Approaching Cyprus

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Proceedings of the Post-Graduate Conference of Cypriot Archaeology (PoCA) held at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, 1st-3rd November 2013

Edited by

Richard Maguire and Jane Chick

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FOR

JO CLARKE

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INTRODUCTION

Isidore of Seville identified the Mediterranean as the "Great Sea…because it flows through the middle of the land." All its major settlements were located on it or had access to it. If the sea was in the middle of the land those who dwelt around it were, necessarily, dwellers on its periphery, "dwelling", according to Plato's *Phaedo*, "around the sea like ants and frogs around a pond". This pen-lacustrine littoral was predominantly lowland and urban, a thin strand between an unknown hinterland and an unpredictable sea. Yet it was the sea, above all, which animated the continents and islands of the Mediterranean.

Islands often generate an exaggerated specificity and homogeneity of place. Where they are identified with a single name, so the argument goes, they must be a single entity. However, because islands have a 360° outlook marine exchange permits closer affinities between the distant and overseas than may exist between locations on the same landmass. Nevertheless, insularity runs like a *leitmotif* through descriptions of Cyprus. Sir George Hill, whose history remains a crucial document, described Cyprus as "remote from the centre of the Empire". David Hunt linked geography and passivity: "One of the principles most clearly demonstrated by Cypriot history is that geography is destiny". "Cyprus", he adds, "has always been more acted upon than active". For Benedict Englezakis, "The factors which define the history of Cyprus are its immutable geographical position", a condition recognised by Sophocles Hadjisavvas for whom "The insular character of Cyprus is the main factor which formulated its place in history from the very moment of its habitation up to the present day".

Peregrine Hordern and Nicholas Purcell suggest an altogether more flexible alternative, namely that islands "are very often better conceived as fluid zones of transition...than as clear-cut lines on a landscape or a map". Islands, then, may be understood as mutable rather than cartographically anchored. Where the sea is a transactional space islands are integrated or remote in proportion to their assimilation into networks of exchange; in other words not all islands are insular.

The seventeen chapters in this volume use a variety of topics and strategies to challenge notions of uniformity and proximity at home, and difference and distance overseas. They have their origins in the Postgraduate Conference of Cypriot Archaeology (PoCA) held in the Department of Art History and World Art at the University of East Anglia, Norwich, between November 1st – 3rd 2013. They cover periods from the Late Bronze Age to the twentieth century, and connections with, amongst others, Greece and the Aegean, Syro-Palestine, Egypt and, further afield, with Lusignan France. The chapters are grouped under four headings, the first of which is devoted to marine transmission and interaction.

This section deals predominantly with the Late Bronze Age when relations between Cyprus and the Aegean were particularly fructive. In the opening chapter, Philippa M. Steele argues that an integrated approach to the linguistic and archaeological data of the LBA suggests that the arrival of the Greek language on Cyprus was not the result of a particular migration episode from the Aegean but was, rather, the result of a long-term, hybridised and elective assimilation by particular localities and elites. We stay with Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age Aegean with Alexandra Markou's chapter, which asks whether the appearance of Aegean cult equipment and symbols on the island indicates a change in Cypriot ritual practice, generating a refurbishment of its ceremonial spaces. Anna Paule, too, is concerned with the Aegean in her examination of the striking similarity between Cypriot and Mycenaean jewellery, its development and–in the case of mould-made goldwork–its decline, probably associated with the decreasing dominance of palace centres, the loss of skills associated with court patronage, together with a drift in population towards the coast. Arguably, this might have increased marine interaction exemplified by the shipwrecks discussed by Anna Demetriou. She emphasises the nodal position of Cyprus in the trade routes of the Eastern Mediterranean in Antiquity, particularly with the Aegean and the southeastern Mediterranean. In two case studies she explores the transformation from function (ship) to non-function (shipwreck) and the concomitant and complex demands of conservation, management, public access and archaeological research. Shipwrecks also feature in Evi Karyda's discussion of *cabotage* along the south coast of the island, between Kiti and Governor's Beach. Anchors and ceramics provide further evidence, but because *cabotage* involved open beaches for landing, cliffs for shelter, landmarks, stars and currents for navigation, fixed archaeology is limited and textual evidence is comparatively late. She sees multi-disciplinarity–principally the integration of the archeological and

artefactual evidence with data gleaned from texts, meteorology and local
knowledge–as essential tools in further research.

The second section takes as its theme the production and function of
artefacts: two chapters discuss figurines and two discuss artefacts from
Paphos. In a series of experiments, Constantina Alexandrou and Brendan
O'Neill explore the possible modes of construction of Late Cypriot II-IIA
terracotta Base-Ring female figurines. They examine later stages of the
figurine's life-cycle in respect of use and social significance while, at the
same time, testing the claims of recent scholarship. Maria Andrioti is
principally concerned with small-scale, limestone sculptures. She
emphasises the close relationship with the terracottas, suggesting that
limestone *kouri* may even have been based on female figurines. She argues
for itinerant Cypriot craftsmen whose highly eclectic approach and
responsiveness to the demands of clients from Greece to Egypt transcended
material and cultural boundaries, combining local characteristics with
foreign elements. In her discussion of terracotta oil lamps from the Paphos
agora, Malgorzata Kajzer, too, emphasises the close relationship between
local production and foreign imports. Ranging in date from the Hellenistic
to the Late Roman periods, she cites relations with the wider Eastern
Mediterranean, including Cnidus, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Greece and Asia
Minor. Dorota Mazanek also deals with artefactual evidence from Paphos.
Her subject is glass drinking vessels dated between the first century BC
and the fourth century AD. While Andrioti identifies the presence of
Cypriot figurines in foreign sanctuaries, Mazanek notes that, so far, proven
sites of glass production on Cyprus are lacking but identifies a number of
foreign centres, principally in Syro-Palestine.

