

KINYRAS
The Musical Stratigraphy of Early Cyprus

John C. Franklin
University of Vermont

(For slides, please go to <http://www.kingmixers.com/Kinyras.htm>)

Who was Kinyras?

(SLIDE 2) Kinyras is best known from the story of his incestuous rendezvous with his daughter Myrrha or Smyrna, whose incessant weeping induces her transformation into the Myrrh tree, whose aromatic drops were used to anoint the baby Adonis. But a rich body of widely scattered references reveals an earlier stratum in which Kinyras served as the culture-hero of early Cyprus.

(SLIDE 3) Homer mentions him as a Great King who sent Agamemnon a marvelous thorax as a friendship gift. An pre-Herodotean version of the *Cypria* dealt with Kinyras' faithless promise to contribute ships to the expedition against Troy; he probably also hosted Paris and Helen on their honeymoon escapade, and gave Paris ships with which to sack Sidon. Alcman describes Cypriot perfume as 'the moist charm of Kinyras'. According to Pindar, 'Cypriot voices much resound around Kinyras', whom he invokes as mythological exemplum for Hieron; Pindar also recalls an ancient Cypriot thalassocracy, when he refers to the 'blessed fortune . . . which once upon a time freighted Kinyras with riches in Cyprus on the sea'. Pindar also knows Kinyras as the cherished priest of Aphrodite, and beloved of Apollo.

Kinyras' proverbial wealth, mentioned by Tyrtaeus and Pindar, was doubtless already known to Homer. Many later sources ranked him alongside Croesus, Midas, and the Assyrian Sardanapalus; indeed he was three-times as rich as Midas. But where these other oriental kings were based on historical individuals, Kinyras, we shall see, is entirely legendary—and altogether more archaic.

Kinyras and Alashiya

(SLIDE 4) Kinyras is consistently located in the Bronze Age, and reigns over the whole of Cyprus. Before Alexander, this political configuration was true only in the Bronze Age, under the kingdom of Alashiya. Alashiya was long known from Near Eastern sources as the premiere source of copper; its other attested industries were ship-building and olive-oil processing. Alashiya's controversial identity as Cyprus has now been proven by petrographic analysis of its correspondence to the Amarna pharaohs. The clay comes from the south-eastern Troodos, thus promoting the little-explored site of Alassa as an attractive candidate for the Alashiyan capital. Note the ideal situation of Paphos as its principal sacred site.

A number of traditions link Kinyras with industries typical of the Alashiyan palatial economy. Pliny makes Kinyras a *prôtos heuretês* of mining and metal-working. The proverbial 'talents of Kinyras' probably relates to the famous oxhide-ings, by which

Alashiyan copper was shipped and traded. A maritime dimension is also evident Kinyras' broken promise of a fleet to Agamemnon, and two poems in the *Greek Anthology* use Kinyras as a typical fisherman's name. I have already mentioned his connection with perfumed oil in Alcman. So it is quite clear that Kinyras, in later sources, looks back to the island's Bronze Age palace culture and its pre-Greek population, the so-called Eteocypriotes.

Kinyras and the Mycenaean Migration

This is confirmed by traditions of Aegean migration to the island.

(SLIDE 5) The fall of Alashiya at the end of the Bronze Age is no less mysterious than that of other palatial societies in the Aegean, Anatolia, and the Levant. The precise identity of the notorious Sea Peoples continues to be debated. But certainly there was a substantial Mycenaean diaspora in the twelfth and eleventh centuries. A sub-Mycenaean presence in the Philistine pentapolis is now certain, and the 'Hypachaioi' (Hdt.) of Cilicia are also increasingly credible. (SLIDE 6) Cyprus itself became progressively Greek-speaking, already attested by an eleventh century *obelos*, found near Paphos, in the Arcado-Cypriot dialect. From roughly the same time and place comes a well-known *kalathos* showing a swordsman with a lyre of distinctly Aegean type; this warrior-poet vividly suggests a sub-Mycenaean tradition of epic singing on Cyprus.

