

KINYRAS AT PYLOS

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Kinyras the Lamentor

The Qa series from Pylos comprises twenty-four single-line tablets which record distributions of a commodity still unknown.¹ The various entries do not follow a fixed formula. The three categories distinguished by Blegen/Lang (1958, 191) are:

- 1) name of recipient alone.
- 2) name + title or other description (ethnic, toponym).
- 3) name or title + toponym.

The second and third categories are themselves multiform, nor for many of the tablets is the ‘classification’ according to this system certain. The first category is exemplified only by Qa 1297, which further stands out for its apparently high distribution (five units versus all ones and twos in what survives).

Among the recipients—all apparently ‘persons of consequence’—there is a definite concentration of religious personnel: three priestesses, two priests, and someone suggestively qualified as ‘of the Lady’.² Another man has been attractively interpreted as some sort of divination-priest or ‘ritual purifier’.³ Though the exact interpretation of many of these tablets remains obscure, some hieratic context clearly governed the entire series.

One entry of Qa 1301 reads *ki-nu-ra me-nu-a*₂. The first word has long been read as *Kinyras*, a proper name otherwise known from the legendary Cypriote king who appears in Homer as a

¹ For the series generally: Blegen/Lang 1958, 183 f., 190 f., pll. 46 f.; Palmer 1963, 371–3; Ventris/Chadwick 1973, 484 f. The commodity is marked by the ideogram *189, consisting of *44 (KE) in frame, which probably gives the first syllable of the item’s name. On the basis of the small quantities (all ones and twos, with one five), Lang (191) suggested the interpretation *ke-ra* (γέρας) or *ke-se-ne-wi-ja* (ξείνια); Ventris/Chadwick (485) thought of ‘some kind of textile (a ceremonial robe?’).

² *I-je-re-ja*: PY Qa 1289, 1300, 1303; *i-je-re-u*: 1290, 1296; *po-ti-ni-ja-wi-jo*: 1299. Quotation: Ventris/Chadwick 1973, 485.

³ PY Qa 1295, with Ventris/Chadwick 1973, 485 for *po-qa-te-u* as *phoig^uasteus* (cf. φοιβάζω).

guest-friend of Agamemnon, to whom he sent the marvelous, daedalic bronze breastplate described in a prominent arming scene (*Il.* 11.19–28).⁴ Unfortunately the meaning of *me-nu-a₂*, with its apparent variant *me-nu-wa*, is obscure. A probable second occurrence in this series has suggested that the word designates yet another sacral office. Alternatively, *me-nu-a₂* might be an ethnic or geographic designation; ‘Minyan’ has been suggested.⁵ In either case, the argument goes, *ki-nu-ra* should be understood as a personal name, as first interpreted by Ventris/Chadwick 1973, 485.

This view of *ki-nu-ra* seems quite plausible. Yet given that the series is still imperfectly understood, both in structure and key vocabulary, other interpretations should be held in mind. One might see *ki-nu-ra* as a title in its own right, some hieratic officer serving the palace alongside the variety of other ‘priests’. *Me-nu-a₂* could still have the ethnic/geographic force suggested by those who interpret *ki-nu-ra* as a personal name. As a parallel take Qa 1290, *i-je-re-u se-ri-no-wo-te*, ‘the priest at *se-ri-no-wo*’. Or *me-nu-a₂* could be a personal name, as seems to be the case elsewhere.⁶ And of course personal names may begin as ethnonyms. If this line of reasoning is correct, ‘kinyr-as’ could be seen as a Hellenized agent-word from the West Semitic *knr* (‘lyre’), and so mean ‘lyrist’ or ‘citharode’.⁷ Agent-words built on *knr* are also known from

⁴ Blegen/Lang 1958, 191; Gallavotti 1961, 166 f.; Morpurgo (Davies) 1963, 148; Palmer 1963, 372; Kapera 1971, 139; Ventris/Chadwick 1973, 485, 554; Gallavotti 1976, 56; Baurain 1980, 305 f. The best focused treatments of Kinyras known to me are: Frazer 1894–1914, 43–52 *passim* (still glamorous, though based on incomplete evidence and an outmoded approach); Drexler, Roscher *Lex. s.v.*; Kroll, *RE s.v.*; Hill 1940–1952, 1.125–43; Dussaud 1950; Kapera 1971; Baurain 1980; Baurain 1981; Ribichini 1981, 45–57 *et passim*; Ribichini 1982; Cayla 2001.

⁵ For general discussion of the word, including the interpretation as Μινύας [cf. Hdt. 1.146], see Gallavotti 1961, 166 f.; Ventris/Chadwick 1973, 187, 485; Gallavotti 1976, 56.

⁶ PY Qa 1293; cf. PY An 218, 724; KN Sc 238, V 60, Xd 7702. See above note.

