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The Triple Invention of Writing in Cyprus and Written Sources for Cypriote History

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> -"*I pity the poor immigrant / When his gladness comes to pass.*"
> — *Bob Dylan, "I Pity the Poor Immigrant"*

1.a Purpose

This paper is about collective memory and identity, and about how peoples work hard to achieve collective and individual identity.[1] What I want to do in it is use written records to explore the intractable subject of Cypriote ethnicity during the long period of ca. 1,300 years (1500-200 B.C.E.) when the inhabitants of the island of Cyprus used writing systems unique to themselves among the developed cultures of the eastern Mediterranean, Anatolia, and the Near and Middle East.[2] This is a remarkable phenomenon, given how central the island of Cyprus and its resources were within international economic and geopolitical systems over this span of time. In and of itself, it speaks to a fierce need among inhabitants of the island to assert their own identity.

1.b Prefatory Remarks

First, however, I would like to speak more personally about memory and identity. Bob Dylan, in the first volume of his just-published autobiography, says this of his deep interest in the tradition of folk music:[3]

> Folk songs are the way I explored the universe. They were pictures and the pictures were worth more than anything I could say. I knew the inner substance of the thing. I could connect the pieces....

Most of the other performers tried to put themselves across, rather than the song, but...[w]ith me, it was putting the song across.

I think his observations contain a fine metaphor for what I have had the privilege to experience in preparing the Leventis lecture for 2004.

To spend time reading, or rereading, books and articles by Vassos Karageorghis, Olivier Masson, Louis Robert, Terence B. Mitford, Ino Nicolaou, Emmett L. Bennett, Jr., Jean-Pierre Olivier, Cornelis J. Ruijgh, C.M. Bowra, Guenter Neumann, Yves Duhoux, Pierre Chantraine, Hjalmar Frisk, Francisco Aura Jorro, José L. Melena, John T. Killen, Frieda Vandenabeele, Anthony Snodgrass, John Chadwick, John Franklin Daniel and Michael Ventris is to come into contact with, as Dylan puts it, the substance of the thing, i.e., with scholars whose humanism and dedication to the purity and integrity of their work are what Herodotus would call μεγάλα χρήματα, 'big things', surely bigger than what most of society at large values today.

Read or reread fifty, forty, thirty years after they were written, their works of scholarship, like great folk songs, "glow like burning coal." These scholars became big not because they tried to put themselves across, but because the work they did is big and true. They deserve the status the ancient Greeks conferred in localized hero cults. It is an honor for me to offer here what can be considered footnotes to their work.

2. Introduction

Any scholar who takes an interest in the history of the island of Cyprus identifies Cypriote scholarship with the benefactions of the Leventis Foundation in sponsoring and supporting research projects, symposia, conferences, lectures, publications, museum work and exhibitions about Cypriote history and culture. I would like to thank the Leventis Foundation for the honor they bestowed by inviting me to deliver the Anastasios G. Leventis Annual Lecture for 2004 in memory of Constantine Leventis.

2.a κλέος and the Preservation of Traditional Memory

If there is one category of scholars who appreciate, even more than archaeologists, how fragile memory is, it is those of us who work with inscribed materials. The ancient Greeks, to my mind, were the first existentialists. Their vision of an afterlife was grim.

No further proof is needed than Achilles' remark to Odysseus in *Odyssey* Book 11.488-491:

μὴ δή μοι θάνατόν γε παραύδα, φαίδιμ' Ὀδυσσεῦ,
βουλοίμην κ' ἐπάρουρος ἐὼν θητευέμεν ἄλλῳ,
ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, ᾧ μὴ βίοτος πολὺς εἴη,
ἢ πᾶσιν νεκύεσσι καταφθιμένοισιν ἀνάσσειν.

"Don't speak lightly to me about death, splendid Odysseus.
I would rather be bound to the land as a hired hand
Working for some share-cropper who can barely make a living,
Than be *wanaks* over all the dead who have passed away."
(Translation mine.)

Immortality for the Greeks lay in social memory, in κλέος, the collective memory within their clans (γένη), their villages and their *poleis*. If individuals were great enough, their memory would reside and be kept alive by oral song (ἔπος) or by transmitted stories (μῦθοι) within the whole Hellenic λαός. The important thing for the ancient Greeks and Cypriotes was that a man's, and in some cases even a woman's, name be remembered, and for honorable reasons. Dedicatory inscriptions and honorific decrees or names of ownership inscribed upon grave goods are familiar ways in the Cypriote and Greek historical period of trying to produce and preserve *kleos*. So are naming patterns within communities and clans and regions.

It is for this reason, I am sure, that when Herodotus (1.30-32) has Solon discuss εὐδαιμονία, the nature of human happiness, with Croesus, king of Lydia, he makes sure that Solon gives the specific name of Tellus the Athenian, who deserves, in Solon's view, a new kind of *kleos* suitable to the *polis* communities of the sixth century. This new *kleos* was given not to kings, but to the dutiful middle-class citizen who served and defended his family and city well.

I say *poleis*, but we can now say with fair certainty that the notion of *kleos*, in its aristocratic Homeric form, already existed in the proto-literate period of the late Bronze Age, in Greece and in Cyprus, when the historical *polis*, with its unique features and its powerful legacy for western culture, had not yet come into being. Already in the Late Bronze Age, *kleos* was preserved beyond the three-generation limits of normal communal memory by oral poetic tradition.

2.b Oral Tradition in the Bronze Age

We know that the concept of *kleos* already existed in the Late Greek Bronze Age from onomastics. The patronymic adjective *e-te-wo-ke-re-we-i-jo* (*ἘτεϜοϰλεϜέhιος) on Pylos tablet An 654.8-.9 tells us that *kleos* was already prized enough to make the name 'True-*kleos*' a desirable name for parents of high social station to give their children. A hypocoristic, i.e., shortened, form of this name *e-te-wa* is attested at Pylos (An 657.3 and Cn 254.3) and at Knossos (X 8270).

We know that the oral poetic tradition that promoted *kleos* operated well back into the 15th century B.C.E. because of the superb scholarly work of the great Dutch Mycenological linguist, Homerist and humanist, Cornelis J. Ruijgh, who passed away in the summer of 2004. Ruijgh demonstrated that we can remove certain metrical anomalies in Homer and remove artificial poetic word forms, and thereby produce regular verses, by restoring the lines to the stage of development that is documented for Greek in the Mycenaean Linear B tablets or reconstructed for Greek at a pre-tablet stage.

Ruijgh's argument is the beautiful work of a beautiful mind.[4] Once perfect lines in the oral tradition get distorted when regional and universal changes in the way Greek was spoken occurred. Words whose shape used to fit the lines would no longer fit. If the change was a fundamental phonological one, the oral poets would not even have the option of preserving a fossilized form.

One such example is *Iliad* 7.166

$$- \smile \smile - \smile \smile - \smile \smile - \smile \smile - \; - \; - \quad - \iota + \omega \text{ synizesis + shortening}$$
$$- \smile \smile - \smile \smile - \smile \smile - \smile \smile - \; - \; - \quad - \upsilon + \alpha \text{ synizesis}$$
$$- \smile \smile - \smile \smile - \smile \smile - \smile \smile - \; - \; - \quad - \omega + \alpha \text{ synaloepha}$$

Μηριόνης ἀτάλαντος Ἐνυαλίῳ ἀνδρειφόντῃ.

There are several anomalies here, but they can be cleared up if one understands the history behind the unusual compound word ἀνδρειφόντης. ἀνδρειφόντης is a poetic word form no one ever spoke. We should have a historical form with an *-o-* bridge vowel *ἀνδροφόντης. But that would not fit the metrical pattern of the line. ἀνδρειφόντης is modeled no doubt on Ἀργειφόντης. If we replace ἀνδρειφόντης with the compound as it

should have appeared in pre-Mycenaean times: ἀνṛγʷhοντᾱs with syllabic ṛ, the line then reads perfectly:

$$- \cup \cup - \quad \cup \cup - \cup \quad \cup - \cup \cup - \quad \cup \cup - -$$

Μηϱιόνᾱς hατάλαντος Ἐνῡαλίωιυ ἀνṛγʷhοντα

It can even be pointed out that the diphthong that closes Ἐνῡαλίῳ is not shortened by epic correption because its ι element in the prehistoric period is separated from the next syllable ἀ by the palatal glide y, as is made clear by the alternative Mycenaean spellings *i-e-re-u* and *i-je-re-u* for later Greek ἱεϱεύς.

If Linear B were ever used as a mnemonic for such verse, the line would look like this:

me-ri-o-na   ha-ta-la-to   e- nu - wa - li - jo   ja - no- qo- ta

Linear B then can be used to write Homeric verse, just as Cypriote Syllabic script, or even Japanese *katakana* script can. But I doubt whether Linear B was ever so used. The society in which Linear B was used was predominantly an oral society. Still it is worth mentioning that the divine name *e-nu-wa-li-jo*, which is later used as an epithet for Ares, is found on one of our earliest Linear B tablets from Knossos (KN V 52) along with such important divinities as *Athanas potnia*, *Poseidaon*, *Paiawon*, and *Erinus*.

Of course, the singing of oral poetry in the late Bronze Age is attested in the discovery of images and actual musical instruments.[4a] Arguably the most famous example is fresco work from the Palace of Nestor at Pylos. In the main room of the royal megaron with its communal hearth and throne and associated with the ideological program of the state-unifying *wanaks* is a fresco that displays ritual feasting. As in a Homeric banqueting scene, a bard sits outdoors on stones polished from use (like the present state of the Areopagus in Athens). He sings ἔπεα πτεϱόεντα or 'winged words' that are represented in the fresco by the bird that flies off to the ears of the assembled feasting men.

The continuity and chronological depth of the epic tradition, as established by Ruijgh and the archaeological and iconographical record, means that we can look to it carefully for information that is relevant to our main questions about Cyprus and Cypriote ethnic identity.

2.c The Importance of Preserving Memory

A lecture series such as this in honor of Constantine Leventis follows then in a long and honorable tradition. Think of Herodotus' comment (7.224) that after the battle of Thermopylae he learned the names of all three hundred Spartans who died in 480 B.C.E. in the cause of Greek freedom. Herodotus learned these names out of the same reverent instinct that underlies the endowment of this lecture series. And the austere Spartan burial stelai reflect the significance of the 'name' of the fallen warrior, usually having only the name itself inscribed upon them.

To be speaking about Cyprus in Cyprus and in front of such a distinguished audience is like carrying owls to Athens, or wingless words to Homer. So I thought that I would use this lecture as an opportunity to explore the ways in which the extraordinary use of writing in Cyprus and about Cyprus affects what we know of its cultural history and in fact gives us a good sense of what it means to be 'Cypriote'. My main aim, however, is to trace what Cyprus and 'Cypriote' means in prehistory and history, roughly from the 15th to the 3rd centuries B.C.E., and to use texts, from Cyprus and elsewhere, to do this.

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3. Implications of Cyprus as a 'Crossroads Culture'

Cyprus in history has always been viewed as a *nexus* of trade and contact, as a cultural crossroads, and as situated between east and west.

This view is taken, first, because it is necessary. The distinctive writing system that the Cypriotes used in the Late Bronze Age has not been deciphered. Its unique characteristics have been analyzed many times, most recently by Joanna Smith in the splendid conference volume about Aegean and extra-Aegean interconnections entitled *ΠΛΟΕΣ* (Athens 2003), and published with the support of the Leventis Foundation (cf. n. 2).

The form, media and applications of the so-called Cypro-Minoan script help us to see how strongly the population groups of Cyprus during this period asserted their independent identity. But because the Cypro-Minoan script is undeciphered, if we want to

know about Cyprus in written documents, we have to leave the island and look for Cyprus and Cypriotes in the readable written texts of other cultures: Mycenaean, Hittite, Egyptian, Ugaritic. This will be the first part of this paper.

Second, this view of Cyprus as a crossroads culture is taken because it is true. Because of its geographical situation, in all periods from the Middle Bronze Age onwards, the history and internal developments of Cyprus *are* interlinked with nearby surrounding cultures in a way that is simply not true for the more isolated city-states of the Greek mainland, Crete, the Aegean islands and even the western Anatolian coast. This may make us lose sight of what is distinctively Cypriote. I will try here to use texts, historical and inscriptional, to give us a sense of what 'being Cypriote' means, especially in the context of ancient notions of peoples, communities and ethnicity.

4. How Cyprus and Being 'Cypriote' Are Known

I also want throughout to pay homage, as I have in lectures in the last four years in London, Oxford, Uppsala, Cambridge, New York, Manitoba, Thebes, Buffalo, Akron, Charleston, St. Louis and Los Angeles to the great scholars who have recovered and given meaning to the inscriptions that link us in an unparalleled way to individual human beings in Aegean prehistory and Greek and Cypriote history.

I chose this topic, too, out of respect for my own memory. My love of Homer and Herodotus confirmed me in my decision.

When Prof. Karageorghis raised the possibility of my delivering the Leventis lecture, I immediately searched in my memory for the moment when I first took a serious interest in Cyprus and how my interests developed. My own experience is not unusual, for a non-Cypriote, and may be of some small interest as a case-study.

4.a Herodotus and Homer and Cyprus

Thirty-three years ago, in a Greek history course at Boston College, I read in Herodotus Book 3.19 and 3.91 that Cyprus had joined the Phoenicians under Persian king Cambyses in his attack on Amasis of Egypt, and later that the Persian king Darius had consolidated Phoenicia, Palestinian Syria and the city-states of Cyprus into his fifth satrapy and imposed upon this satrapy a tax assessment of 350 talents. When Cyprus entered my historical memory then, it was as an island on the frontier of the Hellenic world and its history had close connections with Persia, the Levant and Egypt.

If you doubt that this is true, consider these two maps taken from a recent standard work of Greek history. In the first map (figure 1), Cyprus is just off the edge of the map, which focuses on the Aegean and western Anatolia in relation to the Greek mainland. In the second map (figure 2), Cyprus is there, but anonymous.

What riveted my attention eventually was Herodotus' account in book 5.104-115 of the Cypriote revolt against Persia in 497 B.C.E.[5] Why? Because it obviously had riveted Herodotus' attention. As a native of Halikarnassos, Herodotus had a keen interest in the affairs of the Greek city-states of western Anatolia. He cites native Cypriote sources and, although the extent of his travels and firsthand observation have been questioned, it is impossible for me to imagine that he would not have visited the island of Cyprus at some point—even if Vassos Karageorghis does not think he did.[6]

It is natural that Herodotus gives a dramatic account of the Ionian revolt against the Persian empire. But it is perhaps not so natural that he would devote twelve chapters in Book 5 to the history of the failed Cypriote war of independence in 497 B.C.E. He does it mainly I believe in order to mark Cyprus as belonging to the Hellenic world. The revolt fits into the narrative purpose of Herodotus' history: the conflict between West and East. Cyprus, like the Ionian city-states, is part of the western world, even if both regions are also geographically within the eastern sphere of influence. Both were compelled later during the two Persian Wars (490 and 480-479 B.C.E.) to offer support, in terms of ships and men, to the Persian cause. The revolts are clear reminders of the tricky historical nuances relating to 'medizing', i.e., siding with the Persians, and narrating them would be strong antidotes to any such accusations.

As he does with Aristagoras of Miletus and the Ionian revolt, Herodotus emphasizes the personal agency of Onesilus of Salamis in the Cypriote revolt, making sure we know that he is son of Chersis, son of Siromus, son of Euelthon. Herodotus thereby takes us back the requisite three generations of human social memory and lineage. Onesilus had to outmaneuver his brother Gorgus, king of Salamis, in order to take control of his *polis* and then convince other Cypriote *poleis* to join in the revolt.

Only Amathus refused and then further resisted Onesilus' attempts at compelling the Amathusians by siege to join the united cause. This is perhaps not surprising, given that Amathus offers the best-attested inscriptional evidence of what we call the eteo-Cypriote language.[7] We do this, I should say, purely by modern convention, following what Olivier Masson calls 'une heureuse suggestion' by Johannes Friedrich in 1932. The inhabitants of Cyprus, so far as we know, never identified this so far undeciphered language or the people who used it as 'true-Cypriote'.

Here, however, the inscriptional evidence hints at linguistic and perhaps ethnic diversity that might be otherwise unrecoverable. It may explain the refusal of the Amathusians to join more thoroughly Hellenized Cypriote communities in their anti-Persian revolt. More on the heterogeneity and singularity of the population of Cyprus shortly.

The outcome on Cyprus, as in Ionia, was not happy. The Cypriote revolt was crushed and the Amathusians beheaded Onesilus. Even this, I am convinced, has a noble Homeric resonance in Herodotus. Recall that Iris rouses Achilles to action in *Iliad* Book 18 by informing Achilles that Hector intends to drag the corpse of Patroclus back to Troy, cut off its head and mount the severed head on the palisades. That is, in her threat, the Trojans are going to behave just as the Amathusians do. They, too, by the standards depicted in the *Iliad*, will desecrate the corpse of a noble, but failed, warrior who had fought against great odds in defense of the Hellenic cause.

I am well aware here that Petit (cf. n. 5, 14-15) explains the Amathusian beheading of Onesilus in anthropological terms, citing other cultures that follow the practice of capturing the power of a defeated chief enemy warrior by carefully mounting his head publicly and then establishing a cult around it. This may explain Amathusian practice—and it even may provide the etiology for the threat about the corpse of Patroclus in the *Iliad*. But it is *not* Hellenic practice. I think we are to assume, and it is Herodotus' point or, as Petit puts it, his *interpretatio graeca*, that it is not Hellenized Cypriote practice. Homer and Herodotus clearly intend for these incidents to be viewed and felt as desecrations.[8] To put it another way, Iris' words do not rouse Achilles to action because he fears that the Trojans will in this way control and use Patroclus' power. He is rather further mortified that his own actions, which have already caused Patroclus his life, will now lead to the mutilation of his friend's corpse by the non-Hellenic enemy.

4.a.1 The Distinctive Features of Historic Cyprus

We can understand even better how Herodotus' Homeric concern that the μεγάλα καὶ θαυμαστά deeds of men not become ἀκλεᾶ and ἐξίτηλα affects his treatment here of Onesilus and the Cypriote revolt, if we remember what C.M. Bowra detailed for us exactly seventy years ago in his classic article "Homeric Words in Cyprus."[9]

4.a.1.a Political Vocabulary

The Cypriotes of this period differed from most of the *poleis* of mainland Greece and Anatolia in still adhering to kingship as a form of government. These *basileis* linked themselves to the noble Homeric past in their social terminology, not just calling themselves each a *basileus*, but using the Homeric (*anaks*) and Mycenaean (Linear B: *wa-na-ka* and **wa-na-sa*) words for 'high king' and 'high queen' *(anaktes* and *anassai* according to Harpocration) as titles for the king's sons and brothers, sisters and wives. As is well known, because of the magisterial *Lebenswerk* of Olivier Masson with Cypriote script, onomastics and prosopography, the term *wanassa* in historical Cypriote inscriptions is found applied almost exclusively to Aphrodite of Paphos.

