

Kinyras and the Musical Stratigraphy of Early Cyprus¹

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Kinyras and Kinnâru

Kinyras is the legendary king of Cyprus, best known from Ovid's late retelling of his incestuous seduction by Myrrha, his own daughter (her incessant weeping induces a metamorphosis into the myrrh tree, whose aromatic drops are used to anoint the baby Adonis: *Met.* 10.298–502; *Ant. Lib. Met.* 34, et al.). But a rich and scattered body of further references—never completely assembled—ranges from Homer to Byzantine poets and scholars; even Étienne de Lusignan, a Franco-Cypriot historian of the 16th century, preserves unique material.² These sources show that from very early on Kinyras served as the central culture hero of pre-Greek Cyprus.³ Yet while Kinyras' associations with Cyprus are dominant, other sources assert that the island was not his *original* home, which they variously locate in Cilicia, Phoenicia, "Syria" or "Assyria". The significance of this will emerge below.

It will be useful to present a brief survey of Kinyras' earliest appearances in Greek poetry, to give a sample of the kind of sources one is dealing with. It must be stressed, however, that much important material is found in later sources. For it was only in the Hellenistic period that local lore from Cyprus and its environs began to enter Greek letters quite directly.

¹ Forthcoming in van den Berg, G./Krispijn, Th. (eds.), *Musical Traditions in the Middle East: Reminiscences of a Distant Past* (in press).

² The best focussed treatments known to me are Heyne, C.G., *Ad Apollodori Bibliothecam observationes*, (Göttingen, 1803), pp. 323–6; Engel, W.H., *Kypros: eine Monographie*, (Berlin, 1841), vol. 2, pp. 94–136 (*et passim*); Hogarth, D.G., et al., "Excavations in Cyprus, 1887-88. Paphos, Leontari, Amargetti", *The Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 9 (1888), pp. 147–271; Frazer, J.G., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, (London, 1906), pp. 43–52 (still glamorous); Drexler, Roscher *Lex. s.v.*; Kroll, *RE* (1922), vol. xi, pp. 484–6; Blinkenberg, C., *Le temple de Paphos*, (Copenhagen, 1924), pp. 31–7; Hill, G.F., *A History of Cyprus*, (Cambridge, 1940–1952), vol. 1, pp. 125–43; Dussaud, R., "Kinyras. Étude sur les anciens cultes chypriotes", *Syria*, 27 (1950), pp. 57–81; Brown, J.P., "Kothar, Kinyras, and Kythereia", *Journal of Semitic Studies*, 10 (1965), pp. 197–219; Kapera, Z.J., "Kinyras and the Son of Mygdalion. Two Remarks on the Ancient Cypriot Onomastica", *Folia Orientalia*, 13 (1971), pp. 130–142; Baurain, C., "Kinyras. La Fin de l'Age du Bronze à Chypre et la tradition antique", *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*, 104 (1980), pp. 277–308; Baurain, C., "KINURAS et KERAMOS", *L'Antiquité classique*, 50 (1981), pp. 23–37; Ribichini, S., *Adonis. Aspetti "orientali" di un mito greco*, (Rome, 1981), pp. 45–57 *et passim*; Ribichini, S., "Kinyras di Cipro", *Religioni e civiltà*, 3 (1982), pp. 479–500.

³ See especially Dussaud, "Kinyras"; Baurain, "Kinyras".

Homer knew Kinyras as a Great King who treated on equal terms with Agamemnon, sending him a marvelous daedalic thorax as a friendship-gift (possibly ironic, *Il.* 11.19–23). A pre-Herodotean version of the lost 7th-century epic *Cypria* probably contained material derived from a parallel Greek-Cypriot epic tradition, and dealt with Kinyras' faithless promise to contribute ships to the expedition against Troy; Kinyras may also have hosted Paris and Helen on their honeymoon escapade from Sparta, giving Paris the ships with which to sack Sidon.⁴ Alcman describes Cypriot perfume as “the moist charm of Kinyras” (3.71 *PMGF*), thus connecting him with a Cypriot industry going back to the late Bronze Age. Pindar, invoking the Cypriot king as a mythological exemplum for Hieron, has “Cypriot voices much resound around Kinyras”, and calls him “cherished priest of Aphrodite”, and “golden-haired Apollo's gladly-loved” (*Pyth.* 2.15–17). 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” (*Nem.* 8.17–18).

All of these sources accord with Kinyras' proverbial wealth, first explicit in the 7th-century Tyrtaeus (12.6 West *IE*²) but doubtless already known to Homer. Many later sources ranked Kinyras alongside Croesus, Midas, and the Assyrian Sardanapalus. Indeed, the proverb in its fullest form made Kinyras thrice as rich as Midas. Kinyras also resembles these oriental kings in having been once powerful and splendid, before a humbling reversal of fortune. But where they were based on historical individuals (Sardanapalus is, at least in name, a pastiche of two or more Assyrian emperors) Kinyras is of another kind—and far more archaic.

Kinyras increased considerably in depth and complexity with the demonstration in 1968 that a god called Kinnâru was listed in the “pantheon” texts of Ugarit (actually lists of gods who received divine offerings in official city rituals).⁵ The *kinnâru* (< W. Sem. or areal \sqrt{knr}) was a type of lyre known throughout the West Semitic world and its periphery, textually attested from the later third millennium onwards, and plausibly associated with a large family of iconographic representations across roughly the same temporal and geographical

⁴ Procl. *Chrest.* 80; [Apollod.] *Epit.* 3.4–5: see further, with reference to Hdt. 2.114–6, Franklin, J.C., “Greek Epic and Kypriaka: Why ‘Cyprus Matters’”, in Maurey, Y., et al. (eds.), *Yuwal. Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre. Vol. 8: Sounds from the Past: Music in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean Worlds*, (Jerusalem, in press-b).

⁵ Akkadian: RS 20.024; Ugaritic: RS 24.264 + 24.280. See Pardee, D., *Les textes rituels*, (Paris, 2000b), 292 and Pardee, D., *Ritual and Cult at Ugarit*, (Atlanta, 2002), 14. Note also Koitabashi, M., “The Deification of the ‘Lyre’ in Ancient Ugarit”, *Oriens*, 28 (1992a), pp. 106–110.

range.⁶ The peripheral examples, already well represented in the second millennium, are important parallels for understanding how the *kinnâru*—whether as instrument or god—could have been present already on Bronze Age Cyprus.⁷

This is also the period in which the deification of musical instruments, and especially lyres, is best attested. The relevant texts go back to the third millennium in Mesopotamia (Ur III period and earlier): god-lists attest over a hundred individually named balag-gods, while several literary and ritual texts make their nature and function quite clear. There is a Hittite parallel, and a similar conception may underlie Egyptian chordophones affixed with a god's head.⁸ In Mesopotamian sources 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). The comparative evidence makes it practically certain that the Divine Knr was not limited to Ugarit, but more widely current in Levant and North Syria during the second millennium.

Kinnâru was promptly hailed as an ancestor of Kinyras.⁹ This remains a general consensus among Semiticists, and has been often noted in passing, although only S. Ribichini has made any progress towards harmonizing the Greco-Roman sources with the Near Eastern cultural context. Still lacking, however, is a detailed consideration of 1) The evidence for a musical Kinyras 2) How and why the Divine Lyre, of all creatures in the complicated cultures of Cyprus and the surrounding lands, could become the island's culture-hero and “national” figurehead;

⁶ See generally Lawergren, B., “Distinctions among Canaanite, Philistine, and Israelite Lyres, and their Global Lyrical Contexts”, *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 309 (1998), pp. 41–68.

⁷ Thus at Alalakh one finds a *kinnârubuli*, an agent-word using a Hurrian suffix; a similar Hurro-Semitic hybrid is known from Hattusha. The *kinnâru* appears in New Kingdom Egypt following imperial expansion in the Levant, for instance alongside a Mesopotamian-style harp in a deliberately cosmopolitan ensemble. See Franklin, J.C., “The Global Economy of Music in the Ancient Near East”, in Maurey, et al. (eds.), *Sounds of Ancient Music*, (Jerusalem, 2007), pp. 27–37, esp. 33–34.

⁸ Heimpel, W., “Harp Gods”, unpublished paper circulated by author (1998); Franklin, J.C., “Lyre Gods of the Bronze Age Musical Koine”, *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*, 6.2 (2006), pp. 39–70. For strong new arguments that the early balag was a type of lyre, already quite certain on the basis of its equation with the *kinnârum* at Ebla, see Gabbay, U., “The Balaġ Instrument and its Role in the Cult of Ancient Mesopotamia”, in Maurey, et al. (eds.), *Sounds from the Past*, in press. The Egyptian evidence has not been systematically studied. Instruments are often shown with the heads of gods or animals: see Hickmann, H., *Musikgeschichte in Bildern. Band II: Musik des Altertums: Ägypten*, (Leipzig, 1961), passim.

⁹ Jirku, A., “Der kyprische Heros Kinyras und der syrische Gott Kinaru(m)”, *Forschungen und Fortschritte*, 37 (1963), p. 211; Albright, W.F., *History, Archaeology, and Christian Humanism*, (New York, 1964), p. 171 n. 47 (“the ancient derivation [of Kinyras from *kinyra*: see below] may now be regarded as certain”); Ribichini, *Adonis. Aspetti “orientali” di un mito greco*, pp. 48–51; Ribichini, “Kinyras di Cipro”, passim.

and 3) when and whence “Kinyras” is most likely to have entered the Cypriot cultural sphere.

A successful comparison of Kinyras and Kinnâru must harmonize the Cypriot king’s mythological portfolio in Greco-Roman sources with what is known of deified lyres in the Bronze Age palace-temple networks, and their intersection with royal ritual and the performance of official liturgical music in the Near East. The analysis of sources is complicated by Kinyras’ long involvement with Cypriot culture, which underwent a number of political reorientations from the Bronze Age onwards. This entailed several reorientations in the ideology surrounding Kinyras. I shall argue that a key re-articulation came with Cyprus’ settlement by Greek-speakers at the end of the Bronze Age. There is also the problem that our various testimonia for Kinyras reflect several cultural perspectives—Greek, Greek-Cypriote, Eteocypriote, and a variety of Levantine views—at various chronological periods.

I offer the following observations as a preview to a *mega kakon* I am preparing on the subject, provisionally entitled *Kinyras: The Divine Lyre*. It seems worthwhile presenting what I take to be the main issues, even though many points cannot be fully argued here, and only basic references to secondary literature can be accommodated.

Kinyras the Musician

Kinyras’ musicality is obviously fundamental to proving his seemingly inevitable relationship to Kinnâru, or better the Divine Knr as a more widely distributed type. Only with Eustathius in the 12th century do we find the desired derivation of his name from *kinyra*—the Greek, or better Greco-Phoenician, word which commonly renders Hebrew *kinnôr* in the Septuagint.¹⁰ This evidence was discounted by J.P. Brown, who saw it as a false, Christianizing etymology—an obvious conjecture for a scholar like Eustathius, steeped in scripture—and found “no reason to believe that [*kinyra*] had been adapted from Semitic a millennium earlier to serve as etymology for Kinyras”.¹¹ Brown wrote before the discovery of Kinnâru, which would presumably have given him better reason. But even without that evidence there is an important lapse in his reasoning:

¹⁰ Eust. ad Hom. *Il.* 11.20, cited below. It is occasionally stated, and more often assumed, that Greek *kinyra* was borrowed directly from Hebrew *kinnôr*, even “coined” for the Septuagint translations. But it must reflect a more vital, areal phenomenon along the Greco-Phoenician interface. This was recognized by Albright, *History*, p. 171 n. 47. Cf. now Apollo’s cult-title *kenyristês* at Roman Paphos: Cayla, J.-B., “A Propos de Kinyras. Nouvelle lecture d’une épiclèse d’Apollon à Chypre.” *Cahiers du Centre d’études chypriotes*, 31 (2001), pp. 69–81 (see further below).

