“The Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project”: Theoretical Background and Preliminary Report 2006-2007

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INTRODUCTION

Fieldwork initiated by the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus at Kouklia-Palaepaphos in 2006 has been designed to meet the requirements of two interconnected projects. The first, to which the present article provides the theoretical background and explains the 2006 and 2007 field targets, is “The Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project”.[1] The second, which is entitled “A long-term response to the need to make modern development and the preservation of the archaeo-cultural record mutually compatible operations: Pilot application at Kouklia-Palaepaphos” (“Palaepaphos Pilot Project”, for short), is a project concerned with the development of a framework of principles for the management of archaeological landscapes as extensive as that of Palaepaphos, which are destined to sustain modern development.[2] It was submitted to the University of Cyprus in 2005, following a call for applied research projects with a direct impact and significant benefit for Cyprus. Based on the assessment of three anonymous peer reviewers, the University Research Committee decided to support and fund the project for three years (2007-2010).

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

Kouklia-Palaepaphos is an extensive yet insufficiently defined landscape rich in sensitive archaeological data. How this landscape was organised in antiquity, and especially how it was utilised by different urban components in the Late Bronze and in the Iron Ages, is to this day poorly understood. Its few visible monuments —the *secular* structures in the localities *Marchello*, *Hadjiabdoulla* and *Evreti*, the *sepulchral*

1. In my capacity as field director, I wish to thank the Director of Antiquities of Cyprus Dr Pavlos Flourentzos for permission to initiate the Palaepaphos-*Marchello* field project in 2006 and for the annual renewal of his permit. I extend my gratitude to the Curator of Museums Dr Maria Hadjicosti for having encouraged me to consider a long-term excavation project at various key-sites in the vicinity of the sanctuary of Palaepaphos and for her sound advice on formal procedures. I thank most warmly the Curator of Monuments Dr Marina Ieronymidou for her steadfast support of the different aspects of our field operations (geophysical surveys and excavations) and her impeccable and timely handling of issues as sensitive as the declaration or expropriation of private land. Special thanks are due to the Archaeological Officer of Paphos Dr Stathis Raptou for his collegial and collaborative spirit and for facilitating our work in every way. All participants of the 2006 and 2007 field seasons wish to thank the staff members of the Kouklia Regional Museum and, in particular, Onisiphoros Loukaides for ‘hosting’ us in the Medieval Manor House. To Maro, Ntina, Savvas, Marina, Gianoulla, Giorgos and Michalis we extend our warmest thanks for making our stay in the ‘Chiftlik’ a memorable experience and for their readiness to help us solve all kinds of problems and crises. We also wish to thank the mayor of Kouklia, Mr Christos Miltiadous and the municipal council of the community for their assistance and hospitality.
2. Principal Investigator: Maria Iacovou, Department of History and Archaeology, University of Cyprus. Members of Research Team: Dr Andreas Andreou, Department of Computer Science, University of Cyprus; Dr Stratos Stylianides, Visiting Lecturer, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (Special Scientist); Dr Apostolos Sarris, Scientific Supervisor and Director of the Laboratory of Geophysical – Satellite Remote Sensing & Archaeo-environment, Institute for Mediterranean Studies (External Collaborator).

monument (built tomb) known as "Spilaion tis Regainas" at Arkalou and, of course, its unparalleled *sacred* monument, the open-air sanctuary to an aniconic deity who was to become known as Aphrodite— are scattered over an area of a couple of square kilometres (Fig. 1). Since they are spatially isolated from each other, it is not easy to guess how, or if, they interacted. In particular, the temporal and institutional relationship and the physical communication of the secular and sepulchral monuments with the great sanctuary are issues requiring consideration.

