

Greek Epic and *Kypriaka*: Why “Cyprus Matters” John C. Franklin

(Forthcoming in: Maurey, Y., et al. (ed.), *Yuval. Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre. Vol. 8: Sounds from the Past: Music in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean Worlds* [Jerusalem, 2010]).

Mycenaean Greeks migrated to Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age.¹ Did they bring with them a tradition of oral heroic poetry, cognate to that which eventually culminated in Homer and his colleagues in the eighth and seventh centuries? Cyprus seems as likely an environment for its survival and evolution as the Aeolic-Ionic world. Recent postcolonial scholarship has stressed the rapid ‘hybridity’ of Cypriot material culture in the Iron Age; immigrants included Minoan and probably Anatolian groups, and naturally the Eteocypriot and Levantine contributions must not be underestimated (Sherratt 1992; Knapp 2008). But Mycenaean cultural features did endure and evolve within this receptive matrix: literacy, chariot-warfare, sanctuaries with *temenos* or altar-court plan, and kings with religious duties who bore the ancient title of *wanax* (e.g. Snodgrass 1988).² And the scale and staying power of the island’s ‘Hellenic’ element is clear enough from the situation in the early Archaic period, when documents become available in quantity. By then the Cypriot dialect of Greek, already attested at an early stage near eleventh-century Paphos (the famous Opheltas *obelos*), was widely spoken. Of the ten kings named in the Esarhaddon prism-inscription of 673/2 BCE, three have transparently Greek names; the same is probably true of others, although the syllabic writing system hinders precise identification.³ Even the kings of Classical Amathus, apparently the island’s stronghold of Eteocypriot culture, bore Greek names (Gjerstad 1948, 430, 475 n. 5).⁴

So the idea of a Cypriot epic tradition is inherently plausible (Allen 1924, 62; Hill 1940–1952, 90; Jouan 1966, 24; Huxley 1967 26 n. 4; cf. Huxley 1969, 134 f.; Karageorghis 1988, 197). But how can this be proven in the absence of a corpus of songs comparable to Homer and his successors? It is made possible, in the first instance, by the Arcado-Cypriot linguistic forms buried in the earliest stratum of the Homeric *Kunstsprache*.⁵ As Milman Parry demonstrated, and Richard Janko confirmed statistically, the Greek singers, while their tradition was living, continuously updated their poetic diction as their ‘vernacular’ also evolved — except where this would disrupt the rhythm of the poetic formulae upon which they relied, in which case older forms were retained. Excavation according to this principle reveals that Homer’s language derives from a relatively late Ionicization of an earlier Aeolic poetic tradition, a development

¹ Abbreviations of ancient authors follow, where available, those in Hornblower and Spawforth 1999; otherwise those of Liddell, Scott and Jones 1940.

² Because of the marked aristocratic cast of emigrants to Cyprus, the apparent lack of an epic tradition in Arcadia (cf. West 1988, 161) is unproblematic.

³ Opheltas *obelos*: Karageorghis 1980; Masson and Masson 1983, 410–15; Karageorghis *CAH*² III.1, 533, III.3, 75. Esarhaddon prism-inscription (673/2 BCE): Luckenbill 1926–1927, II § 690. For this and related texts (including the Sargon stele from Kition, c. 707 BCE, with its mythical ‘seven kings of Iatnana’), and the Assyrian-tribute period generally, see Hill 1940–1952, 104–8; Gjerstad 1948, 449 f.; Braun 1982, 19 f.; Karageorghis 1982b, 57–9; Karageorghis 1982a, 533; Reyes 1994, 49–68.

⁴ Syllabic inscriptions in the Eteocypriot language persisted at Amathus until the third century. For the city’s antiquity and indigenous character, cf. Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 103 (cited below); ps.-Scylax 103 *GGM*; Hdn. *Gramm. Gr.* 3.1 p.242.34 (Ἀμαθούς πόλις Κύπρου ἀρχαιοτάτη); Steph. Byz. s.v. Ἀμαθούς. Cf. *CAH*² III.1, 516 f. Reyes 1994, 13–17, treats this evidence with undue skepticism.

⁵ ‘Arcado-Cypriot’ is potentially confusing in the current context. The historical dialects of Arcadia and Cyprus were closely related, despite their considerable geographical separation. This must be because the heaviest concentration of immigrants came from the Peloponnese, with its political epicenter at Mycenae. This is confirmed both by the material record, and a rich body of migration traditions (for which see below).

requiring an unusually intensive cultural interface of the two dialect groups (Parry 1932, 22–47; Durante 1971, 1.17–62, 38–40; Janko 1982 89–93, 176–9; West 1988, 159–65; Janko 1992, 8–19).⁶ Smyrna, one of Homer’s traditional homes, is an attractive *locus geniorum*.⁷ Yet the Arcado-Cypriot elements show that the Aeolic art had itself developed at an earlier stage from, or alongside, one native to the Peloponnese, the area whence many migrants came to Cyprus.

Warrior-Poets and The Kouklia Kalathos

Crucially important here is an early eleventh-century *kalathos*, discovered in the region of Paphos, where later tradition placed the arrival of Agapenor, the king of Tegea in Arcadia (ps.-Arist. *Pepl.* [fr. 640.30 Rose]; (ps.-?)-Lycoph. *Alex.* 479–93; Str. 14.6.3; Paus. 8.5.2; cf. Hdt. 7.90). Figurative painting alternates with geometric decoration in a typically sub-Mycenaean, Cypriot style. In one frame is shown a warrior, armed with a sword, and playing a lyre of Aegean type; he may be walking or dancing (fig. 1).⁸ Another probably shows a man sacrificing a goat or ram on an altar placed next to a tree. A sacral context seems clear enough; royal significance is less so, but not improbable.⁹ Perfectly obvious however, and important here, is the embodiment of musical and martial qualities in a single figure. This already suggests an allegorical composition. For in the Greek tradition of praise poetry, the work of the lyrist-singer (*oidos*) was to commemorate the heroic deeds of warriors, while the warriors’ work was to perform deeds worthy of such commemoration: patron and singer enjoyed a symbiotic relationship. Yet there are many examples in early Greek poetry, both Homer and elsewhere, where the two functions are conflated into ambivalent, or better bivalent, images.¹⁰

Most precise and potent is perhaps Homer’s angry Achilles, ‘cheering his heart’ by singing himself the ‘deeds of men’ (*klea andrôn*) to a daedalic *phorminx* of royal worth (Hom. *Il.* 9.185–9). This vignette is hardly idle, for the *Iliad*’s central crisis is Achilles’ choice between a long life of relative obscurity, and the youthful self-sacrifice which will buy him ‘imperishable fame’ (*kleos aphthiton*), that most ancient crown bestowed by the

⁶ Thus for example in the Ionic dialect inherited genitive singulars in -αο became -ηο (where both α and -η are long vowels), and then developed into -εω, exchanging long and short vowels (quantitative metathesis). And yet forms in -αο abound in Homer. Since Homeric musical rhythm was based on syllable length, these forms could theoretically have been updated to their Ionic equivalents in -ηο without disrupting the formular systems. That they were not shows that the system (as purveyed by Homer and other proponents of this school) was not inherited independently in the Ionic sphere, and that its adoption from Aeolic singers took place after the Ionic development -εω, which (in many cases) could not be incorporated for metrical reasons.

⁷ An originally Aeolic foundation, Smyrna was saturated by refugees from Ionian Colophon during an unknown period before 688 BCE. Whereas Hdt. 1.149–50 describes an eventual takeover and expulsion of the original inhabitants, ‘vestiges of Aeolic speech and institutions proves that the process was not always violent, and did not involve a total replacement of the population’ (Janko 1982, 178). West 1988, 165–72 argued for an Euboean epicenter, though more recently he has placed the composition of the *Iliad* itself in the Troad: West 2001, 6 f.

⁸ Aegean lyres are distinguished by their symmetrical arms and rounded, ‘*phorminx*’ base, versus the flat bottom and usually asymmetrical arms of the West Semitic *kinnârum* macrofamily. See Lawergren 1998.

⁹ Drawing by Anne Glynnis Fawkes. Nicosia, Kouklia T.9:7, proto-bichrome *kalathos*: Karageorghis 1967, 17 f.; Karageorghis 1968, 24, pl. XVI; Karageorghis and des Gagniers 1974, 1.5, 2.1 ff., 33 for general discussion of Cypriot lyre players, and suggestion that they owe more to Aegean than Near Eastern tradition; Karageorghis 1977, 166 f. (profane); Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 122; Coldstream 1986, 13 (‘Kinyras himself’); Maas and Snyder 1989, 8, 19 fig. 4; Sherratt 1992, 336 f.; Iakovou 1997, pl. XVb; Palaeocosta 1998, 56 (religious, Kinyras-like).

¹⁰ Besides the passages to be discussed, note especially Hom. *Il.* 9.186 (with ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1145f), cf. 13.730 f.; Terp. (?) fr. 5 (Gostoli); Archil. fr. 1 *IEG*²; Alc. 41 *PMGF*; Pind. *Ol.* 1.1–12; Eur. fr. 759a, 1622 f; cf. Pl. *Leg.* 804d; Plut. *Lyc.* 53b–c; *Mor.* 238b, etc.

praise-singers of certain Indo-European traditions.¹¹ Odysseus is given comparable treatment: his riveting tale of adventure, delivered at a royal banquet as epic song would be, prompts Alcinous to compare him to an *aoidos*.¹² When later the hero easily strings his bow, he is likened to an ‘expert of the *phorminx* and heroic song’ stringing his instrument.¹³ In making these comparisons the poet insinuates himself among his valorous heroes, wielding his lyre like a bow to shoot verbal arrows and winged words.¹⁴ Conversely all Homeric heroes are singers, because they can only express themselves, through the poet, in perfect epic diction.

The wide and early distribution of such ideas in Greek poetry, along with the known Mycenaean antecedents of the Aeolic-Ionic epic tradition, compel us to view the Kouklia *kalathos* as a cognate poetic image. This alone lets us posit with considerable confidence a sub-Mycenaean song tradition on Cyprus.

Linguistic Evidence for Cypriot Poetry

Yet there is in fact some limited linguistic confirmation. O. Masson has called attention to *inis*, meaning both ‘son’ and ‘daughter’, which is found several times in Aeschylus, Euripides, and the Hellenistic poets, who used it of the gods’ children (Masson 1975). The word was alien to Attic, however, and indeed all other Greek dialects except Cypriot; there it was used of human progeny in royal inscriptions going back to the Archaic period. Masson attractively hypothesizes that Aeschylus adopted the word as a colorful gloss in his poetic language, whence it was perpetuated in Attic drama and by later, learned imitators. His source, Masson suggests (cf. Jouan 1966, 404–9; Chatzêstephanou 1972), was the lost *Kypria*, a sort of prequel to the *Iliad* which dealt with events leading up to the Trojan War, with its Cyprus-friendly title and ancient traditions of Cypriot authorship (discussed further below). It is an awkward fact, however, that the *Kypria* whose fragments we have was composed in conformity to the Homeric idiom — although it does have some unusual features (Janko 1982, 152, 176; see further below). Yet one need not insist on the *Kypria* per se: if Athenians could hear one Cypriot poem, they might hear others. And it was in Aeschylus’ generation that Athens became quite closely involved with Cyprus and Grecophone cities like Salamis and Soloi, from their joint rebellion against Persia in 499/8 down to 449/8, when Cimon died during the siege of Kition (Hill 1940–1952, 111–43). It may be that of the thousands of Athenians who campaigned in Cyprus and environs some were struck by this public but peculiar element of Cypriot royal titulary. Of course, this need not mean that the word was not also used poetically.

More far-reaching are four glosses recorded by Hesychius, which the lexicographer found in ‘the oracles of Euklous’.¹⁵ This early Cypriot prophet is probably semi-

¹¹ First noticed by Kuhn 1853 and long controversial (cf. Finkelberg 1986), the formulaic status of these phrases now seems well established: Watkins 1995: 173–8. For a concise synopsis of Indo-European praise-poetry and its development in and beyond Mycenaean Greece, see West 1988, 152–6.

¹² Hom. *Od.* 11.367–9; cf. 17.518–21 (Odysseus compared to singer by Eumaeus). For the ‘singing’ in Phaeacia, cf. Goldhill 1991, 95–7; Ford 1999 (*Od.* 9.2–11 read against the poetics of the Archaic symposium).

¹³ Hom. *Od.* 21.406–11 (άνηρ φόρμιγγος ἐπιστάμενος καὶ αὐοιδῆς). For hero as singer, see further Moulton 1977, 145–53; Thalmann 1984, 170–84; Goldhill 1991, 1–68; Franklin 2003, 297–301.

¹⁴ Bow and lyre in early Greek poetics: Hom. *Od.* 21.406–11; *Hymn Ap.* 131; *Hymn. Merc.* 515; Heraclit. 22B51; Pl. *Cra.* 404e–405d, cf. Pl. *Pyth.* 8.67 f.; Callim. *Ap.* 42–6. See further Franklin 2002, 2–5; Franklin 2003, 297–301.

