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## Eteocypriot Myth and Amathusian Reality

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### Abstract

*In a recent article (JMA 11 [1998]: 3-29), Michael Given tried to show how British colonial propaganda perpetuated the existence in ancient Cyprus of a so-called 'Eteocypriot' population, in order to check Greek nationalism which was threatening its power in the island. At the end of this work, Given devoted some pages to discussing and questioning the historical and archaeological reality of the Eteocypriots themselves, and concluded that there is no evidence for them. In this reply, I attempt to show that this last conclusion is based on an incomplete scrutiny of both epigraphical and literary evidence now available. Indeed it seems that we must henceforth avoid the use of 'Eteocypriot' to define this population and its language. Nevertheless, the Amathusians and their very peculiar language, far from being a '20th-century myth', are a well-documented historical reality.*

### Introduction

In his article 'Inventing the Eteocypriots: Imperialist Archaeology and the Manipulation of Ethnic Identity', Michael Given (1998a) intended to denounce the ideological use that British colonialists made of what he terms a historical and archaeological '20th-century myth'. According to him, the British wanted to take advantage of the presence in Cyprus, during the Cypro-Archaic and the Cypro-Classical ages, of an 'autochthonous' population (i.e. anterior to the arrival of the Achaean Greeks and the Phoenicians), which archaeologists themselves called 'the Eteocypriots' (or 'true Cypriots'). Their existence on the island was asserted from the beginning of the 20th century, after the discovery in Amathus of a handful of inscriptions, easily readable (the script is the common Cypriot syllabary), but written in an unintelligible language. These documents were combined with other literary sources,

which asserted the ethnolinguistic peculiarity of the Amathusians (Petit 1995: 51-52; Given 1998a: 20-22; see below). Consequently, archaeologists and historians concluded that they really were a pre-Hellenic population, with a distinct language. In such a way, the colonial power could oppose the strictly Cypriot character of the insular population<sup>1</sup> to the thesis of a profoundly Hellenized Cyprus used by the supporters of *enôsis* (the union of the island with Greece), a nationalist ideology which threatened British domination in the long term (Given 1997: 71; similar inquiries could be conducted on the use of antiquity by Greek nationalism, e.g. Collombier 1995; Given 1997).

Given (1998a: 4-20) devotes long arguments to the political use of Eteocypriot history and archaeology, a demonstration with which we can agree (see, nevertheless, the responses to Given's article in *JMA* 11 [1998] 107-28). In a much shorter section, Given (1998a: 20-24) even tries to deny the very

existence of a so-called Eteocypriot population, differing from both the Greeks and the Phoenicians.

Among the responses, few are devoted to the historical reality of the Eteocypriots themselves. Only Sant Cassia (1998: 123) points out that the second part of the inquiry could be usefully enhanced 'with interviews of older archaeologists who worked in Cyprus'. In his brief reply, Given (1998b) willingly admits this gap in his information. Since he does honour me by mentioning my name among 'those who are committed to developing an understanding of Iron Age Cyprus' (Given 1998b: 126), I should like, at his suggestion, to raise 'a voice that is fully engaged with Cypriot archaeology'.

### Historical Reality

In the second part of his article, devoted to the historical reality of the Eteocypriots in antiquity, Given reuses the arguments of A.T. Reyes (1994: 13-17). Both revisit successively the three kinds of documents (archaeological, epigraphical, literary) that could support the hypothesis of a peculiar 'Eteocypriot' language and of an ethnically distinctive Amathusian population. In all three cases, they reach the same conclusion: vacuity.

Following Reyes (1994: 15-17), Given (1998a: 22-24) reassesses ancient attempts to identify an Eteocypriot material culture and, in turn, rejects all archaeological evidence formerly presented as relevant to an 'autochthonous' population. Thus Gjerstad assigned to this pre-Hellenic population one type of shaft tomb (see also Vandenabeele 1968, now out of date, which Given does not mention). These architectural peculiarities noticed by Gjerstad and others in Amathusian burial customs are not relevant to ethnicity, but rather to social stratification within Amathus (Given 1998a: 23-24). Moreover, Given criticizes Gjerstad for having

produced, with full knowledge of the case, archaeological arguments to the British colonial authorities, whose ethnic prejudices he may have shared (Given 1998a: 15-18).

Given observes that the so-called Eteocypriot inscriptions are few and, moreover, that they all belong to the 4th century BC. This late date and, consequently, the seven-century gap between the latest Bronze Age inscriptions and the (re)appearance of Amathusian texts represent key arguments of both Given and Reyes in challenging Eteocypriot historicity (Given 1998a: 22; Reyes 1994: 15).

The same sort of critique holds for the two texts that seem to present the Amathusians as a distinct population among the Cypriot kingdoms. According to a piece of Pseudo-Skylax (*Geographi Graeci Minores* I: 77-78), the Amathusians were 'autochthonous'; and a paragraph of Theopompus (*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 115 F 103: 3) presents them as descendants of king Kinyras, the only Cypriot mentioned in the *Iliad*, and as the heirs of those who were, along with him, expelled by the arrival of the Achaeans in Cyprus. Given and Reyes both explain that these texts belong to the 4th century BC, and therefore are as late as the Amathusian inscriptions.

