IN MEMORIAM: IOANNIS TAIFACOS (1948–2013)

Georgios A. Xenis

Ioannis Taifacos was born in Gytheion, in the region of Laconia, in 1948. In 1977 he received his Bachelor of Arts degree in Classics from the University of Athens, where he also attended courses in Law. He then studied at La Sapienza University in Rome for a Master's degree, which he obtained in 1980. Finally in 1988 he earned his Ph.D. from King's College, London with a thesis entitled 'C. Iulius Romanus and his method of compilation in the *Aphormai*'.

He started his academic career as a researcher at the Academy of Athens (1981–1993). In 1993 he joined the University of Cyprus as Associate Professor of Latin, rising to Professor in 1998. During the last two decades of his life he devoted himself wholeheartedly to the University, serving it through his teaching, research and administration.

Academically, he was versatile, his interests relating to areas as diverse as Cicero, Greek and Roman political thought, Latin funeral orations, Latin Grammarians, Petronius, the history of Classical scholarship in Modern Greece with an emphasis on Korais, philosophy, and history. Furthermore, he was a sensitive interpreter of Modern Greek poetry, with a recent publication on Giannis Ritsos, and he wrote some Latin teaching material for secondary schools. A full picture of his varied academic output emerges from the list of publications at the end of this introduction.

Administratively, he was a man of great energy and varied activity. At the University of Cyprus, the disciplines of Classics and Philosophy acquired their own administrative unit in 1996. It would not be too much to say that Taifacos was the principal architect of this unit. For eleven whole years, he directed the affairs of the Department, since his widely recognised talent and leadership ability led his colleagues repeatedly to elect him as Chair (1996–8, 1998–2000, 2000–2, 2008–10, 2010–2, and 2012 until his death). Notably, he was the head of the Department during the very crucial period of the first six years of its life. He also occupied many other positions of influence within the University. He was twice the Dean of the Faculty of Letters (2002–5, 2005–8) and many times member of the Senate of the University.

The administrative contribution he made to the Department was two-fold. He played a crucial part in the selection of the academic staff, and his role was instrumental in shaping the three programmes of study offered by the Department: two undergraduate programmes, one in Classics and one in Philosophy, and one graduate programme in Classics.

The second sphere of his activity revolved around the formation of networks. International collaborations are central to the thriving life of any contemporary aca-

demic institution, since they are a source of improvement and inspiration for both the academic staff and the student body. This is all the more true of a newly-founded department located in the south-easternmost extremity of Europe. Thus Taifacos took the initiative to create links with well-established institutions across the world, and invited many eminent overseas academics, either through the scheme of visiting professorships or through the many outstandingly successful international conferences that he organised. Furthermore, the position and the status of the Department within the international academic community was greatly enhanced, when, following his recommendation, the Faculty of Letters conferred honorary doctorates upon four distinguished classicists: Nicolaos Conomis (1998), Gregory Sifakis (2006), Martin L. West (2007) and Nigel G. Wilson (2010).

Taifacos not only pioneered the establishment of Classical Studies in Cyprus as the academic discipline it now is and the contextualisation of the field in the international community. He was also deeply involved in making Classics available to the general public. Thus he made frequent public appearances, wrote numerous articles in local newspapers and had many discussions and interviews on radio and television programmes. He frequently also addressed gatherings of secondary school teachers and pupils. What motivated him to pursue this wide-ranging goal was his desire to raise consciousness in the wider world of the significance of Classics and the humanistic tradition for contemporary life. Taifacos clearly had a Gadamerian notion of 'the Classical', and the following passage of Gadamer's *Truth and Method* was one of his most favourite pieces on the subject:

> The 'classical' is fundamentally something quite different from a descriptive concept used by an objectivizing historical consciousness. It is a historical reality to which historical consciousness belongs and is subordinate. The 'classical' is something raised above the vicissitudes of changing times and changing tastes. It is immediately accessible, not through that shock of recognition, as it were, that sometimes characterizes a work of art for its contemporaries and in which the beholder experiences a fulfilled apprehension of meaning that surpasses all conscious expectations. Rather, when we call something classical, there is a consciousness of something enduring, of significance that cannot be lost and that is independent of all the circumstances of time – a kind of timeless present that is contemporaneous with every other present.[1]