¹⁵ Hesch. s.v. κακόρας· κατακόρας· παρὰ Εὐκλω. s.v. κατατάς· καθορῶν παρὰ Εὐκλω. s.v. σκυδά· σκιά. Εὐκλος. s.v. Πελάνα· ἢ Σαλαμῆς· ἐν τοῖς Εὐκλου χρησμοῖς. See the various entries in Chatzêiōannou 1971–2001, 3.2. Other Cypriot glosses not specifically associated by Hesychius with Euklous may nevertheless come from the same source: see Karageorghis 1988. The Cypriot glosses as a whole are collected by Chatzêiōannou 1971–2001, 3.2.

legendary at best, as such figures tend to be. That he is more obscure than (say) Musaeus or Orpheus is simply due to the general marginality of Cyprus to the Aegean Greeks (and to ourselves, to judge from the apparent lack of scholarly interest in him).¹⁶ Pausanias, however, had access to an anthology which included allegedly Euklan verses. One was a prediction of the Persian Wars; the Cypro-Athenian alliance comes to mind again. Pausanias' wording implies that this oracle was composed in epic hexameters (Paus. 10.14.3: Εὐκλῶ τὰ . . . πεποιημένα; cf. Schol. Pl. *Hp. mai.* 295a17: ἐν Εὐκλου τοῦ χρησμολόγου ποιήμασιν). This is confirmed by the one specimen which the geographer thankfully reproduced: a prediction that Homer himself would be born on Cyprus (Paus. 10.24.3, see below)! Here again is the conundrum of the *Kypria*: seemingly Cyprocentric poetry composed in the Homeric idiom — which in Greece served not only for heroic poetry, but for oracular responses (at Delphi for instance: Fontenrose 1978).¹⁷ The implications of this, and of the specific prophecy, will be considered further below.

First we must appreciate the utter preciousness of the four Hesychian glosses. Two clearly display genuine Cypriot morphology and phonology, and a good case can be made for a third; the fourth, *Pelana*, is an obscure and perhaps riddling name for Salamis (Chatzēidiannou 1971–2001, 3.2.103 f., §212, comparing Pellênê in Achaea; Masson 1980, 184 [non vidi]; Karageorghis 1988, 182 f.). This tiny corpus is clear evidence that there once existed a body of oracular Cypriot literature, composed not in Homeric diction, but the island's own dialect.¹⁸ More precisely this implies a distinctive Cypriot *Kunstsprache*, since prophecy, like poetry, requires language removed from normal speech to create the requisite air of mystery. There is no reason to suppose that this was not drawn from a larger matrix also used for other poetic forms, as in Greece. The name Euklous itself, deriving from *eu* + *kle(w)*–, would be quite appropriate for a singer or doer of heroic deeds: he enjoys and/or bestows 'good heroic reputation'. One may thus connect the Hesychian glosses, at whatever remove, with the Koukklia lyricist.

One can only speculate on the metrical form(s) of such music. Whether already hexametric, or some variety of proto-hexameter, or something else altogether, will depend on one's view of Greek metrical history.¹⁹ Here it is enough to consider it a sort of great-uncle to Homer, genetically compatible with the Aeolic-Ionic diction to the extent that the latter embraced an ancient nucleus of Arcado-Cypriot lexical-metrical fragments. One naturally supposes that the cognate traditions of Cyprus and the Aegean would be progressively divergent. Yet continuous cultural contact between the two areas (see below) may have counteracted this to some degree. Nor should one ignore the possibility of a hybrid Greco-Eteocypriot idiom. Important here is the figure of Kinyras, legendary priest-king of Aphrodite at Paphos whose origin in the divinized lyre of Syro-Canaanite tradition is reflected in his persistent associations with music and divination. Although he came to symbolize the island's pre-Greek population, he was adopted as a maternal (n.b.) ancestor by the Grecophone dynasties of both Paphos and Salamis

¹⁶ For Euklous, *RE* VI (1907), 1055; cf. Hill 1940–1952, 90; Chatzēidiannou 1971–2001, 3.1.2 f.; Masson 1980, 184 (non vidi); Karageorghis 1988, 182 f. For other such figures (but not Euklous): Allen 1924, 130–9; West 1983, 353–67.

¹⁷ Compare perhaps the statement of Hesychius that Euklous was also known as 'firewalker' (Hsch. s.v. ἐμπυριβήτης· οὕτως Εὐκλος <ὁ> χρησμολόγος ἐκαλεῖτο), a Homeric epithet for tripod.

¹⁸ Thus they are above the suspicions of Leumann 1950, 270–4, who warned that some glosses described as 'Κυπρίων' have been misunderstood as dialectal forms but actually come from the *Kypria* ('from the Cypriots' vs. 'from the Cypriot verses'). This idea has been well criticized elsewhere (Jouan 1966, 24 n. 3 with further references; Karageorghis 1988, 197), and at any rate begs the question of the *Kypria*'s own dialect: our fragments represent a very small fraction of an eleven-book poem which, if by a Cypriot poet, might have included at least a small number of peculiar forms, even if he were consciously Homerizing.

¹⁹ That is, did the hexameter develop from the regularization and combination of some 'Aeolic' units, as many believe? And if so, had this occurred already by the late Bronze Age? (see inter alios Gentili and Giannini 1977; West 1988, 158; West 1997a, 233–6; Haug and Welø 2001). Even if it had, the older 'epicolyric' forms seem to have continued in use, e.g. Terpander, Stesichorus: cf. Russo 1999.

(Franklin 2006, 44–50 with further references, and below). Relevant to this may be the eccentric treatment of Aphrodite as a source of musical inspiration in several poems for which a Cypriot origin is plausible (see further below).

Heroic Poetry and the Cypriot Migration Legends: The Case of Salamis

Mycenaean settlement in Cilicia, Philistia and Cyprus is reflected in a rich body of migration and foundation legends, which are on the whole corroborated by the archaeological record (Gjerstad 1944; Gjerstad 1948, 428 f.; *CAH*³ II.2, 215 f.; Fortin 1980; Maier 1986; Loucas-Durie 1989, 124 f. and n. 43). In Greek epic these were typically connected to the Trojan War through the home-coming exploits (*nostoi*) of the Achaean heroes. Such tales, like those of the Ionic and Aeolic migrations, must be handled lightly. They were formed and reformed by subsequent generations to meet changing tastes and political needs: they are not factual accounts, as Malkin 1998 has demonstrated for the manipulation of Western *nostoi* during ninth-century ‘proto-colonization’. But they are not complete fiction either. Indeed the case of Mopsus, whom legend places in Pamphylia, Cilicia, and Ascalon, suggests most strikingly the power of traditional memory.²⁰ The purposeful use of an Aegean lyre in the famous Karatepe reliefs (c.700), which celebrate the restoration of the ‘House of Mopsus’ in Cilicia, is powerful evidence of what one would anyway predict. Migration deeds were sung not just in Greece, but where done by migrants (Franklin forthcoming-a).

So the most obvious environment for the Cypriot legends is an insular tradition of heroic poetry, cultivated in various great houses on the basis of clan or family traditions, and no doubt continuously manipulated as local conditions evolved. This deep-rooted yet fluid process is most easily exemplified by Salamis, whose kings in the Classical period claimed descent from Teucer.²¹ That this tradition was already known to Theban Pindar shows that it was no mere derivative of fifth-century Athenian-Cypriot relations, although it may have been exploited to good effect at that time, or again some generations later under Euagoras (for whom see generally Hill 1940–1952, 125–43). An early ‘epic’ environment is often seen in the city’s famous, richly-appointed graves — some doubtless royal — which go back to the eighth century. Details like cremation, tumuli, and horse-sacrifice find sporadic parallels on Cyprus and may well derive from the island’s sub-Mycenaean tradition (Karageorghis 1967, 117–24; Karageorghis 1982b, 60–2; Karageorghis 1999). And yet, leaving aside Iron Age Anatolian parallels (tumuli and horse burials), there are striking coincidences with the funeral of Patroclus in the *Iliad*, including one case at Salamis of human sacrifice. This has suggested to many that the Salaminian burials were influenced by the current popularity of recently imported ‘Homeric’ poetry (Karageorghis 1969, 27, 31 f., 71; Coldstream 1972, 20–2; Rupp 1988; Richardson 1991; Burkert 1992, 103; now de-emphasized by Karageorghis 2006b). The tombs do clearly reflect the intensive ‘Ionian’ commercial activity which is well documented at this time elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean, with large quantities of Attic and especially Euboean pottery (Boardman 1980; Karageorghis 1982b). Therefore at Salamis one cannot confidently discriminate between Sub-Mycenaean survival, artificial epic revival, and indeed local innovation.

Given this situation a skeptic might dismiss the Teucrid legend, and its synchronization with the Trojan War, as a relatively late, epichoric response to the

²⁰ Mopsus is attractively associated, either directly or at some dynastic remove, with the Mukshash who appears in one of the Hittite Ahhiyawa texts. The bibliography on this issue is now enormous: see recently Finkelberg 2005, 150–2; primary sources are collected in Houwink ten Cate 1961, 44–50.

²¹ Pind. *Nem.* 4.46 f. with schol.; Aesch. *Pers.* 895; Eur. *Hel.* 144–50; Isoc. 9.18; ps.-Arist. *Pepl.* (fr. 640 Rose no. 8); Clearch. fr. 19 (= Ath. 256b); (ps.?)-Lycoph. *Alex.* 450–78; Verg. *Aen.* 1.619–22; Str. 14.6.3 (with ‘beach of Achaea’); Tac. 3.62; Paus. 1.3.2; Nonnus *Dion.* 13.461 f.; cf. Hdt. 7.90.

stimulus of ‘Homeric’ epic. Yet even if this were right, the Salamis tombs are surely too early for appeal to a textualized Homer per se. This was living epic in action. Its vibrancy and originality is suggested by a remarkable local — probably Greco-Eteocypriot — version of the Ariadne myth, an aetiology for an Aphrodite sanctuary at Amathus.²² Still the foundation level of Salamis, dating to c.1100, shows that the Teucer tradition was ‘right’ in some essential respect (Karageorghis 1969, 21). Of comparable accuracy is the legend of Arcadian Agapenor at Paphos (see above). It approaches special pleading to suggest that these ancient memories were retained, in the centuries before the Salamis tombs, by popular memory without also being elaborated through poetic *mnêmosynê*. This is not to deny their possible modulation by ‘Homer’, nor even insist that Teucer himself was always part of the Salaminian tradition, much less the historical personage that Mopsus is approaching. Nonetheless, given the city’s antiquity and the circumstances of its founding in the sub-palatial population movements, one is still drawn to an eponymous relationship between Teucer and the Tjeker who feature in the ‘Sea Peoples’ inscriptions of Merneptah and Ramses III (sources and issues: Sandars 1978). The identification of these groups has long been highly controversial; but some have achieved a respectable degree of validation thanks to excavations in Philistia by the Dothans and others (Dothan and Dothan 1992).

Kypriaka between Greece and Cyprus

Besides the *Kypria*, the three Homeric hymns to Aphrodite have also been attributed to Cyprus. They variously celebrate the goddess as ‘the Cypriot’ or ‘Cyprus-born’ (*Kypris*, *Kyprogenês*), describe her fragrant temple and altar at Paphos, and present detailed images of her being anointed and dressed by the Graces; there was such a scene in the *Kypria* too (*Hymn. Hom.* 5.2, 58–67, 292 f.; 6.1–15; 10.1, 4 f.; *Cypria* frs. 4–5 Davies *EGF*, Bernabé *PEG*). It has been well objected, however, that an Aegean singer had every reason of his own to celebrate Aphrodite, who by the eighth century was comfortably seated among the Olympians (Allen, Halliday and Sikes 1936 ad locc.). The epithet *Kypris* is regularly used by Homer, while the *Odyssey* shows that the decking-out of Aphrodite was a traditional type scene (*Hom. Il.* 5.330, 422, 458, 760, 883, *Od.* 8.362–6, cf. 18.193 f.; Aphrodite is also implicated in the similar scene involving Hera at *Il.* 14.166–86; for Pandora, *Hes. Erg.* 60 ff.). As to Cyprus itself, while Paris and Helen dallied there *en route* to Troy in at least one version of the *Kypria* (see below), the island was equally a part of Homer’s heroic geography, a regular stop in epic wandering-tales like those of Odysseus and Menelaus in the *Odyssey*.²³

So Aegean poets made free use of ‘Cypriot details’. It must be stressed, however, that such *kypriaka* presuppose sustained cultural contact between Cyprus and the Aegean throughout the Iron Age. The material evidence for this is predictably most abundant for the prosperous ninth and eighth centuries, the period of escalating Ionian and Cypro-

²² Paion of Amathus *FGrH* 757 F 2 (= *Plut. Thes.* 20), who describes it as ‘a certain peculiar tale’ (ἴδιον δὲ τινα . . . λόγον). Pregnant and abandoned on Cyprus, Ariadne languishes in grief among the women of Amathus; when a remorseful Theseus returns to find her dead, he finds an annual cult sacrifice for her in the grove of ‘Ariadne Aphrodite’. The detail of the Amathusian women trying to cheer Ariadne with forged love letters sounds Hellenistic, but the myth will have an older core. Cf. Farnell 1896–1909, 634.

