, 331.

<sup>785</sup> For the name Ξανθίας derived from the adj. ξανθός: see HPN, 339.

<sup>786</sup> For the extensive use of the suffix -ίας to form nicknames: see CHANTRAINE 1933, 92-93, § 71.

<sup>787</sup> For the name Ξενοφῶν: see HPN, 340.

<sup>788</sup> LSJ, s.v. ξένος.

<sup>789</sup> *Contra* Bechtel’s etymology: Ξενοφῶν (< φάων < φάφων), HPN, 461.

<sup>790</sup> LSJ, s.v. φωνή.

<sup>791</sup> See HPN, 345.

<sup>792</sup> For the name Όλυμπιόδωρος: see HPN, 147, 347.

the archive of Nea Paphos (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> – late 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1993, 343-347. See also *PPC* II O 8β.

Etymology: an abbreviated compound name like e.g. Ὀνασαγόρας (< ὄναιος ‘useful, serviceable’,<sup>793</sup> cf. < dial. ὄνασις (= Ion.-Att. ὄνησις<sup>794</sup>) ‘use, profit, advantage’ < ὀνίνᾱμι ‘profit, benefit, help’<sup>795</sup>) or a genitive (Ὀνᾱ) of a hypocoristic compound name with Ὀν- as its first element.<sup>796</sup>

Ὀναμενός: Ὀναμε[νός] (son of Ὀνάσας II/Ὀνασᾶς, grandson of Πειθαγόρας I, brother of Πειθαγόρας III and Στασιθέα/ς): Ὀναμε[νόν] (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 180, 2. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* O 9; 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Ὀναμενός 2.

Etymology: < aor. part. med. ὀνάμενος<sup>797</sup> ‘blessed, benefited’ (< ὀνίνᾱμι ‘profit, benefit, help, bless’ + suffix of masc. part. -μενος).

Ὀνάσας: [Ὀν]άσας I (father of [᾽]Ὀ]νασο[ς]): [Ὀν]άσαντος<sup>798</sup> (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 223, 2. See also 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 83; EGETMEYER 2010, II, 809, no. 1; cf. 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Ὀνάσας 9. See also *PPC* II O 14α.

Ὀνάσας II or Ὀνασᾶς (son of Πειθαγόρας I, father of Ὀναμε[νός], Πειθαγόρας III and Στασιθέα/ς, brother of [Πτολεμ?]αῖος III): Ὀνάσας Πειθαγόρου (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 180, 1. See Ὀνάσας, MASSON 1963, p. 6-7. Cf. Ὀνασᾶς, MITFORD 1961, p. 14, no. 38. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* O 17; 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Ὀνασᾶς 6.

[Ὀ]νάσας III: [Ὀ]νάσαντα (early or mid of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 199, 2. Cf. late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* O 14; 125-100 BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Ὀνάσας 10.

Ὀνάσας IV (νεώτερος, possibly the same person or relative of [Ὀ]νάσας III): Ὀνάσαντος νεωτέ[ρου] (56-48 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 154, 2.

Etymology:<sup>799</sup> < ὄναιος ‘useful, serviceable’, cf. < ὄνασις ‘use, profit, advantage’ < ὀνίνᾱμι ‘profit, benefit, help’ + suffix -ας.<sup>800</sup> The name Ὀνάσας was a typical name of

<sup>793</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2009, 184.

<sup>794</sup> *HPN*, 348.

<sup>795</sup> *LSJ*, s.v.v. ὀνίνῆμι, ὄνησις.

<sup>796</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2010, 54, fn. 36.

<sup>797</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ὀνίνῆμι.

<sup>798</sup> The restitution of the name is unquestionable since the inscription is digraphic and the name in the corresponding syllabic text is completely preserved (*o-na-sa-to-se* = Ὀνάσαντος).

<sup>799</sup> For the name Ὀνάσας: see *HPN*, 348.

<sup>800</sup> For the suffix -ίας: see CHANTRAINE 1933, 92-96.

Paphos, older than the name Ὀνασᾶς (below),<sup>801</sup> and it is attested only in Paphos during the Hellenistic period.<sup>802</sup>

Ὀνασᾶς: Ὀνασᾶς I (of Paphos, son of Ζωάλιος): Ὀνασᾶς Ζωαλίου Πάφιος, *Graffites d'Abydos*, p. 18, no. 104, 1-2. Early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC?, *PPC* O 16; cf. 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ὀνασᾶς 4.

Ὀνασᾶς II (son of Βοΐσκος III): Ὀνασᾶ | Βοΐσκου (early or mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 263, 4-5. See also 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* O 15; mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ὀνασᾶς 5.

Etymology: a shortened compound name like e.g. Ὀνασαγόρας (< ὄναιος ‘useful, serviceable’, cf. < ὄνασις ‘use, profit, advantage’ < ὀνίναμι ‘profit, benefit, help’ + hypocoristic suffix -ᾶς).

Ὀνασ[...]: Ὀνασ[---] (uncertain date), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 200, 1. Cf. Ὀνασ[ίης?], 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC onwards or Early Roman period, *MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU* 1963, 46-47, no. 9 (= *SEG* XXIII, 648).

Ὀνάσιον: Ὀνάσιον (daughter of Ἄνδρων and Στρατονίκη): Ὀνάσιον (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 193, 4. Cf. mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* O 20; *LGPNI*, s.v. Ὀνάσιον 8.

Etymology:<sup>803</sup> a shortened compound name like e.g. Ὀνασικύπρα (< ὄναιος ‘useful, serviceable’, cf. < ὄνασις ‘use, profit, advantage’ < ὀνίναμι ‘profit, benefit, help’) + hypocoristic suffix -ιον = ‘useful, serviceable to...’.

Ὀνασος: [Ὀ]νασο[ς] (son of [Ὀν]άσας I): [Ὀ]νασο[ς] Ὀν[ά]σαντος<sup>804</sup> (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC?), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 223, 2. See also 4<sup>th</sup> c. BC, *ICS*<sup>2</sup>, no. 83; *EGETMEYER* 2010, II, 809, no. 1; cf. 4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ὀνασος 3. See also *PPC* II O 24α.

Etymology:<sup>805</sup> a shortened compound name like e.g. Ὀνασαγόρας (< ὄναιος ‘useful, serviceable’, cf. < ὄνασις ‘use, profit, advantage’ < ὀνίναμι ‘profit, benefit, help’) + suffix -ος = ‘useful, serviceable to...’.

Ὀνήσανδρος: Ὀνήσανδρος (a Paphian?, possibly one of the only two Cypriot high officials [the other was Ποτάμων Αἰγύπτου] in the Ptolemaic government. Son of Ναυσικράτης): Ὀνήσανδρον Ναυσικράτους (88-80 BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 89, 2. Cf. ca. 107-88 BC, *PPC* O 28; 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ὀνήσανδρος 6.

<sup>801</sup> MASSON 1963, 6-7; idem. 1989b, 357 (= *OGS* III, 50). There is uncertainty about the accentuation of the name in its different occurrences, i.e. if it is Ὀνάσας or Ὀνασᾶς.

<sup>802</sup> *CAYLA* 2018, p. 292.

<sup>803</sup> Cf. *HPN*, 349.

<sup>804</sup> The restitution of the name is unquestionable since the inscription is digraphic and the name in the corresponding syllabic text is completely preserved (*o-na-so-se* = Ὀνασος).

<sup>805</sup> For the name Ὀνασος: see, *HPN*, 349.

Etymology:<sup>806</sup> Ὀνήσ- (< ὄνησις ‘use, profit, advantage’ < ὀνίνημι ‘profit, benefit, help’) + ἀνήρ ‘man, male’ = ‘useful, serviceable man’.

Ὀνησικράτης: Ὀνησικράτης (father of Στασικράτης I of Paphos [the benefactor and *proxenos* of the city of Delphoi in 207/206 BC]): Στασικράτης Ὀνησικράτους Πάφιος (240-200 BC), *SGDI* II 2613, 3. See also 207/206 BC, *PPC* O 32; *LGPN* I, s.v. Ὀνησικράτης 17.

Etymology:<sup>807</sup> < ὄνησις ‘use, profit, advantage’ < ὀνίνημι ‘profit, benefit, help’ + κράτος ‘strength, power, authority, mastery’ = ‘useful, serviceable to the power, authority.’

Ὀνησίλος: Ὀνησίλος (son of Ἀρχετίμη, grandson of Ἀπελλέας and brother of Σάμιον): Ὀνησίλος (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 168, 2. Cf. mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* O 36; *LGPN* I, s.v. Ὀνήσιλος 1.<sup>808</sup>

Etymology: either abbreviation of the compound Ὀνησίλ(αος) (< ὄνησις ‘use, profit, advantage’ < ὀνίνημι ‘profit, benefit, help’ + λαός < λαῖφος ‘men, people’) or a shortened form of a compound with Ὀνησ- + the hypocoristic suffix -ίλος<sup>809</sup> = ‘useful, serviceable to (his men/people)’.

## Π

Πάλαιος: Πάλαιος (father of Ἀγεμόνα): Παλαίου (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 171, 3. Cf. late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Π 2; mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Παλαιός 1 (with this accent).

Etymology:<sup>810</sup> < adj. παλαιός (with accent recession) ‘old in years, ancient, venerable, held in esteem’.

Πασίφιλος: Πασίφιλος (of Paphos): Πασίφιλος Πάφιος, 183/182 BC, see *IG* II<sup>2</sup>, 2332, 139; Cf. 181/180 BC, *PPC* Π 8; *LGPN* I, s.v. Πασίφιλος 1.

Etymology:<sup>811</sup> dat. pl. πᾶσι<sup>812</sup> + φίλος ‘friend, (be)loved/loving’ = ‘friend/friendly/beloved/dear to all’.

Πειθαγόρας: Πειθαγόρας I (father of Ὀνάσας II/Ὀνασᾶς and [Πτολεμ?]αῖος III, paternal grandfather of Ὀναμ[ενός], Πειθαγόρας III and Στασιθέα/ς): Πειθαγόρου (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 180, 1. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Π 15; 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Πειθαγόρας 7.

[[Π]]ειθαγόρας II (the same person with Πειθαγόρας I?): [[Π]]ειθαγόρου (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 181, 2.

<sup>806</sup> For the name Ὀνήσανδρος: see the corresponding dialectal Ὀνάσανδρος, *HPN*, 51, 348.

<sup>807</sup> Cf. Ὀνασικράτης, *HPN*, 258, 348

<sup>808</sup> Ὀνήσιλος, MITFORD 1961, p. 10, no. 20. Cf. Ὀνησίλος (correction), MASSON 1963, p. 3-4.

<sup>809</sup> For the name Ὀνησίλος: see the corresponding dialectal Ὀνασίλος, *HPN*, 349.

<sup>810</sup> For the name Πάλαιος derived from the adj. παλαιός with accent recession: see *HPN*, 356.

<sup>811</sup> For the name Πασίφιλος: see *HPN*, 362, 450.

<sup>812</sup> MONTANARI 2013, s.v. πᾶς.



See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Π 15; 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Πειθαγόρας 7.

Πειθαγόρας III (son of Ὀνάσας II/Ὀνασᾶς, grandson of Πειθαγόρας I, brother of Ὀναμ[ενός] and Στασιθέα/ς): Πειθαγόραν (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 180, 2. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Π 16; 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Πειθαγόρας 8.

Etymology:<sup>813</sup> πείθω ‘persuade’ + -αγόρας ‘who speaks’ < ἀγορά ‘assembly’ = ‘the persuasive speaker/orator (in assembly)’.

Πλοῦτος: Πλοῦτος I (father of Ἀμμώνιος, paternal grandfather of Πλοῦτος II): Πλοῦτος (late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC?), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 196, 2. Cf. 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Π 23; *LGPN* I, s.v. Πλοῦτος 1.

Πλοῦτος II (son of Ἀμμώνιος, grandson of Πλοῦτος I): Πλοῦτον (late 2<sup>nd</sup> or early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC?), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 196, 3. Cf. 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Π 24; *LGPN* I, s.v. Πλοῦτος 2.

Etymology:<sup>814</sup> a shortened form of a compound with Πλουτο- like e.g. Πλούταρχος (< πλοῦτος<sup>815</sup> ‘wealth, riches’ or Plutus, the god of riches’ + suffix -ος).