Comparable musical evidence comes from both Cilicia and Philistia. (SLIDE 7) Several round-based Aegean lyres are found in early Philistine contexts. (SLIDE 8) Still more remarkable are the Karatepe reliefs. This site dates from the late eighth century. But its inscriptions celebrate the restoration to power of the House of Mopsus. Mopsus is known from both Greek and Greco-Lyidian traditions as the leader of a popular migration after the Trojan War, down through Pamphylia, Cilicia, and on towards Phoenicia. Although the bilingual inscriptions are in Phoenician and Luwian, they record divergent forms of his name, Mpš and Mukshas. In other words, they exhibit divergent outcomes of the Mycenaean labiovelar; and in fact the name *Mo-qa-so* was apparently a common one in the Mycenaean world, being attested three times in Linear B. Given this it is most striking to see, in a banquet scene which symbolizes renewed political harmony, the purposeful juxtaposition of Aegean and Eastern lyre-types. Because of the lyre's connection with epic tradition, it was not merely a potent symbol of ethnic memory, but the very means by which such memory was accomplished.

(SLIDE 9) The musical iconography of the Mycenaean diaspora encourages a more positive view of the numerous Cypriot migration legends, in which Greek heroes, after leaving Troy, established cities on the island. We hear of Teucer at Salamis, the Arcadian king Agapenor at Paphos, and Argives at Kourion; there were similar traditions for Lapethos, Akamas, Soloi, and others. Homer refers to a certain Dmetôr, 'who ruled (*anasse*) over Cyprus by force'; Eustathius notes the apparent demise of Kinyras following the Trojan War.

No doubt these legends were often anachronistic. But the very impulse to such myth-making is itself significant. There is no reason to doubt Herodotus when he says that some Cypriot communities still knew where their ancestors had originated.

(SLIDE 10) In many cases the Greek migration legends took Kinyras as their point of reference. A fragment of Theopompus states that the Amathusians were ‘remnants of the men around Kinyras’, who was ‘in some way’ driven from power by ‘the men with Agamemnon’. Amathus was the stronghold of the island’s Eteocypriote culture: Eteocypriote inscriptions continue down through the Classical period. Evagoras of Salamis, in aspiring to island-wide control, traced his maternal (n.b.) descent from Kinyras. The historical Kinyradai of Paphos also claimed descent from Kinyras, and served as high-priests of Aphrodite, who on Cyprus was known by the old Mycenaean royal title Wanassa.

It is crucial that Kinyras served as a common reference point for the island’s Greek-Cypriote and Eteocypriote populations. This strongly suggests that he was already an established royal figure-head at the time of Greek immigration. On Cyprus the history of Kinyras was as fundamental as the Trojan War was in the Aegean. It is no coincidence that these two events are synchronized by the foundation legends and Cypriot *nostoi*.

Kinyras the Musician

(SLIDE 11) We must now consider the connection between Kinyras and music. Only with Eustathius in the twelfth century do we find an explicit derivation of his name from *kinura*—the Greek, or better Greco-Phoenician, word which commonly renders Hebrew *kinnôr* in the Septuagint (Eust. ad Hom. *Il.* 11.20: Κινύρης ἐκλήθη παρωνύμως τῆ κινύρα). This has been rejected as an anachronistic hypothesis—the obvious conjecture to make for a scholar, like Eustathius, who was steeped in biblical study. In 1965, J. P. Brown decreed that there was ‘no reason to believe that [*kinura*] had been adapted from Semitic a millennium earlier to serve as etymology for Kinyras’ (Brown 1965, 207 f.). But this assumes a derivation *within the Aegean mainstream*. Cyprus and its periphery was another world from Greece at all periods. It also leaves unexplained Eustathius’ further statement that Kinyras was killed by Apollo after challenging him to a musical contest—a well-known pattern in the mythology of Apollo, relating to the pan-Hellenic absorption of epicchoric musical figures.

There is also an anonymous Byzantine hymn (before the thirteenth-century: Cramer, *Anecd. Par.* 4.265). The poet flatters an unnamed musician, whom he likens to

Some Orpheus or Thamyris or even Kinyras —
They charmed with songs trees, animals, and stones.

Ὀρφεύς τις ἢ Θάμυρις ἢ καὶ Κινύρας
ἔθειλον ᾠδαῖς δένδρα, θήρας καὶ λίθους (Cramer, *Anecd. Par.* 274.5 f.).

This passage shows that Kinyras was known in this period as a musician; and the juxtaposition with Orpheus and Thamyris shows that he *was held to be a lyre player*. One might still argue that this Byzantine Kinyras also derives from a late, Christianizing etymology. But the proverbial nature of the passage makes this seem like special pleading.

