

Kinyras: The Divine Lyre
Book Proposal for Oxford University Press

Kinyras is best known to Classicists from Ovid's late retelling of an incestuous seduction by Myrrha (or Smyrna)—his own daughter—whose incessant weeping induces her metamorphosis into the myrrh tree, the aromatic drops of which were used to anoint the baby Adonis (*Ov. Met.* 10.298–502). But a rich and scattered body of further references—never completely assembled—ranges from Homer to Byzantine poets and scholars; even Étienne de Lusignan, the 16th century Franco-Cypriot historian, preserves a surprising amount of unique material. Past studies have established clearly that already by the eighth century Kinyras served as the central culture hero of pre-Greek Cyprus (Dussaud 1950; Baurain 1980; et al.)—now securely identified with the kingdom of Alashiya through recent petrographic analysis of the Amarna letters which originated there (Goren et al. 2003). But while his associations with Cyprus are dominant, some sources assert that the island was not his *original* home, which they variously locate in Cilicia, Phoenicia, “Syria” or “Assyria”.

Kinyras increased considerably in depth and complexity with J. Nougayrol's demonstration in 1968 that a god called Kinnāru was listed in the “pantheon” texts of Ugarit (actually lists of gods who received divine offerings in official city rituals: Pardee 2000). The *kinnāru* (< W. Sem. or areal \sqrt{knr}) was a type of lyre known throughout the West Semitic world and its periphery, textually attested from the later third millennium onwards, and plausibly associated with a large family of iconographic representations across roughly the same temporal and geographical range (Lawergren 1990). The peripheral examples, already well represented in the second millennium, are important parallels for understanding how the *kinnāru*—whether as instrument or god—might already have been present on Bronze Age Cyprus. This is also the period in which the deification of musical instruments, and especially lyres, is best attested. The relevant texts go back to the third millennium in Mesopotamia (Ur III period and earlier): god-lists attest over a hundred individually named balag-gods, while several literary and ritual texts make their nature and function quite clear (Heimpel 1998; Franklin 2006; Gabbay in press). There is a Hittite parallel, and a similar conception may underlie Egyptian chordophones affixed with a god's head. In Sumerian sources such instruments cannot be distinguished from other “real” gods (Selz 1997): they received the same sorts of offerings, and could even figure in mythological narratives, as appears most clearly from the *Gudea Cylinders* (c.2100). The comparative evidence makes it practically certain that the Divine Knr was not limited to Ugarit, but more widely current in Levant and North Syria during the second millennium (Franklin in press c).

Kinnāru was promptly hailed as an ancestor of Kinyras (Jirku 1963; Ribichini 1981, 48–51 and 1982). This remains a general consensus among Semiticists, and has often been noted in passing, although only S. Ribichini has made any progress towards harmonizing the Greco-Roman sources with the Near Eastern cultural context. Still lacking, however, is a detailed consideration of three key questions:

- 1) The evidence for a musical Kinyras, since this is obviously basic to proving an origin in divinized temple instruments;
- 2) How and why the Divine Lyre, of all creatures in the complicated cultures of Cyprus and the surrounding lands, could become the island's culture-hero and “national” figurehead; and
- 3) When, whence, and under what circumstances “Kinyras” is most likely to have entered the Cypriot cultural sphere.

A successful comparison of Kinyras and Kinnāru—considered as a wider type—must harmonize

the Cypriot king's mythological portfolio in Greco-Roman sources with what is known of deified lyres in the Bronze Age palace-temple networks, and their intersection with royal ritual and the performance of official liturgical music in the Near East. A careful synthesis allows the two bodies of evidence to become mutually illuminating, and permits new deductions about royal ideology and cultic practice in the palace-states of the early Levant. The Ugaritic ritual and 'paramythological' texts especially shine considerable light on the intersection of kingship and lyre-music, and Ebla and Mari make contributions earlier still. Though relating to a slightly later period, the Biblical narratives concerning the United Monarchy provide crucial comparanda, especially the transfer of the Ark to Jerusalem; here David, in his emulation of Bronze Age royal ideology and praxis, is represented as personally performing a major kingship ritual while wielding the *kinnōr*-lyre (Franklin in press b).

