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Edited by

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and Athenians in c. 472 (Thuc. 1.98) in which HERMOLYCUS, the bravest Athenian fighter at the Battle of MYCALE in 479, died; he was buried at GERAESTUS (Hdt. 9.105; Wallace 1974, 44). This is one of a handful of events which took place after the PERSIAN WARS mentioned by Herodotus in Book 9.

SEE ALSO: Athens; Delian League

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Wallace, M. B. 1974. "Herodotos and Euboa." *Phoenix* 28.1: 22–44.

CYRUS (I) (Κῦρος, ὁ; OP *Kuruš*)

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Cyrus I was the son of TEISPES, ruler of Anshan (in modern-day southern Iran), father of CAMBYSES (I) and grandfather of CYRUS (II), the last of whom became the first king of PERSIA. That lineage is given on the "Cyrus Cylinder" from BABYLON, dating to the 530s BCE (Kuhrt 2007, 70–74, §21). A cylinder seal with an Elamite inscription, probably dating to the late seventh/early sixth century, is believed to belong to Cyrus I (PFS 93*; see Kuhrt 2007, 53–55 and Garrison 2011).

Herodotus names Cyrus I only once, as a patronymic for Cambyses I (1.111.5). When DARIUS I secured the Persian throne in 522 BCE, he connected himself with his predecessors by emphasizing his supposed descent from Achaemenes, the father of Teispes (DB §2–3). This created the potential for confusion, as seen when Herodotus has XERXES list his GENEALOGY on the eve of his invasion of Greece (7.11.2). The former identification of Cyrus I with Kurash, king of Parsumash, mentioned in Assyrian records from the reign of Ashurbanipal, is now considered incorrect (Miroschedji 1985).

SEE ALSO: Achaemenids; Bisitun

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CYRUS (II) (Gk. Κῦρος, ὁ; OP *Kuruš*; Akkad. *Kuraš*)

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Founder of the Persian Empire, also known to the Greeks as Cyrus the Elder. Babylonian administrative documents set the end of his reign (and the succession of his son, CAMBYSES (II)) in late 530 BCE (McEwan 1984, 2, no. 123). According to Greek and (derivative) Latin sources, his rule lasted for twenty-nine or thirty years, he lived for seventy years, and he succeeded to the throne at the age of forty (Hdt. 1.214.3; Dinon *FGrHist* 690 F10 (Cic. *Div.* 1.46); cf. Just. *Epit.* 1.8.14).

Contemporary historical evidence about Cyrus derives from Babylonian accounts. The origins of Cyrus, his achievements as the founder of the Persian Empire, and the circumstances of his DEATH form the central topic of the first book of Herodotus' *Histories*, as well as XENOPHON's historical novel *Cyropaedia*. A considerably divergent account of Cyrus' life story was given in the now fragmentarily preserved Books 7–11 of the *PERSICA* of CTESIAS (*FGrHist* 688 and Nicolaus of Damascus, *FGrHist* 90; Lenfant 2004). This testimony is supplemented by other classical and biblical references. (For comprehensive discussions of the relevant cuneiform, Greek, and biblical evidence, see Briant 2002, 31–49 and Kuhrt 2007, 47–103). The program of royal construction that Cyrus inaugurated at PASARGADAE marks the beginnings of ACHAEMENID monumental architecture and ART (Stronach 1978).