The third section deals with sacred spaces. Marios Kamenou discusses
oracular sites on Cyprus and the religious and political importance of the
mantiarchos-the head of a group of soothsayers–particularly in relation to
the cults of Apollo and Aphrodite and the caves and groves in which the
will of the gods was revealed. Thea Christophorou examines the complex
relationship between the sacred identities of Roman Nea Paphos and
Palaepaphos, arguing for a considerable cross-over between the cults of
the Emperor and Aphrodite-between imperial power and local deities–
epitomized by the sacred procession linking Old and New Paphos. The
final two chapters in this section offer an international perspective.
Educated in Egypt, the Palestinian cleric and late fourth-century bishop of
Cyprus, Epiphanius, is often described as a rancorous reactionary, a view
that Richard Maguire seeks to temper, arguing that Epiphanius was in the

forefront of contemporary developments in theology, doctrine, liturgy, and architecture, epitomized by his eponymous basilica at Salamis. Thomas Kaffenberger also takes an episcopal complex dedicated to Epiphanius as his principal focus, examining the long-term changes at St Epifanios in Famagusta. In the apparent uniformity of its fabric he elucidates a complex sequence of additions and transformations, probably beginning in the twelfth century. He takes into account comparable examples on the island, the place of its Greek and Latin congregations and the wider liturgical, socio-historical and aesthetic context.

The final section is devoted to both public and private collections. In his chapter on the sculpture of the Villa of Theseus in Paphos, Panayiotis Panayides sidesteps the well-trodden stylistic, iconographic and chronological approach to the statuary in favour of an examination of its function in its architectural setting. He argues for statues at the entrance to the Villa, in the *nymphaeum*, the bath complex, and the private quarters of the west wing. He contrasts the continuity of elite interest in the classical tradition with an increasingly Christianised Paphos. From a Late Antique collection we turn to one assembled in the twentieth century, which also bears on the public and private. Noly Moyssi and Maria Michael focus on a silk wedding dress which, on the one hand has a cherished place in the oral and artefactual history of a particular family and, on the other, touches on the wider fashion industry, as well as Cypriot sericulture, dress-making and early-twentieth century wedding practices. Our final two chapters deal with large public collections. Laureline Steinier discusses the re-integration of a group of Cypriot antiquities into the collection of the Mariemont Museum in Belgium. Levels of conservation of the individual objects had, hitherto, depended on their status. Some were treated archaeologically and subject to preventative and remedial treatments, and some aesthetically, with repair tending towards seamless reconstruction. Steinier argues that setting archaeology above status provides a more appropriate strategy for reintegation as well as facilitating a better public understanding of the artefacts and their contexts. Finally, Anna Reeve discusses the collection assembled by a British diplomat who played an important part in the early days of archaeology on Cyprus, and who demonstrated a respect and rigour at odds with the gung-ho approach of some of his more flamboyant colleagues. She outlines the route taken by the collection and its reception in what was eventually to become Leeds City Museum.

The editors would like to acknowledge the contributions of Professor Bronwen Wilson, Dr Jo Clarke, Dr Nick Warr, Dr Peter Cosyns, Alice Christophe, Anastasia Moskvina, Bea Leal and Helaine Wyett. It may be unusual for one editor to pay tribute to the other but in this case its is entirely justified. Without the encouragement, the tenacity, and the constant good humour of my colleague, Dr Jane Chick, the initial Conference would not have taken place, neither would the publication of its proceedings have been brought to fruition.

<div align="right">Richard Maguire</div>

<div align="right">Norwich
November 2015</div>

SECTION I.

APPROACHING CYPRUS:
SEA AND OVERSEAS

CHAPTER ONE

A LINGUISTIC APPROACH TO POPULATION
MOVEMENTS TO ANCIENT CYPRUS

PHILLIPPA M. STEELE

The question of how and when Greek speakers arrived on Cyprus
somewhere around the end of the Bronze Age has been a sometimes
contentious topic, and the archaeological evidence has been used to
support very different views of this event or process. Such arguments rely
on the identification of "Greeks" in the material record, but largely ignore
or under-treat the direct evidence we have for the use of the Greek
language, which should be an important factor in identifying "Greeks" in
this historical period (in which writing is attested, albeit sparsely). This
chapter seeks to integrate the direct linguistic data with the archaeological,
and suggests that a wholescale migration episode does not reflect the
evidence well. Instead, it is argued that we should view the arrival of the
Greek language on Cyprus as a long-term process during which speakers
of other Cypriot languages chose to start speaking Greek, a hypothesis not
incompatible with the "hybridisation" model of understanding social
change on the island in this period.

