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CYPRIOTE SYLLABIC EPIGRAPHY
The Need for Critical Re-examination of the Corpus

After the initial attempts of de Luynes (1852)¹, Schmidt (1876)², and Deecke (1883/4)³, no single work has appeared which can claim to incorporate all the known and published syllabic inscriptions of Cyprus. Such a volume of Cypriote inscriptions, both alphabetic and syllabic, was proposed for the series *Inscriptiones Graecae*; to be entitled *Inscriptiones Cypri Insulae*, it was to have been collected and edited by Deecke's pupil, Richard Meister.⁴ Meister was well known at that time for his republication of the known syllabic inscriptions in his great grammatical work *GD* (1889)⁵. Because of his status and the nature of his ongoing research, Meister was entrusted with the publication of the inscriptions recently discovered in the excavations undertaken by the Berliner Staatliche Museen at the sanc-

¹ H. de Luynes, *Numismatique et inscriptions chypriotes*. Typographie Plon Frères: Paris, 1852.

² M. Schmidt, *Sammlung kyprischer Inschriften in epichorischer Schrift*. Verlag von Hermann Dufft: Jena, 1876.

³ W. Deecke, *Die griechisch-kyprischen Inschriften in epichorischer Schrift*, in H. Collitz and F. Bechtel (eds.), *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften*. Vol. 1 Göttingen, 1884. Deecke's contribution was the first chapter of the first volume of this multi-volume work. This work was released also as an independent fascicle in 1883, published by Robert Peppmüller. The next year, in 1884, it saw a second publication in the first volume of *SGDI*, published by Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht; both publications took place in Göttingen. The 1883 and 1884 publications are exactly alike, with the same pagination and page layout. Therefore, two bibliographical dates, both 1883 and 1884, can be correctly cited for this work.

⁴ See O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*. Éditions E. de Boccard: Paris. Réimpression augmentée, 1983, p. 88 (hereafter: ICS).

⁵ R. Meister, *Die griechischen Dialekte auf Grundlage von Ahrens' Werk "De Graecae linguae dialectis"*. 2. Band. Eleisch, Arkadisch, Kyprisch. Verlag Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen, 1889.

tuary site at Rantidi.⁶ This was, at that time, the single largest cache of syllabic inscriptions ever discovered, so numerous that the epigraphic offerings from this site doubled the known corpus of inscriptions in this distinct script. Meister, however, died in 1912, before completing his collection, and the proposed volume has never appeared. The loss of Meister's publication may not have been as tragic as it initially seems, for this scholar's work, however able in other dialects of Greek, is generally judged inadequate as concerns the epigraphy of the syllabic script.⁷

Twentieth century scholarship of the Cypriote syllabic writing system has been dominated by two scholars, T. B. Mitford, primarily an epigrapher, and Olivier Masson, primarily a philologist. Masson's compilation, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques*, has become the most cited single work on this subject, and syllabic inscriptions are universally identified by his numbering system. However, Masson's ICS is not a complete reproduction and discussion of all known and published inscriptions. Indeed, the author himself was forthright in informing his readers that his work intended to examine only the longest and most easily readable of the syllabic inscriptions. Masson says, "Ce recueil ne prétend pas être un Corpus: autrement dit, on a laissé volontairement de côté, soit des inscriptions trop courtes, soit des textes illisibles ou inutilisables."⁸

Mitford, on the other hand, was engaged in creating corpora from several epigraphically rich sites, most of them located in the southwest of the island. Although Mitford never attempted to create an exhaustive corpus of syllabic inscriptions, his publications, encompassing more than half of the syllabic inscriptions then known,⁹ su-

⁶ R. Meister, *Sitzungsberichte der königlichen preußischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* (1911), pp. 630–650.

⁷ There was question about certain of his readings even by his contemporaries, see J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1914, p. 525. Mitford, *Studies in the Signaries of South-Western Cyprus* (BICS Suppl. no. 10) London, 1961, p. 11 says of Meister's work on the Rantidi inscriptions, "This corpus was thereupon published by R. Meister with a speed and an inadequacy which I have found equally astonishing."

⁸ Masson, ICS, p. 89.

⁹ Mitford republished inscriptions of the Rantidi sanctuary (edited posthumously by O. Masson), *The Syllabic Inscriptions of Rantidi-Paphos*. F. G. Maier (ed.), *Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos Band 2*. Universitätsverlag Konstanz, 1983; published his own discovery of the Paphian siege mound inscriptions (edited posthumously by O. Masson), *Les inscriptions syllabiques de Kouklia-Paphos*. F. G. Maier

persede the treatment of these inscriptions by Masson. It was in large part in response to Mitford's continuing important publications that Masson issued the *Addenda Nova* to the first edition of ICS, packaged in his *Réimpression augmentée*.

The scattered and disjointed nature of the publication of syllabic inscriptions has not gone unnoticed. N. Hirschfeld has recently produced a "data base" of the syllabic inscriptions.¹⁰ Hirschfeld tells her readers that only a selected number of sources has been consulted in order to create this data base, and thus, *de facto*, Hirschfeld's work cannot claim to be an adequate corpus.¹¹ Close examination of this work reveals that it is simply a reproduction of specified categories of information extracted primarily from the works of Masson and Mitford.¹²

The imperative need, then, for a systematic study of the Cypriote syllabic script remains the creation of a corpus of inscriptions documenting the complete evidence which exists for this writing system. This project is defined as the listing, for purposes of general study not limited to philology, of all syllabic inscriptions published to date, from the first work on the subject until the present. This work, begun almost a decade and a half ago, was first presented as volume II of my dissertation.¹³ An expanded and refined version of this monograph, *The Corpus of Cypriote Syllabic Inscriptions I: The Bibliographic References (CCSI)*, is ready for publication and presents a comprehensive catalogue including, in addition to those well-known

(ed.), *Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern Band 4*. Universitätsverlag Konstanz: 1986; his corpus of the Kourion inscriptions, *The Inscriptions of Kourion*, American Philosophical Society, *Memoirs* volume 83. 1971; lastly, of course, his heroic efforts in the preservation and then reconstruction of the inscribed pottery of Kafizin, *The Nymphaeum of Kafizin*. *Kadmos Supplement II*. Walter de Gruyter: Berlin, 1980.