²³ ‘Odysseus’ on Cyprus in his ‘lying tale’ to Antinous: *Hom. Od.* 17.424–44, cf. 453; Tamassos may also be the lying destination of Athena/Mentes at *Hom. Od.* 1.182–4: Hill 1940–1952, 9; *CAH*² III.3, 1982 531 (the *nostos* of Menelaus in (ps.?)-Lycophr. *Alex.* includes a stop at ‘Tamassion’, where he acquires a *kratêr*, 854). Menelaus in Cyprus, Phoenicia, Egypt, Libya and elsewhere: *Od.* 3.276–312, 4.81–5 (with scholia to 84), 351–586, 617–9; Hecataeus *FGrH* 1 F 307–9; *Hdt.* 2.114–6; *Eur. Hel.* 400, cf. 766–9; Hellanicus *FGrH* 4 F 153; [Apollo.] *Epit.* 6.29–30; Proclan summary of *Nostoi* by Agias of Troezen: see Davies *EGF* p. 67 = Bernabé *PEG*, p. 94; *Tac. Ann.* 2.60; *Clem. Alex. Strom.* 1.21.114; *Eust. ad. Dionys. Per.* 11; cf. Anticleides *FGrH* 140 F 18 (mentions Helen only); further sources for the death in Egypt of Canopus, Menelaus’ helmsman, and the ‘harbor of Menelaus’ in Libya, see Stiehle 1853, 58 f.

Phoenician commerce (Coldstream 1972; Karageorghis 1982b, 57–64). But for the darker eleventh and tenth centuries there is the vital fact that Cyprus shared in a number of post-palatial linguistic innovations common to the other Greek dialects.²⁴ This can only be explained by the ongoing participation of Greek-Cypriots in a larger Hellenophone continuum. Any parallel implications for the evolution of poetic diction on the island must remain speculative. Certainly it suggests a fertile environment for the growth of a shared poetics, developing precisely around the position of Cyprus on the eastern edge of the ‘Hellenic’ world.²⁵

This too is well illustrated by the Cypriot migration legends. The islanders had no monopoly over these tales. As usual our earliest evidence comes from the poets of the Aegean. This is hardly surprising. Emigration, involving the division of one group into two (or more), produces divergent yet complementary perspectives, the emigrants’ and the homebodies’. A second duality, a sort of negative impression of the first, obtains between the homebodies and the destination’s earlier population; to these groups the migrants are emigrants and immigrants respectively. Settlement of Cyprus was a meaningful event on all sides, and would have maintained a comparable potency in the Aegean for as long as there were meaningful relations with the island. One would predict, therefore, a dual aspect to the treatment of Cyprus and Cypriot themes, one Aegeocentric, the other Cyprocentric. But these poles will also be linked by a continuum of more middling perspectives. Towards the Aegeocentric end of the spectrum one may place Cyprus as it figures in the Homeric wandering-tales mentioned above: somewhat remote, but a known last stop *en route* to the more exotic locales of Phoenicia, Egypt, and eventually (semi-)mythical regions (see below). There is also the famous breastplate, described in the *Iliad*, sent as a guest-friendship gift to Agamemnon by Kinyras, the legendary king of Cyprus.²⁶ It is highly probable that this off-camera cameo presupposes a more extended tradition of relations between the two Great Kings (see below).

Very striking is the Song of Demodocus in the *Odyssey*, in which Aphrodite, after being caught with Ares in Hephaestus’ net, quickly decamps to Cyprus (8.359–66). It is most amusing that Aphrodite’s disgrace ends in being re-dressed by the Graces. Thus the irrepressible goddess is instantly poised for further escapades from her jealous husband. It is unclear whether the type-scene of Aphrodite’s dressing reflects some liturgical reality, or is merely a literary trope. The contest between Hephaestus and his rival, however, does have a special Cypro-Aegean religious dimension. In Greece itself, while Aphrodite has no special cultic connection with Hephaestus, she is sometimes paired with Ares; this, like the various forms of the armed goddess, reflects the ancient martial character of Astarte (Farnell 1896–1909, 622 f., 653–5, 700–3). On Cyprus, however, although there too the goddess was known as a warrior (Aphrodite *Encheios*), her partnership with a metalworking deity (the ‘Ingot God’) was very ancient — indeed this avatar played a conspicuous role in Alashiyan state ideology (Karageorghis 1976, 57, 73–6; J. Karageorghis 1977, 97–117; Burkert 1985, 47, 153). Yet Hephaestus per se is conspicuously absent from pre-Hellenistic Cyprus (Borgeaud 1975). So Homer’s comedic digression constitutes a poetic commentary on Aphrodite’s gyrating position between Cypriot- and Aegean-Greeks. ‘Hephaestus’, as a virtual ‘Ingot God’, fetches his

²⁴ Loss of labiovelars, development of definite article, merging of instrumental into a five-case system (although e.g. Arcado-Cypriot ἀπύ/ἐξ + dative is eccentric), and eventual weakening or loss of digamma (quite late on Cyprus): see Risch 1988, 71–3, cf. 76: ‘Le phénomène le plus remarquable est que le chypriote participe aux innovations panhelléniques mais postmycéniennes.’

²⁵ The conditions of immigration and settlement probably induced a sense of shared ‘Greekness’. In both Cyprus and Philistia, Mycenaean elements in pottery can often not be traced clearly to any one Aegean tradition; rather a new ‘pan-Mycenaean’ mélange emerged (within the respective local matrices). See e.g. Dothan and Dothan 1992, 29–42; Dickinson 2006, 62–7.

²⁶ Hom. *Il.* 11.19–28; note esp. the ‘pregnant expression’ (Leaf 1900, ad 11.20) πεύθετο γὰρ Κύπρουδε μέγα κλέος (20): although logically Kinyras is the one who hears the report *from* Cyprus, the directional particle shows that the *kleos* is imagined from the Greek perspective as traveling *towards* Cyprus. For the breastplate, cf. also Alcidas *Od.* 20–1; Str. 1.2.32; Them. *Or.* 4.54a, 16.201c; Eust. ad *Il.* 11.20, 18.613; Theodor. Hyrtacen. *Anecdota Graeca*, Boissonade 1.263.

wife *home*, hoping to seclude her from the advances of his Greek rival. But in keeping with her essential Inanna-like promiscuity she is anything but chastened, determined not to be confined to the women's quarters. Thus while the Aegean singers made Aphrodite their own, they consistently acknowledged her preeminently Cypriot character and 'origin'. They could hardly do otherwise, as this was embedded in the formulaic sub-repertoire which allowed them to sing of her at all (circular logic intentional). Although her dressing was a type-scene known to Homer, it clearly comes from the trousseau of Astarte/Inanna (West 1997b, 203–5). It is most economical to suppose that the theme entered Greek tradition via Cyprus, Aphrodite's island-home.

The theme of the overpopulated earth which must be purged by a chief god, the basic motivation of the *Kypria*, is also generally considered a borrowing from Near Eastern tradition (*Atrahasis* is often cited as a parallel: cf. West 1988, 170; Richardson 1991; Burkert 1992 100–106; West 1997b, 480–2; Davies 2001, 32; Marks 2002, 19–22). Here too one thinks of Cyprus (for the issue of locating the poem's composition there, see below). Throughout the early Iron Age there must have been many Cypriots who were bi- or even trilingual, even if by the Classical period Eteocypriot appears somewhat isolated at Amathus. The gradual consolidation of Greek as the island's majority language should not obscure the reciprocal impact of the Eteocypriot culture, which must have been substantially 'internalized'. In part this may be due to the 'mother tongue' effect: important here are the heroic traditions of Teucer and the Arcadian Elatus, said to have married daughters of Kinyras (Elatus: [Apollod.] *Bibl.* 3.102; Teucer: Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 103), while Didorus Siculus alludes to a more general mingling with Cypriot women (4.37.2). Such an environment would account very well for the entry of Cyprosyrian thematic elements into the wider Hellenic consciousness. It is probably this which explains, for instance, the word *kinurizôn*, 'playing the *kinura*', which appears as a rhapsodic variant championed by Zenodotus for one verse of the *Iliad*, where it introduces a most interesting wrinkle.²⁷

Aphrodite the Muse

So there is good evidence that Cyprus made a sustained thematic contribution to the mainstream Aegean epic tradition. One may formulate the general principle that, whether or not a given poet or poem may be traced to Cyprus, all *kypriaka* in Grecophone poetry are ultimately 'from Cyprus'. But it remains nearly impossible to move beyond that theoretical position and identify a truly Cyprocentric perspective in poetry composed in the 'Homeric' idiom. I have already mentioned the three hymns to Aphrodite above, and the reasonable objections to seeing such generic *kypriaka* as evidence of immediate Cypriot authorship. Yet fleeting details of the two lesser hymns may indeed constitute epichoric evidence.

It was conventional for the epic singer, beginning with Homer and Hesiod, to invoke the Muse, Muses, and/or Apollo for musical inspiration. The various Homeric hymns, by contrast, focus upon a specific deity, from whom the singer promises to begin and end his song, and whose favor he requests on the occasion — which is typically a festival competition.²⁸ Thus the activity properly governed by the Muse(s) is given as an offering to whichever god the larger event was devoted. That god, consequently, was in a position to affect the outcome of the singer's song. By 'delighting' in the performance, the god would bestow 'delight' on the song itself — 'gracing' it with his or her divine presence. Thus in hymn 24 to Hestia, the singer asks that the goddess 'make grace follow together with my song'.²⁹ By a similar conceit the god from whom the singer took his 'beginning'

²⁷ Hom. *Il.* 9.612. The scholia preserve an entry from the commentary of Aristonicus, a grammarian of the Augustan age, who recorded the divergent preferences here of Zenodotus and Aristarchus: Aristonicus Gramm., *De signis Iliadis*, p. 168 Friedlander. I shall discuss this issue elsewhere.

²⁸ Naturally *Hymn. Hom.* 25 (to the Muses and Apollo) follows the usual pattern.

²⁹ *Hymn. Hom.* 24.5 (Hestia): χαρίν δ' ἄμ' ἄπασσον ἄοιδῆ.

(*archē*) could ‘be first’ or ‘command’ (*archein*) the song; Demeter is so invoked in Hymn 24.³⁰ It may be that in these two cases the god in question had some epichoric, Muse-like function. The poet carefully associates Hestia with the hearth spirit of Pythian Apollo; at the intersection of these gods’ spheres is perhaps the oracular tripod, Homer’s ‘firewalker’.³¹ Similarly the invocation of Demeter might be appropriate to a Eumolpid context at Eleusis. Yet in both cases one could readily see the gods’ ‘musical’ treatment as merely conventional.

The two lesser Aphrodite hymns, however, are more explicit in their summoning of the goddess specifically for musical inspiration:

Hail goddess, ruler of well-founded Salamis and
Cyprus in the sea, and grant me delightful song!³²

Awesome gold-crowned beauty, Aphrodite, I shall
Sing, her share the citadels of all of Cyprus in the / Sea . . .
Hail lash-batting, sweetly-soft, arrange aright my song and
Grant that I take victory in this contest!³³

The decisive treatment of Aphrodite as a Muse strongly encourages one to place these hymns in a true epichoric context (Huxley 1969, 135; cf. Georgiadis 1973, 189; Nagy 1990, 77 n. 121). This is corroborated by the invocation of Aphrodite as ‘ruling over Salamis’. Such geographical specificity, contrasting with Homer’s more generic portraits of Cyprus and the world-famous sanctuary of Paphos, is best explained in local terms. And Salamis, we have seen, is a very probable locus for heroic poetry from the earliest times. The image of Cypriot singers appealing to Aphrodite in what is essentially a sacral setting calls to mind Kinyras, the personified lyre who in Cypriot mythology was the goddess’s priest and lover, as well as the island’s legendary king and symbol of the pre-Greek population (Franklin 2006, 44–50). One should also recall that one of Hesiod’s muses was Ourania (*Theog.* 78) — more commonly found as an epiclesis of Aphrodite, reflecting her (ultimately Mesopotamian) origin as Queen of Heaven.

It is symptomatic, however, that while one may hope that Cypriot singers have been identified here, the ‘delightful song’ (ἡμερόεσσαν ἀοιδὴν) which the poet seeks is a formulaic expression, occurring twice in Homer in the same metrical position (*Od.* 1.421, 18.304). Similarly the request that the goddess ‘grant’ victory and song simply reuses a common divine request formula. But while the ‘gifts of Aphrodite’ are well known from non-musical contexts, in the present hymns they equally recall the more familiar musical ‘gifts of the Muses’.³⁴ Thus the singer, having mastered the Aeolic-Ionic system of

³⁰ *Hymn. Hom.* 13.3 (Demeter): χαῖρε θεὰ καὶ τήνδε σάου πόλιν, ἄρχε δ’ ἀοιδῆς.

³¹ For Euklous as ἐμπυριβήτης, see above, n. 17.

³² *Hymn. Hom.* 10.4 f.: χαῖρε θεὰ Σαλαμῖνος ἐνκτιμένης μεδέουσα / εἰναλῆς τε Κύπρου· δδς δ’ ἡμερόεσσαν ἀοιδὴν. The isolated variant Κυθήρης ἐνκτιμένης in M (on the problematic nature of this source, cf. Janko 1982, 254 n. 22 with references) does not undermine the following arguments about Salamis, not merely because that city is the *majority* reading, but because *any* mention would require explanation.