Another factor which played a major role in his decision to appeal to the wider community was his view that public statements and acts by Classicists can help to bring about a shift in the dominant discourse that currently assigns an exclusive, narrowly conceived economic role to education. For without this shift, Taifacos thought, the *studia humanitatis ac litterarum* will continue to lose disciplinary space on university and college campuses. Taifacos held the firm belief that the marginalisation of our field in recent years cannot be addressed simply through a revision of the relevant university curricula, for a major part of the problem lies outside the academy. The reversal of the decline inevitably requires a broadening of our *collective* imagination regarding what education ought to be about. In other words, Classics should be placed back on the cultural map of society. Toward this end, all classicists, Taifacos held, have the moral obligation to devote time and

1 H.-G. Gadamer, Truth and Method, 2nd ed., translated by J. Weinsheimer and D.G. Marshall, London 1989, 287–8.

contribute energy: 'Let us stop merely mourning the decline of Classics; let us deal with it!', was one of his usual exhortations to his colleagues.

Recognition came in many forms. It is enough to mention two examples: he was presented with two awards by the Academy of Athens for his books *Σύγκρισις πολιτειῶν στὸ De re publica τοῦ Κικέρωνος. Ἡ ρωμαϊκὴ ἐφαρμογὴ μιᾶς ἑλληνικῆς μεθόδου* (Ἀθήνα 1996), and *Φιλοσοφία: Κλέαρχος, Περσαῖος, Δημῶναξ καὶ ἄλλοι Κύπριοι Φιλόσοφοι* (Λευκωσία 2008). Moreover, he was appointed *Commendatore Ordine al Merito della Repubblica Italiana* for the role he had played in the strengthening of Greco-Italian cultural links.

Of the traits of Taifacos' personality, his generosity of spirit and hospitality will be the ones most likely to be remembered. These in combination with a convivial style and a sense of humour helped him to build an astonishing number of friendships with colleagues across Europe and the United States. Besides these qualities, one should not forget his fine sense of the beautiful. Taifacos was a figure of unusual personal elegance, and, if I may add a personal reminiscence, his style of dress in particular seemed to me to be in accord with the advice of [Isocrates] *To Demonicus* 27: εἶναι βούλου τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα φιλόκαλος, ἀλλὰ μὴ καλλωπιστής. ἔστι δὲ φιλοκάλου μὲν τὸ μεγαλοπρεπές, καλλωπιστοῦ δὲ τὸ περίεργον. However, his taste for style and his life of sophistication did nothing to diminish his hardiness, which he used to associate with his origin in the Mani. Equipped with this quality and a strong belief in the notion of divine providence, he had the courage to continue his academic work in hospital up to the last minute of his life, and face death with extraordinary fearlessness.

Taifacos was taken from us not in the ripeness of his years, but at an age when, although he accomplished much, he can hardly be said to have exhausted his contribution to Classical Studies and the academic community. Our aim in this volume is to honour his memory in the fashion he himself most appreciated, that is, first, by creating a collection of essays covering *both* Greek and Latin texts, since Taifacos was a lifelong and strong proponent of the *unity* of classical civilisation, and, second, by concentrating on the research areas most closely related to his own interests: given his breadth of expertise, the span of the twenty-seven essays in this volume is appropriately wide, covering literature, scholarship, philosophy, and history. In publishing such a volume we cherish the hope that εἴ τις αἴσθησις τοῖς ἀπελθοῦσι, ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ ΤΑΪΦΑΚΟΣ συνησθήσεται καὶ κοινωνήσει τῆς ἑορτῆς!