Ποτάμων: Ποτάμων (*antistrategos* / deputy governor of Cyprus etc., possibly a Paphian, the only Cypriot high official in the Ptolemaic government after Ὀνήσανδρος Ναυσικράτους. Son of Αἴγυπτ[ος]): Ποταμῶν[α] Αἰγύπτ[ου] (41-31 BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 93, 2; Ποτάμωνα Αἰγύπτου (49-48 BC?), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 134, 2. Cf. 105-88 BC, *PPC* Π 44; *LGPN* I, s.v. Ποτάμων 2.

Etymology:<sup>816</sup> a shortened form of a Ποταμ(ο)- compound like e.g. Ποταμόδωρος (< ποταμός<sup>817</sup> ‘river, stream’ or the personified rivergod Ποταμός + suffix -ων).

Πρίτιος or Πριτίας?: Πρίτιος or Πριτίας (ναυπηγός ‘ship-builder’): Πριτίου ναυπηγοῦ (late 4<sup>th</sup> – mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 230, 1. Cf. 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Π 49; *LGPN* I, s.v. Πρίτιος 1.

This name is a hapax with no obvious cognates. It could be a misspelling of the name Τρίτιος.<sup>818</sup> For the name Τρίτιος: see *HPN*, 521.

Πρώταρχος: Πρώταρχ[χος] (possibly an ‘official of the Ptolemaic garrison’ at Raphos, husband of Στασιάνδ[ρα]): Πρώταρχ[χος, τῶν] | διαδόχων[ν] (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 184, 1-2. See also 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Π 50.

<sup>813</sup> For the name Πειθαγόρας: cf. Πειθαγόρης, *HPN*, 18, 366.

<sup>814</sup> For the name Πλοῦτος < noun πλοῦτος: see *HPN*, 373.

<sup>815</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. πλοῦτος.

<sup>816</sup> For the name Ποτάμων derived from the noun ποταμός: see *HPN*, 381.

<sup>817</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ποταμός.

<sup>818</sup> Cf. e.g. *LGPN* I, s.v. Τρίτιος 1; *CAYLA* 2018, p. 323.

Etymology:<sup>819</sup> πρῶτος ‘first, highest, superior’ + ἄρχω ‘rule/ing, leader’ = ‘(being) the first/superior among the rulers/leaders’.

Πτολεμαῖος: Πτολεμαῖος I (father of Δημοκράτης [the chief of Kinyrads], paternal grandfather of Πτολεμαῖος II and Ἀρίστιον): Πτολεμαίου (3<sup>rd</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 81, 2. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC Π 54; mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Πτολεμαῖος 16.

Πτολεμαῖος II (son of Δημοκράτης [the chief of Kinyrads] and Εὐνίκη, grandson of Πτολεμαῖος I, brother of Ἀρίστιον): Πτολεμαῖον (mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 173, 3. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC Π 55; 221-205 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Πτολεμαῖος 17.

[Πτολεμ?]αῖος? III (son of Πειθαγόρας I, husband of [[ [- --] τὴν Ἀρι]]στοκρίτου, brother of Ὀνάσας/ Ὀνασᾶς): [Στασιθέ] [[ας?]] (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 181, 2, cf. [[[Πτολεμ]αῖος Π]]ειθαγόρου, MITFORD 1961, p. 14, no. 38. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC Π 63; 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Πτολεμαῖος 15.

Πτολεμαῖος IV (son of Καρπίων I [the engineer-in-chief of Cyprus], brother of Ἄνδρων, Ἡρόδοτος and Καρπίων II): Πτολεμαῖος (early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 69, 2. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC Π 53.

[Πτο]λεμ[αῖος] (father of Μενέστρατ[ος]): [Πτο]λε[μαῖου] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 11. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC Π 56.

Πτολεμαῖος V (a Paphian or foreigner? Ptolemaic official: [[τῶν πρώτῳ[ν φίλ]ων]] ‘first friend’): [[ [.....] ]] (114/113–107 BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 23, 1, cf. [[ [Πτολ]εμαῖος ]], MITFORD 1961, pp. 34-35, no. 94. See also 114-107/106 BC, PPC Π 51.

Etymology: πτόλεμος/πόλεμος ‘war’ + suffix -αῖος<sup>820</sup> (= ‘bellicose’, ‘warlike’). As a dynastic name, Macedonian in origin, spread to other regions during the Hellenistic period.<sup>821</sup>

[Πυρ?]γοτέλης: [Πυρ?]γοτέλης or [Ἐρ?]γοτέλης (naval architect, son of Ζώης): [Πυρ or Ἐρ?]γοτέλην Ζώητος (306 BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 64, 2. See 284-246 BC, PPC Π 74.

<sup>819</sup> For the name Πρώταρχος: see *HPN*, 83, 386.

<sup>820</sup> For the suffix -αῖος: see CHANTRAINE 1933, 48 § 40; *GrGr* I, 467.

<sup>821</sup> MASSON 1993, 157-158 (= *OGS* III, 149-150).

## Σ

**Σαμιάδης?:** [Σ]αμιάδης[ς] or Ἀμιάδης: [Σ]αμιάδο[υ], (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 63, 3 (restitution of the name by L. ROBERT, *Bull. Épigr.* 1944, no. 168; ROBERT 1945, p. 156, no. 44). See also 2<sup>nd</sup>-1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Σαμιάδης 1. Cf. [---]Ἀμιάδου[ο---], MITFORD 1961, p. 41, no. 111 and also Ἀμιάδης (?) (Late Ptolemaic), *PPC A* 25.

**Etymology:**<sup>822</sup> Σάμος + patronymic suffix -άδης/άδᾱς<sup>823</sup> = ‘man of Samos’. Cf. Ἀμιάδης<sup>824</sup> < ethnonym Ἄμιος < Ἄμος (toponym in Rhodian Peraea, Caria) = ‘man of Amos’.

**Σάμιον:** Σάμιον (daughter of Ἀρχετίμη, granddaughter of Ἀπελλέας and sister of Ὀνησίλος): Σάμιον (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 168, 2. See also mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC Σ* 2; *LGPNI*, s.v. Σάμιον 1.

**Etymology:**<sup>825</sup> Σάμος + hypocoristic suffix -ιον = ‘woman of Samos’.

**Στασάνδρα:** Στασάνδ[ρα] (wife of Πρώταρ[χος], the official of the Ptolemaic garrison): Στασάνδ[ρα] (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 184, 3. See also early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC Σ* 22; first half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Στάσανδρα 1.

**Etymology:**<sup>826</sup> dial. στᾶσαι (= Ion.-Att. στήσαι < ἴστημι<sup>827</sup> ‘to stop, halt’) + ἀνὴρ ‘man, male’ = ‘who stops the men (in battle)’.

**Στασίδημος:** Στασίδημος (of Paphos, [θε]ῶν ἐπιστάτης, son of [Ἐρω?]ς): Στασίδημον|[Ἐρω]τος Πάφιον|[θε]ῶν ἐπιστάτην (180-150 BC), *SEG XX*, 321, 3-5; 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC Σ* 23; ca. 160 BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Στασίδημος 1.

**Etymology:**<sup>828</sup> στᾶσαι ‘metaph., stand firm’, cf. στάσις<sup>829</sup> ‘stability’, ‘prudence’ + δῆμος ‘people/citizens’.

**Στασιθέα/ς:** Στασιθέα or Στασιθέας (daughter or son of Ὀνάσας Π/Ὀνασᾶς, granddaughter/son of Πειθαγόρας, brother or sister of Ὀναμε[νός] and Πειθαγόρας): Στασιθέαν (late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 180, 3. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC Σ* 24; *LGPNI*, s.v. Στασιθέα 1.

<sup>822</sup> For the name Σαμιάδης derived from a toponym and suffixed with the patronymic -άδης: see *HPN*, 547. See also *HPN*, 397.

<sup>823</sup> Cf. MASSON 1991, 112 (= *OGS III*, 124).

<sup>824</sup> For the name Ἀμιάδης derived from the ethnonym Ἄμιος and suffixed with the patronymic -άδης/-άδᾱς: cf. the corresponding dialectal Ἀμιάδας, *HPN*, 547.

<sup>825</sup> For names derived from the toponym Σάμος: see *HPN*, 397 or the ethnonym Σάμιος, *HPN*, 542.

<sup>826</sup> See Στάσανδος, *HPN*, 51, 406.

<sup>827</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἴστημι (cf. ἰστάω).

<sup>828</sup> For names composed of στᾶσαι as their first and δῆμος as their second element: see *HPN*, 126-129, 206-207.

<sup>829</sup> The compounds of Στάσι- (< noun στάσις) may denote ‘stability’, ‘prudence’: see *DELG*, s.v. στάσις; PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2009, 186.

Etymology:<sup>830</sup> στᾶσαι ‘stand firm’, cf. στάσις ‘stability’, ‘prudence’ + θεός ‘god’ + suffix -εα(ς).

Στασικράτεια?: [Στα?]σικράτεια (daughter of [Μ]ητροδωρος, granddaughter of ‘----]ήδου’ and ‘[.....Μ]’): [Στα]σικράτεια (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 185, 3. See also 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Σ 25; 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Στασικράτεια 1.

Etymology:<sup>831</sup> στᾶσαι ‘stand firm’, cf. στάσις ‘stability’, ‘prudence’ + κράτος ‘power, authority’ + fem. suffix -εια.<sup>832</sup>

Στασικράτης: Στασικράτης I (of Paphos, benefactor and *proxenos* of the city of Delphoi, son of Ὀνησικράτης): Στασικράτης Ὀνησικράτους Πάφιος (240-200 BC), *SGDI* II 2613, 3. See also 207/206 BC, *PPC* Σ 26; *LGPNI* I, s.v. Στασικράτης 3.

Στασικράτης II (father of [...ιπ]πος?, paternal grandfather of [Δ]ημόκριτος or Τιμόκριτος and Καλλίστιον), Στασικράτου (41-31 BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 95, 2. Cf. his son [...ιπ]πος (2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), *PPC* Σ 28; see also 105-88 BC, *LGPNI* I, s.v. Στασικράτης 4.

Etymology:<sup>833</sup> στᾶσαι ‘stand firm’, cf. στάσις ‘stability’, ‘prudence’ + κράτος ‘power, authority’.

Στασίοικος: [Στ]ασίοικο[ς] (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> BC?), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 227, 1. [Στ]ασίοικο[ς] or [Στ]ασίοικο[υ]) restituted by MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1976b, 251, no. 14 (= *SEG* XXVI, 1471). See also 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> BC, *LGPNI* I, s.v. Στασίοικος 9; early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* II Σ 31α.

Etymology:<sup>834</sup> στᾶσαι ‘stand firm’, cf. στάσις ‘stability’, ‘prudence’ + Φοῖκος ‘(reigning) house, home’.<sup>835</sup>

Στασίτιμος: Στασίτιμος (father of Φιλίστα, maternal grandfather of Νυμφίας): Στασίτιμου (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 172, 1. See 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Σ 32; mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI* I, s.v. Στασίτιμος 1.

Etymology:<sup>836</sup> στᾶσαι ‘stand firm’, cf. στάσις ‘stability’, ‘prudence’ + τιμή ‘honour, dignity, office, magistracy’.

<sup>830</sup> For names composed of στᾶσαι as their first and θεός as their second element: see *HPN*, 206-207, 406-407.

<sup>831</sup> For the name Στασικράτεια: cf. Στασικράτης, *HPN*, 259, 406.

<sup>832</sup> For the suffix -εια in sigmatic words: see CHANTRAINE 1933, 88.

<sup>833</sup> For the name Στασικράτης: see *HPN*, 259, 406.

<sup>834</sup> For the name Στασίοικος: see Στασίφοικος (< στᾶσαι + Φοῖκος), *HPN*, 344, 406. Cf. Στασίφοικος, PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2009, 186.

<sup>835</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. οἶκος.

Στρατονίκη: Στρατονίκη (wife of Ἄνδρων, mother of Ὀνάσιον): Στρατονίκη (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. **193**, 3. See mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Σ 40; *LGNP* I, s.v. Στρατονίκη 3.

Etymology:<sup>837</sup> στρατός ‘army’ + νίκη ‘victory’ = ‘army of victory’.

Σύμμαχος: Σύμμαχος (father of Διονυσόδωρος of Paphos): Διονυσόδωρος Συμμάχου Πάφιος, ca. 300-250 BC, *Thess. Mnemeia* 460, no. 214, 1-3. See also 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* Σ 43; *LGNP* I, s.v. Σύμμαχος 11.