¹⁰ N. Hirschfeld, *The PASP Data Base for the Use of Script on Cyprus*. *Minos Supplement* no. 13. Ediciones Universidad de Salamanca, 1996.

¹¹ Hirschfeld, *PASP Data Base*, p. 11 and nt. 8.

¹² Hirschfeld's data base should be used with caution. Lack of concordances lead to false or phantom entries (Kouklia no. 237 and ICS 10a are the same inscription, listed by Hirschfeld (p. 98) as two separate entities), and errors of transmission mar the work (particularly acute, for example, in the entry on p. 76 for Kouklia no. 3).

¹³ G. B. Bazemore, *The Role of Script in Ancient Society: The Cypriote Syllabic Inscriptions*. Volume I: *Cyprus and the Greek Alphabet: A Study in Grammatology*, Volumes II-III: *A Classed Inventory of Cypriote syllabic inscribed objects and their surviving texts (ab initio) with a complete bibliographic listing for each inscription*. Unpublished Ph. D. Dissertation, University of Chicago, 1998.

inscriptions treated by Mitford and Masson, those published inscriptions treated by neither author as well as the inscriptions published subsequent to the work of these two scholars. The creation of this corpus has greatly expanded the boundaries of the evidence for this script. Simple numerical observation shows that Masson's ICS contains 633 discrete inscriptions (not including coinage), under a mixed numeral-alphabetic system ranging from 1–464; the current CCSI contains citations (lemmata) for 1,500+ inscriptions. For each citation, complete bibliographic references are given, ordered by date, from earliest to most recent. The substantial increase in the amount of evidence presented allows a far more refined geographic ordering than previously has been seen. The significant increase in the numbers of recognized inscriptions requires that a new numbering system be instituted.¹⁴

In order to create the individual listings and accompanying bibliographies for each inscription contained in CCSI, complete and accurate concordances between all published mentions of inscriptions had to be established. For the early sources, this was not an easy task to achieve. For, as I state in the introductory matter of CCSI, the latter half of the 19th century saw:

Scholars of widely varying ability, working on opposite sides of the Atlantic from different sets of squeezes, line drawings, and photographs of varying degrees of accuracy, only some of whom (unfortunately, often the less able) had access to the inscribed objects themselves, introduced significant bibliographic problems leading to the obfuscation and misidentification of both objects and source data. The footnotes [which accompany these citations in CCSI] contain detailed discussions, often quite long and complicated, on these thorny problems, some now well over a century old and hitherto unclarified. These discussions presented in the footnotes here allow the correction of long-cited, but erroneous, concordances, the identification of previously unrecognized concordances, and, in one case, the realization that an important and oft-cited inscription actually does not exist, being a phantom created from a very poor, early line drawing. The discussions contained within these footnotes, I believe, have eliminated the bibliographic problems which, until now, existed for these early, but vitally important, publications.

¹⁴ This numbering system is designed to be infinitely expandable while at the same time assigning to each inscription a unique identification number which imparts information on the spatial and numerical distribution of inscribed objects. Until the publication of CCSI, inscriptions are referred to by their familiar ICS numbers.

It is the availability of the many and repeated publications of these inscriptions which today allow these bibliographic conundrums to be solved. The late 19th century scholars of Cypriote studies whose work initially caused these problems often did not cite, and thus seem not to have had access to, contemporary or even earlier works. The work of these scholars took place, for the most part, in isolation from one another, often based entirely upon the sets of paper squeezes or plaster casts which were lodged at that time in universities and museums in Europe and America, for few photographs of the objects and their inscriptions were available at that time.¹⁵ Combining a close comparison of all available accounts with the valuable photographic evidence available today, detailed epigraphic study can now follow. It is only on the basis of clear epigraphic recognition that an inscription or account can be identified with certainty.

From the substance of almost 500 explanatory and corrective footnotes set forth in CCSI, I present here only a single example, which discusses and elucidates what has constituted one of the thornier problems in the history of Cypriote syllabic studies.

ICS 5: The Phantom Inscription

Highly inaccurate line drawings published soon after the archaeological discovery by Luigi Palma di Cesnola threw the number and bibliographic citations of the Kythréa¹⁶ (ancient Chýtroi) inscriptions into a state of confusion from the very inception of the study of this group of inscribed material. Subsequent lack of bibliographic and epigraphic rigor by scholars who had access to either the objects themselves or to the excellent published photographs provided in the Atlas plates¹⁷ have allowed this confusion to continue unchecked. This bibliographic confusion surrounding the inscriptions of Kythréa is so acute that it has led to the scholarly canonization of a phantom inscription whose existence rests merely on a bad line drawing.

¹⁵ A discussion of this material is to be found in CCSI, "Documented Collections of Squeezes and Photographs".

¹⁶ Spelling of modern Cypriote place names follows that set forth by The Cyprus Permanent Committee for the Standardization of Geographical Names, in *A Complete Gazetteer of Cyprus* Vol. I, M. Christodoulou and K. Konstantinides (1987), Republic of Cyprus: Nicosia.

¹⁷ L. Palma di Cesnola, *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art. Volumes I (1885), II (1894), and III (1903).