⁷ That the *knr* was a type of lyre was already strongly suggested by its frequent translation as *kithara* in the Septuagint (where however it is also rendered as *kinura*, *psalterion*, and *organon*). This has been confirmed by the correlation of 1) the distribution of related linguistic forms in Near Eastern texts; and 2) a large iconographical group of broadly related, often asymmetrical lyres, whose geographical ambitus largely coincides with that of the linguistic forms. See Lawergren 1998, 57–9.

the Hurro-Hittite cultural sphere in the Late Bronze Age.⁸ These parallels are of particular interest here for showing the diffusion of the *knr*-tradition beyond the West Semitic heartland. Because they are agent-words, which are inherently practical, they must reflect a real musical phenomenon, despite the lexical nature of the evidence. These ‘kinyr-ists’ in turn echo the Sumerian agent-word *ba la g . di*, a player of the *ba la g*, the Mesopotamian lamentation instrument *par excellence*.⁹ The *ba la g* was equated with the *knr* by the scribes of Ebla in the twenty-fourth century.¹⁰ These scholar-administrators applied the learned title *ba la g . di* to a standing corps of nine lamentation-priests resident in the palace.¹¹ These doubtless performed in such royal rituals as the traditional coronation ceremony, in which the divinized ancestors were honored by a chorus of singers. These were accompanied by a functionary who is said to ‘sound the lament of the king’—using a word whose Akkadian cognate normally implies the striking of a stringed instrument.¹² So at Ebla too, lurking behind the ‘Sumerian officialese’, we may assume a local agent-word built on *knr*. In this context the Kinyradai of Paphos come quickly to mind. These ‘Sons of Kinyras’, priest-kings of Aphrodite in the Archaic period, traced their descent from Kinyras in a sort of royal ancestor cult reminiscent of Ugaritic and Eblaite ritual

⁸ At Alalakh, where roughly half of the population bore Hurrian names (Dräffkorn (Kilmer) 1959), the form is ¹⁴ *kinnaruḫuli*, with the Hurrian agent suffix *-ḫuli*—a ‘kinyrist’, a player (or perhaps maker) of the *kinnārum*: Dietrich/Loretz 1966, 192; Laroche 1976–1977, 148; Foxvog/Kilmer 1986, 440. Hurrian mediation probably also underlies the suffix in ¹⁴ *kinirtalla*, a Hittite *hapax*: see Schuol 2004, 98 with sources in n. 198. Its lexical collocation with Sumerian ¹⁴ *na r* (‘singer man’) shows that its effective meaning is ‘lyre-singer’.

⁹ See generally Hartmann 1960, 52–67.

¹⁰ *VE 572*: see Pettinato [1982], 264; cf. Tonietti in *RLA* 8, 482b; Kilmer in *RLA* 6, 573b (the attested forms are *g/ki-na-ru₁₂-um*, *g/ki-na-lum*, *g/ki-na-rum*). This I would call decisive evidence that the *ba la g*, whose organological identity has been the subject of a long controversy (basic evidence/arguments in Hartmann 1960, 52–67), could indeed be a stringed instrument, at least in the third millennium, if not in the Old Babylonian period: cf. Franklin 2006, 43 n. 8.

¹¹ Archi/Biga/Milano 1988, 273; cf. Fronzaroli 1988, 12 *et passim*; Fronzaroli/Catagnoli 1993, 140, 162 f., cf. 171.

¹² For the ritual, Fronzaroli 1988, whose interpretation of this difficult text I follow; cf. Archi 1997, 185. For the musical usage of *lpt* (literally ‘touch’), see Kilmer 1965, 263; Fronzaroli 1988, 13; Kilmer 1997, 464.

texts. Yet they are equally indicative of the sort of temple-musician guilds that are known from Ugarit and the Bible.¹³

When one considers these wide-ranging *knr*-titles against the fact that ‘balag’ was a productive name-forming element for much of the Sumerian period—including two certain examples of names born by temple musicians—one has a reasonable basis for positing the development ‘kinyras’ = title > ‘Kinyras’ = name.¹⁴ Especially interesting in this connection is a recently discovered oath-text from the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos, composed in the time of Tiberius but incorporating traditional sacral formulations, in which *kenuristês* is found as a cult-title of Apollo.¹⁵ On Cyprus, and in this particular location, that *epiklêsis* ineluctably summons Kinyras (and the Kinyradai), who is effectively glossed as ‘kinyrist’, revealing the same sense of agency which has been posited above for the Pylian *ki-nu-ra*.

When the Ugaritic Pantheon texts became known in the 1960s, the *knr*-god, who appears alongside other divinized cultic apparatus and could receive offerings like any other god, was promptly hailed by many Semiticists as a forebear of the legendary Cypriote priest-king.¹⁶ (The most accurate genealogical metaphor would make Kinyras his first-cousin-once-removed). To interpret the Pylian *ki-nu-ra* as a sacred instrument of West Semitic type, receiving offerings like his Ugaritic cousin, would doubtless raise a few eyebrows (and what then would be a meaningful function for *me-nu-a₂*?). But the Divine Knr could provide indirect illumination. His appearance in a fragmentary text of a semi-narrative nature—alongside other personified temple instruments,

¹³ Cf. West 1997, 57; further discussion and references in Franklin 2006, 46 and nn. 19–20. For Kinyras as the founder of Aphrodite’s temple at Paphos, and the Kinyradai, Pind. *Pyth.* 2.15–17 with scholia; Ptol. *Megalop.* *FGrH* 161 F 1; Tac. *Hist.* 2.3.2 f.; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3.14.3; Arn. *Adv. nat.* 4.24, 5.19; Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2.13.4; Firmicus Maternus, *De errore* 10; Hsch. s.v. Κινυράδαι.

¹⁴ Balag.di as agent-word and title: Hartmann 1960, 64 f.; balag is frequently attested as a name-forming element from Early Dynastic I through the Neo-Sumerian period: eadem 165, 169, 182.

¹⁵ Apollo *kenuristês*: Cayla 2001, 78–81.