PUBLICATIONS OF IOANNIS TAIFACOS

- Γαΐου Ἰουλίου Καίσαρος, Ἀπομνημονεύματα Περὶ τοῦ Γαλατικοῦ πολέμου: C. Iuli Caesaris, De Bello Gallico. Εἰσαγωγή, κείμενον, μετάφρασις, σχόλια, εὑρετήριον ὀνομάτων, λεξικόν, Ἀθῆναι, Ἐκδόσεις Κασσάνδρα Μ. Γρηγόρη, 1973
- Οἱ Ρωμαῖοι καὶ τὸ Κοινὸν τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων (IG V 1, 1146), in: Ἑλληνικὸς Λόγος 1, 1973, 345–351
- Τὸ σπαρτιατικὸν πολίτευμα εἰς τὴν ρωμαϊκὴν πολιτικὴν σκέψιν, in: Ἑλληνικὸς Λόγος 1, 1973, 428–440
- Ρωμαϊκὴ πολιτικὴ ἐν Λακωνίᾳ. Ἔρευναι ἐπὶ τῶν πολιτικῶν σχέσεων Ρώμης καὶ Σπάρτης, Ἀθῆναι 1974
- M.T. Ciceronis, Laelius de amicitia. M.T Κικέρωνος, Λαίλιος περὶ φιλίας. Εἰσαγωγή, κείμενον, μετάφρασις, Ἀθῆναι, Ἐκδότης Σπ. Τούντας, 1974
- Ἀνέκδοτος λακωνικὴ ἐπιγραφὴ τῶν ρωμαϊκῶν χρόνων, in: Λακωνικαὶ Σπουδαί 2, 1975, 121–126
- Βιβλιογραφία τῆς λακωνικῆς ἀρχαιογνωσίας. Συμβολὴ πρώτη, in: Λακωνικαὶ Σπουδαί 2, 1975, 418–87
- Δικαιάρχου Τριπολιτικός, in: Πελοποννησιακά 11, 1975, 124–129 = Φαντασία πολιτείας ἰσονόμου, 139–145
- Ἡ Κύπρος εἰς τὰς Ὠδὰς τοῦ Ὁρατίου, in: Παρνασσός 17, 1975, 398–404
- Ἡ τοπογραφία τῆς Νοτίου Κοίλης Λακεδαίμονος κατὰ τὴν περιήγησιν τοῦ Παυσανίου, in: Ἀργοναύτης 1, 1975, 53–66
- Παφλαγονία (in collaboration with the editorial board), in: Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους, vol. VI, Ἀθήνα: Ἐκδοτικὴ Ἀθηνῶν 1976, 240–241
- Καππαδοκία (in collaboration with the editorial board) in: Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους, vol. VI, Ἀθήνα: Ἐκδοτικὴ Ἀθηνῶν 1976, 245–247
- Κιλικία (in collaboration with the editorial board), in: Ἱστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους, vol. VI, Ἀθήνα: Ἐκδοτικὴ Ἀθηνῶν 1976, 261–267
- Ὁ Ρωμύλος ζηλωτὴς τοῦ Λυκούργου, in: Παρνασσός 18, 1976, 552–559 = Φαντασία πολιτείας ἰσονόμου, 125–133
- Θεόπομπος καὶ Παυσανίας περὶ τῶν Μεσσαπέων καὶ ἡ πιθανὴ αὐτῶν θέσις, in: Ἀργοναύτης 2, 1976, 49–57
- Ἀρχαία Ἀρκαδικὴ ἱστοριογραφία, in: Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Α´ Συνεδρίου Ἀρκαδικῶν Σπουδῶν, Ἀθῆναι 1977 (Πελοποννησιακά, Appendix. vol. 12, 1976–1977, 273–282
- Λακωνικαὶ ἐπιγραφαὶ ἀνέκδοτοι, in: Πελοποννησιακά 12, 1976–7, 214–223 (= Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum XXVI, 1976–1977, nos. 455–456, 460, 462)