Etymology:<sup>838</sup> < σύμμαχος ‘fighting along with, leagued or allied with’ = ‘comrade in arms’.

Σωσίβιος: Σωσίβιος (father of Καλλίμανδρος [husband of Γλυκέρρα], paternal grandfather of Γλύκων II): Σωσιβίου (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. **203**, 2. Cf. 2<sup>nd</sup>/1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *PPC* II Σ 51γ.

Etymology:<sup>839</sup> σώζω ‘save’ + βίος<sup>840</sup> ‘life, existence’ = ‘who saves the life of someone’.

Σωκράτης: Σωκράτ[ης] (father or husband? of Ἀρίστιον): Σωκράτ[ης] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. **191**, 3. See 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?, *PPC* Σ 47; 163-145 BC, *LGNP* I, s.v. Σωκράτης 13.

Etymology:<sup>841</sup> σαφο- ‘safe, intact’, ‘keep safe, preserve (something)’ + κράτος ‘power, authority’ = ‘who has a safe/intact power/authority’.

Σώπατρος: Σώπατρος (of Paphos, a poet of comedies and writer of φλύακες): Σώπατρος Πάφιος, see *PPC* Σ 49; 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *LGNP* I, s.v. Σώπατρος 5.

Etymology: σαφο- ‘safe, intact’ + πατήρ ‘father’, cf. πάτρα<sup>842</sup> ‘fatherland, native land’ = ‘who has a healthy father?’.

Σωτᾶς: Σωτᾶς (of Paphos, a student of the Stoic philosopher Παναίτιος from Rhodes). Σωτᾶς Πάφιος, on a papyrus (*P. Herc.* 1018 LXXV 1).<sup>843</sup> 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *LGNP* I, s.v. Σωτᾶς 4; 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *ΤΑΙΦΑΚΟΣ* 2007, lviii, 218-219, 518. See also *PPC* II Σ 52α.

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<sup>836</sup> For the name Στασίτιμος: cf. Στησίτιμος (< στᾶσαι + τιμή), *HPN*, 406, 429. Cf. Στασιτίμα, PANAYOTOU-TRIANΤΑΡΗΥΛΛΟΠΟΥΛΟΥ 2009, 186.

<sup>837</sup> For the name Στρατόνικος: see *HPN*, 334, 408.

<sup>838</sup> Cf. Συμμαχία, a personal name from the abstract noun συμμαχία, *HPN*, 616.

<sup>839</sup> For the name Σωσίβιος: see *HPN*, 96, 416.

<sup>840</sup> MONTANARI 2013, s.v. βίος.

<sup>841</sup> For the name Σωκράτης: see *HPN*, 259, 414.

<sup>842</sup> For the name Σώπατρος (< πάτρα): see *HPN*, 364, 413.

<sup>843</sup> Retrieved from: <http://papyri.info/docs/checklist>

Etymology:<sup>844</sup> it must be a shortened compound name like e.g. Σωτοκύδης, Σώταρχος etc. (< Σαωτό- < verb. adj. σαφωτός ‘safe, (being) in a saved condition’ + hypocoristic suffix -ᾶς).

## Τ

Ταμία: Ταμία (late 2<sup>nd</sup> - 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 195, 3. See late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC?, PPC T 2; hell. LGPN I, s.v. Ταμία 1.

Etymology: this name might be a *signum* of Εύβούλα (<ή> καὶ Ταμία).<sup>845</sup> Cf. Ταμισα ‘the daughter, the descendant’, corresponding to the Egyptian *t3-ms* (*ms* ‘born’ preceded by the emphatic feminine article).<sup>846</sup>

Τιμαγόρας: Τιμαγόρας I (of Paphos, his name attested at Thebes in Egypt): Τιμαγόρας|Πάφιος, *Syringes*, 607, 1-2. See also early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC?, PPC T 16; 4<sup>th</sup>?-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Τιμαγόρας 24.

Τιμαγόρας II (son of Εύαγόρας, husband of Τρύφαινα and father of Ζωΐς): Τιμαγόρας Εύαγόρου (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 202, 2. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, PPC T 14; 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC. LGPN I, s.v. Τιμαγόρας 27.

Etymology:<sup>847</sup> τιμή ‘honour, esteem, dignity, office’ + ἀγορά ‘assembly’ > -αγόρας ‘who speaks (in assembly)’ = ‘who speaks with esteem (in assembly)?’.

Τιμᾶς: Τιμᾶς (of Paphos, his name is inscribed on the Memnonion of Abydos): Τιμᾶς Πάφιος, *Graffites d'Abydos*, no. 234, 1-2. Early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC?, PPC T 26; 4<sup>th</sup>?-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Τιμᾶς 1.

Etymology:<sup>848</sup> it must be a shortened hypocoristic of a compound name like e.g. Τιμαγόρας, Τιμαρχος etc.<sup>849</sup> (< τιμή ‘honour, esteem, dignity, office’ + hypocoristic suffix -ᾶς).

Τίμο(:): *ti-mo-me* (syll. text) = Τίμο( ). Abbreviated name (?) documented in the Cypriot syllabary on a sealing found in the archive of Nea Paphos (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> – late 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1993, 343-347. See also PPC II T 27α.

Etymology: an abbreviated compound name like e.g. Τιμόξενος (< τιμή ‘honour, esteem, dignity, office’), cf. PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2010, 54, fn. 36.

<sup>844</sup> For names composed of Σωτ- (< σαφωτός) as their first element: see *HPN*, 417.

<sup>845</sup> CAYLA 2018, p. 301.

<sup>846</sup> EGETMEYER 2010, I, 384-385, § 461.

<sup>847</sup> For the name Τιμαγόρας: see *HPN*, 18, 426.

<sup>848</sup> For names composed of the noun τιμή as their first element: see *HPN*, 426.

<sup>849</sup> Cf. PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2010, 54, fn. 36.

Τιμοκράτης: Τιμοκράτης (father-in-law of Τιμοσθένης): Τιμοκράτους (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 170, 4. See PPC T 35; LGPN I, s.v. Τιμοκράτης 22.

Etymology:<sup>850</sup> τιμή ‘honour, esteem, dignity’ + κράτος ‘authority, mastery, office’.

Τῆμος: *ti-mo* (syllabic text) = Τίμω. Name documented in the Cypriot syllabary on a sealing found in the archive of Nea Paphos (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> – late 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1993, 343-347. See also PPC II T 47α.

Etymology:<sup>851</sup> Τίμω is the Cypriot dialectal genitive of the name Τῆμος<sup>852</sup> (< τιμή ‘honour, esteem, dignity’ + suffix -ος).

Τιμοσθένης: Τιμοσθένης (son in law of Τιμοκράτης): Τιμοσθένης Δ[.....](1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 170, 2. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC T 45; ca. 225 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Τιμοσθένης 1.

Etymology:<sup>853</sup> τιμή ‘honour, esteem, dignity’ + σθένος ‘(bodily or moral) strength, might, power, a force (of men)’.

Τιμόχαρις: [Τ]ιμόχαρι (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 25, 1; CAYLA 2018, no. 231, 1. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1986, p. 193, no. 4 (pl. XL, fig. 4) (= SEG XXXVI, 1257); mid-Hellenistic, KARAGEORGHIS 1986, p. 874; PPC II T 46α.

Etymology:<sup>854</sup> τιμή ‘honour, esteem, dignity’ + χάρις ‘grace’. This is the first attestation of the name after 5<sup>th</sup>/4<sup>th</sup> c. BC. It is attested once more in Limassol in 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD, KRINGOS 2008, no. Λεμ. 179. Τιμόχαρις was a name of *basileis* of Paphos and Marion, see ICS<sup>2</sup>, nos. 16, 27, 80, 170a, 172a, 368a. The reverse name of Χαριτίμη.

Τίμων: Τίμων (father of Φίλων, paternal grandfather of Τιμῶναξ): Τίμωνος (mid or 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 192, 2. See also 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC T 50; mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Τίμων 34.

Τίμων (Paphos, he made a dedication to the Good Fortune): Τίμων, MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1969, 151, no. 5. 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?, PPC T 49; 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Τίμων 33.

Etymology:<sup>855</sup> a shortened form of a Τιμ(ο)- compound like e.g. Τιμαρχος (< τιμή ‘honour, esteem, dignity’ + suffix -ων).

<sup>850</sup> For the name Τιμοκράτης: see HPN, 427.

<sup>851</sup> For the name Τῆμος: see HPN, 266, 430.

<sup>852</sup> PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2010, 54, fn. 36.

<sup>853</sup> For the name Τιμοσθένης: see HPN, 400, 427.

<sup>854</sup> For the name Τιμόχαρις: see HPN, 427, 467.

<sup>855</sup> For the name Τίμων: see HPN, 430.

Τιμῶναξ: Τιμῶναξ (son of Φίλων, grandson of Τίμων): Τιμῶνακτα (mid or 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 192, 3. See 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC T 58; mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Τιμῶναξ 4.

Etymology:<sup>856</sup> τιμή ‘honour, esteem, dignity’ + Φάναξ ‘lord’, ‘master’ = ‘esteemed lord/master’.

Τρυφε(...): Τρυφε(...) (a name?): Τρυφέρα?, Τρυφέριον?, Τρύφερον?, Τρύφερος?: τρυφε (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 338.

Etymology:<sup>857</sup> < adj. τρυφερός,<sup>858</sup> with the sense used for people, their lifestyle, and habits: ‘who is effeminate, luxurious, voluptuous’.

Τρύφαινα: Τρύφαινα (wife of Τιμαγόρας II [son of Εὐαγόρας] and mother of Ζωΐς): Τρύφαινα (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 202, 3. See 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, PPC T 62; 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Τρύφαινα 4.

Etymology:<sup>859</sup> τρυφαίνω/τρυφάω ‘live luxuriously’<sup>860</sup> < τρυφή + suffix -α.

Φ

Φαι[...]: Φαι[---] (father of [Δί?]ων): Φαι[---] (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 71, 2.

Φάνιον: Φάνιον (priestess of the Paphian Aphrodite, daughter of Βοΐσκος I, mother of Βοΐσκος II): Φάνιον Βοΐσκου (mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 80, 1. See also mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC Φ 4; LGPN I, s.v. Φάνιον 1.

Etymology:<sup>861</sup> a shortened compound like e.g. Φανομάχη (< φανερός or φανός ‘shining, illustrious, manifest, bright, joyous, conspicuous’<sup>862</sup> + hypocoristic suffix -ιον).

Φιλίστα: Φιλίστα (daughter of Στασίτιμος, mother of Νυμφίας): Φιλίστα Στασιτίμου (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 172, 1. See also 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC Φ 15; mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Φιλίστα 3.

Etymology:<sup>863</sup> < φίλιστος, sup. of φίλος ‘most dear/(be)loved/loving’.

<sup>856</sup> For the name Τιμῶναξ: see *HPN*, 47, 428.

<sup>857</sup> Cf. Τρύφερον, which is a name related to the lifestyle of its bearer, *HPN*, 508.

<sup>858</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. τρυφερός.

<sup>859</sup> For names derived from τρυφή and related to the lifestyle of its bearer: cf. Τρύφων, *HPN*, 508.

<sup>860</sup> MONTANARI 2013, s.v. τρυφαίνω.

<sup>861</sup> For names derived from the adj. φανερός: see *HPN*, 440.

<sup>862</sup> *LSJ*, s.v.v. φανερός, φανός.

<sup>863</sup> For the name Φιλίστα classified into the category of the personal names that are associated with society: see *HPN*, 511.



Φιλόκιον: Φιλόκιον (mother of Δωσίθεος): Φιλόκιον (4<sup>th</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 169. See late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC Φ 20; ca. 225 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Φιλόκιον 1.

Etymology:<sup>864</sup> probably an abbreviated hypocoristic of a compound name like e.g. Φιλόκυπρος, Φιλόκωμος etc.<sup>865</sup> (< φίλος ‘friend, dear/(be)loved/loving’ + hypocoristic suffix -ιον).

Φιλοκλήης: Φιλοκλήης (father of [Όλυ]μπιόδωρος): Φιλοκλέους (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 171, 1. See also late 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, PPC Φ 21, cf. mid-3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, Φιλοκλήης, LGPN I, s.v. Φιλοκλήης 1.

Etymology:<sup>866</sup> φίλος ‘friend, (be)loved/loving’ + κλέφος ‘fame, glory’ = ‘famous for his friends’.