Hall tells us that twelve inscribed stones from Kythréa arrived in New York.¹⁸ Indeed, officially recorded in the Cesnola Collection are twelve inscriptions from Kythréa, Atlas volume III, plates CXXIV.1–11 and plate CXXV.1. Pierides was first to publish these inscriptions,¹⁹ having been given the opportunity by Cesnola to study them in Cyprus before they were shipped off to New York. Pierides' article clearly identifies ten of these twelve objects, which are easily concorded with the Atlas entries. The problems occur with Atlas CXXIV.5 and CXXV.1. The line drawing of Pierides' no. 11a presented on p. 96, although containing glaring errors in the syllabic font,²⁰ is supported by the transliteration, and can be clearly identified with the photograph Atlas CXXIV.5 (ICS 238 A). The caption set above the line drawing directs the reader to plate A-5. The conundrum lies in the fact that the line drawing depicted in plate A-5 bears no relation whatsoever with the signs and text of Pierides' no. 11a (see Plate I).

These mistakes in the identification of both the individual Cypriote characters as well as the line drawings themselves may well not have been Pierides' fault at all. For, found at the very bottom of this article is a disclaimer by S(amuel) B(irch), saying that, "The Cypriote type has been added. There being no time for revision at Cyprus by M. Pierides; he is not responsible for any error that may have been made."²¹ It must be noted however that if Pierides ever did indeed later notice these errors, it was never noted in print.

Deecke identifies all three parts of Pierides' no. 11a as his no. 14, placed firmly in his section on the inscriptions of Cythrea, Deecke

¹⁸ I. H. Hall, *The Cypriote Inscriptions of the Cesnola Collection in New York*, *Journal of the American Oriental Society* XI (1885), p. 213, s.v. nos. 13, 14.

¹⁹ D. Pierides, *Notes on Cypriote Palaeography*, *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* V (1877), pp. 88–96.

²⁰ The Society of Biblical Archaeology had a special Cypriote syllabic font cut to use in their publications (Renouf, *Proceedings for the Society of Biblical Archaeology* IX (1887), p. 49). For this reason, the depictions of the syllabic inscriptions in the text are highly normalized; the original stance and shape of signs were depicted in line drawings gathered onto the plates. There are typographical errors in the type setting of the syllabic font for no. 11a. The first sign in the syllabic font of this dextrograde inscription is wrongly presented as *te*, whereas *ta* appears both on the stone and in Pierides' reading; signs 3 and 4 have been inverted (metathesized) in the syllabic font but are presented in the correct order in the reading; the final sign *se* is read as intact, where it is almost completely missing on the stone.

²¹ Pierides, *TSBA* V (1877), p. 96, note. Hall, *JAOS* XI (1885), p. 213, s.v. no. 14 expressed the same sentiment, "Whether the mistake is Pierides's own or that of the editor of the *Journal* is uncertain."

nos. 1–16. Deecke, of course, noted this blatant discrepancy, spanning the base of Paphos and its derivative suffix, in Pierides' concordance between the syllabic font and transliteration of his inscription 11a on one hand and the line drawing in plate A-5 on the other. Deecke says "rätselhaft, da Zeichnung (i.e A-5), Text (syllabic font) und Umschreibung von einander abweichen". He goes on to note that, "Die Zeichen der Zeichnung haben grosse Ähnlichkeit mit denen von n. 41 aus Salamiu bei Paphos." Deecke then, despite his numbering system, dissociates the syllabic font and transliteration of no. 11a from the line drawing in plate A-5. Deecke interprets the sign forms seen in the line drawing of plate A-5 as not from the eastern region of Kythréa, but rather from the Paphian region, located on the other side of the island in its southwest corner. Deecke reads sinistrotgrade in his transliteration of Pierides' line drawing:

ke re | ni? i o se

Hall, in his commentary upon Deecke's work, wrestled with the same problems. Hall says that "the group of small Kythrea inscriptions found by Gen. Di Cesnola in 1876 are eleven in number . . . I have known all these inscriptions ever since their discovery, and they are the same that Pierides describes . . . this group does not include Deecke's no. 13 [Atlas CXXV.1; ICS 241], which, though from Kythrea, was found at another time."²² Hall, however, brought his own powers of observation to bear upon this problem. In his discussion for Deecke's no. 14, Hall goes much further than the careful German scholar and categorically states that "the fact is that the 'Zeichnung' in Pierides's Plate 'A-5' (sic) is altogether wrong, and represents an inscription quite different from any of these Kythrea inscriptions."²³

Hoffmann²⁴, following upon the work of Deecke and Hall, assigns Pierides' Plate A-5 to his no. 107, firmly ensconced in his list of inscriptions from Old Paphos, Hoffmann nos. 103–111. His explanation for doing so is confident, succinct, and to the point, "Die Zeichen sind paphische." Without hesitation, Hoffman goes on to analyze this reading in the context of the known Paphian inscrip-

²² Hall, JAOS XI (1885), p. 213, s.v. nos. 13, 14.

²³ Hall, JAOS XI (1885), p. 213.

²⁴ Otto Hoffmann, *Die griechischen Dialekte in ihrem historischen Zusammenhange mit den wichtigsten ihrer Quellen. 1. Band. Der süd-achäische Dialekt.* Verlag Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht: Göttingen, 1891.

tions. He says of this inscription, "Alle Zeichen sind deutlich mit Ausnahme des vierten . . . Die Deutung als *je* wird durch die übrigen paphischen Inschriften begünstigt."²⁵ Unlike Deecke, Hoffmann reads this inscription as dextrograde, and achieves the reading:

ri o i ? re se ρι ὁ ἰ(je)ρῆς [τᾱς φανάσ(σ)ας] (sic)

Following closely in the footsteps of his predecessor, Masson accepts Hoffmann's assignment of this inscription to the Paphian region. Masson, however, would like to be even more specific in his recognition of the peculiar philology of this text. Masson says, "En raison du caractère paphien des signes, Hoffmann a proposé d'attribuer la pierre à la région de Kouklia; mais comme la forme ἰ(ye)ρῆς n'est connue qu'à la Nouvelle-Paphos, on suggère ici ce classement."²⁶ Thus Masson would assign to this line drawing of Pierides the exact provenance of Nea Paphos. In his geographically ordered collection, Masson has canonized Pierides' line drawing A-5 as his own ICS 5. Masson follows without question the reading which "Hoffmann a ingénieusement retrouvé".²⁷

Masson's ICS no. 5, via Hoffmann's no. 107, Hall no. 14, and Deecke's comments under his no. 14 Zeichnung, rest on no basis but Pierides' line drawing A-5. In the intervening 130 years since the publication of this line drawing, no stone has been identified which carries the signs depicted, nor has any further information come to light in the writings of Cesnola, Hall, Hall/Gillette²⁸, Myres, and other scholars who have directly studied and discussed this group of inscriptions.