¹⁶ Jirku 1963; Astour 1966, 281; Nougayrol 1968, 59; Albright 1968, 143 f., 147 f.; Baurain 1980, 305 f. (with J.-P. Olivier ap. n. 150); Ribichini 1981, 48–51. I prefer to use the radical Knr, as expressed in alphabetic cuneiform, rather than the specifically Ugaritic voicing as *kinnarum* (as rendered in the Akkadian version of the Pantheon text), as better suggesting the divinized lyre as a larger West Semitic phenomenon.

and connected with royal ancestor cult, n.b.—shows that the Lyre God played a role in the mythopoeics of Ugarit, and doubtless other cities in the region.¹⁷ These three factors—the very existence of a Divine Knr, his poetic personification, and the probability that he was not restricted to the Ugaritic pantheon but was a wider West Semitic type—provide a convincing basis for *inter alia* 1) the numerous geographical variants associated with Kinyras in Greco-Roman sources; 2) an ‘independent’ Syriac tradition which had ‘Kinyras’ found ‘Aphrodite’s’ temple at Afaqa; 3) various recherché details in Hellenistic treatments of Kinyras/Cinyras which derive from Cypro-Syrian lore.¹⁸

Consider for instance the ancient etymology of Kinyras < *kinura*, known only from Eustathius and often dismissed as a Christian anachronism.¹⁹ Closer inspection lets this derivation be traced back to antiquity. The case cannot be fully argued here, but it turns on a neoteric topos of Kinyras as ‘The Lamerter’, in connection with the Homeric *kinuros* (‘plaintive’), the later *kinuresthai* (‘lament’), and several related forms (see below). This is seen most clearly in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, where one of the vignettes that Athena weaves in her contest with Arachne has Kinyras weeping for his slain daughters.²⁰ Later in the alternative lay of Kinyras and Myrrha, Ovid harps on the tears of the Cypriote king’s besotted daughter; this provides the motive for her metamorphosis into the myrrh tree, whose precious drops of sap were used to anoint the newborn

¹⁷ RS 24.252 (*KTU* 1.108), 1–5, conveniently in Pardee 2002, no. 55, pp.192–5; cf. Parker 1970, 244 n. 9. Especially suggestive is a prominent wordplay on *dmr* as ‘music’ and ‘[protective] power’: see Pardee 2002, 205 and n. 8.

¹⁸ The Afaqa tradition is seen from reading Lucian *Syr D.* 9 against the curious Syriac text of ps.-Melito, for which Cureton 1855; cf. Brown 1965, 198–201; West 1997, 57; Lightfoot 2003, 328–31. For geographical associations of Kinyras (Cilicia, Byblos, Assyria, etc.), see Baurain 1980.

¹⁹ Eust. ad Hom. *Il.* 11.20: Κινύρης ἐκλήθη παρωνύμῳ τῆ κινύρα. Cf. Brown 1965, 207 f. (rejecting); Masson 1967, 69 n. 2; Chantraine 1968 s.v. κινύρα; Boisacq 1938 (undecided); Baurain 1980, 304.

²⁰ Ovid *Met.* 6.98–100: (sc. *Cinyras*) *lacrimare videtur*, noticed by Ribichini 1982, 500.

Adonis.²¹ Myrrha is not Kinyras; but Ovid’s description of her as *virgo Cinyreia* (10.369) affords her the benefit of her father’s etymology. Ovid’s treatment was indebted to the lost *Zmyrna* of Cinna, who also mentioned Myrrha’s tears in his learned and influential neoteric screed, nine years in the making (c. 65–56).²² Cinna in turn relied in some way upon his mentor Parthenius, the Bithynian poet-hostage who also treated the Adonis myth; from here several tracks lead back to earlier Hellenistic poets, including a likely debt to Euphorion.²³ As librarian of Antioch under Antiochus III (223–187 BCE), Euphorion is an especially promising source for local Cypro-Syrian traditions.

These passages, when taken together with the handful of lexical sources which bind *Kinyras*, *kinuros*, *kinura*, *kinuresthai*, and *kinurizein* into a single family, show that the *Kinyras*<*kinura* etymology of Eustathius (who discusses these further relationships elsewhere) goes back to at least the Hellenistic period.²⁴ It was doubtless current in the Cypro-Syrian cultural sphere, the native range of the *knr* itself. This fact, in turn, combines with the Ugaritic evidence to show that the etymology *Kinyras* < *kinura* must be essentially correct, and was indeed already a *vetus memoria* in the third century BCE. Whether *Kinyras* can be equally related to *kinuresthai* and Homeric *kinuros* is a separate question which cannot be argued fully here.²⁵ But it seems likely that these words preserve a semantic trace of the instrument’s original performance context. The strong tradition of ritual lamentation which continued from the Mycenaean period through the

²¹ *Met.* 10.360 (*suffundit lumina rore*); 361 f. (*Cinyras . . . flere vetat*); 387 (*tum denique flere vacavit*); 406 (*lacrimantem*); 419 (*lacrimisque . . . obortis*); 500 f. (*flet tamen, et tepidae manant ex arbore guttae. / est honor et lacrimis etc.*); 509 (*lacrimisque cadentibus umet*); 514 (*Naïdes impositum lacrimis unxere parentis*).

²² Cinna *poet. fr.* 6, 8 Courtney *FLP*; cf. also Ov. *Ars am.* 1.287–31; Sen. *Her. O.* 196; Fulg. *Myth.* 3.8.

²³ For this pedigree generally—i.e. the topos of ‘Kinyras the Lamerter’ not recognized—see Wiseman 1974, 48–56 (also for dates); Watson 1982; Lightfoot 1999, 47 f., 58–67 *passim*.