¹¹ Brown, “Kothar”, pp. 207–8; cf. Baurain, “Kinyras”, p. 304.

he begs the question of whether Kinyras himself was Semitic in origin, and assumes that a derivation from *kinyra* would have occurred within the Aegean mainstream of Greek culture. Cyprus, however, was always a world apart.

Nor can a Christianizing explanation account for the further musical details in Eustathius:

They say that (Kinyras), after defaulting (sc. on his promise) was cursed by Agamemnon, and that he perished competing musically with Apollo—because he was an expert in music, which is why he took his name from the *kinyra*-lyre. And his daughters, who were fifty in number, leaped into the sea and changed into halcyons (Eustath. ad Hom. *Il.* 11.20; similarly the Homeric scholia).

This contest with Apollo conforms to a well-known pattern in the mythology of the Delphic god—already found in Homer—which relates to his pan-Hellenic absorption of epichoric rivals in the Archaic period. It is impossible to determine the antiquity of this particular tale, which comes to us probably at no more than third hand, Eustathius taking it over from some mythological handbook. There are details which would appeal to a Hellenistic poet: marginal locale, the theme of metamorphosis, and elaborate etymological aetiology (especially “halcyons” from “leap” [*halesthai*] and “sea” [*bala*, replaced in the abstract by *thalassan*]). On the other hand, all of these elements may find parallels in the fragments of the lost seventh-century epic *Cypria*—which indeed the Hellenistic poets, following Euripides, mined as an exotic alternative to Homer.¹²

A close relationship between Apollo and Kinyras is also attested by Pindar’s “golden-haired Apollo’s gladly-loved” (*Pyth.* 2.15). Among the explanations which the scholia offer—Kinyras was Apollo’s son, or his beloved (*erōmeno*s)—is the more revealing statement that Kinyras “was loved by the god because he (Kinyras) was celebrated (*enkōmiazesthai*) by musicians”. This cannot have been deduced from Pindar himself, and so must reflect a genuine tradition. Striking new on-the-ground evidence

¹² Agamemnon’s curse and the metamorphosis of Kinyras’ daughters might find a parallel of sorts in Artemis’ anger at the Achaeans, and her substitution of a deer for Iphigenia (Procl. *Chrest.*, Davies *EGF* p. 32.61–3, Bernabé *PEG* I, p. 41.47–9). There were also the transformations of Thetis and Nemesis (*Cypria* fr. 7 Davies *EGF*, fr. 9 Bernabé *PEG*). Besides the etymology of “halcyon”, there is that of Kinyras himself, and perhaps another play on Apollo as “the destroyer” (cf. *apolōlenai*). For the *Cypria*’s reception by Euripides and the Hellenistic poets, see Sistakou, E., *Reconstructing the epic: cross-readings of the Trojan myth in Hellenistic poetry*, (Leuven and Dudley, Mass., 2008), 62–72 with earlier literature.

has emerged from Roman Paphos—an inscription in which Apollo is given the cult-title *kenyristés*, that is, “the *kinyra*-player”. This inevitably summons the spirit of Kinyras, who was obviously still lurking among the Olympian deities who took firm hold on Cyprus only in the Hellenistic period. The epithet clearly presupposes the verb *kinyrizēin* (parallel to *kitharizēin*, “to play the lyre”), a word previously known from a rhapsodic variant championed by Zenodotus, who read it for the common *acheuein* (“lament”, schol. Hom. *Il.* 9.612). The Paphian inscription shows that the two words were not in fact strictly synonymous. Yet Zenodotus and his anonymous bard were not entirely off-base. The link between the two usages is made by the *kinyra*-lyre itself, given Near Eastern texts which indicate the instrument’s probable connections with royal mortuary cult and ritual lamentation (see below). This can also account for the apparently related words *kinyresthai*, which does indeed mean “lament”, and *kinyros* (“plaintive”), found variously in Homer, fifth-century drama, and learned Hellenistic poetry. These sources show clearly that Kinyras was etymologized as “The Lamentor” by the Hellenistic poets.¹³ This helps explain the numerous lamentable fates suffered by his daughters in mythological texts—Myrrha of course, whose tears are essential to the metamorphosis, but also the halcyons here, since this was a proverbially lamenting bird; and a surprising number of others.

There is, finally, a remarkable anonymous Byzantine poem found in a 13th-century manuscript, but itself somewhat older. 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 (Cramer, *Anecd. Par.*
p. 274, 5–6).

This passage shows that Kinyras was known in this period as a proverbial musician. A Christianizing interpretation is further excluded by his juxtaposition with Orpheus and Thamyris. Moreover, this company shows clearly that Kinyras was held to be *a lyre player*.

The foregoing material is sufficient to assure us, with no more detailed analysis, that the etymology of Kinyras from *kinyra* was not only pre-Christian, but of deep antiquity. It was long recalled in the home sphere of the Divine Lyre himself in the Byzantine East. It remains a conundrum, however, why most sources indicate no connection with

¹³ See for now Ov. *Met.* 6.98–100, noticed by Ribichini, “Kinyras di Cipro”, p. 500.

music, and even exhibit attributes—metallurgy, for instance—which seem far removed from such an origin. The answer should be sought first in the historical and cultural conditions of his specifically Cypriot incarnation, since it is this hypostasis of Kinyras which dominates our sources.

Kinyras, Alashiya, and the Aegean Diaspora

Kinyras is consistently located in the legendary period—what we would call the Bronze Age—and is imagined as reigning over the whole of Cyprus. Before Alexander, this political configuration was true only in the Bronze Age, under the kingdom of Alashiya, long known from Near Eastern sources as the region’s premier source of copper in the Bronze Age. Other attested Alashiyan industries were ship-building and olive-oil processing. The long-controversial identification with (all or most of) Cyprus has finally been proven by petrographic analysis of its king’s correspondence with the Egyptian pharaoh at El Amarna. The clay comes from the south-eastern Troodos, thus promoting the little-explored site of Alassa as an attractive candidate for the Alashiyan capital (the names are clearly related).¹⁴ Recent excavation and theoretical models of the social landscape had already called for a re-evaluation of this site’s importance, which was well-situated not only for copper extraction but a “multiplicity of functions” within the island’s “settlement hierarchy”.¹⁵ Nearby Paphos would fit very well into this picture, as an official religious center for the state, with its rich, monumental sanctuary constructed towards the end of the late Bronze Age, very probably before the Mycenaean immigration to the island (see below). A new Italian survey project of the Kouris river valley, in which Alassa lies, hopes to clarify the situation.¹⁶

A number of traditions link Kinyras with industries typical of the Alashiyan palatial economy. Pliny makes Kinyras a *prôtos heuretês* of mining, metal-working, and building generally, attributing to him “clay roof-tiles and copper mines—both on the island of Cyprus—and likewise tongs, hammer, crowbar, anvil” (*HN* 7.195). For once a first-inventor tradition sounds a realistic note, since in Alashiya ultimate control of mines and production processes—including the terracotta

¹⁴ Goren, Y., et al., “The Location of Alashiya: New Evidence from Petrographic Investigation of Alashiyan Tablets from El-Amarna and Ugarit”, *American Journal of Archaeology*, 107 (2003), pp. 233–55.

¹⁵ Knapp, A.B., *The archaeology of late Bronze Age Cypriot society: the study of settlement, survey and landscape*, (Glasgow, 1997), 56–66 passim.

¹⁶ Jasink, A.M., et al., “The Kouris Valley Survey Project: 2007 preliminary report”, *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus*, (2008), pp. 159–82.

vessels needed for the transportation of oil—must have rested in a single pair of royal hands. The proverbial expression “the talents of Kinyras”, used of fair and scrupulous dealings, may recall the famous oxhide-ingots by which Alashiyan copper was shipped and traded (Macar. 7.100 [CPG vol. 2, pp. 214–5, cf. 653]). A maritime dimension is also evident in Kinyras’ broken promise of a fleet to Agamemnon (see above), and two poems in the *Greek Anthology* use Kinyras as a typical fisherman’s name (*Anth. Pal.* 6.25, 26 [Jul. Aegypt.]). I have already mentioned his connection with perfumed oil in Alcman; this major industry is known from archaeological remains and Mycenaean, Ugaritic, and Egyptian texts.¹⁷ So it is quite clear, as noted above, that Kinyras looks back to the island’s Bronze Age palace culture and its pre-Greek population, the so-called Eteocypriots. What has not yet been determined is whether this is a mythological construction of the post-Alashiyan period, or derives from a deeper historical involvement of Kinyras in the ideology of Alashiya. I shall explore this below.

Kinyras’ status as a symbol of Alashiya is confirmed by traditions relating to Aegean immigration to the island at the end of the Bronze Age, specifically in the 12th and 11th centuries. The fall of Alashiya remains as mysterious as that of other palatial societies in the Aegean, Anatolia, and the Levant. But recently discovered inscriptions, combined with ongoing excavation and careful reassessment of earlier finds, have substantially vindicated the evidence of contemporary Egyptian inscriptions, which connect the larger catastrophe with the so-called “Peoples of the Sea”—the migrating groups whose defeat was celebrated by Merneptah and Ramesses III.¹⁸ The precise identity of these groups continues to be debated, but it is now clear that most or all originated in the Aegean—by which one must understand not only the Mycenaean world, but the coastal regions of western Anatolian, including probably the Mycenaeanized kingdom of Ahhiyawa, long known from Hittite texts.¹⁹ Moreover, careful assessment of locally-produced LH IIIC pottery assemblages from Cilicia and Philistia, combined with other Aegean elements in the archaeological record, shows beyond reasonable doubt that, as on Cyprus itself, this material was produced by immigrant

¹⁷ For sources, see Knapp, A.B., *Near Eastern and Aegean Texts from the Third to the First Millennia BC. Sources for the history of Cyprus, Volume II*, (Albany, New York / Nicosia, 1996).

¹⁸ See recently the papers in Oren, E.D. (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and their World: A Reassessment* (Philadelphia, 2000); Harrison, T. (ed.), *Cyprus, the Sea Peoples and the Eastern Mediterranean: Regional Perspectives of Continuity and Change* (Toronto, 2008).