– Κάτωνος *Origines* fr. 51P[2] καὶ αἱ λακωνικαὶ ἐπιδράσεις ἐπὶ τὰ παλαιὰ σαβινικὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, in: Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Α´ Διεθνοῦς Συνεδρίου Πελοποννησιακῶν Σπουδῶν II. Ἀθῆναι 1976–1978 (Πελοποννησιακά, Appendix 6.2), 289–299 = Φαντασία πολιτείας ἰσονόμου, 17–27
– Κάτων καὶ Πολύβιος, in: Πελοποννησιακά 13, 1978–1979, 53–71 = Φαντασία πολιτείας ἰσονόμου, 29–49
– Una laudatio funebris di M. Catone Nepote. Roma, L'Erma di Bretschneider, 1979
– Il De re publica di Cicerone e il modello dicearcheo della costituzione mista, in: Πλάτων 31, 1979, 128–134 = Φαντασία πολιτείας ἰσονόμου, 71–80
– Ἀργεῖοι μῦθοι εἰς τὴν ρωμαϊκὴν τραγωδίαν, in: Πρακτικὰ Α´ Συνεδρίου Ἀργολικῶν Σπουδῶν, Ἀθῆναι 1979, 245–252
– Cicerone e Polibio: sulle fonti del De re publica, in: Sileno 5–6, 1979–1980, 11–17 = Φαντασία πολιτείας ἰσονόμου, 51–58
– Cicero and the Sicilian Historiography: Timaeus, in: Ciceroniana n.s. 4, 1980, 177–189
– Κικέρωνος κριτικὴ τῆς Λακωνικῆς πολιτείας εἰς τὸ De officiis, in: Λακωνικαὶ Σπουδαί 5, 1980, 31–38 = Φαντασία πολιτείας ἰσονόμου, 81–90
– Cicero's Republic and the Aristotelian Politics on the Spartan Constitution, in: Πλάτων 32, 1980–1, 250–7 = Φαντασία πολιτείας ἰσονόμου, 59–69
– Tacitus' Criticism of the Mixed Constitution, in: Ἀρχαιογνωσία 2, 1981, 273–276 = Φαντασία πολιτείας ἰσονόμου, 135–138
– Review of Ἀνδρέα Παναγόπουλου, Πλάτων καὶ Κρήτη, Ἀθήνα 1981, in: Ἀρχαιογνωσία 2, 1981, 299–301
– Tito Livio e una fonte antiromana di Polibio, in: Latomus 41, 1982, 817–832 (= Φαντασία πολιτείας ἰσονόμου, 91–109
– Lintei libri: Char. 376.26.Ba., in: Athenaeum n.s. 60, 1982, 253–256
– The Lexicographical Work of Caesellius Vindex and its Arrangement, in: Hermes 111, 1983, 501–505
– On a Citation of Julius Romanus in Charisius, in: Classical Philology 78, 1983, 148–149
– Laudatio Turiae II 0, in: Παρνασσός 25, 1983, 770–775
– Ἕνας τύραννος στὸν Τίτο Λίβιο, in: Α´ Πανελλήνιο Συμπόσιο Λατινικῶν Σπουδῶν. Θέμα: Λογοτεχνία καὶ πολιτικὴ στὰ χρόνια τοῦ Αὐγούστου. 5–6.11.1982. Γιάννενα 1984, 125–136 = Φαντασία πολιτείας ἰσονόμου, 111–124
– A Note on Tibullus' Indirect Tradition, in: Philologus 129, 1985, 155–159
– Citazioni poetiche nelle Historiae di Sallustio?, in: Philologus 131, 1987, 265–269
– Ἀνθολόγιο Λατινικῶν Κειμένων. Γιὰ τὴν Γ´ Κλασικοῦ Λυκείου. Ἀθήνα, Ὀργανισμὸς Ἐκδόσεως Διδακτικῶν Βιβλίων, 1992
– Φαντασία πολιτείας ἰσονόμου. Μελετήματα στὴ διαλεκτικὴ τῆς ἑλληνορωμαϊκῆς πολιτικῆς σκέψης. Ἀθήνα 1995 (a collection of reprinted articles)
– L. Annaeus Seneca, De otio. Λευκίου Ἀνναίου Σενέκα, Περὶ ἀπραγμοσύνης. Εἰσαγωγὴ Κωνσταντίνου Δεσποτόπουλου. Λευκωσία 1996