THE ORIGINS OF CYRUS

Cyrus' family and ancestry were subject to varied reports in antiquity. In the Akkadian inscription preserved on the so-called Cyrus Cylinder discovered in BABYLON and composed after the Persian conquest of this city in 539 BCE (transliteration, Schaudig 2001, 551–54; English translation, Finkel 2013), Cyrus introduces himself as a son of CAMBYSES (I), grandson of CYRUS (I), and descendant of TEISPES. He is simultaneously made to indicate that he and his forebears were (great) kings of the venerable (but Elamite) city of Anshan (Schaudig 2001, 550–56, lines 12 and 21). Three kinds of laconic trilingual (Old Persian, Elamite, Akkadian) texts in Cyrus' name, carved on smooth faces of doorways and antae and on doorway reliefs of palatial structures at Cyrus' capital, Pasargadae, identify Cyrus as an "Achaemenid" (Kent 1953: CMa, CMb, CMc; illustrated in Stronach 1978, pls. 70, 71, 80, 81, 83). Herodotus knew Cyrus as a son of Cambyses and a grandson of Cyrus (1.107, 111.5). Both he (1.107; cf. Just. *Epit.* 1.4–5) and Xenophon (*Cyr.* 1.2.1) portray Cyrus as an offspring of Cambyses and MANDANE, the daughter of the last Median king, ASTYAGES; but whereas Herodotus describes Cambyses as a Persian "of good family" though "much inferior to a Mede of even middle condition," Xenophon refers to him as a "king of the Persians." According to Ctesias (*FGrHist* 90 F66(3)), Cyrus was the son of indigent parents, the bandit Atradatae and the goatherdess Argoste of the MARDIANS (a nomadic Persian tribe: Hdt. 1.125.4), who was adopted at the Median court and rose eventually to the position of Astyages' personal cupbearer.

The representations of Cyrus as a ruler of Anshan and as an Achaemenid, respectively, in official INSCRIPTIONS from Mesopotamia and Iran are no longer considered to provide factual complementary evidence about the native realities of the Teispid line. The Pasargadae texts identifying Cyrus as an Achaemenid are commonly perceived today—together with the account of the common Achaemenid lineage of Cyrus and Darius' families in the BISITUN inscription—as part of the propaganda of legitimation launched by DARIUS I upon his accession to the throne. Cyrus' Anshanite dynastic affiliation has been

re-interpreted as implying an assumed Elamite heritage (Miroschedji 1985, 299) or actual ethno-cultural affinity for Cyrus' royal line (e.g., Potts 2005, 17–23). Alternatively, since it is incontrovertibly attested so far only in Babylonian documents dating from the reign of Cyrus and later (for a listing of the relevant texts, see Waters 2004, 93–94), the claim of Cyrus' royal family association with Anshan might be more appropriately linked in these Babylonian instances with the imperative for legitimating his newly acquired political authority in the Mesopotamian sphere (Zournatzi 2017–18). Analyses of the Cylinder text stress the overall aim of this document to portray Cyrus as a normative Mesopotamian monarch (e.g., Kuhrt 1983).

The divergent Greek representations of Cyrus as a half-Median or a Mardian offspring were held for a time to offer reflections of popular re-workings of this ruler's family history among the empire's subjects informed by different nationalist agendas (e.g., Briant 1984, 75). The account of Cyrus' birth to a royal Median mother is inextricably linked, however, by Herodotus (1.107–30) with the emergence of the Persians from political obscurity to heirs of the former Assyrian imperial realm, and was most likely integral to a Persian imperial tradition that posited a Persian inheritance of the Assyrian legacy through the MEDES (Zournatzi 2013). The story of Cyrus' Mardian, hence socially inferior, descent recounted by Ctesias echoes a motif that was popular in the Mesopotamian tradition and was meant to convey a ruler's predestination for greatness despite humble origins (*FGrHist* 90 F66; Drews 1974). Considering Ctesias' service as a physician at the court of Artaxerxes II (r. 404–358) and the reported reliance of his *Persica* upon official Persian sources, his version of Cyrus' lowly origins might reflect, simultaneously, a tradition promoted by Artaxerxes' entourage following this ruler's struggle with his brother, Cyrus the Younger, and one which aimed to tarnish the very name of Cyrus.

MILITARY CAMPAIGNS

Book 1 of the *Histories* focuses on Cyrus and the Persians' overthrow of the Medes, the Lydians, and the Babylonians (the three major powers in