I have argued at length in my paper to be published in the *acta* of the Leventis conference on the theme *From Wanax to Basileus*, which was held at the University of Edinburgh in January 2003, that the underlying root of the terms *wanaks* and *wanassa* refers to 'birth' and ultimately then in a kingly sphere to 'fertility', the 'communal prosperity' fertility creates, and 'genealogical connections to great kings of the past and to the gods'. I use Hittite and other Indo-European evidence and the evidence of onomastics. One key bit of evidence is the metrical identity of *Iphigeneia* and *Iphi(w)anassa* who are listed, in different accounts, from Homer to Sophocles, among the daughters whom Agamemnon offers in appeasement to Achilles. I believe the post-*Iliad* name *Iphigeneia* is in fact a 'gloss' on *Iphi(w)anassa*. The **gen*-element (birth and procreativity) has the same meaning as, and thus 'translates', the **wan*- root of *wanassa*. I had not thought then to include how appropriate in this context is the use of the title *wanassa* for Paphian Aphrodite, the deity of human sexuality and procreativity, as stressed most recently by J. Karageorghis.[10]

4.a.1.b *Kupro-* in Naming Patterns

Onesilus was eventually heroized and his hero cult, Herodotus tells us, was practiced in Amathus fifty to sixty years later when Herodotus was in his prime. One last point needs to be made concerning *kleos* and names. Herodotus also singles out Aristocyprus, son of Philocyprus, king of Soloi for dying in battle. He mentions that Philocyprus was the most praised of all Cypriote *basileis* in a poem Solon wrote when visiting Cyprus. The popularity of *Kupro-* compounds in naming patterns of the historical period is further demonstrated by Olivier Masson in *ICS* and in his fuller article on Cypriote names compounded with the element *Kupro-*, published forty years ago in 1964 in *Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί*.[11]

This kind of compound name formation is popular in islands, e.g., Ῥοδοκλῆς, Ῥοδοπείθης, Λεσβοκλῆς, Σαμοκλῆς, Δηλοκράτης, and very popular in Cyprus, e.g., Κυπροθάλης, Κυπροθέμις, ΚυπροκλέϜης, Κυπροκρέτης, Κυπρότιμος, Κυπρόφιλος, Ἀριστόκυπρος, Θεμιστόκυπρος, Τιμόκυπρος. But it is not very common in Crete or the Greek mainland. This pattern may be explicable in terms of recent theories about ancient concepts of ethnicity and the relationship between toponyms and ethnonyms.[12] In areas where a self-conscious collective identity at a level above *polis* organization is desired and then attained, identification with a wider region would result.

Geographically defined territories such as modest-sized or smaller islands, which were often in frequent contact with outside peoples moving along trade and navigation routes, and otherwise geographically distinct regions would naturally lend themselves to such a process. In Cyprus, intra-island population diversity and external relations with a series of dominant foreign cultures might have intensified the desire to assert Cypriote identity through this kind of naming pattern. This is the onomastic equivalent to using the Cypriote Syllabary in defiance of surrounding scripts like the Greek and Semitic alphabets and cuneiform.

4.a.1.c Place Names and Dialect as Potential Indicators of Ethnic Affinity

Seventeen years after this failed revolt in Herodotus' narrative (7.90), the Cypriote kingly *poleis* are contributing 150 ships to the naval force in Xerxes' expedition against mainland Greece. Herodotus here works as an ethnographer, describing the diverse manner of dress and the special head gear of the Cypriote kings. Citing the Cypriotes themselves as sources, Herodotus underscores the diversity of ethnic background of the population of Cyprus, by explicitly mentioning that some inhabitants of Cyprus are from Athens and Salamis, some from Arkadia, some from Kythnos, some from Phoenicia, some even from Ethiopia. Again, I think part of the motivation for this is related to the questions that would certainly arise subsequently about 'medizing' and the degree to which Cyprus as a whole was thought to have a Hellenic identity.

The link proposed by Herodotus with the island of Salamis has always been suspect, certainly an incorrect deduction from the fact that an island *polis* in the Saronic Gulf and a *polis* on Cyprus have the name Salamis in common. The shared toponyms may well be survivals from an original repertory of widespread place names deriving from an eastern Mediterranean linguistic substrate (as the initial prevocalic *s-* suggests).

We may think here of the Linear B evidence for a community known as Korinthos in Bronze Age Messenia. It has nothing to do with the later more famous Korinthos south of the isthmus between the Peloponnese and central Greece.[13] Both, however, belong to the widespread group of substrate place names (and other terms) with -*nth*- elements (cf. *Zakunthos* and **ti-mi-to a-ko* = Τιϱμίνθων Ἄγϰος in Linear B).[14] We might also think of the odd fact recorded in Stephanus of Byzantium, that the former name of Boeotian Orchomenus was Athens, another pre-Greek name, originally singular in -ηνη, that may have been used in more than one geographical area.[15]

Still the Athenian connection with Cyprus is surprising, and not all that predictable or explicable in terms of general dialect features, material culture, or, at this stage, Athenian military or economic interventions into the general region around Cyprus. Going back to the Late Bronze Age, and given the clear 'Mycenaeanization' of Cyprus during that period, the question should be asked, even if it cannot be answered, which Mycenaeans were involved in settling the island? Joann Gulizio, Kevin Pluta and I investigated this same question at the *Aegaeum* Potnia conference with regard to the 'Mycenaeanization' of Crete. We found some evidence in texts from the Room of the Chariot Tablets from Knossos of an Athenian component.[16]

We should also wonder, given the clear evidence for heavy Minoan presence that Wolf-Dietrich Niemeier has now uncovered at Anatolian *Miletus*, whether the synonymy of place names *Miletus* on Crete and *Miletus* in Anatolia is mere coincidence.[17]

The Arkadian connection to Cyprus, of course, would have presented itself to any Greek, like Herodotus, who traveled broadly and paid attention to features of regional dialect. But it is likely a historical mistake, given that the common Mycenaean 'palatial' dialect of late Bronze Age Greece survived mainly in Arkadia and Cyprus. I assume, too, that Herodotus would have known Phoenician and even Ethiopian-looking ethnic features, customs and traditions, when he saw them.[18] He is very shrewd on such matters in his history. A good example is his ability to pinpoint remnants of Pelasgian culture along the Hellespont and north in Thessaly.[19]

4.a.1.d Cyprus in Homer and a Possible Mycenaean Connection

Still there may be some link here to the next two places I came into contact with Cyprus in my undergraduate career. Thirty-two years ago in the fall of 1972, I read through the entire *Odyssey* of Homer for the first time in Greek. The reference to Cyprus in Book

4.81-85 of Homer's *Odyssey* is justly famous. Menelaus addresses to Odysseus' son Telemachus and his own son Peisistratus *epea pteroenta* about his own hardships returning home and catalogues the peoples with whom he came into contact. In his itinerary, Cyprus comes first, as he traces the normal sea route that prevailed from Egypt to Phoenicia to Levantine Syria to Cyprus and westward into the Aegean area, past Crete and down again to Libya. Menelaus says that he wandered in the reverse direction coming from Troy. Proceeding from Cyprus, he came to Phoenicia and the Egyptians and then to the Ethiopians, Sidonians, Eremboi and Libya.

The other famous Homeric reference to the island of *Kupros* comes in the *Iliad* Book 11. It refers to Menelaus' brother Agamemnon, king of Mycenae. The reference here to Cyprus is unmotivated, i.e., there is no reason for this particular *ekphrasis* about the θώραξ (armor breast-plate) which Agamemnon dons in preparation for battle. There is certainly no reason for linking it to Cyprus. The passage says that he received the breast-plate as a ξεινήϊον 'gift offering' from Cinyras, by inference a Cypriote king, when news reached *Kupros* of the impending naval expedition against Troy. Keep the word ξεινήϊον in mind. We shall come back to it later.

Homer tells us that Cinyras 'gave' (*dōke*) the *thōraks* in order to create *kharis* between himself and the *basileus* Agamemnon. This is certainly consistent with the practice of royal gift exchange throughout the eastern Mediterranean and Near East. The practice is attested in the Linear B tablets from Knossos, where one kind of cloth is called *ke-se-nu-wi-ja*, i.e., 'for exchange in *ksenia* relationships', and another is called *e-qe-si-ja*, i.e., for the *e-qe-ta* or 'Followers' of the *wanaks*.

The *thōraks* is described as having *oimoi* (conventionally translated as 'bands', the word is a *hapaks*, i.e., it is only found here in all of Homer). Ten are made of *kuanos*, twelve of gold (*khrusos*), and 20 of tin (*kassiteros*). This reminds one of the *thōrakes* inventoried in the Linear B tablets of the Pylos Sh series. They have either a combination of 20-10 or of 22-12 larger and smaller 'platelets' that are defined by the phonetic ideogram *O*. The standard Mycenological explanation of ideographic *O* is that it is an abbreviation of the verbal adjective form *o-pa-wo-ta* that appears once in the Sh series (on a recapitulative text) and refers to these items as 'fixed upon'. I have long wondered, given the rough parallelism in numbers between the Homeric passage and the Sh documents, whether a better explanation might not be the *hapaks* word *oimos*.

5. How Cyprus Is Known in Historical Texts

This brings us back into the Bronze Age and to wondering about the word *Kupros* in these two Homeric passages and the relations between Cyprus and the Aegean and greater Near Eastern world.

5.1 The Problem of *Alasia* and Mycenaean *ku-pi-ri-jo*

It is well known, and wonderfully documented by A. Bernard Knapp and his specialist collaborators, that in records from all of the surrounding cultures of the Middle and Late Bronze Age (Egyptian, Ugaritic, Hittite, Syrian), Cyprus, or at least the most internationally prominent 'kingdom' or 'region' on Cyprus, is known as *Alasia*.[20] Recent petrographic clay analysis of the Alasiote Amarna and Ugaritic tablets proposes that the Troodos area around Alassa and Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* is geologically the most likely issuing region; but this proposal cannot be accepted as certain.[21] We are still then dependent on reasoning from our sources and general considerations of cultural interconnections in prehistory.

As we have just seen, *Kupros* is attested in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (and in later naming patterns) as the name of the island that we call Cyprus. The *Iliad* and *Odyssey* contain no reference to the term *Alasia*. The Mycenaean evidence complicates matters by apparently preserving as ethnic (or toponymic) adjectives both *a-la-si-jo* and *ku-pi-ri-jo*. The form *ku-pi-ri-jo* is much more frequent and prominent in the texts. The Mycenaean records and the epic tradition and later Greek language, by making reference to *Kupros per se*, are doing something distinctive. This is well worth exploring.

Historical Greek and Homeric epic for some reason do not use *Alasia* in reference to the island of Cyprus, which the Linear B tablets know. Instead they use the term *Kupros*, which the Mycenaeans also know and use, apparently alone among the high cultures of the late Bronze Age. The single epigraphical reference to Alasia in the Cypriote Syllabic texts comes from Tamassos, an inscribed marble base with inscriptions rendering the deity to whom the dedication is made as Reshef *'lhyts* in Phoenician and *to-i-a-[po-lo]-ni-to-i / a-la-si-o-ta-i* = otherwise unattested **Alasiōtās* in Greek.[22] The formation of the epithet is a common one derived from toponyms in -ια.[23] It should be noted that the Phoenician inscription is primary on the base, although the epithet or by-name of the deity in the Phoenician portion clearly represents a calque of the Greek epithet with arguably accurate rendering of the historical intervocalic / s / as / h /.

5.2 Historical Parallels for Diversity of Place-Name Designations

There are historical parallels for such variations of place names. The diverse references to Germany in English (Germany), French (Allemagne), Italian (adjectival Tedesco) and in German itself (Deutschland) are well known and often cited. The Romans gave us 'Greece'. But the Greeks, after Homer, as Thucydides remarks in his well-known observation, know their country as Hellas, and themselves by the ethnic Hellenes, a collective ethnic name for a population group who were originally localized in Phthiotis. The name, rather than the people *per se*, was eventually used more universally in historical times as the Greeks identified themselves with a common ancestor they called Hellen. In Homer, and I think Thucydides is correct in seeing this as a reflection of what went on in Mycenaean times, the various regions and inhabitants within regions identified themselves separately.

5.3 Ethnicity and Identity: Problems with Source Material

We do not know what kind of 'national' identity, if any, the Bronze Age inhabitants of Greece or Cyprus had or what they would have called themselves.[24] Part of the problem, of course, is with understanding how groups form and then use a sense of ethnicity and the ethnic designations associated with that sense. Put another way, how long did it take the people we now call the Greeks in all the areas we now call Greece to acknowledge Hellen as a common mythical ancestor, and what cultural phenomena and forces brought this about?

The prevailing view now is that belonging to an ethnic group and structuring social interactions according to ethnicity depend on a myth of common descent and kinship, real or imagined, an association with a specific territory, and a sense of shared history.[25] That is to say, these are fluid and flexible concepts and processes.

For prehistory and much of early history, and for areas like Cyprus within the historical period, information about these components of ethnic identification is virtually non-existent, because of the absence of written texts or written texts of the kind that would provide us information about 'ethnic' histories or myths of descent and kinship. It is, therefore, no accident that Cyprus is referenced a mere three times, and then only in passing, in Jonathan Hall's most recent study of ethnicity and 'Hellenicity' (cf. n. 24). To use a metaphor we began with, Cyprus is anonymous on our 'ethnic map', too.

Ethnic groups define themselves in opposition to other groups, often emphasizing visible markers like language, religion, biological features and other aspects of culture, albeit without rigidly requiring all markers as a precondition for membership. This then leads to a second problem, familiar to students of the later Greek *poleis*. Ethnic identity is often only recorded, i.e., used in written accounts, whether epigraphical, literary or historical, when the individuals or groups in question are operating, or viewed from, outside their own 'ethnic territories'.[26] Consequently, later civic inscriptions and the regionally focused Linear B tablets will often use only sub-ethnic designations to identify individuals and groups within their own 'home territories'. These are plentifully attested in the Linear B tablets.[27]

5.3.a *a-ra-si-jo* and *ku-pi-ri-jo*: Understanding the Linear B Evidence for Ethnics

In order to understand the significance of the appearance of *Alasios* and *Kuprios* in the Mycenaean tablets, we have to understand how ethnics are used in these texts in general. The Linear B texts from the various regions fail to give us much indication of overarching regional or supra-regional ethnicity. In the Linear B tablets from Pylos, we find the main site *pu-ro* mentioned numerous times, but no individual or group of humans is identified by an ethnic adjective indicating that anyone thought of themselves as **pu-ri-jo* 'Pylians' or whatever the Bronze Age equivalent was for Messenians, if there was one.

So, for example, in the Linear B tablets from Knossos, we get in the Am series by scribal Hand 103, groups of men totaled on individual records and designated, in contrast to one another, as *ko-no-si-jo*, *da-wi-jo*, and *a-mi-ni-si-jo*, i.e., 'of Knossos', 'of *da-wo*', and 'of Amnisos', respectively. But we do not know whether these toponymic adjectives also marked ethnicity. I.e., were the twenty-five men listed as 'Knossian' on KN Am(1) 600 + 665 + 8307, perceived to be ethnically Knossian, or are they simply the aggregate of men who are associated with Knossos in fulfilment of whatever economic operations the texts cover? And would any of these men, if asked who they were, have responded that they were 'Cretans' or 'Minoans' or 'Amnisians'?

What we call ethnic adjectives in later periods, when we can be sure that a term like Ἀθηναῖος conveys *polis*-specific ethnic affiliation, are in many cases in origin purely

toponymic adjectives. We are perhaps on surer ground when we meet with a single woman named *te-qa-ja* 'Theban' on Knossos tablet Ap 5864.4, but even then, if we want to reason very strictly, we would like to know how far place of origin or association merged with ethnic identity. Singular in this regard are the references in Thebes sealing Wu 47 to an individual named *te-qa-jo* *Θηγʷαῖος (historical Θηβαῖος) and in Thebes tablet Ug 4 to a person named *au-to-te-qa-jo* = historical Αὐτοθηβαῖος, perhaps a product of the reach of Theban territory and influence in central Greece and Euboea during this period. In any case, the whole question of so-called ethnic adjectives will be especially problematical when we discuss the adjectival term *ku-pi-ri-jo* 'of Cyprus' below.

5.3.a.1 Ethnicon and Toponym: The Test-Case of Ethnic References to Crete

Toponymic adjectives in our early texts can be particularly misleading with regard to ethnicity because we know that often ethnic designations, i.e., what groups call themselves, gave birth to place names and not the other way around. The most conspicuous example is the name for the island of Crete. Already in the Linear B tablets from Pylos we have the probable nominative plural ethnic noun for 'Cretans', namely *ke-re-te* = Κρῆτες (Pylos tablet An 128.3).

We should stress, however, and not simply to be sophistical, that we do not know whether in the Mycenaean period this term referred to inhabitants of the entire island we now call Crete. Given the later picture of ethnic diversity on the island, it is arguable that in the Mycenaean period the *ke-re-te* were a distinctive population group among many that inhabited the island of Crete, perhaps even the subset later known as the eteo-Cretans.

Again let us remind ourselves that it is significant that what we assume here is a collective self-identification - and one potentially made at a level above the particular first-, second- or third-order centers in the geo-political hierarchy of settlements in 'Mycenaean' Crete[28] - occurs outside of Crete proper (cf. n. 26).

The root *Κρητ- gives rise to the name of the island, in the historical period Κρήτη, and not vice versa. Hence the adjectival form for 'Cretan' is *ke-re-si-jo*, and not unattested *ke-re-ta-jo*. This means that the ethnic term came first, before the place name.

We should point out then that Driessen makes a false assumption and we have further problems. Bronze Age sources from other cultures call Crete variously *Kaptara* (Semitic: Mari and Ugarit) or *Keftiu* (Egyptian) (cf. later Biblical *Kaphtor*). It is difficult to see what cross-cultural language perceptions, if any, make these terms distorted versions of what the Mycenaean Greeks record in ethnic form as Κρῆτες. That is to say, why is there the perceptible difference in the consonantal structure of the toponym: Greek *k-r-t* vs. Mari and Ugaritic *k-p-t-r* vs. Egyptian *k-f-t*? The identification of *Kaptara* and *Keftiu* with Crete in topographical lists is reasonable, but this has been done on general historical, archaeological and geographical grounds, not because of a precise equivalence between Greek and non-Greek references. Yet we must emphasize that it is incorrect to place *ke-re-te* in this group as a 'geographical circumscription'.[29] It is no more so than Ἕλληνες is a 'geographical circumscription' for 'Phthiotis'.

Likewise in Homer in *Odyssey* 3.292, Nestor relates that Menelaus and he put into Crete where the Κυδῶνες live. The Linear B tablets from Knossos give us our earliest references to the region which derived its name *ku-do-ni-ja* again from the collective ethnic designation, not vice versa, in which case we might expect unattested *Κυδωνιῶται.

Famously, in *Odyssey* Book 19.176, Odysseus discusses the ethnic makeup of Crete: 90 cities, many different languages, many different ethnic groups: Achaeans, Eteocretans, Kudones, Pelasgians and three tribes of Dorians. This no doubt reflects some grappling in the oral tradition, in the period when the complexities of ethnic identification were being explored and codified and politically and culturally manipulated, with what could be deduced about the composition of the island in post-Mycenaean times. Hence the addition of the rare *eteo-* prefix to the old ethnic *Krētes*.