In spite of the fact that the visible monuments are few and dispersed, Palaepaphos continues to provide ample scope for the identification of its urban model in the 2nd and 1st millennia B.C. As has been confirmed by the rewarding results of the 2006 and 2007 fieldwork on *Marchello* and by the promising indications of the geophysical survey conducted in October 2007 under the "Palaepaphos Pilot Project" (Fig. 2),[3] the area holds untapped but endangered sources of archaeological information. One may still locate 'windows' that afford direct access to strata, even monuments, of a period when the area contained the administrative capital of an Iron Age kingdom. It also reveals evidence —though less often— of Late Cypriot occupation, from the time when the same area had been chosen for the foundation of an *emporion* that facilitated the export of copper from the region of Paphos. It was from this gateway community, founded in MCIII/ LCI, that the coastal settlement of Paphos grew into one of the island's first regional polities - though, probably, not before the 13th century B.C.

The reason behind this rarely observed direct accessibility to settlement strata of the golden era of the Cypriot kingdoms (i.e. Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical) is almost certainly related to the move away of port facilities and administrative functions to Nea Paphos sometime in the 4th century B.C. (Iacovou forthcoming). Apparently, the urban landscape began to shrink as secular units of the kingdom's old capital were being abandoned. Only the sanctuary continued to receive attention and, in fact, during the Hellenistic and Roman eras, its direct environs were heavily remodelled to accommodate the needs of pilgrims. Thus, the rest of the town, which soon after the move to Nea Paphos began to be referred to as Palaea and Palaeopaphos, appears to have been spared the kind of extensive public projects that have obliterated (with the construction of gymnasia and theatres) the better part of the Archaic and Classical urban landscape of Salamis, Amathous and Kourion. With the advent of Christianity, Palaepaphos also lost its religious significance and, since in Late Antiquity it was not a populous harbour town, like Salamis, Amathous or Kourion, no early Christian basilicas were constructed near, or on top of, its "pagan" cult centre. By the Frankish period, Old Paphos had become an agricultural community within the feudal estate of the royal family of the Lusignans. The agricultural character of the community, known since as Kouklia, was retained virtually unchanged throughout the Venetian, Ottoman and British rule; nor did it change to any considerable degree during the first decade after Independence (1960). Since the 1970s, when agriculture ceased to be a sustainable way of life,

3. Within the framework of the "Palaepaphos Pilot Project" a geophysical survey —employing resistivity, magnetic and GPR techniques— was conducted in October 2007 by the project's main scientific partner, the Institute for Mediterranean Studies of the Foundation of Research and Technology, Hellas (IMS-FORTH). It was directed by Dr Apostolos Sarris, Director of the Institute's Laboratory of Geophysical – Satellite Remote Sensing and Archaeo-environment in collaboration with Maria Iacovou. The survey team from the IMS-FORTH (E. Kokkinou, P. Soupios, E. Papadopoulos, V. Trigkas, O. Sepsa, D. Gionis) and the ARU (A. Agapiou and A. Satraki), scanned 56,202 sq.m. A number of promising targets were indicated and some show good correlation with surface monuments. All maps and the corresponding interpretation of the geophysical features were registered to a GIS application after an intensive DGPS survey, which consists of aerial and satellite imagery and digital products of the land-use and its geology. The technical report was submitted by Dr Sarris to the Principal Investigator (M. Iacovou) in April 2008. A separate article is under preparation on the techniques used and the results of the survey.

the population of Kouklia could no longer survive on the cultivation of their land; nor were they allowed to make any other use of it, since almost all the private parcels around the village have been listed by the Department of Antiquities. They come under Protection Zone "B" (Fig. 3), which means that the Republic's heritage manager has good reason to believe that these parcels have considerable archaeo-cultural value. Almost four decades later, the demands placed by the local community upon the government in order to have the status of their land modified, have become increasingly pressing — and they are not entirely unjustified: no excavation project has been carried out to prove or disprove the archaeological significance of all this private land. The "Palaepaphos Pilot Project" is primarily concerned with the imminent reclassification of large parcels that lie over the ancient polity. A holistic management plan that would render the preservation and enhancement of the archaeological resources and the economic development of modern-day Kouklia-Palaepaphos mutually compatible operations will depend on the successful interaction and timely application of a combination of field methods —large-scale geophysical surveys and small-scale targeted excavations— and macro-scale analysis of the landscape with Geographical Information Systems, designed to enable us to define the most valuable archaeological zone and demonstrate its significance within the ancient state centre.