Φίλων: Φίλων (son of Τίμων, father of Τιμῶναξ): Φίλων Τίμωνος (mid or 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 192, 2. See also 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC Φ 33; mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, LGPN I, s.v. Φίλων 34.

Etymology:<sup>867</sup> an abbreviated form of a compound like e.g. Φιλάριστος etc. (< φίλος ‘friend, (be)loved/loving’ + suffix -ων).

Φυλαγόρας?: [Φ]υλαγόρ[ας] or [Φ]υλάγορ[ος]? (father? of the mantiarch [...<sup>9</sup>...]: [Φ]υλαγόρο[υ or υ?]) (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), CAYLA 2018, no. 87, 2. See [Φ]υλαγόρας (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), PPC Φ 38. For other possible names: see e.g. LGPN, s.v.v. Βουλαγόρας or Πυλαγόρας; CAYLA 2018, p. 10.

Etymology:<sup>868</sup> φῦλον/φυλή<sup>869</sup> ‘class, nation, representatives of a tribe’ + -αγόρας/άγορος < άγορά = ‘who speaks in a tribe/nation’.

## X

Χαιρέας: 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, CAYLA 2018, no. 338. The same person with the Alexandrian Χαιρέας, expelled from Egypt and refugee in Cyprus in 88 BC?, see PPC X 1?. Cf. 88 BC, LGPN I, s.v. Χαίριος 2.

Etymology:<sup>870</sup> a shortened form of a Χαίρ- compound like e.g. Χαίριπος, Χαίρεβιος etc. (< χαίρω ‘rejoice, be glad’) + suffix -εας.

<sup>864</sup> For the name Φιλόκιον: see HPN, 448.

<sup>865</sup> Cf. MASSON 1990a, 155 (= OGS III, 114).

<sup>866</sup> For the name Φιλοκλήης: see HPN, 248, 448.

<sup>867</sup> For the name Φίλων: see HPN, 452.

<sup>868</sup> For names composed of φῦλον/φυλή as their first element: see HPN, 459. For names composed of -αγόρας/άγορος < άγορά as their second element: see HPN, 15-19.

<sup>869</sup> LSJ, s.v.v. φυλή, φῦλον.

<sup>870</sup> For the name Χαίρεας: see HPN, 463.

Χαιρήμων: Χαιρήμων (of Paphos, slave/ freedman): Χαιρήμων τὸ γένος Πάφιος, *SGDI* II 2250, 6. See also 142/141 BC, *PPC* X 2; *LGPN* I, s.v. Χαιρήμων 2.

Etymology:<sup>871</sup> < χαίρημα<sup>872</sup> ‘rejoice, be glad’ + suffix -ων = ‘who rejoices, is glad’.

Χαιρίας: Χαιρίας (a Cypriot?, ἡγεμών ‘a military commander’): Χαιρίας ἡγεμών (early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 68, 5. See also mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC?, *PPC* X 3; mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Χαιρίας 3.

Etymology:<sup>873</sup> a shortened form of a Χαίρι- compound like e.g. Χαίριτέλης (< χαίρω ‘rejoice, be glad’) + suffix -ας.

Χαρίας: Χαρίας (husband of Δημῶ [daughter of Μοσχίων], father of Χαριτίμη): Χαρίου (late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 182, 2. See also 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* X 5; *LGPN* I, s.v. Χαρίας 1.

Etymology:<sup>874</sup> a shortened form of a Χαρι- compound like e.g. Χαρίλαος (< χάρις ‘grace’) + suffix -ας.

Χαιρίτιμη: Χαριτίμη (daughter of Χαρίας and Δημῶ, granddaughter of Μοσχίων): Χαριτίμην (late 3<sup>rd</sup> or early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 182, 3. See also 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC, *PPC* X 8; *LGPN* I, s.v. Χαριτίμη 1.

Etymology:<sup>875</sup> χάρις ‘grace’ + τιμή ‘honour, esteem, dignity’.

Χαρίτων: 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, *CAYLA* 2018, no. 338.

Etymology:<sup>876</sup> < Χαρίτ- (< χάρις, gen. χάριτος ‘grace’) + suffix -ων.

Χρυσάριον: Χρυσαρίου, *CAYLA* 2018, no. 308, 1.

Etymology:<sup>877</sup> possibly an abbreviated compound like e.g. Χρυσοστράτα<sup>878</sup> (< χρυσός ‘gold, golden, anything dear or precious’ + hypocoristic suffix -άριον<sup>879</sup>).

<sup>871</sup> For the name Χαιρήμων: see *HPN*, 463.

<sup>872</sup> *DELG*, s.v. χαίρω.

<sup>873</sup> For the name Χαιρίας: see *HPN*, 463.

<sup>874</sup> For the name Χαρίας: see *HPN*, 466.

<sup>875</sup> For the compounds of the name Χαριτίμη: cf. its reverse name Τιμόχαρις: see *HPN*, 427, 467.

<sup>876</sup> For the name Χαρίτων (< χάρις): see *HPN*, 468.

<sup>877</sup> For the name Χρυσάριον: see *HPN*, 598.

<sup>878</sup> For names composed of the noun χρυσός as their first element: see *HPN*, 472.

<sup>879</sup> For the hypocoristic suffix -άριον: see *CHANTRAINE* 1933, 74-75.

ROMAN PERIOD

A

**Ἀγαθημερίς:** Ἀγαθημερίς (mother of Ζωσάριν of Paphos): Ζωσάριν Παφία|θυγάτηρ δὲ|Ἀγαθημερίδος, *IG XII,5.437*, 1-3. Imp., *LGPNI*, s.v. Ἀγαθημερίς 3.

**Etymology:**<sup>880</sup> ἀγαθός<sup>881</sup> ‘good’ + ἡμέρα<sup>882</sup> ‘a state or time of life’ or ἡμερος<sup>883</sup> ‘tame, civilised, gentle’ + fem. hypocoristic suffix -ίς = ‘enjoying good days’<sup>884</sup> or ‘well-behaved, gentle’.

**Ἀγαπωμένη:** Λικιννία Ἀγαπωμένη (mother of Λικιννία Μοδέστα and Λικιννία Ἰσουλλάνα, grandmother of Ἰουλία Σακρικόλα and Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ποτάμων II, probably a member of a family of Italian *negotiatores* [πραγματευόμενοι] settled in Paphos): Λικιννία | Ἀγαπωμένη (mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), *KRINGOS* 2008, no. Πάφ. 83, (α) 5; no. Πάφ. 83, (β) 5-6; Λικινία (mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), *KRINGOS* 2008, no. Πάφ. 84, 4. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ἀγαπωμένη 1.

**Etymology:**<sup>885</sup> < fem. part. ἀγαπωμένη<sup>886</sup> ‘beloved’ (< ἀγαπάω).

**Αἰνείας:** Αἰνεί[ας] (protector): Αἰνεί[ου] (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), *KRINGOS* 2008, no. Πάφ. 77, 1.

**Etymology:**<sup>887</sup> αἴνος ‘praise, story/tale (with moral, fable)’ + -είας = ‘praised’.

**Ἀμύντωρ:** Ἀμύντωρ (ἀρχιερεὺς διὰ βίου τῶν Σεβαστῶν, son of Λυσίας and Τρυφῶσα, grandson of Ὀλυμπος): Ἀμύντορα (35-36 AD), *KRINGOS* 2008, no. Πάφ. 61, 2. See also 35 AD, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ἀμύντωρ 1.

**Etymology:**<sup>888</sup> < ἀμύντωρ<sup>889</sup> ‘defender’ (< ἀμύνω).

**Ἀπολλωνία:** Ἀπολλωνία (ἀρχιέρεια διὰ βίου τῆς Τύχης τῆς μητροπόλεως Πάφου’, daughter of Κράτερος and wife of Πατροκλῆς II): Ἀπολλωνίαν Κρατέρου (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), *KRINGOS* 2008, no. Πάφ. 101, 3. See also 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ἀπολλωνία 17.

**Etymology:**<sup>890</sup> Ἀπόλλων + suffix -ία = ‘related to the god Apollo’.

<sup>880</sup> See Ἀγαθήμερος/ Ἀγαθάμερος (< ἀγαθός + ἡμέρα), *HPN*, 8, 191. Alternatively, the name could be composed of ἡμερος as its second element.

<sup>881</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἀγαθός.

<sup>882</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἡμέρα.

<sup>883</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἡμερος.

<sup>884</sup> *DGE*, s.v. ἀγαθήμερος.

<sup>885</sup> For names composed of ἀγαπάω: see *HPN*, 10.

<sup>886</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἀγαπάω.

<sup>887</sup> Cf. Αἰνέας, *HPN*, 28.

<sup>888</sup> For the name Ἀμύντωρ derived from the verb ἀμύνω and the hero of the same name: see *HPN*, 41.

<sup>889</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἀμύντωρ.

Απολλώνιος: Απολλων[ίου] (1 c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 65, 3. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC–1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPNI*, s.v. Απολλώνιος 116.

[Απολλω]νίου? (15 BC–14 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 76, 2.

Απολλώνιος (προστάτης): Απολλωνίου (37-38 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 82, 7.

Απολλώνιος (father of Φίλ(ο)ς): Απολλωνίου (Roman period), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 123, 1-2. See 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD?–2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, *LGPNI*, s.v. Απολλώνιος 70.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Απολλώνιος.

Απφάριον: Κλαυδία Ῥοδόκλεια Ἀπφάριον (*archiereia* / high-priestess, daughter of Τεύκρος and wife of Γάιος Ούμμίδιος Κουαδράτος and mother of Γάιος Ούμμίδιος Πάνταυχος Κουαδρατιανός): [Κλαυδ]ία Ἀπφά[ριον] (ca. 68 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 4, 6; Κλαυδία Ῥοδόκλεια (late 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 89, 5; Κλαυδία Ἀπφάριον (88 AD?), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 90, 8. See also 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ἀπφάριον 1.

Etymology: ἀπφάριον, Dim. of ἀπφά or ἄπφα (+ hypocoristic suffix -άριον), a term of endearment used by brothers and sisters, also by lovers<sup>891</sup> = ‘beloved, darling, sweetheart’.<sup>892</sup>

Ἀρισταγόρας: Ἀρισταγόρας (father of Σώσανδρος): Ἀρισταγόρας (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD – early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 131, 1. Cf. 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ἀρισταγόρας 14. Cf. 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD or later, *OZIOI* 2004, 314, no. 2231. See also *PPC* II A 85β.

Etymology:<sup>893</sup> ἄριστος ‘best’, ‘excellent’ + -αγόρας ‘who speaks’ < ἀγορά ‘assembly’ = ‘eloquent speaker (in assembly)’.

Ἀρίστιον: Ἀρίστιον (daughter of Ἀριστοκράτης): Ἀρίστιον (1<sup>st</sup> c. AD–3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 19, 1. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPNI*, s.v. Ἀρίστιον 4.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Ἀρίστιον.

Ἀριστόδαμος: Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἀριστόδαμος (grandson of Ἰουλία Σακρικόλα Μοδέστα, probably a member of a family of Italian *negotiatores* [πραγματευόμενοι] settled in Paphos): Γάιον Ἰούλιον | Ἀριστόδαμον (mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS

<sup>890</sup> For names derived from the name of the god Ἀπόλλων: see *HPN*, 61-62. Cf. the theophoric name Απολλώνιος designated as property of a god, *HPN*, 526.

<sup>891</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἄπφα or ἀπφά, ἀπφάριον.

<sup>892</sup> MONTANARI 2013, s.v. ἄπφα or ἀπφά, ἀπφάριον.

<sup>893</sup> For the name Ἀρισταγόρας: cf. Ἀρισταγόρης, *HPN*, 15, 69.

2008, no. Πάφ. 62, 3-4. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPN* I, s.v. Ἀριστόδαμος 16.

Etymology:<sup>894</sup> ἄριστος ‘best’, ‘excellent’ + δᾶμος ‘people, citizens’.

Ἀριστόδημος: Ἀριστόδημος (father of Τρύφων I, paternal grandfather of Τρύφων II): Ἀριστοδήμου (late 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), *KRINGOS* 2008, no. Πάφ. 121, 3-4. Cf. 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD?, *LGPN* I, s.v. Ἀριστόδημος 12.

Etymology:<sup>895</sup> Cf. *supra* Ἀριστόδαμος.