The 'Eteocypriot' nature of these inscriptions, found in Amathus, is also questioned. Although Given (1998a: 21-22) admits the existence of a non-Greek language with 'characteristic verbal patterns and inflections and perhaps proper names', he points out, following Reyes, that 'an unintelligible inscription is not *ipso facto* Eteocypriot'. And therefore he rejects the epigraphic evidence as an argument for the existence of a linguistically distinct population in the city-state of Amathus. Given (1998a: 22) concludes, 'Ten short inscriptions do not make an ethnolinguistic group'. Based on these attacks against received wisdom, Given, like Reyes, concludes that there is no evidence for a distinctive Eteocypriot population and language in Cyprus.

## Amathusian Identity and Archaeology

In what follows, I propose to show that Given's arguments about the (ab)use of the Eteocypriot reality by British colonialist propaganda are obviously better grounded—and more informed—than the few pages he devotes to Amathusian epigraphy and archaeology.

One must approve, of course, the clear attempt to revisit the so-called archaeological evidence of the Eteocypriots (see above). Indeed, in my opinion, it is very difficult and actually often impossible to assign one type of artifact—at least its use, if not its production—to a particular ethnic group, when we are lacking the relevant textual evidence. If one excludes some recent survivals, one has long since given up trying to 'interpréter les différences morphologiques en termes ethniques' (Scarre 1998: 37) and, for instance, to associate one type of pottery with one population group. Hence, archaeologists ceased trying to assign to the Dorians the introduction, and even the creation, of Geometric pottery (Jones 1997: 16). Although the loss of a valid criterion is always frustrating for archaeologists and historians, nothing forbids us from initiating the same renunciation for Amathusian funerary architecture, or for other kinds of artifacts. In spite of local differences (for coroplastic art and the pottery of Amathusian style, see Petit 1995: 60 and n. 47; Iacovou 1998: 12), there does exist an easily recognizable Cypriot material culture—a *koine*—as much for the pottery as for the statuary or the coroplastic arts, and even for architecture, as Given (1998a: 24) rightly notes.

At a time when nobody questioned the existence of a distinctive Eteocypriot population, archaeologists—whether or not inspired by ideological prejudices or purposes—had tried to find within the material culture some proof of these ethnic differences (let us remember that this was between two world wars). Today, one must take note of their failure;

Jones (1997: 113) observes, 'it has been widely recognized in anthropology and sociology that a one-to-one relationship between ethnicity and cultural similarities and differences cannot be assumed...' Therefore Reyes and Given rightly argue that archaeology can provide no positive argument for the existence of this Eteocypriot population. And yet no argument has been proposed to support the opposite thesis. Indeed, to give up such identifying criteria is not by itself, *a contrario*, proof that the population with which they were associated did not exist. If the dissociation of Geometric pottery from the Dorians does not allow us to deny their arrival in the Greek peninsula, to abandon the shaft tombs as criteria for the identification of a pre-Achaean population in Cyprus does not permit us to conclude that this population did not exist (note that Silberman [1998: 115] considers Given's arguments as 'ultimately unconvincing'). As another example, let us recall that there are no tholos tombs of Mycenaean type in Cyprus, in spite of the Achaean immigration, which is maintained as fact. To quote a truism: *absence of evidence is not evidence of absence*.

## Amathusian Epigraphy

Some inscriptions found in the town moved archaeologists and historians to consider Amathus as a linguistically peculiar city-state, although until the beginning of the 20th century, they thought it was Phoenician (Petit 1995: 51; one might also examine the 'Phoenician mirage' in the 19th century, considered in the case of Cyprus in the same way—Given 1998a: 11). From then onwards, historians related these texts to some sparse accounts in Greek authors witnessing the existence of non-Greek and non-Phoenician populations: these are the passages already mentioned by Pseudo-Skylax (*Geographi Graeci Minores* I: 77-78) and Theopompus

(*Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* 115 F 103: 3; for the *scholia* and comments on this fragment, see Baurain 1980: 293-300; on Stephanus of Byzantium's notice, see Baurain 1980: 292, n. 74). These data were combined to argue that the Amathusians were ethnically and linguistically the heirs of the Bronze Age inhabitants of Cyprus, whose culture was known in the cuneiform texts as the culture of *Alashiya*. From that time, they use the phrase '*Alashiyan language*', and later 'Eteocypriot' (from the Greek *eteos* 'real; true', for which see Masson 1983: 85; Reyes 1994: 13).

The main argument of both Reyes and Given in denying any value to these enigmatic inscriptions is their dating. Reyes (1994: 15) put them in the 4th century BC, and Given (1998a: 22) in the 4th and 3rd centuries BC. They note, therefore, that there is a seven-century gap between the latest Cypro-

Minoan inscriptions and the earliest Eteocypriot texts. But this type of reasoning amounts to a call upon an argument *e silentio*—a very difficult kind of argument to make in a historical critique, especially for ancient history. The Amathusian inscriptions are certainly few (Petit 1998a: §66), but they were produced at a time when Cypriot epigraphy, previously quite limited, was beginning to produce more numerous documents. From this point of view, let us keep in mind that the Greek dialect of Cyprus, whose existence the authors do not deny, is known from inscriptions that also date mainly from the 4th century BC (Petit 1995: 54 and n. 17). Hence, regarding the history of the Cypriot city-kingdoms, the general gap in the epigraphic evidence absolutely precludes us from calling upon an argument *e silentio* to establish the non-existence of a fact.