³³ *Hymn. Hom.* 6.1–3, 19 f.: Αἰδοῖν χρυσοστέφανον καλὴν Ἀφροδίτην / ἕσομαι, ἦ πάσης Κύπρου κρηδεῖμα λέλογχεν / εἰναλῆς . . . χαῖρ’ ἐλικοβλέφαρε γλυκυμείλιχε, δδς δ’ ἐν ἀγῶνι / νίκην τῷδε φέρεσθαι, ἐμὴν δ’ ἐντυνον ἀοιδὴν.

³⁴ Gifts of Aphrodite: *Hom. Il.* 3.54, 64–7; *Hes. fr.* 76.6, 10 M-W (?); [*Hes.*] *Scut.* 47; *Hymn. Hom. Cer.* 102; *Hymn. Hom.* 10.1 f.; etc. Gifts of the Muses: *Hes. Th.* 103; *Archil.* 1 *IEG*; *Alcm.* 59(b).1 f. *PMGF.*; *Sol.* 13.51 *IEG*; etc. Of especial interest is the first Iliadic passage, where the poet juxtaposes κίθαρις τὰ τε δῶρ’ Ἀφροδίτης in Hector’s description of Paris’ virtues. That κίθαρις is to be included here among Aphrodite’s gifts is asserted by *Ptol. Heph. ap. Phot. Bibl.* 153a.1–4: Aphrodite, winning the lyre from Apollo in a contest against Hermes, gives it in turn to Paris (ἦν καὶ ἐδωρήσατο Ἀλεξάνδρῳ). For the lyre of Paris, see also *Plut. Alex.* 15, *Mor.* 331D; *Ael. VH* 9.38; *Stob. Flor.* 3.7.52; *Eust. ad Hom. Il.* 3.24, 54. Paris, like Kinyras, is a favorite of the goddess, and also a musician from the periphery of the Greek world. The two figures are virtually

expressions, can manipulate its diction to formulate the ‘novel’ prayer required by his own convictions. This reveals a rather different side of pan-Hellenization: local traditions are not necessarily effaced, but stimulated and validated by the regional adoption of a more global idiom (see Nettl 1985 for recent analogies). With these two brief musical invocations of Aphrodite, one may finally reverse the skeptics’ argument: good Homeric diction does not *disprove* a poem’s Cypriot origin.

Cyprus and the ‘Homeric Mode’

But why should it be composed in the ‘Homeric mode’ at all?

From time out of mind Greek singers had formulated and reformulated their mythological tradition. An important family of themes covered all phases of the Trojan War, from its origin in the apple of discord thrown by Eris at the wedding of Peleus and Thetis, to its aftermath in the *nostoi* of the Achaean heroes. Such songs, conventionally termed ‘cyclic’, were endlessly recomposed-in-performance by an incalculable number of singers.³⁵ The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are merely two great instantiations of this tradition; I shall refer to them as, and them to, Homer.³⁶ Yet Homer grew in authority only gradually (see below), and it was not due to his triumphant example that the ‘Homeric’ — that is, Aeolic-Ionic — mode of epic song became widely established outside of its home sphere by the middle or late eighth century. It reflects a more general musical trend of which Homer was merely an outstanding exponent. Hesiod represents the art’s popularity in Boeotia by the early seventh century, his very passable Ionic diction not quite obscuring a life lived in the Aeolic world (Hes. *Erg.* 1.635–40), despite the Aeolic substratum of ‘Homeric’ diction itself (Hesiodic Aeolicisms: Janko 1982, 168, 197; West 1988, 167). This and other such parallels (West 1988, 172) demonstrate the potential for the same phenomenon occurring on Cyprus. As suggested above, many scholars believe that such a fashion is made quite probable by the eighth-century Salamis burials and Euboean trade contacts.

This scenario helps explain later traditions which, now assuming the supremacy of Homer, made him a native of Cyprus; here too Salamis is often named.³⁷ Such bogus claims are widely attested elsewhere, and can be used to track the diffusion of the Aeolic-Ionic style (cf. Nagy 1990, 52–81; Foley 1999a, 105 f.). Yet their local importance should not be undervalued. For Cyprus this is perhaps best appreciated from the hexametric oracle purporting to predict Homer’s birth, attributed to Euklous (see above):

And then on Cyprus in the sea will be a singer great
A very-famous one whom Themisto, a god among women, will bear
In a field afar from very-wealthy Salamis.
And going forth from Cyprus, drenched and lifted on the waves,
Alone the first to sing the misfortunes of far-stretched Hellas,
He will be forever more immortal and unaging.³⁸

conflated by Lucian, who has Kinyras abduct Helen in a bizarre underworld adventure (*Ver. hist.* 2.25–6).

³⁵ Foley 1999a rejects the term ‘cycle’ in favor of ‘tradition’ because of the former’s connotation of inferiority to ancient critics, and of segregation from Homer for modern.

³⁶ For present purposes one may sidestep the questions of separate authorship and an historical versus mythological reading of Homer’s name; for the latter issue, Nagy 1979, 197–200; Foley 1999a, 105 f.; Foley 1999b, 49–61; Franklin 2002, 18.

³⁷ *Certamen* 30 (227.30 Allen); *Vit. Hom.* II (244.12); V (247.9); VI (251.17) = Callicles, *FGrH* 758 F 13; *Anth. Pal.* 7.5.3 [Adesp.], 16.295.3 [Adesp.], 16.296.3 [Antipater], 16.299.3 [Adesp.]; *Suda* s.v. Ὀμηρος; Paus. 10.24.3; *Epiqh. Adv. haeres.* *GCS* 31, p. 129.3; Eust. ad Hom. *Il.* 21.12 f.

³⁸ Paus. 10.24.3 (for Euklous cf. 10.12.11, 10.14.6): καὶ τότε ἐν εἰναλίῃ Κύπρῳ μέγας ἔσσειετ’ αἰοῖδος, / ὄν τε Θεμιστῷ τέξει ἐπ’ ἀγροῦ διὰ γυναικῶν / νόσφι πολυκτεάνοιο πολὺκλειτον Σαλαμῖνος. / Κύπρον δὲ προλιπὼν διερός θ’ ὑπὸ κύμασιν ἀρθεῖς, / Ἑλλάδος εὐρυχόρου μούνος κακὰ πρῶτος αἰείσας / ἔσσειται ἀθάνατος καὶ ἀγήραος ἥματα πάντα.

This Cypriot proclamation, with its solemn, sacred overtones, was surely not concerned exclusively with *naturalizing* the imported Aeolic-Ionic art. With Euklous' putative pre-Homeric antiquity, the verses equally insist on the island's own immemorial contribution to 'Homer'. To have a Cypriot poet as a first inventor who *leaves* the island implies that he took with him what the islanders held to be the *true* art of mythological narrative-song.

Here again one appreciates the remarkable Hesychian glosses, which attest an authentically Cypriot 'Euklous' and an indigenous poetic tradition predating the arrival of 'Homeric' singing to Cyprus. It is most interesting that oracles continued to be attributed to Euklous even in the fifth century when the local idiom was, it seems, completely eclipsed. It may be in fact that the Hesychian glosses represent an intermediate stage between an insular tradition and its progressive 'Homerization' in the Archaic period. Their limited number could imply that the verses from which they derive were otherwise mostly intelligible, with only occasional words alien enough to need defining for curious scholars of later centuries. This could suggest a Cypriot-inflected version of the Aeolic-Ionic *Kunstsprache*, just as other regional Aegean traditions, like Hesiod's, would lead one to predict.

Thus we return to the apparent lack of dialectal traces on poetry alleged to be of Cypriot origin. An interesting coincidence should be mentioned here. Janko has argued that the major hymn to Aphrodite (5), the lesser hymn just considered (6), and the *Kypria* fragments all share two peculiar linguistic features which set them apart from pure Homeric diction.³⁹ They seem to represent a distinct regional tradition, although it is not readily located; Janko suggested the northern stretch of the Aeolis on the basis of certain Aeolicisms and knowledge of the Troad in the major hymn to Aphrodite, but admitted the tentative basis of this hypothesis (Janko 1982, 176). It is most striking, however, that all three poems have at least a *prima facie* affiliation with Cyprus. And with the lesser hymn and its companion, as argued above, there is good reason to support a deeper connection.

So a Cypriot origin for all three is worth reconsidering. Admittedly this is not straightforward linguistically: the treatment of digamma would accord with Cyprus, but why then were other features not Cypriotized? Yet after all, as pointed out by Janko, what really matters 'is where the poets learnt their diction, not where they were born' (loc. cit.). This principle should be expanded: where a singer's *teacher* learned his diction becomes vital for areas not contiguous with the tradition's home territory. Sparta is a good case in point; note the tale that the Lesbian poet Terpander, from the Aeolic-Ionic interface, established the first 'school' (*katastasis*) in Sparta in the early seventh century (ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1134B). A comparable tradition made the legendary lawgiver Lycurgus 'first to bring the poetry of Homer to the Peloponnesus, receiving it from the descendants of Kreophylos following a visit to Samos (Arist. fr. 611 Rose). The theory of 'Homeric' singing at Salamis, often put forward, should presuppose some such scenario.

'Battles according to Homer': Stasandros versus Stesandros

Of course, the reciprocal action of Cypriot poets traveling from periphery to center is equally likely. And as it happens there is a most interesting record of one such case. The Euklan Homer migrating to Greece finds an historical parallel in the curious figure of 'Stesandros'. This citharode was known to Timomachus, a pre-Aristotelian collector of Cypriot lore, published as a *Kypriaka*.⁴⁰ Athenaeus digested a passage of this work for his catalogue of developments in the history of *kithara* music (broadly understood).⁴¹

³⁹ Digamma observed at higher (i.e. more archaic) levels than Homer, but a surprisingly advanced treatment of o-stem genitive singulars (-οιο largely contracted to unresolvable -ου): see Janko 1982, 176, 186 and Table 32, 273 n. 160. Despite the relatively small sample sizes, the results seem significant.

⁴⁰ That Timomachus predated or was a contemporary of Aristotle is based on *Vit. Hom.* VI (251.13 Allen) = *FGrH* 754 F 2 = Arist. fr. 76 (Rose): see *RE* viA (1937), 1292 (4).

⁴¹ The phrase ἐπὶ πλείον ἀυξῆσαι τὴν τέχνην is only slightly awkward (for text see next note). Jacoby tentatively took ψιλοκιθαριστική as the antecedent of τὴν τέχνην, since Stesandros has been

According to Timomachus, Stesandros ‘was first to sing battles according to Homer (*kath’ Homêron*) at Delphi, beginning from *The Odyssey*’.⁴² Athenaeus’ text makes Stesandros a native of Samos (*Samion*), but given that this was a work of Cypriot lore, Wilamowitz’ emendation to *Salaminion* seems certain.⁴³ This derives overpowering support from a well-attested pattern of Cypriot names in *Stas*-.⁴⁴ These show that ‘Stesandros’ will really have been ‘Stasandros’. It is quite striking how many such names were borne by Cypriot kings and other high-ranking nobles, including some called Stasandros or Stasanor. The element *Stas*- (‘cause to stand’), has an appropriately valorous ring. A singer so named embodied the same fusion of music and *aretê* seen in the Kouklia *kalathos* and other warrior-poets. Stasandros even finds a specifically Cypriot musical parallel in the Stasinios to whom many sources attribute the *Kypria*. Yet the Ionicization of ‘Stasandros’ to ‘Stesandros’ is probably more interesting than a mere scribal lapse, or a trivial dialectal normalization (conscious or unconscious) by Timomachus or Athenaeus. It echoes the singer’s hybrid professional identity, a career spent outside of Cyprus performing before audiences of mainstream Greek epic.

But what exactly did Stasandros do? In the original context of a *Kypriaka*, the report probably means that Stasandros was not the first ever to do what he did, but the first Cypriot. Regardless, the implied harmonization of Cypriot and Aeolic-Ionic singing is most striking, especially given the pan-Hellenic environment of Delphi. But this was living epic, not rhapsodic recitation, for ‘Battles according to Homer’ cannot mean those which were found in Homer himself: this would not account for the narrowing of focus implied by the phrase ‘beginning from *The Odyssey*’, where ‘from’ (*apo*) should mean ‘after’ (Liddell, Scott and Jones 1940, s.v. ἀπό, section II). So Stasandros, beginning where the *Odyssey* left off, must have sung the returns of *other* Greek heroes (even if Odysseus was the last hero to regain his home according to Homer’s own chronology: Hom. *Od.* 1.12).⁴⁵

preceded by Dion of Chios and Lysander of Sicyon (Philochorus *FGrH* 328 F 23), both practitioners of instrumental *kithara* music (for Lysander’s innovations and his probable late Archaic date, see Barker 1982; Barker 1984–1989, 1.300 n. 205; West 1992, 341; Franklin 2005, 4, 15). But τὴν τέχνην must be understood more broadly, since Stesandros and his innovations are explicitly citharodic. In fact Dion’s activity differs significantly from Lysander’s: libation music was traditionally auletic, so he is an early example of those who brought the *aulos* and *kithara* traditions together (for the larger history of which see Franklin 2005, 13–22; Franklin forthcoming-b). The awkwardness is rather that the ‘innovation’ of Stesandros was less musical than cultural, a point which is obscured by Athenaeus’ laundry-list method.