²⁴ Cf. *Et. Magn.* s.v. Ἀμφικινυρόμεναι· κινυρόμεναι· μέλπουσαι, ᾄδουσαι· ἀπὸ τῆς κινύρας; Eust. ad Hom. *Il.* 17.5: Κινυρῆ δὲ κυρίως ἐπὶ ἀνθρώπων, οἱ κινύραις χρώμενοι ᾄδιδας ἐπὶ τοῖς κειμένοις ἐμελλον, ὁ καὶ κινύρεσθαι ἦν; cf. *Suda* s.v. κινύρα: κινυρόμεθα, θρηνοῦμεν.

²⁵ For now see Franklin 2006, 44–52 with further references.

Dark Age is one of the more striking elements of Greek religious continuity.²⁶ Yet this seems an unlikely route for *kinuresthai/kinuros* to enter the Greek vocabulary, since they were evidently quite marginal, and other words relating to lamentation are much more prominent in Homer and later sources.²⁷ More likely they derive from mainstream Greek familiarity with the peculiarities of Greco-Cypriote cult life, and should be placed within the broader phenomenon of Aphrodite-cult and its diffusion into the Aegean—just as Kinyras was known as the priest and lover of the goddess at Paphos, her most famous and much-visited cult center. The persistent link between the *knr* and ritual lamentation, that entrenched institution of Near Eastern temples in the Bronze Age, makes it seem very plausible that the etymology of ‘Kinyras the Lamentor’ was as authentic, and as ancient, as ‘Kinyras the Kinyr(ist)’.

All of this makes it very attractive to interpret the *ki-nu-ra* of the Qa series as a musical officer of the palace and its shrine—a celebration and/or lamentation singer to the lyre. ‘Kinyras’ here might be a title, a name, or both at once. The occurrence of *ru-ra-ta-e* (‘two lyrists’) in a

²⁶ Burkert 1985, 192; Alexiou 2002, 4–23 passim (p. 6 for gesture of hand-raising).

²⁷ Hom. *Il.* 17.4–6: ἀμφὶ δ’ ἄρ’ αὐτῷ βαῖν’ ὡς τις περὶ πόρτακι μήτηρ / πρωτοτόκος κινυρὴ οὐ πρὶν εἰδυῖα τόκοιο· / ὡς περὶ Πατρόκλω βαῖνε ξανθὸς Μενέλαος (‘As a cow stands lowing over her first calf, even so did yellow-haired Menelaus bestride Patroclus’, trans. Butler). This passage was somewhat obscure by the Hellenistic period, occasioning several speculative definitions and inspiring several imitations: Παρὰ τὸ κινεῖν τὴν οὐρὰν ἐν τῷ μυκᾶσθαι *vel sim.*: schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.292; Apollod. *FGrH* 244 F 277; Apion *FGrH* 616 F 51; Et Mag. s.v. Κινυρῆ. Similarly the Suda’s etymology of the biblical lyre s.v. κινύρα: ἀπὸ τοῦ κινεῖν τὰ νεῦρα. Guesses from Homer and subtle later uses: Hsch. s.v. κινυρῆ· ἀπαλή, νέα; s.v. κινυρόν· λεπτόν, καπυρόν, ὀξύ. Homeric imitations: Ar. *Byz. Epit.* 2.103 (cf. Ael. *NA* 5.49); Opp. 3.217. Aesch. *Sept.* 122 f.: γενύων ἰππίων / κινύρονται φόνον χαλινοῖ (‘The bits of equine cheeks / bewail murder’) is already highly allusive—note the unhelpful scholia—but ‘murder’ provides the essential ‘professional’ detail for lamentation; cf. Aesch. 47a.804 *TrGF*; Ar. *Eq.* 8–11: Δεῦρο δὴ πρόσελθ’, ἴνα / ξυναυλίαν κλαύσωμεν Οὐλύμπου νόμον . . . Τί κινυρόμεθ’ ἄλλως; (‘Come here, so we may wail an *aulos*-concert of Olympus’ air . . . Why do we idly lament?), with Poll. *Onom.* 4.78–9: νόμοι . . . Ὀλύμπου ἐπιτυμβίδιο. Explicitly musical definitions of *kinuresthai*: schol. *Il.* 17.5: κινύρεσθαι γὰρ τὸ θρηνεῖν; schol. ad Ap. Rhod. 1.292: σημαίνει γὰρ τὸ θρηνωδοῦσαι; most detailed is Eust. ad Hom. *Il.* 17.5.

recent tablet from Thebes is not against the hypothesis, since different instrument names could have been variously current in the Minoan-Mycenaean world, some of which need not have survived into the Iron Age.²⁸ Indeed it is quite remarkable to find that *lyra* was already known in LBA Thebes; it previously seemed a novelty of the Archaic period, being absent from Homer, who uses two completely different terms, *phorminx* and *kitharis*!²⁹ And there is a semantic gap, for Mycenaean *lyra* was surely not restricted to the simple tortoiseshell instrument—its common Classical usage, already in the Homeric *Hymn to Hermes*—but normally suggested more imposing models like the one depicted in the Throne Room frescos at Pylos. Doubtless generic considerations play a role here, evidence that the epic and ‘lyric’ traditions of early Greece were quite distinct. This has important implications when considering possible survivals of Mycenaean palatial music, the most important theatre for which was surely cult hymns—e.g. the sort purveyed at Sparta and Delphi by the illustrious citharodes of seventh-century Lesbos (Terpander et al., the so-called Lesbian *genos*).³⁰ If the *knr* was itself ever current in Mycenaean Greece—as distinct from priests or other individuals bearing the title or name ‘Kinyras’—it certainly did not survive the palaces, not being attested again until the Septuagint, and then only in Hebraic contexts.