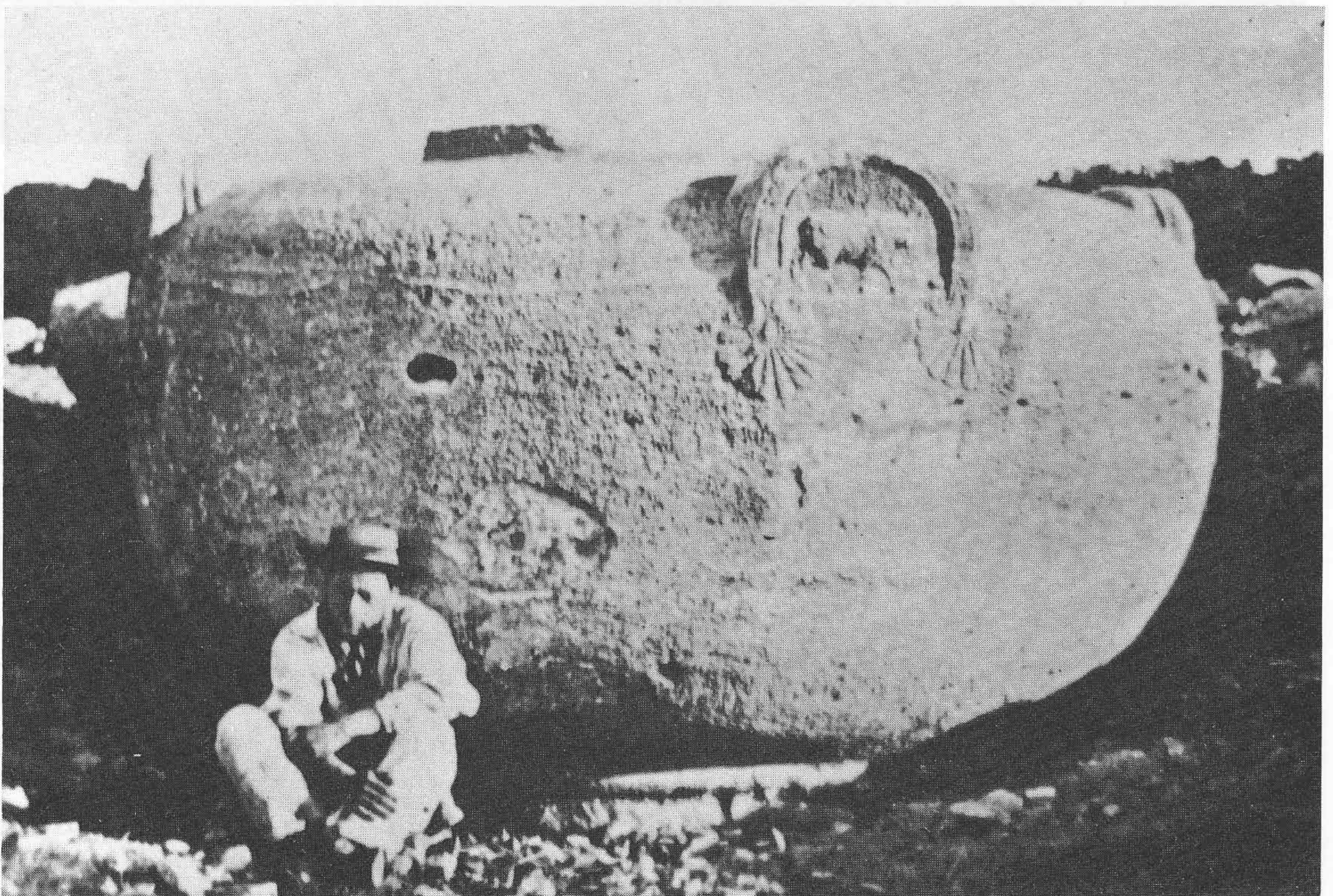


Figure 1a. Large limestone vase from the Aphrodite sanctuary on the acropolis of Amathus, *in situ* (Louvre AO 22897).