It is clear, however, that the Hittites refer to some component of the Mycenaeans as *Ahhijawa*, tantalizingly close to *Akhaioi*.[30] Likewise a consensus has formed that the mortuary temple inscription of Amenhotep III uses *Tnj = Tanaja = Δαναοί* (in the *Iliad* used for the Greeks at large, but traditionally used for the subjects of *Danaos*, king of Argos). It is followed in the list, which seems to be geographical,[31] by toponyms reasonably interpreted as Mycenae, Messenia (*Mizania*) and Nauplia, lending some weight to the *Danaoi*-Argos association. Analogy also provides support. In the list, Keftiu is fol-

lowed by names that can plausibly be interpreted as Egyptian renderings of locations on the island of Crete: Amnisos, Phaistos, Kydonia, Knossos and Lyktos.

To repeat, in Linear B, some element of the people we later conventionally call Cretans, again when they are for some reason listed outside of Crete within the Pylos texts, are identified as just that: ethnic *Krēs, plural Krētes. The adjectival form ke-re-si-jo is used in Linear B almost uniquely to describe heirloom ritual tripods at Pylos that were identifiable as of Cretan workmanship.[32] However, in Egyptian, Mari and Ugaritic texts the island is known as Keftiu, which does not seem to be a calque.

5.3.a.2 The Parallel of Outside References to Egypt
Likewise Misrayim is the Semitic word for Egypt (found in Ugaritic texts), and we find mi-sa-ra-jo in the Linear B tablets. But it apparently is never used in Egyptian texts.[33] The Linear B texts have ai-ku-pi-ti-jo, too. Aiguptos is very thorny and generally only in later times is it used as a term for Egypt as a whole. It means at various stages 'mortuary temple of Pepi', 'Memphis', and finally 'Egypt'.

5.3.b Conclusions
The evidence from the Linear B texts (and other sources) seems to indicate a specificity of reference in regard to localities and peoples. Regarding the Mycenaean texts, of course, the tablets are written for the idiosyncratic purposes of each palatial administration. Differentiation that we would consider potentially 'ethnic' occurs mainly on a sub-regional level, with rare exceptions like the designation of ke-re-te on a single Pylos tablet. This specificity also applies to references, which it would be overkill to discuss here, to working women[34] and even potentially one group of male rowers (te-qa-ta 'Thebans' on PY An 610.15) by their extra-regional places of origin.

These are all spoken of in the scholarly literature as 'ethnic' designations. But we have no way of knowing whether these virtually slave women or this specific group of male rowers would have been perceived as ethnically Knidian or Khian or Lemnian or Milesian or Halikarnassian or Theban in the Mycenaean period. In fact, I think it is safer to proceed on the assumption that these terms carry only toponymic meaning, i.e., they simply denote that these groups of human beings, being recorded after all as animate economic goods in the Linear B records, are 'from' a particular locality. They then further denote that the localities involved have had some transactional relationship,

directly or indirectly, with the Mycenaean center of Pylos. Otherwise we risk over-valuing these references as evidence of 'ethnicity'.

5.3.c *Kupros* and *Kuprios* in the Cypriote Syllabic Texts

In the Cypriote Syllabic epigraphical corpus, we meet the exact same phenomena that we have just discussed with regard to Mycenaean and later historical Greek place names and ethnic names. The ethnicon *ku-pi-ri-jo* is nowhere attested. The place name *ku-po-ro* is attested only once, in its genitive singular feminine form. Analogous to Linear B *ke-re-te* and *ke-re-si-jo* and to historical Greek Κρής, the place name occurs outside of Cyprus in a graffito at Karnak which was written by an individual named *Kudilos*. The place name is added to the toponymic adjective that provides his *polis*-designation to further specify his 'ethnic' identity. The complete text (*ICS* §438) reads:

> *ku-ti-lo-se-le-ti-ri-yo-se-ta-se-ku-po-ro-ne*
> Κυδίλος Λέδριγος τᾶς Κύπρων
> Kudilos, the Ledrian, of Cyprus.

Otherwise, it is only on a single coin issued by king Eu(w)elthon of Salamis or one of his successors that an abbreviation is securely read that *might* stand for the genitive plural of the ethnic: Κυ(πρίων).[35] The complete text (*ICS* §320a) on this stater reads:

> (obverse) (1) *e-u-we* (2) *le-to-to-se* (reverse) *ku*

The text is read by O. Masson as Ἐυϝέλθο(ν)τος Κυ(πρίων). But the occurrence of the *ku* on the reverse and the king's name on the obverse makes our understanding of the syntax and even the reading less than certain. Would Eu(w)elthon at this time have even thought to make the claim to be 'king of the Cypriotes' *vel sim.*? What would that claim imply? Another alternative is that, as on *ICS* §438, the *ku* stands for the genitive singular of the place name 'of Cyprus', a bit of numismatic information that might be desirable and does not imply any potential claim to extra-*polis* hegemony. Or it might even be read as the genitive singular masculine of the ethnic adjective and give the issuing king's 'Cypriote' identity. If this were true, given the pattern that we have established, it might suggest that the coinage was conceived of primarily for extra-Cypriote use.

5.4 Etymological Implications of κύπρος

Exploring the toponymic puzzles further will inform us about how the island that we call Cyprus is relating to surrounding cultures in the late Bronze Age.

Let us begin with etymology. *GEW* and *DEG* consider the resemblance of the word *kupros* to Sumerian and Elamite words meaning 'shining stone' or 'copper' accidental. Masson rejects this resemblance, too.[36]

The preference for *kupros* is to explain it as a Semitic loan word for 'henna' (itself an Arabic word), which is used as an agent in the reddish tinting of perfumed oil (cf. Mycenaean *ertis*[37]) and in dyeing. The ultimate origin of the Semitic word for 'henna' *koper/kophar* is itself unknown.[38] This further complicates attempts to identify what group of people used the term originally to describe the island of Cyprus and when that happened. However, if this identification is sound, the question then becomes: why did the island take on this name?

One explanation, of course, is that the color produced by henna as a dyeing agent was an apt description for the color of copper ore or the landscape of the regions of Cyprus that provided copper ore. There are good parallels for place names deriving from descriptons of physical features of the landscape.[39] Phytonyms are most productive. Cf. the Boeotian river Σχοῖνος 'rush' and the *poleis* named Σελινοῦς in Triphylia and Arkadia (from σέλινον 'parsley'). But pure color can also be used as with the river in Elis Ἀλφειός 'white'. See also the place name Pyla-*Kokkinokremmos* for a modern 'color' place name.

It is well known that the Greek word for 'copper' or its 'alloyed' form bronze is *khalkos* (Latin *aes*), as found already in the Linear B tablets (cf. Jn 829 *ka-ko na-wi-jo*). The English word 'copper' ultimately develops from the island: cf. *aes cyprium* and *cuprum* in Latin, and not vice versa. My own feeling is that the name for Cyprus might not derive from the color produced by the henna dye, but from the whitish color of the flower of the henna plant (*Lawsonia inermis*)[40] and its resemblance to the distinctive whiteness of the Cypriote terrain of calcarenite, marl, limestone and chalk. This ubiquitous aspect of the natural landscape would be the most distinctive first impression made upon foreigners arriving at the island.

6. *ku-pi-ri-jo* in Linear B[41]

Why and how are references made to 'Cypriote' in the Linear B texts and the texts of other contemporary Bronze Age cultures?

6.1 Historical Context and Ambiguity of *ku-pi-ri-jo*

The first text we deal with is the most spectacular text, in my opinion, because it has implications which have so far not been stressed. We surmise from the work of Nicolle Hirschfeld[42] and others, following in the long tradition started by John Franklin Daniel, studying vases (Cypriote, Canaanite, Mycenaean and Cretan) marked with distinctive Cypro-Minoan pot marks, that Cypriotes of this period must have been directly involved in the exchange and transport of commodities, perishable and imperishable, over a wide area. Therefore, it is no real surprise to find an individual or individuals named *Kuprios* (*ku-pi-ri-jo*) operating as high-status economic agents in relationship with the palatial centers of the Mycenaean *wa-na-ka*, both on Crete and at Pylos in Messenia.[43]

However, as we have explained above in regard to other examples of toponymic adjectives, ethnic adjectives like this are ambiguous. *ku-pi-ri-jo* may identify someone from Cyprus, someone who identifies himself as of 'Cypriote' ethnicity, or someone who is from the Mycenaean perspective 'the Cypriote fellow', i.e., the Mycenaean, or even the non-Mycenaean, who conducts transactions with the inhabitants of the region or locality known as Cyprus.

We still cannot improve upon Olivier Masson's adherence to Louis Robert's principle: "Un tel nom tirè d'un ethnique n'indique nullement l'origine du personnage ou de sa famille, mais seulement des relations avec ce pays et un interêt pour lui." It is even remotely possible, though highly unlikely given contextual parallels (such as the appearance of *ku-pi-ri-jo* in context with *ra-mi-ni-jo* = 'Lemnian' on Pylos tablet Cn 719), that the term simply describes the fellow who is '*henna*-ish'.

6.2 Honey Texts

The prevailing interpretation of tablet Gg(2) 995 + 7370 + 7591 + 7764 (by Hand 135) (figure 3) from Knossos is that it records an offering of an amphora of honey by *Kuprios* to *ma-ki-ro-ne*. The most sensible interpretation of the term *ma-ki-ro-ne* was proposed long ago (1966) by Olivier and Killen.[44] It designates a dative recipient form of

Magirion, which is further explained by the epithet of Apollo attested in two inscriptions (*ICS* §304 and §305) from the site of Pyla, northeast of Larnaca: *Magirios*.

All of the fairly complete Gg tablets have deities as the recipients of the honey: *pa-si-te-o-i* ('to all the gods'), *da-pu₂-ri-to-jo po-ti-ni-ja* (*potnia* of D/Laburinthos), *e-re-u-ti-ja* (*Eileuthia*), *]si?-da-o-ne* (likely Poseidon). (See also tablet Gq 5 from Khania with offerings of amphorae of honey to Zeus and Dionysos in the sanctuary of Zeus.) The one possible exception is Gg (2) 713 + 994: ma-ri-ne-we , / do-e-ra *ME+RI* *209^{VAS}+A [, which seems to record the offering of an amphora of honey by or to a woman designated as 'servant' or even named 'Servant' and to the figure *ma-ri-ne-u*, about whose human or divine status there has been considerable debate.

In the Linear B texts, honey is found as a relatively rare item, mainly in ritual sacrificial and feasting ceremonies and in divine and royal offering texts. There are specific 'religious' functionaries known as 'honey masters' (*me-ri-du-ma-te*); and, just as Mycenaean and later Greek has the term *khalkeus* for an individual who works with *khalkos*, Mycenaean Greek has *meliteus* for an individual who works to produce *meli*.[45]

Further proof of the religious context of at least two sets of KN Gg tablets is offered by the fact that the texts contain a month name *ka-ra-e-ri-jo* and the word for 'month' in the accusative *me-na* (Gg(3) 717) and in the genitive *]me-no* (Gg(1) 8053). Such time stipulations in Linear B are limited exclusively to ritual or ceremonial texts. Thus it is virtually certain that what we have in this text is a reference to a Cypriote, or Cypriote-focused individual, of 'collector' status. I.e., he is an individual of elevated social station who interfaces with the central palatial administration in rather sizable economic matters.[46] Typical for 'collectors' is involvement in textiles, raw wool and flax, and oil. *Kuprios* here then is doing something a bit different. He is making an offering to a deity syncretized on Cyprus with Apollo (or an allocation to this deity's shrine). This suggests that he may be more than an individual from the Mycenaean sphere who deals with Cypriote economic matters. If he is a Mycenaean, he is practicing religious piety towards a deity connected with Cyprus.

6.3 Coriander and *ku-pa-ro* Texts

Tablet KN Ga(1) 676 (135) (figure 4) records coriander seed as a scented spice. It is designated as 'of Thuinōn', an individual whose name or title is connected with *tu-wo*. In Mycenaean, *thuos* = 'aromatic', 'incense'. Other tablets of the same series record allocations to the *wanaks* (Ga(1) 675) and to **ma-ri-ne-u* (Ga(1) 674).

There has been considerable debate over whether the word *ku-pi-ri-jo*, which occurs on three tablets in this set, refers to an individual or is a description of the commodity AROM which itself is further determined by the words *ko-ri-ja-do-no* (*koriadnon* = 'coriander') and/or *pe-ma* (*sperma* = 'seed'). The word *ku-pi-ri-jo* also occurs with the aromatic designated lexically as *ku-pa-ro* (= *cyperus rotundus* 'nutsedge' or *cyperus longus* 'galingale').[47] Texts by another scribal hand (136) connect *ko-ri-ja-do-no* with other toponymic adjectives like *ku-ta-ti-jo*. Since the place name *ku-ta-to* stands independently on yet further Ga tablets, in my opinion a stronger argument can be made here for these adjectives designating the origin of the commodity rather than a personal agent. Thus we would have to reckon with true Cypriote coriander (and coriander from the Cretan site of *ku-ta-to*) rather than with an individual identified as Cypriote, and another as a Kutatian. But the counter-argument is almost equally persuasive.

6.4 Oil Texts

On tablets KN Fh 369 (figure 5) and tablet Fh 371 + 5448 (figure 6) (both by scribe 141), *ku-pi-ri-jo* is connected with large quantities of oil and myrrh, while *a-ra-si-jo* is connected with *zo-a* oil, i.e., oil that is boiled as a preparation for use as a scented unguent. *DEG* cites Dioscorides and other technical sources for κύπρινον μύρον, ἔλαιον in verification of a later linking of Cyprus with myrrh and olive oil. *o-se-ko-do* on Fh 371 + 5448 is interpreted reasonably as a personal name in the dative. Other texts by Hand 141 link oil explicitly with transactional terminology: a. *qe-te-o* (some form of religious exaction or payment), b. *a-pu-do-si* (a contribution made *to* the palatial center), and, as on the next tablet we shall discuss, c. *o-no* (connected with some form of 'exchange transaction' involving a benefit or in-kind payment to the contributing party). But there is otherwise considerable diversity of format, and clearly of underlying economic operations.[48] Consequently it has been very hard to come to a consensus about the use of the toponymic adjectives here, whether again they designate the oil as 'Alasiote' or 'Cypriote', or are in fact ethnic names of the personal agents involved with the oil.

The same problem faces us on tablet KN Fh *372 + 5474 + fr.* (3) *(figure 7) which* records oil on a large scale (4320 liters of oil): *ku-pi-ri-jo / o-no* OLE 150 [. Since *o-no* here refers to some form of 'payment', 'benefit' (it is related to the later Greek verb ὀνίνημι) or 'compensation' in an exchange transaction, it is generally posited that *ku-pi-ri-jo* here must refer to the human being who receives this compensation.[49] However, given the heterogeneity of the texts by Hand 141, it is still worth considering that the oil here has simply been marked down as received in such a transaction (*o-no*) and specified as coming from Cyprus.

Tablet Fh 361 (figure 8) records a large quantity of oil OLE 21 S 2 (624 liters) and a subset of oil designated as *zo-a* (ca. 91.2 liters). *o-no* here would seem to refer to both batches of oil. One final thing to note about the Cretan oil tablets on which *ku-pi-ri-jo* and *o-no* appear is that, if *ku-pi-ri-jo* here does refer to an individual who is connected with Cyprus, the oil is probably being given *to* him in payment for an unspecified commodity. The scribe is focused on what is happening or has happened to oil supplies, thus explaining the frustratingly limited information in the documents.

6.5 *ku-pi-ri-jo* and Vase Forms

Tablet K(2) 773 + 1809 (Hand 224?) (figure 9) refers to two different kinds of vases, both accompanied by the phonetic abbreviation *ke*: *ke* *222$^{\text{VAS}}$ 7 and] *ku-pi-ri-jo ke* *202$^{\text{VAS}}$ 1.[50]

According to *IALB*, 233-235, the standard identification of the ideographic form of the vase entered in a quantity of 1 on this tablet as a variant of Mycenaean *di-pa* (*202$^{\text{VAS}}$) ought to be reconsidered, since the form seems here to be missing a base. The vase form of which we have 7 entered on this tablet is unique. It, too, should be differentiated from the *di-pa* form. Some kind of pithoid jar would be suitable.

Both vase forms are accompanied by the phonetic abbreviation *ke*. It cannot, therefore, designate the vase shape. There are two options within our texts, and we must also allow for the possibility of the abbreviation standing for an unknown, possibly Cretan, word:

(1) *ke* = *ke-re-si-jo* ('Cretan', the word is attested with regard to Cretan heirloom tripods in the Pylos Ta tablets); or
(2) *ke* = *ke-se-ni-wi-jo* ('relating to ξενία'; cf. Homeric δῶρα ξεινήια).

The first alternative is obviously harder to support, given that the record itself comes from Knossos. But other materials are listed in the Linear B tablets explicitly as 'for gift exchange': cloth at Knossos and oil at Pyos. Recall our discussion of the Cypriote armor in Homer made as a gift for Agamemnon by Cinyras. The tablet is fragmentary, so *ku-pi-ri-jo* might well be specific to the entry *202^VAS 1. The most important information about persons or places involved was undoubtedly written in the missing portion of the text in larger characters. This makes it somewhat harder, but not impossible, to interpret *ku-pi-ri-jo* here as a designation of a person. It may well describe the vase form as Cypriote.

6.6 *ku-pi-ri-jo* and Cloth and Wool

Knossos tablet L(8) 1647 (figure 10) is a fragmentary text. We are dealing here again with an abbrevation connected with a commodity, in this case cloth: LANA 6 TELA+*KU* 5 TELA³+*PU* [. On Thebes tablet Of 26, we get fuller information: po-re-si di-u-ja-wo do-de *ku* LANA. Here wool that is designated as *ku* is recorded as allotted to ritual functionaries known as **po-re-ne* (plural)[51] and directed to the 'house' of another functionary, one connected with the deity *di-wi-ja* or even named after her. *ku* in both tablets may reasonably be interpreted as specifying that the wool and the cloth are 'Cypriote'.[52]

6.7 *ku-pi-ri-jo* and *a-ra-si-jo* as Personal Designations

There are four tablets to consider where these terms are without doubt used as personal names.

(1) Tablet Df 1229 +5222 +5342 + *fr.* (figure 11) records a shepherd known as *a-ra-si-jo* at the Cretan site of *56-ko-we*. He is registered against 25 male sheep and 50 female sheep. It should be noted here that the mere appearance of an individual in the Linear B tablets is an indication of significant status. There are ca. 800 named individuals in the extant Pylos tablets, and perhaps as many as 4-5,000 persons recorded in all. Most of them occur anonymously in collective groups. When compared to the estimated population of 50-100,000 inhabitants of Bronze Age Messenia, we see how exclusive the named individuals actually are. Current work by Dimitri Nakassis will call for a reassessment of the status of individuals like *a-ra-si-jo* who have been called shepherds and assigned a lowly status, mainly on the basis of the status of shepherds in historical times. *a-ra-si-jo*

here has been variously interpreted as connected with, besides Alasia, the toponym Ἀλήσιον in Elis, a suggestion rightly rejected by O. Masson on the grounds that the form of the historical place name was likely Ἀλέσιον, not Ἀλάσιον,[53] or with a pre-Greek toponym Ἄλασσα.[54]

(2) On Pylos tablet Cn 719.1-.8 (Hand 1) (figure 12), two major collectors *a-ke-o* (*Alkeios*) and *a-ko-so-ta* (*Alksoitas*) are recorded in connection with individuals who are identified as 'shepherds' at two localities or regions in Messenia: **ma-ro* and *pi-*82*. At *pi-*82* on lines 6-7, the shepherds are identified as *ra-mi-ni-jo* and *ku-pi-ri-jo*. These are unequivocally interpreted as ethnics *Lamnios* and *Kuprios*. We have seen above *ra-mi-ni-ja* among the 'ethnic' names for working women mainly in the cloth industry at Pylos.