⁴² Ath. 638a = *FGrH* 754 F 1: Τιμόμαχος δ’ ἐν τοῖς Κυπριακοῖς Στήσανδρον λέγει τὸν Σαλαμίνιον (Wilamowitz: Σάμιον codd., v. *infra*) ἐπὶ πλεῖον αὐξῆσαι τὴν τέχνην καὶ πρῶτον ἐν Δελφοῖς κιθαροδῆσαι τὰς καθ’ Ὅμηρον μάχας, ἀρξάμενον ἀπὸ τῆς Ὀδυσσεΐας.

⁴³ Cf. *RE* iiiA (1929), 2457, viA (1937), 1292 (4).

⁴⁴ For the heavy concentration of these names on Cyprus, see indices to Masson 1961 (henceforth *ICS*); Mitford and Masson 1983; Masson and Mitford 1986; etc.; cf. Jouan 1966, 23 f. and n.1; Masson 1975, 12; Karageorghis 1988, 182. Some royal and aristocratic examples: Stasis, king of Paphos before Persian invasion, Masson and Mitford 1986, no. 2; Stasanor, king of Kourion during the invasion, Hdt. 5.113; deceased King of Kourion with a name beginning Sta[si _ _ _], fragmentary inscription, first half of fifth century (Mitford 1971, no. 218); king Stasandros of Paphos c. 460 (?), *ICS* 21 (another Stasandros is known from Archaic Paphos: Mitford and Masson 1983, no. 33); king Stasicypros of Idalion, first half of fifth century, Idalion tablet: *ICS* 217; two kings of Marion named Stasi(w)oikos, *ICS* 169, 171 (fifth and later fourth century coins); king Stasicrates of Soloi and his son Stasias (*ICS* 211–12, late fourth century); Stasikrates, ‘high priest of the divine Augustus Caesar’ (18/19 CE, Kouklia Museum R.R.126: Nicolaou 1964, 211–6). There is some confusion between the names Stasandros and Stasanor, both called satrap of Areia and Drangiane: see Hill 1940–1952, 151 n. 2.

⁴⁵ Important here is both the systematic exclusion of Odysseus from the fragments of that *Nostoi* (the returns-poem, attributed by Proclus to Agias of Troezen [Davies *EGF* p. 67.1 f.; Bernabé *PEG* p. 94 f. Bernabé *PEG*], which eventually joined the canonical Epic Cycle), and their detailed conformity to the Homeric *Odyssey*. See Huxley 1969, 162–7, pointing out that the one mention of Odysseus in the Proclan summary can be accounted for as a development of *Odyssey*

Suddenly Stasandros' Cypriot origin becomes very suggestive, since the island featured prominently in the tales of return (see above). Menelaus' seven-year voyage in the *Odyssey* included a stop on the island, and the *Nostoi* of Agias, faithful to Homer, probably adopted this (Hom. *Od.* 4.81–5; [Apollod.] *Epit.* 6.29–30). The Cypriot migration legends considered above show the rich treasury of material available to a poet who wished to dwell on Cyprus. One may form a vague impression of what such a poem might have looked like from the *Alexandra* of (ps.?)-Lycophron. This monstrous display of Hellenistic learning is a miniature epic cycle masquerading as the ominous ravings of Cassandra. First among her numerous *nostoi* are the five to Cyprus of Teucer, Agapenor, Akamas, Praxander, and Kepheus.⁴⁶ That of Menelaus also involves a stay on Cyprus, including the non-Homeric detail of a 'Tamassian bowl' which he got as a friendship gift ([Ps.]-Lycoph. *Alex.* 854, presumably not the Sidonian *krêtêr* of Hom. *Od.* 4.613–9 since Menelaus devotes that to Athena at 853).

Stasandros may therefore be comfortably connected with the conscious development of a post-Homeric Epic Cycle; and a sixth century date accords well with the other examples in Athenaeus' catalogue of lyricists. That Stasandros' own work did not become canonical, so far as we know, is unimportant here. Indeed it opens an interesting window on the earlier stages of the process of canon-formation. Regardless Stasandros, like the Euklan Homer, represents the Cypriot singers' mobility and integration in a larger pan-Hellenic musical world.

The Kypria

Against this background one should reconsider the *Kypria*, our knowledge of which, like the other poems of the Epic Cycle, comes from actual quotations and later epitomes. Only Proclus (as relayed by Photius) declares openly that he is summarizing the Epic Cycle.⁴⁷ The *Bibliotheca* of ps.-Apollodorus, of which part survives only in two epitomes of its own from the Byzantine period, covers much the same territory within a larger mythological collection (Wagner 1891; Wagner 1894; Frazer 1921). His account agrees with Proclus in so many details that it must incorporate substantially the same source, and some scholars freely combine the two to reconstruct the Epic Cycle. It is probable, however, that some details which are not paralleled in Proclus come from cognate traditions, which ps.-Apollodorus culled for his master 'library'. Nor is it certain that either author had access to the original poems, rather than prose summaries. And since neither account is comprehensive, details from other sources may be relevant.

Defining the Epic Cycle itself is not completely straightforward. It is clear that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were somehow textualized at a relatively early date: their diction, relatively early in the living diachronic continuum as shown by Janko's linguistic analysis, can only have been preserved by being written down (Janko 1982; Haslam 1997, 80–1; Finkelberg 2000, 5). A conventional date of c.725 may be adopted for the sake of argument. It is sometimes objected that such a monumental use of writing at this early date is unthinkable. But a plausible and realistic motivation may be found by appeal to the Homeridae, a pseudo-hereditary tribe of singers claiming descent from the master (for whom West 2001, 3–32 is a good overview; also Allen 1924, 42–50; cf. Janko 1982, 114 f.). Thus Homer was recognized as a surpassing master singer, and the newly available technology of writing, combined with an esoteric concern for professional self-

9.196–8. The *Suda* s.v. νόστος states that the *nostoi*-poets followed Homer as far as they were able.

⁴⁶ (Ps.?)-Lycoph. *Alex.* 447–534, 586–91 (Cyprus), 594–647 (western returns), 648–819 (Odysseus in Libya and the West), 820–76 (Menelaus in Cilicia, Cyprus, Aethiopia, Byblos, Egypt, Italy), 877–910 (Libyan *nostoi*), 911–1086 (Italian and other western). For date and attribution of this work, see recently *OCD*³ s.v. Lycophron.

⁴⁷ Proclus: Severyns 1938–1963. Broken into relevant sections by Davies *EGF*; Bernabé *PEG*; Allen 1912, 5.102–5. It is not clear whether this Proclus was the fifth-century C.E. neo-Platonist or an earlier Antonine grammarian: see Bernabé *PEG*, p. 5 with references.

perpetuation, suggested capturing his inspired versions of one or two traditional themes. Thence the poems' popularization in fixed form will have been oral, through festival and other performances. Despite Homer's probable influence already on some seventh-century poetry (Janko 1982, 225–8), his authority emerged only gradually. This is shown by abundant epic scenes on eighth- and seventh-century vases which reflect not Homer *per se* but the broader and multiform tradition (Kannicht 1982; Scaife 1995; Mackay 1995; Burgess 1996, 79 and n. 11; Snodgrass 1998, 127–50; Marks 2002, 21 n. 56; multiformity of the early tradition: Nagy 1990, 70–9; Foley 1999a; Burgess 2001). Only in the sixth century, the monuments suggest, was Homer's reknown great enough to spur singers to adapt themselves somewhat to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* (Snodgrass 1998, 164 f.). The poems' annual recitation at the Panathenaea must have been important in consolidating their authority (Finkelberg 2000, 10), although their very selection for that event attests the considerable prestige they must already have enjoyed. This Homerizing phase of the tradition increasingly involved a self-conscious refusal to modernize diction and the cultivation of an old-fashioned flavor. This resulted in 'false archaisms' which may be detected by unconscious deviations from the organic linguistic matrix of the earlier period. Here one already sees the impact of literacy and its disruption of living traditional processes (Janko 1982, 78, 132, 190 f., *et passim*).

At this point traditional cyclic themes may have begun to 'crystallize' around Homer (adapting the term from Nagy 1990, 52–81 [Epic Cycle specifically]; Nagy 1995; cf. Nagy 2001 [the useful 'Panathenaic bottleneck']; Nagy 2003, 49–71). But for the sixth century one should not exaggerate this relationship, nor press the idea of canonicity.⁴⁸ Homer himself was re-exposed to the mythological fluidity and shifting narrative boundaries of the aedic environment: the ongoing enzymatic breakdown of his peculiar vision is shown by the numerous rhapsodic variants attested in Hellenistic papyri or deducible from stylistic considerations (cf. West 2001, 11–15).⁴⁹ And our fragments of the cyclic poems mostly do *not* let one distinguish when a poet was respecting Homer himself from when both poets were assuming a common traditional background (cf. Huxley 1969, 128, on the *Kypria* specifically). J. Burgess has argued persuasively that the 'Epic Cycle', in Proclus' narrow sense of a continuous narrative built around Homer, was a relatively late phenomenon, an editorial concoction of the Hellenistic period.⁵⁰ The not-infrequent conflicts and duplications of detail strongly suggest that a number of sometimes quite independent poems, not all originally intended to match Homer in every particular, were roughly truncated into a chronological sequence (Burgess 1996; Burgess 2001). That they were compatible enough to allow this at all is simply because the poets, including Homer, shared the Trojan War tradition, and worked from a generally accepted repertoire of major characters and episodes. But these could be elaborated quite differently from one poet to the next, even long after Homer. The *Kypria* represented by Proclus was a sprawling work of eleven books — lacking the unity which Aristotle saw in Homer (*Po.* 1495b2–4) — with episodes including the marriage of Peleus to Thetis, the Judgment of Paris, the abduction of Helen, the gathering of the Achaean fleet, the sacrifice of Iphigenia, and the expedition to Troy.

The title itself, known in several variants, has been taken by some to derive from Aphrodite.⁵¹ It is true that the goddess is prominent in the action, from her victory in the Judgment to her supervision of Paris' voyage, his accompaniment by Aeneas, and the

⁴⁸ See the wise cautions of Foley 1999a against an overly text-oriented definition of 'cycle'; he prefers to substitute 'tradition'. And yet literacy and textualization *do* play an increasingly important role from the sixth century onwards . . .

⁴⁹ The papyrological variants are being collected in a hypertext directed by G. Nagy (<http://www.stoa.org/homer/homer.pl>).

⁵⁰ If Hellenistic scholarly activity was decisive in this process, it cannot account for all Homerizing facets of the cyclic fragments: see below.

⁵¹ Cf. Aphrodite as Κυπρία, Pind. *Ol.* 1.75. For the ancient dispute over accentuation, see below. Aphrodite: Huxley 1969, 132; Scaife 1995, 173; references in Davies *EGF*, p. 33, Bernabé *PEG*, 38.

fateful tryst with Helen.⁵² Quite probably she took further actions which Proclus and ps.-Apollodorus fail to report.⁵³ Clearly this was Aphrodite's traditional role, to judge from the *Iliad*, where she subjects Helen and Paris to ruthless micromanagement (3.390–420; cf. *Od.* 4.261–4, 23.218–24; *Ibyc.* fr. 1.9 *PMG*; etc.). Yet a direct reference to the goddess is excluded. Abundant parallels in other epic titles show that *Kypria* is the neuter plural of *kyprios* ('Cypriot'), and presupposes *epê*: the poem was 'the Cypriot verses' or 'the Cypriot epic' (cf. Burkert 1992, 207 n. 10; Davies 2001, 32; West 2003, 13). Modern scholars usually explain this clear reference to Cyprus biographically: the poet came from the island (Huxley 1969, 134 f.; Lloyd-Jones 1972; West 1988, 172; Nagy 1990, 77; Davies 2001, 32; West 2003, 13). Several ancient sources do indeed attribute the poem to a Cypriot singer, either Stasinus or Hegesias/Hegesinos of Salamis (*Cypria* TT 3–4, 7–9, 11 Davies *EGF*; Bernabé *PEG* 1, 3, 7–9, 11 with further sources). For a skeptic, the title alone might have begotten false Cypriot attributions (Lloyd-Jones 1972, 117 f.). Yet the very obscurity of these names, including the typically Cypriot and aristocratic 'Stasinus', inspires confidence that the traditions have *some* historical basis; and this impression is corroborated by the geographical specificity and relevance of Salamis.⁵⁴ Predictably the poem was also attributed to Homer himself. But this is a recurrent phenomenon with the cyclic poems, and here leads back to Cyprus via the legend that Homer composed the poem as a dowry for his daughter's marriage to Stasinus.⁵⁵ There is no reason why this tale should not already have been known, as Aelian asserts, to Pindar, whose poetry gives abundant evidence of his interest in musical history.⁵⁶ It would fit very well with the convergence of epichoric and pan-Hellenic tradition which was a living concern in the generations before Pindar (see generally Nagy 1990).