The Divine Kinnaru of Ugarit

(SLIDE 12) In any case, the etymological question was transformed with the publication of the ‘pantheon texts’ from Ugarit in 1968. These present lists of gods who received offerings in the city’s royal cult. Among these divinities appears a Divinized Kinnaru. (SLIDE 13) The *kinnaru(m)* was a type of lyre known throughout the West Semitic world, from the third millennium onwards. It has been plausibly associated with a large family of related instrument types concentrated in the West Semitic world and its periphery. (SLIDE 14) The deification of musical instruments, and especially lyres, is a well-attested phenomenon in the Bronze Age Near East. Nearly one hundred individually-named Lyre Gods were collected by Wolfgang Heimpel from Sumerian sources. (SLIDE 15) Such instruments cannot be distinguished from other ‘real’ gods: they received the same sorts of offerings, and they could even appear in mythological narratives, as appears most clearly from the Gudea Cylinders (c.2100).

(SLIDE 16) This phenomenon makes the ancient ‘Greek’ etymology of Kinyras much more compelling. Indeed the Greek sources are now ancillary, if not irrelevant. A Divine Kinnaru demands comparison with Kinyras in its own right.¹ That Kinnaru was a prototype for Kinyras remains a consensus among Semiticists. Still lacking, however, is a considered explanation of how and why a Divinized Lyre could become the island’s national figurehead. A successful account must harmonize the Greek evidence for Kinyras, with the Near Eastern evidence for the *kinnaru*-lyre. It is the context of kingship which provides the most obvious link.

The Knr and Kingship

(SLIDE 17) Denis Pardee has shown, by comparing the pantheon texts to Philo of Byblos, that specific god groupings have theological significance. It is important therefore that the Divine Kinnaru appears alongside the *malakuma*—the divinized royal ancestors of Ugarit.

Also note in passing Kinnaru’s juxtaposition with the divinized-incense burner. W. F. Albright called this ‘at least a striking coincidence’, given the myth of Kinyras and Myrrha.

(SLIDE 18) There is much further evidence for the *kinnaru*’s use in royal ritual. The safest route is to focus on the textual attestations which guarantee that we are dealing with the *kinnaru*.

Already at Ebla c.2350 BCE it seems that the *kinnaru(m)* was used for royal lamentation and coronation rituals. It also seems that divine offerings were made to the instrument.

¹ Note too that Eustathius’ extended discussion of the Cypriot priest-king is clearly a synthesis of several lost sources. He may well have had access to relevant Cyprosyrian traditions akin to those preserved by Lucian and ps.-Melito, or a derivative Hellenistic poetic source, which maintained a well-informed connection between Kinyras and *knr*.

The *kinnaru* next appears c. 1800 at Mari, the city whose archives document extensive musical exchange with other states. Its presence here is to be explained by the eastward expansion of the Amorites, and their establishment of dynasties in Mesopotamia at this time. At Mari *kinnaru*-lyres were royally commissioned, decorated with gold and other precious materials, and used in sacred contexts.

Returning to Ugarit, the *kinnaru* appears the contexts of both royal and divine praise. It is also connected with the royal mortuary cult, being played by, or at least accompanying, the singing of Rapiu, the king of the underworld and the ultimate royal ancestor (cf. Rapauma and biblical Rephaim).

In the Bible, the *kinnôr* is prominent in the royal rituals of the United Monarchy. It is a pivotal narratological device for Yahweh's election of David. Josephus preserves a most vivid account of David's lyre-performance at the head of the procession which brought the Ark to Jerusalem. The *kinnôr*'s use for ecstatic prophecy and purification are also well attested.

The *kinnaru* also appears in culturally-hybrid situations on the West Semitic periphery. At Alalakh one finds a *kinnaruhuli*, an agent-word using a Hurrian suffix; a similar Hurro-Semitic hybrid is known from Hattusha. (SLIDE 19) In New Kingdom Egypt the *kinnaru* following imperial expansion in the Levant. It appears for instance in a deliberately cosmopolitan ensemble, alongside a Mesopotamian-style harp.

These peripheral examples are important parallels for the situation on contemporary Cyprus.

Kinyras, Kinnaru and the Canaanite Shift

It is highly likely that the *kinnaru* was divinized not only at Ugarit, but at least sporadically throughout its range. (SLIDE 20) In fact this is broadly coterminous with Kinyras' own extra-Cypriot connections in Classical sources, which, when not locating him on Cyprus, associate him variously with Cilicia, Phoenicia, Syria or even 'Assyria'. So in tracing Kinyras' ancestry, we should not limit our focus to Ugarit.