- Σύγκρισις πολιτειῶν στὸ De re publica τοῦ Κικέρωνος. Ἡ ρωμαϊκὴ ἐφαρμογὴ μιᾶς ἑλληνικῆς μεθόδου. Ἀθήνα 1996
- Πετρώνιος καὶ Κοραῆς. Κριτικὰ καὶ ἑρμηνευτικὰ σχόλια στὸ κείμενο τῶν Σατυρικῶν. Ἀθήνα 1997
- The World of Herodotus (co–edited with V. Karageorghis): Proceedings of an International Conference held at the Foundation Anastasios G. Leventis, Nicosia, September 18–21, 2003 and organised by the Foundation Anastasios G. Leventis and the Faculty of Letters, University of Cyprus. Nicosia: Foundation A. G. Leventis 2004
- Approaches to Herodotus in Hellenistic Historiography, in: The World of Herodotus, 365–73
- The Origins of European Scholarship (edited volume): The Cyprus Millennium International Conference, Nicosia 2000, Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2005
- The Notes to the first Grammarians' corpus discovered: Helias van Putschen, 1605. An *interim* Report, in: The Origins of European Scholarship, 197–204
- Φιλοσοφία: Κλέαρχος, Περσαῖος, Δημῶναξ καὶ ἄλλοι Κύπριοι Φιλόσοφοι, Λευκωσία: Ἵδρυμα Ἀναστ. Λεβέντης 2008 (Ἀρχαία Κυπριακὴ Γραμματεία, 6)
- Οἱ νεκροὶ πιὰ δὲν μᾶς πονοῦν. Μαρτυρίες γιὰ τὴ ζωὴ καὶ τὴν ποίηση τοῦ Γιάννη Ρίτσου, Ἀθήνα: Gutenberg–Γιώργος & Κώστας Δαρδανός 2011

SELECTION OF INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCES ORGANISED BY IOANNIS TAIFACOS

- Coray's Classical Scholarship, Nicosia, 25–26 September 1998
- Humankind and the Cosmos (co-organised with E. Moutsopoulos), Nicosia, 11–12 June 1999
- The Origins of European Scholarship, Nicosia, 6–8 April 2000
- Hellenistic Philosophy: Clearchus of Soloi, Nicosia, 2–3 December 2001
- European Scholarship. History, Methodology, and Beyond, Nicosia, 14–17 March 2002
- The World of Herodotus (co-organised with V. Karageorghis). Nicosia, September 2003
- Hellenistic Erudition: Clearchus of Soloi II, Nicosia, 15–16 December 2003
- Hellenism in Cyprus: from Stasinos to Demonax, Nicosia, 22–25 September 2005
- Classical Scholarship III. Ten Papers on Greek and Latin (co-organised with G. Xenis and S. Tzounakas), Limassol, 23–24 November 2007
- Il Mediterraneo dopo il 1453: identità a confronto (co-organised with A. Feniello), Nicosia, 12–14 June 2008
- Φιλοσοφία, Λογοτεχνία, Φιλολογία – Philosophy, Literature, Scholarship. Διεθνὲς Συνέδριο (Νοέμβριος 2010).18–20 Νοεμβρίου 2010

PART I: LITERATURE

1 EARLY POETRY IN CYPRUS

Martin West †

Abstract
In the archaic period epic and hymnic poetry in the Ionian tradition was current in Cyprus. The poet of the *Iliad* may perhaps have visited the island, though the claim that Homer was a Cypriot, supported by an oracle in the name of the seer Euklos, is a late invention. The sixth and tenth Homeric Hymns, both to Aphrodite, were probably composed in Cyprus, as was the epic *Cypria* ascribed to Stasinos. The content of this epic is discussed, and it is suggested that it may have been adapted, for the sake of Cyclic continuity, from a poem with greater organic unity that covered only the beginning of the Trojan War and had a somewhat romantic and anti-heroic character, possibly reflecting a Cypriot outlook.