The analysis of Kinyras in Greek and Roman authors is complicated by his long involvement with Cypriot culture, which underwent a number of political reorientations from the Bronze Age onwards, and which at all periods is a rich hybrid deriving from the interplay of 'insularity and connectivity' (Knapp 2008; Reyes 1994). I shall argue that these factors caused several modulations of the ideology surrounding Kinyras, and that the testimonia reflect a variety of cultural perspectives—Greek, Greek-Cypriot, Eteocypriot, and several Levantine views—deriving from various chronological periods, and reaching as far back as the Late Bronze Age. The key re-articulation clearly relates to Cyprus' settlement by Greek-speakers in the twelfth and eleventh centuries. Hence many sources reflect a bifurcation between a sort of Optimus Augustus and benevolent first-inventor figure on the one hand, and the faithless, quasi-Phoenician king who breaks a promise of naval assistance to Agamemnon (in the lost epic *Cypria*: Franklin in press a). These extremes are harmonized on Cyprus itself by the dynasties of Paphos and Salamis, which claimed maternal (n.b.) descent from daughters of Kinyras.

I shall argue that the evidence comes together best if we suppose that the Alashiyan monarchs, in their priestly execution, literal or symbolic, of key state rituals involving liturgical music—notably hierogamy, royal lamentation, and mortuary cult—presented themselves *as Kinyras*, "performing" him in some sense, donning his mantle for their own ritual *drōmena* as they emulated one or more continental neighbors. One may compare the Ugaritic ritual texts, in which the king is virtually the only visible agent, despite the undoubted role of singers and other cultic performers who are well known from the economic documents (a 'Singer of Astarte' is also attested there). These conclusions will seem less radical when one considers that the evidence from Ebla, Mari, Ugarit, and the Bible shows King and Knr-lyre coming together precisely in the venue of state ritual. These conceptions flourished in the Bronze Age, and the uniquely revealing David consciously emulated them.

Moreover, a key but neglected phonological consideration—the so-called Canaanite Shift of c.1800 BCE, whereby common Semitic *ā* became *ō* in the Canaanite dialects (which include Phoenician and Hebrew)—lets us exclude Kinnāru of Ugarit as the direct ancestor of Kinyras, and invites us to contemplate a home in the Canaanite dialect zone proper. In fact a number of sources connect Kinyras with Byblos and a doppelgänger called 'Theias', including Jerome's provocative and still-unexplained datum, mined from Eusebius, that Paphos was 'founded' by 'Phoinix' in 1425 BCE. This is perhaps to be connected with the construction of the monumental sanctuary at Paphos, which probably predates the Grecophone influx (Maier/Karageorghis 1984)—and the aniconic representation of the goddess by a *baitylon*, which goes back to the Bronze Age and may be paralleled by contemporary continental practices, including at Byblos (Lipinski 1995, 67, 76–9). There is also the mainland tradition that Baalat Gebal, the Lady of Byblos, was originally the queen of Cyprus before her coupling with Adonis and consequent affiliation with the Byblian royal house, under the command of "Kuthar" (ps.-Melito: see Cureton 1855). This is one of several sources, including Philo of Byblos, which attest a local syncretism between 'Kinyras' and Kothar, the craftsman-god of the Semitic Levant and northern Syria, including Ugarit (Brown 1965). Important here are several Linear B tablets from Pylos which

already attest the ‘shifted’ form ‘Kinyras’ (*ki-nu-ra*). Although it is found there as a personal name, it was born by two people operating in contexts relevant to the mythological dossier of the Kinyras, namely ship-building and hieratic activity (the latter echoing the original powers of the Divine Lyre, and the former deriving from Kothar).

The foregoing hypotheses, supported by a wealth of comparative evidence, help explain why ‘Kinyras’, in later mythological memory of Cyprus’ vanished palace society, could serve as a royal, ‘national’ symbol of the island’s golden age. That is, Kinyras is not merely a later cipher of the past, *but was a symbolic figurehead already in the Alashiyan period*. After the fall of that kingdom, the old ideology rang on in popular memory under the name of Kinyras, whose well-established position let him be shared by Greeks, Greco-Cypriots, and Eteocypriots as a common reference point in their contested (if symbiotic) history. In the case of the Paphian Kinyradai, the allegation of continuous descent from Kinyras was at least bolstered by real continuity in the cult of ‘Aphrodite’, who was locally known down through the Hellenistic period by the old Mycenaean royal title ‘Wanassa’. It seems increasingly likely that Paphos was in fact the principal religious site of Alashiya, whose capital was probably located in the southeastern Troodos—the region from which the clay of the Alashiyan Amarna tablets came—where it would be ideally situated to control copper extraction (Knapp 1997, 61–2). The site of Alassa, long known as somehow perpetuating the ancient kingdom’s name, has re-emerged as a plausible candidate for the ancient capital (against the long-favored Enkomi). A new Italian survey project of the Kouris river valley, in which Alassa lies, may clarify the situation (Jasink 2008, etc.).