The correct identification of this inscription is especially important since Hoffmann's incomplete transliteration of this fragment has been glossed in Greek as reading . . . ρι ὁ ἰ(je)ρῆς [τᾱς φανάσ(σ)ας], i.e. a personal name ending in *-ri*, who styles himself as priest, with the leadership of the cult of the Wanassa having been assigned to him by the editors. If correctly read, then, this inscription would constitute important evidence for the cult of the goddess known to Homer as Aphrodite in her home city and cult center.

²⁵ Hoffmann, GD, p. 58.

²⁶ Masson, ICS, p. 100, s.v. no. 5, and footnote 1.

²⁷ Note however that Masson has placed rough breathings over his initial consonants, rather than Hoffmann's smooth breathings.

²⁸ The editors of the syllabic inscriptions for the Atlas, as Cesnola states in the Introduction [n.p.] to volume III.

However, there are even more problems attached to this inscription than those discussed above. Despite Hoffmann's claims that "Alle Zeichen sind deutlich", the epigraphy in Pierides' line drawing in plate A-5 is indeed quite bizarre. Two readings only have been offered for this inscription, that of Deecke and that of Hoffmann. For purposes of comparison, reading the signs in the line drawing from left to right, the two readings are:

se o i ni? | re ke Deecke

ri o i ? re se Hoffmann

Both scholars have placed their reading of these signs firmly in the cadre of the sign forms known at that time from the region of Paphos. The only modern study of this area of syllabic epigraphy is fortunately the masterful work by Mitford, *Studies in the Signaries of South-Western Cyprus*.²⁹ The perspicacious Deecke indeed did correctly recognize affinities between his no. 41 (ICS 92) and Pierides' line drawing in plate A-5. Specifically, these two inscriptions share the peculiar variant sign forms of *i* in which the upper vertical stroke is placed in a diagonal stance, and the elevated position within the line of script of the sign *o*. It is most interesting to note, however, that outside of Pierides' line drawing and the inscribed stele ICS 92, the peculiar diagonal position of the upper stroke in the sign *i*/ does not find parallels (i.e. is not seen) in other inscriptions from this area.³⁰ The elevated position of the sign *o* is unusual, but not unknown.³¹

This disagreement between Deecke and Hoffmann in the reading of the first sign of Pierides' line drawing in A-5, Deecke as *se* and

²⁹ Institute of Classical Studies, Bulletin Supplement no. 10, 1961, University of London.

³⁰ Only those sign charts directly reflecting either the forms of the line drawing of Pierides' plate A-5 (specifically Masson, ICS figure 6) or ICS 92 (specifically Mitford, Signaries, plate XXIV) show a variant form of *i* with the upper stroke set at a diagonal. All other sign charts both for the Paphian signary as well as for the rest of the island (Masson, ICS, figs. 1–5, Mitford, Signaries, plates IV, VIII, XXII, and XXV, Mitford and Masson, Rantidi, figure 3, Masson and Mitford, Kouklia, figure 1) do not include or indicate this variant form. This variant form of the sign *i* is found neither in a general study of the Paphian inscriptions, nor in the more than 50 soon to be published inscriptions recently discovered in The University of Indianapolis Rantidi Forest Excavations. This peculiar variant sign form is seen only on a single other inscription, dated by epigraphical forms to the late 4th century B.C., found in the temple of Aphrodite in Old Paphos (Kouklia no. 237; ICS 10a, line 2, sign 7). In this inscription, however, this variant sign form is read and interpreted with the phonetic value of *wi*.

³¹ ICS 8, line 2 sign 7.

Hoffmann as *ri*, is due to the confusion which developed in the Middle and Late Paphian signaries between the forms of these two signs.³² Epigraphically, it must be noted that Pierides' depiction of the long vertical body of this sign is much thicker than is usually seen for either of the sign forms *ri* or *se* (see Plate I).

The epigraphy of the second and third signs, the *o* and the *i*, have been discussed above. Deecke and Hoffmann agree in their reading of both signs. The fourth sign of this inscription finds no secure parallel in the Cypriote syllabic repertoire. Although Deecke identifies this sign as a possible or tentative *ni*, the form seen in Pierides' line drawing faces in the opposite direction and is lacking the differentiation between the horizontal stroke at the bottom and the lower of the three diagonal strokes, a differentiation which characterizes this sign form (see Plate I).

What has failed to be appropriately appreciated is the fact that Hoffmann himself cannot supply this sign with a secure phonetic value. His epigraphic perplexity is recorded in the transliteration of this sign with a simple question mark. It is Hoffmann's gloss, rather than the sign form itself, which requires that this sign be read as *ye*. The reading of this sign required by Hoffmann's reconstruction is given without epigraphic control, as the sign form drawn by Pierides bears no resemblance to the well-documented Paphian sign form for the phonetic value *ye*. When one goes looking for epigraphic parallels for the form seen in Pierides' drawing of sign 4, only a single example can be found. The phonetic value for this parallel form, or comparandum, is *ke*³³. This example does not provide an exact parallel, as it differs from Pierides' line drawing in the length of the long central diagonal stroke, which, in Pierides' drawing is notably shorter and does not extend below the body of the sign (see Plate I).