¹⁹ Niemeier, W.-D., “The Mycenaean in Western Anatolia and the Problem of the Origins of the Sea Peoples”, in Gitin, S., et al. (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries B.C.E.*, (Jerusalem, 1998), pp. 17–65.

communities, and is not a mirage of mercantile activity or élite emulation.²⁰ While cultural assimilation was rapid and thorough in Cilicia and Philistia, on Cyprus itself, although elements of sub-Mycenaean material culture were quite quickly absorbed into a thorough hybrid (which also included a Levantine dimension),²¹ Aegean cultural elements did endure and evolve within this receptive matrix. Only here did the Greek language take hold and flourish. Already attested by an 11th-century *obelos* in the Arcado-Cypriot dialect, found near Paphos, the scale and staying power of the island's Hellenic element is clear from the situation in the Archaic and Classical periods, when many of the island's kings bore Greek names, even at Amathus where the indigenous Eteocypriot language appears to have endured longest.²²

The legends concerning Aegean immigration to Cyprus are always coordinated with the Trojan Cycle as being exploits of the homecoming heroes—although strictly speaking these *nostoi* were not “returns” but the finding and founding of new homes. 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.²³ In several prominent cases Kinyras stands like a boundary stone between the island's two cultural “states”. In the *Odyssey* Homer refers to a certain Dmetôr, “who ruled (*anasse*) over Cyprus by force” (17. 442–3); Eustathius, commenting on the passage, noted the apparent demise of Kinyras. The implied scenario of violent overthrow in the years immediately following the sack of Troy may be compared with a remarkable local tradition gathered by the 4th-century historian Theopompus, who states that the Amathusians were “remnants of the men around Kinyras”, who was “in some way” driven from power by “the men with Agamemnon” (*FGrH* 115 F 103)—an invasion nowhere else attested, and clearly eccentric to mainland Greek tradition.

A further group of traditions connects Kinyras with the Eteocypriot social landscape by a number of eponymous, toponymous relations. Kinyras is the trunk of a family tree whose roots and branches include a father “Paphos” and mother “Paphia”; a father “Amathous” and mother “Amathousa”; sons “Marieus” (< Marion) and “Koureus” (< Kourion);

²⁰ See inter al. Dothan, T., *The Philistines and Their Material Culture*, (New Haven, 1982); and the careful reassessment of Birney, K.J., *Sea peoples or Syrian peddlers?: The Late Bronze-Iron I Aegean presence in Syria and Cilicia*, Ph.D. Dissertation, Harvard University, (2007).

²¹ Knapp, A.B., *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus: Identity, Insularity, and Connectivity*, (Oxford and New York, 2008).

²² For these points, see with further references Franklin, “Greek Epic and Kypriaka”.

²³ Franklin, “Greek Epic and Kypriaka”.

and “Kypros”, who is variously a son or daughter (the name is masculine in form, but islands are normally feminine).²⁴ This multiform clan constitutes an equal and opposite reaction to the Aegean migration legends, and should be seen as a product of the Eteocypriot community itself, or as jointly produced by the island’s Greek and indigenous populations. The Greek and Eteocypriot perspectives are harmonized by the historical Kinyradai, the kings of Paphos, who claimed descent from Kinyras, and served as high-priests of Aphrodite—who on Cyprus was long known by the old Mycenaean royal title Wanassa. That this allegation has some historical foundation is made possible by genuine continuity within the Paphian cult itself (see further below). Euagoras of Salamis, in aspiring to island-wide control, also traced his (maternal) descent from Kinyras (Paus. 1.3.2), although this may have been a relatively late attempt to vie with the Paphian kings, who enjoyed island-wide religious if not political authority.

Kinyras was as central to the island’s view of its past history as the Trojan War was in the Aegean. It is no coincidence that these two reference points were synchronized in Greek and Greek-Cypriot mythological memory by the tales of Kinyras’ relations with Agamemnon—whether friendship-gift, duplicitous promise of assistance, or Achaean military intervention on the island. While the legends of Aegean settlement evade detailed historical interpretation, the myth-making impulse is itself significant. There is no doubt that, taken as a whole, they reflect genuine popular recollection of the diaspora, however much distorted by the passage of centuries. We must trust Herodotus when he says that some Cypriot communities still knew where their ancestors had originated (Hdt. 7.90).

Early iconography from areas of the Aegean diaspora strongly suggests that music, and perhaps specifically epic poetry, played a key role in the perpetuation of cultural memory generally, and in the myth-making process specifically. From near Paphos comes an 11th-century *kalathos* showing a swordsman with a lyre of distinctly Aegean type. This “warrior-poet” vividly suggests the existence of a sub-Mycenaean tradition of epic singing on Cyprus; this is confirmed by other considerations, both linguistic and historical, which also show the likelihood that this art persisted down to the early Archaic period before being eclipsed by the pan-Hellenizing model of “Homeric” epic.²⁵ Similar iconographic evidence comes from early Philistine contexts. A

²⁴ These sources are conveniently collected by Baurain, “Kinyras”, pp. 280—1.

²⁵ See Franklin, “Greek Epic and Kypriaka”.

10th-century seal from Ashdod which shows a seated musician playing an Aegean-style lyre provides a precedent for the more famous Lyre-Player group of seals from Cilicia (see below).²⁶ A cult-stand, also from Ashdod, shows an ensemble of musicians of the type which has been termed a “Canaanite orchestra”.²⁷ And yet, once again, the lyre is a distinctly Aegean model. This piece adds a valuable nuance to the more monolithic representation of Philistine religion in the Biblical narratives, which do not distinguish it from the surrounding Canaanite environment.²⁸

Equally remarkable musical evidence is found in the reliefs of Karatepe, the 8th-century Cilician site whose inscriptions celebrate the restoration of the House of Mopsos to power over the Danunians, that is, the kingdom of Hiyawa (a normal Luwian truncation of “Ahhiyawa”).²⁹ The bilingual inscriptions record divergent forms of name Mopsos: Luwian Mukšaš and Phoenician Mpš. These forms clearly exhibit divergent outcomes of an original labiovelar, a form which is in fact attested in Mycenaean texts as *Mo-go-so*. Whether the name is Greek or Anatolian in origin, it was clearly at home in the Mycenaean world, and the simplest explanation is that the Greco-Anatolian traditions about the migration of Mopsos/Moxos do accurately reflect population movements at the end of the Bronze Age (whether or not Mopsos himself was an historical individual).³⁰ Given this it is most striking to see, among the Karatepe reliefs which symbolize renewed political harmony, a banquet scene in which lyres of Aegean and Syro-Anatolian type have been purposefully juxtaposed. But the Aegean lyre here was not merely a potent *symbol* of ethnic memory. It was the very tool by which such memory was maintained, through the medium of epic song.

²⁶ Ashdod seal: Keel, O., *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel: von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit*, (Freiburg/Göttingen, 1997), pp. 666–7 and fig. 15, with further bibliography.

²⁷ Cult-stand: Bayer, B., “The Finds That Could Not Be”, *Biblical Archaeology Review*, 8.1 (1982), pp. 20–33.

²⁸ Machinist, P., “Biblical traditions: the Philistines and Israelite history”, in Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples*, pp. 53–83.

²⁹ “Hiyawa” occurs in the Çineköy inscription: Tekoglu, R. / Lemaire, A., “La bilingue royale louvito-phénicienne de Çineköy”, *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions, et belles- lettres, année 2000*, (2000), pp. 961–1006, esp. 968–72. The Luwian aphaeresis (Ahhiyawa > Hiyawa) is already attested in a Bronze Age text: see Singer, I., “Ships Bound for Lukka: A New Interpretation of the Companion Letters RS 94.2530 and RS 94.2523”, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 33 (2006), pp. 242–262, esp. 251.

³⁰ Mopsos: Jasink, A.M. / Marino, M., “The West Anatolian origins of the Que kingdom dynasty”, *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*, 49 (2007), pp. 407–26; Hawkins, “Cilicia”, pp. 165–6; Oettinger, N., “The Seer Mopsos (Muksas) as a Historical Figure”, in Collins, B.J., et al. (eds.), *Hittites, Greeks and Their Neighbors in Ancient Anatolia*, (Oxford, 2007), pp. 63–6.

The continuity of Aegean cultural memory in the Cypro-Cilician sphere, combined with the fact that Kinyras was apparently shared as a symbol of pre-Greek Cyprus by both Greek-Cypriots and Eteocypriots, strongly suggests that Kinyras was established as a royal figure-head *already at the time of Aegean immigration*. Recognizing the risk of circular argument, this deduction may be supported by an examination of how Kinyras was fit to play such a royal role, and how this may be reconciled with his musical origin. The answer must be sought at the intersection of royal ideology and sacred lyre-cult in the Bronze Age—that is, in the execution of liturgical music in the contexts of state ritual.

The Knr-Lyre and Royal Ritual

The royal praise hymns of the Neo-Sumerian period display an elaborate development of musical symbolism within the king's domain. Shulgi's boasts of musical prowess are clearly idealized, and indicate not so much his own actual skills, as the cultural attainments of his court, for which he serves as a totalizing figure.³¹ This helps explain why the material is copied quite faithfully in a hymn of Ishme-Dagan, fourth king of the Isin dynasty which claimed inheritance of the Ur III legacy (*Ishme-Dagan V*, 367–77 = *ETCSL* 2.5.4.01). The *Gudea Cylinders* are also valuable for their vignettes of notional or actual royal ritual performance within a liturgical environment governed in theological theory by a balag-god.³²

The safest route for detecting such ideas in the West, where the *kinnâru*-lyre was at home, is to focus on the word's textual attestations, reserving the very rich iconographic material as a supplement. For the lexical evidence can unify the investigation by guaranteeing that we are indeed dealing with the *kinnâru*-lyre.

The instrument appears already at Ebla c2350 BCE, in the form *kinnârum* (*sic*), which the scribes equated with Sumerian balag. They also defined the Sumerian agent-word balag-di as *na-ti-lu-um*, “he who lifts the voice (sc. in lament)”, using a word whose Hebrew cognate is also used of lamentation.³³ The natural inference from these two equations (balag = *kinnârum*, balag-di = *na-ti-lu-um*) is that the Eblaite lamenters would “lift their voices” to the accompaniment of the

³¹ See especially *Shulgi* B.154–74 = *ETCSL* 2.4.2.02, with text and commentary in Krispijn, T.J.H., “Beitrage zur altorientalischen Musikforschung 1. Šulgi und die Musik”, *Akkadica*, 70 (1990), pp. 1–27. Similar boasts are found in *Shulgi* C.2.75–101 (esp. 77–8) and E.34 (= *ETCSL* 2.4.2.03 and 2.4.2.05 respectively). Cf. Franklin, “Global Economy”, pp. 28–9.

³² See Franklin, “Lyre Gods”, pp. 42–4.

³³ *VE* 571: Fronzaroli, P., “Il culto dei re defunti in ARET 3.178”, *Miscellanea Eblaitica*, 1 (1988), pp. 1–33, here 12, noting Num. 14:1 etc.

kinnârum. A standing corps of nine balag-di is attested in the economic documents of the palace.³⁴ Such a body may be supposed by a still obscure ritual text which has been taken to document lamentation singing in the context of royal ancestor cult.³⁵ Admittedly this reconstruction—the *kinnârum* as an instrument of ritual lamentation in the royal cult at Ebla—rests on fragile evidence. But it would be well in keeping with the instrument’s later and better documented associations, as we shall see.

The *kinnâru* next appears c1800 at Mari, the city whose archives document extensive musical exchange with other states, as far as Hazor in Canaan.³⁶ 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 *kinnâru*-lyres were royally commissioned, decorated with gold and other precious materials, and probably used in sacred contexts.³⁷ This record of material evidence—which includes a number of other foreign instruments³⁸—attests the purposeful and cosmopolitan blending of different music-streams, whether in concerted or consecutive performances. It would hardly be surprising if, in such an environment, Zimri-Lim fostered an Amorite musical heritage, encouraged perhaps by his queen from Aleppo.