Ἀριστόκλεια?: Ἀριστόκ[---]: Κλωδία Ἀριστόκ[λεια?] or Ἀριστοκ[ράτης?] (father of Κλωδία) or another name: Κλωδίαν Ἀριστόκ[λειαν?] (not before the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 217, 2. Cf. Ἀριστοκ[ράτους], *GARDNER et al.* 1888, p. 245, no. 77 (a); Roman period, *KRINGOS* 2008, no. Πάφ. 98, 2.

Etymology:<sup>896</sup> ἄριστος ‘best’, ‘excellent’ + -κλῆς (< κλέος < κλέφος ‘fame’) = ‘who has excellent reputation’.

Ἀριστοκλῆς: [Ἀρισ]τοκ<λ>ῆς I (father of Ἀριστοκ[λῆς?]): [Ἀρισ]τοκ<λ>έους (58-59 AD), *KRINGOS* 2008, no. Πάφ. 6, 7. See also 59 AD?, *LGPN* I, s.v. Ἀριστοκλῆς 14.

Ἀριστοκ[λῆς?] II (son of [Ἀρισ]τοκ<λ>ῆς I): Ἀριστοκ[λῆς] (58-59 AD), *KRINGOS* 2008, no. Πάφ. 6, 6.

[Ἀρι]στοκλῆ[ς] III: [Ἀρι]στοκλέ[ους] (196-197 AD), *KRINGOS* 2008, no. Πάφ. 12, 1. See also 197 AD, *LGPN* I, s.v. Ἀριστοκλῆς 15.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Ἀριστοκλῆς.

Ἀριστοκράτης: Ἀριστοκράτης (father of Ἀρίστιον): Ἀριστοκράτους (1<sup>st</sup> c. AD–3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), *KRINGOS* 2008, no. Πάφ. 19, 2. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPN* I, s.v. Ἀριστοκράτης 23.

Ἀριστοκ[ράτης?] (father of Κλωδία): Ἀριστοκ[ράτους], *GARDNER et al.* 1888, p. 245, no. 77 (a); Roman period, *KRINGOS* 2008, no. Πάφ. 98, 2. Cf. Κλωδίαν Ἀριστόκ[λειαν?] (not before the late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), *CAYLA* 2018, no. 217, 2.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Ἀριστοκράτης.

<sup>894</sup> For the dialectal name Ἀριστόδαμος: see the corresponding Ion.-Att. Ἀριστόδημος, *HPN*, 70, 126.

<sup>895</sup> For the name Ἀριστόδημος: see *HPN*, 70, 126.

<sup>896</sup> For names composed of the adj. ἄριστος as their first element: see *HPN*, 69-73. For names composed of the noun κλέφος as their second element: see *HPN*, 238, 242-248.

Ἀρτεμίδωρος: [Ἀρτεμ]ίδωρος I: [Ἀρτεμ]ιδώρου (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC–1<sup>st</sup> c. AD?), CAYLA 2018, no. 365, 2.

Ἀρτεμίδωρος II (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD–early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 130, 2. See also imp? (= 31 BC–310 AD, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀρτεμίδωρος 26.

Ἀρτεμίδωρος III (the same person with Ἀρτεμίδωρος II?): Ἀρτεμιδώρου (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 136, 1-2. See 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀρτεμίδωρος 48.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Ἀρτεμίδωρος.

Ἀρτέμων: Ἀρτέμων (father of [---]ω?): Ἀρτέμωνος (uncertain date), CAYLA 2018, no. 188, 2. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD?, LGPN I, s.v. Ἀρτέμων 15.

Etymology:<sup>897</sup> theonym Ἄρτεμις + suffix -ων = ‘who is referred to the goddess Artemis’.

## B

Βάκχιος: Βάκχιος (natural son of Τρύφων V, adopted son of Γάιος): Βακχίω Τρύφ[ωνος, καθ’ ὑπόθεσίαν] δὲ Γαίου, Παφίω (ca. 165 AD), FD III, 4, 94, ll. 2-3. Cf. 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Βάκχιος 4.

Etymology:<sup>898</sup> Βάκχος<sup>899</sup> ‘name of Dionysus’ + suffix -ιος ‘relating to/referring to’= ‘who is related/referred to the god Bacchus/Dionysus’.

## Δ

Δάρδανος?: [Δ]αρδάνου?, KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 70, 4.

Etymology: from the ethnonym or the hero of the same name Δάρδανος, son of Zeus.<sup>900</sup>

Δημητρία: Σεργία Δημητρία I (sister of [Λ]ούκιος Σέργιος Ἀρριανός, possibly ancestor of Σεργία Δημητρία II): Σεργία Δημητρία (1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 66, 3.

Σεργία Δημητρία II (wife of Τίτος Αὐρήλιος Τίμων Ὀνησίλος Ἐτερείδων, possibly descendant of Σεργία Δημητρία I): Σεργία | Δημητρία (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 11, 2-3.

Etymology:<sup>901</sup> theonym Δημήτηρ + -ία = ‘relating to or referring to the goddess Demeter’.

<sup>897</sup> For the theophoric name Ἀρτέμων derived from the theonym Ἄρτεμις: see *HPN*, 77.

<sup>898</sup> For the name Βάκχιος designated as property of the god, *HPN*, 528.

<sup>899</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. Βάκχος.

<sup>900</sup> For the name Δάρδανος: see *HPN*, 538.

<sup>901</sup> For the theophoric name Δημητρία: cf. Δαμμάτριος, *HPN*, 527. For the compound Δημήτηρ: see *HPN*, 123.

Διόνικος: Διονεί|κου (3<sup>rd</sup> c.–6<sup>th</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 325, 1-2.  
[Δ]ιον| [εί]κου (3<sup>rd</sup> c.–6<sup>th</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 326, 1-2.

Etymology:<sup>902</sup> Διό- (< Διφός/Ζεύς) + -νικος (< νίκη ‘victory’) = ‘winner of Zeus’.

Διονυσία: Διονυσία (wife of Τρύφων VI): Διονυσίας (2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 106, 2.

Etymology:<sup>903</sup> theonym Διόνυσος + suffix -ια = ‘relating to the god Dionysus’.

Διονυσιανός: Ιούλιος Διονυσιανός: Ιουλ(ίου)| Διονυσι|ανού (Roman period), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 32, 1-3. See also 3<sup>rd</sup>-4<sup>th</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Διονυσιανός 3.

A *nomen gentilicium*. Διονυσι- + ιανός.

Διονύσιος: Διονύσιος I: Διονυσίου (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 69, 2. See 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Διονύσιος 87.

Διονύσιος II (father of Τέρτιος): Διονύσιος, PEEK, GVI, no. 857; 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD, CAYLA 2018, no. 235, 5. See also 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Διονύσιος 88. Cf. Διόνυσος, NEWTON, GIBM II, no. 390; LE BAS, LBW, no. 2790, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD, KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 27, 5.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Διονύσιος.

Διονυσόδωρος: Διονυσό[δωρος] (archiereus / high-priest?): Διονυσό[δωρος] (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 69, 2. See also 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Διονυσόδωρος 15.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Διονυσόδωρος.

Διόνυσος: Διόνυσος (father of Κρίσπιον and husband of Τερτία): Διόνυσος (2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 27, 5. See also Διόνυσος, NEWTON, GIBM II, no. 390; LE BAS, LBW, no. 2790, 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD.

Etymology: the theonym Διόνυσος used as a personal name.

Διόφαντος: Διοφάν|του (3<sup>rd</sup> c. – 6<sup>th</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 322.

Etymology:<sup>904</sup> Διο- (< Διφός/Ζεύς) + verb. adj. φαντός ‘visible’, ‘come into being’, ‘born’<sup>905</sup> (< φαίνομαι) = ‘conceived/born of the god Zeus’.

Δίωv: Δίωv (προστάτης ‘protector’): Δίωvος? (37-38 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 82, 6. See 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Δίωv 11.

<sup>902</sup> For names composed of Δι- < Διφός/Ζεύς: see HPN, 132-134. For names composed of -νικός < νίκη as their second element: see HPN, 332-334.

<sup>903</sup> For the theophoric name Διονυσία: cf. Διονύσιος: see HPN, 528.

<sup>904</sup> For the theophoric name Διόφαντος: see HPN, 133, 441.

<sup>905</sup> MONTANARI 2013, s.v. φαίνω.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Δίων.

## Ε

Εἰρηναῖος: Εἰρηναῖος I (προστάτης ‘protector’): Εἰρηναίου (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 77, 1. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC/1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Εἰρηναῖος 11.

Εἰρην[αῖ]ος II (father of [Ἵ]ον[αῖ]ος): Εἰρη[ναῖ]ου (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 124, 4. See also 2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Εἰρηναῖος 9.

Etymology: theonym Εἰρήνη<sup>906</sup> + suffix -αῖος or εἰρηναῖος < noun εἰρήνη<sup>907</sup> ‘peace’ = ‘peaceful’.

Ἐλπίς: Πλαυτία Ἐλπίς (daughter of *proconsul* Πλαύτιος Φήλιξ Ἰουλιανός): Πλαυτιαν Ἐλπίδα (late 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 104, 2.

Etymology:<sup>908</sup> the abstract noun ἐλπίς ‘hope’ used as a personal name.

Ἐρμογένης: Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἐρμογένης (father of Φίλιππος and husband of Μητρῶ): Γάιος Ἰούλι|ος Ἐρμογένης (1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 85, 2-3. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Ἐρμογένης 13.

Ἐρμογ|ένους (4<sup>th</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 156, 1-2.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Ἐρμογένης.

[Ἐρ]μόδοτος?: [Ἐρ]μόδοτος or [Θε]ιόδοτος: [Ἐρ]μόδοτος, LE BAS, LBW, no. 2788; KAIBEL, EG, no. 794a-b; early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 16, 4. Cf. [Θε]ιόδοτος, OVERBECK 1868, no. 764, 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, CAYLA 2018, no. 208, 4.

Etymology:<sup>909</sup> Ἐρμ(ό)- (< Ἐρμῆς) or θεός/θεῖος + -δοτος ‘giving, grant’ = ‘granted by the god Hermes/ the gods’.

Ἐρως: Ἐρωτ<ο>ς (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD?), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 147, 1.

Etymology:<sup>910</sup> the name of the god of love, Ἐρως, used as a personal name.

Ἐτερείδων: Τίτος Αὐρήλιος Τίμων Ὀνησίλος Ἐτερείδων (husband of Σεργία Δημητρία): Τ. Αὐρή(λιον) Τείμωνα Ὀνησί|λον Ἐτ[ε]ρειδίωνα (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 11, 1-2.

<sup>906</sup> For the theophoric name Εἰρηναῖος: see HPN, 150, 527.

<sup>907</sup> LSJ, s.v. εἰρήνη.

<sup>908</sup> For the personal name Ἐλπίς from the abstract noun ἐλπίς: see HPN, 612.

<sup>909</sup> For the name Ἐρμόδοτος: see HPN, 141, 164. Cf. Θεόδοτος: see HPN, 141, 202.

<sup>910</sup> For the name Ἐρως derived from the god of the same name: see HPN, 566.



Etymology:<sup>911</sup> Ἐταιριδίων < Ἐταιριδ- < (τὰ) ἑταιρίδεια (the festival of Zeus) + suffix -ίων<sup>912</sup> = '(born on the day) of the festival of Zeus'.

Εὐτύχης or Εὐτυχήτος: Εὐτύχητος (gen. of Εὐτύχης) or Εὐτυχήτος (nom.), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 36, 1.

Εὐτύχητος (the same person with the aforementioned?) (4<sup>th</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 112, (β) 1.

Etymology:<sup>913</sup> < εὐτυχής (εὐ- + -τυχής < τυχεῖν < τυγχάνω) = 'successful, fortunate'.<sup>914</sup>

## Z

Ζωσάριν: Ζωσάριν (of Paphos, daughter of Ἀγαθημερίς): Ζωσάριν Παφία|θυγάτηρ δὲ|Ἀγαθημερίδος, IG XII,5.437, 1-3. Imp., LGPN I, s.v. Ζωσάριν 1.

Etymology:<sup>915</sup> A shortened Ζωσ- compound name (< ζῶσαι < ζῶ<sup>916</sup> 'live') + hypocoristic suffix -άριον<sup>917</sup> > with syncope -άριν.

## H

Ἡλιοδώρα?: [Ἡλιοδῶ?]ρα (daughter of Ἀπολλών[ιος]): [Ἡλιοδῶ?]ραν (1 c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 65, 3.