Although relatively larger than the surrounding signs, the fifth sign of Pierides' line drawing of plate A-5 is of the canonical and well known form of *re*. Deecke and Hoffmann agree on the reading of this form. Their disagreement concerning the reading of the last sign is due to the fact that the form seen in Pierides' drawing displays neither the canonical stance of *se*, nor the requisite number/length of strokes for *ke* (see Plate I).

³² Mitford, Signaries, plates XXII and XXV; speaking of ICS 92, Mitford says, "We have the grotesque . . . ambivalency of [this sign form] which does duty for both *ri* and *se*."

³³ Rantidi no. 93 with line drawing.

Provided here are line drawings which illustrate the canonical forms, i.e. those which display none of the known lapidary variations, of the readings proposed by both Deecke and Hoffmann (see Plate II). It can easily be seen that those readings do indeed vary greatly from Pierides' line drawing where Hoffmann's reconstruction and gloss find no epigraphic support. Under critical epigraphic scrutiny, the reading of this inscription, as proposed by Hoffmann and canonized by Masson as his ICS 5, does not stand.

As the sole source for this disputed inscription, the evidence for Pierides' line drawing must be re-examined. Despite the arguments of Deecke, Hoffmann, and Masson concerning the Paphian character of this inscription, it must be emphasized that Pierides, the creator of this disputed line drawing and the only written source for the origins of this inscription, states plainly that the inscribed stone from which this line drawing was taken was among those found by Cesnola at Kythréa. It is important to note further that this group of inscriptions formed a distinct and separate study by the author. For Pierides presents the Kythréa inscriptions in the third of three sections in this work on Cypriote palaeography. The first section was sent to Pierides in Cyprus for proof in Jan. 1876.³⁴ The second section is described as new inscriptions, and appears, from the structure of the paper and the placement of Pierides' remarks, to have been added at the time of Pierides' revision of the first section. Pierides says of section III, "Soon after the departure of the fortnightly mail which carried my last paper (i.e. sections I and II), General di Cesnola has the kindness to place in my hand several small fragments . . . inscribed with Cypriote characters, and lately discovered by his workmen near Kythrea."³⁵ Pierides dates this supplement to May, 1876, and the publication of all three sections in a single article occurred the following year. The fact that the disputed line drawing presented as Masson's ICS 5 was part of a discrete group of material, both studied and presented separately, has gone unnoticed by those scholars who have commented upon this inscription.

It is obvious, and clearly established since Deecke, that Pierides' line drawing A-5 should be recognized as a separate inscription. The confusion had resulted from the fact that the layout of the original article had failed to give the reference to plate A-5 a separate designation, so that this line drawing, with lack of other information,

³⁴ Pierides, TSBA V (1877), p. 89.

³⁵ Pierides, TSBA V (1877), p. 93.

was concorded to inscription no. 11 a. This layout was effected either by Pierides in his original submission or by Birch in editing and placement of the Cypriote type. Since epigraphic analysis allows the line drawing in plate A-5 to be considered independently of no. 11a, Pierides gives us twelve inscriptions found by Cesnola from Kythréa. Hall/Gillette, in the Atlas of the Cesnola Collection, publish twelve inscriptions from Kythréa. With one exception only, plate CXXV.1, the inscriptions documented in the Atlas can be matched with the inscriptions published by Pierides in his section III. This having been said, it becomes immediately apparent that Pierides' line drawing A-5 should be compared with Atlas CXXV.1.

The stone depicted in the plate Atlas CXXV.1 has a long inscribed face which is chipped in places and the signs, especially to the right, are so worn as to be unreadable (see Plate II). The Atlas gives as a concordance for plate CXXV.1, Cesnola, Cyprus, plate 8, no. 57. Cesnola's line drawing is a tolerable reproduction. However, it must be remembered that Cesnola discovered the inscribed objects of his collection and made many, if not all, of his line drawings before the inscriptions could be read,³⁶ and thus with no control or real idea of what the signs were supposed to look like. Cesnola's line drawing represents the two signs on the left in a highly normalized stance, with a commendable attempt to render the remaining traces on the stone. Relative sign spacing is also normalized in Cesnola's line drawing (see Plate III).

When compared directly, the line drawing of Cesnola and that of Pierides seem to bear little resemblance. It is also difficult to reconcile Pierides' line drawing with the Atlas plate. However, Atlas plate CXXV.1 and Pierides' line drawing A-5 share a singular epigraphical peculiarity: the stance and relative position of the upper diagonal lines in a sign on the left side of the stone, that sign in Pierides' line drawing which was interpreted both by Deecke and Hoffmann as *i* (see Plate III). If Pierides' line drawing is correct, and this is to be read as *i*, the rarity of this epigraphic variant form has been discussed above, and the two known examples displaying comparable sign forms have been cited. If, however, following Cesnola's line drawing, this sign is to be supplied with a further diagonal stroke at the top, it is to be read as *ke*. Although Cesnola has normalized this form in his line drawing, the Atlas plate clearly shows that the three parallel diagonal strokes on the left side of the sign are peculiar in

³⁶ As Hall, JAOS XI (1885), p. 218, s.v. no. 55 tells us.

relative position and length. For the lower two strokes are positioned relatively quite close to one another, while the upper stroke is positioned relatively far away. Furthermore, the central of the three parallel diagonals is noticeably longer than its lower counterpart. Whether read as *i* or as *ke*, both the stance and relative length of these parallel lines are aberrant, or uncharacteristic. And it is exactly this peculiar variation in sign form, specifically both in the stroke stance as well as in its relative position and length, found at relatively the same position within the inscription, which Atlas plate CXXV.1 and Pierides' line drawing in plate A-5 strikingly share.

What accounts for the aberrations seen between Pierides' line drawing and both the Atlas plate and Cesnola's line drawing, plate 8 no. 57? Reading the signs in Pierides' line drawing from left to right, these aberrations are (see Plate III):

Sign 1: Cesnola's line drawing and the Atlas plate both clearly depict the sign *a*; Pierides' line drawing depicts the upper part of the sign accurately, while showing the lower part of the sign as an unusually thick vertical stroke.