The Kinyradai of Paphos, I shall argue, perpetuated the old Alashiyan claims—even though this city’s kings already bear Greek names when first attested in the seventh century, when one appears in the Esarhaddon prism inscription. This hypothesis also illuminates the late fifth-century machinations of Euagoras of Salamis, whose claim of ‘Kinyrad’ descent now appears as a challenge to the island-wide religious, if not political, authority of his Paphian rivals, and as a means of appealing to the island’s Eteocypriot element, concentrated at Amathus (the latter point is no factoid, I argue). The Paphian Kinyradai also present a striking parallel to the musical ‘guilds’ of Ugarit and the United Monarchy. As M. L. West has noted, the Greek patronymic suffix might yield simultaneously “sons of Kinyras” and “sons of the *kinyra*-lyre” (West 1997, 57). But while West is right in one sense that “(Kinyras) is nothing but the mythical eponymous ancestor of the Kinyradai” (ibid.), the lyre gods of the Bronze Age show that Kinyras was not a simple back-construction (as West and others see Homer’s relationship to the *Homeridai*)—but the very root of the phenomenon. Perhaps the most puzzling aspect of the Kinyradai is that, at Paphos itself, the title had both a diachronic and synchronic sense, which were simultaneously operative. Thus the Paphian kings, before the Ptolemaic conquest, presented themselves as members of an ancient dynasty stretching back to Kinyras himself, that is, to the Alashiyan period. Yet Hellenistic inscriptions show that the “Kinyradai” were equally one of the shrine’s colleges of priests, of which their “chief” (*ho archos tôn kinyradôn*) apparently perpetuated the old ritual functions of the king. These two senses can be well harmonized by supposing that the Paphian king, in presiding over state rituals as high priest, did so specifically in the office of chief “kinyrist”—whether he did so literally or symbolically. Moreover, the Kinyradai as a royal dynasty is distinctly suggestive of royal mortuary cult of the type known from Ugarit where, the *kinnāru* played an important symbolic role in the cult of divinized ancestors (Franklin in press c).

The foregoing sketch lays out the central problem and main concerns of the proposed book. In terms of methodology and engagement with contemporary scholarship, the study addresses issues of ethnicity and identity; migration and colonization, especially the Aegean diaspora to Cyprus, Cilicia, and Philistia; cultural interface, both between the Aegean and Near East as part of the Bronze Age palace *koinê*, and between Greek, Eteocypriot, and Levantine groups on Iron Age Cyprus; early Greek poetics, epic memory, and mythmaking; performance traditions and music archeology; royal ideology and the ritual poetics underpinning traditional authority; and a host of specific linguistic and philological issues arising from the analysis and collation of sources.

My manuscript (see TOC below) is currently about 240 single-spaced pages, of which 180 are as close to completion as the submitted sample chapters. The remainder is in various evolutionary states, some reasonably advanced. I append here my Table of Contents for reference.

KINYRAS: THE DIVINE LYRE

Note that **boldface** indicates a completed section. An * indicates a submitted sample.

Preface

Abbreviations

List of Figures

Introduction*

One: The Lyre Gods*

The Divine Kinnāru

Sumerian Lyre Gods and Musician Kings

Divinized Instruments

Gudea and The Balag-Counselor

Shulgi and the Ideal of Music

Lovely Royal Music for Inana

Two: The Kinnāru-Lyre and Bronze Age Royal Ritual

Introduction: The Kinnāru-Lyre

Early Bronze Age: The Kinnārum at Ebla

Middle Bronze Age: The Kinnāru at Mari

Late Bronze Age: Kinnāru at Ugarit*

The King and his Musicians

The Hurrian Hymns

Kinnāru and the Praise of Baal

Bow and Lyre in the *Tale of Aqhat*

Rāpū, Kinnāru, and the Eternal Power of Music

Isaiah and the Lyres of the Rephaim

Raising the Royal Lyre Lament

The Jewish Kinnôr: David and Royal Ritual under the United Monarchy

David, Solomon, and the Demands of Great Kingship

Musical Management and the First Temple

The Kinnôr and the Divine Knr

The Kinnôr Speaks

David and the Lyre God

Peripherals, Hybrids, and the Canaanite Shift

Emar, Alalakh, and the Hurrian Periphery

Cosmopolitan Music in New Kingdom Egypt

The Canaanite Shift

Greek Evidence from the Cyprosyrian Interface

Three: Kinyras in Alashiya (Bronze Age Cyprus)