Figure 1b. Inscription on the handle of the same vase (copyright Pierre et Maurice Chuzeville/Musée du Louvre)

Their conclusion is all the more unacceptable because the statement according to which the Amathusian inscriptions are all 4th or 3rd century BC documents (also Reyes 1994: 15, n. 20) rests on an incomplete scrutiny of the currently available epigraphical evidence. There do indeed exist Amathusian texts without doubt earlier than the 4th century BC, namely:

a. In re-examining the large limestone vase now in the Louvre (AO 22897: Figures 1a-1b) for publication in the Museum catalogue, Antoine Hermary observed, on one handle, some syllabograms previously unknown. Olivier Masson read the sequence *a-na*, followed by

some other signs (Hermary and Masson 1990: 207-14). There is little doubt that the word is Amathusian: it appears frequently, and mainly on dedicatory inscriptions (Hermary and Masson 1990: 214, n. 94; Petit 1995: 58; 1998a: §13). The vase is most likely Archaic, although, cautiously, Hermary (1989: 444-45, no. 918) does not exclude it from being a 5th-century archaizing object. Unless we suppose a later writing, we must conclude that the inscription is very likely of the same period.

b. A White Painted VI jug (similar to Gjerstad 1948: plate LVIII:7), found in a tomb in the Amathusian necropolis, bears the same two syllabograms *a-na*, painted with

black ink (Karageorghis 1960: 267-68 and fig. 39; see also Masson 1983: 416, no. 196a). According to Gjerstad (1948: 202-203), the vases of class VI represent 71% of Cypro-Classical (CC) IA pottery (475-440 BC), 96% of CC IB (440-400 BC), but only 55% during CC IIA (400-350 BC). Although there was a small 4th-century *lekythos* in the same tomb (tomb 110: Karageorghis 1960: 268 and fig. 40, which led J. and V. Karageorghis [1962: 148] to consider the jug a 4th-century artifact), there still exists a probability that this vase and its inscription were made and painted during the 5th century BC.

Several fragments of pottery bearing inscriptions engraved before firing were found with numerous other archaic sherds on the west terrace of the Amathusian acropolis. The local pottery of this surface deposit is well dated by the Greek imports found with them to the 7th and

6th centuries BC; in any case, no fragment is dated later than the first years of the 5th century BC (see Thalmann 1977: 65). Some of these sherds bear the same Amathusian word *a-na*.

- c. An inscribed sherd with at least three syllabograms, inscribed before firing: *a-na ma*[...] (Karageorghis 1962: 407; see also Masson 1983: 416, n. 196a; J. and V. Karageorghis 1962: 148 and fig. 2, above; Hermary and Masson 1990: 214, n. 94) (Figure 2).
- d. A bowl fragment from the same deposit bears three preserved signs, inscribed before firing: *a-na | ku*[...] (J. and V. Karageorghis 1962: 148 and fig. 3, right; see also Hermary and Masson 1990: 214, n. 94).
- e. Another sherd, not yet published and found in the same deposit, bears the two syllabograms *a-n*[a, once again engraved before firing (Figure 3).
- f. Finally, I would point out the painted inscription on the shoulder of the so-