Cyprus is an island. It is περίρρυτος, surrounded by water – a lot of water. It is separated from the nearest land by over 60 km of sea. That is too far to swim. Consequently Cyprus had no human population until people living by the shores of the eastern Mediterranean were able to build seagoing vessels. Modern humans spread out of Africa into the Middle East about eighty thousand years ago, and westwards through Europe between forty and fifty thousand years ago. But serious seafaring in this part of the world probably developed only after the last Ice Age, and the earliest evidence for human habitation in Cyprus goes back only some twelve thousand years. For myriads of years before that, as hunter-gatherers roamed through the Levant and Anatolia, hunting and gathering, speaking primitive languages, perhaps singing primitive songs and chanting primitive poems, this happy island slept unknown in the midst of the waters, a nature reserve, alive with the singing of birds and the joyous trumpetings of the dwarf elephant, but innocent of human verse.

Then one day in the eleventh millennium before our era there came the first boat, most likely from Anatolia or Syria. Then a few more. One or two small settlements were established. Human speech was heard in the land.

We fast-forward to the mid second millennium, the beginning of the Late Bronze Age. Now there are Greeks in Greece, and they are starting to dominate the Aegean and extend their military and political power across the islands, into Crete and onto the western and southern shores of Asia Minor. Cyprus is by this time a country well known to the great powers of the Near East under the name of Alasiya. Its population must have been quite mixed, its native stocks augmented and adulterated by Egyptian, west Semitic, Hurrian, Hittite, and Luwian elements. We cannot say how early the first Greek-speakers found their way here. The first one of whom there is any record was a warlord with the heroic name of Atarsias, the Intrepid,

who was active around 1400.[1] He commanded a force of more than a hundred chariots, perhaps a thousand foot soldiers, and a fleet. He harried the lands of Madduwatta, a vassal of the Hittite king in southwest Asia Minor, and later joined him in raiding Cyprus. Perhaps he had a poet in his entourage to entertain and inspire him with tales of older warriors' exploits and to celebrate his own.

There was no major Greek settlement in Cyprus at this period. That came towards the end of the Mycenaean age, in the twelfth and eleventh centuries, when there was much movement from the Aegean into the eastern Mediterranean. Ever since then there has been a substantial Greek presence on the island.

The Homeric tradition almost certainly goes well back into the Mycenaean period. Among the thousands of Achaean migrants who arrived in Cyprus from the Peloponnese and the Aegean islands after 1200 there must have been a certain number of bards who brought with them that tradition of hexameter epic and a body of heroic legend. Others went to the Ionian and Aeolian settlements of Asia Minor.

The mainland palaces which had been their most profitable haunts, the seats of their wealthiest patrons, had fallen. The stream of tradition no longer flowed freely in the old heartland. It ran off into side-channels of varying purity and capacity. It would be nice to suppose that a branch of Mycenaean poetry lived on in Cyprus through the Dark Age, its archaic character preserved more faithfully here than anywhere else, just as the Cypriot dialect maintained archaic features of the old Achaean dialect and the Cypriot syllabic script perpetuated a type of writing that disappeared elsewhere after the Bronze Age. But there is no evidence to support this. Certainly in the archaic period there does seem to be a living tradition of epic and hymnic poetry in Cyprus. But so far as we can see, it is nothing more than a local representative of the Ionian tradition in which the Homeric poems stand. There is no sign of a Cypriot version of the epic language or a special Cypriot heritage of ancient myth. Cyprus appears as a very marginal constituency of the heroic world. It looks as if the direct line of tradition had petered out and been replaced in the eighth century by the Ionian epic which was enjoying a new and wonderful flowering and which was becoming known and admired all over Greece.