Kinyras the Mariner

A second Kinyras has been hypothesized among the Pylos tablets, in a list of twelve ‘shipbuilders’ (*na-u-do-mo*).³¹ That these men are recorded by name shows their relative social prominence: they were no mere laborers but specialists, naval architects and shipwrights of

²⁸ As was true of later Greece (*lyra* vs. Homeric *phorminx*). The new tablet is TH Av 106.7, presupposing the form *λυραστής against the later λυριστής, itself only slightly attested (Plin. *Ep.* 9.17.3; Artem. 4.72). See Aravantinos 1996; Younger 1998, 18 n. 42; Aravantinos/Godart/Sacconi 2001, 29 f., 176–8; Aravantinos/Godart/Sacconi 2002, 82 f.

²⁹ *Lyra* in Archaic poetry: [Hom.] Marg. fr. 1.3 (West); Archil. fr. 54.11, 93a.5 (West); Alc. 140 PMGF: *kerkolyra*; Sapph. fr. 44.33, 103.9, 208 (Voigt); Alc. fr. 307c (Voigt); Stesich. 278.2 PMGF.

³⁰ See further Franklin 2006, 39–42, 52–63.

³¹ PY Vn 865; Bennett 1955, 03, 195; Landau 1958, 89.

various kinds.³² One broken entry contains the final two syllables of a trisyllabic name ([-]nu-ra), which Gallavotti proposed to supplement as [Ki]-nu-ra, taking the Qa tablet just discussed as a parallel.³³ This is quite speculative from a textual point of view. But I hope that contextual considerations will make it very seductive.

The Amarna letters and other ancient Near Eastern archives show that the second major Cypriote industry, after the copper-trade, was ship-building and shipping, with the related trade in timber.³⁴ This was intimately related to the metals market, since the ‘talents of Kinyras’ had to be transported overseas.³⁵ The great wealth of Cyprus, whose (full or partial) identity with Alashiya has finally been established, is well attested by the Amarna letters, and it made a lasting impression on Greek popular memory.³⁶ Pindar still recalled the ‘good fortune / Which freighted Kinyras with wealth once upon a time in Cyprus on the sea’.³⁷ And in the thalassocracy-list of Diodorus, probably derived from a Hellenistic source, Cypriote sea-power antedated Phoenician—that is, what we might call the Late Bronze or Early Iron Age.³⁸ Pindar’s comparison elsewhere of Hieron of Syracuse to Kinyras probably implies a parallel between the Sicilian fleet and Cypriote sea-power in the heroic age.³⁹ According to Eustathius, the Cypriotes

³² See Palaima 1991, 287 f. with contribution of R. Stieglitz.

³³ Gallavotti 1961, 166; cf. Morpurgo (Davies) 1963, 148; Gallavotti 1976, 56.

³⁴ Cf. Hellbing 1979, 38 f. See also Str. 14.6.5.

³⁵ It is tempting to relate the curious proverb in Macar. 7.100 (CPG 2.214 f., cf. 653: Τὰ Κινύρου τάλαντα ἐπὶ τῶν τὸ ἴσον καὶ τὸ δίκαιον φυλαττόντων) the famous ‘oxhide’ ingots, the standard Alashiyan (see next note) measure for raw copper distribution.

³⁶ Cyprus as Alashiya is now established by petrographic analysis of diplomatic correspondence, recovered from El-Amarna, which originated in the Alashiyan chancellery. The fabric of these tablets most closely matches clay samples from the southeastern margins of the Troodos massif, in southwestern Cyprus. See Goren, et al. 2003.

³⁷ Pind. *Nem.* 8.17 f.: ὄλβος . . . / ὅσπερ καὶ Κινύραν ἔβρισε πλοῦτῳ ποντίᾳ ἔν ποτε Κύπρῳ.

³⁸ For the thalassocracy-list, Miller 1971. For the position of Cyprus, cf. *CAH*² III.1, 532; Hill 1940–1952, 1.103 f.; Gjerstad 1948, 465.

³⁹ Pind. *Pyth.* 2.15–7.

‘are themselves said to have ruled the seas once upon a time’.⁴⁰ Add to this the tale of Kinyras’ unfulfilled promise to send Menelaus fifty ships for the expedition against Troy.⁴¹ One should also note the roles of Aphrodite and Astarte as patronesses of sailors—one of several areas in which Kinyras mirrors the interests of his Island Girl, and shows some overlap with the Ugaritic craftsman-god Kothar-wa-Hasis and his Phoenician descendant Chusor.⁴²

‘Kinyras’ also appears as a typical Cilician fisherman’s name in two entries of the *Greek Anthology*.⁴³ These poems, despite their relatively late date, provide a valuable parallel for ‘Kinyras’ as a possible personal name at Pylos. There are also occasional epigraphic attestations from various parts of the later Greek world.⁴⁴ Yet for the anthologized poet (and no doubt parents choosing names) Kinyras’ is clearly a *type*, and there are audible echoes of ‘the’ Kinyras.⁴⁵ A weary old man, who in his retirement hangs his humble nets up for the nymphs, inverts the Cypriote king’s proverbial wealth, and recalls the 160-year lifespan mentioned by Anacreon in a lost poem. This longevity might also suggest the great antiquity of Kinyras’ family

⁴⁰ Eust. in Dionys. Per. 508–9.18 f. [οἱ Κύπριοι] λέγονται δέ ποτε θαλαττοκρατῆσαι καιρόν τινα καὶ αὐτοί.