western Asia following the collapse of the Assyrian Empire), the operations of Cyrus' generals against the substantially Greek-inhabited coastal districts of Asia Minor, and Cyrus' fatal campaign against the Central Asiatic MASSAGETAE. The narrative begins with Cyrus' conquest of the Lydian kingdom of CROESUS: following an inconclusive confrontation between the Persians and Lydians at Cappadocian PTERIA, the Persians conduct a surprise winter march against Croesus' capital; the defeat of the Lydians on the plain of SARDIS leads to the capture of the city after a SIEGE that lasted only fourteen days (1.76–84). Treated after the Lydian campaign, but actually predating it (see 1.46.1, 130.1), Persian accession to the Median hegemony was largely enabled, according to Herodotus, by a REBELLION of the Medes against the last Median king Astyages, covertly orchestrated by the disaffected Median general HARPAGUS (1.107–130.1). Hostile operations against the coastal districts of Asia Minor by Cyrus' generals, and most prominently by Harpagus, are linked in Herodotus' account with a later reassertion of Persian control over Asia Minor. They are justified in part as a retaliation for these districts' support of the abortive rebellion of the Lydian PACTYES, whom Cyrus had appointed keeper of the Lydian treasures following the capture of Sardis (see 1.141–70 (IONIANS and AEOLIANS) and 1.171–76 (CARIA, CAUNIANS, LYCIA)). These punitive operations are portrayed as synchronous with Cyrus' own endeavors to subdue all the peoples (πᾶν ἔθνος) east of the river HALYS (1.177). The Persian ruler's designs (1.153.4) to campaign against Babylon, the BACTRIANS, the Egyptians, and the SACAE following the defeat of Croesus are only partially elaborated. Herodotus highlights Cyrus' march to Babylon, across the Diyala and past OPIS on the TIGRIS, his defeat of the Babylonians outside their city, and the capture of Babylon by diverting the waters of the EUPHRATES (1.188–91). There is no description of Cyrus' operations against EGYPT (eventually conquered by his son Cambyses) and Bactria. The same appears to be the case with the Sacae—unless one supposes that the campaign against the Massagetae was also counted as an operation against the Sacae. Cyrus' interactions with the Massagetae are extensively accounted for in the *Histories* (1.201–14) and set

the maximal extent of Persian advance in the northeast by the end of Cyrus' reign in 530 to the river ARAXES (here the Oxus or the Jaxartes).

A matching emphasis on Cyrus' overthrow of the rule of the Medes and Babylonians, and arguably also that of the Lydians, is attested in Babylonian documents contemporary with Cyrus' rise to power. In the preserved portion of the Chronicle of Nabonidus, recording events that took place during the seventeen-year reign (556/5–539) of the last Neo-Babylonian king, the earliest reference to Cyrus' expansionist activities is datable in or before the sixth year of Nabonidus, or between 553 and 549. It notes the advance of Astyages against Cyrus "for conquest" and the betrayal and delivery of the Median king to Cyrus by disaffected Median troops (details that are in harmony with Herodotus' version), as well as Cyrus' march against Median ECBATANA and the transfer of its precious booty to Anshan (Grayson 1975, 106, col. ii 1–4; cf. the Sippar Cylinder inscription, dating the conflict, or perhaps only its beginning (?), to the third regnal year of Nabonidus (553), but ascribing to Cyrus the initiative for the attack; see Schaudig 2001, 415–40, col. i 27–29). The entry for the last year of Nabonidus (539/8) records the Persian takeover of Babylon following a victorious battle of Cyrus against "the army of Akkad" at Opis on the bank of the Tigris (cf. Hdt. 1.189), and supplies an exact date for Cyrus' triumphant entry into the city of Babylon (29 October 539 BCE; Grayson 1975, 109 f., col. iii 12–23). Sidney Smith's (1924) long-accepted interpretation of another victorious expedition, mentioned under the ninth year of Nabonidus (547/6), as Cyrus' Lydian campaign was rigorously questioned, initially by Cargill (1977). The Chronicle states that Cyrus mustered his troops, crossed the Tigris below Arbela, and marched against a land, killing its king, seizing its possessions, and establishing a Persian garrison locally (Grayson 1975, 107, col. ii 15–17). The direction of the march could fit a destination in Asia Minor. Although the name of the land attacked by Cyrus cannot be determined conclusively, collations of the text since 2010 tend to support Smith's recognition of the first sign of the name as a LU against contrary readings. "Lydia" remains a viable restoration (Van der Spek 2014, 256 n. 184).