(SLIDE 21) Indeed, phonological considerations show that the Greek 'Kinyras' must be pursued rather to the south. The difference between 'Kinyras' and 'Kinnaru' is explained by the so-called Canaanite Shift, a defining feature of the Canaanite dialects whereby proto-Semitic *â* shifted to *ô*. It is this which accounts for Hebrew *kinnôr*, and Greco-Phoenician *kinura*.

A similar form is already attested in Egypt c.1200, and evidence from Mari shows that the Shift was already in effect by 1800 BCE. This date should be taken as the *terminus ante quem* for the divinization of the *kinnaru*, in order to account for the divergence of Kinnaru and Kinyras. This does not seem too early, given the Sumerian Lyre Gods and the evidence of divinization at Ebla. C.1800 is also a reasonable *terminus post quem* for Kinyras' introduction to Cyprus: the island enjoyed its most intensive international contacts in the Late Bronze Age.

Kinyras at Byblos

(SLIDE 22) The Amarna letters establish Byblos as the northern edge of the Canaanite dialect zone. We should consider seriously sources which associate Kinyras with Byblos. Lucian credits him with building Aphrodite's sanctuary at Aphaca. This must be regarded as an independent mainland tradition.

Other sources, beginning with Panyassis, locate Myrrha at Byblos. Her father here is generally not Kinyras but a certain Theias, 'Mr. Divine'. Yet the two figures are close mythological doublets. They are harmonized by Eustathius, who makes Kinyras the son of Theias. Also noteworthy are toponymous genealogies which make 'Cyprus' the daughter of Byblos and Aphrodite, and sometimes of Kinyras himself. There are also Syriac traditions that Baalat Gebal, the Lady of Byblos, was originally the queen of Cyprus before marrying in to the Byblian royal house.

The Phoenician colony period of the ninth century was undertaken principally by the kings of Tyre: Byblos is not distinguished in this movement. I suggest, instead, that we take seriously a remarkable datum in the *Chronicle* of Saint Jerome, according to whom Paphos was 'founded' by Byblos 540 years after Abraham—that is, in 1415 BCE. G. F. Hill rejected such an early 'Phoenician' colonization, but the archaeological record now shows the island's close connections with the Levant at this time. Naturally the exact date must be taken with a pillar of salt, and any ctistic activity will have been a mere expansion of the Cypriot goddess' ancient cult. Still, *any* allegation of Bronze Age relations between Byblos and Cyprus is striking.

(SLIDE 23) It is not impossible that the traditions of a Byblian Kinyras recall some specific political alignment between Byblos and Alashiya. This was a common venue for the transfer of cult in the Bronze Age. One should recall here the famous aniconic

representation of Aphrodite at Paphos: such betyls are well paralleled in early West Semitic cult. A very similar shrine at Byblos is depicted on a coin of the early Roman empire; but already at Bronze Age Byblos one finds the Temple of the Obelisks.

Kinyras at Pylos

(SLIDE 24) There is also important evidence from an unexpected quarter: Mycenaean Pylos. Here Kinyras is apparently twice attested as a personal name. One of these appears in the ship-builder lists, the other among priests, priestesses, and other hieratic personnel. I doubt it is a mere coincidence that both contexts are also in the dossier of Kinyras himself, in his Cypriot manifestation. Moreover, these Kinyrases also exhibit the Canaanite Shift. The simplest explanation is that they were given their names as being professionally appropriate, and take their place alongside other typically Cypriot names in Linear B, i.e. Kyprios and Alasios. Kinyras' hieratic nature is obviously primary. But it would be remarkable to find a secondary maritime dimension already in place. But again, this conclusion becomes less startling when one expands the context beyond the Greek sources.

The Survival of Kinyras as a God

(SLIDE 25) If Kinyras began as a god, one might expect to find traces of his divinity in historical times. No Greek source openly makes him a god. But he is closely involved with both Aphrodite and Apollo. Until recently no epigraphic or archaeological source recorded worship to him, suggesting to Ribichini that he was a god no longer but 'un modello ormai superato' (Ribichini 1981, 54). But a recently-discovered inscription from Roman Paphos attests *kenuristês* as a cult-title of Apollo—'Apollo the *kinura*-player' (Loucas-Durie 1989, 126). Evidently Kinyras maintained enough numinosity to warrant his interpretation as an Olympian, with whom he evidently shared the powers of music and prophecy.