1. Population movement or language shift?

When and how did the Greek language first arrive on Cyprus? We know
that it did, because at some point a Greek-speaking tradition began on the
island that has remained in place to this day. The written records dating
from the Late Bronze Age, a diverse group of undeciphered inscriptions
written in a linear script that we label "Cypro-Minoan", are without a
doubt written in one or more languages that are not Greek, giving us one
side of our temporal framework. Then at the other end, we can be sure that
a significant Greek-speaking tradition has been introduced by around the
7th or 6th century BC, when identifiably Greek inscriptions (now written in
a new script, the Cypriot Syllabary, which was developed from Cypro-

Minoan) become relatively common and appear in considerably larger numbers than in the intervening centuries, when attestations are very few and far between. The central question underpinning this chapter is: how do we get from a non-Greek-speaking Cyprus to a Greek-speaking Cyprus?

From an abstract methodological point of view, we can consider two ways in which the Greek language could have become prevalent on the island. One option is that there was an influx of a large population speaking Greek, who settled on the island and brought about the change by weight of numbers. The second option is that there was a language shift, whereby Greek somehow became a language of prestige to the extent that speakers of other local languages chose to learn it and some eventually to switch to Greek altogether. While the first option would fit well with the traditional model whereby Greek speakers fled the Peloponnese after the fall of the Mycenaean palaces and headed for the eastern Mediterranean in large numbers, the second presents a linguistic situation that reflects much better what we know of how and why language shifts usually take place. A consideration of the archaeological and linguistic evidence for the arrival of Greek speakers may help us to choose between these hypotheses.

2. Archaeological interpretations

From an archaeological point of view alone, the arrival of a language can be difficult to pin down. The first problem is that of identifying speakers of a language through physical remains. As studies of ancient ethnicity have developed more complex ways of understanding ethnic identity, it has become obvious that while language may be one of the aspects actively promoted as a criterion for membership of a particular group, it will not be the only one. In fact, shared language may not be a high priority for a person's self-identification as belonging to a group. Studies of ancient Greek ethnicity have sometimes seen language as a primary factor in self-identification as "Greek", which corresponds with the distinction between Greekness and the barbarian "other" as a linguistic definition, particularly during the classical period when writers such as Herodotus frequently mention language as a shared custom of the Greeks.[1] However, many recent surveys have emphasised that language should not be seen as a criterion of ethnicity even though it may be chosen among ethnic "indicia".[2] The idea of projecting later ideas about Greek ethnicity back onto the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age is also problematic, particularly given that subjective notions of "Hellenicity" probably have

their origins in a much later period.[3] The term *ethnos* in later Greek usage, when Ionians, Dorians and other groups can be seen as having distinct identities, has an inherent multiplicity that pertains to the specific times and circumstances in which it was used by ancient authors.[4] When we look back to the Greek speakers of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age, it becomes more difficult to understand how the identity of a group such as, for example, the Mycenaean Greeks might have been constructed,[5] and to what extent language was perceived by them as an important criterion in their group membership. We know less about the Greek speakers who might have had contact with and settled in Cyprus around this time, where they came from and how they perceived themselves. Looking for particular ethnic indicators in the material record, therefore, may be misleading or overly restrictive (e.g. searching for only one type of Greek speaker to the exclusion of others less well represented in the archaeological record, as will be discussed below).

A second problem is the issue of types of population movement, and on-going debates about how the material record reflects whole-scale population movements, colonisation activity or long-term processes of contact and integration. Archaeological approaches to these issues have changed over time, and some traditional assumptions concerning migration have rightly become the subject of critical reanalysis.[6] The concept of deliberate Greek colonisation, even for the later period, has also come under scrutiny in recent years,[7] and for the earlier period our understanding of colonial activity can be quite different and dependent on varying access to contemporary sources. Connections between different parts of the Mediterranean facilitated the movements of larger and smaller groups of people in the Late Bronze Age,[8] with patterns determined by varying social and economic factors. The appearance of Greek speakers on Cyprus, and changes in the archaeological record that have been argued to reflect them, are far from straightforward against this background of scholarly debate over the ways in which material evidence reflects population movements.

We can be certain that there was contact between the Aegean and Cyprus throughout the Late Bronze Age, and towards the end of the Late Bronze Age such contact has sometimes been measured through finds of Mycenaean pottery in the eastern Mediterranean.[9] On Cyprus small numbers of fragments at a few sites are attributed to Late Helladic II (15th century) and the number of pieces of Mycenaean pottery pick up in the Late Helladic III period (14th – 12th centuries), the most prolific sites at this time being Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kourion and Kition.

However, it is difficult to know how far such a distribution is relevant to the appearance of Greek speakers on Cyprus, especially given that Mycenaean pottery represents only one group from the Aegean that we know to contain or be dominated by Greek speakers. There must have been speakers of the Greek language during the Late Bronze Age who were not closely integrated into the Mycenaean world, whose footprint is less easy to recognise.