(3) Likewise on Pylos tablet Jn 320, among 'smiths' with reasonably sized *ta-ra-si-ja* allocations of bronze, we find *Kuprios* on line .3. The place name specification for the 'smiths' is a *hapaks*. This is usually an indication that the locality is a minor one, which does not preclude that it could be situated within, say, the larger district of *pi-*82*, where the shepherd named *ku-pi-ri-jo* is listed.

(4) Finally, it is important to see the translation of Pylos tablet Un 443 (figure 13) in full to get some sense of the heterogeneity of its contents:

> .1 *ku-pi-ri-jo* strupteria (alum) *o-no* WOOL 10 **146*-CLOTH 10
> .2 for the festival of girding of the *po-re*(-*ne*) WOOL 3
> .3] contributed *Karpathia* WHEAT 192 liters *te-ri-ja* BARLEY 96 liters WOOL 5

The consensus interpretation views line .1 as recording an exchange whereby 10 units of cloth and wool have gone out from the palatial authority to compensate a person named *Kuprios* for a quantity of alum, for which, according to Pliny (*NH* 35.183) Cyprus was a source. Alum was useful as a natural dye mordant to produce brighter and cleaner colors. This interpretation of Un 443.1 as an isolated line is compelling. However, the text also contains additional entries that have always made me uneasy.

The other lines on Un 443 seem to be connected with the religious ritualistic sphere. If the verb in line. 3 is correctly restored as * ἀπύδωκε, then *Karpathia*, whose name is the ethnic adjective of Κάρπαθος and who is found in other contexts as the religious official known as the key-bearer, seems to have paid into the central authority a large quantity

of grain. The *po-re-ne* are ritual agents ('bearers'). Here wool is allocated for a ceremonial event connected with these sacristans. *te-ri-ja* is unfortunately a completely opaque *hapaks*. *te-ri-ja* might be a personal name, parallel to *Karpathia* as a contributor. It is difficult to see how the entries in line .1 and in lines .2-.3 are related to each other, especially if line .1 refers to the equivalent of a commercial transaction whereby a substance that can be used as a dye mordant is 'exchanged for' wool and cloth upon which it could be used. This may imply that *Kuprios* here is delivering some alum from his own supply and is satisfied to receive materials in exchange on which he can use the alum he retains. The remaining question then is what association, if any, does this entry have with the 'religious' entries in the rest of the text.

6.8 Conclusions about the Mycenaean Evidence

We must keep two things in mind about the Mycenaean textual evidence. First, the Linear B tablets do not explicitly deal with matters such as foreign trade or foreign diplomatic relations. Second, they are minimal in their contents. It is still true that the one direct reference in all Linear B tablets to a possible extra-regional shipment of raw materials or finished commodities is Mycenae tablet X 508, which *might* record the transport of *pu-ka-ta-ri-ja* cloth from Mycenae to Thebes.[55] I can only stress then to scholars of other cultures and other periods, who are used to much more substance in extant written records, just how significant these much-sifted references to 'Cypriote' matters in the Linear B records are.

The references in the Linear B tablets to *ku-pi-ri-jo* (and *a-la-si-jo*) speak to substantial economic relations with whatever territory or community or settlement in Cyprus is designated by the unattested underlying toponym **ku-po-ro*. In fact, the range of references in the Linear B tablets to the foreign ethnic *ku-pi-ri-jo* is absolutely unique, and speaks of some form of special contacts between the Mycenaean sphere and the Cypriote sphere in the Late Bronze Age. This is also true for the imbedding of individuals named *ku-pi-ri-jo* and *a-la-si-jo* on Crete and in Messenia in various sectors of the Mycenaean economy. The involvement of *ku-pi-ri-jo* in the ritual offering of honey to a deity with a 'Cypriote' epithet is also unparalleled in Linear B.

The place name **ku-po-ro* and the goods or individuals associated with it cover a wide range of Mycenaean industries. Among trade goods are cloth and wool, dye mordant, plant materials with numerous applications, spices, oil, and perhaps pottery. The indi-

viduals are involved in one of the few records of compensatory *o-no* exchange and in shepherding, bronze-working and the religious offering of honey. Some of these transactions speak to reasonably high social status, and in one instance an offering is made to what looks like a specifically 'Cypriote' deity.

Finally, we should also stress something that I have not seen stressed: what is not there. The list of foreign 'ethnic' names for working women who were acquired in a form of 'slave trade' move north to south along the Anatolian coast from Lemnos down to Knidos and Halikarnassos. However, there are no *ku-pi-ri-ja* women, nor women associated with any other identifiable community in Cyprus. This list of place names that provide dependent women is full by Mycenaean standards. The absence of Cyprus may be meaningful. It may imply (1) that inhabitants of the island did not have access to the kinds of population sources that provided the Mycenaeans with their dependent work force and (2) that the communities on Cyprus had a different relationship with the Mycenaean centers than those along coastal Anatolia.

7. *Alasia* in Texts of Other High Cultures

It is beyond the scope of this paper, and my own competence, to analyze all the references to Alasia in the texts of surrounding high cultures. These have been conveniently collected and translated in *NEAT*.[56] It is worthwhile, however, to comment on selected texts in order to get some sense of how these references, from a longer extent of time and from different types of sources—and mostly from a higher level of power and administration—supplement and complement what we have seen in Homer, Herodotus, the Cypriote Syllabic texts of the historical period, and Linear B.

It is clear from these records that Alasia (hereafter *Alashiya* following the convention in *NEAT*) is active in international exchange and diplomacy. *Alashiyan* agents are active in Egypt (in some ways equivalent to 'Cypriote' agents and trade interests in Crete and Messenia). An *Alashiyan* shipmaster probably intermarried with an Egyptian woman (at least his wife bears an Egyptian name and they appear among individuals with Syrian and Egyptian names). Trade or exchange items include copper, which is still not certainly attested in the Linear B tablets, and other goods and materials: grain, various oils including sweet oil, boxwood, ebony, ivory, linens, flax, donkey hides, and luxury or specialty items like utensils of gold, ceremonial rhyta and horse blankets. *Alashiya* is subject to paying tribute to the Hittites, and the ruler of *Alashiya* is involved in cuneiform

correspondence with Egypt, Ugarit and the Hittites. There are specific references to a king and prefect of *Alashiya*. Individuals who are mentioned in these texts are imbedded in these different societies and function at mid-range, as is true of the 'Cypriotes' in the Linear B texts.

7.1 Mari and Babylonia

In the Akkadian documents from Mari and Babylonia dating to the 19th and 18th centuries B.C.E., *Alashiya* is an important source of copper. The quantities are large and there is evidence of the copper having been received in a raw state that incurs considerable waste during refinement (*NEAT* §8). It is also distinguished as mountain copper. Relating to the question of ethnicity, it has been argued that the use of the determinative URU.KI preceding the name of *Alashiya* implies that it is viewed as a city, rather than as a nation or territory. However, Sasson points out that scribal practice in the use of such determinatives is not consistent.[57]

7.2 Egypt

The Akkadian Amarna letters (14th century B.C.E.) move us into a period contemporary with the Linear B tablets. They give us a view of the prosperity and level of power of the king and kingdom of *Alashiya*, and of the niceties of international diplomacy and gift-exchange, that is totally missing from the Mycenaean economic documents. Again the emphasis is on the king of *Alashiya* providing mainly quantities of raw copper and timber and expecting in return manufactured luxury goods and luxury items: horses, a chariot, linen, linen shawls and robes, beams of ebony (*NEAT* §15). The items proferred by the king of *Alashiya* to the Egyptian king are extremely modest, especially by comparison with the lavishness of gift exchanges among the royal personages of Egypt, Babylonia, Mittani, the Hittites and Ugarit.[58] See, for example, the sending by the king of *Alashiya* of five talents (ca. 150 kg.) of copper and five teams of horses (*NEAT* §18) or "five (?) of copper, three talents of fine copper, one piece of ivory, one (beam) of boxwood, one (beam) for a ship" (*NEAT* §21).

The Amarna letters also give us insight into the exchanges of persons between *Alashiya* and Egypt. *NEAT* §16.30-39 speaks of a man of *Alashiya* who died in Egypt, while his son and wife are with the king of *Alashiya*. Furthermore, a messenger of the king of Egypt has been with the king of *Alashiya* for a full three years. This kind of mobility of

persons of status, and of importance to those in power, may offer a model for understanding the position of the man named *ku-pi-ri-jo* involved in the moderately large-scale alum 'exchange' on Pylos Un 443 (sec. §6.7 above). As for the status of the mercantile agents sent out to other countries, in *NEAT* §21.16-20 the governor of *Alashiya* specifies to the governor of Egypt that the ship and men being dispatched belong to the king of *Alashiya* and should not be tampered with or detained.

References to *Alashiya*, one from the 15th century B.C.E., the rest from the 13th (1291-1212 B.C.E.)-early 12th (1202-1179 B.C.E.) centuries, occur in Egyptian hieroglyphic in topographical lists and historical inscriptions and as legends on temple reliefs.[59] The most spectacular for geographical knowledge pertinent to our topic comes from the period of Ramesses II, temple of Amun (Luxor) (*NEAT* §77 and §84). There thirty-one figures are represented, including personifications of regions known as mineral-bearing regions. Among these appear *Sangar*/Babylonia and *'a-si-ja* (Asiya), *'á-la-sá* (Alashiya), *Hatti* (the Hittite kingdom) and *Ka-f-tù* (Keftiu/Crete). *Asiya* has been identified, again not without alternative scholarly opinion, with *Assuwa* in the Hittite documents (*a-si-wi-ja* in Linear B) and located in southwestern Anatolia.[60] The inscriptions accompanying these specify:

> *'a-si-ja* (Asiya): Words spoken by the mountain of [Asiya to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,] Usermaatre-Setepenre: "(I)[have] come [having brought you] silver and bronze in countless quantities, millions, hundred thousands."

> *'á-la-sá* (Alashiya): Words spoken by the mountain of [A]lashiya to the Son of Re, Ramesses-Meryamun:: "(I) [have] come [having brought you] silver and bronze in countless quantities, millions, hundred thousands."

> *Ka-f-tù* (Keftiu/Crete): Words spoken by the mountain of [Keftiu to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,] Usermaatre-Setepenre: "(I)[have] come having brought you .... every kind of precious stone(?)] in great piles."

Otherwise *Alashiya* is recorded from the 15th into the early 12th centuries B.C.E. in papyri (*NEAT*, §§86, 87, 90) as a source for three kinds of special oil (see above secs. §§6.3-6.4 for the Mycenaean references to olive oil and *ku-pa-ro* in connection with *ku-pi-ri-jo*), raw copper, cows and flax. A 13th-century B.C.E. funerary stele belongs to a person known as "he of *Alashiya*" and a shipmaster also identified as "he of *Alashiya*" is recorded on a stele along with fifteen other people, mostly bearing Syrian or Egyptian names. His wife's name is Egyptian.

7.3 Ugarit

The later (late 13th-early 12th century B.C.E.) Akkadian Ugaritic texts mentioning *Alashiya* (*NEAT* §27 and §28) relate to what seem to be measures for some form of cooperative defense against enemy ships. We have reference here to the position of senior prefect in *Alashiya*. This kind of 'international' text and information is, of course, completely absent from the Linear B records. A reflection of the cultural diversity and movements among the upper classes of *Alashiya* and surrounding royal courts is the mention of sons of the queen of Ugarit going to *Alashiya* with their inheritances (*NEAT* §23) and brothers fleeing from *Alashiya* to Hattusili, the Hittite king at Hattusa, who in turn assigned them to Carchemish.

In the Ugaritic documents from 14th-13th-century Ugarit, a number of texts (*NEAT* §§54-59) provide inventories of disbursements of items and materials to individual crafts personnel or individuals of unspecified occupation. Other texts simply list persons who are noted as being *Alashiyan*. These would be equivalent to the smith and shepherds known as *ku-pi-ri-jo*, *a-la-si-jo* and other 'ethnics' in the Pylos and Knossos texts (sec. §6.7 above). One text (*NEAT* §53) specifies a large amount of oil (660 measures) for 'Abrm the Alashiyan', a quantity that far exceeds allocations to the other individuals listed on the text (specified as being Egyptian and 'of Sardis?'). A census list (*NEAT* §62) of thirty households has one entry that refers to people as connected with *Alashiya*. Unfortunately it is not known where the ethnically diverse households on this list are located: at Ugarit, at *Alashiya*, or somewhere else.

A very important document is a Hurrian text from Ugarit (*NEAT* §65 14th century B.C.E. ?) which lists offerings to El and other sacred recipients, among whom is 'the *Alashiyan* god'. Recall the Knossian honey text Gg(2) 995 + 7370 + 7591 + 7764 (sec.

§6.2 above) with its offering from *Kuprios* to *ma-ki-ro-ne* (arguably a Cypriote deity installed in Mycenaean Crete).

7.4 Hattusa

Inventory texts from Hattusa (*NEAT* §§39-40) refer to linens from *Alashiya*. Other texts make clear that *Alashiya* was made into a vassal state and was bound by treaty in a military alliance. The tribute imposed takes the form of donations of gold, copper and grain donated by the king and senior prefect of *Alashiya* to the sun-goddess of Arinna and Tabarna, Great King, Priest of the sun-goddess of Arinna and then a list of Storm-gods of various localities.

7.5 Conclusions on *Alashiya* and **Kupros*

In addition to the synthetic observations about this documentation made above (sec. §7), we should note that *Alashiya* apparently engages in diplomatic correspondence in cuneiform with Egypt, Ugarit and the Hittites. In nearby Ugarit, of course, there are actual Cypro-Minoan texts.[61]

Two big questions arise in comparing this evidence with the Linear B documentation for *a-ra-si-jo* in the Knossos texts, *ku-pi-ri-jo* in the Knossos and Pylos texts, and *ku* TELA and LANA in the Knossos and Thebes texts. What is the relationship between *Alashiya* and **ku-po-ro*? Why does *Alashiya* disappear from the historical record in a way that the major centers of Crete (*Keftiu*) and the Mycenaean world (both those attested in Linear B and those known only archaeologically and traditionally) do not?

Where and how does **Kupros/Alashiya* fit in here in international trade? The Minoans and Mycenaeans on Crete were engaged in large-scale cloth production and trade. The Mycenaeans of Late Bronze Age Messenia also concentrate on linen production. We have seen the importance of cloth and oil in royal exchange in the Amarna letters, other Egyptian documents, and Hittite documents. Were the Cypriote linens in the Egyptian and Hittite documents actually manufactured in Cyprus?

8. Observations on Cypriote Writing, Ethnicity and Identity

The communities of Cyprus, despite being for more than a thousand years in different periods in close contact with or even tributary to other cultures, e.g., the Hittites,

Egyptians, Minoans, Mycenaeans, Greeks, Assyrians and Persians, and undergoing an influx of Mycenaeans in the Late Bronze Age, maintain a fascinating 'independence' from the writing systems of these other cultures although it would have been quite useful to adopt one of these systems, because they were so important for international diplomacy and economic exchange. This Cypriote non-conformity is consistent with what Snodgrass characterizes as a marked degree of independent action by the rulers of the Cypriote kingdoms even during periods of foreign domination:[62]

> Under Assyrian, Egyptian and Persian domination, the Cypriot kingdoms present a spectacle not only of prosperity, but also (most clearly in the case of Persia) of robust political action on the part of their rulers.

Our many questions about ethnicity and how Cyprus and the Cypriotes conceived of themselves, and were known to surrounding cultures of the second and first millennia B.C.E., can be distilled to a single question: "Who were the Cypriotes?" Ethnicity is about cultural differentiation from others. It is arguable that the most visible indicators of ethnic identity of the inhabitants of Cyprus from the Middle Bronze Age into the Hellenistic period were their writing systems (and in the beginning their independent pot-marking system).

The inhabitants of Cyprus invented forms of graphic communication at least three times: Cypro-Minoan pot marks, Cypro-Minoan formal clay inscriptions, and Cypriote Syllabic script. We assume here that the archaic Cypro-Minoan tablet from Enkomi is a precursor of the later highly straight-linearized Cypro-Minoan script and that the transition between the two required some kind of writing 'reform', not a new 'invention'. In inventing these written communication systems and then using them, despite the availability and utility of other forms of writing that had more prestige, wider currency, and, in the case of Cypriote Syllabic and the Greek alphabet, even greater simplicity, the inhabitants of Cyprus asserted a special form of cultural or 'ethnic' independence.

Again, it is beyond the scope of this paper, and would also be quite redundant[63] to present here a mini-history of Cypriote scripts. But observations relevant to Cypriote ethnicity and identity are in order.

8.1 Cypro-Minoan

Our earliest formal Cypro-Minoan text, the archaic inscription from Enkomi (figure 14) is clearly influenced by Minoan linear writing, as its name implies. But it already is distinctive in several ways: (1) the formation of individual characters, (2) the shape of the tablet, (3) the way in which rule lines are used, and (4) the use on the edge of the tablet of an *incipit* abbreviation, most likely for 'filing' or 'reference' purposes. Unfortunately we do not have fuller documentation for writing on clay that would allow us to trace the evolution from this point to the later fuller Cypro-Minoan texts discovered at Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, Enkomi and Ugarit. Nor do we have any precursors to this text. It does not seem in any way 'experimental'.

Why did the inhabitants of Cyprus, native or non-native, choose Minoan writing as their template? The answer may well have to do with some historical accident connected with inter-cultural contacts and the original purposes for which writing on Cyprus was intended. The invention of writing, like most inventions, proceeds from a single act that sets in motion a process of development. We have surveyed the attested contacts that the island of Cyprus had with surrounding literate civilizations in the Middle and Late Bronze Age. The island provided copper ore of varying qualities to these cultures and also various oils, cloth, wood, spices, plant materials, and even livestock. The island had political and economic relations with these high cultures that led to individuals identifiable as 'Cypriote' visiting, living and working in these cultures. And migrations into Cyprus, occasionally intensive, also occurred. The island also was in the middle of trade routes. Like the creation of Linear B out of Linear A and the Greek alphabet from the Phoenician, need and opportunity combined at some single moment.