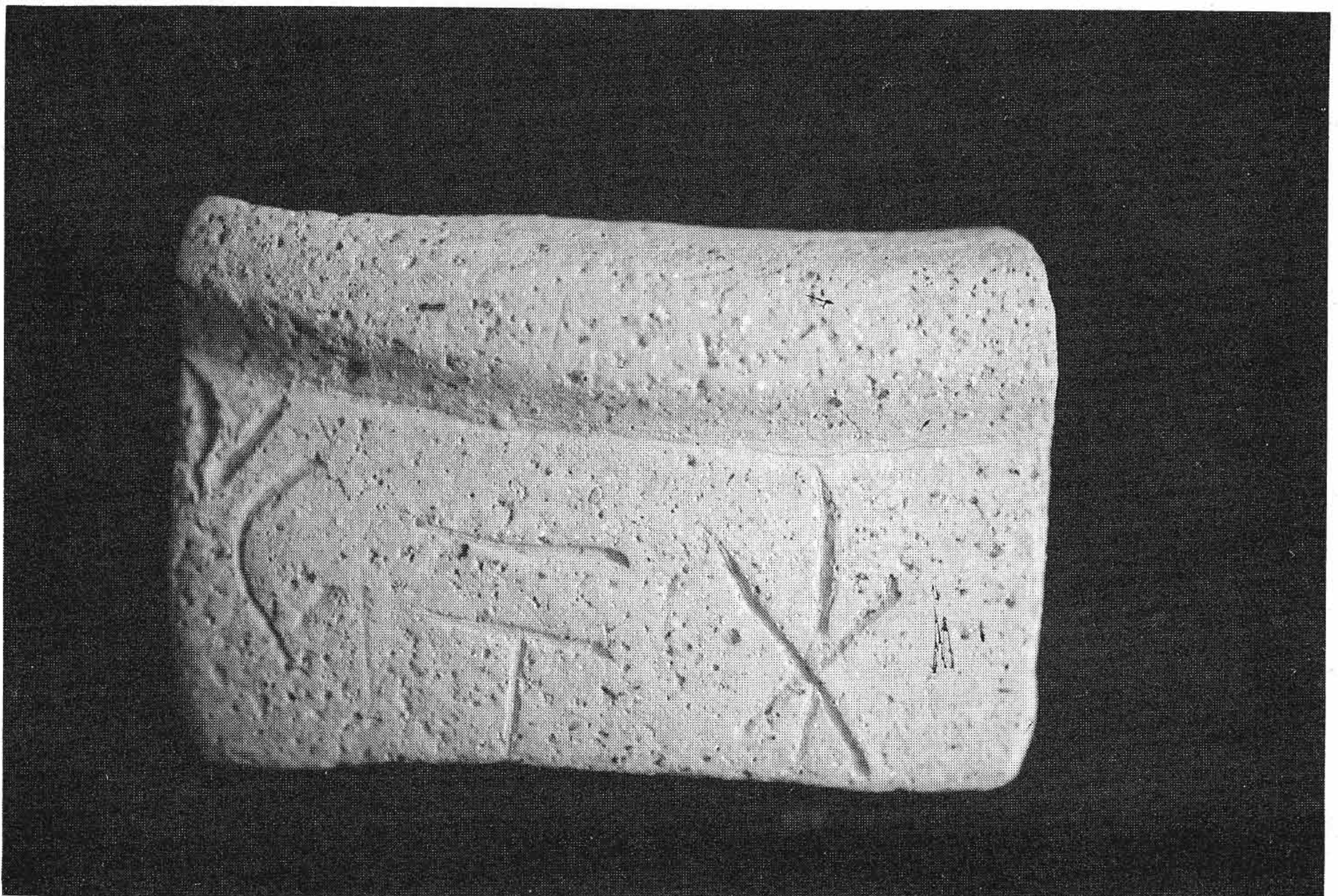


Figure 2. Inscription, engraved before firing, on an Archaic Plain White bowl, found in the West Terrace deposit on the acropolis of Amathus.

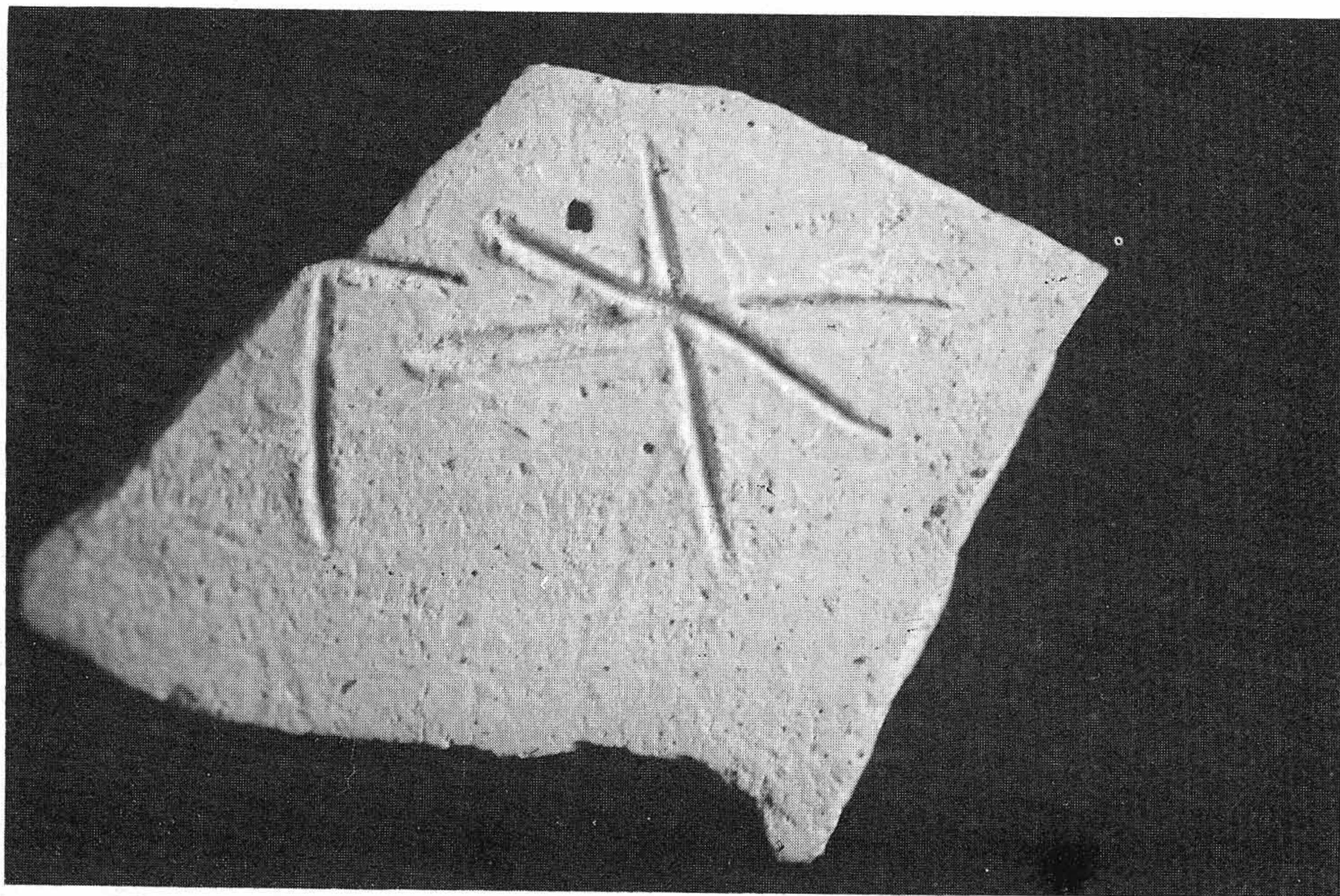


Figure 3. Inscription, engraved before firing, on an Archaic Plain White bowl found in the West Terrace deposit on the acropolis of Amathus (reproduced by permission of the Cyprus Museum).