Palaepaphos was one of the first sites to draw the attention of the Cyprus Exploration Fund in 1888 — a decade after the island had been ceded to Great Britain. A second British mission, the British Kouklia Expedition, went out to Palaepaphos in the early 1950s under the epigraphist Terence Mitford of the University of Saint Andrews and J.H. Iliffe, Director of the Liverpool Museums (Catling 1979). In 1966 a Swiss-German Expedition took over and besides a thorough investigation of the sanctuary of Aphrodite, they also excavated a medieval cane sugar refinery at Kouklia-*Stavros*. The latter remains the finest industrial archaeology project to have been accomplished in Cyprus to this day (cf. Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 326-38; Maier 2004, 89-105). Meanwhile, ever since the 1960s, the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus has been conducting rescue digs, mostly of tombs but also of extra-urban sanctuaries, almost on a daily basis, but tomb robbing is still rampant in the area.

After more than a century of organised and emergency field projects the Late Bronze Age town, which housed the society that established the sanctuary and constructed some of the richest Late Cypriot tombs ever found on the island (cf. Catling 1968; Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 51), continues to defy spatial definition. Late Bronze Age Palaepaphos has been described as a settlement that extends over 144 hectares (Merrillees 1992, 316), and, on other occasions, as a 65-hectare Late Cypriot urban centre (Knapp 1997). There is, however, no substantial evidence that would allow for a size measurement of the Late Cypriot town. Knowledge of the (invisible) Palaepaphos settlement relies on surmise from Late Cypriote wells in the localities *Asprogi* and *Evreti*, "filled with a large amount of storage vessels, animal bones, ivory waste, and household objects" (Maier and Wartburg 1985, 147), to which another well from *Teratsoudia* (Karageorghis 1990, 71-73) has been added. Merrillees's estimate, besides underestimating the constraints of the terrain within these 144 hectares, takes for granted that the scatter of tombs and wells with Late Cypriot material defines the outer limits of a nucleated urban settlement. This assumption is shared by a number of scholars. Vassos Karageorghis writes that "the living and working quarters of Late Bronze Age Palaepaphos covered not only the Evreti area but extended as far south as Teratsoudhia" (1990, 73); and in describing *Eliomylia* Tomb 119, located 700m. to the southeast of the sanctuary, Karageorghis states: "It constitutes the southernmost tomb in the vast cemetery of this period … comprising Marcellos at the northernmost part and including the sites of Mantissa, Kaminia, Asproyi, Evreti, Teratsoudhia, terminating at

Eliomylia. This is a vast area, almost 1.5km. in length, and is indicative of the size of the city to which the cemetery belonged" (1990, 77).

The wells at *Evreti* and *Teratsoudia*, two very distinct locations and quite far apart from each other, contained *settlement* material of LC I-IIIA (Karageorghis 1990, 73), which would suggest that they were being used for as long as half a millennium (*ca* 1600-1100) and, more importantly, from as early as LCI. However, it is not possible to claim that in MCIII/LC I, the initial date of its establishment, Palaepaphos, which was literally a non-site in Early and Middle Cypriot (cf. Maier and Wartburg 1985, 145-46; Maier 2004, 13-14), expanded overnight to cover an area from *Evreti* to *Teratsoudia*. Likewise, the topographical distribution of tombs with LC I-III material does not prove that the area delineated by *Marchello* to the north-east (note that all compass references are in relation to the sanctuary), *Evreti* to the east, *Teratsoudia* and *Eliomylia* to the southeast, plus another 1200m. to the west had developed at some point in the course of Late Cypriot into a nucleated city, whose outer limits were delineated by these tomb clusters.