Sign 2: Pierides' sign two neither appears in the line drawing of Cesnola nor can be seen in the Atlas plate. While Cesnola's line drawing normalizes the relative position of the signs to one another, it can be seen in the Atlas plate that there does exist a space larger than normal between the first two discernible signs. The spacing between the first two signs in the Atlas plate fits well with the spacing of the first three signs of Pierides' line drawing. As noted above, the face of the stone in this area is not smooth, but is scratched and uneven.

Sign 3: It is the striking similarities in the peculiarities of this sign form depicted in Pierides' line drawing and that seen in the Atlas plate which argue strongly for the identification of Pierides' line drawing with this stone.

Sign 4: Cesnola's line drawing follows generally what can be seen in the Atlas plate; the upper part of the sign consists of a pair of diagonal lines intersecting at the bottom. Cesnola's line drawing reflects the traces which are seen in the Atlas plate of an opposing pair of diagonal lines, i.e. intersecting at the top, forming the bottom part of the sign. The upper vertical stroke depicted so boldly in Cesnola's line drawing is not seen in the Atlas plate. Two of the strokes seen in Pierides' line drawing mirror Cesnola's line drawing and the Atlas plate. The other two strokes of the four-stroke sign in Pierides' line drawing, however, are seen in neither of the two other sources. The relative spacing between signs three and four in Pierides' drawing,

too, is problematic. The additional strokes as well as the relative spacing between the signs in Pierides' line drawing leads the epigrapher to speculate that Pierides may have incorporated strokes from sign three in his interpretation of sign four.

Punct: In the Cypriote syllabic writing system, a vertical or circular incision between signs is used to indicate phrase, and less often word, division. Between signs 4 and 5, Pierides indicates a lowered vertical stroke, while Cesnola has a slightly raised circular mark. Indeed, a circular incision is seen at this point on the Atlas plate.

Sign 5: Cesnola shows a large, clear sign consisting of two diagonal strokes intersecting at the top; indeed happily that is what is also seen in the Atlas plate as well as in Pierides' line drawing. Pierides adds a second set of diagonal strokes, also intersecting at the top, below the first. While there appears no trace of such strokes in the Atlas plate below the sign, there are, interestingly enough, traces of similarly positioned strokes above.

Sign 6: Cesnola wisely just indicated scratches on the stone at this point. The plate in the Atlas is unclear and vague in this area, but traces or debris of a sign do still remain. It is difficult to reconcile the strokes seen in the Atlas plate with the sign drawn by Pierides, but it is not to be presumed that all strokes can be distinctly seen in this photograph. What is interesting to note in the Atlas plate is the relative spacing between the traces of signs five and six, with the last sign placed far to the right of its predecessor (precursor). Although Pierides' depiction of this sign is far more detailed and clear than the traces seen on the stone, the relative spacing between the last two signs has been correctly depicted by Pierides in his line drawing A-5 (see Plate II).

No epigraphic discussions were presented by Hall when he denied the association between Pierides' line drawing and the inscription on this stone. These remarks are made during the course of Hall's commentary upon Deecke's discussion of the inscription pictured in Atlas CXXV.1, to which Deecke assigns his no. 13, and of Pierides' no. 11a, to which Deecke assigns his no. 14. Hall says, seemingly authoritatively, that, "the group of small Kythrea inscriptions found by Gen. Di Cesnola in 1876 are eleven in number . . . I have known these inscriptions ever since their discovery, and they are the same that Pierides describes . . . this group does not include Deecke's No. 13, which, though from Kythrea, was found at another time."³⁷

³⁷ Hall, JAOS XI (1885), p. 213, s.v. nos. 13-14.

Hall provides here a valuable piece of information which, to my knowledge, is recorded nowhere else, when he tells us that this stone, discussed by Deecke as no. 13 and depicted in the Atlas plate CXXV.1, although from Kythréa, was found at another time. This information could have come from no one but Cesnola himself. It must be remembered that Hall and Cesnola had the closest of collegial relationships, not only having worked together in Cyprus, but also holding the positions of Curator and Director, respectively, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, both overseeing the installation of the Cesnola Collection there.

Hall's bit of information may explain the origin of the confusion in Pierides' article. Rather than being left out of the article, as Hall would contend, if Pierides had received the stone published as Deecke no. 13, Atlas plate CXXV.1, at a time later than the other inscriptions from Kythréa, he subsequently had less time to study and document this inscribed object. Indeed, the documentation for this inscription appears simply as a line drawing with no associated commentary or identificatory remarks. It seems highly likely that this line drawing was shoved in Pierides' article at the last moment simply as documentation of a newly found inscription.³⁸ If this inscription was disambiguated in any way in Pierides' original submission, the distinction was lost in Birch's revision.

Two questions yet remain to be addressed: the reason why Hall, working from the stone itself, did not recognize Pierides' line drawing; and why this line drawing is so very bad. Although Hall had the advantage of having the original inscribed objects under his eyes for years, indeed, as has been seen, many since their very discovery in Cyprus, unfortunately he was one of the less able scholars of Cypriote syllabic studies. The discussions associated with the bibliographies in CCSI illustrate repeatedly Hall's lack of authority when dealing with these inscriptions. The most telling example, however, of the general rejection of Hall's scholarship is shown by the fact that his readings and translations of the syllabic inscriptions, revised after his death by Gillette, which appeared in the last volume of the Atlas, were superseded and forgotten only a decade after their appearance in print.³⁹

³⁸ As he was wont to do; for Pierides, TSBA V (1877), p. 90, states for his section II, "Few and short are the new inscriptions . . . but as the subject continues to attract attention, I may be excused for offering another meagre instalment."