The degree to which Cypriote-marked pottery occurs in the Aegean, the Mycenaean textual evidence for Cypriote presence within Mycenaean Cretan and mainland society, and the pressing need of Crete and the Greek mainland for copper make contacts leading to the adaptation of Cretan script at least not inexplicable. We do not know what linguistic affinities existed between the non-Greek languages spoken on Crete and Cyprus that might have made adaptation of the open-syllabic, primarily three-vowel Minoan script natural and suitable.[64] Certainly the ease with which a writing system based on the Minoan script could be learned and mastered, both in terms of the size and complexity of the sign repertory and the intellectual discipline and attainments needed to use the

writing system efficiently, would have made Minoan writing preferable to the elaborate cuneiform system. The cuneifom system required specialized knowledge of Akkadian and Sumerian, learning ca. 300 phonetic signs, and mastering the principles of determinative signs and conventions for using them.[65]

The formation of Cypro-Minoan signs observable on the later clay tablets, balls and clay cylinders (the latter two media for inscriptions being original to Cyprus) from Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, Enkomi and Ugarit is commonly now said to have developed from a process of 'cuneiformization', whereby the linear drawing of signs with the pointed knife-blade-like stylus of the Aegean scripts was influenced by the press-and-bend method of the wedge-shaped cuneiform stylus.[66] Godart and Sacconi, in fact, saw the influence of cuneiform culture already on the archaic tablet.[67] However, I have elsewhere argued that practical factors relating to the size of characters and the surfaces of the media may have produced the resulting character forms in at least the class of inscriptions artificially designated by E. Masson as Cypro-Minoan 2.[68]

A brief re-examination of later tablets in October 2004 makes me doubt whether even these really show the influence of cuneiform press-and-bend writing. The *ductus* of individual characters looks not very dissimilar from that of the more straight- and recti-linear Mycenaean characters when they are written at such a small scale. On the largish Cypro-Minoan tablets, too, the scribes had to write with their styluses more perpendicular to the clay surface in order to avoid marring the text they were writing. I see little to no evidence of 'cuneiformization' of the linear signs on the archaic tablet. Here, too, I think now that Cypriote writing evolved fairly independently its own style and its own solutions to particular problems and needs.

8.2 Cypriote Syllabic Script

One of the great mysteries in the development of writing systems in any culture is how the later Cypriote Syllabic script developed and what connection it had with the last stages of Cypro-Minoan. Snodgrass makes two salient remarks on the cultural and historical environment in which this transition in script occurred:[69]

> Inasmuch as Bronze Age literacy had been closely linked with central administration, the continuous existence of this ancient writing system gives a clear hint of continuity in institutions. The survival is the more

remarkable because the westward diffusion of the alphabet in the eighth century can hardly have proceeded otherwise than through, or round, Cyprus.

The only way I would qualify these remarks is to wonder how far we can speak of a "continuous existence of [a] writing system," when the Cypriote Syllabic script is so different from Cypro-Minoan in sign repertory and applications. I also wonder whether we can say that the extant Cypro-Minoan corpus speaks to the kind of exclusively institutional, administrative use of script that we posit for Linear B (but not for Linear A). Snodgrass is right to emphasize the singularity of perpetuating the use of the Cypriote Syllabic script, when Cyprus was encircled and traversed by communities and individuals using the Greek alphabet. Bazemore, in fact, calculates that Cyprus produced only six Greek alphabetic inscriptions before the end of the fifth century B.C.E.[70]

The Cypriote Syllabary in its conventional common and regional variants (*ICS*, 58-67, figs. 1-6) employs a streamlined version of the Aegean linear core-value syllabograms as they eventually are used in Linear B.[71] It has 56 characters, 50 of which were relatively 'essential' for representing Greek of the historical period reasonably accurately and efficiently (contrast in Linear B ca. 87 characters and 59 core-value signs).[72] The similarity in shape and value between certain Linear B and Cypriote Syllabic signs has long been recognized. Michael Ventris, in fact, tried to use this as an aid toward decipherment of Linear B in his earlier and more speculative period of work.[73]

But there is a phonetic randomness to the newly created signs that has defied any systematic explanation. The signs in Cypriote Syllabic with reasonably secure parallels in value and form within the Linear B script are: *na, pa, ta, se, ti, lo, po, to*. A few others (like *la*) can be added without excessive use of our imaginations. These eight are hardly unified in any way: two unvoiced labials, three unvoiced dentals (Cypriote Syllabic *ta*, however, corresponding to Linear B *da*), a liquid (again Cypriote Syllabic *lo* corresponding to Linear B *l/ro*), a sibilant, and a dental nasal. They also cover four of the five Greek vowel series.

It is also conspicuous that none of the remaining signs of the Cypriote Syllabary seem to originate in signs from the Minoan-Mycenaean repertory reassigned to other values than those they had in Linear B. It is most telling that none of the signs for pure vowels in Cypriote Syllabic are clearly related to Minoan or Mycenaean pure vowel signs.[74] One

might expect them to be carried over *en masse* as a readily discernible and useful *bloc* within an open-syllabic script. Moreover, other signs in the Cypriote Syllabary seem to be generated artificially by the addition or subtraction of elements. Cf. *a* and *i*; *o* and *so* (Idalion); *ri*, *ni*, and possibly *ke*. Again there is no discernible pattern to the phonetic values of these formally similar signs.

The earliest attestation of the Cypriote Syllabic script is the now-famous inscribed obelos from a tomb at Palaepaphos-*Skales* (figure 15). Its context is datable to the 11th century B.C.E.[75] This is a period of heavy Greek immigration into the island of Cyprus, a new burst in the long process of recurrent migrations from the Aegean area.[76] The text reads *o-pe-le-ta-u*. It is interpreted as the genitive singular masculine of the man's name *Opheltās*. If this is correct, it shows the *-u* ending that we would expect in the historical Cypriote dialect, but is not attested in Mycenaean texts, despite their dialect affinity with later Arcado-Cypriote.

Besides some inevitable scholarly controversy concerning the date of the obelos, the inscription itself has raised some questions. The text makes sense as a kind of owner's inscription. But the third and fifth signs are read according to the sign variants so far attested only in the region of Paphos, while the first sign is read according to the values of the so-called 'common Cypriote syllabary', constructed from the forms of signs used throughout the island. Nonetheless, it is fair to say that a single variant sign form at an early stage in the development of the script when we do not have any other attestations of regional or common repertoires is not sufficient, at this point, to call the reading and interpretation of the inscription into question.

Once we move fully into the literate historical period on Cyprus, the Cypriote Syllabic script is used in a variety of ways. Over 1,375 inscriptions are known, just over 1,200 coming from the island of Cyprus itself.[77] It is clearly the dominant script and holds onto its value as a marker of cultural identity on coinage and within religious dedicatory texts even in the fourth century when the alphabet begins to prevail, as we move into the Age of Alexander and the Hellenistic period.[78] Its use in sanctuaries and in cemeteries is conspicuous. In contrast to the use of the Greek alphabet in Greece, no major law codes and few public decrees survive.

Interesting for the question of ethnic identity and script, is the fact that large numbers of the off-island inscriptions are graffiti of Cypriote mercenaries in Egypt. Among the graffiti from the temple of Seti I at Abydos are three remarkable attempts at the name

Ζωόφαος *zo-o-pa-o-se* (*ICS* §381 ca. 411-373 B.C.E. figure 16). Each version of the name is written reasonably legibly and clearly. It is difficult to surmise why the inscriber felt a need to write the name three times, especially since each version is accurate. But he certainly made a lasting impression of 'Cyprioteness'.

Good examples of the gradual drift away from the use of the Cypriote Syllabic script and towards the Greek alphabet during the course of the fourth century are two coin inscriptions. On the first from the early fifth century B.C.E., all information on the obverse and the reverse is in Cypriote Syllabic script. On the second, the important full information is given in Cypriote Syllabic, with an abbreviated reference to the king's name in Greek alphabetic characters.

> *ICS* §323 a of King Nikodamos of Salamis (479- B.C.E.)
>
> (obverse) (1) pa-si-le-wo-se (2) ni-ko-ta-mo
> (reverse) pa mi-ni   la-se
>
> TRANSLATION: (obverse) (1) βασιλῆϜος (2) Νικοδάμω
> (reverse) βα Σελαμινί(ων)
>
> ICS §325 b of Euagoras I of Salamis (411-374 B.C.E.)
>
> (obverse) e-u-wa-ko-ro
> (reverse) pa-si-le-wo   se   ΕΥΑ

ICS §325 b follows the pattern of a biscript dedication from Kourion (a Greek alphabetic-Cypriote Syllabic inscribed statue base *ICS* §182 figure 17) and a biscript bilingual honorific decree from the region of Amathus (*ICS* §196 Greek and eteo-Cypriote figure 18). Both offer clear views of the population diversity of the island of Cyprus and the strategies for using both the peculiar Cypriote Syllabic script and the pan-Hellenic alphabetic script for public texts during the fourth century.

ICS §182 (figure 17) is a biscript dedication of a statue to Demeter and Kore from Kourion. The text gives primacy to the Greek alphabetic script both in position on the stone and in the smaller characters used for the following Cypriote Syllabic portion:

(a) (1) Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρηι εὐχὴν (2) Ἑλλόοικος Ποτείσιος ἀνέθηκε
(b) *ta-ma-ti-ri* : *ka-se* : *ko-ra-i* : *e-lo-wo-i-ko-se* : *po-te-si-o-se* : *a-ne-te-ke* :
i-tu-ka-i :

The dedicator's first name seems to be a compound of a non-Greek first element and a Greek second element. It is followed by a patronymic which O. Masson links to Egyptian theophoric naming practices, connected with the cult of Isis.[79] Notice that in the Cypriote Syllabic version the etymological semi-vowel /w/ is preserved as it was longer in Cypriote dialect than in other dialect areas where the Greek alphabet was used. The Greek alphabetic text represents a standard common Attic dialect also in the use of καί vs. Cypriote ka-se = κάς, and in using the word for 'prayer' εὐχή in reference to the dedication, which the Cypriote Syllabic text omits, using instead at the end the standard good-omened phrase i-tu-ka-i = ἰ(ν) τύχαι. If the purpose of the text was to benefit the undoubtedly, at this period, growing number of local Cypriotes who had acquired knowledge of the Greek alphabet, but no longer of the Cypriote Syllabic script, the Greek alphabetic text could have been written in its Cypriote dialect form. Instead the Greek alphabetic text appeals to the wider extra-Cypriote visitors to the sanctuary.

Our final text *ICS* §196 (figure 18) is a biscript bilingual from Amathus that commemorates the polis of the Amathusians honoring Ariston, son of Aristonaks. The text is dated by letter forms to the second half of the fourth century B.C.E., but by the spirit of its contents to the period after the expulsion of Androkles, the last known king of Amathus, ca. 313-311 B.C.E. The text again appears in two parts with the Greek alphabetic text inscribed very centrally and formally. The first part is written in eteo-Cypriote.

> (a) (1) *a-na · ma-to-ri · u-mi-e-sa- : i-mu-ku-la-i-la-sa-na · a-ri-si-to-no-se a-ra-to-wa-na-ka-so-ko-o-se* (2) *ke-ra-ke-re-tu-to-se · ? ta-ka- : na-?-?-so-ti · a-lo · ka-i-ti-po-ti*
> (b) (1) Ἡ πόλις ἡ Ἀμαθουσίων Ἀρίστω:να (2) Ἀριστώνακτος εὐπατρίδη:ν.

In the eteo-Cypriote portion, the only recognizable words are the name of Ariston and his father Aristonaks in the sequence *a-ri-si-to-no-se a-ra-to-wa-na-ka-so-ko-o-se.* Where the second name ends is uncertain, as is, then, also the meaning of the eteo-Cypriote word or words immediately following it. Personal names with a first element derived from the Greek superlative ἄριστος are well-attested in Cyprus (see *WIKS*, pp. 18-21). O. Masson, *ICS*, p. 207, reviews the various possibilities for explaining the spelling of the first element of the father's name in the eteo-Cypriote portion of the text as *a-ra-to-*: a rapid pronunciation whereby *Aristo-* was shortened variously to *Asto-* or, as here, *Arto-*. The absence in any portion of the rest of the eteo-Cypriote text of a string

of syllabic characters that could be connected with the city Amathus or its inhabitants, the Amathusians, raises the distinct possibility that the Amathusians referred to themselves by an ethnic in their own language that was unrelated to Amathus. If this is true, then the eteo-Cypriote portion of this, our final text, would give us evidence that within the island of Cyprus itself, at the beginning of the pronounced cultural leveling of the Hellenistic period, certain peoples and communities were as fiercely independent about their own identities as we have seen the entire island of Cyprus be, during a span of over 1,300 years, vis-a-vis surrounding cultures that had much greater power, wealth and prestige.

Notes

I use the following standard abbreviations:

DMic 1-2: F. Aura Jorro, *Diccionario Micénico*, volumes 1and 2. Madrid 1985 and 1993.

DEG 1-5: P. Chantraine, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue Grecque*, volumes 1-5. Paris 1968-1980.

GEW: H. Frisk, *Griechisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, vols. 1-2. Heidelberg 1960 and 1970.

IALB: F. Vandenabeele and J.-P. Olivier, *Les idéogrammes archéologiques du linéaire B*. Paris 1979.

ICS: O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques. Reimpression augmentée*. Paris 1983.

NEAT: A.B. Knapp ed., *Near Eastern and Aegean Texts from the Third to First Millennia BC* (*Sources for the History of Cyprus* 2). Greece and Cyprus Research Center, Altamont, NY 1996.

Ploes: N.C. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis eds., *ΠΛΟΕΣ... SEA ROUTES... Interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th-6th c. BC*. University of Crete and the A.G. Leventis Foundation, Athens 2003.

WH: V. Karageorghis and I. Taifacos eds., *The World of Herodotus*. Foundation Anastasios G. Leventis, Nicosia, 2004.

WIKS: M. Egetmeyer, *Wörterbuch zu den Inschriften im kyprischen Syllabar*. Berlin 1992.

References to inscription numbers in *ICS* are prefaced by the symbol §. Otherwise numbers following a citation refer to pages. Occasionally in transcribing Mycenaean words, I will deviate from what is purely conventional practice and render as /l/ the phonograms whose initial consonantal values are undifferentiated and stand for either /l/ or /r/. Mycenaean users and readers of Linear B would have made this choice instantaneously and naturally for each lexeme, just as skilled English-speakers select automatically from possible pronunciations of the sequence *ough* in historical spelling of words such as 'through', 'though', 'thought', 'tough' and 'bough'. I do this to remove confusion about such conventional transcriptions as *a-ra-si-jo*. I do not, however, do this systematically, especially in cases where there is some degree of doubt about the choice between alternative values.

For those unfamiliar with linguistic practice, the sign * preceding a word or form denotes that it is posited or reconstructed, but never attested in extant texts.

References to place names and transliterations of words in ancient Greek and other languages are made using common sense. In citing scholarly works, I have aimed in most cases at what is recent and to the point, rather than at bibliographical fullness.

[2] An excellent starting point for thinking about the problem of ethnic identity in Cyprus from the close of the Bronze Age into the historical period is V. Karageorghis, "The Hellenization of Cyprus and Crete: Some similarities and Differences," in *Kreta und Zypern: Religion und Schrift* (Society for the Study and Spreading of Hellenic History, Altenburg 2001) 265-277.

For my views of the distinctive features and uses of the Cypriote scripts among the competing writing systems of the cultures of the eastern Mediterranean and the Near and Middle East during this period, see T.G. Palaima, "Cypro-Minoan Scripts: Problems of Historical Context," in Y. Duhoux, T.G. Palaima and J. Bennet eds., *Problems in Decipherment* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1989) 121-187; and "The Advent of the Greek Alphabet on Cyprus: A Competition of Scripts," in C. Baurain *et al.* eds., *Phoinikeia Grammata* (Namur 1991) 449-471.

For a well-illustrated brief recent discussion of the salient features of Late Bronze Age Cypriote writing, see J.S. Smith, "Writing Styles in Clay of the Eastern Mediterranean Late Bronze Age," in *Ploes*, 277-289. For a recent brief statistical overview of the Cypriote Syllabic script with observations on its origins and uses, see G.B. Bazemore, "The Display and Viewing of the Syllabic Inscriptions of Rantidi Sanctuary," in J.S. Smith ed., *Script and Seal Use on Cyprus in the Bronze and Iron Ages* (Boston 2002) 155-159.

[3] B. Dylan, *Chronicles. Volume One* (New York 2004) 18. The fuller context of the phrase quoted below from "Tangled Up in Blue" is: "[E]very one of them words rang true /And glowed like burnin' coal / Pourin' off of every page /Like it was written in my soul from me to you."

[4] C.J.Ruijgh, "D'Homère aux origines proto-mycéniennes de la tradition épique," in J.-P. Crielaard ed., *Homeric Questions* (Amsterdam 1995) 1-96.

[4a] See J.Younger, *Music in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Jonsered 1998) *passim*, and p. 69 and plate 13 for the Palace of Nestor fresco.

[5] The Herodotean account has most recently been astutely discussed by Thierry Petit, "Herodotus and Amathus," in *WH*, 9-25.

[6] See V. Karageorghis, "Herodotus and Cyprus," in *WH*, 1-7, which also outlines the distinctiveness of the 'Cypriote character' in the historical period, even when "under foreign domination or under political influence of the Assyrians, the Phoenicians, the Egyptians and the Persians."

[7] The historical inscriptions from Cyprus that cannot be read as Greek or Phoenician and are mainly concentrated in the southwestern part of the island have been grouped together and given the purely conventional and artificial name 'eteo-Cypriote'. See O. Masson, "Ἐτεοκυπριακή," in A.-F. Christidis ed., *Ιστορία της Ελληνικής Γλώσσας από τις Αρχές έως την Ύστερη Αρχαιότητα* (Athens 2002) 192-194; and *WIKS*, 302-322. This name is modeled on the reference in Homer's *Odyssey* to the eteo-Cretans among the 'ethnic' popula-

tions of the island of Crete. See Y. Duhoux, *L'Étéocretois: les textes, la langue* (Amsterdam 1982).

Amathus has yielded more than a dozen such inscriptions: *ICS* §§190, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 196a, 196e, 198. These can be supplemented, e.g., O. Masson, "Une inscription étéochypriote probablement originaire d'Amathonte," *Kadmos* 27 (1988) 126-130. For these inscriptions, see, besides *ICS*, T. Petit, "Syllabaire et alphabet au palaias d'Amathonte de Chypre vers 300 avant notre ère," in C. Baurain, C. Bonnet and V. Krings eds., *Phoinikeia Grammata* (Liege-Namur 1991) 481-490.

These texts have long been of interest, even to Mycenologists. Cf. M. Ventris, "Notes on the Position of the Eteo-Languages," *Jahrbuch für kleinasiatische Forschung* 2:2 (1952) 218-222. Doubts about the very existence of such a population group have been raised recently by M. Given, "Inventing the Eteocypriots: Imperialist Archaeology and the Manipulation of Ethnic Identity," *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 11 (1998) 3-29. At the same time, the eteo-Cyprotes continue to figure in attempts to define Cypriote ethnicity in the prehistoric and historical period. See, for example, O. Negbi, "Reflections on the Ethnicity of Cyprus in the Eleventh Century BCE," in S. Gitin, A. Mazar and E. Stein eds., *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition* (Jerusalem 1998) 87-93.

[8] R. Rollinger, "Herodotus, Human Violence and the Ancient Near East," *WH*, 121-143, esp. 127 and 131, views the Amathusian act as perpetrated by Greeks in Asia, but argues that Herodotus implies a negative assessment of this act of violence. Rollinger's thesis is that (1) Herodotus takes a negative view of such violence; (2) violence in Herodotus is correlated with ethnic and geographical criteria (78% of the acts are perpetrated by non-Greeks, and ambiguous events such as the beheading of Onesilus and the castration of the youths of Corcyra in 3.48-49 are considered Greek actions); and (3) there is a correlation between violence and tyranny and despotism. Given the parallelism of this particular act with the reported potential actions of the Trojans (non-Greek 'others') in the *Iliad*, I think that a strong argument can be made that Herodotus would view what the Amathusians do here as ethnically non-Greek.