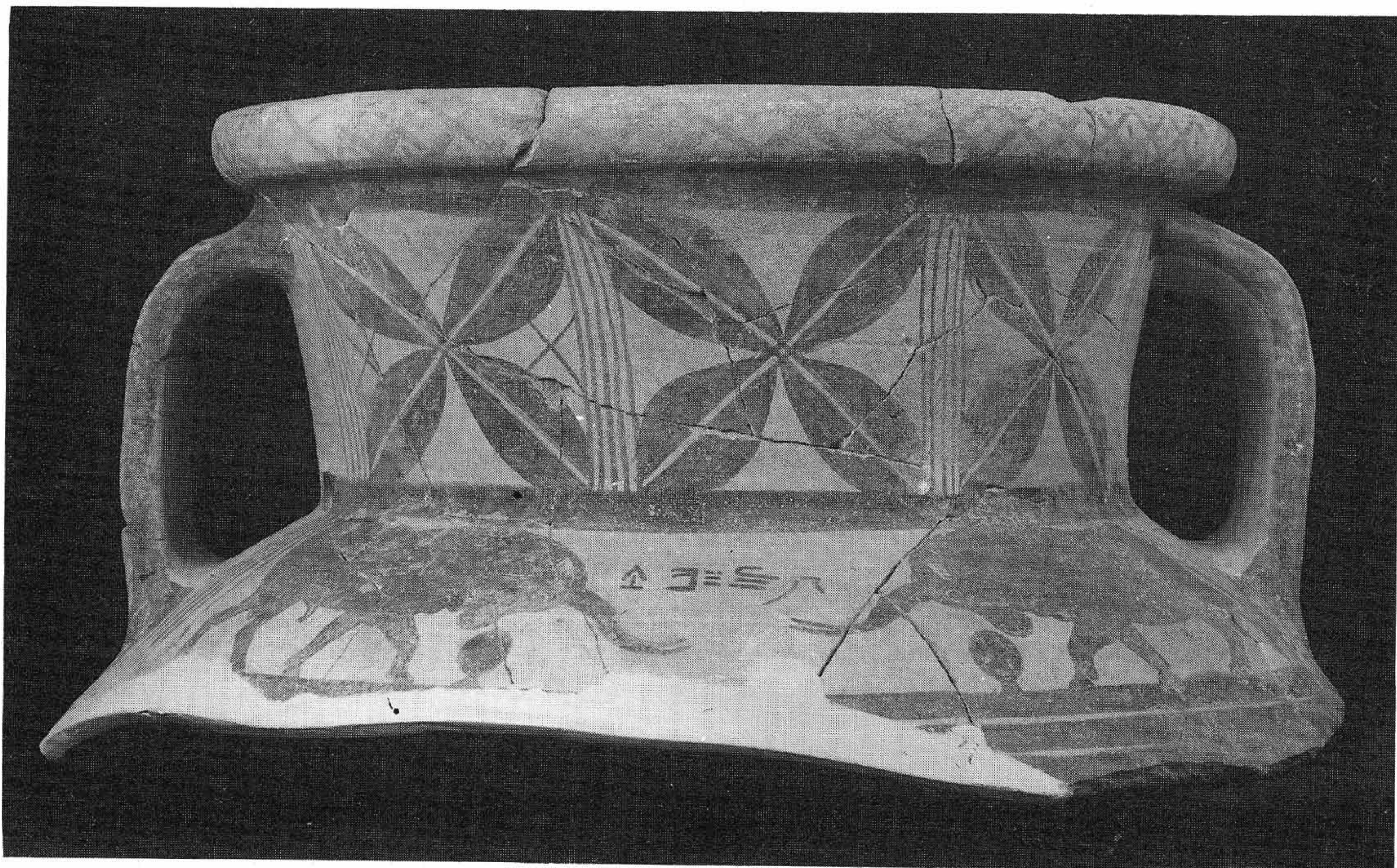


Figure 4a. Fragmentary Cypriot amphora called 'vase aux taureaux' (Archaeological Museum of Limassol: AM 1554).





Figure 4b. Painted inscription on the shoulder of the vase in Figure 4a.

called 'vase aux taureaux' found in 1987 by A. Hermary (Figures 4a-4b). Although enigmatic and presenting mainly numerical signs, it surely belongs to the Amathusian inscriptions (Hermary and Masson 1990: 187-206). The vase is dated by Hermary (Hermary and Masson 1982: 202-203) to the 8th century BC.

Once more abusing the same *e silentio* argument, Given and Reyes call upon the late date of the two literary fragments on which the Eteocypriot hypothesis is based (Reyes 1994: 17; Given 1998a: 21): indeed, Theopompus wrote his book in the second half of the 4th century BC; and, though the question remains open, it is probably the same for the Pseudo-Skylax.<sup>2</sup> To reiterate my point: we cannot conclude from the absence of literary evidence earlier than the 4th century BC an equivalent absence before this time of a distinct Amathusian population.