Cyprus, Alashiya, and the Bronze Age Koine

Alashiya and Alassa

Alashiya and the International Palatial Economy

Alashiya and the Mainland Gods

Kinyras and the Industries of Alashiya

Oilman and *Parfumeur*

Sailor and Fisherman

Metallurge and Potter

Kinyras and Alashiyan Royal Ideology

Kinyras and Shulgi

The Virtues of Kinyras

Music and the Harmonious Realm: Two Cypriot Stands

The Royal Mask of Kinyras

Four: Kinyras on the Edge

The Melding of Kinyras and Kothar

Lucian: Kinyras at Aphaqa

Ps.-Melito: Kuthar, Balthi, and Byblos

Philo of Byblos: Chousor and his Lost Twin

Music and Craftsmanship

Exchanging Lyres

Kinyras and the Queen of Heaven

***Fama Recentior*: Kinyras at Paphos**

The Kinyradai

The Queen of Heaven

Kinyras in ‘Assyria’

Kinyras at Byblos

Byblos: Kinyras, Theias, and Kothar

Kinyras, Byblos, and the Canaanite Shift

Byblos and Alashiya

Kinyras at Pylos

Kinyras and the Priests

Kinyras the Shipbuilder

A Kinyras Complex

Five: Kinyras the Musician

The Battle of Apollo and Kinyras

Pindar, Hieron, and the Example of Kinyras

Apollo *Kenuristês* at Paphos

Phoenix *Kinurizôn*

Kinyras the Lamentor

Menelaus and the Mother’s Lament of Patroclus

***Kinuresthai* in Aeschylus and Aristophanes**

Kinyras and the Hellenistic Poets

The Tears of Myrrha

Excursus: Converting Kinyras

The Ascension of the Lyre God: St. Ephrem and other Christian Symbolism

‘Some Kinyras’

St. Ephrem and the Two Lyres of God

Jesus Kinurizôn: The Acts of Xanthippe and Polyxena

Étienne de Lusignan and ‘The God Cinaras’
Ancient Literature, Local Legends
The East Face of Medieval Cyprus
The Island’s Ancient ‘God-Men’