The coming of Greek speakers to Cyprus is often viewed in the light of economic changes that affected the Mediterranean in the 12th century BC and later: the "crisis years"[10] and their lasting effect on Mediterranean socio-political configuration. This is the time when the "Sea Peoples" surface in Egyptian records, often thought to represent one or more groups of Aegean migrants.[11] However, there is no linguistic evidence to suggest the Sea Peoples were Greek speakers, and any attempt to incorporate them into an argument about movements of Greek-speaking populations is fraught with difficulty.[12] While the 12th century crises did also affect Cyprus, with some disruptions and site destructions, they did not do so to the extent seen in Greece, where this period saw the downfall of the Mycenaean palaces; the different regional responses to the crises undoubtedly had an effect on the prospects for the continuation (or non-continuation in the case of the Aegean) of literacy into the Early Iron Age.[13] At this time, some people originating from Greece or the Aegean may have settled on Cyprus but they do not leave a tangible trace in the archaeological record.

However, it is the 11th century BC that shows markedly different traits in some areas of material culture on Cyprus.[14] In particular, what looks like a relatively sudden change in the mortuary landscape towards Aegean-type chamber tombs and new cemetery locations suggests the presence of a population not deliberately maintaining links with previous burial practices and so perhaps newly arrived or at least observing a new ideology.[15] The establishment of new sites and some Aegeanising tendencies in ceramic decoration also potentially point towards new population groups who were deliberately making reference to a common Aegean-based history.[16] The differences in the outlook of 11th century BC Cyprus are striking and require explanation. A shift towards the political figuration seen in the later historical record of Cyprus, with independent polities that would last for hundreds of years located in several parts of the island, is one way of understanding the social changes at this time.[17] It is perhaps no coincidence that most of these polities are later known to be home to Greek-speaking administrations.

The pertinent question for our present purposes is whether the new outlook of the 11th century was the result of a sudden and significant population movement from the Aegean to Cyprus, or was the end product of a series of long-term processes of contact and integration between the two areas. While Iacovou has presented a fairly traditional view of the changes as reflecting a migration episode,[18] other scholars, particularly Knapp,[19] have seen the changes as indicative of the culmination of a process of "hybridisation" whereby cultural traits were assimilated over a long period of time. These arguments could suggest that the Greek language either appeared on Cyprus quite suddenly accompanied by a significant number of speakers, or that the language could have been present from an earlier period and took hold gradually over time. The following sections will examine the epigraphic and linguistic evidence for early Greek on the island with a view to resolving this ambiguity.

3. Writing on Cyprus

Writing first arrives on Cyprus, as far as we can tell from surviving inscriptions, in the Late Cypriot I period (16th – 15th centuries), and flourishes in Late Cypriot II-III (15th – 12th/11th centuries). The undeciphered inscriptions of the Late Bronze Age (and a few of the Early Iron Age) are usually referred to by the broad term "Cypro-Minoan", and display considerable epigraphic diversity as well as diversity in chronological and geographical distribution, object type, medium and method of inscription.[20] Between the 11th and 8th centuries BC, very few examples of writing are attested at all, making any study of script and language in this period (which is key to the present discussion) somewhat difficult. By the 8th century BC inscriptions written in what is unquestionably a different script from Cypro-Minoan are attested: these are generally referred to as Cypriot Syllabic (or alternatively Cypro-Greek), and a large proportion of these deciphered texts, attested between the 8th and 3rd centuries BC, are written in Greek.[21] Although it is in the 8th century that the first identifiably Cypriot Syllabic inscriptions appear, it is not until the 7th century that Greek Cypriot Syllabic inscriptions provide evidence of Greek political control in the gold bracelets found at Kourion that record the name of a king of Paphos, Etewandros.[22] The same king Etewandros is also attested among the Cypriot city-kingdoms and their rulers listed in the Assyrian Prism of Esarhaddon found at Nineveh, also belonging to the 7th century, in which the names of nine other kingdoms and their rulers appear (some of whom have identifiable Greek names). By

the 6th century and later, Cypriot Syllabic inscriptions are attested in much greater numbers.[23]

The extant epigraphic record does not give us an immediate answer to the question of when Cyprus became predominantly Greek-speaking. We can identify a period when it was not and a period when it was, but from the 11th to the 8th century we have a considerable gap in the evidence. In the 10th century a handful of inscriptions usually identified as the last Cypro-Minoan texts are attested, and in the 8th century the earliest certain Cypriot Syllabic texts appear. There is no surviving inscription written in either script that we can ascribe with certainty to the intervening 9th century. One of the inscriptions now usually regarded as the last examples of Cypro-Minoan has a plausible interpretation as a Greek name in the genitive (the *Opheltau* inscription[24]), but as an isolated text, and one that has been subject to varied interpretations since its discovery, it must be treated with some degree of caution, as will be discussed below. Apart from this one text, there is no direct evidence of the Greek language being used on Cyprus before the 8th century. Even then the earliest attestations of Greek written in the Cypriot Syllabary come from outside Cyprus (one from Cilicia, the other from Delphi[25]), although the fact that they are written in the Cypriot Syllabary must confirm their Cypriot origin, whether inscribed on Cyprus or by Cypriots abroad.