Ugarit provides the richest evidence to date for the *kinnâru* in the late Bronze Age, bringing us full circle to the Divine Lyre itself. By contrast with Mari, the relevant texts are not only administrative—these are much more meager in musical matters—but also ritual, mythological, and

³⁴ Archi, A., et al., “Studies in Eblaite Prosopography”, in Archi, A. (ed.), *Eblaite Personal Names and Semitic Name-Giving. Papers of a Symposium held in Rome, July 15-17, 1985*, (Rome, 1988), pp. 205–306, here 273.

³⁵ See inter al. Fronzaroli, “Il culto dei re defunti in ARET 3.178”; cf. Biga, M.G., “La musique à Ebla”, *Les Dossiers d’archéologie*, 310 (2006), pp. 24–31, here 29–30. I shall argue this more fully in my book.

³⁶ Ziegler, N., “Die ‘internationale’ Welt der Musik anhand der Briefe aus Mari (Syrien, 18. Jhd. v. Chr.)”, in Hickmann, E./Eichmann, R. (eds.), *Serie Studien zur Musikarchäologie 5*, (Rahden, 2006), pp. 345–54; Ziegler, N., *Les Musiciens et la musique d’après les archives royales de Mari*, (Paris, 2007) passim; Franklin, “Global Economy”, p. 32.

³⁷ The relevant texts are *ARM* 13 no. 20, lines 5, 7, 11, 16 = J. Bottéro in Dossin, G., et al., *Textes divers. Transcrits, traduits et commentés*, (Paris, 1964), p. 39, with p. 162; *ARM* 21 no. 298, lines 16, 20 = Durand, J.-M. (ed.), *Textes administratifs des salles 134 et 160 du Palais de Mari* (Paris, 1983), pp. 370–1, cf. pp. 367–368; *ARM* 23 nos. 180.12 and 213.31–2 = Bardet, G., et al. (eds.), *Archives administratives de Mari* (Paris, 1984), pp. 174, 189–91; *ARM* 25 no. 547 r.9 = Limet, H. (ed.), *Textes administratifs relatifs aux métaux* (Paris, 1986), pp. 169–70.

³⁸ Cf. Steinkeller, P., “New Light on Marhaši and Its Contacts with Makkam and Babylonia”, *Journal of Magan Studies*, 1 (2006), pp. 1–17, esp. 7–10.

“paramythological” (combining the two).³⁹ The king’s control of Ugarit’s overall economy is such that the city as a whole seems an extension of the royal household.⁴⁰ This casts an ideological shadow on the ritual texts, where the king seems to dominate the action while singers and other cultic agents are only rarely specified.⁴¹ And yet the clergy was obviously indispensable for the detailed execution of liturgy—even if the king’s real and extensive participation is equally undoubted.

It is thus in the sparse economic documents that the vital presence of musicians is best attested. Groups of singers (*šrm*) and cymbalists (*mšlm*) were ranked, like priests (*kbnm*) and diviners (*qdšm*), among the “king’s men” (*bn mlk*). There was also a “Singer of Ugarit” and a “singer of Astarte”.⁴² Both are obscure, but the latter especially evokes a master musician presiding over the cult of the goddess, and provides a very suggestive parallel for the relationship between Kinyras and Aphrodite (see below). A typical West Semitic designation for guilds as *bn*, “sons of”, is also found at Ugarit; actual heredity must often have been operative, although a metaphorical sense was probably equally common. Although its use is not yet well attested for the musical groups, this may be reasonably assumed, and indeed the “sons of the singers” (*bn šrm*) has been suspected in one obscure text.⁴³ That cymbalists are mentioned by name makes it practically certain that the other instruments necessary for ritual music were also officially sponsored. This is confirmed by a ritual text which attests the use of double-pipes and frame-drums in connection with the cult of dead kings.⁴⁴ Lyre-players especially must have been vital: the very existence of Kinnâru indicates a commanding role for the instrument, which alone was deified so far as we know. (Compare the balag-god of the *Gudea Cylinders*, who is treated as a

³⁹ See generally Koitabashi, M., “Musicians in the Ugaritic Texts”, in Mikasa, T. (ed.), *Essays on ancient Anatolia and Syria in the second and third millennium B.C.*, (Wiesbaden, 1996), pp. 221–32; Koitabashi, M., “Music in the Texts from Ugarit”, *Ugarit-Forschungen*, 30 (1998), pp. 363–96.

⁴⁰ Heltzer, M., “The Economy of Ugarit”, in Watson, W.G.E./Wyatt, N. (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, (Leiden and Boston, 1999), pp. 422–54.

⁴¹ See inter al. Xella, P., “Remarques sur le vocabulaire sacrificiel d’Ugarit”, *Comptes-rendus du Groupe Linguistique d’études chamito-sémitiques*, XXIV–XXVIII (1979–1984), pp. 467–87, here 473; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 57. Cf. Koitabashi, “Musicians”, pp. 226–7; Koitabashi, “Music”, p. 384.

⁴² See Koitabashi, “Music”, pp. 365–6. Singer of Ugarit: RS 19.16 = Viroilleaud, C., *Le Palais royal d’Ugarit. V: Textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques des archives sud, sud-ouest et du petit palais*, (Paris, 1965), 20 (no. 11, l. 37). Singer of Astarte: KTU 4.168:4.

⁴³ RS 2.002 = KTU 1.23: 2. See Tsumura, D.T., *The Ugaritic Drama of the Good Gods: A Philological Study*, Brandeis University (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms) (1973), pp. 24–5, 174–5; cf. Koitabashi “Music”, p. 367.

⁴⁴ RS 24.257 = KTU/CAT 1.113: Pardee, D., *Les Textes para-mythologiques de la 24e campagne (1961)*, (Paris, 1988), pp. 165–78; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, pp. 195–202.

musical director for the temple orchestra.⁴⁵) That these other musician categories are simply unattested yet is unlikely, given the dozen or more occurrences of “singer(s)”.⁴⁶ Evidently “singer” implies the normal use of various instruments, as was the case with Mesopotamian *nar* / *nar*—with which Ugaritic *šr* was lexically equated⁴⁷—and with the various musical “guilds” whose establishment the Chronicler attributes to David, all grouped under the heading of “singers”.⁴⁸ It seems quite certain, therefore, that the invisible *kinnâru*-players of Ugarit were reckoned as a subset of “singers”, and were indeed the singers *par excellence*. There is an excellent parallel in a text from Hattusha, where the Hurro-Hittite hybrid ^{lú}*kinirtalla* is given the Sumerian gloss ^{lú}*nar*—that is, “singer” = “kinyrist”.⁴⁹

D. Pardee has shown, by comparing the Ugaritic “pantheon” texts to the euhemerizing but substantially authentic “Phoenician” cosmology offered by Philo of Byblos, that some of the god groupings in the latter’s narrative derive from a broader and much earlier tradition of industrious theological speculation in the Levant.⁵⁰ Kinnâru’s own position in the “pantheon” texts therefore becomes potentially significant. His striking juxtaposition with the divinized-incense burner (*uḥt*), for example, was seen by Albright as a startling preview of the myth of Kinyras and Myrrha (“at least a striking coincidence”).⁵¹

But Kinnâru’s other neighbor is equally suggestive: the divinized ancestors of Ugarit’s ruling dynasty (*mlkm*).⁵² There is indeed further evidence associating the *kinnâru* with royal contexts at Ugarit. A collection of mythological scenes evoking the instrument’s use in praise poetry together attest a thematic formula, the basic expression of which finds Baal the beneficiary of celebratory music. In one hymn, as the god

⁴⁵ Gud. B.10.9-15 (*ETCSL* 2.1.7): cf. Franklin, “Lyre Gods”, p. 43.

⁴⁶ Twelve examples were known to Heltzer, M., *The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit: Royal service-system, taxes, royal economy, army and administration*, (Wiesbaden, 1982), p. 137 n. 28.

⁴⁷ For the equation, Heltzer, *Internal Organization*, p. 137.

⁴⁸ They are to be equipped with “instruments of song” (*kēlē šir*), which include the *kinnôr*, *nēbel*, and *mšiltayîm* (cymbals): 1 Chron. 15:16, 19–21 (noted by Koitabashi, “Music”, p. 370, cf. 377). Thus in the Septuagint the normal translation of “singers” is *psaltōidoi*—a word whose derivation from *psallein*, to “pluck” or “strum”, clearly confirms the primacy of chordophones among the “instruments of music” (see eg 1 Chron. 15:16, 15:19, cf. 9:33, 13:8, 2 Chron. 5:12–13; etc.). But Koitabashi, “Musicians”, p. 223, notes a counter-example at Ps. 68:25.

⁴⁹ Cf. Franklin, “Global Economy”, pp. 33–4.

⁵⁰ See Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 23 n. 2, on RS 24.643, 23–6 and Philo of Byblos *FGrH* 790 F 2 (= Euseb. *Praep. ev.* 1.10.15–16, 24).

⁵¹ Cf. Albright, W.F., *Yahweh and the gods of Canaan; a historical analysis of two contrasting faiths*, (Garden City, New York, 1968), p. 147 n. 102.

⁵² For this most probable interpretation of ^d*mlkm*—an important subset of, if not synonymous with, the Rapa’ûma—see Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, p. 199.

sits in majesty on Mount Saphon, enjoying victorious peace after his defeat of Yam (Sea),

Virgin Anat [washed] her hands . . .
She took her lyre in her hand,
[She clasped] the bull-shaped instrument to her breast.
She sang of the loves of Valiant Baal.⁵³

Almost identical verses occur, or may be confidently restored, in two other poems concerning Baal and Anat. There is some grammatical and textual uncertainty about whether it is Anat who sings in both cases, rather than a male minstrel.⁵⁴ That the subject is Baal's *loves* may tend to support Anat as the more likely performer, being herself female and his lover (and sister). But while a female singer praising a king's deeds of *war* might seem striking from a Greek perspective, the Bible attests a women's tradition of greeting returning warriors, when victorious, with celebratory music; and it is noteworthy that these passages relate to the pre-monarchic period.⁵⁵ Still there is one case in the so-called Baal Cycle where the praise-singer is unambiguously male, and the subject is non-erotic praise. The scene is a victory feast following a victory by Baal (the exact occasion is disputed):

He arose, intoned and sang,
the cymbals in the minstrel's hands;
he sang, the chorister of beautiful voice
concerning Baal in the uttermost part of Saphon.⁵⁶

Quite strikingly, cymbals stand out as the one instrument actually specified. It is unclear, grammatically, whether the singer plays the cymbals himself, or sings to another's accompaniment.⁵⁷ Yet the three parallel passages just discussed strongly suggest that this praise-singer

⁵³ RS 24.245 = KTU 1.101:15–19. See, with further literature, Pardee, *Les Textes para-mythologiques*, pp. 119–52; Wyatt, N., *Religious texts*, pp. 388–90 (translation used here).

⁵⁴ RS 2.[014] + 3.363 = KTU 1.3 iii 4–5; RS 5.180 + 5.198 = KTU 1.7.22–4. See the discussion of Wyatt, *Religious texts*, pp. 76–7, nn. 36–7, 149–50 n. 4, 289 n. 176, 390 n. 17.