The broader positive attention to Cyrus' victorious military undertakings in the extant copy of the Nabonidus Chronicle has been attributed to an extensive editing of this document's original contents by Cyrus' entourage shortly after the fall of Babylon. If the conquest of LYDIA preceded the occupation of Babylon, as Herodotus (1.53.4) indicates, this CONQUEST of major importance to the Persians may be reasonably expected to have been mentioned in the revised edition (Zawadzki 2010), if not under 547/6, then in one of the no longer preserved entries for 545–540. In this line of thought, the outline of Cyrus' major feats of conquest (Media, Lydia, Babylonia) related by Herodotus could be traced to widely acknowledged facts first codified in the reign, and by the circle, of Cyrus. The details and tenor of the more extensive treatment of these three conquests in the *Histories* point, nonetheless, to a combination of different traditions. By the time of the composition of Herodotus' work—a century after Cyrus—the information available to the Greek historian about the Lydian and Median campaigns had apparently crystallized into larger narratives. These narratives ostensibly dealt with the local histories of the Lydians and the Medes down to the Persian conquest, but actually accounted, with a perceptible pro-Persian slant, for the Persians' legitimate accession to the rule, respectively, of the territories of Lower and Upper Asia (the two mental components of PERSIA's Asiatic realm on either side of the Halys: Zournatzi 2013). The information transmitted by Herodotus about the conquest of Babylon preserves, in contrast, traces of a native Babylonian tradition characterized by an anti-Persian sentiment (Kratz 2002, 151–53; cf. Xen. *Cyr.* 7.5.7–32.58).

Outside Asia Minor, Media, and Babylonia, and the campaign against the Massagetae, Cyrus' expansionist activities are sparsely documented. According to the text of the Cylinder (lines 28–30), he received TRIBUTE in Babylon from “all kings who sit on thrones ... from the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea” (i.e., from the MEDITERRANEAN coast to the Persian Gulf), including kings “who live in tents” (chiefs of northern Arabian tribes (?), cf. *skēnitai* in Strabo 2.5.32/C130). Whether or not Babylon's extensive holdings from the Euphrates to southern Palestine all passed into Persian hands as a result of Cyrus' conquest of the Babylonian

heartland remains a moot point, however. Persian involvement in southeastern Mediterranean affairs before the attack on Babylon is implied by Xenophon's references to Cyrus' subjugation of the ARABIANS “on his way to Babylon” (*Cyrop.* 7.4.16), and to the voluntary participation of the kings of CYPRUS in Cyrus' Babylonian campaign (*Cyr.* 8.6.8).

It is possible that the entire Elamite domain—a part of the Achaemenid Empire by the beginning of the reign of Darius I (DB §6)—came under Persian sway before the march against Babylon, but the date of the annexation of Susiana is uncertain. The progress of Cyrus' eastward expansion remains impossible to chart. The submission of HYRCANIA (southeast of the CASPIAN SEA) is linked by Xenophon (*Cyr.* 1.1.4) with that of Media and set before the conquest of Lydia and Babylon (*contra* Ctesias, *Pers.* paragr. 9). Bactria is featured in Herodotus among the target areas of Cyrus' campaigns in the wake of the conquest of Sardis (however, before or after the conquest of Babylon?). As summarized by Photius, Ctesias' account could imply that Bactria submitted after the defeat of Astyages and before the Lydian campaign (*FGrHist* 688 F9.2). PARTHIA, Carmania, Drangiana, Aria, Arachosia, (Asiatic) SCYTHIANS, and Gandhara, all of them included, like Hyrcania and Bactria, among Persia's holdings by the early years of the reign of Darius I (DB §6), were perhaps all annexed in the reign of Cyrus, but the moment of their annexation is unknown (cf. Briant 2002, 38–40). Testimony about specific activities of Cyrus in these eastern areas is mainly available in the form of passing remarks in later authors (e.g., Arr. *Anab.* 6.24.3, 3.27.4; Diod. Sic. 17.81.1; Plin. *HN* 6.92). Uncertainties about the progress of Cyrus' conquests in the east are compounded by a lack of reliable information about the eastward extent of the former Median power, as well as by a tendency of fourth-century BCE and later writers to equate Cyrus' realm with the maximal extent of the Achaemenid Empire (e.g., Xen. *Cyr.* 1.1.4, attributing Cambyses' and Darius' respective acquisitions of Egypt and the INDUS to Cyrus) and to correlate the course of Cyrus' conquests in Central Asia with that of the later campaigns of Alexander III of MACEDON in the same domain.