The development of the new script, the Cypriot Syllabary, may itself be seen as an indicator of the presence of the Greek language. If a new language has not been introduced, then why would there be any need to overhaul Cypro-Minoan and create the new script?[26] Even so, it is impossible in the current state of knowledge to pin down the date of the script reform, since so few inscriptions from the Early Iron Age have survived, which means that this cannot help us to ascertain a date for the arrival of Greek speakers. Furthermore, the Greek language could have been present on the island for some time before a script was created deliberately to write it.

4. Dialect

Another way of thinking about the arrival of Greek on Cyprus is to try to reconstruct the variety of language transmitted there, which might give some clue to when the transmission took place. Rather than looking at the earliest attestations of the language on Cyprus, this method involves considering the Cypriot dialect as attested during the first millennium BC,

and attempting to establish where Cypriot belongs in the broader distribution of ancient Greek dialects.

The Cypriot dialect is one of several Greek dialects attested during the first millennium BC. Primarily through the work of linguists such as Porzig, Risch and Chadwick,[27] in the mid-twentieth century, some modern theories of dialectology were applied to the ancient Greek dialects, creating the "family trees" so familiar to linguists today and underpinning much work done on the Greek dialects since then (e.g. the basic classifications used already by Buck and more recently by Colvin[28]). This model of dialectology sees the later dialects as being created by successive divergences, which in turn create branches of the tree. Starting with the "original" form of Greek at the top of the tree (the reconstructed variant usually labelled "proto-Greek"), branches then split off as some make innovations and others retain archaic features. This is based on an assumption that the presence of archaic features in one branch of the tree does not tell us anything about common ancestry because any descendent of proto-Greek can retain any of its original features. Meanwhile, if one branch makes an innovation, and a later dialect can be shown to feature the same innovation, then we can prove that the dialect belongs to the innovating branch, i.e. that there is shared ancestry. Figure 1 shows one version of the traditional family tree of Greek dialects constructed in this way (leaving out the Mycenaean dialect, whose place in the family tree is still disputed).
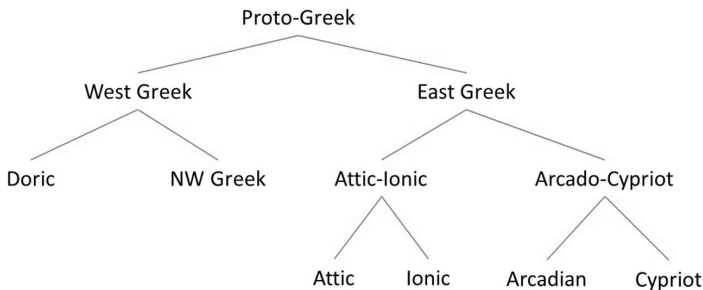

Fig. 1.1 Family tree of ancient Greek dialects

One assumption made when constructing this tree was that, following proto-Greek, one group of Greek speakers who are usually labelled the "East Greek" group made an innovatory change (the assibilation of /ti/ > /si/) while another group, usually labelled "West Greek", kept the original

state of affairs (/ti/ where the East Greek group have innovated /si/). Thus the East Greek and West Greek groups were traditionally understood to be created by divergence. Even this initial split has been highlighted for potential reanalysis since the theory was first conceived.[29] Some of the broader principles by which the traditional model of the ancient Greek family tree was formed have also more recently fallen under scrutiny, especially as it has been observed that many features of the attested ancient dialects must have spread by continued contact.[30] Contact between dialects over time, often resulting in multi-directional influence, can create an untidy picture whose details cannot all be explained via the simple methodology of dialectal splits proven by shared innovatory features. For example, if a dialect shares an innovatory feature with another nearby dialect, there is a possibility that the feature was not inherited from a common ancestor that made the innovation, but rather was passed from one dialect to the other through contact during the course of the first millennium BC.

While some areas of Greek dialectology are rightly being reanalysed, for the Cypriot dialect we have some good reasons to operate under the more traditional viewpoint, as will be shown below. It has long been acknowledged that the closest dialect to Cypriot, in terms of shared features, is the Arcadian dialect that is attested in the 5th and 4th centuries BC in a central, landlocked area of the Peloponnese. A link between the two dialects has also been observed to correspond neatly to the legend recorded by ancient authors that the Cypriot city of Paphos was founded by the Arcadian king Agapenor (Strabo 14.6.3, Pausanias 8.5.2-3). An examination of Arcadian and Cypriot reveals a number of shared features, of which crucially several are shared innovations.[31] The most important shared innovations are:

i.   The raising of final /o/ > /u/ (especially in particular morphological categories, e.g. the middle verb endings -τυ and -ντυ, and the genitive of masculine a-stem nouns -αυ).
ii. The raising of /e/ > /i/ before /n/ (especially in the preposition ἰν).
iii. The apocope of the preposition *pos* (Arc. πος, in Cyp. spelled *po-se*) and the conjunction *kas* (Arc. κας, in Cyp. spelled *ka-se*), from **posi* and **kasi*.
iv. The assibilation of /ti/ > /si/ (in relevant morphological categories such as third person singular verb endings -σι and -νσι, as attested in other assibilating dialects).

v. The palatalised treatment of labiovelars before front vowels (e.g. Cyp. *si-se* for τίς < *kʷis, the use of a special letter in 5th century Arc. spellings such as <ꟻΙΣ> for τίς).

vi. The use of the dative-locative case in constructions with ablatival prepositions (e.g. ἀπύ in both dialects), rather than the expected genitive.