⁴¹ Fifty is the number found in Apollod. *Epit.* 3.9 and both Eustathius and scholia ad *Il.* 11.20; it seems alluded to by Lucian *Ver hist.* 2.25–6. Cf. Baurain 1980, 294.

⁴² See e.g. Pl. Com fr. 3 K-A (‘oar-driven goddess’ [if this is the right reading; see ap. crit. in K-A]); cf. Nonnus *Dion.* 2.103. Cf. Burkert 1985, 153. Kinyras and Kothar/Chusor: Brown 1965.

⁴³ *Anth. Pal.* 6.25, 26 [Jul. Aegypt.], cf. Brown 1965, 206. Cilicia is an important extension of Kinyras’ mythology, as discussed below in connection with the lyre-player seals. A fish appears on one of these (no. 113quater in Boardman/Buchner 1966); perhaps this detail serves to bind the lyre-player to the Syrian Goddess, to whom fish were sacred (for which see generally Lightfoot 2003, 65–72).

⁴⁴ Fraser/Matthews 1987–, svv.

⁴⁵ Compare Kinyras as the proverbial Good Man of Cilicia in *Anth. Pal.* 11.236 [Demodocus] (Ovid calls Kinyras ‘pious and mindful of propriety’ (*pius ille memorque ets / moris*), *Met.* 10.354 f. (Myrrha speaking).

relation to the Divine Knr.⁴⁶ The geographical setting, Cilicia, is an area where one might reasonably expect the survival of the Lyre God in some mythological guise (see Excursus).

On the whole these considerations offer compelling support for the restoration of ‘Kinyras’ in the shipbuilders list at Pylos. He bore a name appropriate for his profession, whether a self-applied handle or bestowed by a shipwright father. An illuminating parallel here is the frequency of *Kuprios* (*ku-pi-ri-jo*) and *Alasios* (*a-ra-si-jo*) in Linear B. These occur both as personal names (n.b.) and toponyms describing the destination or origin of various commodities; the intended usage is not always clear, but both usages indicate significant commercial, and probably cultural, interactions between the Cypriote and Aegean palaces. Moreover some of the ascertainable personal usages are found in connection with the familiar industries of Cyprus. One Kyprios (Pylos) was a bronze-worker receiving an allotment of the metal. Another is associated with alum, a versatile mineral for which Cyprus was a source. And the perfumed oil industry at Pylos seems to have enjoyed some Cypriote involvement, predicting Alcman’s ‘moist charms of Kinyras’.⁴⁷ So a naval-architect named Kinyras would not be lonely at Pylos; he would have friends and colleagues who, like himself, bore professionally-relevant Cypriote names.⁴⁸

Conclusion: The Sons of Kinyras

⁴⁶ For Anacreon see Plin. *HN* 7.154 (cited in notes to Anac. 361 *PMG*). Baurain 1975–1976, 540 n. 1 attractively connected Kinyras’ reported old age with his Bronze Age antiquity (cf. Ribichini 1982, 496). Later he saw it as a contamination with Tithonus and/or Arganthonios due to his parallel appearance with them in proverbs (Baurain 1980, 308 n. 153). These views are not necessarily incompatible. Proverbial wealth of Kinyras: Tyrt. 12.6 West *IE*²; cf. Pind. *Nem.* 8.17 f.; Pl. *Leg.* 660c; *POxy.* 1795.26 (Classical period); *Anth. Pal.* 16.49.1 [Apollonid.]; Diogenian. 8.53 (1.316 Leutsch/Schneidewin); Dio Chrys. *Or.* 8.28; Lucian *Rh. Pr.* 9.11; Julian. *Ep.* 82; Lib. *Ep.* 503.3, 515.4, 571.2, 1197.5, 1221.5, 1400.3, *Or.* 1.273, 25.23, 58.31, 55.21, 58.6; *Suda* s.v. Καταγερᾶσαι; Eust. et scholia ad *Il.* 11.20; Thom. Mag. *Anecdota Graeca*, Boissonade 2.212. Note also Ov. *Met.* 10.299 (*inter felices Cinyras*) and 400 (*fortuna*).

⁴⁷ Alcman. 3.71 *PMGF*: νοτιά Κινύρα χ[άρι]ς (cf. Gallavotti 1976, 56 n. 9); Plin. *HN* 13.4–18 *passim*. Perfumery at Pylos: Shelmerdine 1984; Shelmerdine 1985, 49, 137 f.

⁴⁸ The evidence does not let us distinguish immigrant craftsmen and their descendants from Aegean natives who bore such names as being ‘good for business’.

