# Ancient Cyprus: Island of Conflict?

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# Abstract

This thesis examines the island of Cyprus during the sixth to fourth centuries B.C. The hypothesis is that during this period, Cyprus had a number of distinct political entities which aligned themselves according to self-interest and the pursuit of economic prosperity. Cyprus was divided into city-kingdoms which were governed by individual monarchs; they were not traditional Greek *poleis*. But too often, scholars apply broad and general Hellenic political concerns that are not always valid for the island's locality and circumstances. There is a *communis opinio* that the island was continuously oppressed by greater powers and that all its states desired unification with the Greek mainland. Certainly Cyprus had a large Greek population and ties to the Hellenic world cannot be refuted. However, to suggest that these ties controlled the objectives and political agendas of the island's individual city-kingdoms is to ignore the diversity of her population and the economic imperative to connect with Egypt and the Levantine coast.

In order to build a clear and balanced perspective of Cypriot political history, the island's circumstances need to be examined in both the broader context of the eastern Mediterranean and at a local level. This research employs a diachronic and thematic approach examining firstly, Cyprus' internal dynamics, commercial character and representation prior to the Persian period; secondly, the nature of Cyprus' relationship with Persia and the extent of local agency; thirdly, Cyprus' interaction with the Greek mainland in the fifth century B.C.; and finally, the reign of Evagoras I, powerful ruler of the city-kingdom of Salamis from 411 – 374/3 B.C. This research demonstrates that local political agendas were much more influenced by the need to co-exist and trade with the Near East and Asia than by ideological motives of ethnicity and nationalism. Above all they were dictated by the material interests of the island's city-kingdoms and the personal ambitions of individual monarchs.

# Declaration

I, Maria Ioannou certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text.

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# Acknowledgements

# Introduction

## 1. Overview

This thesis challenges the portrayal of Cyprus as primarily motivated by Hellenic political concerns during the sixth to fourth centuries B.C. and instead asserts that the actions of the Cypriot city-kingdoms were motivated by their own local interests. The Hellenocentric perspective is based on the flawed assumption that the islanders were oppressed by prevailing powers and, as such, depended on their Greek ties. This ignores the fact that Cyprus was a separate, but not unified, entity. As this thesis demonstrates, while Cyprus was part of the Greek world, the island comprised a series of independent city-kingdoms with competing ambitions that saw them engage with the east.

## 2. Background and Context

Throughout antiquity Cyprus was continually subjugated by prevailing powers. By the end of the Middle Bronze Age (ca. 2000-1500 B.C.) the island was a significant centre of maritime trade on account of its rich copper resources, abundant timber reserves and location on the seafaring trade route from the southeast Mediterranean to the Aegean. Moreover, it held a strategic, if somewhat liminal, position in the eastern Mediterranean world, situated between the Aegean islands, Asia Minor, the Levant and Egypt. These factors, along with its sinuous coastline which provided natural harbours, made the island a valuable region for obtaining natural resources and a key strategic site for control of the eastern Mediterranean seaboard. Consequently, from the eighth century B.C. onwards Cyprus was successively incorporated into the territory of prevailing empires. Within three centuries the Neo-Assyrian, Egyptian and Persian empires consecutively included the island into their spheres of influence.

It is true to say that Cyprus did not have a full extant history of its own as a result of this continuous integration.[1] The island did however, have local agency of its own despite the fact that it was beholden to dominant powers. To obtain a clear understanding of Cyprus' history, its local political agendas must be given due

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[1] Hill (1972) ix: 'Cyprus has had no continuous history of its own, except to some degree in the Lusignan period. What light we have on it is chiefly a pale and shifting reflection from the activities of the great powers which from age to age have found it necessary to deal with it on their way to some more important objective.'

consideration. I demonstrate that although these agendas have been assessed in the past, too often when they look at Cyprus scholars apply broad and general Hellenic political concerns that do not always apply to, and do not explain, the island's local situation.[2] Cyprus had a large Greek population; from as early as the twelfth century B.C. Greek speaking people immigrated to the island following the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial-based economic systems.[3] Consequently, the island's ties to the Hellenic world cannot be refuted. This however, is not enough to explain the political, cultural and commercial interests of the Cypriot population, particularly given that the island's population was not solely Greek. Cyprus was also inhabited by an indigenous population, known today as Eteocypriots, as well as a large Phoenician population which came to settle on the island no later than the ninth century B.C.[4]

Furthermore, the island varied significantly from the Greek world in terms of its political structure. Cyprus was divided into a series of individual territorial polities ruled by rivalling monarchies throughout the eighth to fourth centuries B.C., setting the island apart from the majority of the Greek mainland's polities. Epigraphic evidence demonstrates that by the Iron Age (ca.1050-800 B.C.) the island was divided into thirteen separate local regions: Amathous, Chytroi, Idalion, Kition, Kourion, Kyrenia, Lapithos, Ledroi, Marion, Paphos, Salamis, Soloi and Tamassos.[5] These individual polities, which fluctuated in number due to intra-island conflict from the Iron Age until the end of the fourth century B.C. when Ptolemy I Soter abolished them, are described as 'city-kingdoms' within this thesis for the sake of brevity. In view of the fact that the island was fundamentally different from most of the Greek mainland in both populace and political structure during the sixth to fourth centuries B.C., how can we expect local Cypriot concerns

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[2] Karageorghis (1982a) 66, for instance, asserts that the successive occupation of the island, coupled with the traditional commercial antagonism that existed between the Greeks and the Phoenicians in antiquity 'encouraged the creation of a strong Hellenic consciousness in a large portion of the Cypriot population' which influenced Cypriot political and cultural life during the sixth to fourth centuries B.C.

[3] Iacovou (1999) 1: 'The Greek migration to Cyprus was a twelfth-century precolonization exodus which took place before the Ionic migrations of ca 1000 BC. It cannot be classified as a *mother-city-and-colony* type of colonization, since it took place long before the Greek *polis* came into existence; nor does it constitute a *centre-versus-periphery* case, since for the first 200-300 years of the Early Iron Age, if anything it was the Greek mainland that depended on Cyprus as a source or intermediary…Greek-speaking people settled in Cyprus in the period after the collapse of the Mycenaean palace economy (twelfth century).'

[4] An investigation into the island's local population and internal political structure is undertaken within chapter one.

[5] The relevant epigraphic evidence is explored in detail within chapter one.

to be identical to those of mainland Greece? Though we cannot deny that ties to the Greek mainland and continuous subjugation did impact on the island, its internal political, cultural and commercial circumstances must also be assessed.

## 3. Thesis Aims

This research aims to illustrate that although Cyprus was subject to greater powers and was influenced by the political circumstances of the wider Mediterranean world, the local agency that existed on the island must be considered in terms appropriate to itself; true to the realities of its own situation and not to the necessities of other agendas. Given that Cyprus was divided into distinct political entities which were governed by individual monarchs, the personal ambitions of these monarchs and their desire to further the prosperity of their separate city-kingdoms must be taken into account. I advocate that the self-interest of the island's kings and their ambitions of economic prosperity played a large role in the affluence and political alignment of Cyprus' city-kingdoms. In order to demonstrate this I focus on the sixth to fourth centuries B.C. during which the island was a part of the Persian Empire, which I refer to as the 'Persian period'. This particular period illustrates that, although the Cypriots were faced with certain obligations and limitations while under external supremacy, local political and commercial agendas can still be identified.

I explore two principal questions: firstly, what was the nature of the relationships between Cyprus and the major powers that vied to control it during the sixth to fourth centuries B.C.? Secondly, to what extent did the island's involvement in the wider Mediterranean political scene influence its own state of affairs? To answer these questions I examine a number of literary sources including, but not limited to, Herodotus, Thucydides, Diodorus and Isocrates, each of whom provides some insight into the internal political conditions of the island.[6] Archaeological and epigraphic evidence is also used to supplement the literary evidence where available. It must, however, be noted that the literary record for the island during this period is confined to the accounts of Greek sources which discuss Cyprus primarily when it is involved in the political forays of mainland Greece, making it problematic to extrapolate local Cypriot political agendas from the Hellenocentric

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[6] Hellenised transliterations shall be used for the spelling of names except for those which are well known in their Latinised form.

perspective offered. Nonetheless, within these constraints, useful insights into the island's local circumstances emerge. Thus, through an assessment of the way in which extant Greek sources elucidate Cypriot history in the wider context of the Mediterranean world I demonstrate that local political agendas were dictated by the material interests of the island's city-kingdoms and the personal ambitions of individual monarchs, rather than by ideological motives of ethnicity and nationalism.

## 4. Thesis Summary

This thesis comprises four chapters, each of which examines how Cyprus' relationships with greater powers reveal local agency on the island itself. Although the purpose of this research is to review Cyprus' history primarily within the Persian period, it must be acknowledged that the island had a long-established commercial and political presence in the eastern Mediterranean prior to this period. Accordingly, its history throughout the sixth to fourth centuries B.C. cannot be viewed in isolation. Chapter one is, therefore, dedicated to the analysis of Cyprus' internal dynamics, its commercial character, and its representation within extant sources prior to the Persian period. I begin with an in-depth investigation into the island's governmental structure in order for us to gain a clear understanding of its local political circumstances. Subsequent to this an analysis of its mercantile relationship with its neighbouring regions in the eastern Mediterranean is addressed. The island's commercial, political and cultural relations with Phoenicia and Egypt are investigated in particular, as I believe that the strong ties Cyprus had to these regions influenced the decisions made by her monarchs and impacted on her political course both prior to and throughout the Persian period. This assessment is followed by an examination of the way in which extant sources including Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus, and Herodotus depict the islanders. I argue that while our sources acknowledge that the island had cultural ties to mainland Greece they depict it as being on the periphery of their world, an aspect that is vital for our understanding of Cyprus' disposition prior to the Persian period.

Chapter two analyses the nature of Cyprus' relationship with Persia and investigates the extent to which local agency existed on the island while it was beholden to the Persian Empire. To address this, it first considers the way in which

Cyprus was incorporated into the Persian Empire and the reasons for the island's subjugation. It then analyses the extent to which Persian suzerainty impacted on Cyprus' local political circumstances. Finally, it focuses on a period of unrest within the western edges of the Persian Empire in the early fifth century. During this time the Ionian revolt of 499 B.C. prompted a 'Cypriot Rebellion' from the empire in 498 B.C. The Cypriot Rebellion in particular reveals much about the island's internal dynamics, not only due to the fact that this is the first instance in which an extensive literary record of Cyprus' involvement in external Mediterranean affairs exists, but also because it sheds light on the personal motives of its monarchs and city-kingdoms. Consequently, by focusing on this event within this chapter I shall demonstrate that local Cypriot concerns and agency are clearly identifiable during this period.

An investigation into Cyprus' interaction with the Greek mainland in the fifth century B.C. forms the focus of chapter three. This chapter considers Cyprus' involvement in the wider Mediterranean conflicts involving the Persians, the Hellenic League and, subsequently, the Delian League. During this period, Cyprus was a pawn in the struggles between Persia and these Greek Leagues, with both the Hellenic and Delian Leagues successively attempting to take control of the island in order to further their own political objectives. Concentrating on the modern notion that these Leagues attempted to 'liberate' the island from Persian rule, this chapter asks: at a time when mainland Greece was threatened, what role did Cyprus play? An answer to this question can be elicited through the examination of three key events: the Persian Wars, the First Peloponnesian War and the Peace of Kallias. Once we have understood the island's role in these events we can extrapolate local Cypriot concerns during this period of political turmoil in the Mediterranean world.

The fourth and final chapter of this thesis focuses on the reign of the prominent Cypriot monarch Evagoras I, ruler of the city-kingdom of Salamis from 411 – 374/3 B.C. Evagoras is the first Cypriot sovereign whose reign is adequately documented by historical sources. An assessment of his supremacy allows for a thorough investigation into the internal political developments on the island during the fourth century B.C. The most comprehensive account of this monarch's sovereignty is Isocrates' panegyric *Evagoras*. This eulogy depicts Evagoras as a

philhellenic champion who aimed to liberate Cyprus from Persian rule, while aiding the Athenians in restoring their city to its former glory subsequent to the second Peloponnesian War (431-404 B.C.). This chapter shall question this depiction of Evagoras, arguing that his interaction with both Persia and Athens was not part of a plan to overthrow the Persian yoke in a bid to politically unite Cyprus with the Greek mainland. Rather, I advocate that the relationships that Evagoras formed with both Athens and Persia were a way in which this ambitious monarch could increase his own sovereignty. This is achieved through a juxtaposition of Isocrates' *Evagoras* with various sources including Xenophon's *Hellenica* and Diodorus' *Library of History*, which discuss the Salaminian monarch's role in the broader context of the Mediterranean world in the fourth century B.C. Once we have a clear understanding of Evagoras' actions we can then consider how his reign impacted on the internal political circumstances of the island which, in turn, allows us to identify local Cypriot agendas during this period.

## 5. Literature Review

Traditionally, scholars have depicted Cyprus as an island of conflict by defining its history from the eighth to fourth centuries B.C. as a series of political and cultural disturbances due to successive subjugation. Cyprus' involvement with, and ties to, the East have not been portrayed in a positive way while the non-Greek elements on the island have also been under-represented. Among the earliest scholars to describe the island in this manner was, Eniar Gjerstad, director of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition from 1927 to 1931.[7] Gjerstad advocated that a continuous suppression of Cyprus, beginning with Assyrian domination in the eighth century B.C., led to the loss of 'her political independence' as well as to the 'control of Cypriote foreign policy.'[8] He placed particular emphasis on the impact that Persian subjugation had on the island, describing Cyprus as a victim of Persian suzerainty. Of the Persian period he asserted: 'the Cypro-Greek city-kingdoms were reduced to a state of political nullity and Persia was determined to eradicate that last

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[7] Though previous pronouncements of this concept are present within scholarship dating as early as 1897, it is Gjerstad who first fully developed this idea, shaping the way in which subsequent scholarship has viewed this relationship. Earlier pronouncements of this notion are mentioned by Busolt (1897) 344, Meyer (1902) 198, Oberhummer (1924) 93, and Spyridakis (1941) 43.
[8] Gjerstad SCE IV.2 (1948) 449.

survival of philhellene mentality.'[9] Moreover, he claimed that the Persians established an alliance with the Cypro-Phoenician population of the island as 'a systematic action intended to turn Cyprus into a Persian country administered by Phoenicians.'[10]

Gjerstad's perception of the island's history under Persian rule has several weaknesses. Firstly, this early attempt at analysing Cypriot history was largely based upon a non-historical account of Evagoras I's reign. Gjerstad's primary influence and key point of reference was Isocrates' panegyric *Evagoras*. Despite the extensive information that this encomium provides, caution must be exercised when it is used to reconstruct Cypriot history within this period since it is part of Isocrates' wider aim to promote the concept of Panhellenic unity at a time of political discord in Greece.[11] This encomium is an idealised assessment of Cypriot monarchy and political agendas during the fourth century B.C, as it aims to emphasise the value of monarchy and the ability of a driven monarch such as Evagoras to lead a campaign against a united enemy.[12] Gjerstad used Isocrates' *Evagoras* as fact rather than interpreting it critically. Furthermore, he applied the information it provides to explain anachronistically the island's history in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Gjerstad also allowed his hypothesis of a Perso-Phoenician alliance to impact on his perception of the material record, asserting that archaeological evidence reflects a decline in both the Greek influence on Cypriot sculpture and the number of pottery imports from mainland Greece. As a result, he concluded that Cypriot art and culture reached a state of 'helpless and desperate degeneration.'[13] Yet, he contradicted his own findings by claiming that the Cypriot archaeological record indicates that the island's commercial relations with Greece were not interrupted during the same period. As Costa noted,

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[9] Gjerstad SCE IV.2 (1948) 484. In order to distinguish between mainland Greeks, mainland Phoenicians and those that settled on Cyprus, the island's populace is referred to as 'Cypro-Greek' and 'Cypro-Phoenician' within this thesis.

[10] Gjerstad SCE IV.2 (1948) 485.

[11] Isocrates composed a corpus of three Cypriot orations: *Evagoras*, *To Nicocles* and *Nicocles,* each of which were addressed to Evagoras' son and successor Nicocles. As Maier (1985) 33 advocates, the Cypriot orations are 'openly eulogistic and strongly influenced by his political philosophy. Both tendencies distort not only his portraits of the Salaminian kings but also his appreciation of the overall situation in Cyprus.' An analysis of Isocrates' political philosophy is provided in chapter four.

[12] Mirhady et al. (2000) 140 observe that this economistic discourse is 'not necessarily a faithful representation of the past and its persons. Isocrates treats historical fact loosely in this work – a license that the epideictic genre has always claimed for itself – in order to emphasize what is praiseworthy.'

[13] Gjerstad SCE IV.2 (1948) 488.

Gjerstad's conclusion regarding the 'helpless and desperate degeneration' of Cypriot art is 'contradictory to all the evidence presented in the rest of the volume, which shows a general cultural continuity before and after 450.'[14] Despite this, however, Gjerstad's perception of Cyprus as an island that was isolated from the Greek world due to Persian oppression and divided by Graeco-Phoenician antagonism has had a significant impact on the way in which the relationship between Cyprus and Persia has been viewed throughout scholarship.

The concept of Persian favouritism for Cypro-Phoenicians suggests intra-island hostility. This, however, is only depicted by Isocrates (Isoc. 9.19-20, 47-50). Meiggs acknowledged that there is 'no mention of friction between the Phoenicians and Greeks [on Cyprus]' within sources such as Herodotus; nonetheless he readily accepted Gjerstad's claim that this alleged favouritism created animosity between the Cypro-Greeks and Cypro-Phoenicians on the island.[15] Karageorghis also advocated that the Persians aimed to suppress the island's political independence and foreign policies with the aid of the Cypro-Phoenician population, resulting in a Cypro-Greek desire for liberation and political alignment with the Greek mainland. Indeed, he placed much emphasis on the relationship between Cyprus and Greece, arguing that cultural interaction between the island and mainland heavily influenced Cypro-Greek political allegiance since 'The pro-Greek population accepted Greek culture, as a means of defence against Persian rule.'[16] Moreover, Karageorghis suggested that the Persians suppressed the island from the sixth century B.C. onwards, which he believed led to the Cypro-Greeks developing 'nationalistic feelings and pro-Greek loyalties'.[17] Inherent also in Karageorghis' understanding of the Persian period was his belief that the Cypriots 'considered themselves part of the Greek world of the east.'[18] He concluded that Cypriot interaction with the Greeks of the east, who were also subject to Persia, inspired 'national feelings' and a 'strong Hellenic consciousness' amongst the Cypro-Greek islanders.[19]

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[14] Costa (1974) 41.
[15] Meiggs (1972) 481.
[16] Karageorghis (1982a) 70.
[17] Karageorghis (1982b) 155.
[18] Karageorghis (1982b) 155.
[19] Karageorghis (1982a) 66-67.

While the Cypriots certainly interacted with the east Greeks through trade, and may have considered themselves to be a part of the eastern Greek world for this reason, the position that a 'Hellenic' national consciousness was developed is problematic; the very term 'national' imposes the modern concept of nationality upon the past and cannot be applied to the politically fragmented island of Cyprus. Nonetheless, Karageorghis was not alone in his assumption that cultural connections to the mainland influenced the political climate of the island. Similarly, Tatton-Brown maintained that 'Phoenicians in Cyprus were generally sympathetic to the Persians, probably partly in support of their compatriots since their homeland was firmly in the Persian Empire. Therefore…the Persians formed a coalition with the Phoenician settlers.'[20] However, Cyprus' local circumstances do not fit simply into a Greek and non-Greek narrative of conflict between the island's Cypro-Greek and Cypro-Phoenician populations. The island's city-kingdoms did not base their political allegiances on 'ethnic' considerations and 'nationalistic' feelings. Moreover, they often acted independently from one another and in the rare instances in which they took the same political stance as one another did not do so with a sense of 'nationalistic' harmony.

In 1985, Maier directly challenged and fundamentally disagreed with Gjerstad and Karageorghis' earlier depictions of Cyprus' relationship with the Persian Empire. Maier called for a change in direction of thoughts on Persian imperialism and inter-island conflict, advocating that the 'facts' used to illustrate the existence of conflict between the Cypro-Greek city-kingdoms and their Persian rulers are, upon closer inspection, mere speculation.[21] Arguing that the evidence concerning a Perso-Phoenician alliance against the Cypro-Greeks is built on a broad generalisation of a 'subconscious notion of ethnocultural difference and enmity,' Maier called attention to the fact that Persian policy was not anti-Greek on principal.[22] Conflict was prevalent throughout Cyprus during the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.; yet, while Greek and Phoenician cultural, religious and artistic differences may have influenced politics to some degree, Maier also acknowledged that antagonism may

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[20] Tatton-Brown (1982) 93.
[21] Maier (1985) 32: 'Factoids…are mere speculations or guesses which have been repeated so often that they are eventually taken for hard facts…One such case is the history of the kingdoms of Cyprus in the fifth and early fourth centuries B.C…The leading idea is obvious: a basic conflict between the Greek kingdoms in the island and their Achaemenid overlord, originating from 'national' ambitions and cultural antagonism.'
[22] Maier (1985) 33.

have occurred due to the existence of 'conflicting aims and divided interests amongst the Cypriot kingdoms' rather than ideological motives.[23] Such conflicting aims may have facilitated Persian control of Cyprus, with the Persians exploiting the divided interests of the city-kingdoms to secure their hold of the island. Nonetheless, as Maier concluded this was not part of an overarching plan to eradicate Greek mentality on the island.[24]

Maier's assessment of the pitfalls in interpreting Persian policy on Cyprus as anti-Greek is convincing. However, it is a brief overview of the issues concerning local Cypriot agendas during the Persian period. This thesis builds upon his position that 'the policies of the island's individual city-kingdoms aimed at the expansion of their own political or economic power irrespective of the ethnic group.'[25]

Despite Maier's deconstruction of 'national' ambition and cultural antagonism, the premise that an aggressive Perso-Phoenician alliance existed against the island's Cypro-Greek population has heavily coloured the way in which its relationship with the Persians has been interpreted throughout scholarship. For instance, in a 1992 revision of her study published in 1989, Stylianou acknowledged that the evidence on which this concept was based is problematic (that is, on the reliance on archaeological findings to reconstruct the island's political history).[26] Nonetheless, she continued to advocate the idea that animosity existed between the Cypro-Greek islanders and the Persians. Moreover, she asserted that the political affinities of each city-kingdom were profoundly influenced by 'nationalist ideals.'[27] Within her extensive investigation of the island's political history through the eighth to fourth centuries B.C., Stylianou claimed that since antipathy existed between Greeks and Phoenicians in the wider Mediterranean due to commercial competition, it is unsurprising that the traditional rivalry between the two also existed on an island colonized by both. Indeed, she asserted 'The rivalry and indeed enmity between Greeks and Phoenicians, and the reliance of Persia on the

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[23] Maier (1985) 38.
[24] Maier (1985) 39: 'Achaemenid rule pragmatically resorted to a well-tried instrument of politics when it exploited the divided interests of the kingdoms of the island.'
[25] Maier (1985) 39.
[26] Stylianou (1992) 494: 'Gjerstad's thesis breaks down precisely because of its heavy, if not exclusive reliance on archaeology…To pass judgement on the ethnography and political organization of the island merely on the evidence of, say, styles of pottery and sculpture, as Gjerstad does, is dangerous in the extreme…'
[27] Stylianou (1992) 422.

latter, are made abundantly clear by Herodotus and other 5th-century sources.'[28] Stylianou argued this by selecting various examples, claiming that 'we need not cite all the evidence' in order to see that the commercial rivalry between the Greeks and Phoenicians, coupled with Persian favouritism of the Cypro-Phoenicians, encouraged conflict between the Cypro-Greek and Cypro-Phoenician communities.[29]

In her analysis, Stylianou argued that Maier failed to take the circumstances of the wider Mediterranean into account when constructing his investigation into the island's fifth century political history, resulting in an unbalanced picture.[30] It is true that Maier's work was narrowly focused on the internal circumstances of the island and that Cyprus' political situation must be considered in conjunction with external events since events in Cyprus did not take place in isolation. However, Stylianou's use of the broader Mediterranean political climate to explain happenings on Cyprus is in itself unbalanced as it neglects to fully consider its internal dynamics and the personal motivations of its own monarchs and their city-kingdoms. Although commercial rivalry certainly caused conflict throughout the Mediterranean and between the city-kingdoms of Cyprus itself, the assumption that conflict existed on the island as the result of the external state of affairs in the Mediterranean alone cannot be made through the selective analysis of extant sources. Through her consideration of the island from this perspective, Stylianou focused solely on rivalry without bearing in mind that coexistence and interaction also occurred both on Cyprus and in the wider Mediterranean. As a result, her review of the island's political history has depicted Cyprus as a victim of geopolitical circumstances. It is correct to suggest that while conflict existed between the Persians, Cypro-Greeks and Cypro-Phoenicians, it occurred within the wider political climate of the Mediterranean. However, it cannot simply be assumed that the wider conflicts within the Mediterranean were the only reasons for inter-island conflict. Nor can the island's history be considered solely in relation to its status within the eastern Mediterranean world.

A significant phase in the study of Cypriot history is marked by Zournatzi who in 2005 advocated that scholarship must break away from the notion that the island's

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[28] Stylianou (1992) 424.
[29] Stylianou (1992) 424.
[30] Stylianou (1992) 421.

history was dominated by internal and external conflict. In her seminal article on Cyprus' political history under Persian rule, Zournatzi summarised views on the character of Persian rule in Cyprus, asserting that our Greek sources have imposed a Hellenocentric interpretation of Persia's rule of the island throughout Cypriot scholarship.[31] In particular, she advocated that previous scholarship viewed the island's local concerns in terms of conflict due to the 'selective emphasis of our Greek sources upon military incidents involving Cyprus... [which] tend to imply that the island was first and foremost a theatre of warfare throughout the Persian period.'[32] To elucidate this, Zournatzi explored the problematic aspects of Isocrates' *Evagoras,* asserting that his image of conflict between Cypro-Greeks and Cypro-Phoenicians has been used by previous scholars to provide 'a larger framework for the interpretation of both the details of local Cypriot history and the larger process that affected the island's fortunes under Persian dominion.'[33] She maintained that it is not enough to apply Isocrates' representation of inter-island conflict to the relationship between Persia and Cyprus.

Zournatzi's emphasis was on the nature of Persian imperial rule over Cyprus which, once understood, allows for an exploration of local Cypriot political and commercial agendas. The value of Zournatzi's investigation is to remind us that the 'complex interplay of interests that would have affected the history of the island in the Persian period' must be taken into account.[34] Further, her study highlighted the necessity to recognize that while local Cypriot conflict is crucial for an understanding of Cypriot history in the Persian period, the presence of antagonism between Cypro-Greek and Cypro-Phoenician communities 'may only acquire specific significance when approached from a perspective that considers the mix of internal and external interests at work in both Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean at large.'[35] Thus, similarly to Maier, Zournatzi suggested that the notion of conflict should not dominate our perception of Cyprus' history in the Persian period. Zournatzi and Maier's hypotheses regarding Cypriot history during the Persian period provide the foundation for this current study which offers further

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[31] Zournatzi (2005) 17: 'Ancient Greek pronouncements have had a profound impact upon early assessments of the circumstances of Persian rule on the island.'
[32] Zournatzi (2005) 15.
[33] Zournatzi (2005) 17.
[34] Zournatzi (2005) 73.
[35] Zournatzi (2005) 73.

insight into the nature of Cyprus' relationships with prevailing powers and the island's own local political agency.

# Chapter 1
## Cyprus Considered

The island of Cyprus is insular by nature. Surrounded by sea it is both isolated and at the same time a place of connectivity.[1] This is reflected through the fact that during antiquity ancient and persistent trade routes to the Near East passed through the island. Though the primary focus of this thesis is the 'Persian period' (sixth to fourth centuries B.C.), it is imperative to remember that Cyprus' political structure and commercial nature were established preceding Persian supremacy, not as a result of it. This affected its adaption to Persian rule and therefore necessitates assessment of the way in which the island's internal political structure developed. Consequently, I begin my investigation by focusing on the island's political structure in the eighth to sixth centuries B.C., during which it was under Neo-Assyrian and Egyptian spheres of political and cultural influence. I then address Cyprus' later commercial connections with its neighbouring regions, namely that of Phoenicia and Egypt. I show that relationships established with Phoenicia and Egypt were crucial to her economic and political circumstances. The aim is to illustrate that although the islanders had close connections with the Greek world, there were other essential influences.

Scholars have traditionally viewed the island as merely being a crossroad between east and west; existing in a world dominated by great empires. But we do no justice to the island 'if we think of it only in terms of what happened when other peoples arrived or passed through, as though it was a lump of clay ready to take the imprint of whatever novelty appeared, and to lose it again when another arrived.'[2] Focusing on the interests of the Cypriots themselves creates a balance between these two extremes. The difficulty in assessing local Cypriot concerns, however, lays in the fact that we must necessarily rely on fragmented literary evidence that is frequently

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[1] Constantakopoulou (2007) 2: 'The concept of insularity had two main aspects: on one hand, it was understood as an expression of connectivity, and on the other as an indication of isolation. In other words, islands were understood as distinct 'closed' worlds, ideal locations for the extraordinary and the bizarre, but at the same time they were also perceived as parts of a complex reality of interaction in the Aegean sea. Both these aspects of insularity and island life were important and both are adequately attested in our sources.' Similarly, Knapp (2007) 47 suggests: 'This is the most fundamental paradox about islands: they serve as essentialising metaphors for singularity and isolation, and yet, more often than not, they are intricately linked into much broader social, cultural and political economic networks.'
[2] Boardman (2001) 8.

limited to the perspective of Greek poets, playwrights and historians who inevitably obscure our perception of the Cypriots.[3] Any investigation into the local interests of the Cypriots must therefore consider the way in which such sources depict the islanders. I examine the way in which the earliest Greek literary sources, mainly, Homer, Hesiod, Aeschylus and Herodotus, represent Cyprus and its peoples prior to the Persian period. This establishes a framework for the way in which the island was perceived in Greek thought.

## 1.1 Cyprus' Internal Dynamics

Two elements demonstrate just how distinct Cyprus was from mainland Greece: its political structure, and the varying origins of its populace. By the eighth century B.C., Cyprus was divided into a number of city-kingdoms. This is evidenced by their submission to the Assyrian Empire. Dated to 707 B.C. a Neo-Assyrian inscription erected in the Cypriot city-kingdom of Kition asserts: 'Seven kings of the land of Ia', a district from Iadnana, whose distant abodes are situated a seven days' journey in the sea of the setting sun' voluntarily offered king Sargon II of Assyria (722-705 B.C.) their submission.[4] The identification of the land of Ia and Iadnana with Cyprus is made explicit through a more detailed inscription: the Assyrian prism of Esarhaddon (680-669 B.C.), which records the names of 'ten kings of Iatnana of the Middle of the Sea' and their respective dominions.[5] The transliteration of this inscription reveals the names of ten of the island's city-kingdoms: Edil (Idalion), Kitrusi (Chytroi), Sillua (Salamis or Soloi), Papa (Paphos), Silli (Salamis or Soloi), Kuri (Kourion), Tamesi (Tamassos), Lidir (Ledra), Qartihadast (identified as Kition), and Nûria (identified as Amathous).[6] It is uncertain as to whether these inscriptions provide a complete or partial list of the island's city-kingdoms since Lapithos, Marion and Kyrenia are not

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[3] Ongoing archaeological investigations also provide us with a wealth of evidence, both material and epigraphic, shedding light on the history of Cyprus. Despite this, however, limitations occur in that, as Coldstream (1985) 53 suggests: 'While the major settlements remain largely unexcavated, it is the cemeteries which provide most of our available information.'

[4] Transl. Luckenbill (1927) 186. Similar references occur in the 'Display Inscription' from Sargon's palace at Khorsabad and in an inscribed clay prism from Nimrud. The motivation for this voluntary Cypriot submission to the Assyrian Empire is discussed within section 1.2 of this chapter.

[5] Transl. Luckenbill (1927) 690. Cf. Zournatzi (1996) 161 and Iacovou (1998) 121 who accept the identification of Iadnana as Cyprus.

[6] On the transliteration of these names, as well as the issues concerning the fact that there is no consensus on the identification of Qartihadast (as Kition) and Nûria (as Amathous) see Iacovou (2008) 643. For a map illustrating the city-kingdoms as outlined on the prism of Esarhaddon see Appendix I.

mentioned.[7] They do, however, provide us with unequivocal evidence for the existence of city-kingdoms and monarchies on the island from at least the eighth century B.C. Though such inscriptions allow us to identify the institution by which Cyprus' city-kingdoms were governed, information about their internal civil administration and the political prerogatives of Cyprus' rulers is sparse and confined to later sources, such as Diodorus who, though writing in the first century B.C. and not the strongest of sources, reveals that these city-kingdoms comprised capital cities and their surrounding territories which existed well into the fourth century B.C.:

> For in this island there were nine populous cities, and under them were ranged the
> small towns which were suburbs of the nine cities. Each of these had a king who
> governed the city... (D.S. 16.42.4)[8]

The origins of the Cypriot city-kingdoms are unclear. The Assyrian texts that attest to their existence do not suggest their establishment during the eighth century B.C., but form the *terminus ante quem* for their formation. It is not possible to trace the exact origins and formative stages of this institution or to identify all aspects of the role of monarchs in Cypriot society. What can be reasonably discerned from archaeological evidence is that the island experienced a series of societal upheavals during the Bronze Age (ca. 2500/2350-1050 B.C.), transitioning from urban settlements into independent political units. There is no general consensus as to why this occurred, with several opposing views dominating discussions as to the way in which these city-kingdoms developed. The first maintains that two successive influxes of Anatolian migrants caused this transition during the twelfth century B.C., with displaced Mycenaeans establishing themselves alongside the native 'Eteocypriot' community following the destruction of their palace economy.[9] Their arrival influenced the island's linguistic and material culture, with Mycenaean-inspired artefacts becoming prevalent on the island, leading scholars such as Catling to assert that it fell to Cyprus to 'shelter the remains of Mycenaean civilization, including

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[7] Each of these city-kingdoms appear to have been established by the fifth century B.C. since they issued independent coinage during this period. However, it is possible that they were not autonomous city-kingdoms until this period.
[8] Transl. Oldfather (1989).
[9] This autochthonous population appears to have been confined to the city-kingdom of Amathous by the Classical Period. Cf. Petit (1999) 108-120 for an in-depth investigation into the existence of this populace.

its political structure…'[10] However, while this Mycenaean influx coincides with the abandonment and destruction of every single settlement on the island, which resulted in the foundation of city-kingdoms, archaeology has not been able to determine the extent to which Mycenaean political influence impacted on this development.[11] The second theory holds that Phoenician settlement on the south-east coast of the island in the ninth century B.C. led to the adoption of a Levantine political institution.[12] Since the presence of Phoenician goods increased during this period, Rupp suggests that the Phoenicians provided an economic stimulus for the island's political upheaval.[13] However, this focus on ethnicity has led to 'oversimplified interpretations of the complex multiple internal and external contact situations on the island during the Late Bronze to Early Iron Age.'[14]

It is perhaps Zournatzi who best describes the development of this situation, claiming that it was 'cosmopolitan and uniquely Cypriot' brought about through 'an amalgam of cultural elements...which cannot be traced to a single strand of tradition...'[15] I would add that the island's growing position in the eastern Mediterranean's commercial circuit greatly impacted on this transition. Cyprus' affluence depended on economic expansion which was developed through the cultivation of its natural resources including copper, iron and gold. The export of these materials, as well as timber which was used for the smelting of copper ores and shipbuilding, served as a principal source of revenue for the island's city-kingdoms along with other

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[10] Catling (1975) 213. There are a number of scholars, following Catling, who believe that the island's population was predominantly Aegean in origin during the Iron Age as a result of this influx, and thus adopted a political system influenced by Greek kingship. Snodgrass (1988) 12, for instance, asserts that the island's city-kingdoms were modelled on a Mycenaean prototype. Similarly, Zournatzi (1996) 164 upholds 'the island's Greek heritage also continued to manifest itself in the institutions of the island through the use of such terms as *basileus* and *wanax*, which have a venerable Mycenaean Greek past, and in various (Greek) rulers' claims to be descended from heroes of the Trojan war. The terms *basileus* and *wanax* are both found in Cypro-syllabic portion of a bilingual dedication to Apollo at Idalion dating from the fourth regnal year of Melekiathos, a fourth century king of Kition.' Others that adopt this position include Rupp (1998) 209 and Karageorghis (2002) 36.
[11] The reasons pertaining to the abandonment and destruction of each individual site are unknown. However, as Iacovou (1999) 10 notes 'The silting of the Enkomi harbour has been proposed regarding the move to Salamis, and we know that a number of important coastal Late Cypriote settlements (Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke) had inner harbours, which may have fallen into disuse in the twelfth century.'
[12] The arrival of Phoenicians to the island shall be discussed in detail in section 1.2 of this chapter.
[13] Rupp (1987) 147-168.
[14] Janes (2010) 129.
[15] Zournatzi (1996) 179

agricultural produce.[16] By the end of the Middle Bronze Age these trading commodities, along with the island's locational position, made it essential to the eastern Mediterranean commercial circuit. Cyprus' substantial copper deposits, located principally in the foothills of the Troodos Mountains, were especially significant. During the Late Bronze Age the exploitation of Cyprus' copper deposits became important; the ore was exported from the island, principally in the form of ingots, to the many trading emporia in Egypt, Anatolia, the Levant and the Aegean, bringing the island into a 'unique new relationship with its neighbours, east and west.'[17] Consequently, the growth of the island's copper industry during this period contributed to the development of a political system with centralised authority. This 'was essential to the organization of the copper-producing technology and the administration of a complex international exchange system through which the metal resources were traded.'[18]

Cyprus' city-kingdoms are thought to have been divided into Cypro-Greek, Cypro-Phoenician and Eteocypriot communities. The diversity of the island's population is attested to by Herodotus:

> The Cypriots themselves say that some of them came from Salamis and Athens,
> others came from Arcadia, Kythnos, Phoenicia, and Ethiopia. (Hdt. 7.90)[19]

The later source Pseudo-Skylax writing in the fourth century B.C. firms up the distinct cultural differences between the island's city-kingdoms:

> Opposite Cilicia is the island of Cyprus, and these are the *poleis* in it: Salamis,
> which is Greek and has a closed winter harbour; the Karpass; Kerynia; Lapethos,
> which is Phoenician; Soloi (this also has a winter harbour); Marion, which is Greek;
> Amathus (they are autochthonous). All these have deserted (summer) harbours.
> And there are also *poleis* speaking strange languages inland. (Ps.-Skylax 103)[20]

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[16] These trading commodities are attested by a number of literary sources: Hom. *Il.* 11.19; Plu. *Alex.* 32.6; A. *Supp.* 554-5; Str. 14.6.5; Plin. *HN* .7.195; Pl. *Laws* 2.260; Amm. Marc. 14.8.14; Ovid *Met.* 10.220.

[17] Knapp (1985) 250: 'its central position between Aegean and Levantine/Egyptian cultures gave Cyprus an advantageous market potential'

[18] Iacovou (1999) 3. Knapp (1985) 245 further suggests that 'an increase in demand for Cypriot copper most likely led to the administrative formalization of internal copper production, and in turn to the economic transformation of a village-based culture into an international, urban-oriented complex society.'

[19] Unless stated otherwise all translations of Herodotus are those of Purvis (2008).

[20] Transl. Reyes (1994).

Other primary sources flesh out the same details about the foundation of six Cypriot city-kingdoms. According to these traditions Salamis[21], Paphos[22], Amathous[23], Kourion[24], Soloi[25] and Kition[26] were founded by Greek and Phoenician dynasties. Though the veracity of such legends is questionable, they certainly indicate a clear division between Cypro-Greek, Cypro-Phoenician and Eteocypriot city-kingdoms.

The insistence on a distinct separation between Eteocypriot, Cypro-Greek and Cypro-Phoenician city-kingdoms has habitually led to the assumption that rivalry between these city-kingdoms was fuelled by cultural antagonism. Dandaemev for instance asserts 'The people of the island consisted of Greeks and Phoenicians, and a struggle had been going on between them for a long time. Particularly bitter was the rivalry between Salamis, the main Greek settlement on the island, and the Phoenician city of Kition.'[27] More recently, Tuplin maintains that 'the Greeks and Phoenicians were essentially separate; a single ethnic melange was not being created.'[28] It is reasonable to suppose that there was no natural unity between these city-kingdoms. Indeed, though the use of 'Cyprus' or 'Cypriots' is unavoidable where our sources provide no further specification, this can connote a sense of unity that did not exist amongst the islanders who competed for wealth and territory throughout the fifth and fourth centuries in particular.

However, this need not have eliminated cultural fusion at least to some extent. A number of testimonies, including mutual cultural exchange and intermarriage, attest to a considerable degree of peaceful internal relations and co-existence. A good example is the number of inscriptions discovered in the necropolis of Kition, dated from the Cypro-Archaic II to the Hellenistic periods which demonstrate that this city-

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[21] Numerous primary sources assert that Teucer, son of Telamon and Hesione, and brother of Ajax, founded the city-kingdom of Salamis. These include: E. *Hel.*145; Paus. 2.29.2, Isoc. 9.16, Verg. *Aen.* 1. 619-22; Hor. *Od.* 1.7.27.

[22] Paus. 8.5.2, 13.5.1-4 claims that the Arcadian hero Agapenor, who fought in the Trojan war, was the founder of Paphos. However, Apollod. 3.14.3 asserts that the Cypriot king Cinyras founded this city-kingdom.

[23] There are several foundation legends regarding the establishment of Amathous, which came to be identified as the seat of the island's autochthonous population. While Ps.-Skylax 103 and St.Byz.10: 351 claim that the people of Amathous were indigenous to Cyprus, Theopomp.Hist *FGrH* 115 F 103 maintains that they were descendants of Cyrinas.

[24] Hdt 5.113 maintains that Kourion was a colony of Argos.

[25] Plut. *Sol.* 26 claims that the city-kingdom of Soloi was named after the sixth century statesman Solon of Athens.

[26] It is only Kition that does not trace its establishment back to mainland Greece. Cf. St.Byz. 412 .7.

[27] Dandmaev (1989) 161.

[28] Tuplin (1996) 67.

kingdom consisted of Phoenicians, Greeks and Hebrews. A number of personal names inscribed on these stelae indicate that mixed marriages occurred within Kition during the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods, displaying a symbiosis of the different groups of people living in this city-kingdom during the Cypro-Archaic II to the Hellenistic periods when the cemetery under discussion was in use.[29] Thus, antagonism among the island's city-kingdoms cannot be viewed as conflict between the Eteocypriots, Cypro-Greeks and Cypro-Phoenicians. Given the importance of commercial exchange to the prosperity of these city-kingdoms, it is perhaps more likely the commercial position of these city-kingdoms contributed to growing competition between Cypriot ports, at times leading to intra-island rivalry.

## 1.2 Cyprus, Phoenicia and Egypt

Economic considerations unquestionably impacted on the relations between the island's city-kingdoms and its neighbouring regions in the eastern Mediterranean. The exploitation of Cyprus' trading commodities, together with her geographical location, allowed for the development of trade relations with the nearby Phoenician seaports in particular.[30] Contingent on bilateral trade, this commercial and cultural relationship thrived long before both regions came to be under Persian rule in the sixth century B.C. and was essential to the island's economic and cultural growth. While the Cypriots offered the Phoenicians a port of call for commercial enterprises further west, as well as access to their highly marketable copper and timber reserves, contact with Phoenicia provided those on the island with the ability to trade with the regions of the Levant and Near East.[31] Interaction between the two can be traced as far back as 1650 B.C., during which there were trade contacts between Cyprus and Canaanite city-states.[32] It is, however, during the eleventh century that

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[29] Cf. Dupont-Sommer (1984) 103-109 who conducts an in-depth analysis of the origins of these personal names.

[30] For a map illustrating Cyprus' geographical position in relation to Phoenicia, Egypt and the Greek mainland see Appendix II.

[31] Knapp (1985) 249: 'political events in the Levant and the Near East – notably the disruption of copper and tin supplies coming into Syria and the Levant via Mesopotamia as a result of ethnic movements (Hurrians, Kassites) or outright military expeditions (Hitties) – must have forced the peoples of the Levant into seeking new or augmented supplies of copper.' Moreover, the presence of early Greek Protogeometric-period pottery in both Amathous and the Phoenician coastal city of Tyre, together with the discovery of early Levantine imports at Euboean Lefkandi point to, as Markoe (2000) 32 suggests, 'active exchange between the island of Euboea and the Phoenician mainland via Cyprus in the tenth century' illustrating that the island had a strategic role as a base for Phoenician trade throughout the Mediterranean.

[32] Bikai (1989) 203: 'no later than 1650 B.C.E. there were organized trade contacts between the Canaanite city-states and the ports of Cyprus. The basis of this trade was copper. The very strong

relations between the two became particularly intense with Cypriot settlements, such as Paphos, yielding considerable quantities of Phoenician goods dated to this period, this provides 'evidence of more than just rare visits…[these finds] consisted mainly of ceramics in tombs, but their presence in many different tombs suggest a trading station.'[33]

This well-established connection flourished when the Phoenicians instituted a physical presence on the island during the ninth century B.C. At this time, the Phoenician city of Tyre established an emporion at Kition.[34] It appears that Tyre did not have a substantial hold over Kition, however, with numismatic evidence revealing that a city-kingdom was not established until the fifth century B.C.[35] What may be discerned from the Phoenician presence at Kition is that it had a long-term impact on the island; not only did it leave its cultural mark on Kition itself, it also significantly strengthened the ties that already existed between mainland Phoenicia and Cyprus.[36] This Phoenician presence at Kition facilitated the import of goods and also contributed to the local manufacture and distribution of Phoenician goods throughout the island. Cypriot production of Phoenician goods was so abundant that 'in many ways it is a greater source of knowledge [on Phoenician pottery] than the Phoenician cities themselves.'[37] By the eighth century B.C. Phoenician presence extended all over the island, throughout both the heavily populated coastal city-kingdoms and in the interior regions of the copper-rich Troodos Mountains. Indeed, the Phoenician presence at Kition coincides with the arrival of Phoenician luxury imports on the

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relationship between Cyprus and Ugarit, the major Canaanite port of the Late Bronze Age, was undoubtedly based on that trade.'

[33] Bikai (1989) 204. Cf. Negbi (1992) 605: 'That the scope of these contacts increased steadily during the course of the 11th century is substantiated by the growing body of vessels, both imports and local imitations, recorded from various cemeteries in southern and eastern Cyprus such as Palapaphos-Skales, Kourion (Bambould and Kaloriziki), Amathous, and Salamis.'

[34] An inscription found in Sardinia, known as the Nora inscription, provides evidence of Tyrian interaction with Kition. Budin (2003) 262 translates this inscription thus: 'Temple of the cape of Nogar, which is in Sardinia. May it be prosperous! May Tyre, the mother of Kition, be prosperous! Construction that constructed Nogar in the honor of Pumay!'

[35] Iacovou (2008) 263: 'there is no inscribed statement as to a Phoenician authority of any kind in Kition before the transition into the 5th century B.C. The striking of coins being the definitive evidence as regards a Cypriote state's independent political status, it must be underlined that the earliest known inscribed coins of Kition, with the name of its first known Phoenician king Baalmilk I (ca. 479-449) in full alphabetic letters, date from after the Ionian revolt of 499/8 B.C.'

[36] Smith (2009) 11: 'While Phoenician control at Kition did not lead to a long-lived colony ruled from the mainland, it did leave its mark on the form and purpose of buildings at Kition, the script and language most used by its inhabitants, and the cultural outlook of the city.'

[37] Moscati (2001) 51.

island, which appear in Paphos, Amathous, Kourion and Salamis in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C.[38]

Phoenician migration to Cyprus stimulated the island's economy, assisting in the export of goods to the western Mediterranean. Not long after the arrival of Phoenicians to Kition in the ninth century B.C. a steady flow of Cypriot pottery was exported to the Dodecanese, Crete, Rhodes, and Kos, including a significant amount of Black-on-Red slow-pouring unguent vessels, which illustrates that both the Phoenician settlers on Cyprus, and those on the Phoenician mainland, seem to have had direct roles in Cypriot trade.[39] The Phoenicians also facilitated trade between Cyprus and its neighbouring regions. The island's commercial interaction with Egypt, for instance, appears to have been mediated by the Phoenicians to a certain extent. Large quantities of Egyptian faience flasks, amulets and scarabs have been discovered in the Phoenician temples at Kition, illustrating that a significant portion of Egyptian goods were imported to Cyprus by both Egyptian traders and Phoenicians.[40] Moreover, though Cypriot trading factories were established in places such as the Greek settlements of Naucratis in Egypt and at Amrit in Syria, the distance between Egypt and Cyprus of more than four hundred kilometres 'made interruptions of the voyage inevitable and so trade at its stations possible and likely, perhaps even necessary. These stations were on the Syro-Phoenician coast.'[41]

The island's commercial relationship with Phoenicia greatly impacted on its political circumstances. Though Cyprus' monarchs vied with one another for political expansion and wealth, there are rare instances in which their economic aspirations led them to align with one another in certain political decisions made. The first clear instance was the voluntary submission of the island's city-kingdoms to the Assyrian

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[38] As noted by Aubet (2001) 52-54 who further asserts that the chamber tombs in the royal necropolis of Salamis have yielded silver, bronze and ivory Phoenician imports dating to the eighth century B.C., which 'reflect the opulence and power of the local kings at the time the Phoenicians were establishing themselves on the island.' Karageorghis (1982a) 60 also observes that these tombs comprised 'richly decorated hearses, war chariots, 'Phoenician' bronzes, large quantities of pottery and other gifts…'

[39] Coldstream (1985) 57 asserts that since Black-on-Red is associated with the Phoenician penetration of Cyprus: 'it is likely that this westward trade in unguents was in the hands of the newly established Phoenicians to Cyprus.'

[40] Karageorghis (1982a) 65 observes that these were: 'found usually as offerings in tombs and temples.' Furthermore, according to Maroke (1990) 116-120, Egyptian traits in Cypriot statuary during this time stand closer to the Egyptianizing feature of Phoenician art, rather than to the genuine Egyptian sculpture.

[41] Mehl (2009) 65: 'The arts and crafts in the nearby cities of Phoenicia adopted Egyptian peculiarities therefore the so-called Egyptian products found in Cyprus may be Phoenician in origin and in consequence would tell us nothing about commerce between Cyprus and Egypt.'

ruler Sargon II. As a land-based power, the Assyrians did not cross the sea to conquer the island and besides tribute there is nothing to suggest that they had a political or military presence there. Cypriot motivation to join this empire is not difficult to ascertain, however, when we consider that formal political relations between the island's city-kingdoms and the Assyrian Empire were established subsequent to the Assyrian conquest of the Levantine coast. Driven by 'a desire to redistribute the valuable products of other parts of the near eastern world to north Mesopotamia' the Assyrians gradually incorporated the cities of the Levantine coast into their dominion.[42] By 710 B.C. all the lands to the east of Cyprus had come under Assyrian rule due to an interest in both tributary payments and the commercial trading process which occurred in the politico-military subject areas; this principle was particularly applicable in Phoenicia due to the 'substantial role of Phoenician sea-captains and merchants in commercial activity…Assyria's interest in the area was thus bound to have a trade component.'[43] Through their subjugation of these regions the Assyrians controlled major trading ports in the East, prompting the Cypriots to recognize Assyrian sovereignty. Given that Cyprus' maritime commercial activity was instrumental in ensuring that the island's city-kingdoms prospered economically, their deliberate acquiescence to the Assyrian empire was undeniably connected to the commercial and political advantages that they could gain by participating in a commercial network protected by the Assyrians.[44]

Economic motives also drove the island's commercial interaction with Egypt. A number of documents attest to their economic interaction, beginning in the fifteenth century B.C. when copper from Alashiya was in great demand.[45] The Annals of Tutmosis III, Years 34, 38, 39 (fifteenth century B.C.), for instance, attest that the prince of 'isy/Asiya sent Tuthmosis a significant amount of copper, as well as ivory,

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[42] Tuplin (1996) 18. The Assyrian acquisition of Phoenicia was a gradual process. As Stylianou (1992) 379-383 succinctly notes the Neo-Assyrian king Ashurnasirpal II (883-859 B.C.) first subdued the coastal cities of Tyre and Sidon in the late 870s or early 860s. However, it is not until the end of the Neo-Assyrian king Tiglath-Pileser III's reign (744-727 B.C.) that northern Phoenicia had been turned into an Assyrian province and southern Phoenicia, namely Tyre, had become a 'puppet state.'
[43] Tuplin (1996) 18.
[44] Stylianou (1992) 390: 'The Cypriot kings had grown affluent in the course of the 8th century...Cyprus' crucial geographical position...allowed her to act as an entrêpot for trade between the Levant, the Aegean and the western Mediterranean. An agreement had, therefore, to be reached with a power which controlled the Cilician and Syrian coasts, and the only once acceptable to an Assyrian king involved recognition and sovereignty.'
[45] On the identification of Cyprus as Alayshia see Kitchen (2009) 1-9.

timber, lapis lazuli and other goods.[46] Similarly, letter EA 35, one of nine letters from Alashiya found in the Tell el Amarna archive and dated to the fourteenth century B.C., demonstrates that an unspecified king of Cyprus exchanged copper with the Egyptians for silver:

> I herewith send to you 500 (?) of copper…I will send you whatever copper, you, my brother, request…send me silver in great quantities…Moreover, my brother, men of my country keep speaking with me about my timber that the king of Egypt receives from me.[47]

This textual evidence demonstrates that by the Bronze Age Cyprus was well connected with various political powers of the Near East. Moreover, it illustrates that the island's monarchs were recognised as 'peer kings of the Bronze Age international milieu'[48] The island's connection to Egypt continued throughout the centuries with both real and imitated Egyptian goods being imported to Cyprus in considerable quantities throughout the time of the Neo-Assyrian supremacy over the island and well into the fourth century B.C. while Cyprus was under Persian rule.[49]

The commercial connection between Cyprus and Egypt was solidified in the sixth century B.C. when Egyptians established themselves as a prominent power in the eastern Mediterranean world. Following the collapse of the Assyrian empire in 612 B.C. the Egyptians appear to have gained supremacy over the island. Regrettably, little is known regarding the interaction between the islanders and the pharaohs of the twenty-sixth dynasty. However, Herodotus identifies the island as a tributary of the Pharaoh Amasis II (570-526), stating that he was 'the first man to capture Cyprus and subject it to payment of tribute' (Hdt. 2.182). Diodorus also claims that Amasis 'reduced the cities of Cyprus and adorned many temples with noteworthy votive offerings' (D.S. 1.68).[50] Similarly to the Assyrians, the Egyptians appear to have preserved Cyprus' political structure, the payment of tribute being the only form of political interaction known. Their influence was predominantly cultural rather than

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[46] Knapp (2009) 221.

[47] Transl. Moran (1992) 107-108. For a comprehensive overview of Alashiyan-Egyptian letters see Knapp (2009) 221.

[48] Budin (2003) 108 asserts that this is primarily due to the fact that the king of Cyprus addresses the pharaoh as 'brother', the 'form of address used between peer kings in the Late Bronze Age.'

[49] Flourentzos (2009) 67: 'During the Cypro-Archaic period and especially in its earlier phases there is undoubtedly evidence of Egyptian iconography and symbolism on Cypriote Art. It is worth mentioning that this important cultural phenomenon existed in the island of Cyprus much before its conquest by pharaoh Amasis in 560 B.C.'

[50] Transl. Oldfather (1933). As Green (2006) 23 notes, Diodorus' assertion is derived from Herodotus.

political.[51] Nonetheless, as shall be illustrated as this thesis progresses, the connection between the two greatly impacted on Cyprus' political circumstances.

## 1.3 The Sources: Cyprus in Greek Thought

Cyprus was known to inhabitants of the Greek mainland and islands from the Early Bronze Age onwards as a result of constant commercial and cultural contacts, as well as LHIII Mycenaean migration.[52] At the same time, owing to its position in the eastern Mediterranean, the island naturally facilitated cultural amalgamation causing the development of a unique culture that consisted of both Oriental and Occidental elements.[53] As a result of this, ancient Greek literary sources tend to 'implicitly or explicitly treat Cyprus as somewhat alien.'[54] This is apparent in the island's association with the goddess of sexuality, love and fertility, Aphrodite.[55] This goddess herself paradoxically juxtaposes the Orient and Occident within both ancient and modern sources since she was widely worshipped as part of the Greek pantheon and also connected with the Near East.[56]

Cyprus' correlation with the goddess is first revealed by Homer who uses the epithet 'Aphrodite Kypris' or simply 'Kypris' (the Cyprian) within his *Iliad,* to identify Aphrodite

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[51] On the cultural influence that the Egyptians exercised on the island see Karageorghis (1982a) 65-69 who maintains that by the time of Amasis the Cypriots began to imitate Egyptian styles in stone sculpture and motifs.

[52] As Budin (2003) 185 notes, while the exact date of interaction between Greece and Cyprus remains a topic of debate 'it is generally agreed that the earliest Aegean imports found on Cyprus date from the Early and Middle Bronze Ages.'

[53] Archaeological finds best exemplify this. Note for instance the Late Bronze Age polychrome faience rhyton discovered in the city-kingdom of Kition which is, as Knapp (2010) 227 notes 'inspired by an Aegean shape but decorated in a Levantine style and produced in a technical fashion that appears to be Egyptian.'

[54] Tuplin (1996) 68. Cf. Rhodes/Osborne (2003) 52: 'Some people in Cyprus used the Greek language from at least the end of the Bronze Age, and Cypriots claimed kinship with the Greeks in their foundation myths; but Greeks tended to regard Cyprus as a distinctly foreign place.'

[55] As a deity of the Greek pantheon Aphrodite was a multifaceted goddess. Smith/Pickup (2010) 25 define her as the goddess of 'not only love, sex, fertility and abundance, but also work, war, craft, politics, and many others.'

[56] Budin (2003) 1: 'It is clear that Aphrodite existed in the Greek pantheon as a Greek goddess by the end of the eighth century BCE...and that she was well entrenched in Greek mythology and folklore by the early seventh century BCE...The question remains, however, as to whether and when she evolved in Greece, or whether she was imported into Greece and under what influences.' There are several schools of thought as to the goddess' origin. The first holds the view that the Phoenicians introduced Aphrodite to Cyprus and that the Cypriots, in turn, introduced her to mainland Greece, cf. Kinsley (1989) 187. Another school of thought asserts that although Aphrodite was influenced by the East, she was of Indo-European origin, cf. Boedeker (1974) 6. Others put forward that Aphrodite did not originate in the Aegean, having no counterpart in the Indo-European pantheons and was therefore a native Cypriot goddess who evolved into the Greek Aphrodite, cf. Budin (2003) 199. Ultimately, these interpretations each acknowledge the goddess' ambiguous nature and her connection to the island.

on five separate occasions (Hom. *Il.* 5.274; 5.352; 5.443; 5.663; 5.792).[57] Homer elaborates within his *Odyssey*, recounting in the Song of Demodocus that when the goddess is caught betraying her husband Hephaestus, she flees 'to Paphos in Cyprus, where she has her sacred sanctuary and altar fragrant with incense' (Hom. *Od.* 8.360). Aphrodite's Paphian cult was well known in classical literature and by the first millennium B.C. Paphos was recognized as a principal cult centre of the goddess.[58] More important, however, is the ancient identification of Cyprus as Aphrodite's birthplace and island home. It is from Hesiod that we learn of Aphrodite's birth out of the foam produced by the castrated genitals of Ouranos:

> First she drew near holy Cythera, and from there, afterwards, she came to sea-girt Cyprus, and came forth an awful and lovely goddess…Her gods and men call [her]…Cytherea because she reached Cythera, and Cyprogenes[59] because she was born on billowy Cyprus (Hes. *Th.* 176-206)[60]

This is further recognized in two Homeric *Hymns to Aphrodite*, which variously refer to Cyprus as the goddess' realm: 'I will sing of stately Aphrodite, gold-crowned and beautiful, whose dominion is the walled cities of all sea-set Cyprus.' (h.Hom. *h.Ven.* 6.1-15); 'Of Cytherea, born in Cyprus, I will sing…Hail, goddess, queen of well-built Salamis and sea-girt Cyprus' (h.Hom. *h.Ven.* 10.1).[61] This affinity between Aphrodite and Cyprus within our sources suggests that the Greeks and Cypriots had a shared cultural heritage in terms of myth.[62] At the same time, this correlation with the goddess will not have made the island seem normal. As Tuplin rightly observes,

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[57] Cf. A. *Th.* 138 in which the epithet 'Kypris' is also used to identify Aphrodite.

[58] On Aphrodite's Paphian cult see Budin (2003) 170-77. Several sources make reference to this cult: h.Hom *h.Ven.* 5; Hdt. 1.105; Str. 14.6.3; Paus. 8.5.2; 8.53.7; In fact Strabo and Pausanias each use the epithet 'Paphia' to refer to the goddess.

[59] The term Cyprogenes (Cyprus-born) is used to describe the goddess through to late antiquity within Greek lyric poetry including Sapph. 22.16; Pin. *P.* 4.216; Pin. *O.* 10.105; *Orph.H.* 55 to Aphrodite.

[60] Transl. Evelyn-White (2008). This account is divergent to Homer's claim that Aphrodite was the daughter of Zeus and the sea goddess Dione. Homer describes the goddess as 'the daughter of Zeus' (Hom. *Il.* 5.310) and further affirms the goddess' genealogy by recounting 'but fair Aphrodite flung herself upon the knees of her mother Dione.' (Hom. *Il.* 5.370). It must, however, be noted that Homer also acknowledges the goddess' relationship with Cyprus through the use of the epithet 'Cypris' shortly after describing her parentage: 'Of a surety now Cypris has been urging some of the women of Achaea to follow after the Trojans…' (Hom. *Il.* 5.420). Therefore, while the difference between Homer and Hesiod's accounts of the goddess' birth is considerable, both origin tales associate the goddess with Cyprus regardless of the circumstances of her birth. This indicates that Aphrodite's relationship with Cyprus extended beyond the fact that the island may have been her birthplace.

[61] Transl. Evelyn-White (2008).

[62] Boardman (2001) 22: 'Greeks were good at assimilating their religious practises to those of others, and it is clear that it was in Cyprus…that much of this assimilation took the form of religious practise...This is why Cyprus becomes the location of some of the more lasting rapprochements of eastern and western religion – notably the Birth of Aphrodite stories.'

within classical literature major Greek deities often 'have somewhat (or extremely) marginal places of origin (in reality and myth) and relentless literary reference to the "Cyprian Goddess" will, if anything, have conferred an air of fantasy and eccentricity upon the island.'[63]

Textual evidence undeniably acknowledges that the Cypriots possessed qualities that differentiated the islanders from the peoples of mainland Greece. For instance, through his character of Pelasgus, king of Argos, Aeschylus suggests that similarly to the Danaids of Egypt, Cypriot women were exotically different to Argive women:

> What you say, strangers, is unbelievable for me to hear, that this group of yours is of Argive descent. You [Danaids] bear more resemblance to the women of Libya– certainly not to those of this country [Argos]. The Nile, too, might nurture such a crop; and a similar stamp is struck upon the dies of Cyprian womanhood by male artificers. I hear too that there are nomad women in India, near neighbours to the Ethiopians, who saddle their way across country on camels that run like horses; and then the man-shunning, meat-eating Amazons–if you were equipped with bows, I'd be very inclined to guess that you were them. (A. *Supp.* 282-6)[64]

The inclusion of the Cypriots in this passage has been described as 'absurd', largely on the basis that the Cypriots were known to have been predominantly Greek.[65] Yet, Aeschylus' suggestion that Cypriot women followed the fashions of the Danaids of Egypt is not striking when we consider that the island did have a long established commercial, cultural and, to some extent, political relationship with Egypt. A number of Greek literary sources associate the islanders with the Egyptians, with Aeschylus himself establishing a geographical connection between the two in his *Suppliants* whilst describing Io's journey over Asia on her way to Egypt:

> and she rushed through the land of Asia,
>
> from end to end of sheep-rearing Phrygia,
>
> and passed through the Mysian city of Teuthras
>
> up the vales of Lydia

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[63] Tuplin (1996) 69.

[64] All translations of A. *Supp*, are those of Sommerstein (2008).

[65] Hadjistephanou (1990) 291 unconvincingly argues that the original reading of κύπρις is a misreading of καιπρος 'in the minuscule script with no word division, or with an imperfect one, by a scribe who was not particularly careful…' This particular passage of the *Suppliants* has caused much controversy among scholars in regards to the ethnicity of the Cypriots. For contrasting analyses of Aeschylus' passage see, for example, Hadjiioannou (1985) 509-513, Hadjistyllis (1985) 515-520, Serghidou (2000) 147-56 and Hermary (2002) 276-88.

and through the mountains of Cilicia,

speeding across the land of the Pamphylians,

its ever-flowing rivers

and its deep rich soil, and the land

of Aphrodite abundant in wheat. (A. *Supp.* 550-555)[66]

The island's liminal location between East and West, along with its cultural syncretism of the two, highlights its anomalous position in the eastern Mediterranean world. This is further emphasised throughout Herodotus' *Histories.* As the first Greek author to make extensive reference to the island, Herodotus introduces Cyprus to his audience, and to mainland Greeks, as lying on the periphery of the Hellenic world through his description of the Lydian king Croesus' campaign against Persia in 550 B.C. Within this account, Herodotus establishes the Hylas river as a boundary between the Persian and Lydian empires which 'divides nearly all of Asia between those regions in the south, facing the sea towards Cyprus, and those northern regions facing the Euxine Sea' (Hdt. 1.72) and, as such, also identifies Cyprus as an 'implicit frontier opposing East and West…[locating] Cyprus as bordering the Mediterranean fringe of Asia.'[67]

As the *Histories* progress, Herodotus supplements the island's geographic liminality with its cultural specificity, associating the island with both East and West. Indeed, it is Herodotus who first suggests that Aphrodite was Phoenician in origin and that it was the Phoenicians who introduced her cult to Cyprus. In discussing the plundering of Aphrodite Ourania's sanctuary in the Syrian city of Ascalon, Herodotus relates:

> I have found out through inquiry that this is the oldest of all the temples of this goddess. In fact, her sanctuary on Cyprus originated here, as the Cyprians themselves affirm, and the one on Cythera was founded by the Phoenicians (Hdt. 1.105)

We can give such evidence considerable weight considering Herodotus' interests and upbringing. Herodotus further associates the island with the cultures of the Near

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[66] Though Tuplin (1996) 68 and Mitchell (2006) 212 believe that 'the land of Aphrodite' refers to Cyprus, Sommerstein (2008) 363 suggests that this is an allusion to Phoenicia and Palestine since these regions were famous for the worship of Astarte (equated by Greeks with Aphrodite). Given that the goddess is so closely associated with the island prior to Aeschylus' work, I would argue that 'the land of Aphrodite' is indeed a reference to Cyprus. This is made further evident through the fact that other sources use similar expressions to associate Aphrodite with Cyprus. For instance, within E. *Ba.* 403, the Chorus exclaim: 'Oh, let me be in Cyprus, Aphrodite's land.'
[67] Serghidou (2000) 272.

East by asserting that sacred prostitution was practised in the Babylonian sanctuary of Aphrodite and 'a custom similar to this is observed in some regions of Cyprus' (Hdt. 1.199). Moreover, while recounting the customs of the Egyptians, Herodotus states there is 'one song in particular about "Linos," who is celebrated in song in Phoenicia, Cyprus and elsewhere, but who bears a different name in each nation.' (Hdt. 2.79).[68] This once again affirms the connection between Cyprus and Egypt within our sources.

Though Herodotus acknowledges similarities between Cypriot and Near Eastern customs, establishing a cultural distance between Cypriots and Greeks, the island is still connected to Greece within the *Histories*. By mentioning Cypriot customs in conjunction with those of the Babylonians, Egyptians, and Phoenicians, Herodotus acknowledges distinct differences between the Cypriots and mainland Greeks in terms of local traditions while recognising the island as a place of Eastern and Western cultural fusion. His nuanced presentation of the island is best exemplified through his portrayal of king Evethon of Salamis (560-525 B.C.), the first Cypriot monarch whose name is historically and epigraphically recorded. Upon introducing this king, Herodotus immediately connects him with both Delphi and Cyrene by recounting that following civil war within in Cyrene, its king Arkesilaos took the following action:

> In the civil strife that he created, Arkesilaos was defeated and fled to Samos, while his mother [Pheretime] fled to Salamis on Cyprus. During this time the ruler of Salamis was Evethlon, the man who dedicated an incense burner at Delphi…it is set up in the treasury of the Corinthians. Pheretime came to Evethlon and asked for an army that would restore her to Cyrene. (Hdt. 4.162)

Herodotus also recognises a similarity between the Cypriots and mainland Greeks while, at the same time, making a linguistic distinction between them. While describing the different regions and customs within Thrace, he observes a difference between the Greek spoken on the mainland and the regional dialect of the Cypriots: 'the word 'Sigynaa' means 'shopkeeper' among the Ligurians who live above

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[68] Further references that note the island's distinct differences from mainland Greece include Pl. *Laws* 738C (which discusses the island in relation to 'imported' sacrifices), and the later Ps.-Skylax 103 (which relates the Cypriot city-kingdom of Lapithos to mainland Phoenicia).The grouping of Cyprus with Phoenicia and Egypt within, and prior to, the *Histories* is not arbitrary. Given their proximity to one another, it is unsurprising that they are connected so closely with one another by literary sources. However, their relationship stems beyond cultural similarities. These regions were inextricably linked as a result of cultural, commercial and political interaction.

Massalia, and 'spear' in Cyprus' (Hdt. 5.9). Thus, similarly to those before him Herodotus stresses the island's status as a peripheral site, illustrating that while it contained Greek cultural elements and had ties to the Greek world, Cyprus remained anomalous.

**Conclusions**

Cyprus' geographic and commercial position in the eastern Mediterranean world was fundamental to the way in which the island developed in antiquity. The island's unique amalgamation of eastern, western and Egyptian traits did not go unnoticed by the Greeks, the earliest authors presenting the island as anomalous. It cannot be denied that the 'numerous references to Cyprus in ancient Greek literature leave little doubt that the island was at all times viewed by the Greeks as an integral part of their world.'[69] Nonetheless, while Cyprus was undoubtedly a part of the Greek world, early Greek literary sources depicted it as an inimitable island on the periphery of that world. Its dissimilar political structure and distinctive cultural make-up greatly contributed to this perception. Although unambiguous insight into the internal political structure of each city-kingdom cannot be discerned, the geographical organisation and development of these city-kingdoms reflects their dependency on natural trading commodities. Cyprus' economic dependency on trade greatly affected the political circumstances of her city-kingdom. This is most obviously reflected through the island's relationship with Phoenicia which in turn, impacted on its interaction with the Neo-Assyrian and Egyptian empires. Karageorghis asserts that the island was a 'bone of contention' between rising empires who sought to control it in order to expand their territories, increase their political power and capitalise their wealth.[70] However, it is clear that though the island certainly served a dual role as a direct source of wealth and a key strategic position for these major powers, Cypriot economic aspirations facilitated the island's incorporation into these empires.

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[69] Stylianou (1992) 508.
[70] Karageorghis (1982b) 11.

# Chapter 2
## Cyprus and Persia

The development of the Persian Empire began in 550 B.C. when Cyrus, king of Ashan/Fars in south-western Iran (ca. 559-530 B.C.) and his son Cambyses II (530-522 B.C.) conquered the Medes, along with the Lydian, Babylonian and Egyptian Empires. At its greatest extent, this Empire stretched across the Hellespont to north India, including Egypt and central Asia, incorporating the island of Cyprus into its dominion no later than 525 B.C. This phase of the island's history, which was to last for almost two centuries, is of the most contentious in that Persian rule is recurrently viewed as an 'encroachment' on Cypriot political life.[1] It is assumed that this occurred chiefly as a result of Darius I's political reforms, which appear to have prompted rebellion in Cyprus in 499/8 B.C.[2]

The purpose of this chapter is to reassess the island's relationship with the Persian Empire from the late sixth to mid-fifth centuries B.C. in order to determine the degree to which local agency existed on the island while it was under Persian suzerainty. To do so, I begin with a consideration of both how and why Cyprus came to be under Persian rule. I then analyse the extent to which Persian supremacy impacted on Cyprus' local political circumstances which in turn, facilitates an in-depth assessment of the events of 499/8 B.C. At this time revolt in Ionia incited a rebellion on the island. My principal focus is on the Cypriot rebellion of 498 B.C. since this is the first extensive literary account which involves the island. This rebellion is persistently considered to have been motivated by the island's 'Hellenic' connections, with the majority of its city-kingdom's joining the Ionians in a Greek uprising. I argue that this situation has been oversimplified. The Cypriot rebellion does reflect that political unrest existed on the Empire's periphery in the fifth century B.C.; but to suggest that the island's city-kingdoms united in an effort to uphold their cultural ties with mainland Greece is to ignore that they were distinctive and separate both from one another and from the Greeks who rebelled in Asia Minor. As I shall illustrate, the events of the Cypriot rebellion shed light on the personal motives of its monarchs

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[1] Chroust (1966) 205: 'For some time the Greek settlers on the island of Cyprus had been threatened by the constant encroachments of the Persians.'
[2] Karageoghis (1982a) 154 'The expansionist policy of Darius and his efforts to dominate the whole of the Greek world changed the attitude of the Persians towards the Cypriots, and their rule became ruthless.'

and city-kingdoms; the island's own domestic circumstances are revealed through the narrative of the uprising as described by Herodotus, our principal source for this event.[3]

## 2.1 Cyprus' entry into the Persian Empire

Throughout the mid-sixth to fourth centuries B.C., Cyprus' city-kingdoms formed part of the Persian Empire. The Cypriots first appear as members of the Empire in 525 B.C. when, as Herodotus attests, the Great King Cambyses' besieged Egypt (Hdt. 3.19.3). This date is the *terminus ante quem* for Cyprus' incorporation into the Empire.[4] Following a description of the Phoenician refusal to sail against Carthage during this campaign (Hdt. 3.19.3), Herodotus attests that the islanders provided Cambyses with naval support:

> Cambyses did not think it right to apply undue pressure on the Phoenicians, both because they had surrendered to the Persians voluntarily and because the Persian naval power depended entirely on them. The Cyprians had also surrendered to the Persians voluntarily and were taking part in this campaign against Egypt as well. (Hdt. 3.19.3)[5]

The most significant aspects of Herodotus' account are twofold; firstly, it is made clear that these city-kingdoms *voluntarily* surrendered to the Persians and, secondly, it is indicated that they did so following the Phoenician states of the Levantine coast. This voluntary defection from Egyptian to Persian suzerainty after Phoenician submission to the latter is reminiscent of the way in which the Cypriots were incorporated into the Neo-Assyrian Empire. It was imperative that the Cypriots

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[3] With the exception of a few brief allusions in Thuc. 4.102.2, D.S. 10.25.4, and Plu. *Malice of Herodotus* .24, Herodotus represents our only full source of information for the events of the Ionian revolt and Cypriot rebellion.

[4] It is possible to date the incorporation of Cyprus into the Persian Empire as early as 545 B.C. since Xenophon suggests that it is at this time that Cambyses' predecessor, the Great King Cyrus, extended his rule over many nations adding 'both Cyprus and Egypt to his empire' (X. *Cyr.* 1.1.4). However, in a detailed investigation Watkin (1987) 154-163 convincingly argues that Cyprus' incorporation into the Empire could not have occurred under Cyrus for three primary reasons: firstly, Xenophon's *Cyropaedia* in not a reliable historical source; secondly, Cyrus did not possess a naval fleet and thus could not have obtained control of the island; thirdly, Herodotus clearly attests that Cyprus was a tributary of the Egyptian Pharaoh Amasis in 539 B.C. (Hdt. 2.182; Cf. D.S.1.68). This is widely accepted, cf. Tuplin (1996) 16 and Briant (2002) 48 for example.

[5] Transl. Purvis (2008). It should, however, be noted that for this particular passage the translation provided by Godley (1920) better reflects the Greek: 'Thus the Carthaginians escaped being enslaved by the Persians; for Cambyses would not use force with the Phoenicians, seeing that they had willingly surrendered to the Persians, and the whole fleet drew its strength from them. The Cyprians too had come of their own accord to aid the Persians against Egypt.' (Hdt. 3.19.3). Nonetheless, both translations clearly reflect Herodotus' assertion that the Cypriots entered the Persian Empire willingly.

maintained their relationship with the Phoenicians regardless of which power held the Levantine coast since it was the Phoenicians who mediated trade between Cyprus and the Near East. Thus, following their initial submission to Cambyses Cyprus' city-kingdoms merged with the Phoenicians under Darius I by 520 B.C. as part of the Empire's fifth satrapy together with the entire Levantine mainland west of the Euphrates river, including Syria-Palestine. Under the reforms of Darius I, this satrapy, according to Herodotus, had a fixed collective annual tribute of three hundred and fifty talents (Hdt. 3.91.1).[6] Categorical evidence regarding the details of Cyprus' individual tribute does not exist; the Cypriots are not shown paying tribute at Persepolis. This illustrates that the islanders were not exacted to pay tribute as a conquered state paying an assessed levy; rather, they offered tribute in the form of men and ships as a token of sovereignty. This tribute was put forward in exchange for the opportunity to maintain their commercial position in the eastern Mediterranean.

Access to the rapidly expanding Persian Empire also presented the Cypriots with the prospect of commercial expansion. This could help explain why the Cypriots seceded from Egyptian control to ally themselves with the Empire, aiding the Persians in subduing their former rulers. The successful incorporation of Egypt into the Empire would facilitate Cypriot trade with the entire eastern Mediterranean region. This desire to further develop trade relations with the regions of the Near East is demonstrated by the fact that when the Cypriot monarchs of Salamis, Kition, Amathous, Paphos, Lapithos and Marion first minted their own coinage in the sixth century B.C. (headed by king Evethlon of Salamis) they used the Persian weight standard.[7] This enabled trade with the coastal regions of Lydia and the east-Greek *poleis*, also permitting them to assert their sovereignty both within their own city-kingdoms and throughout the island.

The striking of independent Cypriot coinage highlights Persian recognition of the autonomous royal status of the island's monarchs. Moreover, it reflects the

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[6] Darius transformed the administrative system of the Persian Empire subsequent to his ascension to the Persian throne in 522 B.C. by amending the satrapal system instituted by Cyrus the Great. Darius established uniformity throughout the empire by dividing it into 'twenty satrapies, which is what they call provinces in Persia' and also by regulating annual taxes throughout the empire which standardised its political structure while financing its bureaucracy and military (Hdt. 3.89.1).

[7] As noted by Brown (1987) 76 who provides a succinct overview of the development of coinage on the island.

independent standing that these monarchs held under Persian supremacy since, when the Cypriot rulers did issue coinage the figure of the Great King did not appear on it, as it did elsewhere.[8] Persian imperialism did allow for such autonomy as a means of pacification among the vast regions that its Great Kings controlled. This facilitated 'an imperial ideology that encouraged a view of mutual benefit (reciprocity) all enhanced the opportunity for economic performance.'[9] The Persians applied straightforward conditions to their subjects; loyalty demonstrated through the payment of tribute and military aid was rewarded by means of political and cultural tolerance, while disloyalty was met with strict political governance. The size and economic prosperity of each province had a direct impact on the amount of financial tribute paid annually by each satrapy, yet every levy presented to the Great King was accepted as a sign of allegiance. This expression of loyalty allowed each province to retain its own unique political, religious and cultural traditions.[10] Nonetheless, while the Persians characteristically fostered good relations with the peoples of their subjugated territories as a means of appeasement, the Cypriot city-kingdoms appear to have enjoyed an ample degree of independence. As is to be expected given the nature of Persian imperialism, Persian vassalage had a very modest influence on Cypriot political and cultural life during the late sixth and early fifth centuries B.C. The islands' kings were permitted to retain their dynastic autonomy; the inhabitants of the island were free to carry out their own cultural and religious customs independently; and the basic form of political organization on the island into separate city-kingdoms was not effaced. The island did, nevertheless, differ from other dynastic regions which were incorporated into the satrapal system of the Empire such as Cilicia, Lycia and Caria since no satrap is ever detailed on Cyprus, and we see the imperial structure operating through the agency of local rulers. Since the island held a long-

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[8] Hill (1972) 112: 'never does the figure of the Great King appear on it, as it does elsewhere.' To this he adds: 'there is nothing in the types or symbols of the coins, Oriental though some may be in origin, which can be taken as providing a political relation to the Empire. It is a purely autonomous coinage, and such an institution is one of the prerogatives of sovereignty.'

[9] Bedford (2007) 322.

[10] In acknowledging this we must also note, as Harrison (2011) 83 does, that to commend the Persians for not imposing their language, culture and religion more broadly is to 'give them credit for something that they could scarcely have thought to do.' Given the vast extent of the Empire, the Persian kings could not hope to enforce their traditions on the Empires' inhabitants, nor could they implement a homogeneous governmental structure throughout the Empire beyond their satrapal system without prompting rebellion. Consequently, as Briant (2002) 1 observes, wherever possible the Persian kings used existing structures of local government to maintain formal control of their Empire which, as a result, developed into 'a sort of loose federation of autonomous countries under the distant aegis of a Great King' by the late sixth century B.C.

standing tradition of being divided into separate city-kingdoms with individual monarchic institutions, it is possible that the Persians felt no need to appoint satraps to Cyprus since their kings acted as vassal rulers of the Great King.[11]

This degree of local autonomy may be explained by Cyprus' strategic and economic position. The island was important to the imperial economy of the Persian Empire for two primary reasons. Firstly, Cyprus' large timber reserves allowed for shipbuilding, enabling the Persians to expand their naval forces.[12] Prior to their conquest of Phoenicia and Cyprus the Persians did not have a formidable naval force. The submission of Phoenicia, Cyprus and the East Greek cities allowed the Persians to strengthen their naval forces, with the Phoenicians in particular forming the backbone of the Persian armada. Secondly, given her proximity to the Empire's western dominions of Syria-Palestine, the Levant and the vital province of Egypt, Cyprus' geographical position allowed for the secure hold of the seas in the eastern Mediterranean. In an age of 'pre-mechanised warfare the main principles of the application of force in the triangle formed by a line from Egypt to Phoenicia to Psidia were simple: they inevitably involved Cyprus.'[13] It is perhaps this gradual expansion of control that impacted on subsequent events. By 498 B.C. the previous lack of effective control began to solidify with the growth of the Persian naval force leading to more effective and direct control over Cyprus; as naval commitments grew internal division and conflict developed on the island with competing factions struggling for power, resulting in a Cypriot rebellion.

## 2.2 Cyprus and the Ionian Revolt

In the late summer of 499 B.C., unrest developed on the western littoral of the Persian Empire. According to Herodotus, the origin of the uprisings lay with the tyrant of Miletus, Histiaios, and his deputy tyrant Aristagoras who encouraged the

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[11] Cf. Tuplin (1996) 40: 'the lack of satrapal office does not in itself mean that Cyprus was thought unimportant. Indeed it principally reflects the realization that the two areas [Cyprus and Phoenicia] with their long established city-states had a satisfactorily defined internal organisation and one which, being monarchic, was not conceptually alien.'

[12] As Knapp (1985) 245 notes by the Bronze Age these ships were, to some extent, utilized for 'the large-scale production and export of comestibles, ceramics, and metals.' Thus, as a result of the increasingly extensive cultivation of the island's trading commodities, ships were industrialised on the island and came to form a crucial contingent of the Persian naval force by the Persian period. The most pertinent examples of Cyprus' contribution to the Persian navy shall be discussed in detail in chapter three.

[13] Shrimpton (1991) 5.

people of Ionia to revolt. We are told that Histiaios urged Aristagoras to lead a revolt against Persia:

> …because he resented being detained in Susa and had high hopes that he would be released to go to the coast in the event of a revolt there… (Hdt. 5.34.4)

At the same time, Aristagoras provided the ships for a failed Persian attack on the island of Naxos and fearing that he would be held responsible he instigated a revolt in Ionia by deposing the tyrants in Ionian *poleis*, and enlisting the aid of the mainland Greeks (Hdt. 5.35.1). Herodotus thus advocates that personal grievances were the primary catalyst for unrest on the periphery of the Empire.[14] This explanation for the revolt is, as Cawkwell identifies, 'far too personal.'[15] Modern scholars have tended to augment Herodotus' account by proposing varying other causes. Bengston, for example, who perhaps represents an anachronistic way of considering these events, claims 'The decisive motive here was the Ionian Greeks love of freedom. Only a Hellene could know what it meant to have the accustomed autonomy of his city constantly violated by the arbitrary interference of the Persian satraps.'[16] This may be considered unlikely given that the uprising was not confined to Ionia, nor was it limited to Greek peoples. Since Ionia is the first region that Herodotus details as defying the Empire during this time, the uprising is commonly referred to by modern scholars as the 'Ionian revolt'. Yet, concurrent insurgences occurred in the Hellespont (namely in Byzantium and Aeolis), Caria, and by 498 B.C., the majority of Cyprus. Nonetheless, the idea that a 'Greek love of freedom' was the catalyst for these uprisings is carried through to the Cypriot rebellion, leading modern scholarship to define the Cypriots by their Hellenic ties.

The Cypriot rebellion is commonly regarded as a united Cypro-Greek effort to aid their Ionian brethren. Baramki asserts, for instance, that while the islanders willingly submitted to the Persians, 'the Greek cities of Cypriots however changed their allegiance when Darius started invading their brethren in Ionia.'[17] To this, Karageorghis adds: 'the participation of the Kings of Cyprus in 498 BC in the Ionian

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[14] He, in fact, emphasises that Aristagoras' aim for launching this rebellion was not to liberate Ionia from Persian supremacy but to maintain his own position and harm Darius (Hdt. 5.37.1).

[15] Cawkwell (2007) 764.

[16] Bengston (1968) 39. Other commonly attributed motivations for the revolt are that Ionia's economy was affected by Persian supremacy and that tyranny within these cities was no longer bearable. An in-depth analysis of these motives is beyond the scope of this thesis. For a comprehensive review of the proposed theories surrounding the Ionian revolt see Briant (2002) 150-154.

[17] Baramki (1985) 218.

revolt against the Persians made a great impression on Herodotus. He considered the revolt as a common effort of *all the Greeks* to overthrow the tyrannical yoke of the Persians.'[18] [My emphasis added]. Much weight is placed on the notion that this was an exclusively Cypro-Greek campaign, encouraging the perception of an island politically divided by Greek and Phoenician loyalties. The modern scholarly consensus is that the majority of the Cypriots considered themselves to be part of the Greek world of the east and, as such, their decision to join the uprising was 'the outcome of nationalistic feelings and pro-Greek loyalties which began to be cultivated intensely in Cyprus during the 6th century B.C.'[19] The same 'nationalistic' sentiment is ascribed to the Cypro-Phoenician population. Since the mainland Phoenicians supported Persia in attacking the Ionian Greeks during the revolt[20], it is assumed that Cypro-Phoenician communities such as Kition 'made the *natural choice* to fight alongside their fellow Phoenicians' [My emphasis added].[21] There is no evidence that this was the case; this not only implies that this Cypriot rebellion was borne out of a pro-Greek loyalty to their kinsman it also suggests that the Cypriots joined the Ionians in a wider panhellenic campaign.

The Ionian revolt itself was not panhellenic. As Herodotus notes Aristagoras, being conscious of his military inferiority against the Persians, appealed to the Spartans for aid on the basis of kinship 'by the gods of the Hellenes – come rescue the Ionians from slavery; they are of the same blood as you, after all' (Hdt. 5.49.3).[22] Having been denied assistance by king Cleomenes I, he petitioned to the Athenians in the same manner, arguing that 'Miletus was originally an Athenian colony, and therefore, since the Athenians were a great power, it was only fair and reasonable for them to

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[18] Karageorghis (2004) 3.
[19] Karageorghis (1982b) 155.
[20] The Phoenician contingent of the Persian navy is described as being, 'the most ardent for battle' during the suppression of the Ionian revolt (Hdt. 6.6).
[21] Stylianou (1992) 425. She further claims that since they belonged to a city-kingdom dominated by a Phoenician populace, the people of Kition were 'out and out pro-Persian', and that 'It is surely inconceivable that Phoenician Kition fought on the Greek side.' Stylianou echoes the observations of earlier scholars such as Burn (1984) 202 who suggests: 'Onesilos laid siege to the native city of Amathous on the south coast, which (with Phoenician Kition, we may presume) refused to join a Greek national movement.' Similarly, Baramki (1985) 218 maintains: 'The Greek cities of Cypriots...joined the Ionian revolt in 498 B.C. but the Phoenician settlements of Kition, Amathus, Tamassus and Idalion remained faithful to the Persians.'
[22] It is here that Cyprus is first introduced to the Ionian revolt narrative. Claiming that the regions under Persian rule were prosperous and easy to conquer, Aristagoras indicated their locations on a map to entice Cleomenes, stating that 'Next to the Phrygians are the Cappadocians, whom we call Syrians. Bordering them are the Cilicians, whose land extends down right here to the sea in which lies the island of Cyprus…' (Hdt 5.49.6). The significance of the island's introduction to the narrative in this manner shall be discussed below.

offer protection to the Milesians' (Hdt. 5.97.2). Aristagoras thus used 'Greek unity' as an instrument to aid his own self-serving ambitions, lacking any commitment to this ideal.[23] Although the Athenians sent twenty contingents to aid the Ionians, and the Eretrians sent another five triremes, their naval support did not last the duration of the revolt. They withdrew their assistance after the failed siege of Sardis (Hdt. 5.103.1). Accordingly, Athenian and Eretrian involvement in the revolt should not be treated as categorical evidence that this uprising was a Hellenic campaign. This position is part of Herodotus' metanarrative of considering how the enmity between Greeks and Persians was established and progressed; by the end we do see the development of an allied Greek response, but a unified movement is not present from the outset of this conflict and is undoubtedly not a feature of the Ionian revolt. Rarely do we see unified action, which does not astonish given that the concept of 'national consciousness' was not present at this time. As Briant argues, it is not possible to explain the genesis of this uprising in terms of 'a (nonexistent) "national consciousness" or in terms of a "hereditary enemy" (i.e., "the Persians have always been our enemy"), two concepts that were forged later in Greece by polemicists such as Isocrates.'[24] Consequently, if this motive is anachronistic when applied to the Ionian revolt in general, neither should it be viewed as central when considering events on Cyprus.

## 2.3 The Cypriot Rebellion

According to Herodotus, in 498 B.C. all of Cyprus' city-kingdoms rebelled from Persian supremacy 'except for the Amathousians' (Hdt. 5.104.1). Not all Cypriot states were involved in this uprising; there is an important exception noted. Herodotus goes on to emphasise further political divisions by attesting that before the Cypriot rebellion broke out in the city-kingdom of Salamis, its king Gorgos and his younger brother Onesilos took opposing stances over how best to respond to the revolt in Ionia:

> Onesilos tried to persuade Gorgos to revolt from the King even before, and now
> when he learned the Ionians had revolted, he exerted the utmost pressure on his
> brother to rebel. But once he saw that he was not succeeding, he watched for an

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[23] As Baragwanath (2008) 170 states, Aristagoras: 'has no loyalty whatsoever for Greece: we know that his every action has been *entirely* self-serving, and that he lacks any commitment to either of these ideals [that is, 'Freedom' and 'Greek Unity'].'
[24] Briant (2002) 152.

occasion when Gorgos went outside the city of Salamis, and then Onesilos together with his partisans locked the gates and shut Gorgos out. Thus deprived of his city, Gorgos fled to the Medes, while Onesilos took over the rule of Salamis and tried to persuade all the Cyprians to join him in revolt. He won over all but the Amathousians, who refused to comply with him, so he set up a blockade and laid siege to their city. (Hdt. 5.104.2-3)

Herodotus thus highlights competition within the city-kingdom of Salamis, linking the Cypriot rebellion to a fraternal feud between those who would rule Salamis. This, in itself, is a parallel with the Ionian revolt. It is an echo of political competition between key individuals whose own personal interests act as a catalyst for widespread unrest. By emphasising the political divisions within the island of Cyprus, and particularly within the ruling house in Salamis, Herodotus draws our attention to the fact that the Cypriots were far from united in their rebellion from the Persians. Herodotus' focus is not on panhellenic ambitions or motives as the rebellion spreads throughout the western periphery of the empire; instead, he seems to use the tale of a divided Salaminian royal house to highlight political tension, and the contrasting reactions Cypriots had to both the Ionian revolt and to Persian rule. While the incumbent ruler, Gorgos (and presumably his supporting faction), aim to maintain the status quo and uphold Cyprus' subject status within the Persian Empire, his political rival, Onesilos, echoes the calls for freedom found in Ionia and advocates rebellion.

It is perhaps this echo of the Ionian plea for freedom which has influenced the modern perception that 'Nationalist sentiment and love of freedom undoubtedly played a major, if not *the* major part in Cyprus…especially in rallying the Greek Cypriots to the cause…'[25] Herodotus does employ freedom rhetoric within his account of the Cypriot rebellion once Onesilos received word that the Persians were assembling a force to quash his insurgence. We are told that Onesilos called upon the Ionians for aid, offering them the choice to engage in battle with either the Persians on land or the Phoenicians at sea; it is at this point in time that, in Herodotus' mind, the Cypriots averred 'no matter which you decide, make sure that your choice results in freedom for both Ionia and Cyprus' (Hdt. 5.109.2).[26] Nonetheless, this rhetoric is not 'characteristic and indicative of the feelings and

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[25] Stylianou (1992) 411. Cf. Raptou (1994) 11: 'The reaction of the local population and its leaders opposite the Persians is the first testimony of a Cypriot Hellenic consciousness, and the assistance given by the Ionians inaugurated a series of Greek interventions on the island.'
[26] Herodotus goes on to reveal that the Ionians fought the Phoenicians during this battle, while the Cypriots fought the Persians on land (Hdt. 5.112.1).

thoughts of Herodotus of the freedom of all the Greeks, including the Cypriots, from Persian rule.'[27] Though the majority of the Cypriot rulers desired freedom from Persian suzerainty, Herodotus' use of freedom rhetoric cannot be understood as being suggestive of 'nationalist sentiment,' particularly since within this passage he makes a clear distinction between the Ionians and Cypriots. Moreover, Herodotus uses such rhetoric for 'explicit and pragmatic purposes' from the outset of his Ionian revolt narrative.[28] This freedom rhetoric is employed, for instance, to draw attention to the motives of the individual when Aristagoras bids to establish *isonomia* in Miletus and Ionia through the deposition of tyrants and the renouncement of his own tyranny 'devising every possible stratagem against Darius' illustrating that his greatest concern is to harm the King (Hdt. 5.37.1). The literal merging of the Cypriot rebellion and Ionian revolt at this point in the narrative may perhaps be a way in which Herodotus could use Cyprus as a counterpart to his treatment of the Ionian revolt.[29] Herodotus' construction of parallels between the Ionian revolt and Cypriot rebellion is particularly apparent through the Salaminian royal Onesilos who, through his call for aid from Ionia, literally establishes contact between the two separate insurgences.

Persian overlordship appears to have become more onerous between 525 and 498 B.C.; Onesilos' call for freedom reveals that the Cypriots transitioned from relatively willing traders to rebellious members of the Empire. By 499 B.C. the usurper of Salamis is making a credible claim for freedom, further indicating that this change had occurred (Hdt. 5.109). At the same time, Onesilos' motives for the uprising are questionable. It is imperative to remember that, as with the Ionian revolt, the Cypriot rebellion was set in motion due to the personal political motivations of one man.[30] Surely, it is crucial to note how Herodotus highlights that Onesilos wished to throw

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[27] Karageorghis (2004) 3. The idea that the Cypriots formed an alliance with the Ionians as part of a wider bid for Greek freedom is a longstanding notion within Cypriot scholarship. Cf. Meiggs (1972) 29, for example: 'the Ionians regarded *the Greek cities of the island* as partners in the revolt, [as it was] sufficiently important [for the Ionians] to risk their navy more than 400 miles from their main base [in order to assist their Cypriot allies in battle].' [My emphasis added].

[28] Baragwanath (2008) 184.

[29] Irwin/Greenwood (2007) 18 observe that after the Ionian revolt officially begun 'Herodotus delays its end by exploring the anatomy of revolt, using Cyprus as a microtheme, enabling the failure of the Cypriot Revolt to foreshadow that of the Ionians, while also inviting the audience to compare and contrast.'

[30] Reyes (1994) 97 draws attention to this 'Herodotus' telling of the Ionian Revolt, defective as it is, accounts for Cypriot participation, not because of the tension between Greek democracy and Persian kingship, but because individual kingdoms became entangled in the domestic politics of the kingdom of Salamis.'

off the Persian yoke in Salamis for some time, perhaps in an effort to illustrate that there was a long standing desire for liberation from Persian supremacy outside of Asia Minor. However, if we consider Onesilos' actions as those of one of the heirs to the throne of Salamis, his motives to 'liberate' Cyprus from Persian rule can be read as far more self-serving.[31] As Baragwanath identifies, 'One of the ironic faces of freedom, which Herodotus examines in some depth, is how frequently it appears to entail rule over others.'[32] It was not uncommon for Salaminian monarchs to endeavour to subjugate all of Cyprus throughout the Persian period. Archetypal Salaminian rulers such as Evethlon (great grandfather of Gorgos and Onesilos) and Evagoras I (a descendant of these three rulers) aspired to extend their sovereignty throughout the island.[33] An explanation for this common aim to extend Salaminian sovereignty throughout Cyprus may be found in the wealth and power that the city-kingdom held as a result of its geographical position. By the Persian period the dominion of Salamis stretched across the entire eastern coast of Cyprus resulting in the city-kingdom's control of the island's largest natural harbour. Accordingly, Salamis was the wealthiest of Cyprus' city-kingdoms and had set the standard for 'ostentatious manifestations of statehood and royalty' since 700 B.C.[34] This certainly impacted on the remaining city-kingdoms which habitually adopted Salaminian practises such as the minting of coinage and domestic governmental structures known to us from the fourth century B.C.[35] It is possible that Onesilos used the outbreak of the revolt in Ionia as a pretext to dethrone his brother, taking the most powerful and influential city-kingdom for himself, and attempted to expand his authority throughout the island through a false pretence of unified action against Persia.[36] With Herodotus upholding that the personal ambitions of individuals acted as the catalyst of the Ionian revolt the outset of his account, his audience is called to

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[31] Serghiou (2007) 278 notes that Onesilos' actions and decisions 'raise questions about his more personal motivations for revolt even as this fraternal discord also functions as a paradigm of the opposing poles that define Cypriot responses to Persian domination.'

[32] Baragwanath (2008) 192.

[33] Hill (1972) 116 notes that through his coinage Evethlon 'seems to claim sovereignty over the whole of the Cypriotes.' The reign of Evagoras I shall be assessed in detail within the fourth chapter of this thesis.

[34] Iacovou (2005) 27.

[35] Fragments from Clearchus of Soli's *Gergithius*, preserved through Athenaeus *The Learned Banqueters*, refer to an institution of the 'kolakes' or 'flatterers' used in the Salaminian royal court to keep the city-kingdom secure. Clearchus reveals that this institution was adopted by the remaining city-kingdoms 'The flatterers in Salamis, from whom the flatterers throughout the rest of Cyprus are descended, are divided into two kinship-groups...' (Clearchus *Gergithius* fr.19 ap. Ath. 256F – 257C).

[36] Conversely, Salamis' wealth and power contributes to our understanding of Gorgos' refusal to rebel and compromise his city-kingdom's commercial relationship with its eastern neighbours.

draw parallels between Onesilos and Aristagoras. Just as Aristagoras claimed to free the Milesians from tyranny in order to gain their support for his revolt, so Onesilos encouraged the idea of liberation in Cyprus as a cause to dethrone his pro-Persian brother.

Such behaviour is something of a recurring theme within book five of the *Histories*. Herodotus highlights how key individuals claim to set others free in order to gain overall political control for themselves, illustrating the point by noting not just the example of Aristagoras and Onesilos, but also Histiaeus, who encouraged the Ionian revolt in an attempt to leave Susa and reclaim his status as tyrant of Miletus (Hdt. 6.5.1). Herodotus identifies a similar pattern elsewhere in the Greek world, when he relates that the Spartan Euryleon liberated the people of Selinus in Sicily from their ruler Peithagoras, only to attempt to seize power of Selinus himself (Hdt. 5.46).[37]

Further corresponding elements exist between these uprisings. In accordance with the Ionian revolt narrative, an explanation as to why the Cypriot populace chose to support the move to rebel is not provided beyond the fact that the majority of the city-kingdoms were persuaded by Onesilos.[38] Within Herodotus' narrative, Cypriot willingness to adhere to a liberation movement initiated by the Ionians is 'described in terms that echo their previously voluntary submission to the payment of tribute. Now Cypriots are viewed as 'volunteers' and companions to the Ionian Revolt.'[39] What is particularly striking about the Cypriot decision to rebel is that the actions of all but the Amathousians put their trade relationship with Phoenicia (and the remainder of the empire for that matter) at risk. Could it be that the imposition of regular taxes caused internal economic pressures within Cyprus' city-kingdoms? As Briant notes of the Ionians, 'the inequable exacting of tribute from the rich and poor perhaps played the role of accelerating political and social tensions.'[40] Serghidou proposes that this also applies to the Cypriots. She maintains that the Cypriot rebellion is foreshadowed in this context through Aristagoras' inclusion of Cyprus in

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[37] A pattern identified by Baragwanath (2008) 192.

[38] Burn (1984) 192 argues that since Herodotus only offers reasons as to the motives of individuals as causes of the revolt 'the question which Herodotus frequently, as here, fails to ask, is not why leaders acted as they did, but why people were ready to follow them.' This is not surprising given the nature of Herodotus' work which aims to consider how the enmity between Greeks and Persians started and developed. Cf. Baragwanath (2008) 186 who rightly observes: 'Herodotus refrains from expressing it [the people's desire for freedom] explicitly…presumably so as to focus attention on the salient ironies that surround the individuals' involvement.'

[39] Serghidou (2007) 278.

[40] Briant (2002) 152.

his speech to persuade the Spartan king Cleomenes of the viability of the success of the Ionian revolt (Hdt. 5.49.6). To Serghidou this 'implies the support that might be expected from others similarly bound in a tribute relationship to the Persian king', signifying that unity may be anticipated from a shared grievance.[41] Nevertheless, given that the precise amount of tribute the Cypriots paid to the Persians is unknown, we cannot know this for certain.

There is insufficient evidence to securely establish the causes of the rebellion. What Herodotus' account of the Cypriot rebellion does make clear is the independent nature of the island's city-kingdoms. As the rebellion unfolds, Herodotus' explicitly focuses on the contrasting positions of four city-kingdoms - Amathous, Salamis, Kourion and Soloi - which serve to stress the extent of discord on Cyprus. We learn that in the pivotal battle between the Cypriots and the Persians:

> While the rest of his troops continued to fight, Stesenor, the tyrant of Kourion, turned traitor with a considerable force of men around him (these Kouriees are said to be colonists from Argos), and as soon as they had deserted, the Salaminians' war chariots did the same…The Cypriot army was thus routed, and among the many who fell were Onesilos son of Chersis, who had brought about the revolt, and Aristokypros son of Philokypros, king of Soloi, whom Solon of Athens, when he came to Cyprus, praised above all other tyrants in his verses. (Hdt. 5.113)

Herodotus' emphasis on the Argive descent of the Kourians, along with the connection made between the Athenian statesman Solon and the city-kingdom of Soloi, allows the reader to juxtapose the actions of two city-kingdoms with 'Hellenic' ties (Hdt. 5.113). Serghidou suggests that this focus on 'Hellenic' relations reflects and refracts 'a "topography" of internal and cultural politics in which city-kingdoms defined themselves variously in relation to Hellenicity and Persian rule.'[42] As the narrative progresses, it is clear that Kourion and Soloi play key, opposing roles in this rebellion:

> Now the Ionians in Cyprus who had been fighting at sea learned that Onesilos was dead and that all the Cyprian cities were now under siege except for Salamis, whose inhabitants had handed it back to its former king, Gorgos. As soon as the Ionians heard this news, they sailed back to Ionia. Of all the Cyprian cities under siege, Soli resisted for the longest period of time… (Hdt 5.115)

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[41] Serghidou (2007) 277.
[42] Serghidou (2007) 274.

The actions of the Soloians are thus directly contrasted with those of the Kourians, whose king facilitated the collapse of the entire rebellion in little more than a year of its inception.[43] These actions cannot be attributed to 'ethnic' considerations since 'no clear line was expected to be drawn in Cyprus, between Greeks and 'barbarians'.'[44] This is especially pertinent given that, through the treachery of Kourion's king, Herodotus establishes that 'nationalist sentiment' was not a driving force behind this rebellion as a king of Greek descent betrayed the cause. The point is also illustrated by the reinstatement of Gorgos to the throne of Salamis. Though it has been argued that since Salamis was the most Hellenised city-kingdom on Cyprus and thus naturally led this so-called Greek uprising, it should be noted that the Salaminian commitment to this rebellion died with Onesilos on the battlefield.[45] The rule of Onesilos was a brief exception in the history of Salamis under Persian rule. Prior to and following the Cypriot uprising Salamis was ruled by Onesilos' pro-Persian brother Gorgos (Hdt. 5.115.1).

The conduct of the Salaminians, as well as that of Kourion's monarch, allowed these city-kingdoms to remain independent after the rebellion was subdued. Stesenor's actions in particular feed into the pattern of people betraying causes for personal gain throughout the *Histories*.[46] Herodotus' emphasis on the fact duplicity caused the collapse of the rebellion cannot be overlooked. Arguably Stesenor recognised the economic ramifications of severing ties with the Persian Empire. Considering the importance of commercial exchange to the prosperity of these city-kingdoms, it is possible that economic concerns contributed to the breakdown of the Cypriot rebellion. This may in fact explain the independent stance of the Amathousians. This city-kingdom's reluctance to rebel has, in the past, been explained as either loyalty to

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[43] Along with Soloi, Paphos appears to have held out against the Persians in 497 B.C. when they took action to subdue the Cypriot rebellion. Excavations have brought to light remains of a siege ramp erected from earth and rubble of monuments inscribed in Cypriot syllabic and sculptures from a nearby archaic sanctuary destroyed at the time of the siege, illustrating that Paphos was besieged during the time of the Cypriot rebellion. As Zournatzi (2005) 30 notes counter-tunnels indicating that attempts were made to undermine the ramp have also been excavated just outside the Northern gate of the city-kingdom. This highlights that it is the coastal city-kingdoms to the west that, in the end, upheld the fight to resist Persian control, perhaps in an effort to preserve their western commercial contacts.

[44] Snodgrass (1995) 116-17.

[45] Serghidou (2007) 274: 'That the revolt starts with Salamis is appropriate: culturally, it was among the most Hellenized city-kingdoms, even if divided in its allegiances.'

[46] Baragwanath (2008) 177: 'The same pattern marks the *Histories'* depiction of the Ionians' attitude to freedom: their initial commitment proves easily sidelined once the prospect surfaces of the hard work necessary for maintaining it.'

the Phoenician mainland or as an effort to uphold their Eteocypriot identity given that large Phoenician and Eteocypriot populations existed within this city-kingdom.[47] Markoe provides an alternative explanation, seeing Amathous' refusal to join the rebellion as 'a clear reflection of that city's political and commercial priorities. As the primary transit point for trade with the Levant and Egypt, it had vested interest in remaining within the Achaemenid eastern Mediterranean trade network.'[48]

Exemplifying that economic considerations prompted discord on the island is a bronze tablet found in the sanctuary of Athena on the western acropolis of Idalion, known simply as the 'tablet of Idalion'. Serving as a principal source of information about the island, being the oldest known testimony of Cypriot syllabic text as well as the longest example of such text, the inscription on this tablet recounts an agreement between Stasikypros, king of Idalion (460-450 B.C.), and a team of local medical doctors during a time in which the city-kingdom was besieged by the 'Medes and Kitians'[49]:

> When the Medes and Keitians were laying siege to the city of Edalion in the year
> of Philokypros the son of Onasagoras, King Stasikypros and the city of the
> Edalians instructed Onasilos the son of Onasikypros, the physician, and his
> brothers to treat the men wounded in battle, without payment.[50]

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[47] Karageorghis (1982b) 155: 'Since Amathus was the centre of the Eteocyprian population there must have been a strong Phoenician community there too...Phoenician affinities were definitely anti-Greek.' Conversely, Serghidou (2007) 76-7 suggests 'behind their unique response is likely to lie their traditional claims to autochthony, their independent response capable of symbolizing independent resistance to pan-Cypriot Greek identity.' This would, however, imply that the aim of the Cypriot rebellion was to establish a 'pan-Cypriot identity' by means of a common goal to throw off the Persian yoke. Though the majority of Cyprus' city-kingdoms participated in the rebellion they were hardly unified in their decisions.

[48] Markoe (2000) 53. Cf. Reyes (1994) 17: 'the refusal of Amathus to participate in the Ionian revolt against Persia in 499 BC probably had more to do with political shrewdness and expedience than with ethnically-derived animosity.' Amathous' position on the southern coast of the island ensured its longstanding role as the key transit port for trade with Egypt and the Levant. Cf. Aupert (1997) 23-24 who notes that earliest tombs of Amathous' necropolis are furnished with a relatively high percentage of imported vases from the east, with numerous Phoenician shaped copies, and also with Aegean types of iron spits and knives. Egyptian, Euboean and Attic imports are also palpable subsequent to 950-900 B.C., demonstrating that, the Amathousians had a longstanding tradition of being 'open minded toward foreign influences, [developing] a dynamic economy allowing overseas coastal trade, well established crafts likely capable of exporting metallic products, and a strong eastern-influenced religion and political establishment.' Lipinski (2004) 49 also advocates that these findings reveal Amathous' 'close relations with Phoenicia and the Aegean world, while increasing Egyptian imports appear about 950/900 B.C and there is an increase of Greek wares from ca 850/800 onwards.'

[49] Callet et al (2010) 208: 'the knowledge of the existence of Cyprus syllabry writing was permitted by the discovery of the Idalion tablet.'

[50] Transl. Colvin (2007) 87.

This inscription is persistently used to suggest that, during the Cypriot rebellion, the Persians 'undoubtedly supported the Kitians since later, about the middle of the century, the kingdom of Idalion disappeared as it was incorporated into the territory of Kition'.[51] Given that Herodotus does not explicitly mention the city-kingdom of Kition within his account of the Cypriot rebellion, it is difficult to ascertain the role that the Kitians played in this uprising. Moreover, Kition's relationship with mainland Phoenicia during the fifth century B.C. remains unclear. However, while the Kitians did conquer both Idalion and Tamassos by the third quarter of the fourth century B.C., adopting a policy of expansion under the reign of Oziba'al, who issued coins as 'King of Kition and Idalion,' the fact that the Kitians and Persians besieged Idalion sometime during the first half of the fifth century B.C. is not sufficient evidence to suggest that Kition remained loyal to Persia during the Cypriot rebellion.[52] What this siege against Idalion does is to draw attention to the nature of inter-city conflict on the island. Along with Kition and Tamassos, Idalion marked the main route for transporting copper ore from the mines of Troodos to the port of Kition.[53] This siege, therefore, was not the result of Kition's loyalty to the Persians or to the Phoenicians of the mainland but was, rather, an attempt to capitalise on the economic position of Idalion.[54]

Wider ethnic loyalties cannot be seen to have influenced the decisions made by local rulers and communities, whether they had ties to mainland Greece or to Phoenicia. 'Nationalist sentiment' certainly did not stop the Cypriots from actively intervening *against* the Ionians. By the spring of 497 B.C., subsequent to the capture of Soloi (Hdt. 5.115.2), Cyprus was once more a part of the Persian Empire. Recounting that 'after one year of freedom, the Cyprians were reduced to slavery all over again'

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[51] Raptou (1999) 224-225. Stylianou (1992) 425 similarly attests that this incident 'was not a question of an unwilling Cypriot city being compelled to attack another, but of a Phoenician city loyal to Persia helping to subdue a rebellious Greek Cypriot city.' Thus, she places emphasis on ethnic divisions between city-kingdoms as contributing to the rebellion. In fact, the tablet of Idalion was originally thought to have dated to the time of the Cypriot rebellion, with Gjerstad (1935) 625 positing that the siege of this city-kingdom had taken place in 499/8 B.C. The discovery of autonomous Idalian coinage dating to 480 B.C. has, however, affirmed that this siege of Idalion could not have occurred at the time of the Cypriot rebellion. As a result its date is still disputed, with scholars such as Maier (1994) 310 attesting that this incident must have occurred 'between 478 and 445, if not later.'

[52] Gaber (2008) 55 further notes that soon after this King Oziba'al of Kition issued coins as 'King of Kition, Idalion and Tamassos.'

[53] First observed by Kassianidou (1998) 237.

[54] Gaber (2008) 56: 'There can be little doubt that Kition wanted possession of Idalion because of its role in the copper trade (The same is true for Tamassos). To control the processing center was to control the copper itself right from the mines to the ports.'

Herodotus sums up the consequences of the rebellion, indicating that naval contribution contributed to feelings of 'slavery' among the Cypriots (Hdt. 5.116). This obligation to contribute to naval forces continued following the suppression of the rebellion. Within four years of the island's subjugation, the Cypriots reappear in Herodotus' narrative as a contingent of the Persian navy, fighting against their former Ionian allies in the naval battle of Lade alongside the Phoenicians.[55] During the spring of 494 B.C. the Persians commenced a siege against the main centre of the Ionian revolt, the city of Miletus, with the aid of a large army collected from all of Asia Minor. We are told that the Persian naval fleet consisted of 600 ships 'Of the naval force, the Phoenicians were the most ardent for battle, and serving with them were the recently subjugated Cyprians, as well as the Cilicians and Egyptians.' (Hdt. 6.6).[56] In an attempt to protect Miletus by sea the islands of Samos, Chios, and Lesbos came to the aid of the Milesians, assembling a fleet of 353 vessels. The struggle between Persia and these islands culminated off the coast of Miletus, near the island of Lade. According to Herodotus, during the decisive battle of Lade the Samians abandoned their posts causing the majority of the Ionians to follow suit (Hdt. 6.14.2). This was not an isolated occurrence.

Evidence that some Cypriots at least aided the Persians in quashing the Ionian revolt during its initial stages is offered by an alternative source. In his *Malice of Herodotus*, Plutarch accuses Herodotus of neglecting to discuss significant battles in any detail, claiming that, at times, they were omitted from the *Histories* altogether.[57] Plutarch sees an example of such an oversight in Herodotus' account of the Ionian revolt. Taking contrasting evidence from Lysanias of Mallus, whose work is lost, Plutarch maintains that during the Ionian revolt the Eretrians won a victory over a Cypriot contingent of the Persian navy off the coast of Pamphylia:

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[55] As Tuplin (1996) 46 observes it is hard to prove that the deployment of Cypriot ships against Ionia 'is the result of wholesale, or any, dynasty changes' since no explicit evidence exists about the repercussions of the rebellion on the local kings of Cyprus. The notion that the Cypro-Greek population in particular was suppressed following the Cypriot rebellion shall be discussed in the subsequent chapter.

[56] It should be noted that Herodotus' numbers are notoriously unreliable.

[57] The purpose of the *Malice of Herodotus* was, as Bowen (1992) 3 identifies 'to rescue the good name of his ancestors the Boeotians, and of the Corinthians, and of all those others traduced in Herodotus' *Histories*. He also claims to be rescuing truth.' As Serghidou (2007) 269 rightly observes 'it would be perverse to let the tone of Plutarch's critique dictate our interpretation of Herodotus, but nevertheless the substance of his contention, that Herodotus manipulates victories and defeats according to his own historical agenda, does raise pertinent questions about the design of Herodotus' narrative…'

> In the following section, describing the Sardis incident he did all in his power to destroy and demean the deed, having the nerve to say that the ships which the Athenians sent to support the Ionians in their rebellion against the king were "the beginning of all evil" because they attempted to free all those fine Greek cities; and the Eretrian ships he scarcely mentions except in passing: their epic deed he passes over in silence. Since Ionia was in turmoil by now, and a royal squadron of ships was on its way, the Eretrians encountered outside and beat some Cypriots in a seafight in Pamphylian waters; they then returned, left their ships at Ephesus, attacked Sardis and besieged Artaphernes on the acropolis where he had fled, the aim being to raise the siege of Miletus. (Plu. *Malice of Herodotus* .24)[58]

While Plutarch does not explicitly state when this conflict occurred, suggesting only that it occurred prior to the siege against Sardis, Serghidou advocates that this is a reference to the naval battle off the coast of Salamis during the Cypriot rebellion.[59] This is contradicted by Herodotus' assertion that it was the Ionians who fought the Phoenicians during this battle, while the Cypriots fought the Persians on land (Hdt 5.112.1). I would argue that this encounter off the Pamphylian coast must have occurred during the initial stages of the Ionian revolt, since Herodotus does not mention Eretrian participation in the uprising following the burning of Sardis. This perhaps indicates that the five Eretrian triremes sent to support the Ionian uprising were either destroyed in battle, or withdrawn along with the Athenian contingent following the destruction of Sardis. Therefore, if a key naval encounter between the Eretrians and Cypriots occurred prior to the burning of Sardis, to my mind this suggests that the Cypriots initially fought alongside the Persians when the Ionian revolt broke out in 499 B.C. Could it be that this naval contingent was led by the pro-Persian Salaminian king Gorgos? Herodotus states that Onesilos took Salamis when Gorgos was away from the city-kingdom, but he does not elaborate on where Gorgos was during this time (Hdt 5.104.2). The evidence provided by Lysanias, via Plutarch, could perhaps explain Gorgos' absence from Salamis prior to the Cypriot rebellion, and could further explain why the Cypriot navy was not present off the coast of Salamis several months later when the Ionians fought against the Phoenician contingent of the Persian fleet.[60] These actions emphasise that, as with

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[58] Transl. Bowen (1992).
[59] Serghidou (2007) 270: 'Plutarch was right: the successful Ionian naval battle in the sea of Cyprus (5.112) does take up little space in Herodotus' account of the events of the Ionian Revolt.'
[60] Stylianou (1992) 420: 'Finding himself without a city, Gorgos, like so many other rulers in similar circumstances, sought refuge with the Great King. Herodotus does not tell us where Gorgos has been. Lysanias supplies an answer…'

Onesilos' brief reign, the entire Cypriot rebellion was atypical in the sense that by the end (and perhaps even at the outset if we are to believe Plutarch) the Cypriots were once again aiding the Persians, which they continued to do until their secession from the Empire in the late fourth century B.C.

**Conclusions**

The collective, voluntary submission of Cyprus' city-kingdoms to the Persian Empire highlights a common Cypriot desire to maintain economic ties with the East. Indeed, it is quite noticeable that the rare, unified stances of the Cypriots seem to have occurred when opportunities for commercial expansion presented themselves. It is clear that a pattern developed in which the city-kingdoms defected from one burgeoning empire to another, beginning with the transition from the Neo-Assyrian to the Egyptian Empires and continuing with the rise of the Persian Empire. This precedent, together with the indirect manner in which the Persians governed their Empire allowing the Cypriots to maintain their cultural and political traditions, illustrates that Persian supremacy was not an 'encroachment' on Cyprus' city-kingdoms during the sixth century B.C. The continuous offering of tribute and naval resources took its toll on the islanders by 498 B.C; coupled with the previously indirect nature of Persian imperialism which allowed local unrest to flourish on the island, the increasing naval power of the Persians prompted the Cypriot rebellion.

The actions of Amathous, Salamis, Kourion and Soloi during the Cypriot rebellion, as described by Herodotus, allow us to discern the nature of these city-kingdoms as well as the extent of their local autonomy. The notion that a Greek love of freedom motivated their actions does not suffice. Though Hellenic ties with the Greek mainland did exist amongst many Cypriot communities, their importance in a time of crisis was another matter. It is clear that the Ionian revolt itself was not a simple case of Greek autonomy in opposition to slavery to the barbarians. Herodotus' narrative overall reveals that 'Greek freedom is anything but a self-evident and unifying entity that binds the Greek *polies* to a shared ideal.'[61] This wider lesson is particularly apparent in the presentation of Cyprus' role in the unrest; a presentation which tends to highlight that the island's city-kingdoms lacked any sort of political unity internally, and did not offer meaningful support to Greeks beyond the island. Domestically, the

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[61] Irwin/Greenwood (2007) 25.

fraternal feud in Salamis, the insubstantial commitment of Salamis and Kourion – not to mention Amathous' independent stance – illustrate that Cyprus' city-kingdoms were never united in their decision to join the uprising. Within his narrative Herodotus not only describes a vivid battle between the Cypriots and Persians, he also demonstrates that these city-kingdoms remained fiercely, often aggressively, independent from one another. On an island governed by a number of autonomous monarchs and tyrants, we should not expect anything less. The events of the Cypriot rebellion, along with the early years of Cyprus' submission to the Persian Empire, reveal that the island's rulers not only possessed local autonomy under Persian rule, they were also independent from one another, vying for economic supremacy and altering their political stances to ensure their own prosperity.

# Chapter 3
## Cyprus and the Hellenes

Having considered the events of 498/7 B.C., which highlight that panhellenism was not to the fore of Cypriot concerns, I will now discuss the chaotic affairs of the fifth century B.C. During this period, the sources for Cypriot history are confined to brief mentions in the works of Aeschylus, Herodotus, Thucydides and Diodorus. These authors variously outline the role that the islanders played in the Persian Wars, the First Peloponnesian War, and the Peace of Kallias. I aim to examine the instances in which the Cypriots participated in these conflicts during this period of Mediterranean-wide turmoil, beginning with their role in the Persian Wars. Following this, I shall assess the islanders' interaction with the Hellenic and Delian Leagues, which both attempted to obtain control of the island subsequent to the Persian Wars.

There is a persistent tradition in modern scholarship that the principal objective of both Leagues was to liberate the Greeks that resided in the east and that the Cypriots relied on these major Greek allied forces to release them from the Persian Empire. Stylianou, for instance, asserts: 'for many Greek Cypriots…Athens remained the focus on all their hopes and their potential protector…'[1] I argue that the Cypriots did not welcome the advances of the Hellenic and Delian Leagues. Furthermore, I contend that these Leagues did not strive to liberate the islanders in a bid to aid their Hellenic brothers.

## 3.1 Cyprus and the Persian Wars

Following the suppression of the Cypriot rebellion, the islanders are mentioned by our literary sources primarily in relation to Graeco-Persian naval affairs during the Persian and Peloponnesian Wars. Subsequent to the battle of Lade references to Cyprus are incidental to accounts of Xerxes' expedition against mainland Greece in 480 B.C. during which the Cypriots fought as part of the Persian naval force. The islanders are not accounted for during the first Persian attempt to conquer Greece under Darius in 490 B.C. since separate contingents are not identified by our sources at this time. Yet, as Stylianou notes, given their involvement in the battle of Lade 'there can be little doubt

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[1] Stylianou (1992) 429.

that the Cypriots contributed to Mardonius' fleet, as indeed they must have done to that of Datis and Artaphernes in 490 (Herod. 6.94ff.).'[2] According to Herodotus, 'The Cyprians provided 150 ships' to Xerxes' armada in 480 B.C. (Hdt. 7.89.3), lesser in size only to the three hundred Phoenician/Syro-Palestinian triremes and the two hundred Egyptian ships (Hdt. 7.89.1-2). These numbers are echoed by Diodorus who, drawing on Herodotus, recounts that Xerxes conducted a roll call of the entire expeditionary force after crossing the Hellespont:

> The full count of his warships was more than 1,200, of which three hundred and twenty were Greek, with the Greeks supplying the crews and the Great King the vessels. All the rest were listed as *barbaroi*: of these the Egyptians supplied two hundred, the Phoenicians three hundred...and the Cypriots one hundred and fifty. (D.S. 11.3.7)[3]

These numbers are notoriously unreliable, aimed at aggrandizing the Greek victory against Persia.[4] Nonetheless, the assertion that the islanders contributed the third largest contingent to the Persian naval force highlights that they were safely subsumed as part of this Empire following the suppression of their rebellion in 497 B.C. Herodotus affirms this by identifying Cypriot individuals as admirals of Xerxes' fleet, claiming that: 'Of the Cyprians, Gorgos son of Chersis and Timonax son of Timagoras' were among the most famous men on board the ships (Hdt. 7.98).[5] It is noteworthy that the first Cypriot recognized as a Persian naval commander is none other than Gorgos, the Salaminian monarch exiled from his city-kingdom for refusing to lead a rebellion against the Persians in 498 B.C. This serves as a reminder that the Cypriots were not inherently pro-Greek. This position is also emphasised throughout Herodotus' description of the Cypriot armada. According to Herodotus, the Cypriots were dressed and equipped as follows:

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[2] Stylianou (1992) 434

[3] Unless otherwise stated, all translations of Diodorus' text are those of Green (2010).

[4] Harrison (2002) 570 notes that at Thermopylae, Artemisium and at Salamis in particular 'The number of Persian men simply enhances the advantage to the Greeks of fighting in a confined space and contributes to the number of Persian casualties.'

[5] Although seemingly well-known in Herodotus' time records of Timonax or his father have not survived, thus his status and city-kingdom are unknown.

> The kings wore turbans wrapped around their heads, but the rest wore tunics; otherwise they were dressed and equipped like the Hellenes.' (Hdt. 7.90.1)[6]

Serghidou suggests that here Herodotus defines the Cypriots 'in relation to a binary scheme (Greeks/non-Greeks) despite the multi-ethnicity that is operative in the Cypriot Revolt narrative.'[7] I would argue that the Oriental touches of their dress combined with Hellenic garments and weaponry is consistent with Herodotus' nuanced presentation of the islanders as culturally ambiguous. This depiction of them is also demonstrated through Diodorus' inclusion of the Cypriots as part of Xerxes' '*barbaroi*' (barbarian) naval contingent (D.S. 11.3.7).

This representation of the Cypriots as culturally indistinct occurs during accounts of Cypriot naval activity. These cluster around the key sea battles at Artemisium and Salamis in 480 B.C. According to Herodotus, when the Hellenic League (formed in 481 B.C) prepared for the anticipated Persian invasion by dispatching a fleet to Artemisium (Hdt. 7.175), and simultaneously concentrated troops at the pass of Thermopylae after the unsuccessful expedition to Tempe (Hdt. 7.173-174), the Persians sailed into the Gulf of Pagasai, anchoring at Aphetai (Hdt. 7.193.2). It is here that we learn more of Cypriot participation in the Persian Wars, with Herodotus asserting that a squadron of fifteen Persian ships including a Cypriot contingent had put out to sea much later than the others, their crews sighting the Greek fleet at Artemisium and mistaking it for their own:

> On one of these ships, they captured Aridolis, the tyrant of Alabana in Caria, and on another, the commander Penthylos of Paphos, son of Demonoos. He had commanded twelve ships which had sailed from Paphos, but eleven of them had been lost to the storm at Sepias. Now, as he was sailing on his one surviving ship, he was captured at Artemisium. The Hellenes interrogated their captives and, after learning what they wanted to know about the forces of Xerxes, sent them away in bonds to the isthmus of the Corinthians. (Hdt. 7.195)

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[6] I have marginally adapted this translation. Purvis (2008) translates the passage to suggest that the Cypriot crew members wore 'felt caps'. However, in agreement with Godley (1920) and Liddell/Scott (1940), I believe 'κιθῶνας' translates to 'tunics'.

[7] Serghidou (2007) 273.

Cypriots such as Penthylos are specifically mentioned as having positions of leadership within the Persian armada. Moreover, Herodotus depicts the Cypriots as being on equal footing with other Persian forces; this is emphasised by the fact that the Greeks at Artemisium construed the Cypriots as the enemy without differentiation (Hdt. 7.195). Herodotus further illustrates the eminent position that some Cypriots held as part of the Persian armada, recounting that Philaon, brother of Gorgos, was captured at Artemisium:

> In the battle that ensued, they took thirty of the barbarian's ships, and captured a man of great importance in the barbarian forces, Philaon son of Chersis, the brother of Gorgos, the king of the Salaminians. The first of the Hellenes to capture an enemy ship was an Athenian, Lykomedes son of Aischraios, and it was he who won the prize for valor. (Hdt. 8.11)

We are not told what happened to these princes after 479 B.C. but the impression that Herodotus leaves is one of Cypriots who actively participated in a war that almost subdued the Greek world. There is but one instance in which Herodotus mentions that the non-Persian contingents of the armada were ineffective. In his account of a private war council held following the battle of Artemisium Herodotus has the Carian queen Artemisia say to Xerxes that he had 'the worst slaves…namely, the Egyptians, Cyprians, Cilicians, and Pamphylians: they are absolutely worthless' (Hdt 8.68γ).[8] Our focus here should not be placed on the rhetorical suggestion that the non-Persian contingents of the Persian armada were ineffective; rather, it should be noted that Herodotus again emphasises that there is no distinction between these contingents - they are all resolutely recognized as being an integral part of the enemy fleet.

Despite this, there is a tendency within scholarship to construe the alleged ineptitude of the non-Persian members of Xerxes' naval forces as being a hesitancy to fight due to pro-Greek loyalties. Tatton-Brown, for instance, argues 'In 480 B.C. she [Cyprus] reluctantly contributed ships to the Persian

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[8] As Munson (1988) 96 notes, the narrative frame of Artemisia's speech 'represents the deliberative process as a failed test of democratic behaviour, in order to explain why an unsound strategy was adopted in the first place. Since the vote of the allied commanders, all of whom expect that punishment will strike the nonconformist speaker (69.1), clearly proceeds from fear of displeasing the king rather than from strategic considerations, the voting procedure reveals how despotism impairs the capacity of individuals to participate in public matters.'

fleet for the naval battle of Salamis off the coast of Attica.'[9] This notion of disinclination does not stem from Diodorus, the only source to mention Cyprus' role in the battle of Salamis:

> While the Phoenician and Cypriot vessels were being worsted by the Athenians, those of the Cilicians and Pamphylians – as well as the Lycian squadron, stationed in their rear – to begin with offered a strong resistance; but when they saw the most powerful ships in retreat, they too abandoned the struggle. On the other wing a fierce engagement took place and for some while the battle hung in the balance; but the Athenians, once they had driven the Phoenicians and Cypriots ashore, turned back and pressed the *barbaroi* hard, so that they broke line and fled, losing many of their ships. (D.S. 11.19.1-2)

Diodorus notes that the Cypriots, along with the Phoenicians, participated in a 'fierce engagement' with the Athenians, which does not suggest that the non-Persian contingents of Xerxes' fleet lacked zeal in battle. What is noticeable through Diodorus' account is that once again, the Phoenicians and the Cypriots are closely associated with one another. Here, Diodorus again identifies the Cypriots as part of the 'barbarian' naval force along with their Phoenician counterparts, reinforcing their role in the Persian navy as well as their cultural ambiguity. This, coupled with Herodotus' earlier presentation of the Cypriots leaves no room for the notion that they did not form a large part of Xerxes' fleet. Their effectiveness in battle is an entirely different matter.

The Persian Wars present us with a picture of a world that was not defined by Hellenic ties. The Eastern-controlled Greek *poleis* fought for Xerxes against the thirty-one states of the Hellenic League that allied together against the threat from the East. How then, can we attribute the unsuccessful role of the Cypriots, who were from an island only partially populated by peoples from the Greek mainland and islands, to a desire to assist their western neighbours? A key concern of Herodotus in particular was to highlight and contrast both the struggle between Greeks and barbarians, and the fundamental difference between free institutions and despotism. Herodotus often explores the difference between those who chose to fight and those who were compelled to do so within his narrative, with few who were forced to fight on behalf of the

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[9] Tatton-Brown (1982) 92.

Great King excelling. In addition to this, he often presents his audience with a very clear difference between the capabilities of the Persians, and those of their subject peoples. On many occasions the Persians are portrayed as the most skilled and courageous troops in battle (Hdt 6.113; 7.83; 7.210; 8.113; 9.62). Yet Persian abilities to command are often underestimated with Herodotus' depiction of them 'plainly skewed to present a picture of heroic Greek resistance against overwhelming odds.'[10] Therefore, the ineptitude of non-Persian contingents of Xerxes' armada cannot simply be attributed to pro-Greek loyalties.

Though we see the Cypriots fighting for Persia during this period, there is evidence to suggest that they continued to protect their own interests. Aeschylus provides us with some insight as to the actions of several Cypriot city-kingdoms following the decisiveness of the Greek victory at the battle of Salamis in 480 B.C. Subsequent to the Greek triumph at Salamis the chorus of Aeschylus *Persians* offers a roll call of the Persian-controlled regions that revolted from the Empire. Paphos, Soloi, and Salamis are identified as throwing off the Persian yoke in the aftermath of the battle:

> and he also ruled the sea-lands midway between the two shores,
>
> Lemnos and the habitations of Icaros,
>
> And Rhodes and Knidos, and the cities of Cyprus,
>
> Paphos and Soli and Salamis-
>
> Whose mother-city is the cause of our present lamentation; (A. *Pers.* 891-3)[11]

When the battle of Salamis was followed up by Greek success at Mycale in 479 B.C., the Persians were deprived of their Aegean navy (Hdt. 9.106.1). It comes as no surprise then that with this weakening of the Persian fleet, revolts broke out on the littoral of the Empire once more. Herodotus notes that following the Milesian betrayal of Persian forces during the battle of Mycale, 'for a second time Ionia revolted from the Persians' (Hdt. 9.104). The defeats of 480 and 479 B.C. appear to have loosened Persian control over the Cypriot city-kingdoms. Insurgencies in Salamis and Paphos could almost be expected given that their fleets were heavily defeated by Greek forces at Artemisium

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[10] Lee (2007) 805.
[11] Transl. Sommerstein (2008) 113.

and Salamis (Hdt. 7.195, 8.11.1-3; D.S. 11.19.1-2). Soloi's involvement in the Persian Wars is not explicitly identified by our sources, but this city-kingdom fiercely resisted Persian hegemony in 498/7 B.C., and conceivably took the weakening of Persian forces as an opportunity to again rebel from the Empire (Hdt. 5.115). It is perhaps these rebellions, along with the victories of 480 and 479 B.C. that brought Cyprus into the Greek political sphere, with the Hellenic and Delian Leagues respectively making several attempts to obtain control of the island.

## 3.2 Cyprus and the Hellenes

In the aftermath of the Persian Wars, the conquest of Cyprus became a key objective for the Hellenes who continued the war on a smaller scale, uncertain that the Persians would not attack again. Though the immediate threat to mainland Greece had been removed with the Greek victories at Salamis, Plataea and Mycale, the 470s and early 460s were filled with campaigns designed to take over Persian control in the eastern Mediterranean. Thucydides recounts that as part of this undertaking, the Hellenic League embarked on campaign to Cyprus in 478 B.C. under the Spartan general Pausanias:

> Meanwhile Pausanias son of Cleombrotus was sent out from Sparta as commander-in-chief of the Hellenes, with twenty ships from the Peloponnesus. With him sailed the Athenians with thirty ships, and a number of other allies. They made an expedition against Cyprus and subdued most of the island, and afterwards against Byzantium, which was in the hands of the Persians, and compelled it to surrender. (Thuc. 1.94.1-2)[12]

Despite the brevity of Thucydides' account, the fact that the conquest of Cyprus was one of the very first objectives of the Hellenic League emphasises the island's key locational position within the eastern Mediterranean. This is further highlighted by Diodorus. Often writing of episodes already known to us from Thucydides, Diodorus frequently supplies details not provided by the former. In this case, Diodorus' account adds that this campaign was undertaken in order to remove Persian garrisons from the region:

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[12] All translations of Thucydides are those of Crawley (1998).

> The Lakedaimonioi appointed Pausanias, the commanding general at Plataia, as their admiral of the fleet and instructed him to free all Greek cities that were still guarded by permanent garrisons of *barbaroi*. He therefore took fifty triremes from the Peloponnese and sent to Athens for thirty more, under the command of Aristeides. He then sailed first of all to Cyprus, where he freed those cities that still had Persian garrisons and after that to the Hellespont. Here he captured Byzantion, which had been held by the Persians (D.S. 11.44.2)[13]

Diodorus' assertion illustrates that the relationship between the islanders and their Persian rulers altered subsequent to the Cypriot rebellion of 498 B.C. since there is no evidence to suggest that a physical Persian military presence existed on the island prior to this time. Whether a Persian military presence existed on the island is a point of debate within scholarship. Meiggs argues that there is a possibility such garrisons were never present on Cyprus, with the prospect that Diodorus' claim 'may be no more than Ephoran rationalism.'[14] Conversely, Reyes notes that while Diodorus' sources may not have been overly reliable it is also likely that such garrisons 'may not have been a feature of the political landscape of Cyprus when the island first became part of the Persian Empire' emerging as a result of the Cypriot rebellion.[15] Following the view of Reyes, I believe that the establishment of Persian garrisons after 498 B.C. is unsurprising.

This Persian presence on the island has influenced the belief that the Hellenic League aspired to 'encourage the movement for independence among the Cypriote Greeks by a sharp demonstration of power.'[16] This statement is not borne out of the evidence however, since our sources do not suggest that this campaign was limited solely to the island's Cypro-Greek city-kingdoms.[17] The fact that the Hellenic League took possession of Cyprus and Byzantion sequentially is most telling. Both Cyprus and Byzantion controlled major trade

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[13] He further notes that the city-kingdom of Salamis was 'garrisoned by a large Persian guard' in 449/8 B.C, the events of which shall be discussed below (D.S. 12.4.1).
[14] Meiggs (1972) 482.
[15] Reyes (1994) 96.
[16] Meiggs (1972) 482.
[17] As Green (2006) 102 notes Diodorus' reference to 'All Greek cities' is to those in Asia Minor, not to the Cypro-Greek city-kingdoms of Cyprus.

routes within the eastern Mediterranean. While Cyprus provided access to Egypt and the Levant, Byzantion enabled admittance to the Black Sea, the Crimea, and 'the great wheat-fields of the Ukraine.'[18] The removal of Persian garrisons on Cyprus was therefore not a case of liberation, but a means to control a significant trade route within the eastern Mediterranean, impairing Persian access to supplies and adding them to the League.

It is of particular note that no Persian force seems to have challenged Pausanias' progress. While naval losses at Mycale may have affected the Persian ability to defend their control of the island, it is surprising that the Phoenician contingent did not embark on such a task.[19] As Herodotus attests, these forces were not affected by the battle of Mycale:

> 'When the Persians learned of their [the Hellenes] approach, they sailed
> toward the mainland with all of their ships except those of the Phoenicians,
> which they had sent away...' (Hdt. 9.96.1)

Miller may perhaps be correct in suggesting that Phoenician demoralization or withdrawal from the area could explain why they did not fight to keep the island under Persian control at this time.[20] Nonetheless, while the details of Pausanias' control over the island are not indicated by our sources, it seems that Cyprus was reclaimed by the Persians sometime between Pausanias' recall to Sparta (Thuc. 1.95.1), the formation of the Delian League in 478 B.C. (Thuc. 1.96.1) and the battle of Eurymedon in 469 B.C. (Thuc. 1.100.1; D.S. 11.60.5-7).

By 469 B.C. a resurgence of Persian naval power occurred, in which Cypriot forces fought for the Empire. According to Thucydides, with a professed pretext of the Delian League being 'to retaliate for their sufferings by ravaging the King's country' (Thuc. 1.96.1)[21], they sailed out to meet the Persians at the Eurymedon river:

> Next we come to the actions by land and by sea at the river Eurymedon,
> between the Athenians with their allies, and the Persians, when the
> Athenians won both battles on the same day under the leadership of

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[18] Green (2006) 102-3.
[19] A point made by Cawkwell (2005) 127.
[20] Miller (1997) 9.
[21] Thucydides specifically notes that this was a pretext, using the word 'πρόσχημα'.

> Kimon son of Miltiades, and captured and destroyed the whole Phoenician
> fleet, consisting of two hundred vessels. (Thuc. 1.100.1)

Thucydides does not elaborate on the individual contingents of the Persian naval armada for the simple reason that his account is selective, aimed at illustrating the growth of Athenian power.[22] Nevertheless, through Diodorus' account of this encounter we learn that the Cypriots, once again, fought for the Persians in one of the most significant conflicts between Greece and Persia of the fifth century B.C.:

> The Persians drew on their own peoples for their land forces, but their
> navy they assembled from Phoenicia and Cyprus and Cilicia...When
> Kimon learned that the Persian fleet was lying off Cyprus, he sailed
> against the *barbaroi* and engaged them in a naval action, with two
> hundred and fifty vessels against the enemy's three hundred and forty. A
> fierce battle ensued, in which both sides acquitted themselves with
> distinction; but ultimately the Athenians were victorious, destroying large
> numbers of the enemy's ships and capturing more than a hundred,
> together with their crews. The remainder got away to Cyprus, where their
> crews went ashore and took off for the interior; the ships themselves,
> being emptied of defenders, fell into the hands of the enemy. (D.S.
> 11.60.5-7)

The exact chronology of Diodorus' account is uncertain since he has compressed the events of approximately ten years into one. His account is further problematic since he also suggests that, having been victorious at the Eurymedon Kimon and his fleet:

> 'sailed back to Cyprus, having won two outstanding victories, one on land,
> the other at sea. Never again since has history recorded such great and
> momentous actions on the same day by a force that engaged both ashore
> and afloat.' (D.S. 11.61.7)

As Green notes, we must be wary of such 'symbolic synchronicity' popular in ancient literary traditions; since the Eurymedon river runs through Pamphylia and Pisidia, and is, therefore, at least one hundred and thirty miles from Cyprus, Kimon could not have fought off the coast of the island during the day

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[22] Rhodes (1992) 41: 'It is highly likely that League forces fought in a number of campaigns of which we know nothing whatever…'

and then at the Eurymedon river by nightfall.[23] Nevertheless, here Diodorus reveals that Cyprus was a base for Persian triremes during the Eurymedon campaign.

This is affirmed by Plutarch who, drawing on both Ephorus and Callisthenes, explains Cyprus' role at the Eurymedon in the following manner:

> Now Ephorus says that Tithraustes was commander of the royal fleet, and Pherendates of the infantry; but Callisthenes says that it was Ariomandes, the son of Gobryas who, as commander-in-chief of all the forces, lay at anchor with the fleet off the mouth of the Eurymedon, and that he was not at all eager to fight with the Hellenes, but was waiting for eighty Phoenician ships to sail up from Cyprus. Wishing to anticipate their arrival, Kimon put out to sea, prepared to force the fighting if his enemy should decide an engagement. At first the enemy put into the river, that they might not be forced to fight; but when the Athenians bore down on them there, they sailed out to meet them…the Barbarian ships which went into actions were very numerous indeed, since, though many, of course, made their escape and many were destroyed, still two hundred were captured by the Athenians. (Plu. *Cim*. 12)[24]

It is clear that the island functioned as a Phoenician naval base at this time, and it is striking that Kimon did not make an attempt to take control of the island subsequent to his success at the Eurymedon. Our sources are insufficient to establish the reason.[25]

An attempt to recover the island was made in 456 B.C., when the Athenians embarked on a campaign to Cyprus while simultaneously committed to war with Corinth and Aegina.[26] It is during this period of the First Peloponnesian

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[23] Green (2010) 65. Diodorus also appears to have partly confused the Eurymedon campaign with an episode that occurred in 449 B.C., describing an epigram found on an Athenian dedication to Delphic Apollo (which generally attributed to Simonides). According to Diodorus, this dedication was made following the victory at Eurymedon (D.S. 11.62.3). Yet, Badian (1993) 64-66 and Green (2006) 128 agree that this epigram was composed for a victory won off Cyprus by the Athenian general Kimon in 450/49 B.C.

[24] All translations of Plu.*Cim* are those of Perrin (1914).

[25] Kimon's actions have been questioned by Rhodes (1992) 43 who suggests that since the League was prepared to send large forces to fight against Persia at the Eurymedon: 'After the battle of the Eurymedon we should expect an attempt to recover Cyprus for the Greek world, and later events were to show that Athens did not forget Cyprus but at this point the attempt seems not to have been made.'

[26] Barns (1953) 170 postulates that Kimon and the Delian League embarked on an expedition to Cyprus in 462 B.C. since Plu. *Cim* 15.2 asserts that, following his acquittal in 462 Kimon 'sailed away again on military service...' This hypothesis has been rejected within modern

War that we come to see how the connection between Cyprus and Egypt affected the island once more. Thucydides mentions this campaign in parenthesis while discussing a revolt in Egypt during the same campaigning season:

> Meanwhile Iranos son of Psammetichus, a Libyan king of the Libyans on the Egyptian border, having his headquarters at Marea, the city above Pharos, caused a revolt of almost the whole of Egypt from King Artaxerxes, and placing himself at its head, invited the Athenians to his assistance. Abandoning a Cyprian expedition upon which they happened to be engaged with two hundred ships of their own and their allies, the Athenians arrived in Egypt and sailed from the sea to the Nile, made themselves masters of the river and two thirds of Memphis, and addressed themselves to the attack of the remaining third, which is called the White Castle. Within it were Persians and Medes who had taken refuge there, and Egyptians who had not joined the rebellion. (Thuc. 1.104.1-2)

Though Thucydides tells us little of the campaign to Cyprus his figures reveal that it was of importance. Indeed, this expeditionary force was the 'greatest armed force that had sailed from Greece to fight on non-Greek soil since the days of Agamemnon.'[27] Yet, despite the size of this expedition, our sources do not discuss it in detail and we are not given a direct explanation for this campaign. Epigraphic evidence affirms that military action occurred on, or off Cyprus, Egypt and Phoenicia at this time; an inscription dated to 460/59 B.C. indicating that men of the Erechtheid tribe of Athens died while fighting in Cyprus, Egypt, Phoenicia, Halieis in the north-eastern Peloponnese and in Megara during this year (ML 33).[28] Diodorus, however, does not mention Cyprus or the League at all; placing the Egyptian campaign after Iranos sent envoys to Athens (D.S. 11.71.4-6).[29]

The Cyprian campaign therefore raises two critical questions. Firstly, why did the League undertake such an expedition? Secondly, why do our sources not elaborate on this large campaign to the island? Karageorghis proposes that the expedition to Cyprus took place because 'The Greeks considered Cyprus

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scholarship such as Hornblower (1991) 163-4 and Rhodes (1992) 50 since Plutarch's account is so ambiguous.
[27] Sommerstein (2010) 284.
[28] Meiggs/Lewis (1969) 73-76.
[29] This does admittedly say more about the problems with his chronology than it does about the significance of the League's campaign to Cyprus.

part of the Greek world and believed it their duty to liberate her from the Persian yoke.'[30] This position is surely influenced by the Mytilenean debate, when the Mytileneans made an effort to encourage Sparta to actively combat growing Athenian imperialism in 428 B.C.:

> But we did not become allies of the Hellenes for the subjugation of the Hellenes, but allies of the Hellenes for their liberation from the Mede. (Thuc. 3.10.3)

This cannot be taken to truthfully reflect the League's objectives in 456 B.C. While the Athenian campaign to seize control of Cyprus was committed and important, it was hardly sustained and interest did not endure. This illustrates that the aim of this expedition was not the island's liberation as part of a wider commitment to Hellenic brotherhood.

An answer to both questions lies in the strategic positions that both Cyprus and Egypt held within the eastern Mediterranean. By 456 B.C. the revolt of Thasos from the Delian League had been suppressed (Thuc. 1.100.2; D.S. 11.70.1; Plu. *Cim*. 14), Xerxes' death in 465 B.C. had created instability within the Empire, and Artaxerxes' ascended to the throne after much difficulty (Arist. *Pol*. 1311b; D.S. 11.69.1-6). A renewed offensive against Persia was thus opportune at this time. The most logical strategy for military expansion in the east was the conquest of Cyprus, which the Athenians could use as a naval base as the Persians had against them at the Eurymedon. The successful subjugation of Cyprus could, moreover, present an opportunity for the Athenians to obtain vital resources, particularly since the island possessed timber for shipbuilding and also provided a direct route to the grain supply in and out of Egypt. This, according to Meiggs, is of significance since by the time of the First Peloponnesian War (461-451 B.C.), Athens appears to have depended on the regions in Black Sea for her corn supplies. He suggests that with the demand for grain in Athens being so great during this period it is doubtful that the Black Sea alone could have provided an adequate supply and could therefore explain the need to attain admittance to Egypt, one of the

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[30] Karageorghis (1982b) 157. Rhodes (1992) 50 takes a similar position regarding the Egyptian campaign. He suggests that since Greeks lived in Egypt in the fifth century B.C., having settled there in the sixth and fifth centuries, 'campaigning for the Egyptians could thus be represented as a continuation of the war against Persia for which the League had been founded, and as an act of Greek solidarity.'

natural breadbaskets of the Mediterranean.[31] Yet, it is possible that access to Egyptian grain simply provided an alternative source of supply, which was attractive to the Athenians given the vulnerability of the Hellespont. It is therefore, the island's crucial strategic and commercial position that attracted the Athenians to it.

The move of the Athenian fleet from Cyprus to Egypt is explained by the opportunity the Egyptian revolt presented in obtaining an accessible base of operations. From Egypt, the Athenians could obtain a powerful ally and effectively end Persian hegemony in the region. Diodorus refers to this, recounting that in order to persuade the Athenians to support his rebellion Iranos promised the Athenians:

> If they would [help] liberate the Egyptians, he would open his kingdom to
> them and offer them in return benefits far greater than their service to him.
> (D.S. 11.71.4)

Such a promise appealed greatly to the Athenians. Not only would this ensure them a secure naval base from which they could pursue the Persians, it could also allow the Athenians to establish unrestricted trade relations with the Egyptians and access to Africa, which would benefit the Athenian economy considerably. The removal of the Persians from Egypt would allow for ample access to much needed grain supplies; moreover 'an independent Egypt from which Phoenician trade could be virtually excluded would be a richer market for the Aegean Greeks than a Persian province.'[32] Nonetheless, these objectives remained unfulfilled, with the Athenians suffering a significant loss of their expeditionary force in Egypt at the hands of the Persians (Thuc. 1.104, 1.109; D.S. 11.75, 11.77.2-3, 12.3). It is this loss that contributed to the gradual re-emergence of Persia as a major naval power in the eastern Mediterranean.

## 3.3 Cyprus and the Delian League

Four years after the Egyptian disaster, the Athenians undertook a second major offensive in Cyprus under the leadership of Kimon in 450/49 B.C. While this second Cypriot campaign has been hailed 'one of the most important

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[31] Meiggs (1972) 95.
[32] Meiggs (1972) 95.

Athenian expeditions during the period of the Pentekontaetia...' it must be noted that our literary sources, Thucydides, Diodorus and Plutarch present conflicting and somewhat diminutive accounts of this event, making it difficult to reconstruct.[33] Despite this, key aspects of the campaign can be identified through their accounts, with the events of this period illustrating that the Athenian objective was not to liberate the island from Persian control but rather, to weaken Persian power within the eastern Mediterranean.

As with most of his narrative of the events surrounding the island during this period, Thucydides' account is fairly brief:

> Released from Hellenic war, the Athenians made an expedition to Cyprus with two hundred vessels of their own and their allies, under the command of Kimon. Sixty of these were detached to Egypt at the request of Amyrtaeus, the king of the marshes, the rest laid siege to Kition, from which, however, they were compelled to retire by the death of Kimon and by scarcity of provisions. Sailing off Salamis in Cyprus, they fought with the Phoenicians, Cyprians, and Cilicians by land and sea, and being victorious on both elements departed home, and with them the squadron returned from Egypt. (Thuc. 1.112.2-5)

Despite its brevity, Thucydides' narrative emphasises two significant facts. Firstly, it demonstrates that the Athenians had yet again set their sights on Egypt, answering a call for aid from the province. It is thus possible that part of the Athenian objective lay in obtaining control of Egyptian wealth via Cyprus, coupled with their overarching desire to weaken Persian power within the eastern Mediterranean. Secondly, Thucydides asserts that the Cypriots fought *against* the Hellenic forces that came to the island during this period, with the Persian fleet once again being composed of Cypriot, Phoenician and Cilician contingents (Thuc. 1.112.4). There is no mention of liberation within this narrative, which attests that Cypriots fought against the Athenians at this time. Diodorus' account elaborates on the events of this campaign, further highlighting that the Athenians were met with resistance from Persian forces which were based in Cyprus and included Cypriots.

Though Diodorus' account of events is detailed, his narrative conflicts with that of Thucydides. Mentioning neither the fleet of sixty ships sent to aid

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[33] Parker (1976) 30.

Amyrtaeus in Egypt, nor Kimon's death at the siege of Kition, Diodorus dates the entire expedition within the archon-years 450/49 and 449/8 B.C.[34] According to Diodorus, within the first archon year:

> They [the Athenians] fitted out a fleet of two hundred triremes and chose as their general Kimon son of Miltiades, with orders to sail to Cyprus and campaign against the Persians. Kimon took the fleet, which had been provided with first-class crews and ample supplies, and sailed for Cyprus. At that point, the generals in command of the Persian forces were Artabazos and Megabyzos. Artabazos, the commander-in-chief, was based on Cyprus, with three hundred triremes, while Megabyzos was encamped in Cilicia at the head of a land army numbering 300,000. Kimon now reached Cyprus and established control of the sea: he laid siege to Kition and Marion and reduced them both, treating the vanquished with humane consideration. After this, when triremes from Cilicia and Phoenicia were on course for the island, Kimon put out to sea, forced an engagement, sank many of these ships, captured a hundred along with their crews, and chased the rest all the way to Phoenicia. Those Persians with ships that had survived fled to the coastal area where Megabyzos was encamped with the land forces, and went ashore there. The Athenians sailed in, disembarked their troops, and joined battle. During this engagement, Anaxikrates, the deputy commander, after a brilliant fight, ended his life heroically. The rest gained the upper hand in the battle and, after killing large numbers, returned to the ships. The Athenians thereupon sailed back to Cyprus. Such were the events in the first year of this war. (D.S. 12.3.1-4)

Diodorus' narrative allows for further insight into Kimon's strategy against the island and, as such, further supports that this was not a campaign of liberation. His account of Kimon's systematic establishment of control over the sea surrounding Cyprus demonstrates that the campaign was designed to, and succeeded in, effectively breaking 'the back of Persian naval dominance in the eastern Mediterranean.'[35] This is affirmed by the activity that Diodorus describes as occurring in the city-kingdoms of Kition (which controlled a principal harbour on the island's southern coast) and Marion (which possessed a harbour on Cyprus' western shore), that allowed for the

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[34] Green (2006) 179: 'The preparations for the expedition probably took place in the latter half of 451/0; it may well have set out in the spring of 450 (i.e. in the archon-year 451/0); but I see no reason to discount Diodorus' very specific evidence further.'
[35] Green (2006) 181.

acquisition of harbours, fresh water, grain, timber, metals and other supplies from the island.[36] Control of the island and its surrounding waters enabled the Athenians to subsequently intercept the Phoenician and Cilician squadrons that attempted to proceed to the island in order to suppress this campaign, illustrating that Athenian control of Cyprus allowed for the prevention of Persian garrisons to be reinforced, enabled raids on the Levantine coast and deprived the Persians of one of their largest naval contingents - the Cypriot force.[37]

The unfolding events of this campaign as revealed to us by Diodorus, demonstrate that while Kimon was successful to an extent, the Cypriots themselves did not support his advances. According to Diodorus, within the subsequent archon year of 449/8 B.C. the following occurred:

> The Athenian general Kimon, who now enjoyed supremacy at sea, set about subduing the cities of Cyprus. Since Salamis was garrisoned by a large Persian guard, and packed with every kind of weapon and missile, as well as grain and all other essential supplies, he came to the conclusion that his most advantageous course would be to reduce it by siege. This, he figured, was the easiest way for him to become master of the entire island and also to put the Persians at a complete loss: they would be unable, with Athens controlling the seas, to relieve the Salaminians, and this abandonment of an ally would make them the target of scorn. In brief, were all Cyprus to be forcibly reduced, the [issue of the] entire war would be decided. This, indeed, is exactly what happened. The Athenians set about the siege of Salamis and launched daily assaults on its walls; but the troops in the city, being well supplied with missiles and other gear, easily stood them off. (D.S. 12.4.1-4)[38]

While Diodorus alone mentions a detailed siege against the city-kingdom of Salamis, with Thucydides only noting that the Athenians won a significant victory on both land and sea, both sources reveal one crucial detail - the Cypriots did not welcome Kimon's advances. Just as Thucydides had noted before him (Thuc. 1.112.4) Diodorus reveals that the Cypriots were antagonistic towards the Athenian forces, explicitly noting that the

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[36] Parker (1976) 32-33.
[37] Parker (1976) 33.
[38] Diodorus ends his account of this Cypriot campaign with the much debated Peace of Kallias (Diod. 12.4.4-6). The details of this peace treaty shall be discussed below.

Salaminians were Persian allies and resisted Athenian control for some time (D.S. 12.4.2). Therefore, contrary to Parker's assertion that 'Kimon could reasonably hope for their support, since the Greeks had revolted unsuccessfully against Persia in 499-97, and had only been subdued with difficulty' our sources illustrate that a pro-Hellenic stance was not taken by the island's city-kingdoms during this period despite their previous rebellions from the Empire.[39]

In an attempt to explain Cypriot behaviour, Miller attributes their lack of enthusiasm to the fact that 'They had already been 'liberated' and deserted once (478 B.C)…and had already seen the Greeks start and give up a campaign when better opportunity arose.'[40] This however, implies that the Cypriots relied on the Athenians to liberate them from the Persian yoke in 478 B.C. If this were indeed the case should we not expect the Cypriots to have rebelled from the Empire during Kimon's campaign to the island? It is Plutarch's account of events which perhaps provides us with an explanation. Similarly to Thucydides from whom his account may have been partially derived, Plutarch asserts that following the truce between Sparta and Athens, the Athenians made expeditions to both Cyprus and Egypt:

> His [Kimon's] design was to make another expedition with them against Egypt and Cyprus. He wished to keep the Athenians in constant training by their struggles with Barbarians, and to give them the legitimate benefits of importing into Hellas the wealth taken from their natural foes...after detailing sixty of his ships to go to Egypt, with the rest he made again for Cyprus. After defeating at sea the royal armament of Phoenician and Cilician ships, he won over the cities round about, and then lay threatening the royal enterprise in Egypt...' (Plu. *Cim*. 18)

Plutarch is thus explicit in describing Kimon's motives, revealing that the Athenians sought to exploit the wealth of their 'natural foes' through the conquest of both Cyprus and Egypt. It comes as no surprise, then, that the Cypriots were hostile towards Kimon and his troops.

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[39] Parker (1976) 36. As Parker himself notes Kimon's troops had to take the city-kingdom of Marion, which was the largely populated by Cypro-Greek peoples, by siege.
[40] Miller (1997) 21.

The extent to which Cypriot reluctance would have hindered Kimon's efforts to obtain complete control of the island remains unknown. In the same way as Thucydides, Plutarch ends the Cypriot expedition with Kimon's death and a major victory off Salamis:

> He [Kimon] died while besieging Kition, of sickness, as most say...As he was dying he bade those about him to sail away at once and to conceal his death. And so it came to pass that neither the enemy nor the allies understood what had happened, and the force was brought back in safety "under the command of Kimon," as Phanodemous says, "who had been dead for thirty days." (Plu. *Cim.* 18-19)

These sources explain the withdrawal of the Athenian forces as a result of their commander's demise (Thuc. 1.112.4; Plu. *Cim.* 19). Diodorus however, recounts that this Cypriot expedition triggered the Peace of Kallias, placing the Athenian withdrawal of troops from Cyprus after the peace settlement:

> King Artaxerxes, after learning of the various setbacks on Cyprus, took counsel with his Friends concerning the war and judged it advantageous to make peace with the Greeks. He therefore furnished both his satraps and the commanders on Cyprus with the conditions, in writing, on which they could come to terms. As a result, Artabazos and Megabyzos sent ambassadors to Athens to discuss a settlement. The Athenians listened favourably to their proposals and responded by dispatching ambassadors plenipotentiary, under Kallias son of Hipponikos. A peace treaty was then concluded between the Athenians (and their allies) and the Persians, the main terms of which are as follows: "All the Greek cities in Asia [Minor] are to be subject to their own laws. No Persian satrap is to come nearer than a three days' journey to the coast. No Persian warship is to enter the waters between Phaselis and Kyaneai. Provided the Great King's generals observe these conditions, the Athenians shall not move troops into any territory under the king's jurisdiction." Once the treaty had been solemnized, the Athenians—after winning a brilliant victory and securing most notable peace terms—withdrew their forces from Cyprus. As ill luck would have it, however, Kimon succumbed to an illness while still stationed on the island. (D.S. 12.4.4-6)

This Peace is of the most contentious issues within Greek history; the problem lying in the fact that our primary source for the Pentekontaetia, Thucydides, does not mention such an event. Nor do any other fifth century sources for

that matter.[41] We must bear in mind that this is not the first of Thucydides' omissions, which can be explained by both the selective nature in which he recounts the causes of the Peloponnesian War and in his desire to conceal the extent of Athens' responsibility for it.[42] Indeed as Green notes, 'That Thucydides should tactfully pass over this *démarche*…is really not surprising. Whether the peace looked glorious or not in the hindsight of the fourth century, to many contemporary Athenians it must have seemed a sad comedown from the triumphs of the 480/79.'[43] At a minimum, there appears to have been some sort of *de facto* agreement between the Persians and Athenians. Such a treaty was pertinent to the development of Athenian power since although it would stop the Athenians from expanding their supremacy towards the east, it would allow them to focus on strengthening their own city through the continued exploitation of their subject-allies. The advantages that such a peace treaty could offer the Persians are also clear. The King rid himself of Athenian harassment, and regained control over Egypt and Cyprus. He also gained security of commerce on the seas, as well as the loyalty and tribute of those in the Levant.[44] The establishment of a peace treaty explains why the Athenians did not make further attempts to subdue Cyprus, which remained under Persian control for the next four decades.

**Conclusions**

Cyprus was used as a pawn between greater warring powers throughout the fifth century B.C. While the Cypriot position within the Persian naval armada remained consistent throughout the time of the Persian Wars, Persian failure to subjugate mainland Greece resulted in the island being fought over by the Persians and their Greek enemies. Though the relationship between Cyprus and Persia had altered by this time, with the once willing Cypriots now having

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[41] Herodotus states that Kallias was in Susa on 'some other business' (Hdt. 7.151). However he does not date this event, simply reporting that it occurred many years after Xerxes' expedition in Greece.

[42] Badian (1987) 18. The most direct evidence for the Peace of Kallias is provided by fourth-century sources such as Isoc. 4.118, 4.120; D. *On the False Embassy* 19.273-4; Lycurg. *Against Leocrates* 73. Its veracity is further complicated by the fact that the fourth century historian Theopomp.Hist *FGrH* 115 believed that this peace treaty was fabricated due to the fact that it was written in Ionic script, leading to widespread arguments for and against the existence of this peace. Cf. Meiggs (1972) 129-151 on the history of scholarship regarding the Peace.

[43] Green (2006) 182.

[44] Badian (1987) 37.

little choice in whether they wished to contribute to the Persian navy, the events of the fifth century reveal that their reluctance to remain members of the Empire was not tied to a sense of Hellenic brotherhood. Rather, Cypriot concerns appear to have changed within this period of turmoil; the opportunistic islanders that once embraced the chance to expand their economic and commercial position within the eastern Mediterranean now found their island being exploited in a wider conflict between greater powers. The ambitions of these city-kingdoms had always been their own prosperity and security. When these were threatened by major western powers, it is no wonder there was Cypriot resistance.

The expeditions launched to the island from the west by both the Hellenic and Delian Leagues were not aimed at liberating Cypro-Greeks from Persian rule as some scholars would have it. These persistent campaigns had two specific intentions. Firstly, conquest of Cyprus allowed for the weakening of Persian power within the eastern Mediterranean. Depriving the Persians of Cyprus was to deny them their advance base for their Phoenician fleet, while also cutting off access to Cypriot resources. Secondly Cyprus facilitated access to the wealth of Egypt including its grain. The relationship between the island and its neighbouring province in the south once again impacted on the autonomy of Cyprus' city-kingdoms. This increasing use of the island as a strategic pawn drove the Cypriots to desire autonomy, not only from the Persians but from all those who were looking to obtain control over them.

# Chapter 4
## Cyprus and Evagoras I

Cyprus was firmly placed within Persian Empire as a result of the Peace of Kallias. Consequently, we do not hear of Cypriot involvement in the second Peloponnesian War of 431-404 B.C. Cyprus is not referred to again until after Athens had become a subordinate Spartan ally subsequent to their defeat in the Peloponnesian War. Sparta had effectively become hegemon of mainland Greece in 404 B.C as a result of Cyrus' benefaction, their war fleet and ability to operate freely outside of Greece developing as a result. It is subsequent to this that Cyprus became involved in the conflict that unfolded between the Spartans, Athenians and Persians. During this period, references to Cyprus centre around one monarch, Evagoras I, who ruled the city-kingdom of Salamis from 411-374/3 B.C. The sources include Xenophon, Diodorus, Theopompus, Andocides, Lysias and Isocrates. However, they do not provide a fixed framework for the political and military events of the period.

When scholars assess the reign of Evagoras, they tend to focus on his rebellion from the Persian Empire in 391-380/79 B.C., and discuss the earlier years of his reign in light of this uprising. This has led to the erroneous assumption that from the moment he ascended to the throne Evagoras' actions were undertaken as part of a long term plan to liberate all of Cyprus. Markoe, for instance, suggests that from the beginning of his reign, Evagoras 'had been laying the groundwork for independent Greek Cypriot control of the island. Evagoras' desire to wrest Cyprus from Persian control became evident in 389 BC.'[1] My contention is that Evagoras' ambitions developed as a result of the opportunities that political unrest in the eastern Mediterranean presented him with during the fourth century B.C.

This longstanding tradition regarding Evagoras' ambitions relies heavily on the romanticised, philhellenic image of the monarch presented in Isocrates' panegyric *Evagoras*. I shall begin by examining why a reliance on the *Evagoras* is problematic. Following this, I shall consider what Evagoras' actions can tell us about the monarch's ambitions and how these impacted on

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[1] Markoe (2000) 58.

the island's city-kingdoms. To do so, I shall consider the relationship that Evagoras developed with the Athenians. This will allow me to demonstrate how Evagoras used his association with the Athenian general Konon to gain favour with the Great King. I conclude with a discussion of how Evagoras' ambitions to conquer all of Cyprus led to war with the Great King, and what the events of this period reveal about Cypriot monarchy.

## 4.1 Evagoras and Isocrates

My investigation into the sovereignty of Evagoras I of Salamis begins with the polemical Athenian rhetorician Isocrates, who held a relationship with Evagoras' son Nicocles. Isocrates often used rhetoric to influence individuals who held positions of power in order to emphasize the importance of political and cultural unity at a time of discord on the Greek mainland, while also propagating the value of monarchy.[2] As part of this effort, he composed three so-called Cypriot Orations: *To Nicocles*, *Nicocles*, and *Evagoras* each addressed to Nicocles, who succeeded his father as monarch of Salamis in 374 B.C.[3]

The *Evagoras* in particular provides us with the first in-depth insight into the reign of a Cypriot king. It does not, however, offer a holistic depiction of Evagoras' sovereignty; nor is it a faithful representation of the Salaminian monarch since it is a didactic, rhetorical panegyric, aimed at providing Nicocles with political instruction.[4] According to Plutarch, the *Evagoras* was commissioned by Nicocles himself, who paid the astonishing sum of 'twenty talents for the oration…' to commemorate his father in 365 B.C. (Plu. *Mor.*

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[2] It is well known that Isocrates appealed to various men in positions of power to lead the Greeks in an expedition against the Persians, advocating that the continuously quarrelling Greek city-states could reconcile by uniting against a common enemy. Isocrates continually urged the Greeks to 'join together to make war against the barbarians' since the delivery of his *Panegyricus* in 380 B.C. (Isoc. 4. 173). His appeals were directed towards Dionysus of Syracuse (*Epistle* 1), the children of Jason of Pherae (*Epistle* 6), Archidamus III of Sparta (*Epistle* 9), the rulers of Mytilene (*Epistle* 8) Timotheus (*Epistle* 7), Philip II of Macedon (*Epistles* 2 and 3), Alexander III of Macedon (*Epistle* 5) and Antipater (*Epistle* 4).
[3] It is thought that Isocrates taught Nicocles at his school aimed at aristocratic young men who were bound for political careers. Mirhady et al. (2000) 2-3: 'Tradition has it that he taught as many as a hundred students, including many who became prominent orators (Isaeus, Hyperides), writers (Theopompus, Ephorus, Androtion), and military and political leaders (Timotheus, Nicocles).'
[4] Poulakos (1997) 7 describes Isocrates' *Evagoras* as an epideictic rhetoric which 'blends economistic praise with political advice.'

838a).[5] It is through the commemoration of Evagoras, with a specific focus on his virtuous character, that Isocrates offers Nicocles an example of ideal moral conduct. This objective is made explicit twice within the panegyric:

> Others should have praised the good men among their contemporaries to ensure that those who could glorify the deeds of others would employ the truth concerning them, since they were speaking about them to those who knew the facts and so that the youth would strive harder to achieve virtue, knowing that they, rather than those inferior to them, would be praised (Isoc. 9.5)[6]

This is reiterated towards the end of the *Evagoras*:

> For we exhort people to pursue philosophy by praising others so that by emulating those who are praised they will desire the same way of life as theirs. But in addressing you and your family, I use as examples not others' but your own kin, and I advise you to pay attention so that you will be able to speak and act as well as any Greek. (Isoc. 9.77)

It is noteworthy that, just as Homer, Aeschylus, and Herodotus before him, Isocrates stresses that the Cypriots were separate from those on the Greek mainland by suggesting that Nicocles' close study of the panegyric could enable him to 'act as well as any Greek' (Isoc. 9.77). Throughout the panegyric, Isocrates traces Evagoras' connection with the Greek world, focusing specifically on his relationship with Athens, perhaps in an effort to further encourage Nicocles to act as any Greek.

By offering Nicocles an account of past events, Isocrates invites him to reflect upon the dynastic tradition to which he belongs.[7] Particular emphasis is placed on Evagoras' heroic virtues in a detailed explanation of the king's lineage. Evagoras' ancestry is traced from Zeus to Teucer, the mythological founder of Salamis. A description of Teucer's heroic accomplishments fighting for Greece during the Trojan War is followed by an account of Evagoras' heroic ascension to the throne in 411 B.C. (Isoc. 9.17-19, 26-33). By describing the achievements of Teucer and Evagoras in such proximity to one another, Isocrates invites his audience to draw a direct comparison between the two monarchs. This also allows for the suggestion that Evagoras equalled or even

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[5] Transl. Helmbold (1939).
[6] All translations of Isocrates *Evagoras* are those of Lee Too (2000).
[7] Poulakos (1987) 320.

surpassed his ancestor's valour at Troy, highlighting the need for 'a new post-epic heroism, in which the fourth-century nonmaterial virtues…are privileged over and above the physical qualities, for example, strength and speed of the traditional hero.'[8] The purpose of this is to help Nicocles understand 'that his discovery of himself as a moral agent lies at that point where his selfhood and the tradition in which he participates intersect.'[9] It is in this manner that Isocrates brings together ethics and rhetoric, combining fiction and history through his narrative.[10]

As a rhetorical piece which draws on past events, the historical veracity of the *Evagoras* is complex and inexact.[11] There is much exaggeration in the panegyric; Evagoras' actions are embellished by the author, who is selective in the information that he presents. Isocrates does not, for instance, discuss instances in which Evagoras' actions appear to have been self-serving, such as his attempt to bring all of Cyprus under his dominion (D.S. 14.98.1); nor does he make mention of the violent manner of his hero's death (Theopomp.Hist. F 103. 12; Arist. *Pol.* 5.1311$^b$ 5-6; D.S. 15.47.8). Despite this, the *Evagoras* is used as a principal source of information for the sovereignty of the Cypriot monarch, with Diakos going so far as to claim that Evagoras' ambition 'was to unite the whole of Cyprus under his authority and form a bulwark against Persia.'[12] This perception of Evagoras' ambitions relies on Isocrates' romanticised depiction of the monarch as a philhellenic champion. However, given the idealised purpose and nature of this account, we cannot rely on Isocrates' representation of this monarch at face value.[13] A

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[8] Lee Too (2000) 140.
[9] Poulakos (1987) 320.
[10] Poulakos (1987) 320.
[11] Cf. Poulakos (1987) 320: 'the events in the discourse are not commensurate with events in the experiential world.'
[12] Diakos (1961): 49. This view is further supported by Gjerstad SCE IV.2 (1948) 502: 'The political programme of Euagoras I corresponds entirely to his philhellene ideals of culture. Persia had wished to make Cyprus a cultural bastion of Asia against Greece. Euagoras wrenched Cyprus out of the grasp of Persia and aspired to make the island a united state, a Greek state, a cultural bulwark against Asia.' More recently, cf. Iacovou (1999) 13 who describes Evagoras as 'the great reformer...who headed the Greek cause of Cyprus against the Persians.'
[13] Poulakos/Depew (2004) 155: 'Isocrates cheerfully manipulates the record, whether of Athens or of Evagoras' Cyprus, in order to corroborate his claims concerning the virtues of one or another political regime.' Cf. Alexiou (2005) 60: 'In the *Evagoras* the character of the Cypriot ruler is also idealised: Isocrates begins in such a manner so that ultimately a historical personality is not depicted; rather a political ideal is embodied.'

critical perspective which considers both the inventive as well as the historic aspects of this panegyric must be adopted. Methodologically I shall make most use of the *Evagoras* when Isocrates' account can be considered in conjunction with additional works such those of Xenophon and Diodorus since these sources discuss the Salaminian king in relation to the wider political issues occurring within the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean during the fourth century B.C.

## 4.2 Evagoras, Athens, and Persia

From the time Evagoras came to the throne in 411 B.C., he began to cultivate strong relationships with greater powers. The Salaminian king welcomed Greeks who possessed political, artistic and literary skills to reside in his city-kingdom, receiving Athenian citizens and exiles in particular, many of whom sought refuge when Athens became a subordinate ally of Sparta. Three of the most well-known Athenians to reside in Evagoras' city-kingdom included the orator Andocides (Lys. 6.28; Andoc. 1. 4) the politician Aristophanes (Lys. 19.19-20) and the general Konon (Isoc. 9.52; Xen. *HG* 2.1.29; D.S. 13.106.6). Evagoras' interaction with Andocides demonstrates that he made use of such residents to strengthen his relationship with Athens in particular. Andocides himself claims that in 407 B.C. he was able to arrange a shipment of grain to Athens from Cyprus, which helped the city ward off Spartan attempts to cut off supply routes from the north:

> You remember, I'm sure, that it was reported to you that no grain would arrive here from Cyprus. Well, I've been so successful that the men who planned and carried out this scheme against you have failed to accomplish their aim. How this was achieved, it's not important for you to hear, but what I want you to know now is that you have fourteen grain ships which will be putting in to Piraeus at any moment, and the rest of the ships that sailed from Cyprus will arrive together soon afterwards. (Andoc. 2.20-21)[14]

Though Evagoras is not specifically mentioned as having provided this grain, he was bestowed with honours from Athens shortly after this event including the grant of honorary citizenship. An inscription found on three fragments of white marble from the Acropolis, dated to approximately 407 B.C., attests to

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[14] Transl. Gagarin/MacDowell (1998).

the fact that Evagoras was praised for his services to the city (*IG* I$^3$ 113).[15] These preserved fragments reveal both the original decree proposed by Phrasidemos, which appear to have been mainly honorific, and a substantial amendment which discusses Evagoras' contribution to Athenian relations with the Great King and the Persian statesman Tissaphernes in 411/10 B.C. (Thuc. 8.56.4).[16] According to Isocrates 'Evagoras was made a legal citizen on account of his many generous benefactions' (Isoc. 9.54). This information is substantiated by Demosthenes who, in an address to the citizens of Athens, mentions 'you made grants of citizenship to Evagoras of Cyprus and Dionysius of Syracuse and their descendants.' (D. 12.10).[17] While such honours were commonplace during the fourth century since they provided the Athenians with a means to facilitate their own objectives, Evagoras was able to secure a place of prominence on the Greek mainland.[18]

Perhaps of even greater significance, is the bond that Evagoras developed with the Athenian general Konon, who took refuge in Salamis following the decisive battle of Aegospotami in 405 B.C. According to Xenophon, with the Athenian defeat at Aegospotami resulting in the loss of the city's position as one of the major forces in the Aegean, the following events unfolded:

> Konon, now in flight with the nine ships, realized that the entire Athenian cause was lost and put in at Abarnis, a headland of Lampsacus, and there captured the main sails of Lysander's ships. Then he himself with eight ships sailed to Evagoras in Cyprus, while the *Paralos* went to Athens to announce what had happened. (X. *HG* 2.1.29)[19]

Adding to this, Diodorus states that Konon was particularly afraid of prosecution following the battle of Aegospotami:

> Of the triremes, ten only got away. One of these belonged to Konon the general, who, fearing the fury of the *demos*, abandoned any thought of

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[15] This fragmented inscription can be found in Lewis and Jeffery, *Inscriptiones Graecae* (1993) 129 as well as in Osborne (1981) 31-32.
[16] Osborne (1981) 21-22.
[17] Transl. Trevett (2011).
[18] Osborne (1981) 5: 'The granting of honours and privileges to foreigners was a well-established feature of Greek political life, and in Athens, as in all of the *poleis*, such grants were employed as both a means of rewarding benefactors and as a means of facilitating diplomatic objectives.'
[19] Transl. Marincola (2009).

returning to Athens: instead he fled to Cyprus and sought refuge with its ruler Evagoras, with whom he was on terms of friendship. Most of the troops retreated overland and got safely to Sestos. (D.S. 13.106.6)

Mentioning nothing of Aegospotami, Isocrates uses the arrival of Greeks such as Konon to the Salaminian court in an attempt to emphasise Evagoras' virtues:

The greatest proof of his character and piety is this. Many distinguished Greeks left their own countries to live in Cyprus because they thought that Evagoras' kingship would be easier to bear and more lawful than their constitutions at home. It would be a large task to name all the others, but who does not know Konon, who was first among the Greeks in many virtues, when his city came upon hard times, out of all the options available he chose to come to Evagoras because he thought that Evagoras would give him the greatest physical security and would help his city most quickly. Although Konon had many earlier successes, in this matter he seemed to have planned best of all. For as a result of his arrival in Cyprus, he accomplished and received the most good. (Isoc. 9.51-52)

Though Isocrates claims that Konon turned to Evagoras because he thought he could provide him with 'the greatest physical security and would help his city most quickly' (Isoc. 9.52), he does not offer a reason as to why Konon needed such assistance other than the restoration of Athens' former glory. Despite the assertions of Xenophon and Diodorus regarding Konon's defeat at Aegospotami, Isocrates' depiction of events has influenced the idea that Evagoras' comradeship with Konon, as well as his positive relationships with the mainland Athenians, was all part of a plan to 'secure allies for the future fight with Persia. His philhellene ideas caused him to turn to the Greeks and his anti-Persian plan of action to Athens.'[20] Such an analysis of Evagoras' aspirations infers motive through hindsight, with Gjerstad using the events of 391 B.C., in which Evagoras engaged in a conflict with the Persians, to explain his actions prior to this time.[21] Evagoras' actions do not reflect those of a monarch making preparations to go to war against Persia; rather, they are comparable to those of the Great King who, along with his satraps, and other

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[20] Gjerstad SCE IV.2 (1948) 491.
[21] The events of 391 B.C. shall be explored below.

subordinate dynasts, made widespread use of capable Greeks within their administration.[22]

When conflict broke out between Sparta and Persia over the control of Asia Minor in 397 B.C., which Sparta had promised to return to Persian control as one of the conditions of Persian aid against Athens during the Peloponnesian War (Xen. *HG* 3.2.12; D.S. 14.38.1-7), Evagoras engaged in negotiations with Artaxerxes in order to secure for Konon the position of admiral of the Persian fleet. According to Ctesias of Cnidos, whose work is fragmentally preserved by Photius, Evagoras won Konon this appointment by 397/6 B.C.:

> (72) The author next states the causes of the quarrel between Artaxerxes and Evagoras, king of Salamis. The messengers sent by Evagoras to Ctesias about the receiving of letters from Abulites. The letter of Ctesias to Evagoras concerning reconciliation with Anaxagoras, some king of the Cyprians. The return of the messengers of Evagoras to Cyprus and the delivery of the letters from Ctesias to Evagoras. (73) The speech of Konon to Evagoras about visiting the king. The letter of Evagoras on the requests he had received from him. The letter of Konon to Ctesias, the agreement of Evagoras to pay tribute to the king, and the giving of the letters to Ctesias. Speech of Ctesias to the king about Konon and the letter to him. The presents sent by Evagoras delivered to Satibarzanes. The arrival of the messengers in Cyprus. The letters of Konon to the king and Ctesias (Ctes. *FGH* 688 F30)[23]

This passage provides brief insight into the local political events occurring on Cyprus at this time, with Ctesias mentioning that Evagoras was only able to secure Konon his position by accepting Artaxerxes' demand to first reconcile with the otherwise unknown Cypriot monarch Anaxagoras and, second, to resume payment of tribute which had evidently ceased during this period of political unrest on Cyprus (Ctes. *FGH* 688 F30). Evidently, Evagoras took advantage of the widespread confusion within the Persian Empire during Cyrus' revolt to cease paying tribute to the Persian King. Without further evidence, however, we cannot know the monarch's motives.

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[22] Costa (1974) 45. Maier (1994) 317 similarly argues that one may ask whether Evagoras' actions testify 'to a 'Greek national consciousness' or…simply represents philhellene pretensions similar to that of the Great King and man of his satraps and vassal rulers, such as the Phoenician kings.'
[23] Transl. Stronk (2010) 387.

There is no evidence to suggest that Evagoras' actions were dictated by the fact that 'as an out-and-out supporter of Athens Evagoras had been hostile to Persia from the start.'[24] This is particularly difficult to accept since a number of sources attest that the Salaminian monarch aided Artaxerxes in his conflict with the Spartans.

Artaxerxes found support from Evagoras and Konon when, aspiring to destroy Spartan naval power as part of his efforts to reclaim Asia Minor, he launch a campaign against the Spartans with their assistance at Knidos in the summer of 394 B.C. According to Xenophon, the Persian fleet that advanced against the Peloponnesian fleet at Knidos comprised two contingents, the Phoenician and the Greek:

> It is said that the encounter between the fleets had taken place in the vicinity of Knidos and that the Persian Pharnabazos was the admiral commanding the Phoenician ships, while Konon, who led the Greek contingent for the Persians, was placed in front of him. (X. *HG* 4.3.11)

Through the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* we learn that the nucleus of this Hellenic division was Cypriot since it is attested that the Athenian general subdued a riot among the Cypriot mercenaries under his control:

> Those of the Cypriots in Konon's forces sailed to Caunus and were persuaded, by some who spread false rumours, that they were not intending to give them the pay that was owing but were preparing discharges only for crews and marines. They were angry at this and got up a meeting and chose as their general a man of Carpasian race, and gave him as a bodyguard two soldiers from each company ... Konon ... as it happened ... when Konon was coming down ... negotiated about the matters in hand. Konon ... did not allow them to believe ... of the Greeks, but said that all would receive their pay equally. (Hell. Oxy. 20.1-20.2)[25]

Isocrates also claims that the majority of Konon's force was Cypriot. However, he typically exaggerates Evagoras' role in the battle, claiming that subsequent to procuring Konon's position as admiral, the monarch 'provided most of the

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[24] Stylianou (1992) 467.
[25] Transl. McKechine/Kern (1988).

military force' for this battle (Isoc. 9.57).[26] Conversely, through Diodorus' account of events we learn that a number of Cypriot monarchs contributed a substantial number of forces to the battle of Knidos:

> Pharnabazos, after the truce had been made with the Lacedaemonians, went back to the King and won him over to the plan of preparing a fleet and appointing Konon the Athenian as its admiral; for Konon was experienced in the encounters of war and especially in combat with the present enemy, and although he excelled in warfare, he was at the time in Cyprus at the court of Evagoras the king. After the King had been persuaded, Pharnabazos took five hundred talents of silver and prepared to fit out a naval force. Sailing across to Cyprus, he ordered the kings there to make ready a hundred triremes and then, after discussions with Konon about the command of the fleet, he appointed him supreme commander at sea, giving indications in the name of the King of great hopes Konon might entertain. (D.S. 14.39.1-2)[27]

It then follows that the Cypriot monarchs, including Evagoras, provided a substantial number of both triremes and troops to this campaign. Evagoras' support of the Persians in particular is further highlighted through the events following the battle of Knidos.

The combined efforts of Evagoras, Konon and the Persians culminated in the successful suppression of Spartan naval power in the Aegean at the battle of Knidos in 394 B.C. (X. *HG* 4.3.10-12; D.S. 14.84.7). Following this battle, Konon returned to Athens where, with Pharnabazos' encouragement and financial aid, he began rebuilding the Athenian Long Walls (X. *HG* 4.8.10-12; D.S. 14.85.2). While at Athens, Konon sent the Athenian politicians Aristophanes and Eunomus to Syracuse as ambassadors in order to persuade its monarch Dionysius to cancel his planned delivery of warships to Sparta and end his alliance with the Spartans:

> First, when Konon wanted to send someone to Sicily, he [Aristophanes] offered himself and went with Eunomus, who was a friend and guest of Dionysius, and who had rendered a great many services to your people, as I have been told by those who were with him at the Peiraeus. The

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[26] While Xenophon asserts that 'the Persian Pharnabazos was the admiral commanding the Phoenician ships, while Konon, who led the Greek contingent for the Persians, was placed in front of him.' (X. *HG* 4.3.11) he does not mention whether these ships came from Cyprus.

[27] All translations of Diodorus' text henceforth are those of Oldfather (1954).

voyage was undertaken in hopes of persuading Dionysius to connect himself by marriage with Evagoras, and to become an enemy of the Lacedaemonians and a friend and ally of your city [Athens]. This they set out to do amid many dangers arising from the sea and from the enemy, and they prevailed on Dionysus not to send some warships which he had then prepared for the Lacedaemonians (Lys.19.19-20)[28]

Though there is no evidence to suggest that the proposed marriage alliance with Dionysius was formed, the continuing contribution that Evagoras and Konon made to the partial dissolution of Spartan supremacy demonstrates that the Salaminian monarch had a particular interest in aiding both Persia and Athens during this period. It, therefore, does not follow that Evagoras was hostile towards Persia from the beginning of his reign.

Furthermore, Evagoras' actions do not indicate, as some would have it, that he planned to liberate Cyprus from Persian rule. Since Persian control of Cyprus was crucial to the maintenance of the Empire's naval power in the eastern Mediterranean, his best course of action to liberate Cyprus from Persia would have been 'the weakening of Persian sea-power, and the development of a series of alliances which could maintain independence of the whole area Southeastern Mediterranean (i.e. Egypt, Cyprus, Asia Minor).'[29] The simplest explanation for Evagoras' actions is that since the monarch was well aware of the strategic significance of Cyprus in the context of potential conflicts between Persia and the Empire's western littoral which threatened to break out at this time he most likely wished to demonstrate his loyalty in order to ensure that there would be no reason for Artaxerxes to alter his quasi-independent status.[30]

Evagoras did secure benefits from at least one region as a result of his contribution to the events of 394 B.C. With the triumph at Knidos allowing the

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[28] Transl. Lamb (1930). Todd (2000) provides a more recent translation of this text: 'The object of the voyage was to persuade Dionysius to conclude a marriage alliance with Evagoras, and to become an enemy of the Spartans and the friend and ally of your city. They accomplished this, despite considerable dangers facing them by land and sea, and persuaded Dionysius not to send the triremes that he had already prepared for the Spartans.' Todd's phrasing suggests that the marriage alliance was successful. However, there is no evidence that this was the case. In agreement with Lamb I believe that the Greek reflects that they were only successful insofar as they prevailed on Dionysus not to send some warships.
[29] Costa (1974) 47.
[30] Ruzicka (2012) 45.

Athenians to free themselves from Spartan control, Evagoras and Konon were honoured by the Athenians for their roles in this victory. According to Isocrates statues of Evagoras and Konon were placed in the Keramikos, erected 'near the statue of Zeus Soter, and near each other, a memorial to both and to the greatness of their benefaction and friendship with one another' (Isoc. 9.57). This is affirmed by Pausanias:

> Near the portico stand Konon, Timotheus his son and Evagoras King of Cyprus, who caused the Phoenician men-of-war to be given to Konon by King Artaxerxes. This he did as an Athenian whose ancestry connected him with Salamis, for he traced his pedigree back to Teucer and the daughter of Cinyras. (Paus. 1.3)[31]

By 307 B.C. the list of those who had received this honour was limited to thirteen men, of whom only three were naturalized citizens: Evagoras, Pairisades I of Bosporus, and Asandros of Macedon.[32] Three fragments of a stele found in the Athenian Agora and dated to 394/3 B.C. record the decree which awarded Evagoras his statue. The Salaminian monarch was presented with an honorary olive wreath and was, along with his heirs, awarded a front seat in the theatre at religious festivals as well as a proclamation at the Dionysia (*IG* II² 20).[33] Line fifteen of this inscription is of particular note, describing Evagoras as 'a Greek on behalf of Greeks'.[34] This is the first time any Greek source directly acknowledges a Cypriot monarch as a Greek. The significance of this should not be overstated since these honours were a means by which the Athenians could conceal the fact that it was through Persian intervention that they were freed from Spartan oppression. For this fact, Evagoras was 'a comfortable cloak.'[35]

## 4.3 Evagoras and the Cypriot War

The honours bestowed upon Evagoras in 394 B.C. signal a change in the monarch's political aspirations. By 393 B.C. Evagoras embarked upon a

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[31] Transl. Jones (1918).

[32] Engen (2010) 165.

[33] This fragmented inscription can be found in Kirchner, *Inscriptiones Graecae* (1966) 656 and also in Rhodes/Osborne (2003) 50-55.

[34] As translated by Rhodes/Osborne (2003) 51-54.

[35] Lewis/Stroud (1979) 191. Hornblower (1994) 75 similarly observes that the inscription honouring Evagoras indicates 'already in 393 the Athenians, by using extravagant language about Evagoras as a Greek benefactor of Greece, were seeking to disguise themselves the Persian aspect of the Cnidus victory.'

policy of expansion on Cyprus, making war upon the island's city-kingdoms. Briant advocates 'Ever since he had come to power Evagoras of Salamis had methodically pursued his goal – to extend his power over the other cities on the island.'[36] This is a teleological argument. I argue that the increasing wealth and power which Evagoras gained by assisting Athens and Persia resulted in the monarch's desire to further increase his supremacy.[37] It is not unreasonable to presume that, having aided Artaxerxes in the war against Sparta, Evagoras expected that he would be left to his own devices on Cyprus.[38]

Xenophon makes no mention of the events that occurred on Cyprus in 394 B.C. Moreover, Isocrates does not refer to Evagoras' expansionist activities. Claiming that 'When they allowed him to live in peace, he ruled only his own city', Isocrates suggests that Evagoras was a victim of an unprovoked Persian attack (Isoc. 9.61). Diodorus is our principal authority for the events that followed:

> When he took control of the city, Evagoras was at first king only of Salamis, the largest and strongest of the cities of Cyprus; but when he soon acquired great resources and mobilized an army, he set out to make the whole island his own. Some of the cities he subdued by force and others he won over by persuasion. While he easily gained control of the other cities, the peoples of Amathous, Soloi and Kition resisted him with arms and dispatched ambassadors to Artaxerxes the King of the Persians to get his aid. They accused Evagoras of having slain King Agyris, an ally of the Persians, and promised to join the King in acquiring the island for him. The King, not only because he did not wish Evagoras to grow any stronger, but also because he appreciated the strategic position of Cyprus and its great naval strength whereby it would be able to protect Asia in front, decided to accept the alliance. (D.S. 14.98.1-5)

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[36] Briant (2002) 647.
[37] Reid (1974) 124: 'For a while he was content to rule Salamis alone, but then his increasing wealth and power inspired him with an ambition to make the whole island his own.' Cf. Shrimpron (1991) 4: 'The possession of a victorious, experienced fleet that had been drilled by an accomplished commander like Konon would inflame any man ambitious for conquest, and Evagoras probably thought that the King owed him a favour by now and would turn a blind eye to his territorial ambitions.'
[38] Costa (1974) 50. Cf. Ruzicka (2012) 68 'Evagoras had probably initiated attacks on other Cypriot cities in or soon after 394 in the belief that his service in furnishing Konon to Artaxerxes had gained him licence to expand his own power on Cyprus.'

Diodorus goes on to tell us that, dismissing the ambassadors from Amathous, Soloi and Kition, Artaxerxes:

> …commanded Hecatomnus, the ruler of Caria, to make war upon Evagoras. Hecatomnus traversed the cities of the upper satrapies and crossed over to Cyprus in strong force. Such was the state of affairs in Asia. (D.S. 14.98)

The antagonistic position that Amathous, Soloi and Kition adopted towards Evagoras' expansionist policy is hardly striking given the independent nature of these city-kingdoms. Amathous in particular had, in the past, demonstrated its desire to remain independent from the remainder of Cyprus' city-kingdoms (Hdt. 5.104.1; 5.104.3). It is perhaps surprising that the city-kingdom of Soloi, whose inhabitants had on several occasions been aggressively opposed to Persian supremacy (Hdt 5.115; A. *Pers.* 891-3), now appealed to the Persians for aid against a Cypriot monarch. Their reliance on their Persian rulers to intervene illustrates that their past opposition was not to Persian rule per se, but rather to suppression of any kind by threatening forces. Resistance to Evagoras' rule highlights that the political policies of the city-kingdoms were always dictated by the desire to preserve their independence from one another, even if this meant giving up some autonomy under Persian rule.

Opposition towards Evagoras' sovereignty was perhaps foreshadowed by the rejection of his efforts to widen the use of Greek language on the island. Evagoras' coinage was the first in Cyprus to bear alphabetic letters; his 'Hellenic' innovation was, however, resisted throughout the island.[39] Cypriot syllabry was used continually through the fourth to second centuries B.C, well after Ptolemy I had abolished the island's monarchic governmental system. Evagoras himself continued to issue his coinage with legends in the Cypriot script in order to maintain its monetary and symbolic value both within the island and externally. He did, however, use alphabetic letters on his coinage at times, in conjunction with Cypriot script.[40] As Iacovou notes, it is somewhat paradoxical that, on an island that has been considered politically and

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[39] Kraay (1976) 308.
[40] Iacovou (1999) 13-14.

culturally pro-Hellenic by previous scholarship, the use of the Greek alphabet was strongly resisted.[41]

Artaxerxes' reaction to the unfolding events on Cyprus is of particular note. The Great King's actions can be partially explained by the fact that a docile and divided Cyprus allowed him to easily rule over the island. As Briant puts it, 'control of the island presupposed that power there would be fragmented among a number of simultaneous kinglets who…would inform on each other to the central authority.'[42] Evagoras' violation of the Great King's earlier demand for intra-island inactivity may have been enough to prompt his response (Ctes. *FGH* 688 F30); however, Diodorus' explicit statement that Artaxerxes 'appreciated the strategic position of Cyprus and its great naval strength whereby it would be able to protect Asia' (D.S. 14.98.3) indicates that particular attention should be paid to the wider circumstances in the eastern Mediterranean.[43] Though the Persians did not typically intervene in the domestic affairs of the island as long as tribute was paid, Persia's objective to recover Egypt, which had been in revolt since 405 B.C., provides an answer as to why Artaxerxes chose to aid Amathous, Soloi and Kition.[44] Isocrates asserts that a campaign was launched in Egypt in 390/89-388/7 B.C., prior to the outbreak of the Cypriot War:

> First, when Egypt revolted, what did he [Artaxerxes] do to those who held it? Did he not send the most renowned of the Persians to that war - Abrokomas and Tithraustes and Pharnabazus? These men stayed three months, suffered more harm than they inflicted, and finally escaped so shamefully that the rebels of Egypt are no longer content with freedom but are now seeking to gain control over their neighbours too. After this, he made a campaign against Evagoras, who rules over just one city but was handed over to the King according to the treaty.[45] He inhabits an island, earlier suffered a loss at sea, and on land he has only three thousand

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[41] Iacovou (1999) 14.
[42] Briant (2002) 647. It is possible that Briant was influenced by Costa (1974): 55 who argued, 'The autonomy of the individual Cypriote cities was the method by which Persia assured the loyalty of Cyprus.'
[43] Transl. Oldfather (1954).
[44] According to Isocrates the Egyptians had been in revolt since Cyrus challenged his brother, Artaxerxes, for the throne in 405 B.C. reporting that 'Egypt was, it is true, in revolt even when Cyrus made his expedition' (Isoc. 5.101).
[45] The King's Peace, which shall be discussed below.

> peltasts. Nevertheless, even though his power is so slight, the King is not
> able to prevail in war and has already wasted six years (Isoc. 4.140-141)[46]

Caution must be exercised in reading Isocrates' *Panegyricus* since this work was composed to propagate his views on panhellenic unity against the Persian enemy. His statements regarding Evagoras in particular must be approached with care since from Diodorus we know that the monarch had by this time conquered most of the island (D.S. 14.98.1). However, his assertion that a siege was instigated against Egypt prior to the Cypriot War explains why Artaxerxes launched a campaign against the Cypriot monarch. As Ruzicka notes: 'In the eastern Mediterranean, maritime security had previously depended on Phoenician guard ships based at Sidon. Now these ships would be dedicated to the upcoming Egyptian campaign.'[47] Accordingly, Artaxerxes' needed to secure Cyprus in order to successfully suppress the Egyptian rebellion since the island not only formed one of the largest contingents of the Persian naval force but was also a natural staging ground for an attack against Egypt. Thus, it is once again evident that Cyprus was inevitably involved in the political and military events surrounding neighbouring Egypt.

The Great King's reversal of Persian imperial policy towards Evagoras was met with resistance by the Salaminian monarch, prompting the Cypriot War. When the news of the Great King's plans against him broke, Evagoras made an urgent appeal to Athens for aid. According to Xenophon, who was perplexed by the following events, two fleets each comprising ten triremes were sent to assist the Salaminian; the first of these was intercepted by the Spartan general Teleutias in 390 B.C.:

> By the time Teleutias sailed into Rhodos, he had twenty-seven ships with
> him. On his voyage there he encountered ten Athenian triremes
> commanded by Philokrates son of Ephialtes, which had sailed from
> Athens and were making for Cyprus in order to bring help to Evagoras.
> Teleutias captured all of them. In all this, however, both sides were acting

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[46] Transl. Papillon (2004).
[47] Ruzicka (2012) 68. While Shrimpton (1991) 2 places this campaign after the King's Peace of 387/6 on the assumption that an assault on Egypt would not have been possible without prior reduction or neutralization of Cyprus, he does not account for the Phoenician fleet, as Ruzicka does, which was sent to Egypt prior to the campaign against Evagoras.

in a way most opposed to their best interests, for the Athenians, who considered the King a friend, were making an alliance with Evagoras, who was fighting against the King, and Teleutias, even though the Spartans were at war with the King, was destroying those who were also sailing to wage war against him. (X. *HG* 4.8.24)

Lysias also asserts that ten Athenian triremes were dispatched to Evagoras at this time, noting that there was some hesitation in sending Evagoras aid. When the Athenian assembly refused to pay for the cost of outfitting and manning the ships Aristophanes, son of Nicophemus, arranged to provide the funds:

> Later on, when the envoys came from Cyprus to seek assistance, Aristophanes did not relax his passion for activity. You gave them ten triremes and voted for other expenditures, but they lacked money and needed a lot more, not simply for the ships but because they had also hired peltasts and had purchased weapons. Aristophanes personally supplied most of their money, and when this was insufficient, he persuaded his friends, by pleading and offering guarantees. (Lys. 19.21-22)[48]

According to Costa, the fact that the Athenians provided triremes that were to be outfitted and manned at Artisophanes' expense indicates that they were not prepared to compromise their relationship with Persia for Evagoras.[49] The role that the Athenians played in aiding Evagoras should not, however, be diminished particularly since, according to Xenophon, they made a second attempt to aid Evagoras in 389 B.C., sending an additional force of ten triremes, which successfully reached Salamis:

> After this Chabrias sailed off to Cyprus in order to assist Evagoras. He had eight hundred peltasts and ten triremes under his command, and he took additional ships and hoplites with him from Athens. At night he himself, together with the peltasts, disembarked at Aegina and set an ambush in a hollow a little beyond the Herakleion. (X. *HG*. 5.1.10)

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[48] Transl. Todd (2000). Lysias goes on to provide evidence of the funds borrowed by Aristophanes (Lys. 19.22-27). Stylianou (1988) 464-67 maintains that the ships that Lysias refers to was the first of three contingents sent from Athens between 390 and 387 B.C. It is generally held, however, that only two Athenian contingents of ten triremes were sent to aid Evagoras. Cf. Costa (1974) 54-55 and Tuplin (1983) 172.
[49] Costa (1974) 54.

Any force, regardless of its size, sent by Athens ran the risk of compromising their relations with Persia. If we consider the wider objectives of the Athenians at this time it is not difficult to ascertain why they aided Evagoras. With the Spartan threat almost eradicated, an opportunity arose for the Athenians to attempt to revive their fifth century naval hegemony. Until 392/1 B.C. the cooperative alliance that Konon had pursued with Persia enabled the Athenians to rid themselves of Spartan supremacy. Subsequent to his arrest by Tiribazus on the grounds that he was using the Great King's resources to rebuild Athens, a decision needed to be made as to whether or not a continued alliance with Persia (Lys. 19.39-41; D.S. 15.43.5; Nep. *Kon.* 5.3-4). By supporting Evagoras, the Athenians could facilitate the weakening of Persian supremacy in the Aegean in an attempt to extend their own influence as far as possible. The sending of twenty Athenian triremes to Evagoras at a time in which their aim was to re-establish their own naval supremacy within the Aegean demonstrates a serious commitment to their Salaminian ally.

Surprisingly, Isocrates and Diodorus are both silent on the role that the Athenians played in the Cypriot war. As seen previously, Isocrates in particular often highlights the importance of Evagoras' relationship with Athens throughout his encomium. By excluding the role that the Athenians played in the Cypriot War, the rhetorician is able to focus on Evagoras' heroism, suggesting that although the Persian Empire was significantly larger than Evagoras' dominion, the Salaminian king was able to successfully challenge Artaxerxes.[50] Furthermore, it is possible that both Isocrates and Diodorus exclude this event since the Athenians ceased to assist Evagoras in 386 B.C. when a truce between Persia, Athens and Sparta, known as the King's Peace or the Peace of Antalcidas, was proposed.

While in Sardis trying to advocate Persian assistance for the Spartans during the Corinthian War, the Spartan general and diplomat Antalcidas negotiated a peace treaty with the Great King in 386 B.C. and in the same year obtained Persian support against the Athenians who were campaigning for control of the Hellespont (X. *HG* 5.1.29-36; D.S. 14.110.3-4; Plu. *Art.* 21.4-5). This

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[50] He, in fact, claims that Evagoras was a 'greater and more difficult antagonist than Cyrus, who had competed with him for the throne.' (Isoc. 9. 58)

Peace effectively ended the Corinthian war, allowing Artaxerxes to focus on the suppression of Evagoras' expansionist activities. According to Xenophon, the terms of the King's Peace were as follows:

> And so Tiribazos ordered that any of those who wished to hear the peace declared by the King should present themselves, all of them swiftly gathered together. When they had done so, Tiribazos showed them the treaty with the King's seal and then read out what was written, which was as follows: "King Artaxerxes believes it to be just that the cities in Asia should be his, as also the islands Klazomenai and Cyprus, but the rest of the Greek cities, both small and large, should be autonomous, except for Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros, which should, as of old, belong to the Athenians. Whichever of the two parties does not accept this peace, I will wage war against them by land and by sea, with ships and money, taking with me those who accept my views." (X. *HG* 5.1.30-31)

To this, Diodorus adds:

> The King, now that his difference with the Greeks was settled, made ready his armaments for the war against Cyprus. For Evagoras had got possession of almost the whole of Cyprus and gathered strong armaments, because Artaxerxes was distracted by the war against the Greeks. (D.S. 14.110.5)

By offering the Athenians the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, and Scyros, which formed a crucial part of the grain route between Athens and the Black Sea, the Persians were able to ensure the withdrawal of Athens' aid towards Evagoras. Accordingly, Evagoras began to search for support elsewhere while the Great King gathered a large naval and land armament: 'his land forces consisted of three hundred thousand men including cavalry, and he equipped more than three hundred triremes', appointing brother-in-law Orontes as commander of his land forces and the Persian general Tiribazus as commander of his navy (D.S. 15.2.1-3). While these numbers are no doubt exaggerated[51], they are indicative of a substantial expedition against Evagoras.

A number of sources attest that by 386 B.C. Evagoras caused unrest along the Empire's western littoral. According to Isocrates:

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[51] Cf. Stylianou (1998) 155 'there can be little doubt that the army is monstrously exaggerated.'

> When he was forced to go to war, he and his son Pnytagoras were so successful that he gained control of almost the whole of Cyprus, pillaged Phoenicia, forcibly captured Tyre, caused Cilicia to revolt from its king, and destroyed such a large number of the enemy that many Persians in remembering their misfortunes recall his virtue.(Isoc. 9.62)

Though his account is no doubt exaggerated, further evidence of the turmoil caused by Evagoras is noted by Theopompus, who attests that the monarch formed an alliance with Acoris, king of the Egyptians:

> The twelfth book includes: concerning Acoris King of Egypt how he made treaty with the Barcaens [barbarians?] and acted on behalf of Evagoras of Cyprus in resistance to the King of Persia (Theopomp.Hist. F 103)[52]

Diodorus also makes note of this, asserting that Evagoras formed alliances with a number of rulers:

> Evagoras made an alliance with Acoris, the king of the Egyptians, who was an enemy of the Persians, and received a strong force from him, and from Hecatomnus, the lord of Caria, who was secretly co-operating with him, he got a large sum of money to support his mercenary troops. Likewise he drew on such others to join in the war with Persia as were at odds with the Persians, either secretly or openly. He was master of practically all the cities of Cyprus, and of Tyre and some others in Phoenicia. He also had ninety triremes, of which twenty were Tyrian and seventy were Cyprian, six thousand soldiers of his own subjects, and many more than this number from his allies. In addition to these he enlisted many mercenaries, since he had funds in abundance. And not a few soldiers were sent him by the king of the Arabs and by certain others of whom the King of the Persians was suspicious (D.S. 15.2.3)[53]

These alliances threatened Persian control of the Empire's western seaboard, providing Evagoras with the funds and supplies he needed to successfully fend off Persian advances. With the support of his allies Evagoras was able to undermine Persian authority on Cyprus by attacking incoming trade ships,

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[52] Transl. Shrimpton (1991).

[53] While the sources are not explicit as to how Tyre and Cilicia came to be under Evagoras' control, it is possible that they made an independent decision to ally themselves with the Cypriot king due to the longstanding commercial ties that they held with both Cyprus and Egypt. Moreover, as Ruzicka (2012) 84 notes 'We know the Qedarite Arab king sent troops to Evagoras (Diod. 15.4), so we may infer Arab-Egyptian cooperation. Since Tyrian merchants derived great profits from Arab trade in sheep and goats, spices and aromatics, and precious metals (Ezek. 27: 21-23), this surely compounded Tyre's concern and probably pushed the city into collaboration.'

effectively driving merchants away from the island and cutting off the food supply to the Persian mercenaries, which, in turn caused mutiny among their troops that was suppressed with difficulty by the Persian generals and the leader of the naval armament, Glōs (D.S. 15.3.2). Yet, although Evagoras was able to successfully challenge Artaxerxes' advances for two years, the absence of Athenian aid due to the King's Peace weakened his position. With the terms of this treaty isolating both Egypt and Salamis from Greek aid, Evagoras' ability to retain supremacy in Cyprus was limited. By 387 B.C. the Persians were able to gain foothold on the island after a lengthy naval battle was fought off the coast of Kition, resulting in the weakening Evagoras' fleet (D.S. 15.4.1-3).

The following events are crucial to our understanding of Persian policy towards Cypriot monarchs. Diodorus claims that by 385/4 Evagoras' fortunes were reversed largely as a result of dwindling resources:

> This year Evagoras, the king of the Salaminians, arrived in Cyprus from Egypt, bringing money from Acoris, the king of Egypt, but less than expected. When he found that Salamis was closely besieged and that he was deserted by his allies, he was forced to discuss terms of settlement. Tiribazus, who held the supreme command, agreed to a settlement upon the conditions that Evagoras should withdraw from all the cities of Cyprus, that as king of Salamis alone he should pay the Persian King a fixed annual tribute, and that he should obey orders as slave to master. Although these were the terms, Evagoras agreed to them all except that he refused to obey orders as a slave to master, saying that he should be subject as a king to a king. When Tiribazus would not agree to this, Orontes, who was the other general envious of Tiribazus' high position, secretly sent letters to Artaxerxes against Tiribazus…(D.S. 15.8.1-3)

According to Isocrates, as a result of these developing occurrences, Evagoras turned to Sparta for support. Addressing the Athenians, Isocrates asserts: 'the Cypriots who revolt from Persia are favourable to us and also seek the protection of Sparta' (Isoc. 4.134). Theopompus also recounts that 'when Nectebibis had inherited the Egyptian throne, Evagoras sent ambassadors to the Lacedaemonians' (Theopomp.Hist. *FGH* 155 F 103.10). Nothing further is known of this attempt to form an alliance with Sparta. However, this highlights that Evagoras had not developed his relationship with Athens in order to

prepare for war against the Great King in an effort to liberate Cyprus, turning to any power for aid at this time. Nevertheless, the subsequent negotiations with Tiribazus' successor, Orontes, indicates that the Spartans did not fulfil Evagoras' request. Diodorus claims that these negotiations ensued in the following manner:

> Orontes succeeded to the command of the forces in Cyprus. But when he saw that Evagoras was again putting up a bold resistance to the siege and, furthermore, that the soldiers were angered at the arrest of Tiribazus and so were insubordinate and listless in pressing the siege, Orontes became alarmed at the surprising change in the situation. He therefore sent men to Evagoras to discuss a settlement and to urge him to agree to a peace on the same terms Evagoras had agreed to with Tiribazus. Evagoras, then, was surprisingly able to dispel the menace of capture, and agreed to peace on the conditions that he should be king of Salamis, pay the fixed tribute annually, and obey as a king the orders of the King. So the Cyprian war, which had lasted for approximately ten years, although the larger part of the period was spent in preparations and there were in all but two years of continuous warfare, came to the end we have described. (D.S. 15.9.1-3)

Had Evagoras agreed to obey Artaxerxes as slave to master, he would have risked having his status reduced to that of a royally appointed official. This would have allowed Artaxerxes to obtain complete control over Salamis' future and effectively end the Teucerid dynasty in the city-kingdom as there was no guarantee that he would allow Evagoras' sons to obtain the throne. For Evagoras, 'the implication was being subject to the Persian monarch, rather than being sovereign.'[54] Despite the fact that Evagoras was not in a position to make such a demand Artaxerxes allowed him to retain his title but only as a vassal king of Persia. This, once again, gives us an indication as to Persian political policy towards subjects of their Empire since this incident demonstrates that the Great King carefully considered the extent to which he required the cooperation of the kings in Cyprus. By allowing Evagoras to maintain his sovereignty in one of the many divided kingdoms on the island,

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[54] Zournatzi (2005) 56-7.

Artaxerxes could ensure that the quarrelsome Cypriot kings remained loyal to him.[55]

## Conclusions

The reign of Evagoras I reflects the way in which Cyprus itself has been depicted in mainstream scholarship. Both this individual and the island have been portrayed as entities that continually attempted to resist Persian control. In many instances the suggestion that the majority of the island's city-kingdoms were inherently politically pro-Greek due to their ethnic composition has been influenced by ancient Greek literature such as Isocrates' eulogy *Evagoras*, which promoted the idea that Evagoras was, above all, a Hellenic champion. As argued throughout this chapter, it is evident that Evagoras was an opportunistic ruler who forged alliances with Greeks and Persians alike and impartially subdued Cypro-Greek and Cypro-Phoenician city-kingdoms in order to increase his own supremacy. His foreign policy was dictated by his consolidation and later expansion of Salaminian power. This does not however suggest that Evagoras had anti-Persian aspirations from the outset of his reign. In fact, while it is evident that Evagoras' ambitions were to expand Salaminian hegemony over Cyprus during the latter years of his reign, there is no indication that he wished to 'liberate' the island from Persian rule during the first two decades of his reign. His ambitions to consolidate power within Salamis from 411 to 391 B.C. advanced Artaxerxes' interests by assisting the Great King to eliminate Spartan supremacy in the Aegean. The way in which Evagoras adapted himself to the changing political circumstances in the eastern Mediterranean reflects the ways in which political policies were dictated throughout Cyprus. Despite what Isocrates encourages his audience to believe within the *Evagoras*, it is the consolidation of power and material interests of the island's monarchs that determined their political allegiances throughout the fifth and fourth centuries B.C.

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[55] Wiesehöfer (2009) 85: 'Artaxerxes II's measures against Euagoras of Salamis and his disturbance of the balance of power on Cyprus in the first half of the fourth century, give us another idea of the variety and unorthodoxy of royal ruling maxims [of the Persian kings].'

## Conclusion

This thesis has shown that while Cyprus was regularly subject to greater regional powers and influenced by the political circumstances of the wider Mediterranean world, the local agency that existed on the island also played a key role. In fact, although Cyprus had a large Greek population, its basic political unit of the city-kingdom did not follow a Hellenic model, and these did not automatically align themselves according to Hellenic concerns. Furthermore, the island's history does not justify a simple narrative of conflict between its Cypro-Greek and Cypro-Phoenician populations, attractive as this has been to many scholars. Instead, the island's individual city-kingdoms aligned themselves according to self-interest (mostly of their rulers) and the pursuit of economic prosperity during the sixth to fourth centuries B.C..

Examining the island's circumstances both at a local level and in the broader context of the eastern Mediterranean is necessary because of the modern *communis opinio* that Cyprus' city-kingdoms desired unification with the Greek mainland as a result of continuous oppression by greater powers. Two principal questions were asked to test this:

1. What was the nature of the relationships between Cyprus and the major powers that vied to control it during the sixth to fourth centuries B.C.?
2. To what extent did the island's involvement in the wider Mediterranean political scene influence its own state of affairs?

A diachronic and thematic approach was employed. The four principal facets used to answer these questions included firstly, a consideration of the island's internal political, commercial and cultural character; secondly, an examination of the relationship developed between Cyprus' city-kingdoms and the Persian Empire and the extent of local agency; thirdly, an assessment of the role the city-kingdoms played in the wider eastern Mediterranean turmoil of the fifth century B.C., along with the way in which they interacted with the Greek Leagues that attempted to control them at this time; finally, an analysis of the reign of Evagoras I of Salamis and the extent to which his reign could help identify local Cypriot agendas in the fourth century B.C.

In chapter one, we saw how the internal political configuration of Cyprus differed from that of the Greek mainland. The island was not comprised of the traditional *poleis* of the wider Greek world; rather, it was divided into separate city-kingdoms by at least the eighth century B.C. Arguably, the development of these city-kingdoms was influenced by successive influxes of displaced Mycenaeans to the island as well as the analogous Levantine political institution; however, it is the island's increasing commercial position within the eastern Mediterranean that most significantly impacted upon its growth. This is evidenced by the relationships that the islanders cultivated with their neighbouring regions of Phoenicia and Egypt. Cypriot interaction with Phoenicia in particular facilitated bilateral trade between the island and the Near East and was of such significance that it led to a physical Phoenician presence on the island. Contact with Egypt was established well before the existence of Cyprus' city-kingdoms and even resulted in Egyptian domination of the island. These relationships are highlighted through early Greek sources which depict Cyprus as being both geographically and culturally connected to Egypt and Phoenicia. The extant sources that discuss the island prior to the sixth century portray it as one that was anomalous, largely due to the fact that it amalgamated Greek, Egyptian and Near Eastern traits. These findings reveal that while the island was acknowledged as part of the Greek world, its political, cultural, and economic interaction with the Egypt and the Near East naturally led it to be on the periphery of this Greek world.

Next, by focussing on the relationships between Cyprus' city-kingdoms and the Persian Empire we showed that the willingness to enter the Persian Empire not only upheld their connection with the regions of the Levantine coast, but also furthered their economic development with the regions of the Near East. The indirect nature of early Persian imperialism dictated that the political and cultural organization of the island was not effaced, with its monarchs retaining quasi-autonomous rule over their city-kingdoms. In time however, Persian control tightened as the empire required greater naval resources. The relatively independent position that the Cypriots held within the Empire was thus diminished. Dynastic rivalry between brothers in the

royal house of Salamis then sparked an almost island-wide rebellion in 498 B.C., taking advantage of the Ionian revolt of 499 B.C. according to Herodotus. Nonetheless, it does not follow that the Cypriot rebellion was part of a greater panhellenic rebellion. The varying stances of the four prominent city-kingdoms of Amathous, Salamis, Soloi and Kition, as identified by Herodotus, demonstrate that Cyprus' polities were aggressively independent from one another, each reacting to wider circumstances and competing with one another in a bid to further their own affluence.

As seen in Chapter three, it is evident that the Cypriots did not wish to throw off the Persian yoke as a proclamation of Hellenism. Cypriot actions were not dictated by a sense of Hellenic brotherhood or a desire to be united with the Greek mainland. Cyprus' city-kingdoms actively contributed to the Persian armada during the Persian Wars. Although the city-kingdoms of Salamis, Paphos and Soloi did rebel from the Empire following the decisive battle of Salamis in 480 B.C., this was not a bid to 'reassert their Hellenism' but an opportunity merely to cease providing naval tribute to the Persian navy, prompted by the weakening of Persian forces.[1] When the Hellenic and Delian Leagues successively attempted to take control of the island, the Cypriot city-kingdoms actively opposed their advances. Moreover, the wider objectives of the Hellenic and Delian Leagues reveal that they did not aim to liberate the island's Cypro-Greek population. Both vied with the Persians for control of the island due to its usefulness as a naval base, especially given its strategic proximity to Egypt, and its relatively abundant raw materials essential for naval construction. It is therefore unsurprising that the Cypriots resisted all attempts at control. Indeed, it reveals that when the islanders took hostile stances against major powers, they did not do so due to ethnic considerations; rather, their antagonism towards such powers was associated with their perception of their individual prosperity and security.

Finally, a re-assessment of the reign of Evagoras I of Salamis showed that a reliance on Isocrates' romanticised depiction of Evagoras has led some modern scholars to erroneous assumptions about both the objectives of this

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[1] Meiggs (1972) 482: 'It is not unreasonable to believe that they did reassert their Hellenism when they heard of the destruction of the Persian fleet.'

monarch and the political circumstances of each city-kingdom. Evagoras ambitiously attempted to expand his sovereignty by cultivating relationships with both the Athenians and the Persians. His actions were not part of a long-term plan to throw off the Persian yoke in order to unite all of Cyprus with the Greek mainland. The Salaminian monarch's ambitions developed as a result of the circumstances that he found himself in during the fourth century. After assisting the Athenians and the Great King Artaxerxes to eradicate Spartan naval supremacy in the Aegean, Evagoras was rewarded with wealth and political power. This encouraged the monarch to expand his sovereignty throughout Cyprus; while he was successful to an extent the reluctance that he was met with by the city-kingdoms of Amathous, Kition and Soloi prompted war with the Great King. The appeal that these city-kingdoms made to the Persians reflects one of the key characteristics of Cyprus' city-kingdoms. Above all they strove for independence from one another, adapting to changing political circumstances and using their position within the Persian Empire for their own personal gain. Remaining aggressively distinct from one another from the time of their establishment to the time of their abolishment under Ptolemy I at the end of the fourth century, the city-kingdoms of Cyprus were rarely politically united, remaining separate in their bid for commercial supremacy on the island.

Given these findings, how can we characterise the relationships between Cyprus and the major powers that vied to control it during the sixth to fourth centuries B.C.? The nature of these relationships is most clearly illustrated by the way in which the islanders defected from one rising power to another. Successive voluntary submission to the Neo-Assyrian, Egyptian and Persian Empires reveals that the relationships the city-kingdoms cultivated were, above all, designed to increase their own economic prosperity both on the island and especially through trade in the eastern Mediterranean. This is demonstrated by the fact that these patterns of submission are the only time in which the city-kingdoms acted in a unified manner. These decisions were also often made in alignment with the political circumstances of their closest neighbours, the Phoenicians. The bilateral commercial connection that the Cypriots held with Phoenicia, which facilitated trade with the Levantine coast

and regions of the Near East, was fundamental to the development of the prosperity of the island's city-kingdoms. These city-kingdoms tried to ensure their commercial interaction with Phoenicia was not impinged by powers that controlled the region throughout the eighth to fourth centuries. Therefore, it is evident that their rare unified political actions were not borne out of a sense of 'nationalistic' harmony or ties with the Greek mainland. This strategy was maintained throughout the existence of the city-kingdoms; their time under Persian supremacy ended with their voluntary submission to the rule of Alexander the Great in 333 B.C. following his victory against the Persians at the battle of Issus and impending siege of Tyre (Plut. *Alex*. 24.2; Arr. *An*. 2.20.3).

The Cypriots certainly used the wider political circumstances of the eastern Mediterranean to their advantage; this leads us to the next question: 'To what extent did the island's involvement in the wider Mediterranean political scene influence its own state of affairs?' Cypriot involvement often centred around three key factors: the island's geographical position in the eastern Mediterranean, her ability to provide ships, crews and safe anchorage, and her proximity to Egypt. The latter was indeed the most causal factor of Cypriot involvement in external affairs, whether the island was directly involved in attacks on Egypt as part of the Persian naval force or used by major powers as a stepping stone to gain control of Egypt. Indeed, the very first instance in which the Cypriots are mentioned as a part of the Persian Empire is related to the Persian conquest of Egypt in 525 B.C. (Hdt. 3.19.3). Cyprus' location and material assets inevitably led the island to be caught up in wider conflicts. This participation did affect the island's own state of affairs to some extent, prompting conflict within the island itself. It is, however, the varying ambitions of the island's monarchs and city-kingdoms that determined this. The Cypriot rebellion of 498 B.C. serves as a key example. While the rebellion was made possible by the external Ionian revolt, it is ultimately the increasing Persian demand on the city-kingdoms to provide naval supplies and support, along with the personal ambitions of one Salaminian royal, Onesilos, which prompted this rebellion. Using both the wider political turmoil and the tension between the city-kingdoms and Persia as a pretext to dethrone his brother

Gorgos in a bid to take the throne of the prominent city-kingdom of Salamis, Onesilos sparked a near island-wide rebellion and intra-city conflict. Furthermore, the internal conflict that developed as a result of Evagoras' actions also reveals that monarchic bids for supremacy prompted conflict within the island itself (D.S. 14.98.1-5).

It is clear that while the island was frequently involved in conflict due to its location and its inevitable use as a pawn between east and west, Cyprus did have its own local agency. It was an island divided by commercially antagonistic city-kingdoms and ambitious monarchs who had their own distinctive political agendas which only accorded with those of mainland Greek powers when it suited them.
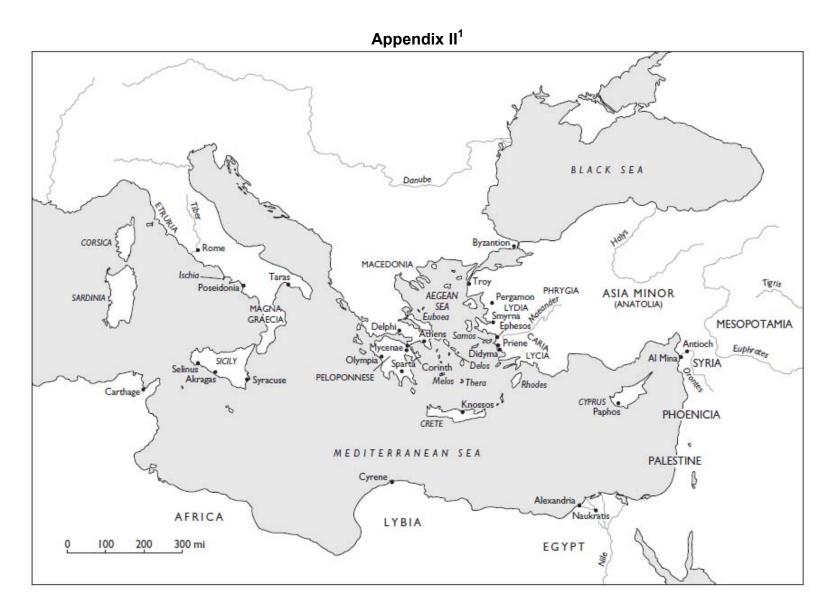
# Appendix I[1]

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**Map I:** Cyprus' ten city-kingdoms and theoretical boundaries as listed on the prism of Esarhaddon in 673/2.

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[1] As found in Zournatzi (1996) 182.

**Map II:** The eastern Mediterranean and region: Cyprus in relation to the Greek mainland, Egypt and the Levantine coast.

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[1] As found in Budin (2004) xvi.

# Abbreviations[1]

*AJA: American Journal of Archaeology*

*AJPh: American Journal of Philology*

*BASOR: Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*

*CAH:* Cambridge Ancient History

*CCEC: Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes*

*ClAnt: Classical antiquity*

*FGH:* Muller, C. (ed) (1841—70) *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum,* Paris: Firmin Didot.

*FGrH:* Jacoby, F. (ed) (1923—1958), 3 Vols, *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker, Leiden*, New York: E.J. Brill.

*G&R: Greece & Rome*

*Gjerstad SCE* **IV.2**: (1948) *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*: *Volume IV Part 2. The Cypro-Geometric, Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical Periods.* (Stockholm).

*Hermes: Hermes: Zeitschrift für klassische Philologique*

*Hesperia: Hesperia: The Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens*

*Historia: Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte*

*IG I$^3$:* Lewis, D. and L. Jeffery (eds) (1993) *Inscriptiones Graecae I: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores*, Berlin.

*IG II²:* Kirchner, J. (ed) (1966) *Inscriptiones Graecae II et III: Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores*, 2nd edn., Parts I-III, Berlin.

*JFA: Journal of Field Archaeology*

*JHS: The Journal of Hellenic Studies*

*JMA: Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology*

*Levant: Levant: the journal of the Council for British Research in the Levant*

*LSJ:* Liddell, H.G. and Scott, R. and Jones, H.S. (1940) *A Greek English Lexicon*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

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[1] All journal abbreviations are cited in agreement with the standard abbreviations given in *L'Année Philologique.* Those for the ancient literary sources are from the Liddell and Scott Greek English Lexicon.

**Mesopotamia:** *Mesopotamia: rivista di archeologia, epigrafia e storia orientale antica*

**MHR:** *Mediterranean Historical Review*

**Mnemosyne:** *Mnemosyne: bibliotheca classica Batava*

**Philologus:** *Philologus: Zeitschrift für antike Literatur und ihre Rezeption*

**Phoenix:** *Phoenix: journal of the Classical Association of Canada = revue de la Société canadienne des etudes classiques*

**QJS:** *The Quarterly Journal of Speech*

**RDAC:** *Report of the Department of Antiquities Cyprus*

**Tekmeria:** *Τεκμήρια: συμβολές στήν ίστορια τοῦ ˊΕλληνικοῦ καί ˊΡωμαϊκοῦ κόσμου = Beiträge zur Geschichte der griechischen und römischen Welt*

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