Conclusion and Further Perspectives

REFERENCES AND SELECTIVE BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Albright, W. F., *Yahweh and the gods of Canaan; a historical analysis of two contrasting faiths* (Garden City, New York, 1968).
- Baurain, C., 'Kinyras. La Fin de l'Age du Bronze à Chypre et la tradition antique', *BCH* 104 (1980), 277–308.
- 'KINURAS et KERAMOS', *Ant. Class.* 50 (1981), 23–37.
- Borgeaud, P., 'L'absence d'Héphaïstos', in Berchem, D. v. (ed.), *Chypre des origines au moyen-âge: séminaire interdisciplinaire, semestre d'été 1975* (Geneva, 1975), 156–158.
- Brown, J. P., 'Kothar, Kinyras, and Kythereia', *JSS* 10 (1965), 197–219.
- Cayla, J.-B., 'A Propos de Kinyras. Nouvelle lecture d'une épiclèse d'Apollon à Chypre.' *CCEC* 31 (2001), 69–81.
- Cureton, W., *Spicilegium Syriacum, Containing Remains of Bardesan, Meliton, Ambrose, and Mara bar Serapion* (London, 1855).
- Dussaud, R., 'Kinyras. Étude sur les anciens cultes chypriotes', *Syria* 27 (1950), 57–81.
- Engel, W. H., *Kypros: eine Monographie* (Berlin, 1841).
- Franklin, J. C., 'Lyre Gods of the Bronze Age Musical Koine', *JANER* 6.2 (2006), 39–70.
- 'The Global Economy of Music in the Ancient Near East', in Westenholz, J. G. (ed.), *Sounds of Ancient Music* (Jerusalem, 2007), 27–37.
- 'Cyprus, Greek Epic, and Kypriaka', in Maurey, Y., et al. (ed.), *Yuval. Studies of the Jewish Music Research Centre. Vol. 8: Sounds from the Past: Music in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean Worlds* (Jerusalem, in press a).
- "'Sweet Psalmist of Israel": The Kinnôr and Royal Ideology in the United Monarchy', in Heimpel, W. (ed.), *Anne Kilmer Festschrift* (in press b).
- 'Kinyras and the Musical Stratigraphy of Cyprus', in Krispijn, Th. (ed.), *Musical Traditions in the Middle East: Reminiscences of a Distant Past* (in press c).
- Frazer, J. G., *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (London, 1906).
- Gabbay, U., 'The Balag Instrument and its Role in the Cult of Ancient Mesopotamia', in *Yuval* 8 (in press).
- Gjerstad, E., 'The Colonization of Cyprus in Greek Legend', *Op. Arch.* 3 (1944), 107–123.
- *The Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Achaic and Cypro-Classical Periods* (Stockholm, 1948).
- Goren, Y., et al., 'The Location of Alashiya: New Evidence from Petrographic Investigation of Alashiyan Tablets from El-Amarna and Ugarit', *AJA* 107 (2003), 233–255.
- Heimpel, W., 'Harp Gods', unpublished paper circulated by author (1998).
- Heyne, C. G., *Ad Apollodori Bibliothecam observationes* (Göttingen, 1803).
- Hill, G. F., *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge, 1940–1952).
- Hogarth, D. G., et al., 'Excavations in Cyprus, 1887-88. Paphos, Leontari, Amargetti', *JHS* 9 (1888), 147–271.
- Jasink, Anna Margherita, et al., 'The Kouris Valley Survey Project: 2007 preliminary report', *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus* (2008), 159–82.
- Jirku, A., 'Der kyprische Heros Kinyras und der syrische Gott Kinaru(m)', *FuF* 37 (1963), 211.
- Kapera, Z. J., 'Kinyras and the Son of Mygdalion. Two Remarks on the Ancient Cypriot Onomastica', *FoOr* 13 (1971), 130–142.
- Karageorghis, V. (ed.), *Cyprus in the 11th Century B.C. Proceedings of the International Symposium Held at Nicosia, 30-31 October 1993* (Athens and Nicosia, 1994).
- Knapp, A. B., *The archaeology of late Bronze Age Cypriot society: the study of settlement, survey and landscape* (Glasgow, 1997).
- *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus: Identity, Insularity, and Connectivity* (Oxford and New York, 2008).

- Lawergren, B. 'Distinctions among Canaanite, Philistine, and Israelite Lyres, and their Global Lyrical Contexts', *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*, 309 (1998), 41–68.
- Lipinski, E., *Dieux et déesses de l'univers phénicien et punique* (Leuven, 1995).
- Loucas-Durie, E., 'Kinyras et la sacralisation de la fonction technique à Chypre', *Métis* 4.1 (1989), 117–127.
- Maier, F. G., 'Kinyras and Agapenor', in Karageorghis, V. (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident,"* Nicosia, 8-14 September 1985 (Nicosia, 1986), 311–320.
- 'Priest Kings in Cyprus', in Peltenburg, E. (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus* (Edinburgh, 1989), 376–391.
- Maier, F. G. / Karageorghis, V., *Paphos: History and Archaeology* (Nicosia, 1984).
- Nougayrol, J., 'Nouveaux textes d'Ugarit en cunéiforms babyloniens (20^e campagne, 1956)', *CRAIBL* (1957), 77–86.
- Pardee, Dennis, *Les textes rituels* (Ras Shamra-Ougarit XII; Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 2000).
- Reyes, A. T., *Archaic Cyprus. A Study of the Textual and Archaeological Evidence* (Oxford, 1994).
- Ribichini, S., *Adonis. Aspetti "orientali" di un mito greco* (Rome, 1981).
- 'Kinyras di Cipro', *Religioni e civiltà* 3 (1982), 479–500.
- Selz, G. J., "'The Holy Drum, the Spear, and the Harp": Towards an Understanding of the Problems of Deification in Third Millennium Mesopotamia', in I. L. Finkel and M. J. Geller (eds.), *Sumerian Gods and Their Representations* (Cuneiform Monographs 7; Groningen: Styx Publications, 1997), 167–213.
- Sherrat, E. S., 'Immigration and archaeology: some indirect reflections', in Åström, P. (ed.), *Acta Cypria: Acts of an international Congress on Cypriot Archaeology held in Göteborg on 22-24 August, 1991. Part 2* (Jonsered, 1992), 316–347.
- West, M. L., *The East Face of Helicon* (Oxford, 1997).