

Epigraphic Evidence Concerning a Jewish Settlement in Kition (Larnaca, Cyprus) in the Achaemenid Period (IV cent. B.C.E.)

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[Among the five Phoenician tomb-inscriptions from the Mnimata site of ancient Kition, published in 1984, we find two belonging to Jews bearing yahwistic names and two belonging to other non-Phoenicians. The Jewish-Phoenician inscriptions of the IV cent. B.C.E. identify the inscription of Hgy (Pucocke 15 = CIS, I, 67 = Kit. B 12) as Jewish-Phoenician also. This gives evidence of the existence of a Jewish settlement in Kition in the IV cent. B.C.E. and broadens our knowledge of the Jewish diaspora in Persian times.]

According to the description¹ of S. Hadjisavvas², stelae bearing Phoenician inscriptions were found at Ayios Georghios - Mnimata within the boundaries of modern Larnaca, at the start of construction works in 1979, at which time excavations were undertaken on a small scale. The site had been used as a cemetery from the beginning of the Iron Age until the Roman times, and there are four modern cemeteries to this day in its environs³. In archaeological maps, the site appears on the map of K. Nikolaou (fig. 1), where it is not designated as an archaeological site⁴. Its unexcavated southern part lies about 1500 meters northwest of the seashore and about 700 metres from the northwest of the Old City of Larnaca -i.e., the area which was formerly surrounded by medieval

1. I must express my sincere thanks to Dr. Vassos Karageorghis, Director of the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Cyprus, for his kind permission to visit and study the site of Mnimata. Dr. Sophokles Hadjisavvas, the archaeologist in charge of the site and its excavator, deserves my cordial thanks for some valuable details concerning it which he explained to me. Mr. D. Savvas, Director of the Larnaca District Archaeological Museum, visited the site with me in February of 1986 and furnished me with important explanations.

The Kition inscriptions (*Kit.*) are cited according to M.G. Guzzo Amadasi - V. Karageorghis, *Fouilles de Kition III. Inscriptions phéniciennes*, Nicosia 1977.

2. S. Hadjisavvas - A. Dupont-Sommer - H. Lozachmeur, "Cinq Stèles funéraires sur le site d'Ayios Georghios, à Larnaca-Kition en 1979", *RDAC* 1984, pp. 100-115, Pl. XIX-XXI. The epigraphic part of the publication is by A. Dupont-Sommer.

3. Oral communications of Mr. S. Hadjisavvas and D. Savvas.

4. K. Nikolaou, *The Historical Topography of Kition*, Göteborg 1976, p. 164.

Fig. 1. Map of Larnaca with its archaeological sites. Mnimata is marked by a black spot (from K. Nikolaou, *The Historical Topography of Kition*, Göteborg 1976, [p. 164]).

fortifications. In its unexcavated part, the site consists of flat ground measuring about 300 x 300 m. and reveals no outward signs of having been an ancient cemetery. It is also impossible to ascribe this cemetery to any clearly defined ethnic group. Less than a quarter of the Mnimata site has been excavated by archaeologists or clandestine excavators. The line marking the transition between the excavated and unexcavated areas is clearly seen on figure 6.

I

The following stelae are of concern to us:

1. ("Cinq Stèles", pp. 102 and 108. AF IX-CS-2551/48. Height 15 cm. width 42 cm.). We have only the base on which the stela was erected (fig. 2). The stela itself is not preserved. The text⁵:

l šlm bn 'spyhw - "To Šallum, son of 'Asaphyāhū".

šlm - a very frequent West-Semitic name, known from Hebrew, Phoenician-Punic, and Aramaic⁶.

'spyhw. As A. Dupont-Sommer has pointed out, this is a purely Hebrew Yahwistic name. But in the OT from the root *'sp* ("to collect", "to gather") we have only *'Asāf* in the books dating from Persian times⁷, and on seals from the VII cent. B.C.E. we find *'sp* and *'spy*⁸. *'spyhw*, however, appears here for the first time and has hitherto been unknown.

S. Hadjisavvas and M. Lozachmeur date the inscription on archaeological and paleographic grounds as being of the IV cent. B.C.E.⁹, which is acceptable.

2. Stele AF I (C. 2251 51/40) comes, possibly like the preceding inscription, from the northwest corner of the site. Its height is 153 cm. The base is missing. The Phoenician inscription is engraved across the middle of the stele (Pl. XIX, 1, 2)¹⁰. (Fig. 3).

The text:

l mtn'štrt bn 'zryhw bn mtn bn šlm rb hšprm

"To Mattan'aštart, son of 'Azaryāhū, son of Mattan (or Metten) the son of Šallum, the chief of the scribes".

5. Hadjisavvas *et al.*, "Cinq Stèles", p. 108.

6. F.L. Benz, *Personal Names in Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions*, Rome 1982, pp. 180 and 417; the name appears frequently in the Old Testament.

7. Esr. 2, 41, 3, 10; Neh. 7, 44; 11, 17, 22; 12, 35, 46, etc.

8. F. Vattioni, "I Sigilli ebraici, I", *Biblica* 50 (1965), pp. 357-388; "II", *Augustinianum* 11 (1971), pp. 447-454; "III", *AION* 38 (1978), pp. 227-254; Seal No. 7, P. Bordreuil - A. Lemaire, "Nouveaux Sceaux hébreux et araméens", *Semitica* 32 (1982), No. 14; cf. also *'Abī-'āsāf* in Exod. 6, 24.

9. Hadjisavvas *et al.*, "Cinq Stèles", pp. 101 and 111-115.

10. Hadjisavvas *et al.*, "Cinq Stèles", p. 100.

As Dupont-Sommer argues¹¹ the name has to be **Muthun*-*Aštart* but it could also be **Mattan*-*Aštart* and **Metten*-*Aštart*. The meaning of the name is "The Gift of (the goddess) 'Aštart". We have here a purely Phoenician name. However it appears here for the first time in all of the known Phoenician inscriptions that have been collected by Benz and by later publications¹².

'zryhw - 'Azaryāhū ('Azaryāh) is a purely Hebrew Yahwistic name, and one of the most frequently encountered both in the Old Testament and in Hebrew and Jewish epigraphic sources of Pre-exilic and Persian times¹³.