It is more likely that when Paphos was founded in MCIII/LCI there were several distinct settlement nuclei and corresponding tomb clusters. Since to the end of LCIIIA, these tomb clusters were not abandoned in the name of a communal burial ground, it becomes even harder to establish to what extent the area within had been incorporated into a unified system of habitation. We do not know the basic architectural layout of the town of Palaepaphos — not even during the climax of urban development in LC IIC. As the matter stands, the Late Cypriot settlement's spatial relation to the sanctuary is no more than a guess. The absence of straightforward answers to these basic research questions led Hector Catling to note that the history of the archaeological investigation of the landscape that embraces the famous sanctuary of *Kypris* or *Dea Cypria*, "has been uneven" (Catling 1979, 271).

SITE STRUCTURE AND THE "ARCHAEOLOGICAL ATLAS OF PALAEPAPHOS"

The *structure*, therefore, rather than the *size* of the settlement in the 2nd millennium B.C., when it functioned as a Late Cypriot polity, and then in the 1st millennium B.C., when it became the capital of an Iron Age kingdom, is the key issue we are keen to target through the "Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project". It is the first project that utilises the "Archaeological Atlas of Palaepaphos" and one hopes that many others will do the same. Executed in 2002 by the Archaeological Research Unit (ARU) of the University of Cyprus and the Institute for Mediterranean Studies of the Foundation of Research and Technology, Hellas (FORTH), with the collaboration of the Department of Lands and Surveys of the Republic of Cyprus and Dr Stratos Stylianides (Geo-Imaging),[4] this digital archaeological atlas is based on Geographical Information Systems. It was designed primarily as a heritage management tool in order to bring under one (digital) roof a vast amount of archaeo-cultural information, dispersed over almost five square km. around Kouklia-Palaepaphos and dating from prehistoric to pre-modern times. The collected data were then analysed by different chronological and spatial layers.[5] As long as it can be periodically annotated and updated, this digital atlas will remain indispensable to all kinds of projects that target different aspects of this extensive archaeological landscape (cf. Sarris *et al.* 2006).

In a recently published paper (Iacovou 2007), I argue that the available data for the study of urbanism and state formation in ancient Cyprus

4. Fieldwork was undertaken by Maria Iacovou, Vasiliki Kassianidou and George Papasavvas from the ARU and Apostolos Sarris and Sophia Topouzi from the Institute for Mediterranean Studies.
5. This arduous analysis was executed as part of the Master's thesis of Giorgos Stamatis (Stamatis 2004), under the guidance and direction of his supervisor, Dr Apostolos Sarris.

are insufficient. The individual histories of those Late Bronze Age population centres, which have come to be described as the first Cypriot towns, continue to elude scholars. Although settlement diversity has begun to be widely acknowledged as a key parameter of Late Cypriot urbanism (cf. Keswani 2004, 154), the spatial and temporal exploration of urban fabrics is so uneven that very few comparisons can be validated. Inevitably, this is a state of affairs that undermines attempts to reach a comprehensive solution as regards the island's state model in the Late Bronze Age and, needless to say, it has also obfuscated our understanding of the Iron Age Cypriot polities.

In the case of Palaepaphos, for site structure to become our guide to site history we have to be able to analyse the structure of the original Paphos not only spatially but also temporally, so that we can follow its development from its establishment as an incipient urban settlement in MCIII/LCI to the end of its functioning as an independent regional polity ('city-kingdom') towards the end of the 4th century B.C. Thus we came to acknowledge the need to design a region-specific, long-term, and open-ended project, which may gradually elucidate the urban structure that Paphos had before its replacement by Nea Paphos.