Although the genetic "closeness" of Arcadian and Cypriot has occasionally been questioned,[32] the number of innovatory features shared between the two dialects strongly indicates their common descent. This is reinforced by the fact that during the first millennium BC they were geographically isolated from each other, the one spoken in a landlocked area of the Peloponnese and the other on an island hundreds of miles to the east. We could try to explain the shared innovations as independent developments, i.e. effectively as a coincidence, but the number of features militates against such an interpretation. It is also impossible that the shared innovations were passed on through contact considering the isolation of the dialects from each other during the first millennium. The only remaining explanation is that the shared innovations are shared inheritances from a common ancestor dialect that first made the innovations, which we can label "Arcado-Cypriot". Arcado-Cypriot then must have split into Arcadian and Cypriot when some speakers became isolated on Cyprus, after which point Arcadian and Cypriot developed further features in isolation that are not shared by the other branch.

If we view the relationship between Arcadian and Cypriot as a close genetic one, placing them as "sister" dialects descended from a common parent, then this has some implications for our understanding of the arrival of the Greek language on Cyprus. Firstly, it must be the isolation of some speakers on Cyprus that causes the split of the parent dialect, Arcado-Cypriot, into the two attested branches, Arcadian and Cypriot. We might hope that this would help us to ascertain from what location Greek speakers originally set off to settle in Cyprus, but here we have a further problem that Arcadian is not attested until the middle of the first millennium BC, and so the area in which it was spoken does not necessarily correlate to the area where the parent dialect was spoken. There have been some attempts to piece together the map of Greek dialects during the second millennium BC based on the later shared features of descendant dialects,[33] but because it is difficult to establish a sound methodology for working backwards in this way, the results have not been widely accepted. Further work on this aspect might, however, shed light on the earlier development of dialects.

Another important factor highlighted by this brief excursus on dialectology is that when examining early Cypriot evidence for the use of the Greek language on the island, the presence or absence of Arcado-Cypriot dialectal features will be significant. Speakers of Arcado-Cypriot are unlikely to be the only Greek speakers who arrived or even settled on Cyprus considering its prominent trading position, but it is only the Arcado-Cypriot dialect that took hold and became the exclusive dialect in which Cypriot Syllabic inscriptions came to be written. When we ask how and when the Greek language arrived on Cyprus, we are asking not about the Greek language in general but specifically about the arrival of the Arcado-Cypriot dialect.

5. The *Opheltau* inscription

The earliest attestation of the Greek language on Cyprus is an inscription on a bronze obelos found in a Cypro-Geometric tomb at Palaepaphos-*Skales* (Tomb 49) and first published in the early 1980s.[34] The inscription is therefore dated approximately to 1050-950 BC, which places it in the gap in the middle of the epigraphic evidence when writing is attested very sparsely (see section 3 above). Since its initial publication, there has been some discussion of the inscription's epigraphic features, with early attempts to understand it as a Cypriot Syllabic inscription[35] later giving way to the now quite widely accepted view that, since it does not contain any features that can be confirmed as post-Cypro-Minoan, we should classify it as a Cypro-Minoan inscription.[36] Attempts to classify its epigraphic features inevitably fall foul of anachronisms or unresolvable debates because in the current state of knowledge we simply have such an extremely small number of contemporary examples of writing with which to compare it – far too few to reach any certain conclusions about the writing systems in use in the Early Iron Age, their overall repertoires and the range of languages they might have been used to write. However, for our present purposes the epigraphic debate need not concern us further, provided that we continue to accept the reading of the text, which, considering the identification of fully corresponding sign values in the deciphered Cypriot Syllabary, we almost certainly should continue to do.[37]

The *Opheltau* inscription consists of five syllabic signs, reading from left to right as *o-pe-le-ta-u* (the values contributed by a mixture of forms identified with either the Paphian or the "Common" variants of the Cypriot Syllabic script): see Figure 2. This is interpreted as a Greek name, Opheltas, in the genitive.

Fig. 1.2 The Opheltau inscription (drawn by the author after Olivier 2007, 170)

Since the personal name Opheltas is an a-stem masculine noun, the genitive form here preserves one of the shared innovatory features common to the Arcadian and Cypriot dialects and assumed to be inherited from its direct ancestor, Arcado-Cypriot (see section 4 above): an ending in *-au*. The attestation of a diagnostic dialectal feature in this ending is linguistically very significant and demonstrates not just the arrival of at least one speaker of the Greek language by the period around the beginning of the first millennium BC, but also specifically the arrival of the dialect that was to remain the predominant language of a large proportion of the island's inhabitants for the next 700 years or more.