But what of the *Kypria*'s content? The *Naupaktia* and *Phokais* are sometimes offered as comparanda, titles which indicate a poet's place of origin without implying any treatment of local traditions in the poem itself (Davies 2001, 32; West 2001, 6 f.). Yet these putative parallels are neither numerous nor crystal-clear.⁵⁷ Naturally Cypriot poets

⁵² Procl. *Chrest.* 80 (Severyns) = Davies *EGF* p. 31.10–15, 22 f.; Bernabé *PEG* p. 39.7–11, 16 f. Cf. Ghali-Kalil 1955, 1.29–31: 'c'est Zeus et plus directement Aphrodite qui dirigent le drame' (31).

⁵³ Cf. *Praefatio Borbonica ad Homeri Iliadem* (Wagner 1891, 297.14 f.): συμπραττούσης τῆς θεοῦ. In the account of Dares Phrygius (9, p. 11.19–12.8 Meister), Paris stops at the temple of 'Venus' on Kythera, and sacrifices to the goddess (the text's Diana must be an error arising from a reference to Venus as *Diōnaia*: see Frazer 1966 ad loc., adding that a temple to Diana and Apollo is mentioned shortly afterwards [10, p. 12.12]); because Helen immediately conceives a desire to go to the shore where she and Paris will fall in love at first sight (10, p. 12.9–20), one may assume the agency of a gratified 'Venus'. Dares Phrygius is a late, perhaps sixth century CE, 'eye witness' account from the Trojan perspective, probably based on an earlier Greek original (see Frazer 1966, 11–15). It is comparable to the Hellenocentric narrative of Dictys Cretensis (for which see below). Both were widely read in the middle ages, and the antiquity of their traditions are uncertain; Dictys at least seems to have used Archaic material: see further below.

⁵⁴ Cf. Masson 1975, 12, citing the only other known example of the name Stasinus, in a fifth- or fourth-century BCE syllabic Cypriot inscription from Egypt (*ICS* 371); cf. n. 45: 'La rareté même du nom est un indice en faveur de l'authenticité de la tradition, un sorte de *lectio difficilior*.'

⁵⁵ Homer's dowry: *Cypria* TT 1, 3–4, 7–8 Davies *EGF*; 1–3, 7 Bernabé *PEG*. Lloyd-Jones 1972, 118, plausibly suggests that the tale originated as a bid for greater prestige by a school of epic poetry located on Cyprus, and perhaps specifically at Salamis.

⁵⁶ Ael *VH* 9.15 = Pind. fr. 265 S-M = *Cypria* T 1 Davies *EGF*; T 2 Bernabé *PEG*. Cf. Lloyd-Jones 1972, 116 f. (optimistic); Davies 2001, 32 (dubious). Pindar on music: *Ol.* 9.1–4 (the καλλίνικος attributed to Archilochus, cf. *IEG* 324); Athena and the *aulos*, *Pyth.* 12 (addressed to the aulete Midas of Acragas); Polymnestus, fr. 188 (cf. ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1133a); Olympus, fr. 157; for the *prooimion* to Sakadas, fr. 282 (Paus. 9.30.2; ps.-Plut. *De mus.* 1134a); history of the dithyramb, fr. 70b + 81 + 346. See further Franklin forthcoming-b.

⁵⁷ The *Naupaktia*, attributed to Carcinus of Naupactus by Charon of Lampsacus (Paus. 10.38.11 = *FGrH* 262 F 4 = *Naupactia* T 1 Davies *EGF* p. 145 f., Bernabé *PEG* p. 123), is of uncertain value. This was besides an eccentric attribution, since most Greeks believed it to be by a Milesian poet (cf. Janko 1982, 273 n. 163); still Pausanias' reasoning, *a priori* though it be (so Janko), is good: there is no other apparent link between this poem and Naupactus. The *Phokais* was

would not have been *required* to sing about Cyprus: consider the obscure Kleon of Kourion, whose *Argonautika* was apparently an important source for Apollonius of Rhodes.⁵⁸ Yet it is equally likely that they *would* have been drawn to Cypriot traditions. Such title-variants as *Ta Kypriaka* or *Kypriakai Historiai* would certainly have had an ethnographic flavor to the later Greeks who so blithely cited them.⁵⁹ The Cyprosyrian cast of Aphrodite's dressing-scene and the theme of the overpopulated earth have already been mentioned. But these facts merely recall the conclusions above: 'Cypriot details', though essentially Cypriot, were also in the repertoire of Aegean singers.

So while the majority of the *Kypria*'s episodes were obviously not set on Cyprus, it would not be surprising if the island did feature in the poem (so already Wagner 1891, 182; cf. Burkert 1992, 103: 'The remarkable title *Cypria* can only be understood as a reference to the island of Cyprus'). Thus one may account *indirectly* for the prominence of Aphrodite in the poem's action (see above). The *Kypria* would also provide a good home for the storm which blew Paris and Helen to Sidon, attested by both Proclus and ps.-Apollodorus, as well as the dalliance in Phoenicia and Cyprus, to evade any pursuit (unique to the Apollodoran epitome).⁶⁰ If this were extended to a honeymoon of nine months or more, Helen could indeed have come to the island with a son by Paris prior to returning to Troy, as one source seems to relate.⁶¹ It is also in Cyprus that Paris, according to Dictys of Crete, acquired further ships with which to sack Sidon.⁶²

There are also various Kinyras episodes to consider. Several sources, including the Apollodoran epitome, mention an Achaean embassy which elicited a promise of fifty ships from the Cypriot king, who in the end sent only one carrying clay models of forty-nine others, or cast them into the sea (a bizarre detail apparently derived from an Eteocypriot mariners' ritual).⁶³ For his infidelity Agamemnon cursed Kinyras; after the

presumably by the Thestorides of Phocis whom a Phocaeen popular tradition accused of stealing the work from Homer: [Hdt.] *Vit. Hom.* 15–17 (Davies *EGF* p. 153; Bernabé *PEG* p. 117); cf. Allen 1924, 62; West 2003, 33. Yet this parallel is also weak, since we know nothing of the poem's content.

⁵⁸ Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.77, 587, 624 (παρὰ Κλέωνος τὰ πάντα μετήνεγκεν Ἀπολλώνιος): see *RE* xi (1922), 719 (9). This Kleon has been tentatively identified with the *elegeiopoios* of *Et. Mag.* s.v. Εὐβύριον and dated to the fourth century (Chatzēiōannou 1971–2001, 3.1.38). It is not impossible that the poem included an eastern wandering, part of Jason's initial evasion of pursuit: cf. the Argo's excursion through Libya in Pind. *Pyth.* 4.13–56 (cf. Preller and Robert 1894–1926, 859–61); Libya belongs to the geography of eastern wandering in Hom. *Od.* 4.81–5 (Menelaus) and elsewhere. Note also the comparison of Jason and Paris as exemplars of evasion voyages (schol. Hom. *Il.* 6.291; Eust. ad Hom. *Il.* 6.289–92), and the storm which brings Thesus and Ariadne to Cyprus in Paion of Amathus: see above, n. 22.

⁵⁹ *Kypriakai Historiai*: Schol. Eur. *Andr.* 898 (see below). We know of *Kypriaka* by Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F 57, 756 F 1); Palaiphatos of Abydos (*FGrH* 44 T 3), Kreon (*FGrH* 753); that of Timomachus (*FGrH* 754) has been discussed above; not to mention the *Peri Kyprou* by Alexander Polyhistor (*FGrH* 273 F 31) and Androcles (*FGrH* 751).

⁶⁰ Procl. *Chrest.* 80 (Severyns) = Davies *EGF* p. 31.25 f.; Bernabé *PEG* p. 39.18 f.; [Apollod.] *Epit.* 3.4–5. For the problem of the Herodotean *Kypria*, see below. The dalliance is probably also implied by Dict. Cret. *Bell. Tro.* 1.5. It may be presupposed by Homer himself, who knew a *hodos* which included a stop at Sidon: Hom. *Il.* 6.289–92 with comments of Eust. and scholia; cf. Hdt. 2.114–6 (for which see below).

⁶¹ Apparently attributed to the *Kypria* by Schol. Eur. *Andr.* 898 (= Lysimachus *FGrH* 382 F 12 = *FGrH* 758 F 6 = *Cypria* fr. 10 Davies *EGF*, fr. 12 Bernabé *PEG*): ὁ δὲ τὰς Κυπριακὰς ιστορίας συντάξας Πλεισθέτην φησὶ, μεθ' οὗ εἰς Κύπρον ἀφίχθαι καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς τεχθέντα Ἀλεξάνδρω Ἄγανον.

⁶² Dict. Cret. *Bell. Tro.* 1.5. For Dictys, see Allen 1924, 146–69, arguing that his narrative, despite its excision of divine agents, rests securely upon an early cyclic foundation.

⁶³ See with variants Alcidas *Od.* 20 f. (here Palamedes deceives both Kinyras and Agamemnon); [Apollod.] *Epit.* 3.9 (Menelaus, Odysseus and Talhybius); scholia, Eust. ad Hom. *Il.* 11.17–20 (Menelaus). Many terracotta ship-models have been found at Amathus, mostly from the Archaic period but with prototypes in the Middle Bronze Age. Many are from the necropolis, attributed by Karageorghis to mariners' graves; others have been found in the harbor at Amathus.

Trojan War he was ousted from his throne by ‘the men with Agamemnon’, who drove his followers to Amathus.⁶⁴ This episode, and the remarkable alternative homecoming route of Agamemnon, cannot belong to a *Kypria* focused on preliminaries. But it fits very well into the Cypriot foundation legends and general category of *nostoi*, and indicates that an overarching Cyprus-narrative was available to interested singers — doubtless including Cypriot poets.

One may speculate about the further implications of these attested traditions. If Hera sent the storm against the hated Paris, Aphrodite, a mariners’ goddess like Astarte, may have rescued him. One may also reasonably suppose that Kinyras hosted Paris and Helen on Cyprus. This would accord with the usual rules of *philoxenia*, at the very least. But as Aphrodite’s ‘darling priest’ (Pind. *Pyth.* 2.16: ἱερέα κτλὸν Ἀφροδίτας), Kinyras would be a likely agent of the goddess’s protection. Kinyras’ breach of faith with Agamemnon could then be explained as a conflict of interests. Indeed his withholding of ships may be mirrored in the account of Dictys of Crete, who relates that Paris *acquired* ships on Cyprus with which to sack Sidon.⁶⁵ Who else but a king would have such resources?

That any of these further episodes were incorporated in the *Kypria* itself is unprovable, although its eleven books would have given ample scope, and the embassy to Kinyras and a dalliance on Cyprus are at least likely, given Proclus’ claim to epitomize the poem, and the sympathies between his account and the Apollodoran. Regardless, the various traditions, taken together, demonstrate that Cyprus constituted a rich theatre of action within the multiform tradition from which the Epic Cycle emerged, including the *Kypria*.

The Old and New Kypria

This leads to a well-known problem raised by Herodotus. The historian calls attention to a discrepancy between the *Kypria*, as he knew it, and the *Iliad*. In the former, Paris and Helen proceeded directly to Troy, arriving after only three days. A slightly jumbled hexametric fragment is embedded in his narrative; this has been variously reconstructed, but certainly specified that the lovers had a calm sea and clear skies.⁶⁶ By contrast the *Iliad* refers to a journey (*hodos*) which included a stop at Sidon, where Paris acquired the skilled women who now work for the Trojan queen as weavers.⁶⁷ Herodotus reasonably concluded that Homer could not have composed the *Kypria*.

Yet his account conflicts with the *Kypria* known to Proclus, just discussed, with Hera’s storm and the sack of Sidon. Many scholars believe that an older *Kypria*, represented by Herodotus, was modified to bring it into alignment with the *Iliad*.⁶⁸ The

See e.g. Karageorghis 2006a, 185–9, nos. 176–81. For possible relevance to the Kinyras episode, Kapera 1969.

⁶⁴ Theopompus *FGrH* 115 F 103 (= Phot. *Bibl.* 176): τίνα τε τρόπον Ἕλληνας οἱ σὺν Ἀγαμέμνονι τὴν Κύπρον κατέσχον ἀπελάσαντες τοὺς μετὰ Κινύρου, ὧν εἰσιν ὑπολιπεῖς Ἀμαθούσιοι (it is not clear whether this implies an alternative *nostos* for Agamemnon himself); Eust. ad *Il.* 11.20–3.

⁶⁵ Dict. *Cret. Bell. Tro.* 1.5: *Cyprum . . . unde sumptis aliquot navibus Phoenicem delapsus Sidoniorum regem . . . necat, etc.* (p. 6.6–8 Eisenhut).

⁶⁶ Hdt. 2.117: ἐν μὲν γὰρ τοῖσι Κυπρίοισι εἰρηται ὡς τριταῖος ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπῆκετο ἐς τὸ Ἴλιον ἄγων Ἑλένην, εὐαεῖ τε πνεύματι γρησάμενος καὶ θαλάσση λεῖη (reprised by Eust. ad *Hom. Il.* 6.289–92). The various reconstructions (after Welcker 1849, 2.515) are collected in the apparatus to *Cypria* fr. 14 Bernabé *PEG* (p. 52); add West 2003, 92 f.

⁶⁷ *Hom. Il.* 6.288–92. The tradition’s τὰς is correct: it was known to the scholia and Eustathius, and elicited no Aristarchan objection: Kirk 1990, 199, noting too that ἄγειν normally refers to hauling off people (cf. e.g. *Hom. Il.* 1.346 of Briseis; but the cup of Nestor a counterexample). Welcker’s conjecture τοὺς makes Paris bring back only Sidonian clothes, but has not been widely adopted (but note Gantz 1993, 571).