⁵⁵ Exod. 15:20; Judg. 5 (Song of Deborah) and 11:34; 1 Sam. 18:6; Jer. 31:4. See Meyers, C.L., “Of Drums and Damsels: Women's Performance in Ancient Israel”, *Biblical Archaeologist*, 54.1 (1991), pp. 16–27, esp. 21–7, elucidating a Canaanite tradition of terracotta figurines of women frame-drum players, well-represented on Cyprus following the period of Phoenician colonization.

⁵⁶ RS 2.[014] + 3.363 = KTU 1.3 i.18–22: Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, p. 71 (translation). For the identification of the figure as a praise-singer in a royal court, versus competing interpretations, see Koitabashi, “Musicians”, pp. 222–3.

⁵⁷ Wyatt's translation, used here, is appropriately ambiguous.

too would have accompanied himself on the *kinnâru*, which is simply assumed here. Recall the probable hypothesis that the “singers” (*šrm*) of the economic texts were actually “singer-musicians”. Who is this unnamed singer of Baal? M.H. Pope, writing before the “pantheon” texts had been fully apprehended, suggested Kothar given that god’s versatility, but confessed the lack of clear Ugaritic parallels for his musical nature.⁵⁸ This putative aspect of Kothar remains a controversial point.⁵⁹ And if Baal’s praise-singer is to be a member of the “pantheon”, why should he not be Kinnâru himself—the city’s only certainly known musician god? This would neatly account for the “omission” —that is, assumption—of the *kinnâru*-lyre itself.

One last Ugaritic text (RS 24.252) must be considered here for, despite the remaining difficulties of interpretation, it quite clearly connects the *kinnâru* with royal ancestor cult.⁶⁰ The text begins with an invocation of “Râpi’u, king of eternity”, who is invited to drink, along with Anat and several other gods. A damaged middle section seems to have contained a prayer to Râpi’u by the king of Ugarit.⁶¹ The concluding section refers to some such request, and states that Râpi’u will exercise his “power”, “might”, “paternal care”, and “divine splendor” to ensure that the king will long possess and enjoy these same attributes. An attractive conjecture, with some basis in the damaged text, is that Râpi’u is to accomplish this by interceding with Baal on the king’s behalf.⁶² Yet by a curious sleight-of-hand, the actual delivery of these blessings is to be carried out by a group called the Rapa’ûma. Verbatim repetition of the list of royal advantages shows that Râpi’u and the Rapa’ûma, whose etymological relationship is undoubted, are essentially identical in some way. Evidently both serve to link the worlds of men and gods. After considerable debate about the identity of Râpi’u, the most likely interpretation seems to be that of D. Pardee, who sees the name as a title of Milku (< *mlk*, “king”), a god of the underworld: Râpi’u would be the “Healthy” or the “Health-giving”—the “Healer” or “Savior”.⁶³ But the precise character of the Rapa’ûma remains somewhat elusive. Many scholars believe that they are, or often can be, the shades

⁵⁸ Pope, M.H. / Röllig, W., “Die Mythologie der Ugariter und Phönizier”, in Haussig, H.W. (ed.), *Wörterbuch der Mythologie*, (Stuttgart, 1965), pp. 217—312, here 296.

⁵⁹ See Franklin, “Lyre Gods”, pp. 51–52.

⁶⁰ RS 24.252 = KTU/CAT 1.108: Pardee, *Les Textes para-mythologiques*, pp. 75–118; Wyatt, *Religious texts*, pp. 395–8. The translation used below is adapted from Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, p. 194.

⁶¹ Pardee, *Les Textes para-mythologiques*, p. 118.

⁶² For this interpretation, see Pardee, *Les Textes para-mythologiques*, pp. 112–13.

⁶³ Pardee, *Les Textes para-mythologiques*, pp. 84–94, reviewing all possibilities and earlier scholarship; cf. Pardee, “Ritual and Cult”, p. 204–5 n. 6.

of deceased kings, whose immortality or divinization is achieved through the rites of a royal mortuary cult.⁶⁴ Râpi'u would then be their eponymous leader, the archetypal ancestor, embodying all dead kings from the beginning of time to the last lord buried. This will explain why both Râpi'u and the Rapa'ûma possess the same royal qualities, and why *his* actions result in *their* bestowing these powers on the living king. The text does not contain enough directives to qualify as prescriptive ritual; but it seems to reflect such a rite at some paramythological remove.⁶⁵ It bears witness to a reciprocal relationship between the living king and his defunct ancestors. The king perpetuates their memory through rites which assure that his forebears' royalty, now transmuted to the netherworld, was maintained. In return, they ensured that the king enjoyed the same status while he lived, and would receive him in their company upon his death.⁶⁶

There are several points of interest for a history of the *kinnâru* and its ideology. The opening verses present a picture of Râpi'u in a festive royal setting, where jubilant music portrays "the royal lot in the netherworld as a happy one":⁶⁷

Now may Râpi'u, king of eternity, drink,
 May he drink, the god mighty and noble . . .
 Who sings and makes music
 With lyre (*kinnâru*) and pipes,
 With drum and double-sistrum
 With ivory castanets (?)
 Among the goodly companions of Kothar.

There are a number of uncertainties in this passage. First, who is singing? Morphology supports three interpretations, all of which agree that Râpi'u is the antecedent of the relative particle (*d-*, line 3), but diverge on their interpretation of syntax.⁶⁸ The relative can be the subject of an

⁶⁴ For the *Rpum* texts (KTU 1.20–2), see Wyatt, *Religious texts*, pp. 315–23. For problems of interpretation, connection with the biblical Rephaim, and enormous bibliography, see Pitard, W.T., "The *Rpum* Texts", in Watson, W.G.E./Wyatt, N. (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*, (Leiden and Boston, 1999), pp. 259–269.

⁶⁵ Pardee, *Les Textes para-mythologiques*, p. 118; cf. Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, p. 193.

⁶⁶ Cf. Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, p. 206 n. 14.

⁶⁷ Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, p. 205 n. 8.

⁶⁸ See *inter alios* de Moor, *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit* (Leiden and New York), p. 188 (active); Pardee, *Les Textes para-mythologiques*, p. 81 (active); Good, R.M., "On RS 24.252", *Ugarit Forschungen*, 23 (1991), pp. 155–160 (passive); Clemens, D.M., "KTU 1.108.3–5 (RS 24.252): *dyšr. wydmr . . .*", *Ugarit Forschungen*, 25 (1993), pp. 63–74, here 68–72 (impersonal); Koitabashi, "Music", p.

active verb, so that Râpi'u himself is singing to, or with, the instruments. Or the verb can be passive, so that Râpi'u "is sung", that is, hymned or celebrated *by* the instruments (with the players merely implied). Finally, it may be active but impersonal, with Râpi'u as the object, that is, "whom one sings" with the various instruments. For some scholars, it would be undignified for Râpi'u himself to be a "court entertainer"; and such scenes as Baal being celebrated by his minstrel, discussed above, are offered as the normal arrangement—a god receiving musical offerings, not giving them.⁶⁹

The question is complicated, however, by a crucial word-play identified by Pardee.⁷⁰ That the second verb in line 3 (*dmr*) has a musical sense ("makes music") is dictated by its parallel construction with the first verb (*yšr*, "sings").⁷¹ *Dmr* reappears in the text's conclusion, but in this case is a homonym meaning "power" or "protection"—what Râpi'u will bestow upon the king.⁷² Apparently the two roots had become sufficiently homophonous at Ugarit to enable the word-play in the present text, whose opening and closing sections are thereby closely bound.⁷³ So this was no gratuitous pun, but a prominent structuring element—even a magical assonance—which establishes an equation between "song" and "power". Milku, as Râpi'u, embodies the "power" which is a property of the Râpi'u; he is the agent who bestows it, or effects its transfer, to the living king. His active relationship with "power" may, by its equation with "song", support the view that Râpi'u himself is the singer in the first part of the text. His song *is* power: his power is projected precisely through song, and the royal line will be maintained for as long as Milku sings. This would accord well with the idea that festive music is the primary marker of the eternal condition.

371 (uncertain); Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, p. 205 n.8 (active but acknowledges other possibilities); Wyatt, *Religious texts*, p. 396 and n. 9 (impersonal).

⁶⁹ Good, "On RS 24.252", p. 158; Clemens, "KTU 1.108.3–5", pp. 65–6 (quotation); Wyatt, *Religious texts*, p. 396 and n. 9.

⁷⁰ For the following philological points, see Pardee, *Les Textes para-mythologiques*, pp. 97–8 (with earlier literature in nn. 88–9), 118; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, p. 205 n. 8. The relevant lines are 3, 22 and 24.

⁷¹ The same Semitic root produced a cognate in *zammârû*—the cultic singers of nearby Emar—as well as Hebrew and Akkadian words for singing. For Emar, Fleming, D.E., *The Installation of Baal's High Priestess at Emar: a window on ancient Syrian religion*, (Atlanta, Georgia, 1992), pp. 92–4.

⁷² This derives from an historically distinct root, whose derivatives in cognate languages include "Zimri", often attested among the Amorite names of Mari (eg Zimri-Lim) and found as a royal name in the Bible: Num. 25:14; 1 Kings 16:9–20. Cf. Huffmon, H.B., *Amorite personal names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study*, (Baltimore, Maryland, 1965), passim; cf. Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, p. 205 n. 8.

⁷³ Pardee, *Les Textes para-mythologiques*, p. 118.

Other nuances emerge, however, from the perspective of ritual performance. The text's opening effectively *invokes* Râpi'u, in an attempt to secure his good will through an offering of libations. This human action is expressed paramythologically as an invitation to a ritual symposium (*marzihu*), imagined as transpiring at Milku's own palace.⁷⁴ This ritual offering, by the principle of reciprocity, is to secure the god's beneficent actions; and the actual musical celebration of the god which is involved—itsself a kind of offering—is doubtless echoed in the text's opening scene. This approach offers to illuminate the equation of “song” and “power”. If the honors given to Milku (and by extension the royal ancestors) are continuously maintained, he (and they) will ensure the continued power of the royal line. Thus the cult songs *express* Milku's power, both literally and figuratively. His position, oscillating between receiving and giving song, mirrors that of the living king—the at least notional executant of all royal ritual—who gives song in exchange for power, which is itself expressed as song. Indeed, the syntax of line 3 may be intentionally ambiguous for just this reason.

We may now consider the *kinnâru* itself. It is not impossible that it and the other instruments are imagined here in personified form, so that we are actually dealing with Kinnâru and his “companions” (note that this passage constitutes the best evidence for an association between Kothar and music). In any event, the initial position of the *kinnâru* probably reflects the instrument's preeminent status within the Ugaritic cult (although its participation here in a larger ensemble is equally important, suggesting that it was *prima inter pares*). Thus Kinnâru's juxtaposition in the pantheon texts with ^d*mlkm* (*Malakûma*), the “divinized kings”, parallels the *kinnâru*'s appearance here in a key text for the royal mortuary cult. This intimate relationship accords well with the instrument's use for epic and other royal praise poetry (see above), which in its actual human context entailed not only exaltation of the living king, but memorialization of the deeds of his ancestors. If Milku/Râpi'u can be imagined as *singing* in the text's paramythological dimension (see above), it is not improbable that he himself was conceived as playing the *kinnâru*.⁷⁵ This would symbolize his (and all past

⁷⁴ This is not to assume that the *marzihu* was a subspecies of mortuary cult, only that its festive form—to which drinking and music were basic—lent itself well to securing divine goodwill. See Pardee, D., “*Marzihu*, *Kispu*, and the Ugaritic Funerary Cult: A Minimalist View”, in Wyatt, N., et al. (eds.), *Ugarit, religion and culture* (Münster, 1996), pp. 273–287, esp. 277–9.