If ‘Kinyras’ is correctly restored in PY Vn 865, and correctly interpreted there and in Qa 1301, there are some interesting consequences. An old problem presented by Linear B is that dozens of seemingly heroic names—Achilles, Theseus, and even quintessentially Trojan names like Hector—were born by ordinary people.⁴⁹ Were the famous figures of later Greek mythology already established in the Bronze Age, providing new parents with popular heroic names? There was no such fashion in Archaic and Classical times; and the shocking corollary would be that ‘Achilles’ and ‘Hector’ were active in legend long before the dramatic date of the *Iliad*. Or do the Homeric heroes, on both sides of the Trojan War, bear once-ordinary names of palatial society, retained by poets for their archaic and/or noble character, against a popular change in naming fashions? And a euhemeristic scenario should not be completely disregarded: an ordinary, non-heroic name might become legendary through some great exploit by one its bearers, with both figure and name becoming increasingly archetypal as history faded to myth. The medium is the memorialization of powerful patrons by professional singers who sang the latest deeds of living lords, a tradition which in the Aegean still flourished in the age of Pindar and Bacchylides.⁵⁰ A fortunate few heroes might thus achieve *alêtheia*, the paradoxical ‘negation of oblivion’ which constituted poetic Truth.⁵¹ Under such conditions the heroic onomasticon must be continually renovated. A probable and vivid illustration of this is Mopsos, the seer of early Greek legend who, in the years after the Trojan War, was said to have led a mixed group of followers southeastwards down the coast of Anatolia, and who has now achieved some degree of historicity for many scholars.⁵²

⁴⁹ Ventris/Chadwick 1973, 103–5 listed 58 names that probably recur in Homer, of which one third are ‘Trojan’, but recanted in the face of criticism an earlier assertion that the myths were already current. A lucid defence of the view is Sacconi 1960. For the idea that some Trojans might have had Greek names (e.g. Hitt. Alaksandos = Alexander) due to intermarriage or other close diplomatic relations, see Watkins 1986.

⁵⁰ Cf. Callinus’ elegiac exhortations against the Cimmerians: Callin. 1(?), 3, 5a+b West *IE*². Magnes’ praises of Lydian cavalry exploits for Gyges: see Talamo 1979, 151–4.

⁵¹ Detienne 1996.

⁵² Strabo 14.4.3, citing Callinus (or Callisthenes), cf. 14.5.15; Hes. fr. 278 M-W; Pherecyd. Ath. *FGrH* 3 F 142. Other sources include: Xanth. *FGrH* 765 F 17, cf. 8; ps.-Lycoph. *Alex.* 424–30; Nic. Dam. *FGrH* 90 F 16; Paus. 7.3.2; Dict. Cret. 1.17; schol. Dionys. Per. 850 (Bernhardy 361; *GGM* 2.454). Historicity confirmed by place names and foundation legends in Cilicia and Pamphylia; the House of Mopsus mentioned in the late

Yet Kinyras seems to be an equally rare specimen of the opposite process. Two men with this name, each appearing at Pylos in a context belonging to the mythological spectrum of *the* Kinyras, could hardly be coincidence.⁵³ It would follow that some form of ‘Kinyras’ was established in Cypriote myth and cult by the Late Bronze Age, with principal attributes already in place, able to lend his name to mortals. One of the famous bronze stands from Enkomi is important here, attesting on Cyprus—*already in the palatial period*—an ideologically-charged conjunction of music, metal-making and kingship, all important attributes of the mythical Cypriote king.⁵⁴ This will not seem so far-fetched if one considers again the Divine Knr just across the water at Ugarit. The Ugaritic texts are approximately contemporary with the Pylian evidence, and even then this Lyre God must have had a long pre-history to find himself in the city’s pantheon. This ‘backstory’ would accord very well with the function of the royal *knr*-lamenters in ‘royal memory cult’ a millennium earlier at Ebla, and their professional doppelgangers in the contemporary Mesopotamian temples. So chronologically the Pylian ‘Kinyradai’—if one may so call them—have perfect timing. Kinyras is far older than Mopsus,

eighth-century Karatepe inscriptions; the Lydian variant Moxos which points to a bifurcation of the Mycenaean labiovelar; and the Mukšuš who appears in a Hittite document in connection with the Achaean kingdom (Ahhiyawa). See discussions of Barnett 1953; Houwink ten Cate 1961, 44–50; Brown 1965, 211–3; Astour 1967, 53–67; Prinz 1979, 23–8, 382–4; *CAH*³ II.2, 679 f.; Finkelberg 2005, 150–2.

⁵³ For Baurain 1980, 306, the Pylian shipbuilder was ‘une mise en garde contre des implications religieuses trop précises’ for the Kinyras who appears among the priests at Pylos. By this view Kinyras and the Kinyradai would perpetuate an ordinary Mycenaean name, with the hieratic aspect a special development particular to Cyprus. But if it is right to derive Kinyras from the Divine Knr, a hieratic nature and priestly function is surely original.

⁵⁴ Catling 1964, 205–7 and pl. 34d; Matthäus 1985, no. 74 (314 f. and taff. 100, 102). For Kinyras’ range of attributes, see for now Brown 1965; Baurain 1980.

and exemplifies the opposite process, a god dwindling into mortality after losing his palatial home.⁵⁵

Excursus: Kinyras and The Lyre-Player Seals

The proverbial association of Kinyras with Cilicia was mentioned above. Cilicia now seems the most probable point of origin for the famous Lyre Player group of seals (second half of the eighth century), given the intersection of stylistic parallels and geographical distribution—notably a large number of new examples from the Adana museum.⁵⁶ The corpus is so-called from an important minority, roughly one quarter of the total, in which lyrists appear in a number of interesting variations, including one detailed ritual-banquet scene which seems to present the full picture of which the other relevant specimens seem to be ‘excerpts . . . or abbreviations’ (though not ‘merely derivative’).⁵⁷ While the lyre-player is sometimes larger than other figures,

⁵⁵ Compare the goddess Ipemedēja, known from a Pylian offerings tablet where she appears in company with Poseidon (PY Tn316 = *DMG*² 172); she survives as Iphimedeia in Hom. *Od.* 11.305, the mother of Otus and Ephialtes by Poseidon, but enjoyed no cult status in historical times. See Gérard-Rousseau 1968, 116–8 (noting entries for other vanished palatial gods like Dopota, Tiriserōe, Manasa, Dirimijo and Pere*82); *DMG*² 288; Burkert 1985, 43.