⁶⁸ So Allen 1924, 158 f. (hence Dictys followed the revised, Proclan *Kypria*); Ghali-Kalil 1955, 1.37 and n. 7; Preller and Robert 1894–1926, 1083–5. The older view that it was Proclus’ own

Iliadic passage, however, is a quite pregnant allusion. Homer refers to a journey (*hodos*), and there is no reason to limit this to Sidon (he also knew the lovers' steamy pit-stop on an unnamed 'rocky island').⁶⁹ Moreover the Sidonian weavers surely presuppose the sack of Sidon; skilled women were not given as hospitality gifts (compare the Laconian companions of Helen whom Paris also took: Hom. *Il.* 3.385–8). So Homer knew what the *kypriaka* discussed above imply: a tradition of eventful eastward wandering by Paris and Helen. Because of this, the Herodotean *Kypria* may rather have omitted such an episode from an earlier version. One might appeal only to the historian's antiquity relative to the other sources; yet this is a weak argument, given his own lateness compared to the tradition, which anyway variously survived into much later sources.

In fact there is good new evidence that the Herodotean version was indeed a later revision. Besides the *Kypria*'s more realistic attributions to Stasinos and Hegesias/Hegesinos, a certain Kyprias was proposed as its author. This is clearly a secondary construction from the poem itself, meaning simply 'Mr. *Kypria*'.⁷⁰ Yet this Kyprias appears in a recently-discovered second-century BCE inscription from Halicarnassus, the hometown of Herodotus himself. It is a public encomium of the city's achievements, including a catalogue of its famous literary sons.⁷¹ These facts make it very likely that the Herodotean *Kypria*, and not the Proclan, was the derivative work. J. Burgess has attractively explained its modification as a pan-Hellenizing revision which eliminated details of epichoric, eastern Mediterranean interest.⁷² (Shades of 'Stesandros' at Delphi.) How this would accord with the poem's own localization at Halicarnassus is not clear.

Against such a background, Herodotus' latent epic fragment takes on striking new emphasis; indeed the historian himself underscores the point through the quotation. That the poet bothered to specify smooth seas presupposes a Paris-Helen voyage interrupted by a storm, that traditional and most useful motif for taking characters out of their way. The Herodotean *Kypria* effectively corrected this by insisting that the voyage of Paris and Helen was short, and the weather just fine thank you. Because Proclus expressly states that his narrative was that of the *Kypria*, it can hardly be doubted that the Herodotean version was repudiating an older poem of the same name. Indeed given its title, as explicated above, the later *Kypria* is remarkable precisely for its *omission* of any scene set on Cyprus, or elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean. The ample traces of the wandering motif, given above, show that such '*kypria*-tales' were traditional and regularly treated, not least on Cyprus. And this impression of multiformity is confirmed by the very ambivalence of the *Kypria*'s authorial traditions, with its many title-variations.⁷³

effort was disproved by the discovery of the Apollodoran *Epitome* (cf. Huxley 1967, 26; *RE* XVIII.2 (1949), 1504–6; Preller/Robert loc. cit.).

⁶⁹ Hom. *Il.* 3.444 f.: ἐπλεον ἀρπάξας ἐν ποντοπόροισι νέεσσι, / νήσω δ' ἐν Κραναῖ ἔμυγν φιλόσθητι καὶ εὐνή. Kirk 1985 ad loc. rightly rejects ancient conjectures (collected *RE* XVIII.2 [1949], 1505 f.; cf. Gantz 1993, 571 f.). A generic, middle-of-nowhere location best negates normal nuptial procedure. Sources and variations on the journey: *RE* XVIII.2 (1949), 1504–6.

⁷⁰ See already Huxley 1967; Huxley 1969, 134. 'Kyprias' was already known from Ath. 682de (= Demodamas *FGrH* 428 F 1, also emended from *kyrios* in 334b by M.L. West ap. *Cypria* fr. 7 Davies *EGF*), and indirectly by Procl. ap. Phot. *Bibl.* 319a34 (*Cypria* T 11 and p. 33 Davies *EGF*; T 7 Bernabé *PEG*), where the argument from accentuation shows how the Halicarnassians justified their claim: by making the title not proparoxytone (Κύπρια) but paroxytone (Κυπρία) they palmed it off as a genitive, 'Of Kyprias': see Huxley 1967, 26 n. 6; West 2003, 66 f. n. 1.

⁷¹ 'Pride of Halicarnassus' inscription: Isager 1998 (*editio princeps*, 16 f. for Kyprias); Lloyd-Jones 1999a, esp. 11; Lloyd-Jones 1999b; Merkelbach and Stauber 1998, 39–45 (no. 01/12/02), esp. 44; West 2003, 64 f.

⁷² Burgess 2002 as a whole; p. 240 for cyclic poems being 'crowded out' of pan-Hellenic performances by the increasing popularity of the Homeric epics, whose 'stabilization' had a 'deadening' effect on the cyclic poems; cf. Burgess 2001, 14 f.

⁷³ Note especially schol. Hom. *Il.* 16.57: οἱ τῶν Κυπρίων ποιηταί (= *Cypria* fr. 21 Davies *EGF*; fr. 27 Bernabé *PEG*). Thus I sympathize with Finkelberg 2000, who argues for multiple written versions of the *Kypria*. Others stress a multiform tradition variously surfacing in poems *not*

We may conclude with a tentative sketch of the relationship between the ‘old *Kypria*’, its revision, and Homer. Because the storm and wandering motifs are so multiform, it becomes quite significant that in the Proclan *Kypria* (and ps.-Apollodorus) the lovers are taken specifically to Sidon. Other accounts take them to Cyprus or Egypt first, both more logical first stops on an extended (*peri*)*hodos* (clockwise or counterclockwise respectively). And it would be a strange storm which would take one past Cyprus to Phoenicia! So here perhaps the Proclan *Kypria* was indeed composed to match the *Iliad* with its haphazard and glancing allusion to Sidon. Yet other minor inconsistencies make this quite uncertain. If the poet was a Cypriot, nevertheless his diction was thoroughly assimilated to the Aeolic-Ionic mode, if not Homer himself. Janko’s mid-seventh-century dating of the fragments is based on linguistic features shared with the major hymn to Aphrodite, which would locate it relatively early in the pan-Hellenic continuum. This would accord well with the Herodotean *Kypria*, since it leaves time enough for the revision, including perhaps further modernization of diction — even some type of metagrammatism in the fifth century.⁷⁴ It is somewhat jarring that the new *Kypria* retained its title while omitting any Cypriot adventures. But since the older poem’s other episodes were indispensable — and perhaps because Aphrodite was one of its stars — these will have become synonymous with ‘the *Kypria*’ to the public mind. And indeed the poem attributed to Kyprias in the Halicarnassus inscription is not in fact called *Kypria* but *Iliaka*: this discrepancy with Herodotus and the other Kyprias testimonies is surely evidence of the sort of revision imagined by Burgess 2002. The excision of the eastward wandering would trim the work, if that were an issue (compare the shorter length of the other Cyclic poems known to Proclus). This advantage might far outweigh the small incompatibility with the *Iliad*’s allusion to Sidon and the *hodos*. It is quite striking in fact that it is just this point to which Herodotus calls attention, and which the new *Kypria*, which he quotes, labored to correct.

REFERENCES

- Allen, T. W. 1912. *Homeri Opera*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Allen, T. W. 1924. *Homer: The Origins and the Transmission*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Allen, T. W., W. R. Halliday and E. E. Sikes. 1936. *The Homeric Hymns*². Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Barker, A. 1982. The Innovations of Lysander the Kitharist. *The Classical Quarterly* n.s. 32: 266–269.
- Barker, A. 1984–1989. *Greek Musical Writings*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Boardman, J. 1980. *The Greeks Overseas*². London: Thames and Hudson.
- Borgeaud, P. 1975. L’absence d’Héphaïstos. In *Chypre des origines au moyen-âge: séminaire interdisciplinaire, semestre d’été 1975*, ed. Berchem, D. v., 156–158. Geneva: Université de Genève.
- Braun, T. F. R. G. 1982. The Greeks in the Near East. In *The Cambridge Ancient History. Volume III Part 3: The Expansion of the Greek World, Eighth to Sixth Centuries B.C.*, ed. Boardman, J. and N. G. L. Hammond, 1–31. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Burgess, J. 2001. *The Tradition of the Trojan War in Homer and the Epic Cycle*. Baltimore:

called *Kypria* (e.g. Homer’s own mention of Sidon): see Nagy 2001; Marks 2002, 4; Burgess 2002, 239 (‘Finkelberg’s multiform *Cypria* is really multiform myth’). Yet given the variations of title and authorship, it is hard to see where to draw the line.

⁷⁴ Cf. West 2003, 13: ‘The language of the fragments shows signs of lateness. The poem can hardly be earlier than the second half of the sixth century’. Yet our fragments may come from separate versions . . .

- Burgess, J. 2002. Kyprias, the "Kypria", and Multiformity. *Phoenix* 56.3/4 (Autumn 2002): 234–245.
- Burgess, J. S. 1996. The Non-Homeric Cypria. *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 126: 77–99.
- Burkert, W. 1985. *Greek Religion*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Burkert, W. 1992. *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Chatzêiôannou, K. 1971–2001. *Hê archaia Kypros eis tas Hellênikas pêgas*. Leukôsia: Ekdoseis Hieras Archiepiskopês Kyprou.
- Chatzêstephanou, K. E. 1972. Ho Stasinou kai hê archaia hellenikê tragôidia. *Στασίως Δ*: 137–144.
- Coldstream, J. N. 1972. Cypro-Aegean exchanges in the 9th and 8th Centuries B.C. In *Praktika tou prôtou Diethnous Kypriologikou Synedriou: Leukôsia, 14-19 Apriliou 1969*, ed. Karageorghis, V. and A. Christodoulos, 15–22. Leukosia/Nicosia: Hetaireia Kypriakôn Spoudôn.
- Coldstream, J. N. 1986. *The Originality of Ancient Cypriot Art*. Nicosia: Cultural Foundation of the Bank of Cyprus.
- Davies, M. 2001. *The Greek Epic Cycle²*. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.
- Dickinson, O. 2006. *The Aegean from Bronze Age to Iron Age: Continuity and Change between the Twelfth and Eighth Centuries BC*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Dothan, T. K. and M. Dothan. 1992. *People of the Sea: The Search for the Philistines*. New York, Toronto and Oxford: Macmillan.
- Durante, M. 1971. *Sulla preistoria della tradizione poetica greca*. Roma: Edizioni dell'Ateneo.
- Farnell, L. R. 1896–1909. *The Cults of the Greek States*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Finkelberg, M. 1986. Is ΚΛΕΟΣ ΑΦΘΙΤΟΝ a Homeric Formula? *The Classical Quarterly* 36: 1–5.
- Finkelberg, M. 2000. The *Cypria*, The *Iliad*, and the Problem of Multiformity in Oral and Written Tradition. *Classical Philology* 95: 1–11.
- Finkelberg, M. 2005. *Greeks and Pre-Greeks: Aegean Prehistory and Greek Heroic Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Foley, J. M. 1999a. Epic Cycles and Epic Traditions. In *Euphrosyne: studies in ancient epic and its legacy in honor of Dimitris N. Maronitis*, ed. Kazazis, J. and A. Rengakos, 99–108. Stuttgart: F. Steiner.
- Foley, J. M. 1999b. *Homer's Traditional Art*. University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Fontenrose, J. E. 1978. *The Delphic oracle, its responses and operations, with a catalogue of responses*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Ford, A. 1999. Odysseus after Dinner: *Od.* 9.2–11 and the Traditions of Symptotic Song. In *Euphrosyne: studies in ancient epic and its legacy in honor of Dimitris N. Maronitis*, ed. Kazazis, J. and A. Rengakos, 108–123. Stuttgart: F. Steiner.
- Fortin, M. 1980. Fondation de villes grecques à Chypre: légendes et découvertes archéologiques. In *Mélanges d'études anciennes offerts à Maurice Lebel*, ed. Caron, J.-B., M. Fortin and G. Maloney, 25–44. St-Jean-Chrysostôme, Québec: Éditions du Sphinx.
- Franklin, J. C. 2002. Harmony in Greek and Indo-Iranian Cosmology. *The Journal of Indo-European Studies* 30/1–2: 1–25.
- Franklin, J. C. 2003. The Language of Musical Technique in Greek Epic Diction. *Gaia. Revue interdisciplinaire sur la Grèce archaïque* 7: 295–307.
- Franklin, J. C. 2005. Hearing Greek Microtones. In *Ancient Greek Music in Performance*, ed. Hagel, S. and C. Harrauer, 9–50. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Franklin, J. C. 2006. Lyre Gods of the Bronze Age Musical Koine. *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 6.2: 39–70.