Irrespective of what one may advocate regarding Cyprus's premodern state model there is a fact that cannot be contested. We know precisely when the island's own model of statehood was terminated and under what conditions: at the very end of the 4th century. B.C. by Ptolemy I, Soter. A primary concern, therefore, is how power and authority were constituted, and how they were expressed in the urban landscape of the different Cypriot polities, *before* the island was deprived of its indigenous rulers and autonomous island-states and was incorporated into the Ptolemaic empire system. What makes Paphos more appealing as a case study is the fact that the same landscape was urbanised twice before that terminal date: first, by a Late Bronze Age administration and then by an Iron Age administration. Between these two archaeologically and/or epigraphically manifested administrations there is a gap as regards evidence for the exercise of political power but not a gap that would suggest site abandonment or economic failure. During this horizon of change and reorganisation, which may be said to begin in the 11th century B.C., people were not forced to abandon either their primary port settlement or its region, because Paphos did not experience an economic crisis (cf. Iacovou 2005).

PAPHOS: THE FOUNDATION HORIZON

Like the well-known Late Cypriot centre of Enkomi on the east coast, Paphos was virtually a non-site before the Late Cypriot, the period which is identified with the belated development of urbanism in Cyprus. The foundation of Paphos was therefore related to those processes that replaced the village-based agricultural economy of Early and Middle Cypriot with a new economy, which relied heavily on the export of a metallic product. The establishment of coastal centres as ports of trade on the south coast around 1600 B.C. was a novel trend; it was an innovation by comparison with the locations and functions of Early and Middle Cypriot settlements. We tend to think of these new port establishments as the leading central places they did become more than a couple of centuries after their foundation –not before the late 14th century– but this is almost certainly wrong. Upon foundation, neither Enkomi nor Paphos could have been anything other than the terminal link in a chain of settlements that were variously involved in the extraction, transportation and overseas export of copper. Cyprus-style urbanism, like the Cyprus polity model we wish to define, did not develop from the management of a primarily agricultural surplus - as in Minoan Crete. Rather, in response to demand from the complex societies of the Mediterranean world, it developed from trading in an industrial product, copper. The transformation of the island's almost exclusively agrarian

economy did not begin on the coast but inland when the Middle Cypriot horizon reached its final stages. During the transition from MCIII to LCI, population groups moved out of their farming communities to establish mining sites further inland or ports of export on the coast. Thus, many villages of the Early and/or Middle Bronze Age were abandoned island-wide (e.g. Marki-*Alonia*, Alampra-*Mouttes*), while only few were nucleated and continued as Late Cypriot settlements (e.g. Lefkosia-*Agia Paraskevi*, Denia).

THE GEOGRAPHY OF COPPER ORES

We should therefore never tire of consulting the geological map of the island if we wish to understand the extent to which the urban structure and political geography of Cyprus in antiquity was determined by a non-variable factor: the location of the copper ores. Copper is located round the foothills of the Troodos pillow lavas - the original core of the island's geological formation. Beyond this copper-rich zone comes the circle of cultivable slopes and plains, admittedly of various sizes, which produced foodstuffs and could support a regional system's staple finance; and, only then, do we reach the coastline, where emporia could be established. For this reason I have recently introduced the concept of 'minimum spatial requirement' for the rise of a Cypriot polity. According to this oversimplified model, a Cypriot primary centre needed to be in control of a geographically unified economic territory that had access to copper sources, agricultural land, and a port of export (Iacovou 2007, 18). The distribution of mineral resources around the Troodos massif enabled the growth of independent regional economies in an almost star-like pattern around the Troodos.

With this 'minimum spatial requirement' in mind we will approach the available settlement data of the region of Paphos with the help of a site registry of Early and Middle Cypriot sites compiled by Giorgos Georgiou (2006). Entitled the *Topography of human settlement in Early and Middle Cypriote*, this invaluable corpus collects and analyses the available evidence (486 sites island-wide) using two basic spatial parameters. First, Georgiou assigns sites to cultural horizons from the final Chalcolithic phase to the beginning of LCI and maps them in twelve geo-morphological regions. Then, he introduces a second parameter that allows him to group sites in zones based on their distance from the sea, their distance from the copper ores and their altitude. The result is a coherent and quantified evidence of settlement pattern transformations, which focuses on the foundation, duration and abandonment of every site. Georgiou was therefore able to show that the Early and Middle Bronze Ages of Cyprus were not a long, absolutely static horizon of *circa* 800 years. Slow but extremely important developments begin to surface via this region-by-region topographic history, which provides an explanation for the impressive settlement pattern re-organisation made evident during the transition from MCIII to LCI.