[9] C.M. Bowra, "Homeric Words in Cyprus," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 54:1 (1934) 54-74.

[10] Cf. J. Karageorghis, "The Goddess of Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident," in *Ploes*, 353-362, esp. 356-357 on the functions and epithet of Aphrodite at Paphos.

[11] O. Masson, "Notes d'onomastique chypriote, IIIe série," Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί 28 (1964) 3-12.

[12] For an analysis of historical Greek ethnics and sub-ethnics and their cultural, regional and political implications in relation to toponymic and personal names, see M.H. Hansen, "City-Ethnics as Evidence for *Polis* Identity," in M.H. Hansen and K. Raaflaub eds., *More Studies in the Ancient Greek* Polis (Stuttgart 1996) 169-196, esp. 169-177.

[13] For all we know, Korinthos at the Isthmus could be another example of a place name that 'wandered' after the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system. See for example, *e-ko-me-no* and *ro-u-so* in the Pylos texts (and territory) and later Arkadian Ἐ/Ορχομενοί and Λουσοί. On the whole issue of geographical and ethnic names, see J.-L. García-Ramón, "Völker- und Stammesnamen," *Der Neue Pauly* 12/2 (Stuttgart-Weimar 2002) 275-278; and "Geographische Namen," *Der Neue Pauly* 4 (Stuttgart-Weimar 2002) 930-934.

[14] See T.G. Palaima, "θέμις in the Mycenaean Lexicon and the Etymology of the Place-Name **ti-mi-to a-ko*," *Faventia* 22/1 (2000) 7-19.

[15] Stephanus also reports that the original name of the *polis* in Cyprus later called Salamis was Κωστάντεια.

[16] J. Gulizio, T. Palaima and K. Pluta, "Religion in the Room of the Chariot Tablets," in R. Hägg and R. Laffineur eds., *Potnia* (*Aegeaum* 22: Liège and Austin 2001) 453-461.

[17] W.-D. Niemeier, "The Minoans in the South-Eastern Aegean and in Cyprus," in V. Karageorghis and N. Stampolidis, eds. *Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete 16th-6th cent. B.C.* (The University of Crete and The A.G. Leventis Foundation: Athens 1998) 29-47. B. Niemeier and W.-D. Niemeier, "Milet 1994-1995. Projekt Minoisch-mykenisches bis protogeometrisches Milet: Zielsetzung und Grabungen auf dem Stadionhügel und am Athenatempel," *Archäologischer Anzeiger* (1997) 189-248.

[18] R. Bichler, "Herodotus' Ethnography. Examples and Principles," in *WH*, 93, stresses that Herodotus' ethnographic interests are concentrated on cultural facts such as "language, lifestyle and...ritual behavior."

[19] Herodotus 1.57, 2.51, 2.56, 7.94, 6.137-140. See C. Sourvinou-Inwood, "Herodotus (and Others) on the Pelasgians," in P. Derow and R. Parker eds., *Herodotus and His World* (Oxford 2003) 103-144.

[20] See A.B. Knapp, "The Identification of *Alashiya*," *NEAT*, 3-11.

[21] Y. Goren, S. Bunimovitz, I. Finkelstein and N. Navaman, "The Location of Alashiya: New Evidence from Petrographic Investigation of Alashiyan Tablets from El-Amarna and Ugarit," *American Journal of Archaeology* 107 (2003) 233-255. Skepticism about such results is related to the degree to which clay from all potential locations has been securely enough tested. From a Mycenological viewpoint, one could rehearse the shifting 'results' over time of clay analyses attempting to pinpoint the provenience of Mycenaean stirrup jars, especially the inscribed subset.

[22] *ICS* §216, pp. 226-228, with a compact and persuasive review of scholarship on the reading and identification of **Alasiōtās* as an epithet of Apollo. Cf. *WIKS s.v.* for a bibliographical update of discussion.

[23] See G. Redard, *Les noms grecs en -της -τις et principalement en -ιτης -ιτις* (Paris 1949) 9.

[24] For a brief discussion of questions of what a reference like Alasia represents in terms of 'nation-state', 'city-

state', 'territorial-state' or various nuances of 'ethnicity', see Knapp, *NEAT*, p. 4. On Greek concepts of ethnicity in the Bronze Age, see the succinct general discussion in J.M. Hall, *Hellenicity* (Chicago 2002) 47-55. For general features of ethnic identity, see J.M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge 1997) 17-32.

[25] J.M. Hall, *Hellenicity* (above n. 24) 9-19.

[26] See, for example, P. Perlman, "Crete," in M.H. Hansen and T.H. Nielsen eds., *An Inventory of Archaic and Classical Poleis* (Oxford 2004) 1144. There are no examples from the relatively plentiful historical inscriptions produced by the Cretan *poleis* of the use of the ethnic Κρής internally on Crete. Examples of the usage, however, are found in Simonides and Thucydides (2.85.5) and in a fourth-century grave stele from Athens.

[27] For example, consider the references in the Linear B tablets from Pylos to the second-order center *ro-u-so* both by toponym and by toponymic or 'ethnic' adjective *ro-u-si-jo*. Cf. García-Ramón, "Völker- und Stammesnamen" (above n. 13) 278. See in general A.P. Sainer, "An Index of the Place Names at Pylos," *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 17 (1976) 17-63; and J.K. McArthur, *Place-Names in the Knossos Tablets. Identification and Location* (Salamanca 1993).

[28] On the settlement hierarchy in Crete during the period of Linear B texts (LM II into LH III B), see the classic article by J. Bennet, "Knossos in Context: Comparative Perspectives on the Linear B Administration of LM II-III Crete," *American Journal of Archaeology* 94 (1990) 193-211.

[29] J. Driessen, "*Kretes* and *Iawones*. Some Observations on the Identity of Late Bronze Age Knossians," in J. Bennet and J. Driessen eds., *A-NA-QO-TA. Studies Presented to J.T. Killen* (Salamanca 1998-99) 83-105, esp.87.

[30] From an Anatolian perspective, see T. Bryce, "The Nature of Mycenaean Involvement in Western Anatolia," *Historia* 38 (1989) 1-21; and "Ahhiyawans and Mycenaeans—an Anatolian Viewpoint," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 8 (1989) 297-310. From an Aegeanist perspective, see W.-D. Niemeier, "Mycenaeans and Hittites in War in Western Asia Minor," in R Laffineur ed., *Polemos: Le contexte guerrier en Égée à l'âge du Bronze* (Liège and Austin 1999) 141-155. M. Finkelberg, "From Ahhiyawa to Ἀχαιοί," *Glotta* 66 (1988) 127-134, proposes a solution to reconcile the linguistic problems between the Anatolian and later Greek forms. It is pure guesswork to propose that this term arises because the inhabitants of what we call Mycenaean Greece and Crete conceived of themselves as 'Achaean' or were politically organized (or unified?) on a 'national' scale under such an ethnic concept.

[31] E.H. Cline, "Contact and Trade or Colonization?: Egypt and the Aegean in the 14th - 13th Centuries B.C.," *Minos* 25/26 (1990-91 [1993]) 7-36; and "Amenhotep III, the Aegean and Anatolia," in D. O'Connor and E.H. Cline eds., *Amenhotep III: Perspectives on his Reign* (Ann Arbor 1998) 236-250.

[32] T.G. Palaima, "The Inscribed Bronze 'Kessel' from Shaft Grave IV and Cretan Heirlooms of the Bronze

Age Artist named 'Aigeus' *vel sim.* in the Mycenaean Palatial Period," in Y. Duhoux ed., *BRICIAKA. A Tribute to W. C. Brice = Cretan Studies* 9 (2003) 187-201.

[33] My thanks to Francis Breyer for this information, who promises a forthcoming study of the Egyptian and Semitic references. On the Mycenaean references, see most recently and concisely R. Palmer, "Trade in Wine, Perfumed Oil and Foodstuffs: The Linear B Evidence and Beyond," in *Ploes*, 125-140, esp.126 and 140.

[34] See the fullest treatment of these feminine 'ethnic' designations in J. Chadwick, "The Women of Pylos," in J.-P. Olivier and T.G. Palaima eds., *Texts, Tablets and Scribes* (Salamanca 1988) 43-95. See also R. Palmer, *Ploes*, 126.

[35] *ku* might also be read and so interpreted on another Salaminian coin: *ICS* §321.

[36] *WIKS s. ku-po-ro-ne*, however, revives the connection with the Hurrian word for 'copper'. But see P. Michalowski, "An Eblaite Document from Ebla (Early Bronze Age)," in *NEAT*, 16, for his argument that the Semitic word *ga-ba-lum = /kaparum/* = Sumerian URUDU in a bilingual extract tablet from Ebla (2300-2200 B.C.E.) might be interpreted as *kapalum* and be connected with the Hurrian metal name *kabali*, but that it is unlikely that this form "has anything to do with Linear B *ku-pi-ri-jo*" or the name *Kupros*. Similar skepticism is expressed by A.D. Kilmer and R. Stefanini, "Hurrian Documents from Ugarit and Boghazköy," *NEAT*, 41: "[T]he association between *kabali* (Semitic *kapalum*) and *kuprios* remains very speculative."

[37] C. Shelmerdine, *The Perfume Industry of Mycenaean Pylos* (Göteborg 1985) 26-28.

[38] See Palmer, *Ploes*, 127, for a recent discussion of the different terms for ingredients connected with perfume manufacture. It should be added to the discussion on p. 140, that references to plants and other natural substances, local and imported, at any period are complicated. In the Mycenaean period, we know that terebinth can be referred to as **ti/te-mi-to* and *ki-ta-no*. Both seem to be non-Greek terms, potentially from different, so far unknown, 'substrate' sources. It is then not difficult to accept that 'henna' would be referred to in the texts by a name, **e-ti*, a word of different origin than Semitic *kophar*.

[39] García-Ramón, "Geographische Namen" (above n. 13) 930-931, category b.

[40] See http://www.sandmountainherbs.com/henna.html on-line for a photo image of the flower.

[41] See *DMic s. ku-pi-ri-jo*; and J.T. Killen, "Some Further Thoughts on 'Collectors'," in R. Laffineur and W.-D. Niemeier eds., *Politeia: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age* (Liège and Austin 1995) 213-226, esp. 216-221 and 222-223 for an appendix of *ku-pi-ri-jo* texts from Knossos; R. Palmer, *Ploes*, 126, 129-130; T.G. Palaima, "Maritime Matters in the Linear B Tablets," in R. Laffineur and L. Basch eds., *Thalassa. L'Égée préhistorique et la mer* (Liège 1991) 273-310, esp. 280-281, 293; and J. Bennet, "Linear B/Crete and Greece," in *NEAT*, 51-58.

One wild card here is the possibility that *ku-pi-ri-jo* represents an adjectival form of the toponym *Gubla*, later known as Byblos. Most instances of /b/ in historical Greek develop from a labiovelar in prehistory and are represented in Linear B by the signs whose vocalic value is suitable for this development: *qa* and *qo*. There are some instances where in patent loan words, a foreign sound related to the Greek phoneme /b/ is represented by the signs for voiced and unvoiced labials, e.g., *pa-ra-ku-ja* vs. **56-ra-ku-ja*, related to the word glossed in Hesychius: βαρακίς.

[42] See N. Hirschfeld, "Cypriots in the Mycenaean Aegean," in E. De Miro, L. Godart, and A. Sacconi, eds. *Atti e memorie del secondo Congresso internazionale di micenologia*, (Rome 1996) vol. 1, 289-297; "Cypriots to the West? The Evidence of Their Potmarks," in L. Bonfante and V. Karageorghis, eds., *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity: 1500-450 BC.* (Nicosia 2001) 121-129; and most recently, "Marks on Pots: Patterns of Use in the Archaeological Record at Enkomi," in J.S. Smith ed., *Script and Seal Use* (above n. 2) 49-110, which interprets the material from Enkomi within the context of the widespread use of so-called Cypro-Minoan pot marks.

[43] Killen (above n. 41).

[44] J.T. Killen and J.-P. Olivier, "88 raccords de fragments dans les tablettes de Cnossos," in L.R. Palmer and J. Chadwick eds., *Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium on Mycenaean Studies* (Cambridge 1966) 63.

[45] Cypriote Greek has *porphureus* for those who deal with what in the Linear B texts is called *po-pu-ro₂* 'purple murex shell dye'. O. Masson, "Eléments de la vie quotidienne dans l'épigraphie chypriote," in *Chypre: La vie quotidienne de l'antiquité à nos jours.* (Paris 1985) 87.

[46] On 'collectors', see J. Bennet, "Collectors or Owners?" in J.-P. Olivier ed., *Mykenaïka* (Paris 1992) 65-101; J.P. Olivier, "'Les collecteurs': Leur distribution spatiale et temporelle," in S. Voutsaki and J. Killen eds. *Economy and Politics in the Mycenaean Palace States* (Cambridge 2001) 139-157; and Killen (above n. 41).

[47] The phonetic abbreviation *ku* applied to the Linear B ideograms for *cyperus* (**124* or **125*) has recently been interpreted as an abbreviated reference to the Cyclades, a known source from *cyperus* in historical times. See J. Fortes Fortes, "Micénico *ku-pa-ro* = PYC/CYP y los determinativos *O, KE, PA* y *QA*," *Faventia* 22:2 (2000) 11, citing Theophrastus, *Od.* 28: τὸ δὲ χρῖσμα τὸ Ἐρετρικόν ἐκ τοῦ κυπείρου, κομίζεται δ' ἀπὸ τῶν Κυκλάδων τὸ κύπειρον. The tubers of the 'nutsedge' plant can be used as animal fodder, but they are also used to extract a high quality edible oil and even as a sweetener. The 'galingale' variety (*cyperus longus*) has a much wider range of uses. The leaves can be used in basketry and for weaving and matting. The roots and stems have the scent of violets and can be used in perfumery, especially when dried.

[48] One tablet even specifies that a relatively small amount of oil (9.6 liters) is going to a site known as *ra-ma-na* (possibly a sanctuary) for use 'with hides' (*de-ma-si*).

[49] See Killen (above n. 41) 216-217. As supporting evidence, Killen links the ratio between tablet Fh 372 + 5440 + 5474 + frr. (3) and totaling tablet Fh 367 + 5460 + 9083 + 9106 with the ratio calculated for 'collector' vs. 'non-collector' animals in the Knossos sheep records in arguing that *ku-pi-ri-jo* here identifes a 'collector'. However, the only way of arguing that the quantity on the simple totaling tablet refers to 'non-collector' oil is to assume what the tablet's data are then used to prove, namely that *ku-pi-ri-jo* is a 'collector'. That is, it is circular reasoning.

[50] See Bennet (above n. 41) 57 who remarks that *ke* is unexplained.

[51] On the identification of **po-re-ne* in Linear B, see *DMic* s. po-re-na-qe and T.G. Palaima, "*po-re-na*: A Mycenaean Reflex in Homer? An I-E Figure in Mycenaean?," *Minos* 31-32 (1996-1997 [1998]) 303-312, with references.

[52] E.L. Bennett, Jr., *et al.*, "436 raccords et quasi-raccords de fragments inédits dans *KT 5*," *Minos* 24 (1989) 204-205. On the archaeological evidence for wool and cloth working in Cyprus in LC IIC to LC III B, including permanent workshop installations from the thirteenth century onwards, see J.S. Smith, "Changes in the Work Place: Women and Textile Production on Late Bronze Age Cyprus," in D. Bolger and N. Serwint eds., *Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus* (Boston 2002) 299-305.

[53] *ICS*, 228.

[54] This proposal is made because we might expect from the toponym *Alasia* an ethnic adjective like *Alasiōtās*. However, it is possible that both the toponym in *-ia* and the adjectival noun in *-ios* develop from a form such as *Alassa*. The aspirated form of the Phoenician rendering of the divine epithet *Alasiōtās* on *ICS* §216 (above n. 22), i.e., *'lhyts* for *a-la-si-o-ta-i*, proves that by historical times the 'ethnic' form here was spelled with a single /s/. However, the Mycenaean spelling *a-ra-si-jo* speaks to something other than a single intervocalic /s/, most likely /ss/.

[55] Palaima (above n. 41) 276-277.

[56] In the following discussion I shall refer to texts by their numbering in the translations with brief specialist commentary in *NEAT*.

[57] J.M. Sasson, "Akkadian Documents from Mari and Babylonia," *NEAT*, 17. Likewise in the Linear B tablets there are reasonably frequent alternations between group 'ethnics' and toponyms, e.g., *pa-ki-ja-ne* (plural ethnic *Sphagianes*) vs. *pa-ki-ja-ni-ja* (derivative noun form in *-íā̆*) vs. *pa-ki-ja-na* (derivative noun form in *-ā́nā̆*, cf. *a-ta-na* = later Greek Ἀθήνη). These do not seem to convey any explict meaning within the texts insofar as differentiating between inhabitants of a specific region, the region itself conceived of as an administrative entity, and the main settlement in a region. But this is a point in Linear B that deserves fuller study.

58 These are made wonderfully accessible in Z. Cocavi-Rainey (with C. Lilyquist), *Royal Gifts in the Late Bronze Age Fourteenth to Thirteenth Centuries B.C.E.* (Beer-Sheva 1999). See especially on pp. 88-98, 339-345, the indices of items and materials and objects sent in such exchanges. The texts pertaining to the *Alashiya* gifts are found on pp. 172-173.

59 B.G. Ockinga, "Hieroglyphic Texts from Egypt," *NEAT*, 42-50.

60 W. Helck, "Asija," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache* 110 (1983) 29-36; and E. Cline, "Achilles in Anatolia: Myth, History, and the Assuwa Rebellion," in G.D. Young, M.W. Chavalas, and R.E. Averbeck eds., *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons: Studies in Honor of Michael Astour on His 80th Birthday* (CDL Press: Bethesda, MD 1997) 189-210, esp. 193-194.

61 See Smith, in *Ploes* (above n. 2) 284, figure 6; Palaima, in *Problems in Decipherment* (above n. 2) figures 19, 22-23.

62 A. Snodgrass, *Cyprus and Early Greek History* (Nicosia 1988) 21. See also V. Karageorghis (above n. 6).

63 In view of the treatments listed in notes 2 and 41, with their bibliographies, together with J.-P. Olivier, "Le syllabaire chyproclassique: un inventaire," *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* 122:2 (1998) 426-427; and J. Chadwick, *Linear B and Related Scripts* (London 1987).

64 For example, the eteo-Cypriote words indexed in *WIKS*, 304-322, do not display the hallmark Minoan feature of reduplication.

65 See Palaima, in *Problems in Decipherment* (above n. 2) 161-162.

66 For example, Smith, in *Ploes*, 281-282.

67 L. Godart and A. Sacconi, "La plus ancienne tablette d'Enkomi et le linéaire A," in V. Karageorghis ed., *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium. The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000-500 B.C.* (Nicosia 1979) 129, 133.