At Paphos, especially, there may well have been 'rites' to Kinyras. Pindar seems to suggest quite general veneration with his 'Cypriot voices much resound around Kinyras' (*Pyth.* 2.15–7). Recall Strabo's report that Paphos was the epicenter of an annual island-wide festival (*panêguris*).

(SLIDE 26) A very important body of evidence is the so-called Lyre-Player group of Seals. Dated to the late eighth century by find contexts on Ischia, these seals now appear to have originated in Cilicia. A number of examples show an alternation between lyrists with and without wings, in both cases enthroned, as shown by the offering-motifs of related seals. This bivalence of king and god is crucial, as is the consistent appearance of Aegean lyres in an otherwise Eastern stylistic context. (SLIDE 27 shows an enlarged impression of previous image, in which the wings can be clearly seen.)

Finally, one must note the stunning material in Étienne de Lusignan, who, in his *Chorograffia* of 1573, refers several times to 'il dio Cinara', whom he distinguishes from a later king of the same name (8a; 17; 19a–21: see Papadopoulos 2004, vol. 1). This is the only source known to me in which Kinyras is explicitly called a god; I have never seen it

cited in scholarly discussions of Kinyras. The Frankish historian excised this material from his later revision, the better known *Description de tout l'isle de Cypre* of 1580 (Papadopoulos 2004 vol. 2). But it must reflect a genuine tradition. It is tempting to see the spelling Cinara as deriving from mainland Syrian influence, perhaps through the influence of the Syrian church. However the spelling “Cynara” is a not uncommon variant in the Medieval tradition of some classical authors, and is even treated as a normal spelling in some early modern reference works.

Conclusion: Kinyras and Alashiyan Royal Ideology

(SLIDE 28) I conclude, therefore, that Kinyras was already known in Alashiya. His connections with metalworking, ingot-production, shipbuilding, seafaring, and oil-processing make him a symbol of all Alashiyan activity. A very similar ideology is linked to music already in the Alashiyan period by a bronze-stand from Kourion. An ingot-bearer, and two other mysterious workers, one of whom may be a fisherman, move leftwards with offerings. Facing them, and defining the field, is a seated musician, playing a Mesopotamian-style harp. This figure need not himself be royal, although I think he is. But one can reasonably say that music appears alongside other Alashiyan industries in an ideologically charged composition. (I bypass the symbolism of the tree.) The same conjunction is found on another stand of this period.

Kinyras' totalizing function as a culture hero is itself, I suggest, a Bronze Age artifact, deriving from the self-image projected by Alashiyan kings to their subjects. It was cultivated within a state apparatus whose royal rituals included at least notional performances by the king on the 'kinura'. These probably included a royal mortuary cult and ritual lamentation on the Syro-Canaanite model. Recall the 'Linus song' which Herodotus locates in Cyprus and Phoenicia. Also relevant are the Kinyradai, literally 'Sons of the Lyre'. Martin West has pointed out that this could reflect a typically Semitic linguistic contraction for a professional guild. Equally important, however, is its relevance to royal mortuary cult.

The Divine Lyre's intimate connection with royal ritual would make him a welcome transplant to Alashiya, helping these kings modernize their ideology in accord with their mainland peers. Apparently these monarchs had presented themselves *as Kinyras*, 'performing' him in some sense. One may compare the Ugaritic ritual texts, in which the king is virtually the only visible agent, despite the undoubted role of singers and other cultic performers. These conclusions will seem less alarming when one considers that the evidence from Ebla, Mari, Ugarit, and the Bible shows King and Lyre coming together precisely in the venue of state ritual. These conceptions flourished in the Bronze Age: David comes later, but was consciously emulating the earlier standard. Indeed David is the most illuminating parallel we have for the image of a *kinura*-playing king, since the Bible is unique in its *narrative* treatment of such royal musical actions and the lyre's religious potency.

After the fall of Alashiya, the old ideology rang on in popular memory under the name of Kinyras, whose well-established position let him be shared by Greeks, Greco-Cypriotes, and Eteocypriotes as a common reference point in their shared but contested history. He lingered on at Paphos especially, where the goddess's cult was unbroken, and the

Kinyradai apparently perpetuated the old Alashiyan claims, even though these kings already bore Greek names when first attested in the seventh century, when one appears in the Esarhaddon prism inscription.