Etymology:<sup>918</sup> Ἥλιος + δῶρον 'gift' = 'a gift of the god Helios'.

Ἡράκλειτος: Ἡρακλείτ<ο>υ (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD–early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 133, 1. See 2<sup>nd</sup>?/3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Ἡράκλειτος 20.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Ἡράκλειτος.

Ἡρώδης: Ἡρ[ῶ]δην (before 15 BC or in 12 BC?), CAYLA 2018, no. 105, 1.

Etymology:<sup>919</sup> Ἡρα + suffix -(ι)δᾶς/-(ι)δης.

Ἡσύχιος: Ἡσυχίου (4<sup>th</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 275, (b).

Etymology:<sup>920</sup> < ἥσυχος 'quiet, gentle' + suffix -ιος = 'still, mild, solitary'<sup>921</sup> (in Christian context, as the bearer of the name was Christian)'.  

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<sup>911</sup> For names deriving from festivals: see HPN, 522. Cf. MASSON, *Bull. Épigra.* 1988, p. 460, note. 890.

<sup>912</sup> HPN, 535.

<sup>913</sup> For the name Εὐτύχης: see HPN, 175, 433.

<sup>914</sup> LSJ, s.v. εὐτύχης.

<sup>915</sup> For names with the element Ζωσ- as their first element: cf. Ζώσιμος, HPN, 489.

<sup>916</sup> LSJ, s.v. ζῶ.

<sup>917</sup> CHANTRAINE 1933, 74-75.

<sup>918</sup> For the name Ἡλιόδωρος/-α: see HPN, 146, 191.

<sup>919</sup> Cf. Ἡρω(ι)δᾶς, HPN, 534.

<sup>920</sup> For the name Ἡσύχιος: cf. Ἡσυχος, referring to an aspect of the bearer's character, HPN, 500.

<sup>921</sup> MONTANARI 2013, s.v. ἥσυχος.

Θ

Θαλιάρχος<sup>922</sup>: Θαλιάρχος, CAYLA 2018, no. 254, 2. See 235/234 BC?, *LGPNI*, s.v. Θαλιάρχος 1. Cf. Φαλιάρχος, HOGARTH in GARDNER *et al.* 1888, p. 261, no. 3; MITFORD 1961, p. 143. See also imp.?, *LGPNI*, s.v. Φαλιάρχος 1. The name was corrected to Θαλιάρχος (235/234 BC) by the editors of *SEG XX*, 238; MASSON 1994d, 266, no. 4.

Etymology:<sup>923</sup> Θαλί- (< θαλία ‘abundance, joy, good cheer, festivity’ < θάλλω<sup>924</sup>) + -αρχος (< ἄρχω ‘to be first’<sup>925</sup>) = ‘being the first in joy, good cheer, festivity’.

Ι

Ἰσίδωρος: Ἰσιδώρου (uncertain date: not before the 4<sup>th</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 282, 2. See also byz. (= 4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. BC), *LGPNI*, s.v. Ἰσίδωρος 23.

Etymology:<sup>926</sup> theonym Ἴσις + δῶρον ‘gift’ = ‘a gift of the goddess Isis’.

Κ

Κατάγραφος: Κατάγραφος I (father of Κατάγραφος II): Κατάγραφος (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD.–early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 132, 3. See also imp., *LGPNI*, s.v. Κατάγραφος 1.

Κατάγραφος II (son of Κατάγραφος I): Καταγράφου (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD.–early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 132, 5. See also imp., *LGPNI*, s.v. Κατάγραφος 2.

Etymology: < κατάγραφος ‘striped, variegated’<sup>927</sup> (< καταγράφω + -ος) = ‘colourful’.<sup>928</sup>

Κέρδος: Κέρδος (1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 33, 1.

Etymology: possibly a compound name with -κέρδος (< κέρδος ‘gain, profit’)<sup>929</sup> as its second element, being abbreviated into Κέρδος.<sup>930</sup>

Κήρυκος or Κηρύκιος: Κηρύκω (paleochristian), CAYLA 2018, no. 281, 3. Cf. byz. (= 4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. BC), *LGPNI*, s.v. Κηρύκιος 1.

Etymology:<sup>931</sup> < κήρυξ ‘herald, messenger, (in Christian context) the preacher’.

<sup>922</sup> Cayla dates the inscription to the Roman period, which was previously dated by MITFORD (1961, p. 143) to 235-234 BC.

<sup>923</sup> For the theophoric name Θαλιάρχος composed of θαλία + ἄρχω: see *HPN*, 81, 197. Unless it is composed of Θαλί- (< θάλος ‘shoot, branch’) as its first element: cf. e.g. Θαλί-δαμος, *HPN*, 197. Cf. EGETMEYER 2010, I, 371, § 449.

<sup>924</sup> *DELG*, s.v. θάλλω.

<sup>925</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ἄρχω.

<sup>926</sup> For the name Ἰσίδωρος: see *HPN*, 146, 226.

<sup>927</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. κατάγραφος.

<sup>928</sup> Κατάγραφος must mean « bariolé », MASSON 1994d, 266, fn. 25; EGETMEYER 2010, I, 309, § 354.

<sup>929</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. κέρδος.

<sup>930</sup> *HPN*, 236.

Κινύραρχος?: Κινύραρχ[ον?] (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 69, 3. KRINGOS (2008, p. 1451) includes it in the historical anthroponyms, *contra* MITFORD (1961, p. 13, no. 32) who interpreted it as a honourific title, cf. ἀρχὸς τῶν Κινυραδῶν, CAYLA 2018, no. 81, 3.

Etymology:<sup>932</sup> Paphian ruler/hero Κινύρας + ἄρχω ‘rule/ing’.

Κλέων: Κλέωνος (1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 10, 3. See imp.?, *LGPN* I, s.v. Κλέων 20.

[Κ]λέω[νος?] (15 BC-14 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 75, 2.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Κλέων.

Κράτερος: Κράτερος (father of Ἀπολλωνία): Κρατέρου (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 101, 3. See also 1<sup>st</sup>-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, *LGPN* I, s.v. Κράτερος 4.

Etymology:<sup>933</sup> < the adj. κρατερός (‘strong, mighty, stern, harsh, vehement’)<sup>934</sup> with accent recession.

## Λ

Λάιος?: Λάιος (father of Φ[ί]|[λ]όσστρατος): Λάιος, MITFORD 1946, p. 38, fn. 49, no. 8; (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 129, 3. See also imp., *LGPN* I, s.v. Λάιος 1. Cf. [Φί?]λαιος, HOGARTH in GARDNER *et al.* 1888, p. 262, no. 10; cf. [Φ]ίλαιος, MASSON 1994d, p. 269, no. 11; cf. [Φί?]λαιος/ or [Εὔ?]λαιος/ [Εὔ?]λαῖος,<sup>935</sup> CAYLA 2018, no. 242, 3.

Uncertain name.

Λυσίας: Λυσίας (son of Ὀλυμπος and father of Ἀμύντωρ): Λυσίου (35-36 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 61, 4. See also 35 AD, *LGPN* I, s.v. Λυσίας 6.

Etymology:<sup>936</sup> Λυσί- (< λῦσαι < λύω<sup>937</sup> ‘undo, release’) + suffix -ας.

## Μ

Μητρῶ: Μητρῶ ἢ καὶ Σώτιον (wife of Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἐρμογένης and mother of Φίλιππος): Μητρῶ (1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS

<sup>931</sup> Cf. *HPN*, 533.

<sup>932</sup> For the names composed of -αρχος (< ἄρχω) as their second element: see *HPN*, 80-83.

<sup>933</sup> For the name Κρατερός: see *HPN*, 261.

<sup>934</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. κρατερός.

<sup>935</sup> Εὔλαιος/Εὔλαῖος is not attested elsewhere in Cyprus, which makes the restitution, in my opinion, almost unlikely.

<sup>936</sup> For the name Λυσίας derived from λῦσαι, λυτός: see *HPN*, 291.

<sup>937</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. λύω.

2008, no. Πάφ. 85, 1. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPNI* I, s.v. Μητρών 1.

Etymology:<sup>938</sup> Μητρ- (from the name of Mother Goddess) + hypocoristic suffix -ών.

## N

Νίκανδρος: Νίκανδρος (father of Τιμαγόρας V): Νίκανδ|ρος (2<sup>nd</sup> c.–early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 134, 1-2. See *LGPNI* I, s.v. Νίκανδρος 14.<sup>939</sup>

Etymology:<sup>940</sup> νίκη ‘victory’ + άνήρ ‘man, male’ = ‘victorious man’.

Νικάριον: Νεικάριον (daughter of Μοκάπολις): Νεικάριον, θυγατέρα | Μοκαπόλεως (1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 92, 3-4. See *LGPNI* I, s.v. Νεικάριον 2.<sup>941</sup>

Etymology:<sup>942</sup> theonym Νίκη + hypocoristic suffix -άριον.<sup>943</sup>

Νίκη: Νίκη Κορνηλία (πατρώνισσα): Κο[ρνη]λίαν Νίκην (Roman period), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 95, 2. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPNI* I, s.v. Νίκη 17.

Etymology: νίκη ‘victory’ or the theonym Νίκη used as a personal name.<sup>944</sup>

Νικηφόρος?: [N]ικηφό| [ρος]? (3<sup>rd</sup>–4<sup>th</sup> c. AD?), CAYLA 2018, no. 375, 1-2.

Etymology:<sup>945</sup> νίκη ‘victory’ + φέρω ‘bear or carry’ = ‘who brings the victory’.

Νικιανός?: Νικιαν[ός?] or Νικίας?: Νικιαν[οῦ?] or Νικίαν? (2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD?), CAYLA 2018, no. 222, 1.

Etymology:<sup>946</sup> νίκη (Νίκη) + suffix -ιανός < Lat. -ianus<sup>947</sup> < (-ius > -i + ānus) = ‘who belongs to the goddess Νίκη’.

Νικίας: Νικίας:<sup>948</sup> Νικίου (6<sup>th</sup> c. AD?), CAYLA 2018, no. 283. See 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC?, *PPC* N 24; imp.?, *LGPNI* I, s.v. Νικίας 30.

<sup>938</sup> For names derived from Μητρών: see *HPN*, 318.

<sup>939</sup> *LGPNI* I erroneously refers twice to the same person dating it even differently: 1) Amargeti (1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD): see *LGPNI* I, s.v. Νίκανδρος 14 and 2) Paphos (1<sup>st</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD): see *LGPNI* I, s.v. Νίκανδρος 15.

<sup>940</sup> For the name Νίκανδρος: see *HPN*, 51, 331.

<sup>941</sup> In *LGPNI*, this name is incorrectly dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC (?), since the inscription on which it is found is dated to the 1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD: see KRINGOS 2008, V-VI, fn. 3; no. Πάφ. 92; = 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC or 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, CAYLA 2018, no. 163.

<sup>942</sup> For the theophoric name Νικάριον (< theonym Νίκη): see *HPN*, 565.

<sup>943</sup> For the suffix: see *HPN*, 9, 504, 621.

<sup>944</sup> For the theophoric name Νίκη: see *HPN*, 565.

<sup>945</sup> For names composed of νίκη and -φόρος < φέρω: see *HPN*, 331, 444-445.

<sup>946</sup> For names derived from the theonym Νίκη: see *HPN*, 565.

<sup>947</sup> The suffix -ianus either indicated a member of a group or it was used as an ending of anthroponyms: see LEUMANN 1977<sup>5</sup>, 325 § 2.

<sup>948</sup> This name is included in *PPC* and dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (?), as it was found incised on a rock-cut tomb at cape Drepanon, where a Hellenistic necropolis was reused in Early Christian times/ Late Roman/ Early Byzantine period (4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. BC): see *PPC* N 24.

Νικίας? or Νικιαν[ός?]: Νικιαν? or Νικιαν[οῦ?] (2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD?), CAYLA 2018, no. 222, 1.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Νικίας.

## Ο

Ὀλυμπος: Ὀλυμπος (father of Λυσίας): Ὀλύμπου (35–36 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 61, 4. MITFORD (1990, p. 2197, fn. 109) corrected the name from Ὀλύμπιος to Ὀλυμπος. See also 35 AD, *LGPN I*, s.v. Ὀλύμπιος 6.

Etymology:<sup>949</sup> the toponym (Mount) Ὀλυμπος used as a personal name.