68 Palaima, in *Problems in Decipherment* (above n. 2) 155-157.

69 A. Snodgrass (above n. 62) 19.

70 G.B. Bazemore (above n. 2) 156, citing G.B. Bazemore, *The Role of Writing in Ancient Society: The Cypriote Syllabic Inscriptions* (Diss. Unversity of Chicago 1998) 14-15, 24-27 (*non vidi*).

71 See the analysis of Linear B, including a comparison with Cypriote Syllabic, in T.G. Palaima and E. Sikkenga, "Linear A > Linear B," in P.P. Betancourt, V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur, and W.-D. Niemeier eds., *MELETEMATA* (Liège and Austin 1999) 599-608.

[72] The major difference between the 'cores' of the Cypriote Syllabary and the Linear B script is the need in Linear B to represent the labiovelar consonants and more fully the semi-vowel /y/ still occurring phonemically.

[73] See M. Ventris, "Introducing the Minoan Language," *American Journal of Archaeology* 44 (1940) 494-520.

[74] The signs for *a* in Cypriote Syllabic and the linear scripts could be viewed as variants of one another if we use enough ingenuity and wishful thinking and we look at highly stylized Linear A graphic variants wherein the sign resembles a 'double-axe' with oblique edges.

[75] V. Karageorghis, *Palaepaphos*-Skales: *An Iron Age cemetery in Cyprus* (Konstanz 1983) 59-76; and E. and O. Masson therein, pp. 413-414. See Palaima in *Phoinikeia Grammata* (above n. 2) 454-455; and O. Masson, "La plus ancienne inscription chypriote syllabique," *Centre d'études chypiotes cahier* 22 (1994) 33-36.

[76] See V. Karageorghis, *The End of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus* (Nicosia 1990) 29-32; "Cultural Innovation in Cyprus Relating to the Sea Peoples," in E.D. Oren ed., *The Sea Peoples and Their World*: *A Reassessment* (Philadelphia 2000) 255-279; A. Yasur-Landau, "The Many Faces of Colonization, 12th Century Aegan Settlements in Cyprus and the Levant," *Mediterranean Archaeology and Archaeometry* 3:1 (2003) 45-54, esp. 45-46, 50-51; S. Bunimovitz and A. Yasur-Landau, "Women and Aegean Immigration to Cyprus in the 12th Century B.C.E.," in D. Bolger and N. Serwint eds., *Engendering Aphrodite* (above n. 52) 211-221, esp. 211-212, 217 for Palaepaphos-*Skales*.

[77] Statistics in Bazemore (above n. 2) 156-157.

[78] See Palaima in *Phoinikeia Grammata* (above n. 2) 449-471.

[79] *ICS*, p. 197.

Sources for the Illustrations:

Figure 1. Map of Greece and the Aegean. S.B. Pomeroy, S. M. Burstein, W. Donlan, J.T. Roberts, *A Brief History of Ancient Greece* (Oxford 2004) p. 26.

Figure 2. Map of Greek Colonization. S.B. Pomeroy, S. M. Burstein, W. Donlan, J.T. Roberts, *A Brief History of Ancient Greece* (Oxford 2004) p. 67.

Figure 3. Knossos Linear B tablet Gg(2) 995 + 7370 + 7591 + 7764. J. Chadwick *et al.*, *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos* (Cambridge and Rome 1986) vol. 1, p. 411.

Figure 4. Knossos Linear B tablet KN Ga(1) 676. J. Chadwick *et al.*, *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos* (Cambridge and Rome 1986) vol. 1, p. 255.

Figure 5. Knossos Linear B tablet KN Fh 369. J. Chadwick *et al.*, *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos* (Cambridge and Rome 1986) vol. 1, p. 141.

Figure 6. Knossos Linear B tablet Fh 371 + 5448. J. Chadwick *et al.*, *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos* (Cambridge and Rome 1986) vol. 1, p. 141.

Figure 7. Knossos Linear B tablet KN Fh 372 + 5474 + *frr.* (3). J. Chadwick *et al.*, *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos* (Cambridge and Rome 1986) vol. 1, p. 142.

Figure 8. Knossos Linear B tablet KN Fh 361. J. Chadwick *et al.*, *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos* (Cambridge and Rome 1986) vol. 1, p. 138.

Figure 9. Knossos Linear B tablet K(2) 773 + 1809. J. Chadwick *et al.*, *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos* (Cambridge and Rome 1986) vol. 1, p. 294.

Figure 10. Knossos Linear B tablet L(8) 1647. J. Chadwick *et al.*, *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos* (Cambridge and Rome 1990) vol. 2, p. 183.

Figure 11. Knossos Linear B tablet Df 1229 +5222 +5342 + *fr.* J. Chadwick *et al.*, *Corpus of Mycenaean Inscriptions from Knossos* (Cambridge and Rome 1990) vol. 2, p. 70.

Figure 12. Pylos Linear B tablet Cn 719.1-.8. Transcription from edition in progress, by J.L. Melena, T.G. Palaima *et al.*

Figure 13. Pylos Linear B tablet Un 443. Transcription from edition in progress, by J.L. Melena, T.G. Palaima *et al.*

Figure 14. The archaic Cypro-Minoan tablet from Enkomi, drawing of obverse and *latus dextrum*. L. Godart and A. Sacconi, "La plus ancienne tablette d'Enkomi et le linéaire A," in V. Karageorghis ed., *Acts*

of the *International Archaeological Symposium. The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000-500 B.C.* (Nicosia 1979) p. 130, figures 1 and 2.

Figure 15. Inscribed obelos from Palaepaphos-*Skales*. V. Karageorghis, *Palaepaphos*-Skales: *An Iron Age Cemetery in Cyprus* (Konstanz 1983) plate A.2 following p. 415.

Figure 16. Graffito of *Zoophaos* from temple of Seti I at Abydos, Egypt. O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques. Reimpression augmentée* (Paris 1983) §381, p. 360, figure 122.

Figure 17. Biscript dedication of a statue to Demeter and Kore, from Kourion. O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques. Reimpression augmentée* (Paris 1983) §182, plate XXVI, 2.

Figure 18. Biscript bilingual honorific inscription, from Amathus. O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques. Reimpression augmentée* (Paris 1983) §196, pp. 206-209, plate XXIX, 2.
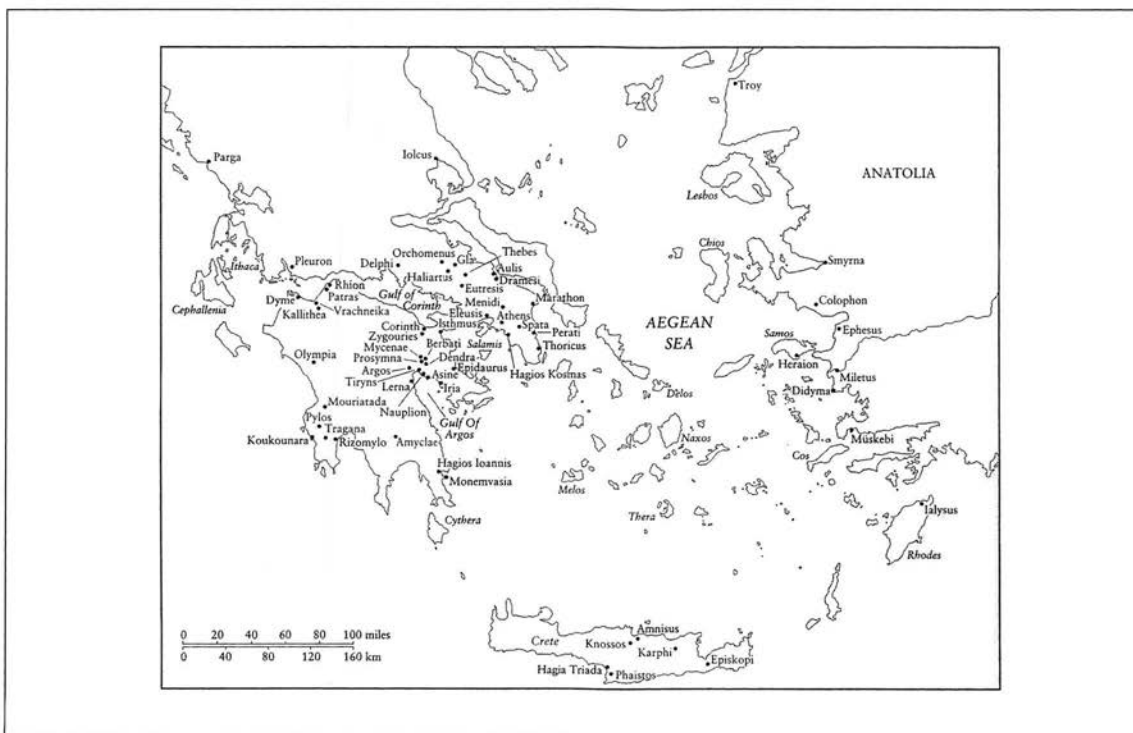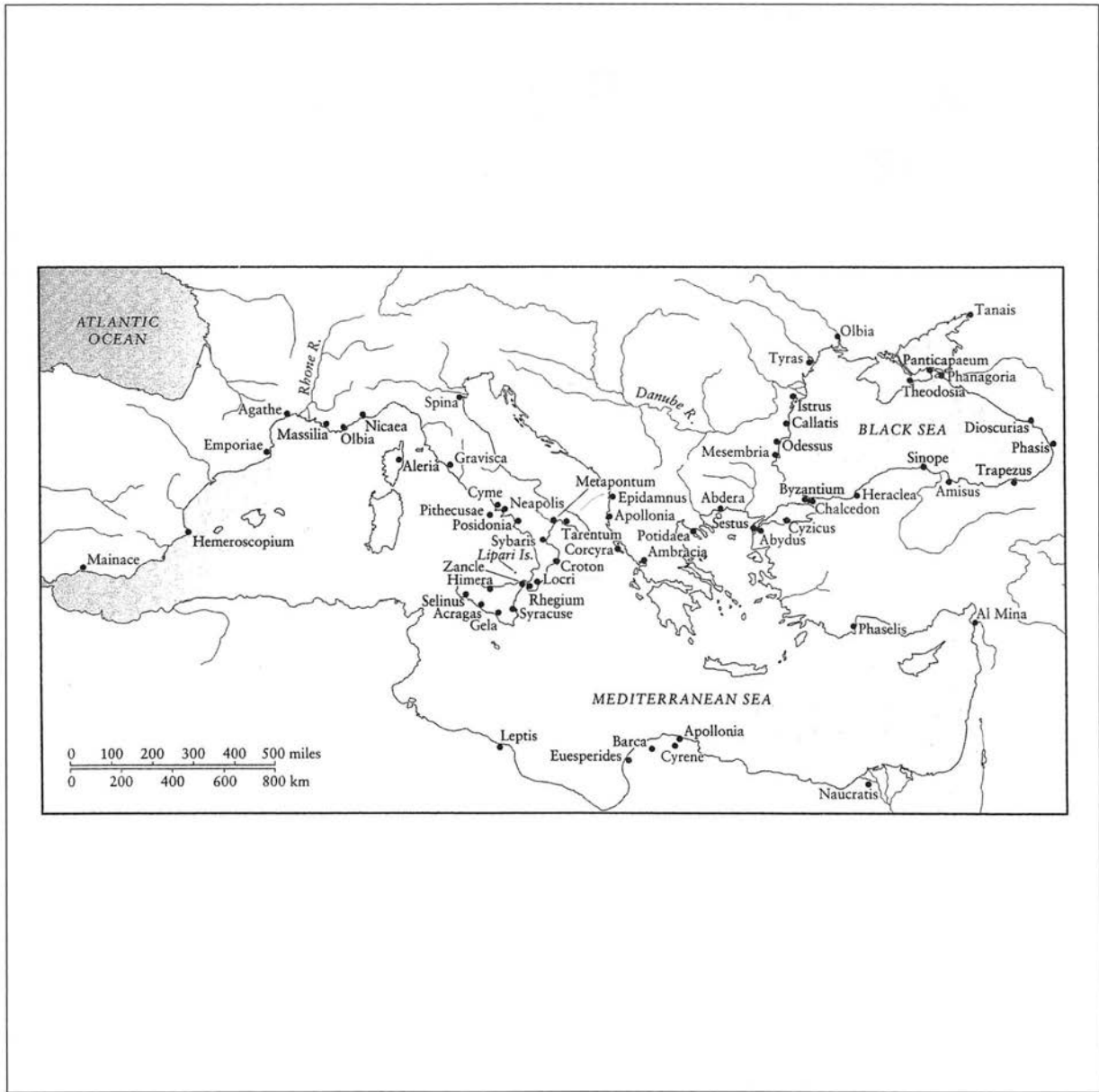

Figure 1

Map showing Greek colonies and settlements across the Mediterranean and Black Sea regions. Labels include: ATLANTIC OCEAN, Rhone R., Agathe, Spina, Olbia, Tyras, Tanais, Panticapaeum, Phanagoria, Theodosia, Nicaea, Emporiae, Massilia, Olbia, Danube R., Istrus, Callatis, BLACK SEA, Dioscurias, Phasis, Aleria, Gravisca, Mesembria, Odessus, Sinope, Trapezus, Cyme, Metapontum, Abdera, Byzantium, Heraclea, Amisus, Pithecusae, Neapolis, Epidamnus, Chalcedon, Posidonia, Apollonia, Sestus, Cyzicus, Hemeroscopium, Sybaris, Tarentum, Potidaea, Abydus, Mainace, Lipari Is., Corcyra, Ambracia, Zancle, Croton, Himera, Locri, Selinus, Rhegium, Acragas, Gela, Syracuse, Phaselis, Al Mina, MEDITERRANEAN SEA, Leptis, Barca, Apollonia, Euesperides, Cyrene, Naucratis.

Scale: 0 100 200 300 400 500 miles / 0 200 400 600 800 km

Figure 2

Gg(2)   995 + 7370 + 7591 + 7764   F18   135

      ma-ki-ro-ne ,/ ku-pi-ri-jo , 'ME+RI'   *209^{VAS}+A 6[

    *209^{VAS}+A over erasure.   6[perhaps over erasure.
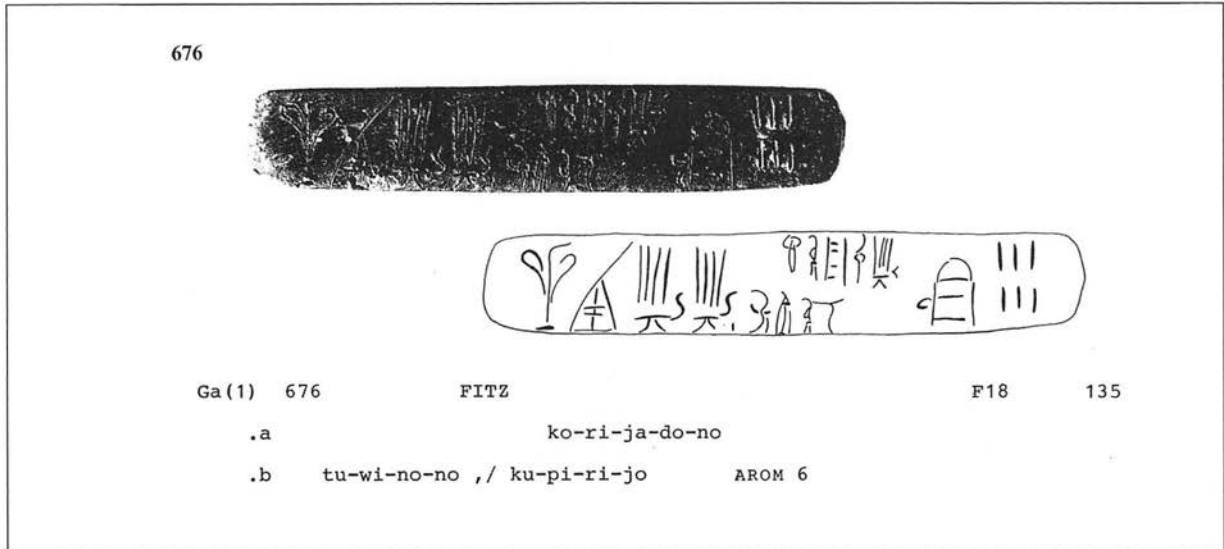   *verso* : streaks, corresponding to fingermarks on *recto*.

Figure 3

676

Ga(1)   676   FITZ   F18   135

.a   ko-ri-ja-do-no

.b   tu-wi-no-no ,/ ku-pi-ri-jo   AROM 6

Figure 4

369

                                        E1   141

Fh   369

        zo-a / a-ra-si-jo   OLE[
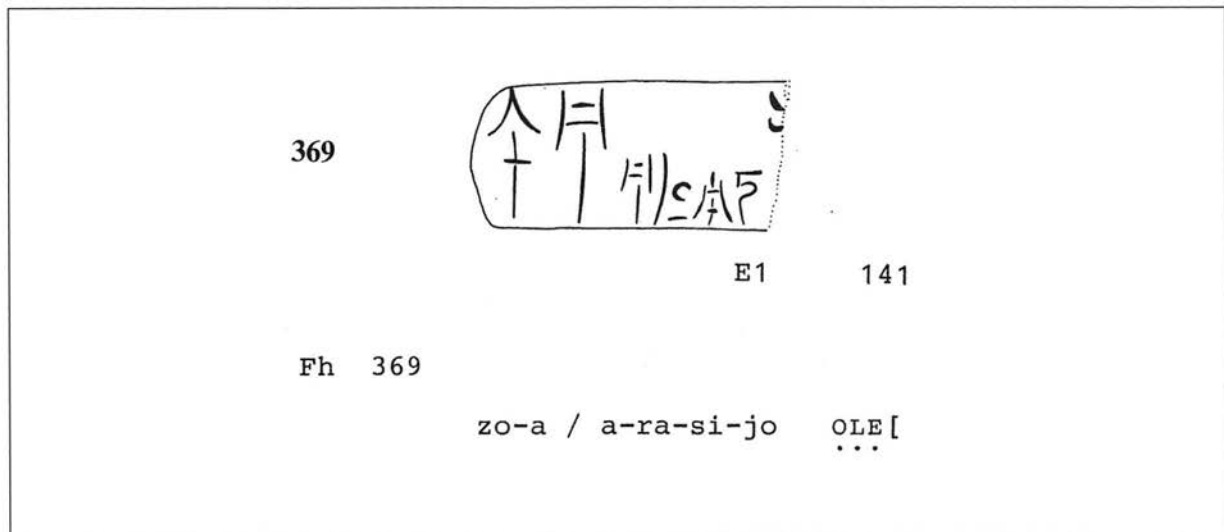   ...