⁵⁶ Lyre-player seals: Blinkenberg 1931, 161–7 and pl. 18.521–35 and J; Porada 1956 treated 54; Boardman/Buchner 1966 catalogued 162 (the Ischia find-contexts yield the securest dating for the group as a whole); Boardman 1990 added 25 (see also 1 n. 3 for further secondary references); Poncy, et al. 2001, 11 f. contributed a further 35, many from Cilicia; Borgia/Casabonne/Egetmeyer 2002, 177–81. Italian finds are from Ischia, Cumae, Etruria; Greek from Ithaca (Aetos), Thebes, Delphi, Sunium, Aegina, Corinth, Sparta, Lefkandi, Delos, Paros (the Delion), Crete, Chios, Samos, Rhodes (Lindos, Kameiros); Cypriote from Ajia Irini; Near Eastern from Kultepe, Carchemish, Zinjirli, Aintab (Gaziantep), Tarsus, Al Mina, Byblos, Tell Basher, Megiddo. At least 49 more are still unpublished, including unprovenanced Syrian/Levantine examples. Parallels of dress: Karatepe; servants and lord/god of same size: Zincirli, Karatepe, Tell Halaf, Carchemish; the banquet motif is general in the Near East: Boardman/Buchner 1966, 44, 48 f. Poncy, et al. 2001, 11 look to the prosperous reign of Urikki, king of Que. This would not conflict with the Assyrian elements seen by Boardman 1990, since Que seems to have been a tributary state for most of the eighth century, before becoming a province in the seventh (Hawkins 2000, 1.41–4; *CAH*² III.2 86, 90).

⁵⁷ No. 167 in Boardman 1990, 8 and fig. 16.

and can be waited upon by attendants, Boardman and Buchner were reluctant to interpret him as a god.⁵⁸ But among the more recent (and less well-known) accessions are several lyrists with wings; there seems little doubt now that the lyre-playing ‘king’ is in fact some type of god—perhaps a divinized king.⁵⁹ Who is this but some cognate of the Divinized Knr and his royal cousin Kinyras?

Yet it may be more interesting to focus precisely on the *alternation* of winged and wingless figures. This could suggest some liminal status between the earthly and divine realms. Indeed this gets at the heart of the Bronze Age phenomenon of divinized cultic apparatus, which confounds familiar dichotomies of divine and non-divine.⁶⁰ The best parallel for Kinyras and the Ugaritic Knr-God is in the Gudea Cylinders, which celebrated the foundation and dedication of a new temple to Ningirsu, a patron god of Neo-Sumerian Lagash (c. 2100). Here the *ba lag* first appears as the physical instrument, played during a procession and offering scene. Later the *ba lag* is itself dedicated to the temple, but now becomes personified, taking up his office of temple musician (*nar*) among the other members of the divine court. In other words, the *ba lag*-god is imagined as a lyrist playing a lyre which is in fact himself—a lyre which is a lyrist playing a lyre—and so on.⁶¹

This intriguing feedback loop might be profitably explored as an early model of musical cognition. For the conceit would most naturally have been elaborated by those who wielded the instrument itself, who could thereby insert themselves alongside the gods and kings to whom their professional praise-hymns and lamentations were otherwise addressed. Hesiod’s insinuations about the symbiosis of king and singer, and their status as wards of Zeus and Apollo respectively, come to mind.⁶² This summons an image of a ritual lyre-player instantiating the lyre-god, a ‘kinyras’ performing the role of ‘Kinyras’, thereby effecting the epiphany of the lyre’s divine spirit, ‘Kinyras’. Perhaps the hieratic kinyras/Kinyras of Pylos should be seen in

⁵⁸ Boardman/Buchner 1966, 48–50.

⁵⁹ Winged lyrists: No. 164 in Boardman 1990, 7 f. with fig. 14 (‘the possibility of his divinity has to be entertained’); Poney, et al. 2001, nos. 1 and 3.

⁶⁰ For the phenomenon generally, including the gray areas see Selz 1997; Selz 2008

⁶¹ Discussion in Franklin 2006, 42–4; comparison with Kinyras and the Ugaritic Knr-god, 44–50.

⁶² Hes. *Th.* 94–6.

such terms. One might compare for instance a pyxis in the Khania museum (Late Minoan III, c. 1400–1100) which shows a musician playing a greatly oversized lyre above which two birds fly.⁶³ Birds are often regarded as a sign of divine epiphany in Minoan/Mycenaean art, and appear in other more complex scenes which also contain lyrists, and as decorative elements on stringed-instruments themselves (as represented).⁶⁴ The special value of the Khania pyxis is to isolate the two elements, lyre and divine, in a single composition, making this connection crystal clear.

⁶³ Chania XM 2308: see e.g. Maas/Snyder 1989, 2, 16 and fig. 2b.

⁶⁴ Bird epiphanies: Nilsson 1968, 330–40; for musical bird-epiphanies and other scenes, Anderson 1994, 4–7, 12, 22; Maas/Snyder 1989, 2.

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