In the Iliad and Odyssey Cyprus is mentioned only twice as a scene of heroic action. It is named together with Phoenicia, Egypt, and Libya in connection with Menelaus' travels in the eastern Mediterranean, but without reference to any incident there (Od. 4.83–85). The mention in the Iliad (11.19–28) is more interesting. Agamemnon's ἀριστεία is, as usual, prepared for by an arming scene. He puts on an elaborately decorated cuirass that he had as a gift from Kinyras of Cyprus. The great news of the Achaeans' expedition against Troy had reached Cyprus, and as a small gesture of support Kinyras had sent Agamemnon this handsome and useful piece of equipment.

Kinyras appears as the king of Mycene's most distant friend, lying outside the warrior community. There are no Cypriots fighting at Troy; the Catalogue of Ships goes no further east than Rhodes. In the Hesiodic catalogue of Helen's suitors, who

1 G. M. Beckman, T. R. Bryce and E. H. Cline, The Ahhiyawa Texts, Atlanta 2011, 69–100; M. L. West, Atreus and Attarissiyas, in: Glotta 77, 2001, 262–266.

formed the basis of the grand alliance (frr. 196–204), there is no representative from Cyprus. Kinyras' isolated appearance as a friend of Agamemnon is an anomaly, like the untraditional piece of armour. My guess is that it is the poet of the Iliad who has established a contact with Cyprus and felt the impulse to give the island an honourable mention in his poem. Perhaps he had made a trip here to perform for the king of Salamis, or at the great festival of Aphrodite in Old Paphos.[2]

The one mythical name that he had at his disposal was Kinyras. But Kinyras was no typical Mycenaean warlord, as we can see from the other traditions about him. He appears under five aspects: as a king, a priest, a dandy, a musician, and a millionaire. Tyrtaeus names him with Midas as a byword for wealth; God loaded him with it, says Pindar, ὅσπερ καὶ Κινύραν ἔβρισε πλούτωι ποντίᾱι ἔν ποτε Κύπρωι. Alcman praises the lovely hair of the Spartan chorus girls by saying that the glistening charm of Kinyras resides on it: καλλίκ]ομος νοτία Κινύρα χ[άρ]ις [¯ ἐπὶ π]αρθενικᾶν χαίταισιν ἴσδει. Anacreon apparently spoke of him as having lived for 160 years—ten years more than the famously long-lived king of Tartessos. For Pindar, besides being an accumulator of riches, he is celebrated in Cypriot legend as Aphrodite's favourite priest, who was also loved by Apollo, Κινύραν … τὸν ὁ χρυσοχαῖτα προφρόνως ἐφίλησ᾽ Ἀπόλλων, ἱερέα κτίλον Ἀφροδίτας.[3] The scholiast explains the last phrase as meaning that he grew up and lived in Aphrodite's company. It is said that he founded the temple at Paphos, and that he and his descendants were buried in the precinct.[4] These were the Kinyradai or Kinyridai, a line of hereditary priests who evidently enjoyed a high status in the land.

There are other stories that bring Kinyras into marginal connection with the Trojan War. In the Iliad passage he is presented favourably, even if his contribution to the war effort is a mere token. But in other traditions his behaviour is discreditable. According to an account which has been thought by some to go back to the epic Cypria, he was visited by Menelaos, Odysseus, and Agamemnon's herald Talthybios and urged to join in the forthcoming expedition against Troy. He gave them the cuirass for Agamemnon and undertook on oath to send a fleet of fifty ships. But in the event he sent just one ship; the other forty-nine he fashioned out of clay, manned with clay crews, and launched out to sea, where presumably they dissolved.[5] The Homer scholia give another version according to which Kinyras, king of Cyprus and very wealthy, gave hospitality to passing Greeks (unidentified) and promised to send provisioning for the army at Troy. He neglected to do so, and Agamemnon laid a curse on him. He met his end at the hands of Apollo, with whom he competed in music. His fifty daughters leapt into the sea and turned into kingfishers.[6]