Following the initial excitement over the discovery of the *Opheltau* inscription and ensuing publications focusing largely on its epigraphic features,[38] more recently the reanalysis of its script as Cypro-Minoan rather than Cypriot Syllabic has led to some uncertainty over the linguistic value of this piece of evidence. For example, Olivier cautions us that "il faut garder présent à l'esprit qu'on peut écrire n'importe quelle langue au moyen de n'importe quelle écriture",[39] which has sometimes been taken as an assertion that the *Opheltau* inscription could be understood as an isolated phenomenon, an individual with a Greek name having the opportunity to write his name down in a local script in Cyprus that would usually have been used for another language or languages. However, Olivier's remark was only intended to emphasise that the reanalysis of the epigraphy of this inscription does not have any effect on its linguistic importance. We should continue to understand this text as the earliest example of the Cypriot dialect, and so as a direct result of the arrival of the ancestor dialect, Arcado-Cypriot, on Cyprus. This gives us a *terminus ante quem* of c.1050-950 BC for the arrival of Arcado-Cypriot and the creation of the Cypriot dialect.

6. The context of *Opheltau*

Despite its isolated nature, the context of the *Opheltau* inscription, found in Tomb 49 at Palaepaphos-*Skales*, may give us a clue about how the Greek language came to be widely spoken in Cyprus. Although there are some differences, the basic tomb types of the Cypro-Geometric cemetery at Palaepaphos-*Skales* resemble those of the LCIIIB (i.e. 12th to early 11th century) cemetery at Alaas in eastern Cyprus,[40] and so are unlikely to represent a newly immigrant population at Palaepaphos in the Cypro-Geometric period. The use of chamber tombs and related burial customs from LCIIIB onwards has frequently been associated with "the arrival of a new population increment to the island",[41] originating from the Aegean. However, recent studies have emphasised the processes of cultural assimilation that are likely to have taken place as the new burial customs became prevalent on the island, most strongly in Knapp's hybridisation model.[42] Although we know that the Greek language must have arrived on Cyprus by this time, in a form in which it was here to stay, it was manifestly not accompanied by a complete "Greek"/"Mycenaean"/ "Aegean" cultural "package".[43] The material record of Cyprus in this period, "punctuated by the mixing and 'in-betweenness' so characteristic of hybridisation practices",[44] militates against the theory that the social changes at this time were brought about by a massive migration episode.

The assemblage of Palaepaphos Tomb 49, in which the *Opheltau* obelos was found, is overwhelmingly Cypriot in character.[45] Sherratt has remarked on the obelos (Cypro-Geometric obeloi of bronze and iron being well attested in Cyprus[46]) that its cultural context is "generally indistinguishable from that of other contemporary Cypriots" and highlighted the Cypriot (and emphatically "non-Greek") character of the inscription itself.[47] Furthermore, the obelos was not the only inscribed object from Tomb 49. The *Opheltau* obelos was one of three found propped against the wall of the chamber, and the other two are also incised with what look like possible Cypro-Minoan inscriptions: one has a short sequence that has been interpreted as Cypro-Minoan *023 ʹ 023*,[48] and the other has single signs incised on two of its sides, a possible elaborate example of Cypro-Minoan sign 007 and a possible simplified example of sign 097.[49] These are too short and/or obscure to interpret, but they give all appearances of belonging to Cypriot traditions of marking items with Cypro-Minoan signs. An imported "Canaanite" type jar (T 49: 78) with incised single signs on its handles (one corresponding to Cypro-Minoan sign 006, but the other unparalleled) was found nearby.[50] Furthermore, a stone block with an unidentified sign (T. 49: B) was used as blocking

material in the tomb,[51] as was another stone block with a Cypro-Minoan inscription from the dromos. This last inscription[52] is in the form *102 ' 017*, in a "1+1 pattern" that has been observed on other Cypro-Minoan inscribed items, especially a group of vases from LCIIIA Kition,[53] and that also continues to appear in Cypriot Syllabic inscriptions of the first millennium BC, for example a number found at 6th century *Kouklia-Paphos*.[54] Although the other inscriptions from Tomb 49 cannot be "read" and so cannot be assessed for their language, the inscription types strongly suggest that they belong to the Cypriot tradition of writing and so are probably reflexes of a local non-Greek language. A further surface find from Palaepaphos-*Skales*, a bronze cup with incised signs around its edge,[55] has a five sign sequence *082-006-082-088-023* that has no satisfactory Greek interpretation and a characteristic ending in sign 023 (related to the sign *ti* in the Cypriot Syllabary) that is extremely common in Cypro-Minoan inscriptions and probably reflects a feature of one of the underlying (non-Greek) languages.[56]

Tomb 49 was probably in use throughout the Cypro-Geometric I period and used for multiple burials (remains of at least three individuals having been found[57]), one of whom was presumably the Opheltas whose obelos was found leaning against the chamber wall. As shown above, the *Opheltau* inscription was found among an epigraphic ensemble that is "all but Greek".[58] In short, it is obvious that this text is not evidence of the presence of a large number of newly immigrant Greek speakers residing in Cypro-Geometric Palaepaphos, but rather suggests that at least one Greek speaker was living in a situation where local Cypriot practices, including writing in a local script, were very much alive. This situation fits well with the argument that the arrival of the Greek language on Cyprus was accompanied by a process of cultural assimilation.