Georgiou's analytical maps show that after the abandonment of its prominent Chalcolithic sites, the region of Paphos fails to provide (so far) any identifiable evidence of Early Cypriot settlement activity. In the early stages of Middle Cypriot the region has a significant increase in site numbers. During the transition from Middle to Late Cypriot the region's site registry jumps from 25 to 45 sites and includes the earliest evidence of activity on the site where Paphos was to grow. During this crucial transitional horizon, Georgiou establishes that only four of his 12 regions show an increase in site numbers: Karpasia, Morphou, Mesaoria and Paphos. In two of these, Karpasia and Morphou, the increase is considered normal by comparison with the previous Early and Middle phases. For the Mesaoria, the site-number increase, which accompanies the foundation of Enkomi, is rapid – from 5 to 14 sites. The same is true for the region of Paphos, where the increase in site-numbers, which accompanies the foundation of Paphos, explodes from 25 to 45 (Georgiou 2006, 425, pl. 11.2).

For a long time in the archaeology of Cyprus, the cultural development of a new coastal polity,

like Enkomi or Paphos, monopolised the interest of scholars and made them focus on the new settlement itself, as if the foundation of either Enkomi or Paphos had been undertaken by coherent groups who were moving out of overpopulated agrarian villages to colonise lands nearer the coast. As regards Enkomi this approach changed drastically in the 1980s and 1990s with the work of Knapp, Muhly, Keswani, Webb and Peltenburg. I would like to draw attention in particular to Peltenburg's interpretation (1996), in which he posits a region-wide settlement function (complete with fortresses), in an effort to recreate the route which the ore would have followed to reach the 'Fortress', the industrial nucleus of Enkomi. The importance of the hitherto neglected geography of the mines, from which each Late Cypriot coastal gateway involved in long distance trade would have had to receive its share of copper for export, was beginning to be recognised.

In spite of the fact that, like Enkomi, Paphos was evidently founded as a gateway to the sea, it has yet to be acknowledged as the terminal site in a regional settlement pattern engaged in the production and export of mineral wealth. This is partly understandable since there is still no archaeological visibility for the mines from where copper could have reached the Paphos emporium. We should, however, take note of the fact that almost all of the region's 45 MCIII/LCI sites mapped by Georgiou (2006, 415, fig. 11.5) form a line that begins in the copper-rich foothills of the Troodos (at Kedares) and, following rather closely the route of the river Diarizos, terminates at the newly founded gateway community of Paphos, the southernmost of the 45 sites. The bronze figurine of the Astarte-on-the-Ingot type, recovered from Teratsoudia T.104, is an eloquent witness to the significance of the copper trade in the 13th century (Karageorghis 1990, 29, 59). Besides, Paphos would have had little else to offer in exchange for the imported raw materials, such as gold and ivory, which specialised craftsmen worked into elite items that were deposited in its 14th and 13th century tombs (cf. Catling 1968). Proof, however, that the foundation of a port of trade at Paphos was part and parcel of the region's involvement in the international metals trade in MCIII/LCI will require the collection and analysis of more contemporary evidence at a regional scale.

PAPHOS: FROM GATEWAY TO REGIONAL POLITY (MCIII/LCI TO LCIIC/LCIIIA)

The process that transformed a coastal gateway into a regional polity may have begun during the foundation horizon, but upon foundation in MCIII/LCI, neither Enkomi nor Paphos could have been primary regional centres. This is an issue that Lindy Crewe defends admirably in her recently published doctoral dissertation on Enkomi (2008). Using ceramic evidence, she concludes that Enkomi consolidated its primary status as the eastern region's central place in LCIIA. I would think that Paphos could not have developed into a regional polity earlier than that.