Moreover, the heuristic process of both authors is incomplete: there does exist an earlier document which corroborates the existence of a both non-Greek and non-Phoenician population in the island. Nevertheless, although Meister (1911: 168) had pointed it out as early as 1911, it has been fully—my errors and omissions excepted—neglected by historians. By describing the great Xerxes' army marching against Greece in 480 BC, Herodotos (7.90) states that the Cypriot component was made up of 'these peoples: some from Salamis, some from Athens, some from Arcadia, some from Kythnos, some from Phoenicia, some from Ethiopia, as the Cypriots themselves say'. This paragraph offers sound evidence for the existence of three distinct linguistic groups in Cyprus: Greek-speaking, Phoenician-speaking and 'allophones' (Ethiopians). Herodotos presents here the Cypriot situation no later than the middle of the 5th century BC, or during the third quarter of the

same century, when he conceivably wrote the *Historia* (Petit 1998b). By a process of elimination, the third group (the Ethiopians) must logically correspond with the 'Autochthons' in the work of Pseudo-Skylax or with the 'descendants of Kinyras' in Theopompus, i.e. the Amathusians (Petit 1998b). The end of the sentence suggests that the Cypriots themselves were diffusing these accounts and, in the case of the Ethiopians, most probably the Amathusians themselves (Petit 1995: 54; for the mythological and ideological implication of this affiliation, see Petit 1998b).

In their attempt to dispose of the Eteocypriots, Reyes and Given do not draw *all* the inferences from the epigraphic evidence. Indeed, we cannot simply consider every unintelligible text as an Eteocypriot document (Reyes 1994: 15-17; Given 1998a: 22), and surely one must stick to the texts showing similar and recurrent grammatical forms (as I tried to do: Petit 1998a: especially §66). But conversely we cannot call into question all these epigraphic documents because they are unintelligible: in fact, it is a common scientific mistake to reduce reality, in this case linguistic reality, to what we can understand at a given stage of our knowledge.

The opinions of Reyes and Given about the nature of this (or these) enigmatic language(s) are ambiguous. Are they pseudo-languages (Given seems to have given up such an opinion: see Petit 1995: 53, and n. 10)? If not, what about them? How must we consider them in relation to Greek and Phoenician? On the other hand, one can hardly deny that they are mostly characteristic of Amathus. Consequently, what relation could the inhabitants of the city have had with these texts (see Silberman 1998: 115)?

Far from being an epiphenomenon restricted to minor documents, the Amathusian language seems indeed to be the usual language of official inscriptions within the kingdom. Despite its Atticisms (Petit 1995: 62-64;

1996: 222-23), the first Amathusian bilingual inscription (Masson 1983, n. 196) shows that the city itself adopted the digraphic and bilingual form to honour its nationals officially (Masson 1983: n. 196; Petit 1998a: §66, n. VIII; for the circumstances of the discovery, see also Masson 1995b: 16-17). The recent epigraphic discoveries in the Aphrodite sanctuary confirmed the inferences we could draw from this document about the relations between Greek and Amathusian in the royal inscriptions. Two donations of the last king of Amathus, Androcles, to the deity, the 'Kypria', were discovered during the excavations in the Aphrodision. The first one is a marble base, in which an alms box was hollowed, originally supporting a statue of one of the king's sons, Orestheus (Hellmann and Hermary 1980: 262; Hermary and Masson 1982: 240); the second is a limestone base originally supporting two statues of the king's sons, Orestheus and Andragoras (Hermary and Masson 1982). Each of them bears a double inscription, both in syllabic Amathusian and in alphabetic Greek.

The three digraphic and bilingual inscriptions demonstrate that, during the 4th century BC, the Amathusian language was used in official and royal inscriptions, jointly with Greek, which was definitively to supersede the other Cypriot languages from early Hellenistic times onwards (Hellmann and Hermary 1980: 259-66 = Masson 1983: 413, n. 196d; Hermary and Masson 1982 = Masson 1983: 413, n. 196e; see Petit 1998a: §66, nos. XIII and XIV). The situation is obviously similar to the royal inscriptions of Kition, written in Phoenician (see, for instance, Yon and Szyner 1991), while the inscriptions in the other Cypriot kingdoms were traditionally written in syllabic Greek (in Paphos: Masson 1983: 103-104).

Although Given (1998a: 22) rightly points out that 'an unintelligible inscription is not *ipso facto* Eteocypriot', he does admit that

there exist, within the Amathusian texts, 'characteristic verbal patterns and inflections and perhaps proper names' (Given 1998a: 21). I would willingly endorse this statement. However, he adds, 'ten short inscriptions do not make an ethnolinguistic group' (Given 1998a: 22). I cannot help worrying about such a statement: it implicitly suggests—if I understand correctly—that once the odd and unintelligible inscriptions have been rejected, the proper Amathusian texts, though endowed with a coherent grammatical system, could be written in a non-existent language. One cannot consistently affirm the non-existence of the Amathusian language simply because there are unintelligible inscriptions which do not belong to the Amathusian corpus. The same bemusement arises from an enigmatic sentence of Reyes (1994: 17):

The Eteocypriot inscriptions may simply be a phenomenon peculiar to the circumstances of fourth-century Cyprus rather than a sign of the tenacious survival of an Eteocypriot population from the Late Bronze Age.