⁷⁵ A further objection to seeing Râpi'u as a “court entertainer” is that he cannot play all of the instruments simultaneously: Good, “On RS 24.252”, p. 158; Clemens, “KTU 1.108.3–5”, p. 66. But this objection may be overly literal. And if he is leader of the song, he could also play the instrument by which the orchestra is led.

kings’) ongoing memorialization in the terrestrial cult, and consequently his “power” to bless the living king through the medium of his “song”.

I shall not rehearse here the important evidence of the Bible, where the *kinnôr* is prominent in the royal rituals of the United Monarchy. I have done so recently elsewhere,⁷⁶ arguing that the *kinnôr* serves as a pivotal structuring device in the accounts of Yahweh’s election and promotion of David and the establishment of the United Monarchy. Yet this narratological function itself derives from the instrument’s more ancient potency in the royal cults of the wider region. Even then the *kinnôr* was probably never merely a symbol, but was deeply embedded in liturgy and ritual. The Biblical narratives, supplemented by Josephus’ vivid account of David’s lyre-performance at the head of the procession which brought the Ark to Jerusalem, is the closest we are likely to come to witnessing a Lyre God in action, as instantiated by the king (although naturally the terms of the old theology have been thoroughly reworked).

Kinyras, Byblos, and the Canaanite Shift

I have dwelled on these texts in order to emphasize the persistent connection between lyre-cult and kingship in the Bronze Age. This is important for understanding how “Kinyras” might be operative in the royal ideology of Alashiya. Kinnâru of Ugarit has always been offered as the prototype for the Cypriot king. He certainly deserves to be the primary comparandum, simply because he is the only Divine Knr-Lyre directly attested in a Bronze Age document. But the Mesopotamian parallels make it highly likely that the instrument was so treated throughout its native range—if not universally, then at least sporadically. In fact this is broadly coterminous with Kinyras’ own extra-Cypriot connections in Classical sources. One may content oneself with a vague explanation of Kinyras’ arrival to Cyprus, arguing solely from proximity to Syria and the Levant, and a general emulation by Alashiya of its neighbors’ institutions. This is a perfectly useful deduction in the absence of more definite indicators—for most of the extra-Cypriot traditions defy any deeper consideration. And yet a significant subset of these sources, deriving in part from mainland traditions, asserts a specific geographical connection which deserves closer scrutiny: Byblos.

Lucian, a self-proclaimed “Assyrian”, cites a local tradition that Kinyras constructed the temple of “Aphrodite” at nearby Aphaca.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ Franklin, J.C., “Sweet Psalmist of Israel: The Kinnôr and Royal Ideology in the United Monarchy”, in Heimpel, W. (ed.), *Festschrift Anne Kilmer* (in press-c).

⁷⁷ Lucian *Syr D.* 9. See Lightfoot, *Syrian goddess*, pp. 184–221 for a convincing defense of the work’s authenticity, and 328–31 for other traditions about and material evidence from Aphaca.

Strabo states that “Byblos, the kingdom of Kinyras, is a sacred site of Adonis”.⁷⁸ Eustathius, in his commentary on Dionysius the Periegete, largely concurs, but adds an important qualification: Byblos was “a *very ancient* kingdom of Kinyras”.⁷⁹ This must be somehow related to Eustathius’ assertion, in his commentary on the *Iliad*, that Kinyras was the son of Theias.⁸⁰ Theias is a veritable *doppelgänger* of Kinyras—a “Syrian” or “Assyrian” king of Byblos, and father of Myrrha and Adonis, a position regularly occupied by Kinyras himself.⁸¹ The rationalization of competing myth-variants known to Eustathius is underpinned by an array of further parallels which suggest a deeper identity of Kinyras and Theias than can be dismissed as mere scholarly speculation. Panyassis, the fifth-century epic poet and kinsman of Herodotus, is the earliest authority for the Myrrha myth; he made Theias a “king of the Assyrians”, just as Hyginus would do for Kinyras. Still other sources make *Adonis* an “Assyrian” lord.⁸² The imperial-era mythographer Antoninus Liberalis, whose version of the Myrrha tale may depend on Panyassis, permits greater geographical precision. His Theias is the son of Belus and the oread Oreithuia, and he locates the story on Mount Lebanon.⁸³ This clearly refers to Byblos and the sanctuary at Aphaca. When Lucian, in another work, locates the tale of Myrrha “in Phoenicia”, it is probable that for him the tale of Myrrha unfolded at Byblos, and her father was not Theias but Kinyras.⁸⁴ It is worth noting that “Theias” and “Kinyras” might be neatly fused as “Divine Lyre”, although of course “Theias” is equally suggestive of divine kingship. Finally, note the toponymous genealogies which make “Cyprus” the daughter of Byblos and Aphrodite, or of Kinyras himself—thus yielding another indirect association of Kinyras with Byblos.⁸⁵ There is also the

⁷⁸ Str. 16.2.18. This is one of the details that marks Kinyras as a doublet of “Kuthar” in the Syriac mythological account which relates to Aphaca, attributed to ps.-Melito: see below, and cf. Brown, “Kothar”, *passim*.

⁷⁹ Eust. ad Dionys. Per. 912.

⁸⁰ Eust. ad *Il.* 11.20 (cf. Homeric scholia ad loc.).

⁸¹ See sources in *RE* s.v. Theias.

⁸² Kinyras as “Assyrian”: Hyg. *Fab.* 58.1, 242.4, 270.1. Adonis as son of Theias and Myrrha/Smyrna, hence an (As)syrian prince: [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 3.14.4 = Panyas. fr. 22ab Davies *EGF* = fr. 27 Bernabé *PEG*; Clitarch. *FGrH* 137 F 9 (< Stob. *Flor.* 40.20.73); schol. ps.-Lycoph. *Alex.* 829, 831; Opp. *H.* 4.302–8; Cyrill. *Anecd. Par.* 4.183.15. Bion calls Adonis an Assyrian lord (*Assyriion . . . posin*): *Ep. Adon.* 24. Lucian refers to the tale of Myrrha/Smyrna as “that famous Assyrian tragedy” (*to Assyriion ekeino penthos*, *Salt.* 58). Myrrha/Smyrna daughter of Theias rejected as mother of Adonis: *Et. Mag.* s.v. *Aóios*.

⁸³ Ant. Lib. *Met.* 34.

⁸⁴ Lucian *Salt.* 58. A comparable ambiguity is in Ps.-Lycoph. *Alex.* 828–30.

⁸⁵ Philosteph. *Hist. FHG* 3.30 fr. 11 = Ister *FGrH* 334 F 45 (Ister may have been from Paphos: *Suda* s.v. Istros, citing Hermippus); Hdn. *Gramm. Gr.* 3.1 p. 204.4; Steph. Byz. s.v. *Kypros*.

Syrian tradition that Baalat Gebal, the Lady of Byblos, was originally the queen of Cyprus before her coupling with Adonis and consequent affiliation with the Byblian royal house, under the command of “Kuthar”.⁸⁶

The Byblian claim on Kinyras derives considerable support from what must be regarded as independent, objective evidence. The city falls within the Canaanite dialect zone, roughly marking its northern limit, as shown by vocables in those Amarna letters written by city-governors in Canaan.⁸⁷ One of the defining features of these dialects is the so-called Canaanite Shift, whereby proto-Semitic *â* shifted to *ô*.⁸⁸ It is this which accounts for the difference between the inherited form *kinnâru* on the one hand (Ebla, Mari, Ugarit, etc.), and Hebrew *kinnôr* and Greco-Phoenician *kinyra* on the other. Such a shifted form of the instrument is attested in Egypt c.1200, although evidence from Mari (relating to Hazor) now shows that the Shift was probably already in general effect by c.1800 BCE. Probably this date should be taken as the *terminus ante quem* for the divinization of the *kinnâru*, in order to account for the divergence of Kinnâru and the “Kinyras” of Byblos. This does not seem too early, given that the Mesopotamian Lyre Gods go back into the third millennium. At the same time, we may take c.1800 as a reasonable *terminus post quem* for Kinyras’ introduction to Cyprus, since it was in the late Bronze Age that the island enjoyed its most intensive international contacts.⁸⁹ By contrast the so-called Phoenician colony period relates to the 9th century, and was undertaken principally by the kings of Tyre: Byblos is not distinguished in this movement.

One should not dismiss out of hand the foundation date of 1425 which Eusebius recorded for Paphos in his lost *Chronicle* (the relevant section is preserved by Saint Jerome and Syncellus). This *ketisis* is

⁸⁶ Ps.-Melito: Cureton, W., *Spicilegium Syriacum, Containing Remains of Bardesan, Meliton, Ambrose, and Mara bar Serapion*, (London, 1855), p. 44; cf. Quasten, J., *Patrology*, (Westminster, Maryland, 1951), vol. 1, p. 247. Note also the parallel tradition in Theodore Bar Koni: *Lib. Schol., Mimrâ* 2.97, cf. 11.4: Hespel, R. / Draguet, R., *Livre des scolies: recension de Séert*, (Louvain, 1981–1982), vol. 1, p. 116, vol. 2, p. 214.

⁸⁷ Of the examples given by Sivan, D., *Grammatical analysis and glossary of the northwest Semitic vocables in Akkadian texts of the 15th-13th c.B.C. from Canaan and Syria*, (Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1984), pp. 25–34, EA 101.25, 114.13, 116.11, 138.6 are from Byblos (the El Amarna tablets are conveniently collected in Moran, W.L., *The Amarna letters*, [Baltimore, 1992]). Gelb, I.J., “The Early History of the West Semitic Peoples”, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, 15.1 (1961), pp. 27–47, also made Byblos the northern limit of Canaan.

⁸⁸ See generally Lipinski, *Semitic Languages*, pp. 161–2 (§§21.9, 12). Vis-à-vis Greek *kin(n)yra*, cf. Lawergren, “Distinctions”, p. 59.