³⁹ The last volume of the Atlas containing Hall's work on the syllabic inscriptions appeared posthumously in 1903. J. L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection* was published by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1914. In this official

When comparing Pierides' plate A-5 with the Atlas plate CXXV.1 it has been seen that Pierides ignores or condenses lines whose incision on the stone is shallow, while reading or emphasizing scratches or areas where the stone has been chipped away. This misinterpretation is quite consistent with someone reading an inscription from a squeeze, rather than from the stone itself. If Pierides received this stone from Cesnola only a short time before the submission of his paper, he may well have had time to study the object only hurriedly. If the stone were to be immediately taken away by Cesnola, it is quite likely that Pierides made a paper squeeze or plaster cast. Pierides himself tells us that making and working from paper squeezes is a regular habit in his scholarship.⁴⁰

Indeed, the possibility does exist that Pierides may have been working from a squeeze other than his own. It is Hall who cites a series of squeezes of the Kythréa inscriptions made by Cesnola, "I had from Gen. Di Cesnola squeezes of this whole lot of Kythrea inscriptions, made at the time of their discovery, and given to me at the same time that Pierides saw them."⁴¹ Could Cesnola have provided Pierides a squeeze of this inscription, made in haste before the objects were shipped out of Cyprus? This suggestion does find support both in Hall's statement that this stone was found at some time after the others from this site as well as in the absence of any description accompanying Pierides' plate. Thus Pierides' line drawing found in plate A-5 could have been taken from a squeeze alone, with no control from the object itself. Such a scenario, quite plausible in my opinion, would go far to explain the ambiguity inherent in Pierides' line drawing seen in Plate A-5. It is unfortunate that, other than this brief mention, Hall does not discuss further these squeezes of the Kythréa inscriptions made by Cesnola. In the context of this discussion, it would be informative to compare the squeeze of this inscription made by Cesnola and in Hall's possession (if still indeed extant) with the line drawing of Pierides.

A badly or hastily made paper squeeze, coupled with either insufficient time for proper analysis of the sign forms on the stone or a complete lack of the study of the stone itself, could well account for

review of the Cesnola Collection, Myres (p. 525) does not even acknowledge Hall's readings, rejecting them entirely in favor of those of R. Meister, corrected at times, it seems, by his own interpretations.

⁴⁰ Pierides, *TSBA* V (1877), s.v., for example, p. 92 no. 6.

⁴¹ Hall, *JAOS* XI (1885), p. 212, s.v. no. 8.

the discrepancies between Pierides' line drawing and what can be discerned in the Atlas plates. In accounting for the additional strokes which Pierides supplies to signs, as well as his otherwise undocumented second sign, it must be remembered that, working from a squeeze only, fortuitous scratches are sometimes difficult to distinguish from shallowly incised signs. An instructive example of the type of aberrant readings reached by relying solely upon squeezes is Meister's reading of the Rantidi inscriptions, corrected by Mitford in his volume on this site. However, the possibility that Pierides' line drawing may record traces of palimpsest on this stone cannot be overlooked. The wide space seen on the stone between the first two and the last two signs may have been caused by the avoidance of the debris of incomplete rasura. As the entries in the CCSI document, rasura and palimpsest is more common among the Cypriote syllabic inscriptions than previous discussions have recognized.

Pierides' plate A-5, then, represents not an otherwise undocumented and unreported inscription from Paphos made by the Priest of the Wanassa, but is rather a very bad line drawing, seemingly made from an inadequate squeeze, of the well-known inscription from Kythréa, ICS 241.

As these discussions have shown, ICS 241 has been treated as an inscription separate from that depicted in Pierides' line drawing A-5, and has received its own discrete set of readings and epigraphic interpretation. As ICS 241, this inscription has been read as:

?...ko i? ke a...?	Deecke no. 13, reading sinistrogade
se ka te ke a	Hall s.v. no 13, reading sinistrogade and transliterating as
	ς κα' θήκε
se ka te ke a	Hoffmann no. 64, (following Hall) reading sinistrogade
o ne te ke a	Meister/Myres, no. 1842, ⁴² reading sinistrogade and transliterating as
	.] ἀνέθηκε Ἀ[φροδίται
ro? to? sa ke a	Masson's reading inverted for comparison
a ke sa to? ro?	Masson, ICS 241, reading dextrogade and transliterating as
	Ἀκεσά(ν)δρω

⁴² Myres, Handbook of the Cesnola Collection, New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art. 1914, p. 528, no. 1842; on p. 525, Myres informs his readers that throughout, with few exceptions, the recently made transliterations and translations of R. Meister had been used.

Epigraphically, taking into consideration all available evidence, the best suggested reading is, from left to right, or dextrograde:

a ke i? | re?/ko? ?

Sign 1: The reading of *a* is clear in both the stone and Cesnola's line drawing, 8.57.

Sign 2: Although the lower left part of the long diagonal stroke (slanting down to the left) is not seen in the Atlas plate, the reading of *ke* is confirmed by Cesnola's line drawing

Sign 3: The unusually high placement of the visible strokes, coupled with the fact that worn strokes both discernable on the stone as well as recorded by Cesnola are seen to intersect these more visible lines, argue for this as an incomplete sign rather than a *sa* placed over *rasura* debris. If one places faith in Cesnola's line drawing, this sign may be tentatively read as an *i*.

Punct: There does seem to be a punct visible at this point, recorded in the line drawings of both Pierides and Cesnola. The placement of a punct at this point would argue conclusively against Masson's interpretation of this inscription as a single word.

Sign 4: A single set of diagonals intersecting at the top is clearly seen on the stone and is documented in Cesnola's line drawing. If these strokes alone constituted the sign then it would be read as *ko*. However, the presence of a second set of diagonals, admittedly quite worn, is suggested on the stone and recorded in Pierides' line drawing; this would make the reading of this sign *re*.

Sign 5: Too worn to make any certain guess, but the shadows in the plate do suggest a *ro*, a shape not inconsistent with Pierides' more confident depiction of this sign.