Mtn - literally "gift", is a hypocoristic name. It appears often in Phoenician and Punic inscriptions¹⁴. On the other hand, *Mattan* is also known as a Hebrew name, and it is a participle form of the verb *ntn* - "to give" as well as of *ytn* as this root appears in Phoenician¹⁵. It is noteworthy that in Persian times we have the names *Mattenay*¹⁶, *Mattanyā*¹⁷. The name is also known in the Persian period among Jews in Babylonia and Egypt¹⁸. Taking into account that the son of *Mtn* had a Yahwistic name, we have to assume that *Mtn* must also be a hypocoristic of a Hebrew Yahwistic name.

Šlm (see note 6). This too has to be a hypocoristic Hebrew name; if we consider that the grandson had a Yahwistic name, we can assume a Hebrew name here as well¹⁹. The name is also known from Hebrew epigraphic documents²⁰ and the Jewish-Aramaic documents from Egypt²¹, as well as among the Jewish names in Babylonia²². Hence we can assume that *Šlm* is also a Jewish name here. We also know of cases among the Jews of Babylonia in which a Jewish father gave his son a non-Jewish name, or even a gentile theophoric name²³.

11. Hadjisavvas *et al.*, "Cinq Stèles", pp. 103-104.

12. The element *mtn* - "gift" - appears in the names *Mtnb'l*, *Mtn'l*, *Mtnmlqrt*, etc. (Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 356). We know also *'štrtytn* - "The (goddess) 'Aštart has given" - (Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 175).

13. A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions Hébraïques, I. Les ostraca*, Paris 1977, p. 292 containing the onomastic index of the Hebrew ostraca; F. Vattioni, "Sigilli", No. 24; 40; 175; 188; 207; 228; 268; 270; 362 etc.; N. Avigad, *Hebrew Bullae from the time of Jeremia*, Jerusalem 1986, Nr. 63; 136; 137; W. Kornfeld, *Onomastica Aramaica aus Agypten*, Wien 1978, p. 66; R. Zadok, *The Jews in Babylonia During the Chaldean and Achaemenid Periods*, Haifa 1979, p. 130ff.

14. Benz, *Personal Names*, pp. 143-144 and 356-357.

15. Lemaire, *Inscriptions*, p. 293 - *Mtnyhw*, Vattioni, "Sigilli", No. 268; 367; 369; 374 - *Mtn*, *Mtnyhw*, *Mtt*, etc.

16. Esr. 10, 33, 37; Neh. 12, 19.

17. Esr. 10, 26-37; Neh. 11, 17, 22; 13, 13, etc.

18. *Ma-tan-ni-'-ia-a-ma* - Zadok, *Jews in Babylonia*, p. 135; Kornfeld, *Onomastica*, p. 60.

19. Cf. *'Abšalōm* - II Sam. 33; 13, 1 etc.; *Šēlomo* - the name of king Solomon; *Šēlomi* - Num. 34, 27; *Šēlemyā* - Jer. 37, 3; Neh. 3, 30; 13, 13, etc.; *Šēlemyāhū* - Jer. 36, 14, 26; 38, 1; I Chr. 26, 14; Esd. 10, 41 and *Šallūm* - appearing in Persian times - Esr. 2, 42; 7, 2; 10, 24, 41; Neh. 3, 12; 7, 45; 12, 25, etc.

20. Lemaire, *Inscriptions*, p. 294; Vattioni, "Sigilli", No. 58; 120; 121; 147; 368; 373 (*Šlm*); 145 (*Šlm'l*); 144; 230; 331 (*Šlmyhw*); 296 (*Šlm'h*) etc.; Avigad, *Bullae*, Nr. 108; 158-160; 161; 196.

21. Kornfeld, *Onomastica*, p. 73.

22. *Ša-lam-ya-ma*, *Še-li-mu*, *Ši-li-im-mu* - Zadok, *Jews in Babylonia*, pp. 8-48; 27; 56; 60; 137.

23. Zadok, *Jews in Babylonia*, pp. 84-85 - Akkadian theophoric names appear among Jews; E.J. Bickermann, "The Generation of Ezra and Nehemia", *AAJR* 45 (1978), pp. 1-28.

rb hsprm - "chief of the scribes" i.e. "the chief scribe". This shows us that the administrative and professional position of *Mtn'šrt*, son of 'zryhw was a relatively high one: *rb* "great", "elder", "chief" - is known in Ugarit to be applied especially to persons who stood at the top of a professional group, and such men were among the chief magistrates of the Carthaginian state²⁴.

The position of scribe *-spr-* is relatively well known in Phoenician and Punic inscriptions²⁵, but here we shall consider only the position: "chief scribe".

In Kition this title appears twice more: (1) in Kit. A.30, 2-3, where a *rb [sp]rm* "chief scribe") is a certain 'bd', son of *Kky*, son of 'bd', son of *Šmr*. The inscription is dated to the year 320/19 B.C.E. (Kit. C.I.A. 14), where we find 'bd'šmn *rb sprm* ("Abdešmun, the chief scribe")²⁶.

In the Phoenician West, in CIS, I, 6051 from Carthage, a *rlb sprm šrfy* - "chief scribe, Tyrilan" - is known from the IV-III cent. B.C.E.

According to the inscription Costa 22²⁷ from the area of Constantine in Algeria and dating from the II cent. B.C.E., a certain *Bdmlqrt*, *bn 'dnbl* "Bodmelqart, son of Adoniba'al" - was the *rb hspr* "chief scribe". Otherwise we know the Punic *rb hmštr*²⁸ and *rb hšptm* - "the chief suffetes" or "chief of the suffetes"²⁹. Therefore the use of the article *h* here is not necessarily a Hebraism.

3. ΑΓ II (Pl. XIX, 3, 4, 5 [CS 2551/41]). The stele is of white marble with its base missing. The total height is 208 cm. (fig. 4)³⁰.

1. *hmsbt z 'š ytn' b'lrn bn 'šmn'dn*
2. *bn lw' l'by l'šmn'dn bn b'lrn bn lw'*
3. *wl'my l'šmr*³¹ *bty bt 'štrtytn bn mtn bn bn pdl*³².

"1) This stele, which Ba'alram, son of Ešmunadon, 2) the son of *Lw'* erected to his father, to

24. W. Huss, "Die Stellung des *rb* in Karthagischen Staat", *ZDMG* 129 (1979), pp. 217-232, esp. note 18; M. Heltzer, *The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit*, Wiesbaden 1982, pp. 6, 9, 11, 14, 36-37, 69, 75, 87-88, 99, 114, 123-124, 135-136, 152-154, 157, 159.