⁸⁹ See eg Karageorghis, V., “Patterns of Relations Between Cyprus and the Near East During the Second and First Millennia BC”, in Matthiae, P., et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the First International Congress on the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East, Rome, May 18th-23rd 1998*, (Rome, 2000), pp. 713–18.

apparently attributed to Phoinix, a standard Greek eponym for “Phoenicia”.⁹⁰ G.F. Hill discredited the idea that “Phoenician” colonization could have occurred so early.⁹¹ But the archaeological record since he wrote has demonstrated more clearly the island’s close connections with the Levant in the late Bronze Age.⁹² This reveals the inadequacy of the term “Phoenician”, which was in any case peculiar to the Greeks, whose understanding of Bronze Age history was very limited. It is probable that the underlying tradition here should be connected with those linking Kinyras to Byblos—although Ascalon’s claim to be the source of Aphrodite Ourania’s cult at Paphos should not be forgotten (Hdt. 1.105). One also thinks of the monumental sanctuary at Paphos, which was almost certainly built before Aegean settlement of the island. Of course this was not a true foundation, but an expansion of the Cypriot goddess’ own much more ancient cult.⁹³ The famous aniconic representation of Aphrodite at Paphos—represented on Roman-era coins but going back to the late Bronze Age—may be paralleled by a very similar shrine at Byblos. This too is depicted on a Roman-era coin (early empire), but such betyls—literally “houses of god”, interpreted as “living stones” by Philo of Byblos—are well paralleled in early West Semitic cult, and already in Bronze Age Byblos one finds the comparable Temple of the Obelisks.⁹⁴ Obviously Eusebius’ exact date must be taken with a pillar of salt: the Greek chronographers introduced many distortions in rationalizing sources. Still, *any* allegation of Bronze Age relations between Cyprus and “Phoinix” is striking. It is not impossible that the traditions of a Byblian Kinyras and his connections with Cyprus recall some specific political alignment between Byblos and Alashiya which is—unsurprisingly—not directly attested in

⁹⁰ See Helm, R., *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, (Berlin, 1984), p. 48b = Schoene, A., *Eusebi Chronicon libri duo*², (Dublin, 1967), vol. 2, p. 34. Helm punctuates the text as *Melus et Pafus et Thasos et Callista urbes conditae Bithynia condita a Foenice, quae primum Mariandyna vocabatur*, clearly construing the sites prior to Bithynia as Phoenician colonies. This was also the view of Hill, *Cyprus*, p. 1.69 and n. 6 (who however seems to err in giving the year as 1415, and crediting Byblos specifically). Syncellus is closely parallel (*Mélos kai Thasos kai Alkisthē ektisthēsān kai Paphos. Bithynia ektisthē hypo Phoinikos, hē prin Mariandēné kaloumenē*, p. 185.14 Mosshammer), although the editor’s punctuation here would associate Phoinix only with Bithynia. While it is certainly not clear why the verb should be repeated if all the foundations are to be attributed to Phoinix, this is balanced by the fact that Melos and Thasos were in fact associated with the Phoenicians in Greek tradition.

⁹¹ Hill, *Cyprus*, vol. 1, p. 69 and n. 6.

⁹² See Knapp, *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus*, passim.

⁹³ Maier, F.G. / Karageorghis, V., *Paphos: History and Archaeology*, (Nicosia, 1984), pp. 81–102.

⁹⁴ Paphian coins: Head, B.V., et al., *Historia numorum, a manual of Greek numismatics*, (Oxford, 1911), p. 746. Description by Tacitus: *Hist.* 2.3. Byblos: Lipinski, E., *Dieux et déesses de l’univers phénicien et punique*, (Leuven, 1995), pp. 67, 76–9 with nn. 68, 83. Betyl is defined as “living stones” by Philo of Byblos *FGrH* 790 F 2 = Euseb. *Praep. ev.* 1.10.23 (*Baitylia, lithous empsychous*).

second millennium sources. Diplomatic marriages, for instance, were a common venue for cult-transfer in the Bronze Age (recall Solomon's wives).⁹⁵

Also important here is the remarkable evidence from Mycenaean Pylos, where "Kinyras" is twice attested, the first as a name in a list of ship-builders (*na-u-do-mo*), the second as a name or title in a list of priests, priestesses, and other hieratic personnel.⁹⁶ Note first that these Pylian Kinyrases attest a "shifted" version of the name already in the second millennium, in accord with the chronology suggested above. That the two Pylian contexts are also found in the mythological dossier of Cypriot Kinyras himself is unlikely to be an accident. The simplest explanation is that these people were given, or assumed, a name which was regarded as professionally and/or ethnically appropriate. Compare the typically Cypriot names *Kyprios* and *Alasios* which are also found in Linear B.⁹⁷ But if this explanation moves in the right direction, it follows that we are dealing with a particular hypostasis of the Lyre God: one who had absorbed the seafaring attributes of Kothar *already in the Bronze Age*.⁹⁸ This conclusion become less startling when one expands the context of "Kinyras" beyond the Greek sources: Kinnaru was probably already quite old in the 13th century to rank among the official gods of Ugarit. Yet once again we are directed away from Ugarit, since the Pylian Kinyrases, like Kinyras of Cyprus, exhibit the Canaanite Shift. That Byblos is the most probable candidate is shown by the agreement of Greco-Roman and Syrian tradition (the latter best represented by Lucian) which alike connect Kinyras to the city. It is here too that we have extra-Cypriot evidence for a "confusion" of Kinyras with Kothar-Kuthar-Chousor (and Theias). Here one must note the musical/liturgical attributes which Philo assigns to Chousor, who is closely coupled with a

⁹⁵ Liverani, M., *Prestige and interest: international relations in the Near East ca. 1600-1100 B.C.*, (Padova, 1990), pp. 221, 224-5, 274-82.

⁹⁶ Qa 1301; PY Vn 865: Aura Jorro, F. / Adrados, F.R., *Diccionario micénico*, (Madrid, 1985), s.v. *ki-nu-ra*. Discussed in connection with Kinnâru of Ugarit by Astour, M.C., *Hellenosemitica: An Ethnic and Cultural Study in West Semitic Impact on Mycenaean Greece*, (Leiden, 1965), p. 139 n. 5 (approved in Hemmerdinger's review, *REG* 81 [1968], p. 216); Kapera, "Kinyras", p. 139; Baurain, "Kinyras", pp. 305-6.

⁹⁷ Sources for *ku-pi-ri-jo* and *a-ra-si-jo* are conveniently collected by Knapp, *Near Eastern and Aegean Texts*, pp. 11-13, rightly dismissing objections that Cyprus could not have been known by two names at once.

⁹⁸ For Kothar as "fisherman of 'Athirat", see Baumgarten, A., *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos: A Commentary*, (Leiden, 1981), pp. 167, 200. For 'Athirat/Asherah as "Lady of the Sea", Lipinski, E., *Dieux et déesses*, p. 72. Philo of Byblos *FGrH* 790 F 2 (= Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 1.10.11) assigns maritime attributes to Chousor (whom he makes the son or nephew of Halieus, "Mariner"): he "discovered the fish-hook, bait, line, and raft, and of all men was the first to sail".

brother who remains unnamed and undescribed: this is surely a local Byblian form of “Kinyras”.⁹⁹ This Byblian “Kinyras”, I have suggested, is the source of the Cypriot avatar. Yet since Alashiya was in close mercantile contact with the Mycenaean world, it is perfectly likely that the Pylia Kinyrases point directly at the Cypriot Lyre God rather than his more remote mainland cousin.

Conclusion: Kinyras and the Harmonious Realm

I conclude therefore that Kinyras was already present on Cyprus in the Alashiyan period, when he served as a sort of divine twin of the king himself. Kinyras’ connections with metalworking, ingot-production, vase-making, shipbuilding, seafaring, and oil-processing make him a symbol of Alashiyan industrial and cultural activity. Close analogies may be found in the superhuman achievements credited to Shulgi and Solomon, which reflect rather the combined output of their courts.¹⁰⁰ Kinyras’ totalizing function as a Cypriot culture hero, I suggest, is not a back-formation of the first millennium, but a Bronze Age artifact deriving from the self-image projected by the Alashiyan kings to their subjects. It was cultivated within a state apparatus whose royal rituals included at least notional musical performances by the king. These contexts probably included a royal mortuary cult and ritual lamentation on the Syro-Canaanite model. Recall the “Linus song” which Herodotus locates in Cyprus, Phoenicia, and Egypt.¹⁰¹ 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.

Vital evidence here comes from two four-sided bronze stands dating to the Alashiyan period, in which the vision of the king as guarantor of social order and natural fecundity—typical of Bronze Age royal ideology—is given a specifically musical twist.¹⁰² There is space here to

⁹⁹ Philo of Byblos *FGrH* 790 F 2 (= Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 1.10.11): “two brothers, of whom the one, Chousor, cultivated poetry and ritual music (lit. incantations) and methods of divination” (*logous . . . kai epoidas kai manteias*). For this controversy, see Franklin, “Lyre Gods”, pp. 51–2 with references.

¹⁰⁰ See generally Kramer, S.N., “Solomon and Šulgi: A Comparative Portrait”, in Cogan, M./Eph‘al, I. (eds.), *Ab, Assyria—Studies in Assyrian history and ancient Near Eastern historiography presented to Hayim Tadmor*, (Jerusalem, 1991), pp. 189–95.

¹⁰¹ Hdt. 2.79, with precedents in Hom. *Il.* 18.569–74; Hes. fr. 305 M-W (= schol. Hom. 18.570); Sapph. fr. 140b.

¹⁰² A recent and careful technical analysis has shown that these objects originated on Cyprus itself, were purposefully exported, and eventually inspired local imitations. See Papasavvas, G., *Chalkinoi hypostates apo ten Kypro kai ten Krête: tripodikoi kai tetrapleuroi hypostates apo ten Hysterê Epochê tou Chalkou heôs ten Prôimê Epochê tou Sidêrou*, (Nicosia, 2001); id., “Cypriot bronze stands and their Mediterranean

discuss only one of the stands, perhaps from Kourion (Fig. 1).¹⁰³ It shows, on one of its four sides, a seated, robed figure who plays a harp of distinctly Mesopotamian type; he is positioned on the left side of the panel and faces a tree which occupies the right. Each of the other three panels has the tree, repeated exactly, and a further figure; but in these the tree is always on the left of the frame, and the figures also face leftwards. These are an ingot-bearer, a man carrying two mysterious objects (R.D. Barnett's "cup and two napkins"), and one who may be holding bundles of fish. Whatever the significance of the tree, the symmetrical element must be equally important: the musician confronts the other figures, and the tree is effectively between them.¹⁰⁴ Given this composition, as Catling noted, "could it not be the musician to whom the offerings are brought?"¹⁰⁵

One should note that the musician is further differentiated from the "porters" by being seated, which probably indicates a distinction of social status. There are many parallels in Near Eastern art for processions and offerings to royal and/or divine figures. One may note here the musicians in the late 8th-century "lyre-player group of seals", which probably originated in Cilicia.¹⁰⁶ I cite these, out of many possible parallels, because several recently discovered examples show the lyrist with wings—a clear sign of divinity and perhaps our clearest iconographic evidence for a Lyre God (Fig. 2).¹⁰⁷ (Note also that the instruments are invariably *Aegean*—perfectly appropriate to the cultural milieu of Hiyawa with its Mopsid dynasty.) The Alashiyan stand apparently combines the motif of the seated king or god receiving

perspective", *Revista d'arqueologia de Ponent*, 14 (2004), pp. 31–59; cf. Knapp, *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus*, pp. 272–4.

¹⁰³ London 1920/12–20/1. Drawing by Anne Glynnis Fawkes from plates in Catling, H.W., *Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World*, (Oxford, 1964), cat. no. 34 (pp. 205–6 and pl. 34 a–d); Papasavvas, *Chalkinoi hypostates*, cat. no. 23: pp. 239–40 and 351–2, figs. 42–7. The second stand is London 1946/10–17/1: Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework*, cat. no. 36, pp. 208–10 and pl. 35; Papasavvas, *Chalkinoi hypostates*, pp. 359–60, figs. 61–7 (musicians in 61, 64).

¹⁰⁴ Karageorghis, V., *Aspects of everyday life in ancient Cyprus: iconographic representations*, (Nicosia, 2006), p. 82, reviews the possibilities.

¹⁰⁵ Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework*, p. 206.