These are strange tales. What lies behind the fleet of fifty clay ships and crews? Is there some connection between them and the fifty girls who jump into the sea? If

2 Cf. M. L. West, The Making of the Iliad, Oxford 2011, 23–24.

3 Tyrt. 12.6; Pi. N. 8.18; Alcm. 3.71 Davies; Anacr. 361 Page; Pi. P. 2.16–17.

4 Tac. Hist. 2.3, cf. Clem. Protr. 2.13.4; Ptolemy of Megalopolis, FGrH 161 F 1.

5 Apollod. Epit. 3.9; sch. T Il. 11.20b. The story is alluded to in Alcid. Od. 20–21, where the number of ships is a hundred. Against the ascription to the Cypria see M. L. West, The Epic Cycle, Oxford 2013, 103.

6 Sch. bT Il. 11.20a.

an answer is to be found, I suspect that it lies in some ancient Cypriot ritual custom or sport in which clay model ships were floated on the sea. Did girls dive in and swim after them? The stories about Kinyras' promise to Agamemnon would have been invented to supply the aetiology of the practice. There are in fact in the Archaeological Museum in Nicosia a number of small clay models of ships, some with crews. Perhaps Cypriot archaeologists will one of these days discover a larger hoard of them, lending further colour to my conjecture.

In all these accounts in which Kinyras is brought into association with the Trojan War it is implied that he was a king with ships and men at his disposal. The Homeric scholiast actually describes him as king of Cyprus. In other authors of the Roman period he is called a king of Byblos or of Assyria (that is, Syria).[7] Should we regard him then as some sort of priest-king? But his descendants, the Kinyradai, are only called priests, never kings. And I think it most probable that Kinyras never existed as a historical person. He was nothing but the fictitious eponym of the Kinyradai, the priests of Aphrodite at Paphos. Their characteristics were projected back onto their mythical ancestor: their elegance, their musicianship, the great wealth of the shrine.

But why were the Kinyradai so called, if they were not the descendants of a Kinyras? Music is the clue. Kinyras was not remembered as a poet; we do not hear of any verse attributed to him. If he vied in music with Apollo, it was with the lyre. In the Septuagint and Josephus the word κινύρα is used to render the Hebrew *kinnôr*, 'lyre'. This was the instrument that King David played, often mistranslated as 'harp', but in fact a lyre. The lyre originated in the Near East; the earliest evidence for it is from Megiddo and dates from about 3100 BCE. A variant of the Hebrew word, *knr* (**kinur*), was current at Ugarit in the late Bronze Age. It would not be at all surprising if it was also in use in nearby Cyprus, especially in the cult of the Levantine goddess Aphrodite, whose name, as I have shown elsewhere, has a recognizably Semitic structure.[8] Perhaps the round-based cithara shown being played by a standing figure on a bowl from Palaipaphos of the first half of the eleventh century was locally called a *kinur*. The professional musicians who played the instrument might well be called in Semitic idiom 'the sons of the lyre', in Hebrew *bnê kinnôr*, which could be transposed into Greek as Κινυράδαι. This, I maintain, is the origin of the Kinyradai and so of Kinyras.

If Kinyras does not feature as a source of verses, there is another legendary pre-Homeric Cypriot who does. This is the seer Euklos. Oracles circulated under his name, as they did under the names of other mythical prophets such as Mousaios, Bakis, and the Sibyl. Attestation is very sparse and limited to post-classical sources. A scholiast on Plato records a rare linguistic usage that occurred in an oracle of Euklos. For the rest, he is cited only in Book 10 of Pausanias, an author with a taste for out-of-the-way hexameter verse. Pausanias claims to have read the oracles of

7 Str. 16.2.18, cf. Luc. Syr.D. 9; Hyg. Fab. 58, 242, 270.

8 M.L. West, The Name of Aphrodite, in: Glotta 76, 2000, 134–138 = Hellenica iii, Oxford 2013, 341–346.