- Franklin, J. C. forthcoming-a. Mopsus at Karatepe: The Musical Cosmopolis of Que. In *Music and Politics in Ancient Greek Societies*, ed. Yatromanolakis, D., London and New York: Routledge.
- Franklin, J. C. forthcoming-b. "Song-Benders of Circular Choruses": Dithyramb and the "Demise of Music". In *Song Culture and Social Change: The Contexts of Dithyramb*, ed. Wilson, P. and B. Kowalzig, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Frazer, J. G. 1921. *Apollodorus. The library*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Frazer, R. M. 1966. *The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian*. Bloomington, Indiana and London: Indiana University Press.
- Gantz, T. 1993. *Early Greek Myth: A Guide to Literary and Artistic Sources*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Gentili, B. and P. Giannini. 1977. Preistoria e formazione dell'esametro. *Quaderni urbinati di cultura classica* 26: 7–51.
- Georgiadis, K. 1973. Ho Stasinós kai ta Kupria epê. *Στασίνοσ Δ'* 1968–1972: 137–143.
- Ghali-Kalil, L. B. 1955. *Les enlèvements et le retour d'Hélène dans les textes et les documents figurés*. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Gjerstad, E. 1944. The Colonization of Cyprus in Greek Legend. *Opuscula Archaeologica* 3: 107–123.
- Gjerstad, E. 1948. *The Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Achaic and Cypro-Classical Periods*. Stockholm: s.n. (The Swedish Cyprus Expedition).
- Goldhill, S. 1991. *The poet's voice: essays on poetics and Greek literature*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Haslam, M., 'Homeric Papyri and Transmission of the Text', in Morris, I./Powell, B. (ed.), *Homeric Papyri and Transmission of the Text* (Leiden, 1997), 84–7.
- Haug, D. and E. Welø. 2001. The Proto-Hexameter Hypothesis: Perspectives for Further Research. *Symbolae Osloenses* 76: 130–136.
- Hill, G. F. 1940–1952. *A History of Cyprus*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hornblower, S. and A. Spawforth, ed. 1999. *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*³. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Houwink ten Cate, P. H. J. 1961. *The Luwian population groups of Lycia and Cilicia Aspera during the Hellenistic period*. Leiden: Brill.
- Huxley, G. L. 1967. A Problem in the *Kypria*. *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 8: 25–27.
- Huxley, G. L. 1969. *Greek Epic Poetry from Eumelos to Panyassis*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Iakovou, M. 1997. Images in Silhouette: The Missing Link of the Figurative Representations on Eleventh Century B.C. Cypriote Pottery. In *Four Thousand Years of Images on Cypriote Pottery*, ed. Karageorghis, V., R. Laffineur and F. Vandenabeele, 61–71 and pll. XII–XV. Brussels: s.n.
- Isager, S. 1998. The Pride of Halicarnassos. *Editio princeps* of an Inscription from Salmakis. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 123: 1–23.
- Janko, R. 1982. *Homer, Hesiod and the Hymns*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Janko, R. 1992. *The Iliad: A Commentary, Volume IV: books 13-16*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jouan, F. 1966. *Euripide et les legends des chants cypriens*. Paris:
- Kannicht, R. 1982. Poetry and Art: Homer and the Monuments Afresh. *Classical Antiquity* 1: 70–86.
- Kapera, Z. J. 1969. Die Terrakottaflotte des Kinyras. *Bibliotheca Classica et Orientalis* 14: 46–56.
- Karageorghis, J. 1977. *La grande déesse de Chypre et son culte à travers l'iconographie de l'époque néolithique au VIème s.a.C*. Lyon and Paris: Maison de l'Orient.
- Karageorghis, J. 1988. L'apport des gloses à notre connaissance du dialecte chyprien ancien. In *The History of the Greek language in Cyprus: Proceedings of an International Symposium sponsored by the Pierides Foundation, Larnaca*,

- Cyprus, 8-13 September 1986*, ed. Karageorghis, J. and O. Masson, 181–198. Nicosia: Pierides Foundation Larnaca.
- Karageorghis, V. 1967. *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis (Salamis Volume 3)*. Nicosia:
- Karageorghis, V. 1968. *Mycenaean Art from Cyprus*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- Karageorghis, V. 1969. *Salamis: Recent Discoveries in Cyprus*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Karageorghis, V. 1976. *Kition: Mycenaean and Phoenician discoveries in Cyprus*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Karageorghis, V. 1980. Fouilles à l'Antienne-Paphos de Chypre: les premiers colons grecs. *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*: 122–136.
- Karageorghis, V. 1982a. Cyprus. In *The Cambridge Ancient History*.² *Volume III Part 1: The Prehistory of the Balkans; and the Middle East and the Aegean world, tenth to eight centuries B.C.*, ed. Boardman, J. and N. G. L. Hammond, 511–533. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Karageorghis, V. 1982b. Cyprus. In *The Cambridge Ancient History*.² *Volume III, Part 3: The Expansion of the Greek World, Eighth to Sixth Centuries B.C.*, ed. Boardman, J. and N. G. L. Hammond, 57–70. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Karageorghis, V. 1999. *Excavating at Salamis in Cyprus, 1952–1974*. Athens: A. G. Leventis Foundation.
- Karageorghis, V. 2006a. *Aspects of Everyday Life in Ancient Cyprus: Iconographic Representations*. Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation.
- Karageorghis, V. 2006b. Homeric Cyprus. In *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer*, ed. Deger-Jalkotzy, S. and I. S. Lemos, 665–675. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Karageorghis, V. and J. des Gagniers. 1974. *La Céramique chypriote de style figuré*. Rome: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, Istituto per gli studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici.
- Kirk, G. S. 1985. *The Iliad: A Commentary, Volume I: books 1-4*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kirk, G. S. 1990. *The Iliad: A Commentary, Volume II: books 5-8*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Knapp, A. B. 2008. *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus: Identity, Insularity, and Connectivity*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kuhn, A. 1853. Über die durch nasale erweiterten verbalstämme. *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 2: 455–471.
- Lawergren, B. 1998. Distinctions among Canaanite, Philistine, and Israelite Lyres, and their Global Lyrical Contexts. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 309: 41–68.
- Leaf, W. 1900. *The Iliad. Edited, with Apparatus Criticus, Prolegomena, Notes, and Appendices*². London and New York: Macmillan and Co. limited.
- Leumann, M. 1950. *Homerische Wörter*. Basel: Verlag Friedrich Reinhardt.
- Liddell, H. G., R. Scott and H. S. Jones. 1940. *A Greek-English Lexicon*⁹. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lloyd-Jones, H. 1972. Stasinos and the Cypria. *Stasinos* 4: 115–122.
- Lloyd-Jones, H. 1999a. The Pride of Halicarnassus. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 124: 1–14.
- Lloyd-Jones, H. 1999b. The Pride of Halicarnassus: Corrigenda and Addenda. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 127: 63–65.
- Loucas-Durie, E. 1989. Kinyras et la sacralisation de la fonction technique à Chypre. *Métis* 4.1: 117–127.
- Luckenbill, D. D. 1926–1927. *Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Maas, M. and J. Snyder. 1989. *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.
- Mackay, E. A. 1995. Narrative Tradition In Early Greek Oral Poetry And Vase-Painting Oral Tradition 10.2: 282–303.
- Maier, F. G. 1986. Kinyras and Agapenor. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident," Nicosia, 8-14 September 1985*, ed. Karageorghis, V., 311–320. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- Maier, F. G. and V. Karageorghis. 1984. *Paphos: history and archaeology*. Nicosia: A.G. Leventis Foundation.
- Malkin, I. 1998. *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Marks, J. 2002. The Junction between the *Kypria* and the *Iliad*. Phoenix 56: 1–24.
- Masson, O. 1961. *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques; recueil critique et commenté*. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Masson, O. 1975. Le Mot ἰνιτς. Revue des études grecques 88: 1–15.
- Masson, O. 1980. Le dialecte chypriote de Salamine. In *Salamine de Chypre: histoire et archéologie: état des recherches: Lyon, 13-17 mars 1978*, ed. Yon, M. Paris: Éditions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique.
- Masson, O. and E. Masson. 1983. Les Objets inscrits de Palaepaphos-Skales. In *Palaepaphos-Skales: an Iron Age Cemetery in Cyprus*, ed. Karageorghis, 411–415. Konstanz:
- Masson, O. and T. B. Mitford. 1986. *Les inscriptions syllabiques de Kouklia-Paphos*. Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz.
- Merkelbach, R. and J. Stauber, ed. 1998. *Steinepigramme aus dem griechischen Osten. 1: Die Westküste Kleinasiens von Knidos bis Ilion*. Stuttgart: Teubner.
- Mitford, T. B. 1971. *The Inscriptions of Kourion*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
- Mitford, T. B. and O. Masson. 1983. *The Syllabic Inscriptions of Rantidi-Paphos*. Konstanz: Universitätsverlag Konstanz.
- Moulton, C. 1977. *Similes in the Homeric Poems*. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
- Nagy, G. 1979. *The Best of the Achaeans: Concepts of the Hero in Archaic Greek Art and Poetry*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Nagy, G. 1990. *Pindar's Homer: The Lyric Possession of an Epic Past*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Nagy, G. 1995. An Evolutionary Model for the Making of Homeric Poetry: Comparative Perspectives. In *The Ages of Homer. A Tribute to Emily Townsend Vermeule*, ed. Carter, J. B. and S. P. Morris, 163–179. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Nagy, G. 2001. Homeric Poetry and the Problems of Multiformity: The "Panathenaic Bottleneck". Classical Philology 96: 109–119.
- Nagy, G. 2003. *Homeric Responses*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Nettl, B. 1985. *The Western Impact on World Music: Change, Adaptation, and Survival*. New York and London: Schirmer Books.
- Nicolaou, I. 1964. Inscriptions Cypriae Alphabeticae (III) 1963. Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus: 189–219.
- Palaeocosta, E. 1998. L'iconographie des joueurs de lyre à Chypre. Cahiers du Centre d'études chypriotes 28: 45–66, plates I-XI.
- Parry, M. 1932. Studies in the Epic Technique of Oral Verse-Making. II. The Homeric Language as the Language of an Oral Poetry. Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 43: 1–50.
- Preller, L. and C. Robert. 1894-1926. *Die griechische Heldensage*⁴. Berlin: Weidmann.
- Reyes, A. T. 1994. *Archaic Cyprus. A Study of the Textual and Archaeological Evidence*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Richardson, N. J. 1991. Homer and Cyprus. In *The civilizations of the Aegean and their diffusion in Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean, 2000-600 BC : proceedings*

- of an international symposium, 18-24 September 1989, ed. Karageorghis, V., 124–128. Larnaca: Pierides Foundation.
- Risch, E. 1988. Le développement du chypriote dans le cadre des dialectes grecs anciens. In *The History of the Greek language in Cyprus: Proceedings of an International Symposium sponsored by the Pierides Foundation, Larnaca, Cyprus, 8-13 September 1986*, ed. Karageorghis, J. and O. Masson, 67–80. Nicosia: Pierides Foundation Larnaca.
- Rupp, D. 1988. The "Royal Tombs" at Salamis (Cyprus): Ideological Messages of Power and Authority. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 1.1: 111–139.
- Russo, J. 1999. Stesichorus, Homer, and the Forms of Early Greek Epic. In *Euphrosyne: studies in ancient epic and its legacy in honor of Dimitris N. Maronitis*, ed. Kazazis, J. and A. Rengakos, 339–348. Stuttgart: F. Steiner.
- Sandars, N. K. 1978. *The Sea Peoples. Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Scaife, R. 1995. The *Kypria* and its Early Reception. *Classical Antiquity* 14: 164–197.
- Severyns, A. 1938–1963. *Recherches sur la Chrestomathie de Proclus*. Liège and Paris: Faculté de philosophie et lettres / E. Droz.
- Sherratt, S. E. 1992. Immigration and Archaeology: Some Indirect Reflections. In *Acta Cypria: Acts of an international Congress on Cypriote Archaeology held in Göteborg on 22-24 August, 1991. Part 2*, ed. 316–347. Jonsered: P. Åströms förlag.
- Snodgrass, A. 1988. *Cyprus and Early Greek History*. Nicosia: Cultural Foundation of the Bank of Cyprus.
- Snodgrass, A. 1998. *Homer and the Artists*. Cambridge: Cambridge U.P.
- Stiehle, R. 1853. Die kyklischen nosten. *Philologus* 8: 49–77.
- Thalmann, W. G. 1984. *Conventions of form and thought in early Greek epic poetry*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Wagner, R. 1891. *Epitoma vaticana ex Apollodori Bibliotheca*. Leipzig: S. Hirzelium.
- Wagner, R., ed. 1894. *Apollodori Bibliotheca. Pediasimi libellus De duodecim Herculis laboribus*. Leipzig: Teubner.
- Watkins, C. 1995. *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Welcker, F. G. 1849. *Der epische Cyclus II*. Bonn: E. Weber.
- West, M. L. 1983. *The Orphic Poems*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- West, M. L. 1988. The Rise of Greek Epic. *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* 108: 151–172.
- West, M. L. 1992. *Ancient Greek Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- West, M. L. 1997a. Homer's Metre. In *A New Companion to Homer*, ed. Morris, I. and B. Powell, 218–37. Leiden: Brill.
- West, M. L. 1997b. *The East Face of Helicon*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- West, M. L. 2001. *Studies in the text and transmission of the Iliad*. München: K. G. Saur.
- West, M. L. 2003. *Greek epic fragments from the seventh to the fifth centuries BC*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.