(SLIDE 30: END STATEMENT)

SELECTED BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albright, W. F., *Yahweh and the gods of Canaan; a historical analysis of two contrasting faiths* (Garden City, New York, 1968).
- Baurain, C., 'Kinyras. La Fin de l'Age du Bronze à Chypre et la tradition antique', *BCH* 104 (1980), 277–308.
- 'KINURAS et KERAMOS', *Ant. Class.* 50 (1981), 23–37. Borgeaud, P., 'L'absence d'Héphaïstos', in Berchem, D. v. (ed.), *Chypre des origines au moyen-âge : séminaire interdisciplinaire, semestre d'été 1975* (Geneva, 1975), 156–158. Brown, J. P., 'Kothar, Kinyras, and Kythereia', *JSS* 10 (1965), 197–219. Cayla, J.-B., 'A Propos de Kinyras. Nouvelle lecture d'une épiclèse d'Apollon à Chypre.'
- CCEC* 31 (2001), 69–81. Cureton, W., *Spicilegium Syriacum*, Containing Remains of Bardesan, Meliton, Ambrose, and
- Mara bar Serapion (London, 1855). Dussaud, R., 'Kinyras. Étude sur les anciens cultes chypriotes', *Syria* 27 (1950), 57–81. Engel, W. H., *Kypros: eine Monographie* (Berlin, 1841). Franklin, J. C., 'Lyre Gods of the Bronze Age Musical Koine', *JANER* 6.2 (2006), 39–70. — 'The Global Economy of Music in the Ancient Near East', in Westenholz, J. G. (ed.), *Sounds of Ancient Music* (Jerusalem, 2007), 27–37. — 'Cyprus, Greek Epic, and Kypriaka', in Maurey, Y., et al. (ed.), *Yuval. Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre. Vol. 8: Sounds from the Past: Music in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean Worlds* (Jerusalem, Forthcoming 2010). Frazer, J. G., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (London, 1906). Gjerstad, E., *The Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical Periods* (Stockholm, 1948). — 'The Colonization of Cyprus in Greek Legend', *Op. Arch.* 3 (1944), 107–123. Goren, Y., et al., 'The Location of Alashiya: New Evidence from Petrographic Investigation of Alashiyan Tablets from El-Amarna and Ugarit', *AJA* 107 (2003), 233–255. Heyne, C. G., *Ad Apollodori Bibliothecam observationes* (Göttingen, 1803). Hill, G. F., *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1940–1952). Hogarth, D. G., et al., 'Excavations in Cyprus, 1887–88. Paphos, Leontari, Amargetti', *JHS* 9 (1888), 147–271. Jirku, A., 'Der kyprische Heros Kinyras und der syrische Gott Kinaru(m)', *FuF* 37 (1963), 211. Kapera, Z. J., 'Kinyras and the Son of Mygdalion. Two Remarks on the Ancient Cypriot Onomastica', *FoOr* 13 (1971), 130–142. Karageorghis, V. (ed.), *Cyprus in the 11th Century B.C. Proceedings of the International Symposium Held at Nicosia, 30-31 October 1993* (Athens and Nicosia, 1994). Knapp, A. B., *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus: Identity, Insularity, and Connectivity* (Oxford and New York, 2008). Loucas-Durie, E., 'Kinyras et la sacralisation de la fonction technique à Chypre', *Métis* 4.1 (1989), 117–127. Maier, F. G., 'Kinyras and Agapenor', in Karageorghis, V. (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident," Nicosia, 8-14 September 1985* (Nicosia, 1986), 311–320. — 'Priest Kings in Cyprus', in Peltenburg, E. (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus* (Edinburgh, 1989), 376–391. Maier, F. G. / Karageorghis, V., *Paphos: History and Archaeology* (Nicosia, 1984). Nougayrol, J., 'Nouveaux textes d'Ugarit en cunéiformes babyloniens (20e campagne, 1956)', *CRAIBL* (1957), 77–86. Ribichini, S., *Adonis. Aspetti "orientali" di un mito greco* (Rome, 1981). — 'Kinyras di Cipro', *Religioni e civiltà* 3 (1982), 479–500. Sherrat, E. S., 'Immigration and

archaeology: some indirect reflections', in Åström, P. (ed.), *Acta Cypria: Acts of an international Congress on Cypriot Archaeology held in Göteborg on 22-24 August, 1991. Part 2* (Jonsered, 1992), 316–347.