¹⁰⁶ The seals' probable Cilician origin has emerged with recent new finds at the Adana museum: see Poncy, H., et al., "Sceaux du Musée d'Adana", *Anatolia Antiqua*, 9 (2001), pp. 9–37, esp. 11–12, with earlier literature.

¹⁰⁷ Drawing by Anne Glynnis Fawkes of impression of BLMJ 3125, illustrated in Boardman, J., "The Lyre-Player Group of Seals: An Encore", *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1990), pp. 1–17, here p. 7 (his cat. no. 164). Two more certain winged specimens (and a third possible) were published by Poncy, H., et al., "Sceaux du Musée d'Adana", *Anatolia Antiqua*, 9 (2001), pp. 9–37, cat nos. 1–3, pp. 11–12, 32 figs. 1–3. Boardman's statement—"the possibility of his divinity has to be entertained" (p. 7)—is too cautious, although it is precisely the oscillation between winged and not-winged specimens which is most revealing for the theory of the king who assumes the role of the Lyre God.

offerings with the idea of joyous music as an index of the prosperous and well-ordered state.¹⁰⁸

Whether or not a definite occasion is intended, the “offerings” present at least a generalized picture of plenty, with some definite focus for its celebration. Since such an arrangement has inevitable political overtones, it is surely significant that the musician is a key controlling element of the composition. If the harpist is simply a celebratory musician, he can readily symbolize the harmonious working of royal power. Yet that is but the mirror-image of a king who would symbolize his own harmonious rule by representing himself as a musician. Indeed this seated figure may well be *enthroned*. The same sort of double-value is exploited to good effect in the many other scenes where one cannot distinguish between royal and divine recipients of gifts. As Catling points out, there is “no telling whether he is divine or human, or even whether he is but an intermediary for the god or prince to whom the fruits of land and sea are brought as gifts”.¹⁰⁹ Yet it may be precisely this ambiguity which is the scene’s most important element. It opens the possibility that the harpist may be simultaneously musician, musician-king, musician-god, or king who “serves as” a musician-god. Such multiple registers, simultaneously operative, is precisely what one sees in the balag-god of the *Gudea Cylinders*. Whatever the precise intention, the stand is important for attesting on Cyprus—*already in the late Bronze Age*—an ideologically-charged conjunction of music, metal and kingship, all three important mythological attributes of Kinyras. If the fourth figure carries fish, this too is relevant to Kinyras in his guise as mariner. There is no guarantee, of course, that “Kinyras himself” is being represented. One may say, however, that the symbolic range of Kinyras, in later sources, represents an ideology very like that of the stand. Both have clear royal connotations, and the stand may equally entail a dimension of divinity and even divine-kingship.

A final, organological issue must be addressed here. It would be most convenient if the musicians on the Cypriot stands were given the *knr*-lyre to play. Instead we find (on both stands) a harp of Mesopotamian type (the seated figure on the second stand plays an instrument of uncertain shape). But this problem is not fatal; it is actually quite suggestive. Upright harps are also found in Egypt and at Alalakh in the late Bronze

¹⁰⁸ For a Sumerian parallel of this latter idea in the *Curse of Agade*, see Franklin, “Lyre Gods, 58. It was also exploited in Neo-Assyrian iconography: see Franklin, “A Feast of Music. The Greco-Lyidian Musical Movement on the Assyrian Periphery”, in Collins, B.J., (ed.), *Hittites, Greeks and Their Neighbors*, pp. 193–203, esp. 195–6.

¹⁰⁹ Catling, *Cypriot Bronzework*, p. 207.

Age.¹¹⁰ In Egypt they certainly belong to a larger pattern of cosmopolitan musical imagery, and this is a probable explanation for both the Alalakh seal and the Alashiyan stands. They may also support the idea, already suggested by the Hurrian hymns from Ugarit, that the classical Mesopotamian tonal system played an important role in this international musical world.¹¹¹ It may be that this same stimulus also encouraged the cultivation of divinized instruments, so richly attested in Sumerian sources. Note again that in the *Gudea Cylinders* the imagined function of the balag-god was to supervise and coordinate the performance of *all* instruments, like an orchestra conductor (see above). If the Divine Knr played such a role in the West—as is suggested by Kinnâru’s unique divinization at Ugarit—*any* musical scene with royal and/or divine significance is potentially relevant.

The evidence considered in this paper would come together very neatly if we suppose that the Alashiyan monarchs 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. The uniquely revealing David comes later, but was consciously emulating earlier customs. 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-Cypriots, and Eteocypriots as a common reference point in their shared but contested history.

Kinyras lingered on especially at Paphos, 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 7th century, when one appears in the Esarhaddon prism inscription. The Kinyradai present a striking parallel to the musical guilds of Ugarit and the United Monarchy. As M.L. West noted, the Greek patronymic suffix might yield simultaneously “sons of Kinyras” and “sons of the *kinyra*-lyre”. West is right in one sense that “(Kinyras) is nothing but the mythical eponymous ancestor of the Kinyradai”.¹¹² But the lyre gods of the Bronze Age show that Kinyras was not a simple

¹¹⁰ Egypt: Hickmann, *Musikgeschichte in Bildern. Band II: Musik des Altertums: Ägypten*, pp. 30–1 (fig. 8). Alalakh: Alalakh: Collon, D., *The Alalakh Cylinder Seals*, (Oxford, 1982), no. 47 (female harpist).

¹¹¹ Cf. Franklin, “Lyre Gods”, pp. 39–41.

¹¹² West, M.L., *The East Face of Helicon*, (Oxford, 1997), p. 57.

back-construction, but the very root of the phenomenon. Perhaps the most intriguing aspect of the Kinyradai is that, at Paphos itself, the word had both a diachronic and synchronic sense, which were simultaneously operative. That is, the Paphian kings, before the Ptolemaic conquest, presented themselves as members of an ancient dynasty stretching back to Kinyras himself, that is, to the Alashiyan period. Yet Hellenistic inscriptions show that the “Kinyradai” were one of the shrine’s colleges of priests, of which their “chief” (*ho archos tôn kinyradôn*) apparently perpetuated the old ritual functions of the king.¹¹³ These two senses can be well harmonized by supposing that the kings, in presiding over state rituals as high priest, did so specifically in the office of chief “kinyrist”—whether he did so literally or symbolically. Moreover, the Kinyradai as a royal dynasty is distinctly suggestive of royal mortuary cult of the type known from Ugarit where, as I have suggested, the *kinnâru* played an important symbolic role in the cult of divinized ancestors.¹¹⁴

¹¹³ For Bas-Waddington no. 2978 (quotation), see Mitford, T.B., “The Hellenistic Inscriptions of Old Paphos”, *Annual of the British School at Athens*, 56 (1961), pp. 1–41, here 13 no. 32; Ribichini, “Kinyras di Cipro”, p. 494.

¹¹⁴ Abbreviations of classical authors follow, where available, those in Hornblower, S. / Spawforth, A. (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*³ (Oxford, 1999); otherwise those of Liddell, H.G., et al., *A Greek-English Lexicon*⁹, (Oxford, 1940). RS = Ras Shamra. KTU = Dietrich, M., et al. (eds.), *Die Keilalphabetischen Texte aus Ugarit: einschliesslich der keilalphabetischen Texte ausserhalb Ugarits*, (Kevelaer and Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1976). CAT = Dietrich, M., et al. (eds.), *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras Ibn Hani and Other places (KTU)*, (Münster, 1995). ETCSL = *Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature*. Journal titles are spelled out.

FIGURE 1:

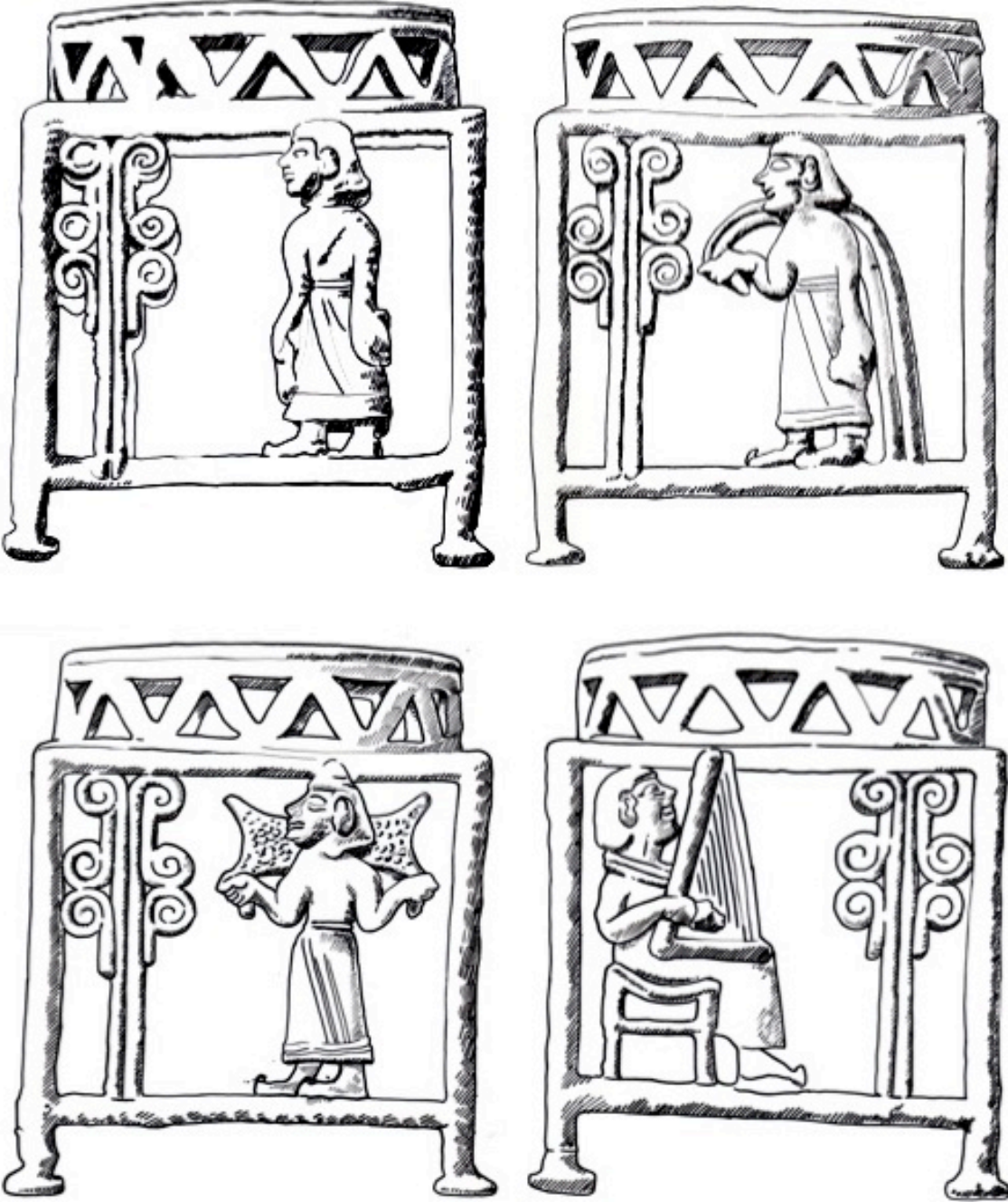


FIGURE 2:

