

scriptural exegesis (most notably in *De unitate catholicae ecclesiae* 4–5, where he presents a famously controversial analysis of Matt 16:18–19), unlike some other early church writers he never makes explicit either his principles of exegesis or his understanding of the Bible as a text that may be read on both the literal and the spiritual levels, although this understanding clearly underlies his exegesis.

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## Cyprus

- I. Ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible/Old Testament
- II. Archaeology

### I. Ancient Near East and Hebrew Bible/Old Testament

**1. Name and Topography.** Cyprus (*Cuprum*, Lat. for copper) is named Alashiya in Bronze Age cuneiform records (e.g., El-Armarna Tablets 33–34) and, in the Iron Age, Iadnana (cf. Mayer 1996: 463–84), in Egyptian, Alasa (cf. Helck 1971: 282–83), in Ugarit, *ālty* and in the OT, *ʿēlišā*. Elisha, is also derived from Sumerian *alaš*, meaning “copper,” i.e., *Kú-πoc*, possibly ku-pi-ri-jo in Greek in Linear B texts [Wallace/Orphanides II, 11–13].

Measuring 9,251 km<sup>2</sup>, Cyprus is the third largest island of the Mediterranean after Sicily and Sardinia. The island is structured by the Kyrenia or Pentadaktylos-mountain range, running parallel to the northern coast, and the Troodos mountains in the Southwest with a maximum height of 1,950 m.

**2. History.** Due to Cyprus' proximity to the Levantine and Anatolian coasts, the island was settled since the Neolithic period (Khirkitia, Sotira) by various waves of immigrants coming from there. Since the Chalcolithic period (Erimi, Lemba), copper mining is attested at sites in the foothills of the Troodos. The plains, particularly the Mesaoria, offer good soil for cultivating wine, olives and wheat (cf. Strabo, *Geogr.* 14.6.5). Salt was harvested from the salt-lakes near Larnaka and Limassol, and even exported from at least the 4th century BCE on, as inscriptions testify (Plinius, *Nat.* 31.74, 79, 84). Situated close to Syria (95 km to the Late Bronze Age trade center Ugarit) and Asia Minor (65 km), Cyprus served as a crossroads for international trade in the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. Copper, wood, grain, wine and other commodities were traded to the Levantine coast,

the Aegean and Egypt, both in the Bronze Age and 1st millennium BCE.

Late Bronze Age trade led to the emergence of various cities and nearby economic centres (Enkomi, Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Maroni, Kalavassos, Alasa) as well as the development of so-called Cypro-Minoan script around 1500 BCE. Neither language, nor script has been deciphered yet.

In Egyptian Amarna texts (El-Armarna Tablets 33–39), only one king of Alashiya is attested which caused the debate whether Alashiya refers to the whole island or just to one of its city-kingdoms, Enkomi being suggested most frequently (Wallace/Orphanides II, 3–11). The Amarna letters (El-Armarna Tablets 35) report a pestilence in the 14th century BCE which caused a severe decline in copper-mining.

Since the 14th century BCE, Cyprus had been threatened by the Sea Peoples coming from the Anatolian coast (El-Armarna Tablets 38), and was finally conquered by them under the reign of Ramesses III (1187–1156 BCE; *TUAT* 1.508–11) when neighbouring cultures, such as the Hittites or Canaanites, also suffered severe attacks. Cities, such as Enkomi or Kition, were partly destroyed, some rebuilt in smaller scale, some (eventually) abandoned. The international trade routes were severely affected, and large groups of people moved about searching for a new home. Cyprus attracted new settlers from the Aegean as well as the Levant. Thus, the travel report of Wen-Amun (1076 BCE; *TUAT* 3.912–21) mentions a queen, Hatiba of Alashiya, most likely a semitic name (“wood collecting woman”; cf. Schipper 2005: 218–19). Since the 9th century BCE, the presence of Phoenician settlers is attested on the island (e.g., *KAI* 30; 31; Krings 1995: 597–630), who used Cyprus as stepping stone for their westward expansion and trading network. This reactivated Cypriot (copper) trade, in turn triggering the emergence of various Iron Age city-kingdoms. The city-kingdom of Kition was probably (re-)founded by Tyre (Krings: 613–18), and Lapeithos was settled by Phoenicians from Byblos who worshipped the gods of their hometown there (Krings: 627–28; Magnanini 1973: 125–27 no. 3; Ulbrich 2008: 146, 371). In the city-kingdoms, newly immigrated Greek Aegeans and Phoenicians often lived together with so-called Eteo-Cypriots, the “pre-collapse” population of the island (e.g., Reyes 1994: 11–22; Raptou 1999: 230–36). The multicultural nature of the Cypriot population is reflected in the use of different languages (Eteo-Cypriot, Greek and Phoenician) and scripts (Cypro-Syllabic for Eteo-Cypriot and Greek, Phoenician, and since the late 4th century BCE, alphabetic Greek). It is also manifest in architecture, religion and cult, typology and iconography of pottery, sculpture and other objects. Since 708 BCE (Sargon II), “seven kings of Cyprus” had to pay tax to As-

syria (Reyes 1994: 50–56; Hill 1948: 104–6). The tribute lists of Asarhaddon and Ashurbanipal (ANET 291; VAB 7.141; Reyes 1994: 58–60) mention 10 city-kingdoms in Cyprus: Idalion, Chytroi, Salamis, Paphos, Soloi, Kourion, Tamassos, Ledroi, Qarthadašt (possibly Amathous or Kition/Keti) and Nuri (possibly Amathous or Marion). The city-kingdoms of Amathous, Kition, Lapethos and Marion are definitely attested by coinage and conclusive coin inscriptions since the very end of the 6th century BCE.

Cyprus is recorded to have been conquered by Pharaoh Amasis (570–526 BCE) around 560 BCE (Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.182; cf. Reyes 1994: 68–78). Cypriot kings then shifted their alliance to the Persian king Cyrus in 539 BCE (Xenophon, *Cyr.* 7.4.2, 8.6.21) and again to Cambyses in his campaign against Egypt in 525 BCE (Herodotus, *Hist.* 3.19.44; Tuplin 1996: 15–16) before the island was incorporated into the 5th satrapy of the Persian Empire about 520 BCE (Herodotus, *Hist.* 2.92.1; Zournatzi 2005: 11–12, 47–60). The Cypriot coinage of the subsequent period attests to a far-reaching autonomy of the city-kingdoms who, however, had to supply naval troupes and ships to the Persian navy (Herodotus, *Hist.* 7.90; Zournatzi: 11–12; Maier 1994: 297–306). During Achaemenid rule, several inner-Cypriot conflicts as well as uprisings against Persian rule are recorded while the island temporarily also became a battleground in the conflict between Athens, the Delian League and Persia (Maier: 297, 306–17, 326–30; Raptou 1999: 237–62; Tuplin 1996: 43–50). Cypriot city-kingdoms submitted voluntarily to Alexander the Great after the battle of Issos and supported his campaign against Sidon (Maier 1994: 330–36). Between the conquest of Cyprus by Ptolemy I (312/311 BCE) and the final establishment of Ptolemaic rule in 295/294 BCE, the system of autonomous city-kingdoms was gradually abolished (Tuplin 1996: 16–17). The cities were re-organized according to the Greek Hellenistic model with civic administrations and were supervised by a *στραταγός* who permanently commanded resident troupes. The capital of the province was Salamis (Karageorghis 1982: 172–75), and in the 1st century BCE was transferred to Paphos. In 58 BCE, Cyprus was integrated into the Roman Empire (Nea) Paphos (ibid. 177–89).

**3. Religion.** From the Chalcolithic period at the latest onwards, veneration of a universal female fertility deity is attested through female figurines, often depicted naked and/or with children. Possibly as early as the Late Bronze Age, she was identified with Phoenician Astarte and, in the Iron Age, with Greek Aphrodite and worshipped throughout the island (Karageorghis 2005: 7, 227; Ulbrich 2008: 104–37). Astarte was worshipped by the Phoenicians in Kition (KAI 32–37) and Lapethos (KAI 43; Magnanini 1973: 125–27, no. 3). Another dedica-

tory inscription for Astarte was found in Palaepaphos (Magnanini: 132 Nr. 1) where the most famous sanctuary of Aphrodite in the ancient world was situated (e.g., Homer, *Odyssey* 8. 362–63; Karageorghis 2005: 7; Ulbrich 2008: 123–27). However, “Kypris” (Homer et al.) was worshipped in all Cypriot city-kingdoms as universal city-, war-, love- and fertility-goddess (e.g., Karageorghis 2005; Ulbrich 2008: 147–78, 496–500 tables 1a, 2a). Beside her, a male deity with comparably universal functions was worshipped since the Late Bronze Age. In Greek inscriptions of the Iron Age, he is usually identified with Apollo, less often with Zeus (Bennett 1980: 322–57, 453–71; Ulbrich 2008: 502–4 table 2b). Phoenician dedications name Resheph(-Mikal), Melqart, Baal(-Lebanon) and Mikal (cf. Ulbrich 2008: 502–4 table 2b). In the 5th century BCE, sanctuaries of Greek Athena are attested in Idalion, Lapethos, Soloi and Vouni, identified by the Phoenicians as Anat in Lapethos and Idalion (KAI 42; Bennett 1980: 367–79; Ulbrich 2008: 148–59). Not before the late 4th century BCE, other Greek goddesses, such as Artemis, Demeter and Hera are attested on the island, but they could never supersede Cypriot Aphrodite (Bennett 1980: 360–65, 380–84, 400–402; Ulbrich 2008: 159–80). During Ptolemaic rule, the cult of the goddess was, in some of her sanctuaries, associated with the ruler cult for the Ptolemies and their wives, who, in turn, were closely associated with the cult of Artemis (Bennett 1980: 473–77). Simultaneously, Egyptian cults, such as for Isis, Sarapis and Anubis, were introduced into Cypriot sanctuaries (Bennett 1980: 479–80; cf. Ulbrich 2008: 307). During Late Antiquity, the cult for Cypriot Aphrodite was gradually absorbed and replaced by the cult for the Virgin Mary (Karageorghis 2005: 228).

**4. Cyprus in the Bible.** Cyprus is rarely mentioned in the Bible. It appears with the name Elisha in the list of the “descendants of Noah” (Gen 10:4; 1 Chr 1:7) and is mentioned as a supplier of garments died in blue and red purple (Ezek 27:7). The Cypriot city-kingdom of Kition lends its name to the biblical “Kittim” (people of Kition) which stood for the whole island of Cyprus and its tradesmen (cf. Isa 23:1, 12). Since the 6th century BCE, Kittim did not solely refer to Cyprus, but to the Aegean as a whole (cf. Gen 10:4; 1 Chr 1:7; Jer 2:10 [as opposed to “Kedar” referring to the East]; Ezek 27:6). Greek mercenaries in the Judaean army are referred to as Kittim on some ostraca from Arad of the early 6th century BCE (cf. passages mentioning “Cypriot mercenaries” of the 2nd century BCE, cf. 2 Macc 4:29; 12:2). In 1 Macc 1:1; 8:5, “Kittim” refers to the Macedonian kingdom, in apocalyptic texts to the Romans (Add Dan 11:30; 1QpHab 9:7). Jews lived in Cyprus in the 1st century CE (Acts 4:36; 11:19). They were visited by Paul on his first missionary journey (Acts 13:4–12).

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## II. Archaeology

Cyprus, the third largest island in the Mediterranean and the largest in the eastern Mediterranean, and situated in a strategic position near the coasts of Cilicia and Syria, has a long history. From at least as early as 10,000 BCE there is evidence of human activity on the island and settlements have been discovered dating to as far back as 8200 BCE. Wells have been found from between 7000 and 8500 BCE, among the oldest in the world. The Neolithic village at Choirokioita which dates to approximately 6800 BCE is one of the best preserved sites of its kind.

During the Bronze Age, Cyprus' vast resources, especially in copper and timber, brought it to the attention of the empire building cultures of the Levant and the Near East. As early as the late 3rd millennium BCE, Sargon of Akkad claimed in the *Epic of the King of the Battle* that he had crossed the sea to "Kuppara," taken to mean Cyprus. Later Thutmose III of the XVIIIth Egyptian Dynasty made a similar claim. It was in this period that the first cities, like Enkomi, were built and systematic copper mining began. By the Late Bronze Age a Cypriot syllabic was in use, lasting until the 11th century BCE,

probably for the native Cypriot language (Eteocypriot). During this period settlements were built on rectangular grid plans, like Enkomi. Large buildings constructed from ashlar suggest increased social hierarchisation such as those at Maroni-Vournes, Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Myrtou-Pigadhes, Enkomi, Kition and Kouklia (Palaepaphos). The closest parallels for these settlements, and for tomb construction, are to be found in Syria, Palestine and Cilicia, especially in Ugarit. Ugaritic texts from Ras Shamra and Enkomi also mention Cyprus, or the Assyrian name of Cyprus: Ya. Late Bronze Age Cyprus is considered to have been part of the Hittite Empire, though this was usually as a client state under the kings of Ugarit.

The distinctive copper ingots from Cyprus shaped like ox hides attest to the extent of Cypriot trade and have been recovered from many sites in the Mediterranean, most notably from Sardinia and from shipwrecks such as at Ulu Burun, Iria and Cape Gelidonya. Weights in the shape of animals found in Enkomi and Kalavassos follow the Syro-Palestinian, Mesopotamian, Hittite and Aegean standards.

At the end of the Bronze Age contact with the Mycenaean world increased; Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery was produced locally and architectural features resembling those from the Greek mainland, as well as a change from chamber tombs to shaft graves. It is uncertain whether or not these indicate the settlement of Mycenaean Greeks, but increased contact between the Aegean and Cyprus is certain. At this period there is also evidence for contact with Egypt. Egyptian pottery from Hala Sultan Tekke includes jugs bearing the cartouche of Seti I. A probable wave of Greek settlement is believed to have taken place in the 11th century BCE, indicated, among other things, by dromos graves and strong Mycenaean influences in pottery decoration.

In the following centuries, known as the Geometric period, there are indications of increasing Aegean and Levantine settlement on the island. Greek myths link the foundation of numerous Cypriot cities in this period to immigrant Greek heroes in the wake of the Trojan war. Teucer, brother of Ajax, was said to have founded Salamis, while Agapenor the leader of the Arcadians founded Paphos. Changes in the 11th-century BCE, such as the use of cremation burials, are seen to support the notion of increasing Greek influence, while the 11th-century BCE tomb 49 from Palaepaphos-Skales contains the first indication of the use of Greek language on the island. Several Phoenician colonies were definitely founded in the Geometric period such as Kart-Hadasht (Larnaca) and Salamis. The Phoenician colonies are thought to date from the 8th-century BCE, but the cemetery of Salamis shows evidence of Phoenician presence in the 11th century BCE and similar jar burials have been

found in cemeteries in Kourion-Kaloriziki and Palaepaphos-Skales. The growth of Cypriot settlement in the Geometric period and the presence of monumental tombs like the “Royal” tombs of Salamis indicate the appearance of the Cypriot kingdoms of the Iron Age.

In the Archaic period, beginning about 700 BCE, Cyprus was initially under Assyrian rule. A stela found in Kition commemorates King Sargon II and his victory in 709 BCE. The ten kingdoms listed by an inscription of Esarhaddon in 673/672 BCE have been identified as Salamis, Kition, Amathus, Kourion, Paphos and Soli on the coast and Tamassos, Ledra, Idalion and Chytri in the interior. Cyprus gained independence for some time around 669 BCE, but was conquered by Egypt under Amasis (570–526/525 BCE). The island was conquered by the Persians around 545 BCE. A Persian palace has been excavated in the territory of Marion on the northern coast near Soli. During the siege of Tyre, the Cypriot kings went over to Alexander the Great and the island remained under the control of Alexander’s successors (mainly the Ptolemies) until 58 BCE when it was conquered by Marcus Cato. It remained under Roman control, except for a brief interlude under Cleopatra and another under joint Byzantine-Saracen rule, until the crusader period.

Full Hellenization appears to have occurred under Ptolemaic rule when Phoenician and native Cypriot traits disappeared, together with the old Cypriot syllabic script. Archaeological evidence from the succeeding centuries show that the island continued to be a focus of trade in the eastern Mediterranean but with close contacts with Syria, Palestine, Egypt and Anatolia.

Although Paul is reported to have converted the people of Cyprus to Christianity and Cyprus was the refuge of many Christians following the persecution which followed Stephen’s death, with many references to the island in Acts (e.g., 4:36; 13:7, 12), little archaeological evidence for the early church on the island has been found and few Byzantine churches survive from the early period.

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See also → Kition

## Cyrene

Cyrene is a Greek city of Libya in North Africa to the west of Egypt on a fertile plateau about 15 km from the coast. The city was named after a spring known as Kyre, which was dedicated to Apollo. The name of eastern Libya, Cyrenaica, dates from the

classical period. Cyrene and its port Apollonia achieved wealth and importance largely due to its location on fertile land with great variability in climate and vegetation, as well as its focal position in the commerce of the eastern Mediterranean. It was founded in 630 BCE from the Aegean island of Thera, led by Battus, the story of which is reported in Herodotus’ *Histories*. It is likely that the initial settlement of the Thera was at Auza to the north-east, probably Aziris. Archaeological work in the area has shown the importance of the city in the commerce of the Eastern Mediterranean and it is well known for its Doric architecture and the necropolis on the road between Cyrene and Apollonia.

Cyrene was at the height of its prosperity in the 5th century BCE and produced numerous famous citizens, including Callimachus the poet, Carneades the founder of the New Academy at Athens, Eratosthenes the mathematician and, much later, the Christian writer Synesius. The Cyrenaics was the name given to a famous school of philosophy based in Cyrene in the 3rd century BCE, founded by Aristippus, a disciple of Socrates. After the death of Alexander the Great, Cyrene came under the control of the Ptolemies of Egypt, and became part of Roman territory in 96 BCE when Ptolemy Apion bequeathed Cyrenaica to Rome. In 74 BCE the territory was formally transformed into a Roman province. It underwent a steady decline in the later Roman period, and catastrophic earthquakes in 262 CE and 365 CE devastated the city, until by the time of the Arab conquest in 643 CE it was of little importance and mostly in ruins.

Cyrene was for most of its history an important commercial center and well placed for trade in the eastern Mediterranean and on the route to the west. One of its main exports through much of its early history was the medicinal herb silphium, pictured on most Cyrenian coins. Silphium was harvested to extinction and competition from Carthage and Alexandria over time reduced the city’s importance in trade networks. Presumably as part of a policy of encouraging commerce, Ptolemy I had Jews relocated to Cyrene and other cities of Libya. The Jewish population of Cyrene was thereafter always conspicuous such that by the time of Sulla (85 BCE) the city was known to have four classes: citizens, farmers, resident aliens, and Jews. Under the Ptolemies the Jewish inhabitants of Cyrene had equal rights with the much larger Greek population, but after Cyrene became a Roman province and it was given the right to autonomous rule the Jews found themselves increasingly oppressed. An insurrection of the Jews of Cyrene under Vespasian (73 CE) and another under Trajan (117 CE) resulted in large-scale Jewish depopulation.

The Cyrenians have a conspicuous place in the NT. The man compelled to bear the cross of Jesus is described as Simon of Cyrene (Matt 27:32; Mark