Ὀνᾶς?<sup>950</sup>: [Ὀν]<ᾶ>ς (son of Εἰρηναῖος II): [Ὀν]<ᾶ>ς|Εἰρη[ναῖ]ου (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 124, 3. See 2<sup>nd</sup>–3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD, *LGPN I*, s.v. Ὀνᾶς 4.

Etymology: it may be a shortened hypocoristic of a compound name like e.g. Ὀνασαγόρας (< ὄναιος ‘useful, serviceable’, cf. < ὄνασις ‘use, profit, advantage’ < ὀνίναμι ‘profit, benefit, help’ + hypocoristic suffix -ᾶς).<sup>951</sup>

Ὀνάσιμος: Ὀνάσιμ[ος] (son of Τιμαγόρας VI): Ὀνάσιμ[ε]| Τιμαγόρα, MENARDOS 1910, p. 145, ll. 1–2. The inscription was found in Anogyra (modern Limassol District) but attributed to Paphos (imp.) by the editors of *LGPN I*, s.v. Ὀνάσιμος 8.

Etymology:<sup>952</sup> < ὀνάσιμος (< ὀνίναμι) ‘useful, profitable, beneficial’.<sup>953</sup>

Ὀνησικράτης: Ὀνησικράτης (father of Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ὀνησικράτης): Ὀνησικράτους (mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 5, 2. See also mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPN I*, s.v. Ὀνησικράτης 18.

Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ὀνησικράτης (archon, *grammateus*, *gymnasiarchos*, son of Ὀνησικράτης): Τιβέριον | Κλαύδιον | Ὀνησικράτην (mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 5, 1–3. See mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPN I*, s.v. Ὀνησικράτης 19.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Ὀνησικράτης.

Ὀνησίκυπρος: [Ὀ|ν]ησίκυπρος (maternal grandfather of Πρόκλος): [Ὀ|ν]ησικύπρου (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD?), CAYLA 2018, no. 210, 1–2.

<sup>949</sup> For the name Ὀλυμπος: see *HPN* 347, 554.

<sup>950</sup> The restoration of this name by MITFORD (1946, 38) is quite hypothetical: see KRINGOS 2018, no. Πάφ. 124.

<sup>951</sup> Cf. PANAYOTOU-TRIANAPHYLLOPOULOU 2010, 54, fn. 36.

<sup>952</sup> Cf. < ὄνησις/ ὄνασις, *HPN*, 348.

<sup>953</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. ὀνήσιμος.

Etymology:<sup>954</sup> < ὄνησις ‘use, profit, advantage’ < ὀνήνημι ‘profit, benefit, help’ + the toponym Κύπρος = ‘profitable/beneficial to the island of Cyprus’.

Ὀνησίλος: Τ(ίτος) Αὐρή(λιος) Τίμων Ὀνησίλος Ἐτ[ε]ρειδίω(ν) (husband of Σεργία Δημητρία): Τ. Αὐρή(λιον) Τείμων(α) Ὀνήσι|λον Ἐτ[ε]ρειδίω(να) (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 11, 1-2.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Ὀνησίλος.

## Π

Πανταυχιανός: Γ. Οὐμμίδιος Κουαδράτος Πανταυχιανός (*archiereus* / high-priest, son of Γάιος Οὐμμίδιος Πάνταυχος Κουαδρατιανός): Γάιον Οὐμμίδιον Τηρητίνα Κουαδράτον τὸν καὶ Πανταυχιανὸν (88 AD?), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 90, 2-4. See also 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPNI*, s.v. Πανταυχιανός 1.

A *signum*: Πάνταυχος (see below) + -ιανός.

Πάνταυχος: Γάιος Οὐμμίδιος Πάνταυχος Κουαδρατιανός (*gymnasiarchos* and *archiereus* / high-priest, son of Γάιος Οὐμμίδιος Κουαδράτος and [Κλαυδ]ία Ἀπφά[ριον] / Κλαυδία Ῥοδόκλεια, father of Γ. Οὐμμίδιος Κουαδράτος Πανταυχιανός): [Γάιον Οὐ]μμίδιον Πάνταυχον [Κουα|δρατια-νό]ν (ca. 68 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 4, 1-2; Γάιον Οὐμμίδιον Πάνταυ|χον Κουαδρατιανὸν (late 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 89, 2-3; Γάιου | Τηρητίνα | Οὐμμίδιου Πανταύχο[υ] (88 AD?), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 90, 4-6. See also 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPNI*, s.v. Πάνταυχος 1 and 2.<sup>955</sup>

Etymology:<sup>956</sup> Πάντ- (< πᾶς) ‘complete, completely’<sup>957</sup> + -αυχος ‘braggart’<sup>958</sup> (< αὐχή, boasting, pride<sup>959</sup>) = ‘completely braggart/boastful, proud’.

Παπεῖς: Παπεῖς I (father of Παπεῖς II): Παπεῖ[του] (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 77, 2. See also Παπεῖ[το]υ, MITFORD 1980, p. 1315, fn. 103 (= *SEG* XXX, 1634); MITFORD 1990, p. 2180, fn. 17 (= *SEG* XL, 1367).

Παπεῖς II (quaestor, son of Παπεῖς I): Παπεῖτου Παπεῖ[το]υ (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 77, 2. See also 1<sup>st</sup> BC/1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPNI*, s.v. Παπεῖς 1. Cf. Παπεῖτος Παπεῖ[το]υ, MITFORD 1980a, p. 1315, fn. 103

<sup>954</sup> For the name: see the corresponding fem. dialectal Ὀνασικήπρα, *HPN*, 272, 348.

<sup>955</sup> Kringos has identified them as one person.

<sup>956</sup> For the name Πάνταυχος: see *HPN*, 90, 358.

<sup>957</sup> *DELG*, s.v. πᾶς.

<sup>958</sup> *DELG*, s.v. αὐχέω.

<sup>959</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. αὐχη.

(= *SEG* XXX, 1634); Παπέιτου Παπέι[το]υ, MITFORD 1990, p. 2180, fn. 17 (= *SEG* XL, 1367).

Uncertain etymology:<sup>960</sup>

**Πατροκλῆς:** Πατροκλῆς I (father of Πατροκλῆς II): Πατροκλέους (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 101, 4. See also 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, *LGPN* I, s.v. Πατροκλῆς 1.

Πατροκλῆς II (ἀρχιερεὺς διὰ βίου τῆς Τύχης, son of Πατροκλῆς I and husband of Ἀπολλωνία): Πατροκλέα (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 101, 4. See also 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, *LGPN* I, s.v. Πατροκλῆς 2.

**Etymology:**<sup>961</sup> Πατρο- (< πατήρ) + -κλῆς (< κλέος < κλέφος ‘fame, glory’) = ‘glory of the father’, ‘glorious for/because of his father’.

**Παφιανός:** Παφιανός (of Raphos, his name is attested at Messana in Sicily): Παφιανός Πάφι|ος (undated), *IG* XIV, 411, 1-2. See also 2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD, *GVI*, p. 115, no. 466; imp., *LGPN* I, s.v. Παφιανός 1.

**Etymology:** probably a *cognomen*: Παφ- (< toponym Πάφος) + -ιανός.

**Πλοῦς:** [Ἀπολλώ]νιος ὁ καὶ Πλοῦς (ἀρχιερεὺς διὰ βίου τοῦ Αὐγούστου): Πλοῦν (15 BC–14 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 76, 2.

**Etymology:**<sup>962</sup> < noun πλοῦς ‘sailing, voyage’ = ‘seaworthy, seafarer’.<sup>963</sup>

**Πολυβιανός:** Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἡλιανός Πολυβιανός (*curator civitatis*): Ἡλιανοῦ Πολυβιανοῦ (210-211 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 14, 6; Γαίου Ἰουλίου Ἡλιανοῦ Πολυβιανοῦ (211-217 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 71, 7.

**Etymology:** < Πολύβιος<sup>964</sup> ‘wealthy’<sup>965</sup> (πολύς/πολύ + βίος) + -ιανός.

**Ποτάμων:** Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ποτάμων I (father of Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ποτάμων II, probably a member of a family of Italian *negotiatores* [πραγματευόμενοι] settled in Raphos): Γαίου Ἰουλίου | Ποτάμωνος (mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 83, 3-4. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPN* I, s.v. Ποτάμων 5.

Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ποτάμων II (son of Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ποτάμων I and grandson of Λικινία Ἀγαπωμένη, probably a member of a family of Italian *negotiatores*

<sup>960</sup> Cf. NEUMANN 1997, 167-168 and EGETMEYER (2010, I, 153, § 159).

<sup>961</sup> For the name Πατροκλῆς: cf. Πατροκλέας/Πατροκλέης, *HPN*, 246, 364.

<sup>962</sup> For names derived from the noun πλοῦς: see *HPN*, 372.

<sup>963</sup> See *DELG*, s.v. πλέω.

<sup>964</sup> For the name Πολύβιος: see *HPN*, 95, 377.

<sup>965</sup> MONTANARI 2013, s.v. πολύβιος.

[πραγματευόμενοι] settled in Paphos): Γάιον Ίούλιον Ποτάμωνα (mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 83, 2; [Γάιον Ίού]λιον Ποτάμω[να] (mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 84, 3. = Cf. Γάιος Ίούλιος Ποτάμων Λικινιανός: [Γάιον] [Ίο]ύλιον Ποτάμωνα | Λικινιανόν (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC or early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 205, 3-4. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Ποτάμων 3, 4 and 6.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Ποτάμων.

Πρωτόκτητος: Προτο|κτήτου? (between the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC and the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 249, 4-5. See also imp.?, LGPN I, s.v. Πρωτόκτητος 1.

Etymology:<sup>966</sup> Πρωτό- (< πρῶτος ‘first’) + -κτητος (< κτητός) = ‘(being) the first child/son/offspring’.

Πυθο[...]: Πυθο[κρέων?]: Πυθο[...] (2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC or 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 265, (b) 1. Cf. Πυθο[κρέοντος] (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC), MICHAELIDOU-NICOLAOU 1965, pp. 118-119, no. 8. See also 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, PPC Π 72.

Etymology: Πυθο- (possibly from the epithets of Apollo, Πύθιος or Πυθαεύς).<sup>967</sup>

## P

Ῥοδ[...]: Ῥοδ[---] (1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 93, 3.

Ῥοδόκλεια: Κλαυδία Ῥοδόκλεια Ἀπφάριον (*archiereia* / high-priestess, daughter of Τεῦκρος and wife of Γάιος Οὔμμίδιος Κουαδρατός and mother of Γάιος Οὔμμίδιος Πάνταυχος Κουαδρατιανός): [Κλαυδ]ία Ἀπφά[ριον] (ca. 68 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 4, 6; Κλαυδία Ῥοδόκλεια (late 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 89, 5; Κλαυδία Ἀπφάριον (88 AD?), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 90, 8. See also 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Ῥοδόκλεια 1.

Etymology:<sup>968</sup> Ῥοδό- (< the name of the island Ῥόδος and the heroine Ῥόδος/Ῥόδη) + -κλεια (< κλέος < κλέφος ‘fame, glory’) = ‘who has the fame/glory of Rhodes’.

Ῥοδοκλῆς: Ῥοδοκλῆς I (father of Ῥοδοκλῆς II): Ῥοδοκλέους (18 or 19 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 78, 2. See also 18 AD, LGPN I, s.v. Ῥοδοκλῆς 4.

Ῥοδοκλῆς (II) ὁ καὶ Στασικράτης (*archiereus* / high-priest of the island of the imperial cult and *agonothetes*, son of Ῥοδοκλῆς I and father of Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Τεύκρος): [Τιβερίου Κλαυ]δίου Ῥοδοκ[λέους] (mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD),

<sup>966</sup> For names composed of πρῶτος and κτητός: see *HPN*, 268, 386.

<sup>967</sup> See *HPN*, 389; *LSJ*, s.v.v. Πυθαεύς, Πύθιος.

<sup>968</sup> For the compounds of the name: cf. Ῥοδοκλῆς, *HPN*, 247, 395.



KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 63, 3; Ῥοδοκλέα Ῥοδοκλέους τὸν | καὶ Στασικράτην (18 or 19 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 78, 2-3. See also 18 AD, LGPN I, s.v. Ῥοδοκλῆς 5.

[Τιβέριος Κλαύ]διος Ῥοδοκ[λῆς] (son of Τεύκρος and father of Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Τεύκρος): [Τιβερίου Κλαυ]δίου Ῥοδοκ[λέους] (mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 63, 3. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Ῥοδοκλῆς 3.