25. More than 20 mentions.

26. CIS, I, 86. Cf. also O. Masson - M. Sznycer, *Recherches sur les phéniciens a Chypre*, Paris 1972, pp. 53-54.

27. J.B. Chabot, "Punica", *JAs*, Ser. 11, T. 10, pp. 11-19.

28. M. Heltzer, "Some Considerations about Hebrew *šōṭēr* and Punic *mštr*", *AuOr* 2 (1984), p. 227, inscription EH 75.

29. W. Huss, "Die Stellung des *rb*", *ZDMG* 129 (1979), pp. 220-221.

30. Hadjisavvas *et al.*, "Cinq Stèles", pp. 101, 104-105.

31. Hadjisavvas *et al.*, "Cinq Stèles", *ibid.*, *l'šm<nšm>r bty*, supposing there to be a scribal omission. But the text is also complete without such an addition.

32. Hadjisavvas *et al.*, "Cinq Stèles", *ibid.*, does not read the last letter. The photograph clearly shows a *d* (daleth). There had to be at least one more letter; the stele is broken there.

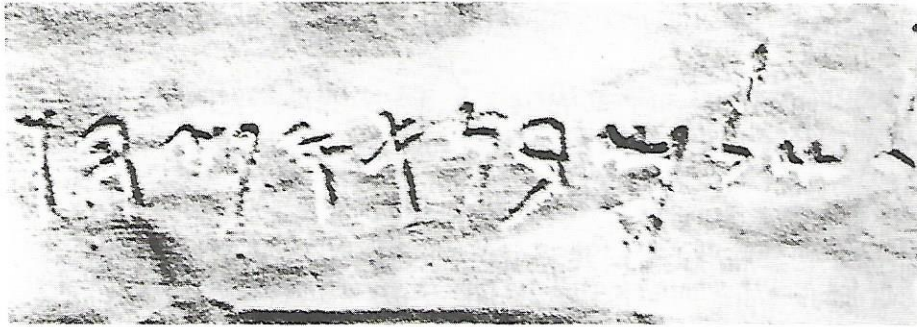


Fig. 2. The inscription of Šallūm, son of 'Asafyāhū (from "Cinq Stèles", pl. XX, 3-4).



Fig.3. The inscription of Mattan'aštar, son of 'Azaryāhū (10) (from "Cinq Stèles", pl. XX, 1-2).

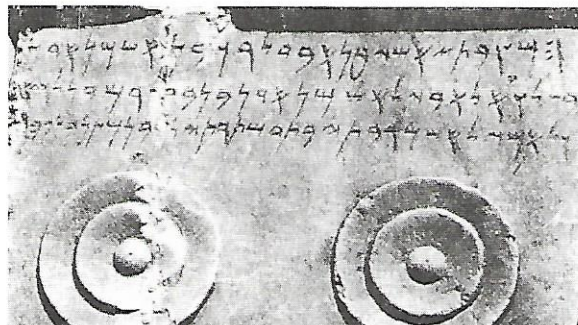


Fig. 4. The inscription of Ba'alram, son of Ešmunadon (from "Cinq Stèles", pl. XIX, 5).

Ešmunadon, son of Ba'alram, the son of *Lw'* 3) and to his mother, to Ašmar the daughter of the house(family) of 'Aštartyaton, son of Mattan, the son of Pad[y?]"

mšbt - "stela", a well-known Phoenician word which also appears on other inscriptions from Kition (Kit. B.2).

yṭn' "erected"; *ṭn'* "to erect", a frequently appearing Phoenician-Punic verb.

B'lr̄m - a Phoenician theophoric name meaning "Ba'al is high (elevated)"³³.

'šmn'dn - (a name that also occurs as *'šmn'dny*) is attested as a personal name in Phoenician and Punic inscriptions³⁴. Lit. "Ešmun is the Lord" or "Ešmun is my Lord".

bn Lw'. The name of the great grandfather of Ba'alram. The name designates the founder of the family to which Ba'alram belonged. He must have lived in the V cent. B.C.E. Dupont-Sommer (p. 104) allows that *bn Lw'* might have been a Levite. But the name *Levi* always appears in Hebrew as *Lwy*. Therefore Dupont-Sommer is also doubtful about such an interpretation, and takes the name to denote a Luwite (Luvian) from Anatolia (p. 105 note 3). Certainly we discern no Hebrew or Jewish background to this personal name³⁵.

l'by - "for his father", the suff. pron. 3 pers. masc. and fe., often appears in Phoenician expressed by *y*³⁶.

wl'my - "and for his mother" (cf. *l'by*).

l'šmr (cf. note 31). The etymology has to be "I shall watch (guard)". But it can also be a hypocoristicon from the root *šmr*, which appears frequently in personal names³⁷. The comparison with *šmryh/lšmryhw*, made by Dupont-Sommer (p. 105), does not prove that we are dealing here with a Hebrew name.

bty bt 'štrtytn - "the daughter of the house of 'štrtytn. 'štrtytn is a widely known Phoenician-Punic name³⁸. 'štrtytn, who can be considered as the *Lw'*, was the founder of the father's family, as was the case of the founder of the family of the mother of Ba'alrm.

bn Mtn (cf. inscription 2).

33. Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 98.

34. Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 70 and Kit. A, 2, 4 (341 B.C.E.); F.6; B.34, 1-2; B.35; B.40, 1 (375 B.C.E).

35. Ch. R. Lebrun, "Maliya, une divinité anatolienne mal connue", *Studia P. Naster Oblata, II, Orientalia Antiqua*, Leuven, 1982, pp. 123-130.

36. S. Segert, *The Grammar of Phoenician and Punic*, Munich 1976, p. 97.

37. Benz, *Personal Names*, pp. 421-422; *Šmr*, *Šmrbl*, *'šršmr*, *'šmnšmr*, *B'lšmr*, etc.

38. Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 175.

Pd[.] The Phoenician and Punic personal name beginning with *pd* that appears most frequently is *Pdy*³⁹.

Therefore what we have here is a funerary inscription erected for a couple by their son; however the inscription has no connection with Jews or Judaism.

4. Stela ΑΓ III (CS2551/42). The stela is in white marble, and is 149 cm. in height; Pl. XX 1, 2 (fig. 5). It dates from the IV cent. B.C.E.⁴⁰.

l šmn'dn bn b'l'ms bn ml ḥtyt

"To Ešmunadon, son of Ba'al'amas, the son of *Ml*, the Hittite (?) (woman)".

šmn'dn (cf. inscription 3).

B'l'ms - Phoenician theophoric name. Dupont-Sommer (p. 106) explains the etymology as "*Ba'al a porte*" - "Ba'al carried". But as we have proved, *'ms* does not have the meaning here "to carry" but "to be powerful", and the etymology of the name is "Ba'al is powerful"⁴¹.

Ml. Dupont-Sommer (p. 106) explains the name on the base of a Kition inscription which was published by himself (Kit. D. 21), and dates from ca. 800 B.C.E.⁴² Although *ml* appears there, the full reading is *mlš*. But we also have a Cypro-syllabic inscription from a tomb in Salamin, Cyprus: *a-pu-tu-pa-la e-mi-to-mo-lo-wu-so* = Ἀβδ(ο)υβάλο ἡμι τῶ Μόληφορ - "I am Abduba'al, son of Moles"⁴³. Here we have the name *Ml*, which is typical for Anatolian natives in the middle and second half of the I millennium B.C.E.⁴⁴ We are therefore dealing in the present case with an Anatolian name which is probably designated here as belonging to a "Hittite (woman)". This, then, is the second instance -the other is after inscription 3- in which people of Anatolian origin are mentioned among the ancestors of the buried person.

5. ΑΓ XI (CS2551). The height of the stela is 166 cm.; Pl. XXI 1-4 (fig. 6). It dates from the IV cent. B.C.E.⁴⁵ Inscriptions appear on both sides of the stela (A and B).

39. Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 175; cf. also *Pd'* (CIS, I, 4220, 5); *Pds* (CIS, I, 3896, 3916, 7); *Pdt* (CIS, I, 2451, 2; 4935, 3).

40. Hadjisavvas *et al.*, "Cinq Stèles", pp. 101-102; 105-107; 111-115.

41. M. Heltzer, "Phoenician Theophoric Names with the Root '*ms*'", *Studia Phoenicia IV, Religio Phoenicia*, Namur 1986, pp. 239-247.

42. A. Dupont-Sommer, "Une inscription phénicienne archaïque récemment trouvée à Kition (Chypre)", *MAIBL* 44 (1972), pp. 275-294.

43. O. Masson, "Les inscriptions syllabiques et alphabétiques de Cellarka", *Salamis* 4 (1970), pp. 264-270.

44. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Personennamen*, Prag 1964, pp. 323-325.

45. Hadjisavvas *et al.*, "Cinq Stèles", pp. 102, 108-110, 111-115.

- A. 1. *l grtmllk*
2. *bt ddm*

- B. 1. *lgrtmlk*
2. *bt šrt'*
3. *bn ddm*

- "1. To Gerat-Milk
2. daughter of Didym."

- "1. To Gerat-Milk
2. daughter of šrt'
3. son of Didym."

grtmlk - The etymology of the name is "The clientess of Milk (divine name)". The element *gr*(*gēr) occurs frequently in Phoenician personal names⁴⁶. The only known feminine parallel is *Grt-mlqrt*⁴⁷.

šrt. The translation of Dupont-Sommer (p. 109) "servant" -from the Hebrew root *šrt*, "to serve"-cannot be accepted, since in such a case the ' (aleph) at the end of the word would have to be the article in Aramaic. This however is not the case. What we have is a Phoenician inscription. So, we may possibly be dealing with a hypocoristic (?) name of non-Phoenician (?) origin.

Ddm. The explanation of Dupont-Sommer (p. 110) that this is a Greek name must be accepted. Again we observe the case of the founders of a family at Kition being of non-Phoenician origin.

These five recently discovered inscriptions furnish us with additional evidence that in the Persian period Kition was an important city with a rather mixed population, which included, apart from Phoenicians, persons of Jewish, Anatolian and Greek origin⁴⁸. Possibly, at the Mnimata site the percentage of inscriptions belonging to persons of non-Phoenician origin was higher than in Kition generally. As we have seen, the inscription which appears here as No. 1 belongs to a Jew, and No. 2 to a person of Jewish descent, or even to a Jew with a local gentile name. We also see that these gravestones contain no special Jewish symbols, nor any symbols pertaining to other religions. This circumstance is analogous with that of the Jewish-Aramean tombstones from Edfu in Egypt dating from the Persian period, where we also encounter a complete lack of symbols⁴⁹. The Mnimata site may possibly have been set aside for persons who were not of purely native Phoenician origin, or only a part of the site may have been so designated. Only further excavations can give us a clear answer to this question. But before we turn to the issue of the possibility of the existence of a Jewish

46. Benz, *Personal Names*, pp. 298-299. Only the masculine form *Grmlk*, CIS, I, 50, 2; Benz, 1972, p. 104.

47. CIS, I, 5942, 1 - Benz, 1972, p. 107; and p. 300 *Grtmlqt* cf. also *Gi-rit-tu*; *Ge-ri-ta-a-te* - R. Zadok, *On West Semites in Babylonia during the Chaldean and Achaemenian Period*, Jerusalem 1977, pp. 142 and 169.

48. Hadjisavvas *et al.*, "Cinq Stèles", p. 116, cf. the historical conclusions of Dupont-Sommer; cf. also an inscription which belonged to a Lykian - discussed by N. Avigad - J. Greenfield, "A Bronze Phiale with a Phoenician Dedicatory Inscription", *IEJ* 32 (1982), pp. 118-128.

49. W. Kornfeld, "Aramäische Grabinschriften aus Edfu", *AÖAW* 110 (1973), pp. 127-133 and the corrections to this publication - R. Degen, "Zu den aramäischen Texten aus Edfu", *NESE* 3 (1978), pp. 59-66.

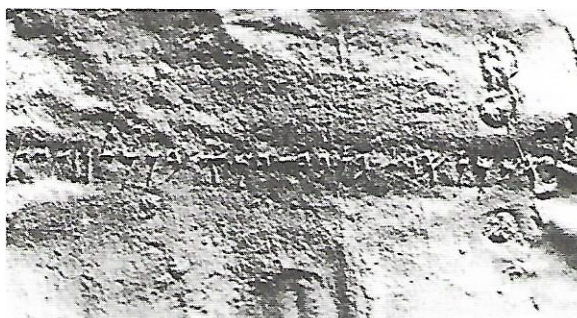


Fig. 5. The inscription (13) of Ešmunadon, son of *B'lms* (from "Cinq Stèles", pl. XIX, 1-2).

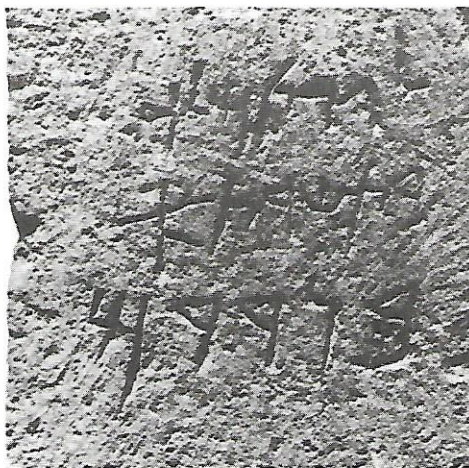


Fig. 6. The stela and variants A (14) and B (15) of the inscription of Gerat-Milk (from "Cinq Stèles", pl. XXI, 1-4).

community on Cyprus in Persian times, we have to consider briefly the jar-inscriptions found in the same area as the stelae. These are published by M. Szynger⁵⁰. They are all written in black ink on the jar surfaces.

1) CS 2538/1, Pl. XXII, 1, 2.

Contains only the letters 'r. Szynger supposes that this is an abbreviation for 'šmn'zr "Ešmunazor" (?).

2) CS 2527/16, Pl. XXII, 3, 4.

l'bdssm - "belonging to 'bdssm", a well-known Phoenician theophoric name. The root *ssm* occurs also as a component of other names⁵¹.

3) CS 2493/6, Pl. XX, 5, 6.

lšb'l, according to the reading of Szynger⁵².

4) CS 2526/20, Pl. XXII, 7, 8.

lš l l, and at least 5 additional illegible letters⁵³.

5) CS 2498/1, Pl. XXII, 9, 10.

1. *b'lytn* - "Ba'alyaton".

2. *bḥšr* (according to Szynger).

Judging from the photograph, the second letter seems to be *ṭ*, and in this case read *Bṭšr*. This name is hitherto unknown. Szynger thinks that we are dealing here with a local name⁵⁴.

6) CS 2491, Pl. XXII, 11, 12.

Three lines. The first line contain only numerical signs followed by two letters, the second of which is ' (aleph)⁵⁵. The letter is followed by III III II. We therefore have here the number 8.

Line 2: *mbdm*. Szynger (pp. 120-121) derives this from *bad* (i.e., "oil presses") (Hebrew), or from the root *bdd* ("to isolate, to separate"). The line is unintelligible.

Line 3: *b'l'zr bn šmnmlk*, "Ba'alazor, son of Ešmunmilk", - both of these being frequently encountered Phoenician names. The presence of the numbers on the jar shows us that the jar inscriptions have no connection with the funerary inscriptions considered earlier. Hence, the

50. M. Szynger, "Inscriptions phéniciennes sur jarres de la necropole d'Ayios Georghios", *RDAC* 1984, pp. 117-121, pl. XXII.

51. Szynger, "Inscriptions phéniciennes", p. 118.

52. Szynger, "Inscriptions phéniciennes", pp. 118-119.

53. Szynger, "Inscriptions phéniciennes", p. 199; on *lš* cf. R.S. Tomback, *A Comparative Semitic Lexicon of the Phoenician and Punic Languages*, Missoula 1978, p. 247.

54. Szynger, "Inscriptions phéniciennes", p. 120.

55. Szynger, "Inscriptions phéniciennes", p. 120. Szynger reads the first letter as *b*.

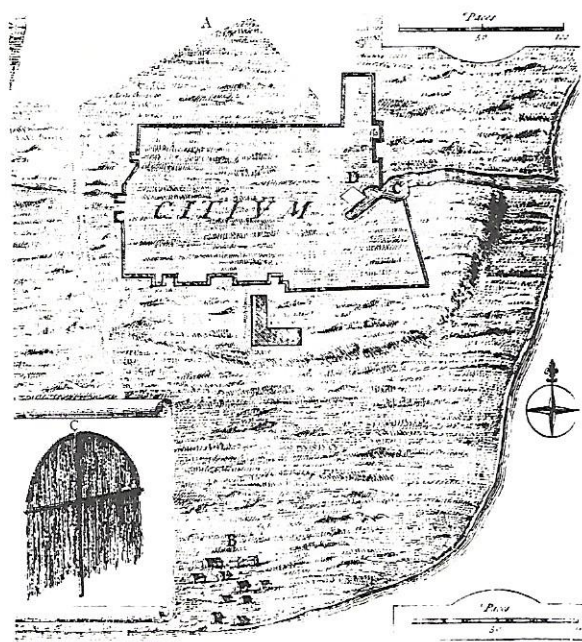


Fig. 7. The map of Kition from the book by R. Pococke.



Fig. 8. The drawings of the Phoenician inscriptions from Kition by R. Pococke.

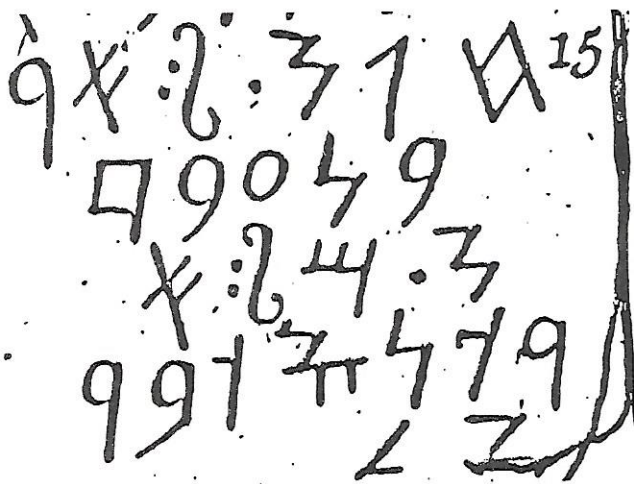


Fig. 9. The inscription of Hgy (enlarged from Plate No. 15 of R. Pococke).




Fig. 10. The seal of Benayāhū, son of Hūr (from Kit. D. 1).

the inscriptions were possibly connected with the names of the owners of the vineyards or live groves from which oil or wine was brought to the tomb and this is the only connection of the jar-inscriptions from the Mnimata necropolis with the funerary inscriptions. But the jar inscriptions cannot help us better understand the tombstone inscriptions. The additional data come from elsewhere.

II

The famous English traveller, Dr. Richard Pococke, visited the Middle East, among other areas in the world, in the years 1736-1741. His edited diaries were published by him as a *Description of the East and Some Other Countries*, of which the first part of the second volume is entitled "Observations on Palestine or the Holy Land, Syria, Mesopotamia, Cyprus and Candia". The work appeared in London in 1745⁵⁶. "Book the Third of the Island of Cyprus" contains chapter 1, "Of Cyprus in general, of Limesol, Amathus, Larnaca and the ancient Citium" (pp. 210-213). Here, p. 213, he says: "The ruins of the antient city of Citium are between the town of Larnaca and the Marine"⁵⁷. And further: "A plan of the old town may be seen in the thirty-second plate at A" (fig. 7). He goes on on to say "the walls seem to have been very strong and in the foundations there have been found many stones, with inscriptions on them, in an unintelligible character, which, I suppose, is the antient Phoenician; and if the city was ever rebuilt, after it was destroyed by Ptolemy, these stones might be put into the walls when they were repaired. These inscriptions are engraved in the thirty-third plate"⁵⁸ (fig. 8).

What is important is that Pococke recognized the inscribed stones as inscriptions that were put to secondary use as building material. Today almost all these inscriptions have vanished, and the plate in Pococke is our only source for studying them. The copies are relatively satisfactory, i.e. understandable. Naturally, as a result of secondary use, the stones are broken. In our case it is a matter of particular importance that the Mnimata area, where the above-mentioned inscriptions were found, is no more than 700-800 meters westward of these walls (cf. fig. 1). This allows us to conjecture that at least one of the "quarries" from which the inscribed stones were taken was the Mnimata necropolis.

Of special interest to us is inscription No. 15 from the Pococke plate⁵⁹. The damaged places are marked by Pococke partly with the sign:  (Fig. 9).

56. All our attempts to find the primary notes and drawings of R. Pococke, or of J. Milles, who accompanied him and made most of the drawings, were without success. Among the papers of R. Pococke there were no drawings. I must express my deepest thanks to the late Dr. Richard David Barnett and to Dr. Chr. Walker of the British Museum for their generous help and advice concerning various finds on British archives.

57. Larnaca was not immediately on the seashore in the time of Pococke. The site of the modern port is called the Marina by Pococke.

58. The Plate of Pococke appears in CIS, I, and also in Kit. Tab. I.

59. CIS, I, 67 = Kit. B. 12.

We do not know the exact size of the damaged parts.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1) <i>hgy</i> ⁶⁰ :? 'r | 1. "Haggay [..]'r |
| 2) [?] <i>bn</i> 'bd | 2. [k?] ⁶¹ son of 'bd |
| 3) [?]y ⁶² m ' | 3. [?] y m [..] the |
| 4) <i>rk nsk br</i> | 4. Tall ⁶³ (the) iron |
| 5) <i>zl</i> | 5. smith (lit. iron-caster)". |

The inscription is unfortunately not fully legible, and it would appear to have been in much the same condition in the time of Pococke.

Line 1: *Hgy*. The name is not known from any other Phoenician inscription⁶⁴. However, it appears frequently in the OT, especially in those books belonging to the Persian period. We even have the book of the prophet Haggay⁶⁵, and the name may be seen on Hebrew seal inscriptions from the VII-VI cent. B.C.E.⁶⁶ as well as among the Jewish names in the Aramaic papyri from Egypt dating to Persian times⁶⁷. R. Zadok expresses the view that *Haggay* is an Aramaic counterpart of the Hebrew *Haggī* and points to the appearance of the name in this form among the Jews in Babylonia in the V cent. B.C.E.⁶⁸.

After the damaged part, we observe 'r[k] ("tall", "long") as a nickname of *Hgy* or his father, if [bn?] "son", is to be restore in the broken part.

Line 2: *bn* 'bd. It would appear that we have to complete this name with a y (yod) from line

60. We may possibly have here a word-dividing sign.

61. We may possibly have here a word-dividing sign.

62. We may possibly have here a word-dividing sign.

63. The reconstruction 'r[k] according to lines 3-4 '(4)rk. If 'rk is a personal name or a nickname, "The tall one", then it is also possible that the damaged section contained [bn] "[son of]"; cf. Hebrew 'orek and Aramaic 'rk'.

64. Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 109 - only CIS, I, 67, 1 = Pococke, Nr. 15.

65. Cf. also Esr. 5, 1; 6, 14 and Haggī - Gen. 46, 16; Num. 26, 15.

66. Vattioni, "Sigilli", No. 2; 20; 203; 355; Avigad, *Bullae*, Nr. 55.

67. Kornfeld, *Onomastica*, p. 49; 1) A. Dupont-Sommer, "Bêl et Nâbu, Šamaš et Nugal sur un ostracon arameen inedit, d'Elephantine", *RHR* 64 (1944), pp. 28-39, No. 277; E. Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Museum Aramaic Papyri*, New Haven, 1953, 5, 15; 11, 13 - only *Hgy*; 2) *Hgy br B'ry* - A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.*, Oxford, 1923, 53, 3; 3) *Hgy br Pss* - Kraeling, 12, 11; 4) *Hgy br Hwry* - Cowley, 22, 72; 5) *Hgy br Hšwl* - Cowley, 22, 29, 30; 6) *Hgy br Yzny[h]* - Cowley, 19, 8; 7) *Hgy br Myk* - Cowley, 22, 64; 8) *Hgy br Mykyh* - Cowley, 23, 13; 9) *Hg[yl] br Mnhm* - Cowley, 22, 135; 10) *Hgy br Mrdw* - Kraeling, 9, 26; 10, 10; 11, 14; 11) *Hgy br Mšlm* - Kraeling, 10, 8; 11, 1, 13; 12, 2; 12) *Hgy br Ntwn* - Cowley, 34, 5; 13) *Hgy br Pnwlyh* - Cowley, 18, 15; 14) *Hgy br Šm'yh* - Cowley, 24, 3; Kraeling, 3, 22; 7, 43; 9, 22; 10, 17; 12, 32; 15) *Dlwy br Hgy* - A. Ungnad, *Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantine*, Leipzig 1911, 81-2, 3; 16) *Hnn br Hgy* - Cowley, No. 28, 16; 61, 2; 17) *Yhwšm' brt* (daughter of) *Hgy* - Cowley, 22, 63; 18) *Mšlm br Hgy* - Cowley, 22, 29; 19) *Mtwn br Hgy* - Cowley, 22, 63; 20) 'nny(h) *br Hgy* - Kraeling, 7, 1, 43; 10, 8; 11, 1, 3, 13; 12, 2, 11, 17; 21) *Šbty Hgy* (Edfu) - Cowley, 81, 24, 25; 22) *Šmw' br Hgy* - Cowley, 12, 5; 23) *Šm'n br Hgy* (Edfu) - Cowley 81, 15; 24) *Šm'yh br Hgy* - Cowley, 33, 3. So we have at least 14 persons bearing this name, and at least 10 persons who were sons of a *Hgy* and who are in part mentioned among these 14 names. Thus we clearly see the enormous popularity of this name among Jews in the Persian period.

68. R. Zadok, *Jews in Babylonia*, pp. 23-24.

3. Hence *'bd(3)y*. This hypocoristicon appears only once in Punic⁶⁹. But the name is known from the OT as *'Abdī*⁷⁰. The name is also well known from Hebrew inscriptions on seals, and among the Jews in Persian times in Egypt⁷¹.

Line 3-4: *'rk* "tall", "long" (cf. above).

Line 5: *nsk brzl* - "ironsmith", "blacksmith"; lit. "iron-caster". The term is also known from Phoenician and Punic inscriptions⁷².

It is clear from the inscription that we have here another Jewish burial inscription of Ḥaggay "The Tall (?) son of 'Abday the ironsmith". It seems likely that this inscription, as well, comes from the Mnimata site, which was used in later centuries as a stone quarry. On the basis of Pococke's drawing it dates from the IV cent. B.C.E. Thus we have three inscriptions belonging to Jews or to persons of Jewish origin, i.e. 1, 2 and Pococke 15, and these constitute our evidence for the existence of a Jewish settlement, or of permanent Jewish settlers in Kition by at least the IV cent. B.C.E.

The last inscription in this field is an oval seal - Kit. D. 1 (Fig. 10) - purchased in Larnaca at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and first published in 1824⁷³. The seal itself was lost, but the fact that the drawing was published in 1824 excludes any possibility of forgery.

In the center of the seal is a carved bird. The inscription consists of three lines. In line 1 we clearly see *l* and *b*. The line ends with the sign ⌘ . This has to be a ligature of *-hw*, occurring frequently on Hebrew seals, where the theophoric name ending with *-yhw* appears⁷⁴. Almost all scholars who dealt with the seal read the name as *Bnyhw*. The ⌘ sign requires a degree of imagination to be as *ny*. However the *-hw* at the end of the word presupposes that it had to be *-yhw*. Moreover, if we take the whole Hebrew onomasticon and look for only one possible letter, it must be *n*. Hence *Bnyhw* has to be accepted⁷⁵. The name is a typical ancient Hebrew name⁷⁶.

69. CIS, I, 6028, 1 - Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 154.

70. I Chr. 6, 29; II Chr. 29, 19; Esr. 10, 26.

71. Vattioni, "Sigilli", No. 172; Avigad, *Bullae*, Nr. 65 'bd'. We do not mention here the non-hypocoristic (full) names with the element 'bd, Kornfeld, *Onomastica*, p. 65; 'bdy - (Edfu) Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, No. 81, 99.

72. M. Heltzer, "A Recently Discovered Phoenician Inscription and the Problem of the Guilds of Metal Casters", *ACISF* 1 (1983), pp. 119-124; for another, hardly acceptable view - *nsk* means "to strike (hammer)" - cf. Ch. Duhmen, "Ein Kanaanäischer Schimiedeterminus (NSK)", *UF* 15 (1983), pp. 39-42.


73. Cf. the literature given in Kit. D. 1.

74. Naturally, the photographs that were published later could not have influenced the earlier drawing. Cf. for example 1) *lydnyhw*, 2) *bn Nihyhw* - N. Avigad, "A Group of Hebrew Seals from the Hecht Collection", *Festschrift R. Hecht*, Jerusalem, 1979 (1984), p. 126; 1) *lnryhw*, 2) *mtn*; 1) *lyknyhw*, 2) *bn mtn*, 1) *lntn*, 2) *'lyhw* - P. Bordreuil - A. Lemaire, "Nouveaux sceaux" (*supra* nota 8), no. 2-4. The list could be extended, but there is no need, since the ligature is a very frequent one.

75. The reading of Guzzo-Amadasi in Kit. pp. 129-130 -B(.)H- is unacceptable.

76. 39 occurrences in the OT; in Hebrew ostraca from Arad cf. Lemaire, *Inscriptions*, p. 92 and on seal F. Vattioni, "Sigilli", No. 299; 361; 407 etc. N. Avigad, *Bullae*, Nr. 35; in Babylonia among the Jews in the Achaemenid period -*Ba-na-'ia-a-ma-* R. Zadok, *Jews in Babylonia*, pp. 120 and 130.

In the second line we read clearly *bn*, "son (of)".

And line 3 also has only two letters, *hr*. Following the word, we see a  sign. This sign may possibly have filled the remaining space. The *h* (*het*) is here clearly visible, as is also the *r* (*rēš*). The name *Hr* is known in Phoenician and Punic⁷⁷. But the name *Hūr*, also appears as a Hebrew name in the OT⁷⁸. On the Aramaic papyri from Egypt we find this name among the Jews and non-Jews⁷⁹. But, most important, the purely Yahwistic name *Bnyhjw* proves that this is a Hebrew-Jewish seal. Unfortunately, it adds no additional data concerning the Jews on Cyprus for the reason that (1) no criteria for palaeographic data can be derived from the drawing of the beginning of the nineteenth century; and (2) we do not know whether the seal was found on Cyprus or brought to the island from Palestine or Lebanon by a traveller⁸⁰.

Now, regarding the clearly Jewish inscriptions (or the inscriptions of persons of Jewish origin), the fact that they were burial inscriptions indicates that they belonged to permanent dwellers. Two of these persons tell us about their profession. Thus the *rb hsprm* -the "chief scribe"- held a relatively high position in the administration, and the *nsk brzl* -the "ironsmith"- dealt in manufacture.

Additionally, the existence of a common burial place for Jews and non-Jews, as well as the name *Mtn'srt*, which is Phoenician, show that the Jews of Kition were not strongly influenced by the reforms of Ezra and Nehemia after 458 B.C.E. But the same may also be said of the Jews of Egypt in the Persian period⁸¹. The present number of tombstones does not provide evidence that there existed a Jewish community but it proves that some Jews were permanent residents.

At the same time, it seems very likely that we have to exclude the possibility that we are dealing with Samaritans. We know that no Palestinian ceramics have been found on Cyprus to date⁸².

But the ceramic evidence is not the only evidence which connects ancient Kition and Israel. The *Kittīm* -i.e. the Phoenicians of Kition- are mentioned in the Table of Nations in Gen. 10, 4 and I Chr. 1, 7 as opposed to 'Eliša', which appears to be the biblical form of the name of *Alašia*, designating the non-Phoenician part of Cyprus⁸³.

Chronologically, the biblical passages mentioning *Kittīm* begin with texts dated to IX-VIII

77. Benz, *Personal Names*, p. 125; at least 5 mentions.

78. Ex. 17, 10, 12; 24, 14; 31, 2; 35, 30; 38, 22; I Chr. 2, 19; II Chr. 1, 5; I Reg. 4, 8; Neh. 3, 9 etc.

79. *Hwr br* (son of) *Bnyh* -Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, 23, 3- it seems to be a mere coincidence with our *Bnyhw bn Hr*; cf. also Cowley, 30, 4, 6, 8; Kraeling, *The Brooklyn Papyri*, 6, 8 - *Hwr*; *Hwry* - Cowley, 22, 79, 85 etc. In gentile names at least, *H(w)r* is connected with the name of the Egyptian god Horus. Therefore we also cannot deny the possibility of some connection with Egypt.

80. We can also add to our list the inscription Kit. D. 2 on a terracota vase from the V-IV cent. B.C.E., *mnhm*. But this is a common West-Semitic name and massively attested in all West-Semitic languages.

81. B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, Berkeley 1967, pp. 205-213; 248-255; P. Grelot, *Documents arameennes en Egypte*, Paris 1972, pp. 192-198 and 232-239.

82. Short written survey of Dr. M. Artzy, for which I have to express my deepest thanks to her. On Cypriot ceramics in Palestine, see E. Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Periods - 538-332 B.C.E.*, Jerusalem 1982.

83. K. Koch, *Tarschisch und Hispanien*, Berlin 1984, p. 71, note 39a and pp. 82-90, with previous literature given.

cent. B.C.E. (Num. 24, 24 - the oracle of Bileam)⁸⁴. It is very significant that this coincides chronologically with the beginning of the Phoenician settlement in Kition⁸⁵. The passages Isaiah 23, 1 and 12, Jeremiah 2, 10 and Ezekiel 27, 6, deal with Kition as a large port, and the familiarity of these prophets with this circumstance shows us that permanent contacts existed between Judah and Kition⁸⁶. This compels us to reconsider the common view concerning the *Ktym - Kittim* in the Arad ostraca dating from ca. 600 B.C.E.⁸⁷. As we know, from the texts of Arad⁸⁸ (at least) we learn that flour, bread, oil and wine were distributed to them. We can therefore suppose them to have been mercenaries. But we have to add that they received only daily rations and not pay, as far as the texts allow us to judge. The close contacts between Judah and Kition, and the fact that Kition was a Phoenician city, force us to take the view that the *Ktym* in the Arad inscriptions were Phoenicians and not Greeks⁸⁹. The existence of such earlier contacts can indirectly help us to explain why Jewish settlers could in later times appear on Cyprus, in Kition.

We should also add we have no numismatic evidence concerning such contact with Palestine in general and Judah in particular⁹⁰.

But none of the material which we have thus far considered gives us any idea about where the Jews in Kition came from. It might have been Judah, or the Palestinian coastal cities, Achaemenid Babylonia, or even Asia Minor - from which we now have epigraphic evidence of Jews living in the province of Hellespontic Phrygia⁹¹. The prophet Obadaiah (verse 20) speaks about exiles in S'farad, who will probably go to the Negev. This may indicate that in Sardeis also there were Jewish refugees from Palestine who had arrived there from Babylonia after the conquest of that city by Cyrus in 546 B.C.E.

We must not exclude the possibility that even Jews from Egypt may have settled on Cyprus. But in this regard too, even the latest findings concerning connections between Naukratis in Egypt and Cyprus offer no evidence of any Jewish presence⁹².

Only further archaeological excavations and finds at Larnaca (Kition), especially of the Mnimata site, can provide confirmation or otherwise for the suggestion made here that there was a Jewish settlement on Cyprus in the Persian Period.

84. M. Noth, *Das vierte Buch Mose*, Göttingen 1966, pp. 145-169, esp. p. 169.

85. K. Nikolaou, *The Historical Topography of Kition*, Göteborg 1976, pp. 79-85 and esp. fig. 17; V. Karageorghis, *Kition, Mycenaean and Phoenician Discoveries in Cyprus*, London 1976, pp. 94-141.

86. K. Koch, *Tarshchisch und Hispanien*, Berlin 1984, p. 66; H. Wildberger, *Jesaja*, Neukirchen-Vluyn 1974, pp. 853-884.

87. Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions*, Jerusalem 1975; cf. also A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions*, pp. 145-258.

88. Ostraca, Nr. 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 14, 17.

89. For the view that the *Ktm* were Phoenicians from Kition and not Greeks cf. M. Heltzer, "Kition According to the Biblical Prophets and Hebrew Ostraca from Arad", *RDAC*, 1988, pp. 167-172.

90. E. Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions and Onomastics*, Leuven 1975, pp. 150-153 with earlier literature - 'Inf br 'šyhw "'Elnaf, son of 'Ešayāhū"; R. Stiehl - M. Cremer, "Eine Greko-Persische Türstele mit aramäischer Inschrift aus Daskyleion (Tafel 1)", *Ep.An.* 6 (1985), pp. 1-13, Taf 1-2 - Pdyh "Padāyā".

91. W. Kornfeld, "Die jüdische Diaspora in Ab. 20", *Melanges bibliques en honneur de André Robert*, Paris 1956, pp. 180-186; Lipiński, *Studies in Aramaic Inscriptions*, pp. 150-161.

92. W.M. Davis, "Ancient Naukratis and the Cypriotes in Egypt", *GM* 35 (1979), pp. 17-23; W.M. Davis, "The Cypriotes at Naukratis", *GM* 41 (1980), pp. 7-19.

Abbreviations (not found in the Elenchus)

AAJR - American Academy for Jewish Research.

ACISFP - *Atti del I Congresso Internazionale di Studi Fenici e Punici v. I-III*, Roma 1983.

AOAW - *Anzeiger, Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse.*

GM - *Göttingener Miscellanea.*

MAIBL - *Memoirs de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres.*

NESE - *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik.*

RDAC - *Report of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus.*