POLICIES AND LEGACY

Herodotus (3.89.1) credits Darius I with the organization of Persia's subject territories into twenty administrative provinces or "SATRAPIES," each governed by an appointed *archon* and each assessed to pay annually to the Persian authorities a fixed amount of tribute. He simultaneously indicates that under Cyrus and his son and successor, Cambyses (II), subject contributions consisted merely of gifts. A subdivision of the empire into administrative provinces under Cyrus' rule is suggested, however, at least by the existence since 535 of an administrative jurisdiction of "Babylon and Across the River" (i.e., across the Euphrates) that visibly encompassed the territories of the former Neo-Babylonian kingdom (Stolper 1989). The introduction of representatives of Persian authority in the conquered territories is attested by Cyrus' appointment of the Persian TABALUS at Sardis (1.153.3). The office of the "satrap" equally existed before the reign of Darius I (Old Persian *xšaçapāvan*, "protector of the realm": DB §§38, 45).

Babylonian, Greek, and Hebrew sources bring out, above all, the tolerant character of Cyrus' rule, his judicious treatment of his subjects, and his superior qualities as an individual and a statesman. The Cylinder text recognizes him as the appointed of Marduk (lines 11–17) and praises his restoration of displaced gods of the Babylonian empire to their proper abodes, the replacement of their ruined TEMPLES by permanent sanctuaries, and the permission that he extended to deported peoples to return to their homelands (lines 30–34). Biblical references in the same spirit praise Cyrus as the anointed one (*messiah*) of Yahweh (Isaiah 45:1–2; 40–55) and illustrate his policy of tolerance with reference to his decree permitting the exiled JEWS to return to their land and rebuild the temple of Jerusalem (Ezra 1:2–4, 6:2–5; Bedford 2001, Chapter III). Statements of restoration were featured traditionally in the political rhetoric of Mesopotamian rulers and were doubtless a part of Cyrus' ideological strategies in governing his vast multicultural empire (Van der Spek 2014). The return of deported peoples marked, nonetheless, a departure from the policies of earlier Assyrian and Babylonian kings. Religious and political tolerance was a salient feature of the empire founded

by Cyrus and significant for its success and longevity. According to Herodotus (3.89.3), the Persians remembered Cyrus as a "father" because he "was merciful and always worked for their well-being." His memory was more generally honored by the Greeks (e.g., Aesch. *Pers.* 768–72; Pl. *Leg.* 3.694a–d), and Xenophon depicted him in the *Cyropaedia* as an ideal ruler.

The conflicting details of our sources make it difficult to discern the precise circumstances of Cyrus' death (Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1985). Based on ancient Greek descriptions (Arr. *Anab.* 6.29.4–11; Strabo 15.3.7–8/C730), his tomb is identified with a gabled funerary chamber on a stepped podium made of tightly fitted, fine limestone blocks about one kilometer southwest of the palatial buildings at Pasargadae (for the alleged epitaph carved on the tomb, see Stronach 2000). This modest monument was a sacred location tended by MAGI and is likely to have been intimately associated with the MYSTERIES of initiation of successive Persian rulers that took place at Pasargadae (cf. Plut. *Artax.* 3.1). Alexander's special care to honor and safeguard Cyrus' tomb (Arr. *Anab.* 6.29; Plut. *Alex.* 69.2) would then speak for a continuation of this Persian legacy under the first Macedonian ruler of Iran (Badian 1996, 22–23).

CYRUS IN HERODOTUS' HISTORIES

The personality of Cyrus has been interpreted as a "moral abstraction" and as a key unifying theme of Herodotus' work (Avery 1972). The portrayal of the Persian ruler in Book 1 presents a complex political paradigm whose individual details variously appeal to Greek and Near Eastern political and religious-philosophical thought. The circumstances of Cyrus' rise to prominence (1.95–130), claimed to be given on the authority of reliable Persian SOURCES, reflect Iranian and more widely common Near Eastern motifs of political justifications (Zournatzi 2013). Prophetic DREAMS foreshadowing Cyrus' birth and eventual accession to the throne of "all ASIA" (1.107.1, 108.1) refer to an eternal imperative of supernatural sanction for legitimate rule in the Near East. Cyrus' exposure as an infant (1.108–13) alludes to a fusion of the personality of Cyrus