Voskos and Knapp suggest that Opheltas was "a member of the local Cypriot elite, one who may have had a Greek name but who was not in the least concerned about being buried in a distinctively Cypriot manner".[59] I proposed above (see section 1) that a more plausible way of understanding the spread of the Greek language on Cyprus was to view the process not as one whereby a large number of Greek speakers arrived on the island and formed a Greek-speaking community, but rather as one whereby some Greek speakers arrived and then as the Greek language acquired local prestige, speakers of other local languages chose to learn Greek and some probably eventually to switch to it completely. This not only is more plausible from a linguistic point of view, but also corresponds much more

closely to the archaeological evidence for cultural assimilation generally and with the immediate context of the *Opheltau* inscription in particular.

7. Greek names on Cyprus: a final hypothesis

Opheltau is the earliest surviving attestation of a Greek name on Cyprus.[60] The name Opheltas is probably attested in a Mycenaean Linear B tablet from Knossos (*o-pe-ta* in KN B 799), but in later Greek is not very common, although it is attested in Greek myth. It does not appear again in the surviving Cypriot epigraphic record. However, as Egetmeyer has remarked, "a smiling god has delivered to us a name which is lexically linked to, of all things, *Onāsi-*, the name element which becomes the most frequent in first millennium Cyprus".[61] No other Greek names are attested until the earliest surviving Cypriot Syllabic inscriptions in the 8th century BC and later.

During the first millennium BC, Greek was not the only language spoken on Cyprus: as well as the Semitic language Phoenician, a large number of Cypriot Syllabic inscriptions without convincing Greek interpretations (around 100-150 texts[62]) show that at least one non-Greek language was also being recorded in this script. A small number of the non-Greek inscriptions give consistent evidence for linguistic features such as morphological patterns, and are categorised as belonging to a language that is usually labelled "Eteocypriot" and is assumed, in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, to be a descendant of one of the languages spoken in the second millennium BC.[63] One of the reasons it was possible to isolate morphological endings is the fact that Greek names are commonly used in Eteocypriot inscriptions and appear with Eteocypriot endings; these names appear to have entered the Eteocypriot tradition at an early stage,[64] potentially even as early as the Late Bronze Age Cypro-Geometric transition when the Greek language was relatively new to the island. Another onomastic tradition that is well attested on Cyprus in the first millennium is the use of Greek names by individuals who also had Phoenician names and whose first language appears to have been Phoenician.[65]

In view of the later evidence for Greek names being employed by speakers of other languages, a possible interpretation of the *Opheltau* inscription might be that it represents the use of a Greek name by an individual whose first language was not Greek but rather a local language (perhaps one related to later Eteocypriot, but not necessarily). If so, the

individual (or at least whoever inscribed his obelos) must have known the Greek language, because the inscription is a Greek language text, as shown in the use of Greek inflection (the characteristic Arcado-Cypriot genitive ending in -*au*). This would also imply that the Greek language had by this time acquired sufficient prestige to have taken hold on Cyprus, to the extent that local Cypriots were already using it. However, this is only a hypothesis, and one that cannot be proven. Nevertheless, it can be seen perhaps to fit with the central argument of this paper: that the process whereby the Greek language took hold on Cyprus by the Cypro-Geometric period must have involved a considerable degree of local assimilation.

Notes

[1] E.g. recently Anson 2009.
[2] Hall 2000, 177.
[3] Hall 2002.
[4] See McInerney 2001.
[5] See Feuer 2011.
[6] On the broad issues, see Anthony 1990 and 1992, Burmeister 2000.
[7] E.g. Osborne 1998.
[8] See Steel 2013, 11-49.
[9] Vanschoonwinkel 2006, 43-75.
[10] Ward and Joukowsky eds. 1992.
[11] Recently Yasur-Landau 2010.
[12] On the Sea Peoples see further the papers in Oren ed. 2000.
[13] Sherratt 2003, Steele 2011b.
[14] See e.g. Iacovou 2008a.
[15] Keswani 1989 and 2004.
[16] Iacovou 2008b, 237-43.
[17] This has been argued persuasively by Iacovou in several publications: 1994, 1999, 2005, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2013.
[18] Especially Iacovou 2008a.
[19] Especially in Voskos and Knapp 2008; see also Knapp 2008 generally.
[20] See Steele 2012.
[21] See Egetmeyer 2010.
[22] Egetmeyer 2010 vol. 2: Kourion 1.
[23] See Egetmeyer 2010 vol. 2.
[24] Olivier 2007, 170.
[25] Egetmeyer 2010 vol. 2: Cilicia 13 and Greece 2.
[26] See Egetmeyer 2013.
[27] Porzig 1954, Risch 1955 and Chadwick 1956.
[28] Buck 1955, Colvin 2007.
[29] Thompson 2008.
[30] For a recent survey see Colvin 2013.