Conclusions

This has been but a single example of the many bibliographic conundrums attending the study of the Cypriote syllabic inscriptions addressed by the first volume of the *Corpus of Cypriote Syllabic Inscriptions*. This discussion is offered as an instructive example of the kind of ambiguity which at this time is rampant within study of the syllabic inscriptions of Cyprus. It is not only a fact that the bibliographic references have been, until now, all too often in a state of chaos. On this matter, it is hoped that the numerous commentaries, like this one, contained in the CCSI go a long way towards clari-

fying these thorny, but ultimately solvable, problems of reference which have so far weakened previous studies of this script.

There is rather a far more grievous problem which one hopes that the current study reveals. This problem is endemic, embedded deeply in studies of the syllabic epigraphic repertory. As seen both for the line drawing of Pierides' plate A-5, canonized as ICS 5, as well as for the stone depicted in the Atlas plate CXXV.1, canonized as ICS 241, specifically:

A single difficult, problematic, or insecure interpretation of an inscription whose reading is disputed among scholars has been canonized as secure in the modern literature.

Masson's ICS is still the primary 20th century source for these inscriptions. Masson too often does not qualify his readings by stating the fact that they are disputed and by no means receive general agreement, nor does Masson supply critical epigraphic apparatus to justify his variant readings. Upon close epigraphic scrutiny, it has been seen that, in both examples under discussion, Masson's readings are seriously compromised. Scholars not specializing in the complexities of Cypriote syllabic epigraphy cannot easily discern these problems, and these non-specialists and more general scholars accept, discuss, pass on, and thus perpetuate these flawed or illusory readings, as well as any historical, philological, and other scholarly interpretations which might be drawn from them. It is emphasized that the present commentary offers simply two examples of a phenomenon all too commonly found among studies of the syllabic inscriptions of Cyprus.

The present discussion has attempted to highlight the need for critical epigraphic reexamination of a significant part of the documented corpus of syllabic inscriptions. It is hoped that these examples will serve, until a more definitive publication of these inscriptions can appear, as a cautionary example to scholars against their reliance upon and uncritical acceptance of the most recently published readings, and interpretive extrapolations. Furthermore, this paper should also serve as a reminder to epigraphers that the very detail that good squeezes reveal, without the control of the inscribed object itself, also can lead to sometimes gross misreadings and inaccuracies.

Plate I

ta - se - pa - pi - a - se

Tâs Παφίας.

Pierides, TSBA V (1877), p. 96 entry for no. 11 a

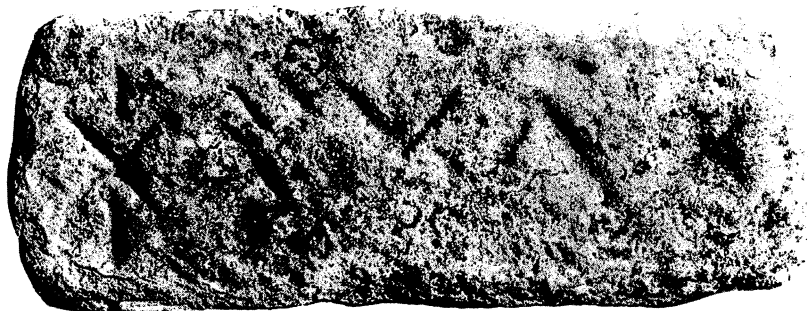
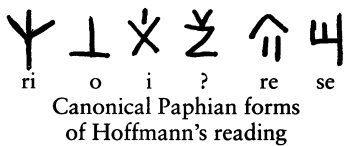
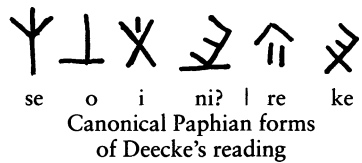
Correction of the syllabic font for Pierides, TSBA, p. 96 no. 11 a



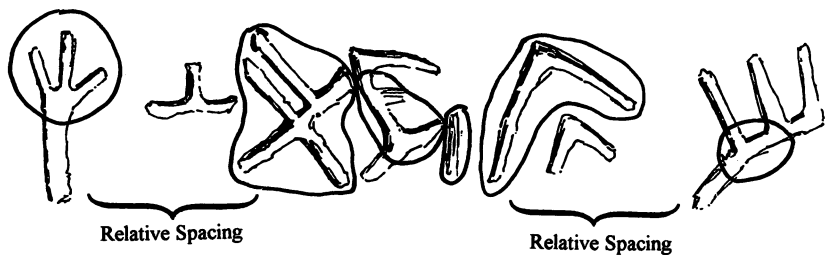
Pierides, TSBA V (1877), line drawing in plate A-5

 se ri Middle Paphian	 se ri Late Paphian	 se ri Common Forms
 ni Common & Paphian	 ye ke Middle & Late Paphian	 ke Rantidi no. 93
		 se ke Canonical Forms

Plate II

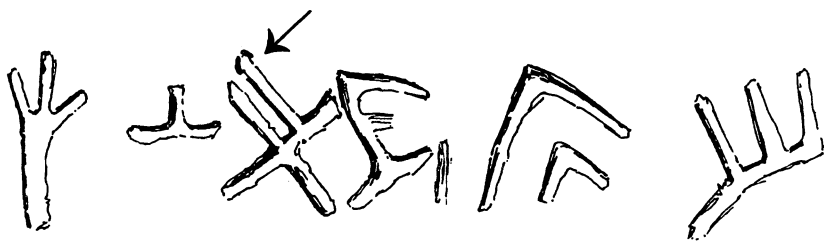


Atlas III, plate CXXV.1



Strokes of Pierides' line drawing which are consistent with the evidence of the Atlas plate and Cesnola's line drawing

Plate III



Cesnola, Cyprus, plate 8, no. 57

Comparison of Atlas CXXV.1 with Pierides' and Cesnola's line drawings