with that of the late-third-millennium BCE Mesopotamian “world” conqueror, Sargon of Akkad, that was aimed at strengthening a Persian claim to the former extended Mesopotamian *ARCHĒ*. The juxtaposition of Cyrus’ commitment to justice since his childhood (1.114–16) and his possession of wisdom (1.125.1), on the one hand, with Astyages’ cruelty (e.g., 1.130.1) and impulsiveness (e.g., 1.109.2) on the other, echoes a system of positive and negative royal qualities that was especially prominently featured in Achaemenid political rhetoric (cf. DNB lines 5–31). It effectively lay the stigma of illegitimacy on Astyages, simultaneously supplying justification for Cyrus and the Persians’ overthrow of the native Median political order. The sum of the details of the Herodotean portrait of Cyrus, including the Persian’s growing arrogance and cruelty as a ruler, and his blindness to the significance of divine warnings that led to his demise at the hands of the Massagetae and their queen, TOMYRIS (1.201–14), cohere in an arc of “rise to prominence” and eventual “fall” that is variously elaborated in Herodotus’ work with reference to the fortunes of rulers, as well as peoples and states, and which closely echoes the moralizing framework of Greek TRAGEDY (Immerwahr 1966).

SEE ALSO: Assyrians; Cyno; Labynetus; Monarchy; Mitradates; Near Eastern History; Susa

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CYTHERA (Κύθηρα, τὰ)

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An ISLAND situated opposite the southeastern tip of the PELOPONNESE (Cape MALEA: *BA* 58). The first humans arrived in the fifth millennium BCE. The coastal site of Kastri became a Minoan colony from the Middle Bronze Age onward. There is a long gap in the archaeological record from the thirteenth to the early eighth century BCE. Geometric finds from the island are few, and an archaic presence is also sparse, followed by a great proliferation of sites in the classical period. The main city was Cythera, with its port at Scandaea (Hom. *Il.* 10.268; Paus. 3.23.1), modern Palaiokastro and Kastri/Palaiopolis, respectively.

According to Herodotus, the island belonged to ARGOS by the middle of the sixth century

(1.82), but that is very unlikely. Thus, Cythera's history remains opaque until we find it under SPARTA's control in the fifth century. THUCYDIDES (4.53.2) describes Cythera's inhabitants as Spartan *PERIOECI*; Sparta annually sent an official called the Judge of Cythera to the island. The island was strategically critical for Sparta, providing a port of call for Egyptian and Libyan merchants and shielding Sparta from attacks by SEA. Herodotus memorably portrays the renegade Spartan king DEMARATUS quoting an assertion of the Spartan sage CHILON that it would be better for Sparta if Cythera were under the sea. Demaratus recommends to XERXES to occupy the island and menace Sparta from there (7.235). It is probable that this advice was composed under the influence of dramatic events of 424 BCE, when the Athenian occupation of the island constituted a severe blow to Sparta during the PELOPONNESIAN WAR (Thuc. 4.53–55, 5.14.3; the Athenians also apparently occupied the island in 456/5, Paus. 1.27.5). Thus, this passage is a valuable (although not indisputable) piece of evidence for when Herodotus composed his text (e.g., Fornara 1971, 33–34). ATHENS and Sparta apparently kept wrestling over control of Cythera throughout the late fifth and early fourth centuries (Thuc. 5.18.7, 7.26.2, 7.57.6; Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.7–8 for a temporary Athenian takeover in 393).

Cythera had a famous sanctuary of APHRODITE, which Herodotus claims was founded by the PHOENICIANS (1.105; Aphrodite's connection to Cythera is mentioned in Hes. *Theog.* 192, 198). No archaeological traces of the Phoenicians have been discovered on Cythera. Pausanias (3.23.1) reports that the sanctuary had a wooden statue of armed Aphrodite and featured the most ancient Greek cult of the goddess. Cythera was called "Purple" (*Porphyroussa*, Steph. Byz. s.v. Κύθηρα (K 255), quoting ARISTOTLE) for the beauty of its purple dye, production of which is attested already in the Middle Bronze Age; it also had a HARBOR called *Phoinikous* ("purple"/"Phoenician": Xen. *Hell.* 4.8.7–8).

SEE ALSO: Date of Composition; Ships and Sailing; Temples and Sanctuaries