Etymology:<sup>969</sup> Ῥοδο- (< the name of the island Ῥόδος and the heroine Ῥόδος/Ῥόδη) + -κλῆς (< κλέος < κλέφος ‘fame, glory’) = ‘who has the fame/glory of Rhodes’.

## Σ

Σάμιον: Σάμιον (a personal female name?, mother of Τρυφῶσα?): [ἢ γυν]ῆ Σάμ[ιον], MITFORD 1980b, p. 282, fn. 40 (= SEG XXX, 1628). See also 35 AD, LGPN I, s.v. Σάμιον 1. Cf. Σάμιος (as an ethnonym [in accusative] for Ἀμύντωρ): Σάμιον (?) Ἀμύντορα (35-36 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 61, 2.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Σάμιον.

Σικεῶ or Σικέων?: Σικεῶ or Σικέων? (2<sup>nd</sup> – 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD?), CAYLA 2018, no. 222, 1. Cf. ΕΝΕΩ[---] (2<sup>nd</sup>/3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 23.

Σπατᾶς: Σπατᾶ[ς] (4<sup>th</sup>-5<sup>th</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 304, 1.

Etymology:<sup>970</sup> possibly a shortened compound name (< σπάτος<sup>971</sup> ‘hide, leather’ or σπάθη<sup>972</sup> ‘any broad blade’) + hypocoristic suffix -ᾶς.

Στασικράτης: Ῥοδοκλῆς ὁ καὶ Στασικράτης (*archiereus* / high-priest of the island and *agonothetes*, son of Ῥοδοκλῆς): Ῥοδοκλέα Ῥοδοκλέους τὸν | καὶ Στασικράτην (18 or 19 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 78, 2-3. See 18 AD, LGPN I, s.v. Στασικράτης 5.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Στασικράτης.

Σφυρίδων: = Σπυρίδων (lamps manufacturer): Σφυρίδων (4<sup>th</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 35, 1; Σφυρί|δωνος (4<sup>th</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 113, (β) 1-2.

Etymology:<sup>973</sup> < σπυρίς/σφυρίς<sup>974</sup> ‘large basket, creel’.

<sup>969</sup> For the name Ῥοδοκλῆς: see HPN, 247, 395.

<sup>970</sup> See CAYLA 2018, 376.

<sup>971</sup> LSJ, s.v. σπάτος.

<sup>972</sup> LSJ, s.v. σπάθη.

<sup>973</sup> For the name: see MASSON 1995b, 413.

<sup>974</sup> LSJ, s.v. σπυρίς.

Σώζουσα?: Σώζουσα or Σωζοῦς or Σώζους: Σώζουσ[α], MITFORD 1990, p. 2206, no. 163 (= *SEG* XL, 1370); (late 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 18, 2, cf. Σώζους, MICHAELIDOU – NICOLAOU 1966, p. 64, no. 2, cf. Σωζοῦς, (imp.), CAYLA 2018, no. 269, 2.

Etymology:<sup>975</sup> σώζω ‘save, keep alive’ + suffix of fem. part. -ουσα (= fem. part. σώζουσα) or -ους or fem. hypocoristic -οῦς.<sup>976</sup>

Σώσανδρος: Σώσανδρος (son of Ἀρισταγόρας): Σώσανδρον (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD–early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 131, 2. See also 2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC, *LGPN* I, s.v. Σώσανδρος 3. Cf. Late Hellenistic, 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD or later, OZIOU 2004, 314, no. 2231; *PPC* II Σ 50α.

Etymology:<sup>977</sup> σαφῶσαι (sim. past of σαφόω) ‘save from death, keep alive’ + ἀνὴρ ‘man, male’ = ‘who saves a man from death, keeps a man alive’.

Σώτιον: Μητρῶ, ἢ καὶ Σώτιον (wife of Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἐρμογένης and mother of Φίλιππος): Μητρῶ | ἢ καὶ Σώτιον (1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 85, 1-2. See 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPN* I, s.v. Σώτιον 1.

Etymology:<sup>978</sup> possibly a shortened form of a Σωτ- compound (< verb. adj. σαφωτός ‘safe, (being) in a saved condition’ + hypocoristic suffix -ιον).

## Τ

Τεῦκρος: Τεῦκρος (father of Κλαυδία Ῥοδόκλεια Ἀπφάριον): [Τ]εύκρου (ca. 68 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 4, 6; Τεύκρου (88 AD?), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 90, 9. See also 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPN* I, s.v. Τεῦκρος 2.

[Τιβέριος Κλ]αύδιος Τε[ῦκρος] (*archiereus* / high-priest of Aphrodite, son of Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ῥοδοκλῆς and grandson of Τεῦκρος): [Τιβέριον Κλ]αύδιον Τε[ῦκρον] (mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 63, 2. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPN* I, s.v. Τεῦκρος 1.

[Τεῦκ]ρος (father of Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Ῥοδοκλῆς and paternal grandfather of Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος Τεῦκρος): [Τεύκ]ρου (mid-1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 63, 4.

Etymology: from the homonymous hero.<sup>979</sup>

<sup>975</sup> For names composed of σώζω as their first element (cf. Σώζων): see *HPN*, 415.

<sup>976</sup> For the usual use of the suffix -οῦς in fem. names in Cyprus: see AUPERT & MASSON 1979, p. 367, no. 8 and fns. 27 and 29; DUBOIS 2010, 416.

<sup>977</sup> For the name Σώσανδρος: see *HPN*, 52, 416.

<sup>978</sup> For names derived from σαφωτός (cf. Σώτιος): see *HPN*, 418.

<sup>979</sup> *HPN*, 577.

Τιμαγόρας: Τιμαγόρας III (father of Τιμαγόρας IV): Τιμαγόρας (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 122, 2. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, PPC T 11; LGPN I, s.v. Τιμαγόρας 25.<sup>980</sup>

Τιμαγόρας IV (son of Τιμαγόρας III): Τιμαγό|ραν (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 122, 3-4. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC, PPC T 18; LGPN I, s.v. Τιμαγόρας 26.<sup>981</sup>

Τιμαγόρας? V (son of Νίκανδρος): Τιμαγόρου (2<sup>nd</sup> c. – early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 134, 4; = CAYLA 2018, no. 258, 4, cf. Τιμάρχου, COLONNA-CECCALDI 1874, p. 88, no. 4. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC/1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Τιμαγόρας 9 = 1<sup>st</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD, Τιμαρχος 10.

Τιμαγόρας VI (father of Όνάσιμ[ος]): Τιμαγόρα, MENARDOS 1910, p. 145, ll. 2. The inscription which is omitted was found in Anogyra (Limassol District) but attributed to Paphos (imp.) by the editors of LGPN I, s.v. Τιμαγόρας 28.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Τιμαγόρας.

Τίμων: Τίτος Αύρή(λιος) Τίμων Όνησίλος Έτ[ε]ρειδίω (husband of Σεργία Δημητρία): Τ. Αύρή(λιον) Τείμωνα Όνησι|λον Έτ[ε]ρειδίω (mid-2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 11, 1-2.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Τίμων.

Τρύφων: Τρύφων I (son of Άριστόδημος and father of Τρύφων II): Τρύφων (late 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 121, 3. See also 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD?, LGPN I, s.v. Τρύφων 6.

Τρύφων II (son of Τρύφων I, grandson of Άριστόδημος): Τρύφωνος (late 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 121, 6. See also 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD?, LGPN I, s.v. Τρύφων 7.

Τρύφων III (protector): Τρύφωνος (early 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 77, 1. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. BC/1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, LGPN I, s.v. Τρύφων 12.

Τρύφων IV (priest): Τρύφων ιερεύς (1<sup>st</sup>/2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 91, 2.

Τρύφων V (natural father of Βάκχιος): Βακχίω Τρύφ[ωνος, καθ' ύθεσίαν] δὲ Γαίου, Παφίω (ca. 165 AD), FD III, 4, 94, ll. 2-3. Cf. 1<sup>st</sup> half of the 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD, see LGPN I, s.v. Τρύφων 13.

<sup>980</sup> LGPN I erroneously refers twice to the same person dating it even differently: 1) Amargeti (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC): see LGPN I, s.v. Τιμαγόρας 7 and 2) Paphos (1<sup>st</sup> c. BC): see LGPN I, s.v. Τιμαγόρας 25.

<sup>981</sup> LGPN I erroneously refers twice to the same person dating it even differently: 1) Amargeti (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC): see LGPN I, s.v. Τιμαγόρας 8 and 2) Paphos (2<sup>nd</sup> c. BC): see LGPN I, s.v. Τιμαγόρας 26.

Τρύφων VI (husband of Διονυσία): Τρύφων (2<sup>nd</sup>-3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 106, 2.

Etymology:<sup>982</sup> < τρυφαίνω/τρυφάω ‘live luxuriously’ < τρυφή + suffix -ων.

Τρυφῶσα: Τρυφῶσα (daughter of Σάμιον?, mother of Ἀμύντωρ, wife of Λυσίας [son of Ὀλυμπος]): Τρυφώσης (35-36 AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 61, 3. See also 35 AD, *LGPN I*, s.v. Τρυφῶσα 1.

Etymology:<sup>983</sup> < part. τρυφῶσα ‘effeminate, luxurious’<sup>984</sup> < τρυφή.

## Φ

Φίλαιος: Φίλαιος (6<sup>th</sup> c. AD?),<sup>985</sup> CAYLA 2018, no. 283. Cf. 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC?, *PPC* Φ 7; imp.?, *LGPN I*, s.v. Φίλαιος 2.

Etymology: φίλος ‘friend, loved/loving’ + suffix -αίος<sup>986</sup> = ‘beloved/dear’.

Φίλιππος: Φίλιππος (son of Γάιος Ἰούλιος Ἐρμογένης and Μητρῶ ή καί Σώτιον): Φίλιππον (1<sup>st</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 85, 3. See also 1<sup>st</sup> c. AD, *LGPN I*, s.v. Φίλιππος 19.

Etymology:<sup>987</sup> φίλος/φιλῶ ‘love’ + -ίππος, used as a mere suffix.

Φιλόστρατος: Φ[ι|λ]όσστρατ|ος (son of Λάιος): Φ[ι|λ]όσστρατ|ον (2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD-early 3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 129, 3-5. See also imp., *LGPN I*, s.v. Φιλόστρατος 6.

Etymology:<sup>988</sup> φίλος/φιλῶ ‘love’ + στρατός ‘army’ = ‘lover of the army’.

Φίλων: Τίτος Φλαύιος Κρισπιανὸς Φίλων: Τίτος Φλαύιος | Κρι<σ>πειανὸς Φίλων (early 2<sup>nd</sup> c. AD), KRINGOS 2008, no. Πάφ. 99, 3-4. See also ca. 100 AD, *LGPN I*, s.v. Φίλων 35.

For the etymology and the meaning of the name: see *supra* s.v. Φίλων.

## Χ

Χρήσιμος: Χρησίμου (3<sup>rd</sup> c. AD), CAYLA 2018, no. 310, 1.

Etymology:<sup>989</sup> the adj. χρήσιμος (‘serviceable, useful’) used as a personal name.

<sup>982</sup> For the name Τρύφων derived from τρυφή and related to the lifestyle of its bearer: see *HPN*, 508.

<sup>983</sup> Cf. Τρύφων (< τρυφή), *HPN*, 508.

<sup>984</sup> *LSJ*, s.v. τρυφάω.

<sup>985</sup> Cayla mentions that he did not see the inscription and that the name [Φί?]λαιος is doubtful. However, after a personal autopsy, I saw that the name is clearly ΦΙΛΑΙΟΣ. This name is included in *PPC* and dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> c. BC (?), as it was found incised on a rock-cut tomb at Cape Drepanon, where a Hellenistic necropolis was reused in Early Christian times/ Early Byzantine period (4<sup>th</sup>-7<sup>th</sup> c. BC).

<sup>986</sup> For the suffix -αίος: see CHANTRAINE 1933, 46 § 40; *GrGr I*, 467; MASSON 1993, 157-158 (= *OGS III*, 149-150).

<sup>987</sup> For the compounds of the name Φίλιππος: see *HPN*, 225, 447.

<sup>988</sup> For the name Φιλόστρατος: see *HPN*, 410, 449.

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<sup>989</sup> For the name Χρήσιμος: see *HPN*, 512.

<sup>990</sup> For the journal abbreviations: see *L'Année Philologique*.

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