Needless to say, he does not explain what these circumstances might be (cf. Masson 1995a: 32; and see Petit 1995: 54, n. 17; 1998a).

As a matter of fact, by conceding to this language a coherent grammatical system, Given (1998a: 21) admits *ipso facto* that there was a language, different from both Greek and Phoenician, used by insular speakers. Whether we call it 'Eteocypriot' or any other name we want to choose is purely a matter of convention. We surely must abandon this name to characterize proper Amathusian texts. Thus, if the assumption developed elsewhere is correct and if the Amathusian language is a Hurrian dialect (Petit 1998a), it is certain that it was not the first spoken language in Cyprus, nor the first to be written. Moreover, some scholars propose to consider the different Cypro-Minoan scripts as syllabaries adapted to differ-

ent languages (Petit 1998a: §§3 and 10); in this case, at least one of them, better than Amathusian, could have a claim to bear the name 'Eteocypriot', as a language spoken before the arrival of the Hurrian-speaking peoples in the island (Petit 1998a: §3).

In these circumstances, one might contest the appropriateness of the word 'Eteocypriot' to characterize the language of these inscriptions written in the Cypriot syllabary, but we cannot contest the existence of a specific language which we might better characterize as 'Amathusian'. As Given suspects, the linguistic structure of the Amathusian language is not random, but on the contrary shows a coherent and recurrent morphology, which is related to an agglutinative language (Petit 1995: 55-60; 1998a: §18) and, more precisely in my opinion, to the Hurro-Urartian group (Petit 1998a).

### The Eteocypriot Myth and Postcolonialism

The attempt to dispel the Eteocypriot myth is of course praiseworthy and consistent with the dominant thinking of our times (about the postcolonialist influence on such works, see Silberman 1998: 114). But, as Silberman (1998: 115-16) points out, 'in its ideological distaste for an interpretation of archaeological data, [Given's attempt] seeks to discredit the data itself'. Silberman adds, therefore, 'it is not necessary to expunge the Eteocypriots from the archaeological record to contest the latter-day use to which their image was put'. Indeed, the choice of the word 'Eteocypriot' to characterize the Amathusians is ideological in and of itself; and their presence was actually called upon and used by British imperialist propaganda to neutralize Greek nationalism. For all that, the Eteocypriot-Amathusian population, as linguistically distinct, is not a '20th-century myth' (Given 1998a: 24). On the contrary, the preceding remarks clearly show that the Amathusian language has a coherent morphology, that it is

attested no later than the end of the Cypro-Archaic period, and that it was used as an official language until the 4th century BC by the kings and the city of Amathus. Thus we must conclude from this epigraphic and linguistic evidence that there did exist, in Archaic and Classical times, on the territory of the Amathusian kingdom, a distinct population speaking a peculiar dialect.

To conclude: it is not possible to declare that we have reached the 'end of the Eteocypriots' (Given 1998a: 24); at the most, we can wish for the disappearance of the word Eteocypriot from historical and archaeological writings. In this respect, Given's article is a salutary restatement which urges us to abandon the word, especially with reference to the language (Petit 1998a: §3). Nevertheless, Given has failed to refute the Amathusian reality, whose historical existence is not in doubt.

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Thierry Petit is Maître de Conférences d'histoire Ancienne in the University Jean-Monnet in Saint-Etienne (France). His research is partly concerned with the political history and administrative organization of the Achaemenid Empire (e.g. *Satrapes et satrapies dans l'empire achéménide de Cyprus le Grand à Xerxes I<sup>er</sup>* [Liège-Paris-Genève: Librairie Droz, 1990]). He is currently in charge of archaeological excavations in the Archaic and Classical palace at Amathus, on the city acropolis (mission of the French Archaeological School in Athens). He has published several historical, archaeological and linguistic studies about

the history and the 'ethnic' identity of the Amathusian population during the time of the kingdom (in *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*, *Transeuphratène*, *Revue Archéologique*, *Archiv für Orientforschung*, and elsewhere). E-mail address: tpetit@univ-st-etienne.fr

### Notes

- 1 See '“Kyprios Character”: Quelle identité chypriote? Particularismes insulaires et utopie pluri-culturelle' (Special issue of *Sources. Travaux historiques* 43-45 [1995]).
- 2 The problem of the time of the *Periplus* ascribed to Skylax is an old one (Gisinger 1927: col. 640). Numerous divergent interpretations have already been made. There nevertheless seems to be agreement on two points: (a) the earliest text, probably of Skylax himself (time of Darius I), was later altered; (b) this second text must be placed in the second half of the 4th century BC (Gisinger 1927: cols. 641-45, about the middle of the century according to Gjerstad 1948: 431, n. 3; see also Aupert 1984: 13-14; Baurain 1984: 113, and n. 42). In any case, the mention of 'Marion the Greek', in the same piece, indicates a date later than 312 BC, when the city was destroyed by Ptolemy's army and its population sent to Nea Paphos.

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