Figure 5

371

Fh 371 + 5448   E1   141

]o-se-ko-do / ku-pi-ri-jo   OLE 13 s 1   *MU* 10
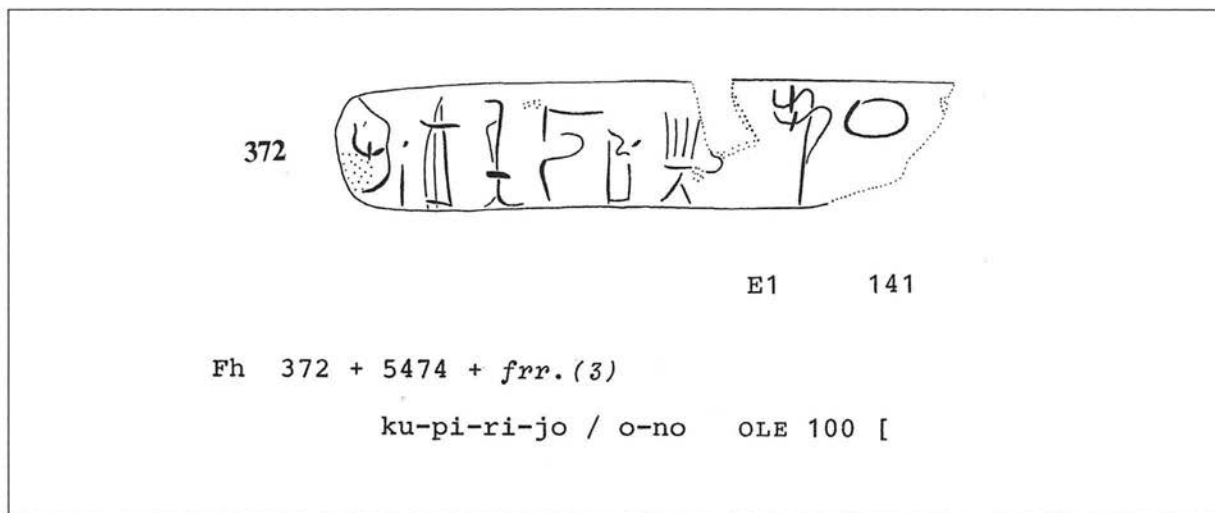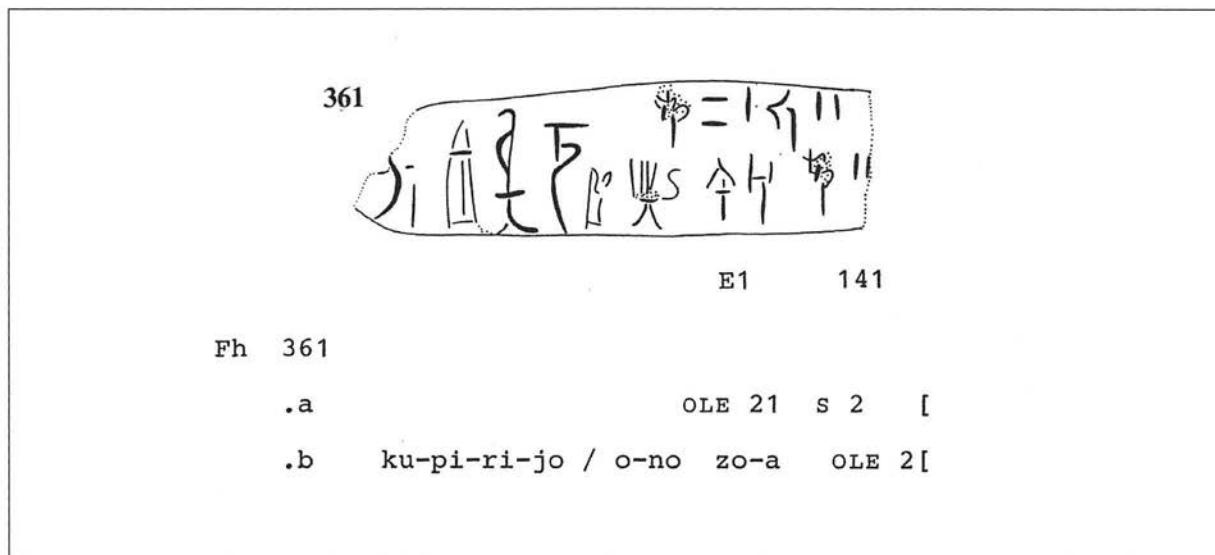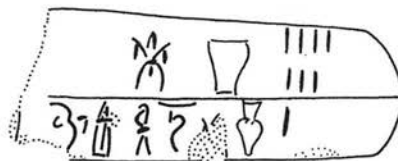
    MU 10 written below 13.

Figure 6

57

372

E1   141

Fh   372 + 5474 + *frr.(3)*

ku-pi-ri-jo / o-no   OLE 100 [

Figure 7

361

E1   141

Fh   361

.a   OLE 21   s 2   [

.b   ku-pi-ri-jo / o-no   zo-a   OLE 2[

Figure 8

773

I4 (773); B5? I5? (1809)   224?

K(2)   773 + 1809

  .A   ]   *ke* *222*^{VAS} 7

  .B   ] ku-pi-ri-jo / *ke* *202*^{VAS} 1
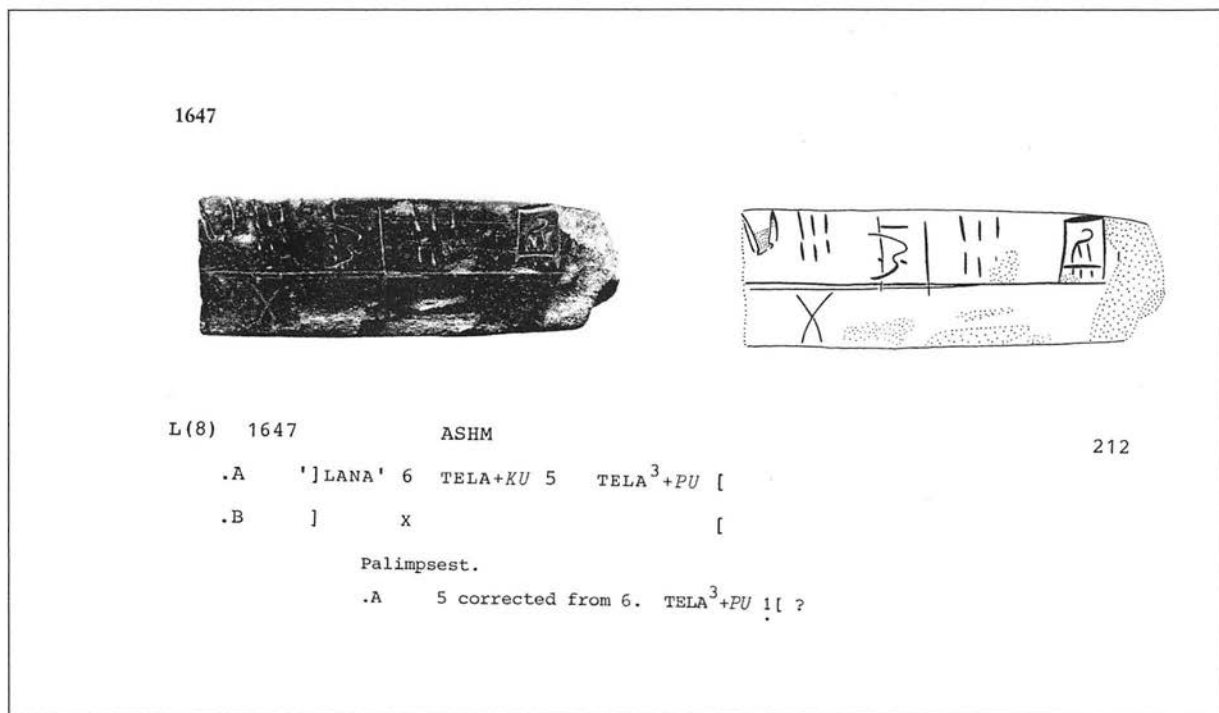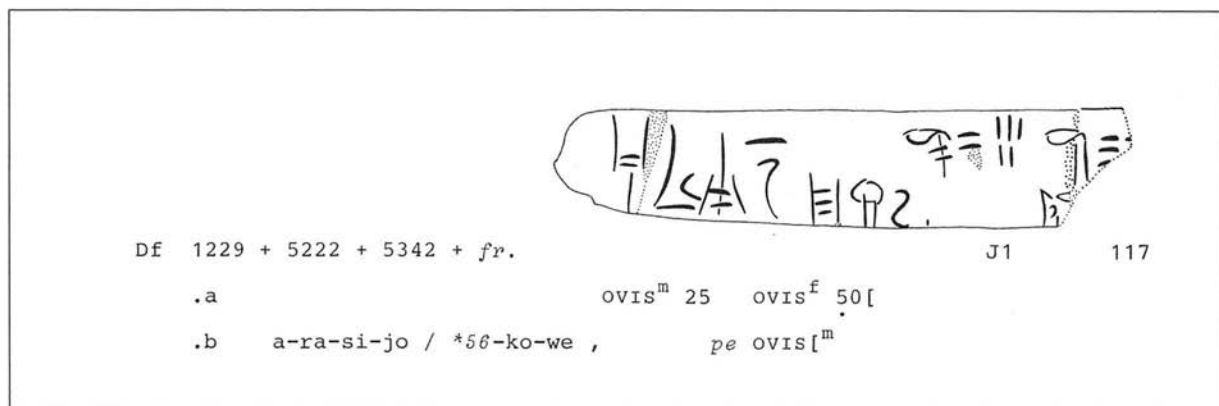
          .B   Trace of upright at left.

Figure 9   59

1647

L(8)   1647   ASHM   212

 .A ']LANA' 6 TELA+KU 5 TELA^3+PU [

 .B] X   [

    Palimpsest.

    .A 5 corrected from 6. TELA^3+PU 1[?

Figure 10

Df 1229 + 5222 + 5342 + $fr.$ J1 117

 .a   OVIS^m 25 OVIS^f 50[

 .b a-ra-si-jo / *56-ko-we , pe OVIS[^{m}

Figure 11

719
Cn 719   (S719 H1)

.1	ma-ro-pi , ka-do-wo , a-ke-o-jo	OVIS^m 40	
.2	ma-ro-pi , to-si-ta , a-ke-o-jo	OVIS^m 82	
.3	ma-ro-pi , me-ta-no , a-ke-o-jo	OVIS^f 60	
.4	pi-*82 , ma-ra-ni-jo , pa-ra-jo	OVIS^m 230	
.5	pi-*82 , o-ku-ka , a-ke-o-jo	OVIS^m 70	
.6	pi-]*82 , ra-mi-ni-jo , a-ke-o-jo	OVIS^m 90	
.7	[pi-*82] ku-pi-ri-jo , a-ke-o-jo	OVIS^m 60	
.8	[pi-*82 ku-]ka-ra-so , a-so-ta-o	OVIS^f[ ]30	
.9	wi-]ja-we-ra₂ , ko-ru-no , pa-ra-jo	OVIS^m 66	
.10	a-pa-]re-u-pi , pa-pa-ro a-ko-so-ta-o	OVIS^m 100	
.11	wi-ja-we-ra₂ , a-ka-ma-wo , a-ko[-so-]ta-o	OVIS^m 96	
.12	wi-ja-we-ra₂ , a-ke-ta , wo[-ne-]we	OVIS^m 100	

.5   OVIS^m 70 over erasure
.8   *pi-*82 ku-]ka-ra-so*: cf. Cn 643.4; *a-<ko->so-ta-o*; probably 60 or 70
.10   *a-pa-]re-u-pi*: cf. Cn 643.1
.11   96 continues on *latus dextrum* and *verso* (i.e 80+16)
.12   *wo[-ne-]we*: cf. Cn 643.1

Figure 12

443
Un 443   (H 6)

.1	ku-pi-ri-jo , tu-ru-pte-ri-ja , o-no LANA 10 *146 10	
.2	po-re-no-zo-te-ri-ja LANA 3	
.3	]do-ke , ka-pa-ti-ja , HORD 2 te-ri-ja GRA 1 LANA 5	
.4	[ ]	

.3   Trace of sign before *do-ke*,]*o-do-ke* not excluded; *-ja* GRA over
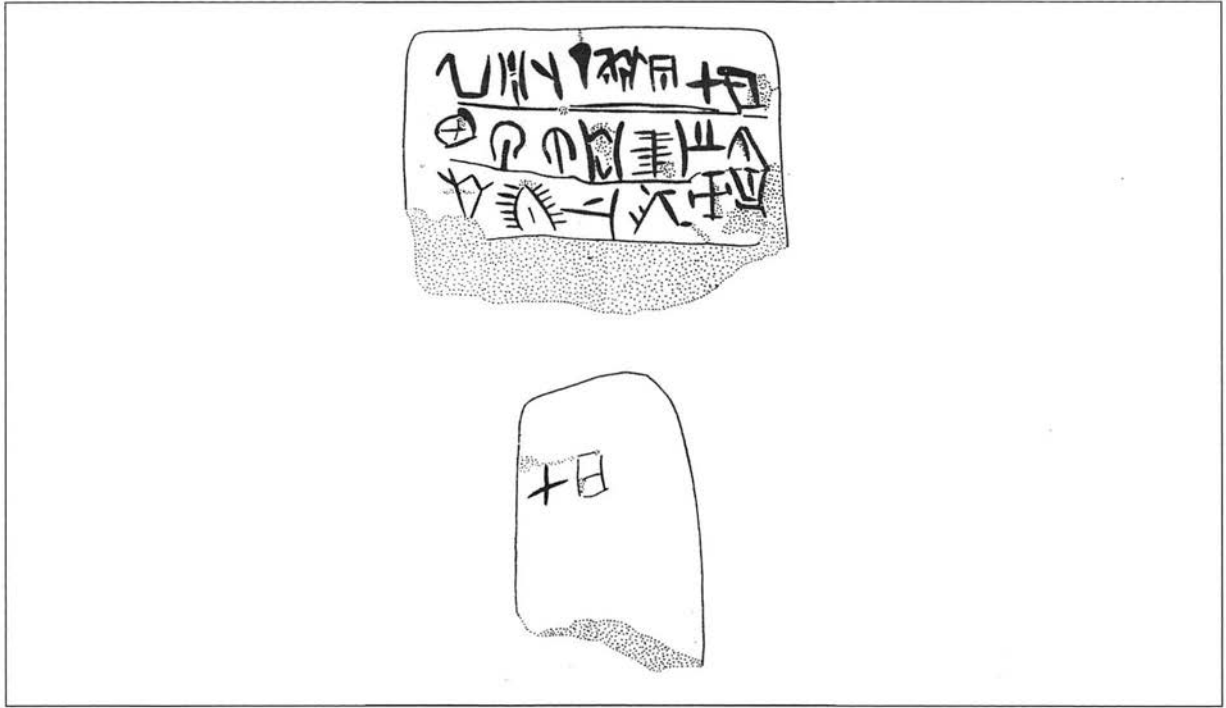   [LANA 5]; GRA 2 less likely
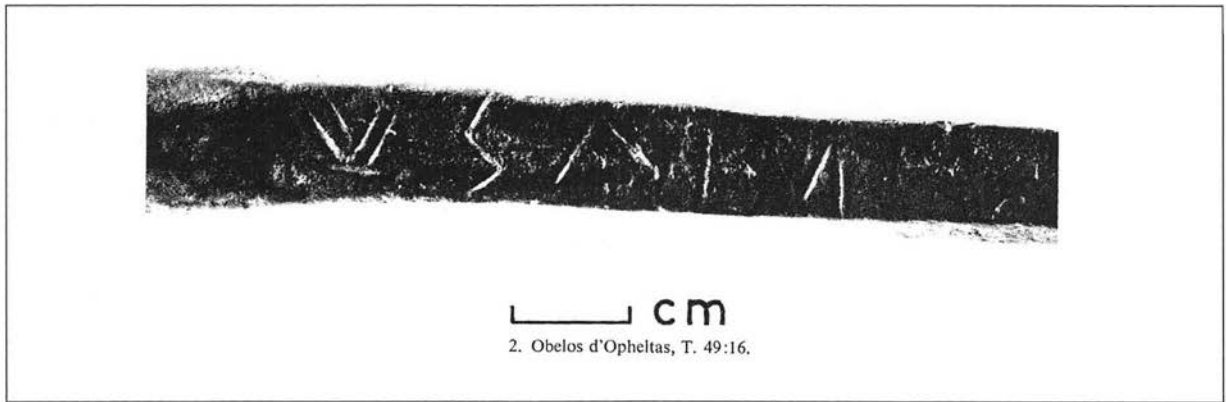.4   Possibly [LANA] at end

Figure 13

Figure 14

2. Obelos d'Opheltas, T. 49:16.

Figure 15

(1) *zo-o-pa-o-se-o-?-ke-le-se*   (2)   *zo-o-pa-o-se*   (3)   *zo-o-pa-o-se*
Ζωόφαος ὁ......ης | Ζωόφαος | Ζωόφαος.
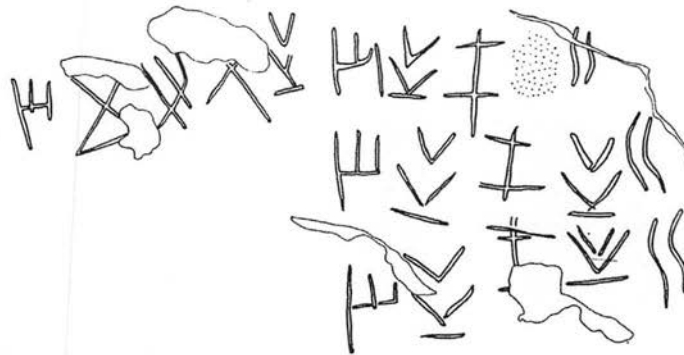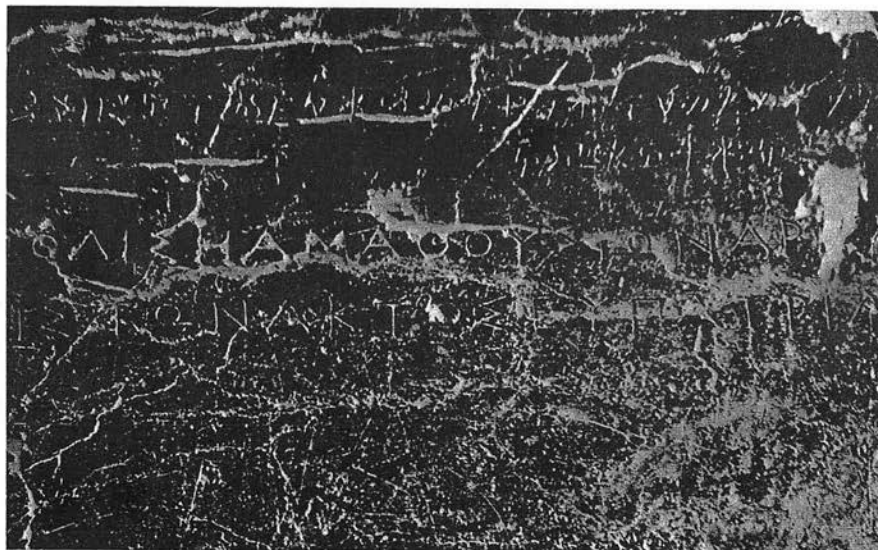
Figure 16

Figure 17

2   196

(a) (1) *a-na · ma-to-ri · u-mi-e-sa-: i-mu-ku-la-i-la-sa-na · a-ri-si-to-no-se ·*
a-ra-to-wa-na-ka-so-ko-o-se (2) *ke-ra-ke-re-tu-lo-se ·? ta-ka-: na-?-?-so-ti · a-to ·*
ka-i-li-po-ti

(b) (1) Ἡ πόλις ἡ Ἀμαθουσίων Ἀρίστω:να (2) Ἀριστώνακτος εὐπατρίδη:ν.

Figure 18