We know, thanks to the work of Priscilla Keswani (2004) that the foundation of new coastal sites, such as Enkomi or Morfou-*Toumpa tou Skourou* in the west, originated in diverse groups of settlers. The placement of their chamber tombs near their homes or industrial units, and not in a communal cemetery, suggests that they did not share a keen bond or a common provenance. Turning our attention specifically to the founders of Paphos, we see that they, too, cannot be described as a coherent group moving out of an older agricultural community in search of new cultivable land. The little we know about them to this day comes from diagnostic ceramics recovered from a few tombs. As already noted above, the earliest MCIII/LCIA burial activity is recorded at discreet localities: *Marchello, Evreti, Asprogi* and *Teratsoudia.* This suggests that they did not move into the area in an orderly fashion to establish a central settlement, nor did they designate a communal burial ground. They were not colonists but heterogeneous groups who had left from different settlements of the interior, or from neighbouring regions, to fill the needs associated with servicing a port on land and sea.

That there were at the beginning several settlement and burial nuclei seems quite plausible, but the question that needs to be answered is to what extent did Paphos develop a unified system of habitation by LCIIC when it was the region's unquestionable primary centre. This crucial question pertains to the fact that, before it ended, LCIIC saw the construction of the monumental sanctuary (Fig. 4), a massive project that could not have been managed without a centralised system of administration or if leading members of the various settlement nuclei had insisted on maintaining distinct cult sites.

Together with the contemporary and largely identical temenos at Kition, the two sanctuaries remain the only megalithic built structures ever constructed in ancient Cyprus before or after the 13th century. Their establishment was accomplished in the course of a notorious period, often referred to as the 'Crisis Years'. The term describes, in effect, the systems failure of the Late Bronze Age empires and palace states. The blow for some of the Cypriot polities was serious. Apparently, the reduced demand for Cypriot copper abroad caused a production breakdown at home (cf. Knapp 1997, 68). This is identified in a horizon of settlement abandonments. Sites of different types went out of use and among them were major urban centres with ashlar complexes, which contained industrial units and had significant storage capacity: Kalavassos-*Agios Demetrios*, Maroni-*Vournes* and Alassa-*Paliotaverna*. Evidently, during the crisis, some of the island's regional authorities were terminated, sending into demise their entire economic regions, which included secondary and tertiary dependencies. The abandonment of *Agios Demetrios* left the valley of Vasilikos without an urban centre from the end of the 13th century. Likewise, the demise of Alassa affected the whole of the Kouris river valley. When these extensive settlement hierarchies were eradicated, industrial and agricultural areas that had an interdependent relationship with a primary settlement were laid open for redistribution. But, since no new settlements were founded in the 12th century to fill the gap, the only available claimants were polities that survived the crisis, and there were not many, other than Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kition and Paphos.

THE LATE CYPRIOT URBAN SURVIVORS

In the 12th century, Enkomi was still a polity that traded in copper, but the proliferation of sanctuaries of different types, within its monumental late 13th century defensive walls, points to a heterarchical environment. Besides sacred areas, metalworking units, as well as *intra muros* burial chambers, appear in different neighbourhoods - and demonstrate the existence of competing groups that shared power and authority within the walled town (Keswani 1996). Eventually, Enkomi or, better, Old Salamis was abandoned. The silting of its port-basin by alluvial deposits from the Pedieos river forced the city to move nearer the coast, to New Salamis. This move, however, encompassed much more than a necessary replacement of harbour facilities: leaving behind the LCIIIA heterarchical landscape of Old Salamis, it produced the strongly hierarchical Iron Age kingdom of New Salamis under its Greek *basileis* (Iacovou 2008).

Hala Sultan Tekke had served as the port of entry for elite goods from the beginning of Late Cypriot. It survived the crisis but during the 12th century the town had to be abandoned because its port-basin silted up. Paul Åström maintains that "the lagoon before the site [of Tekke] silted up and became a salt-lake about 1000 B.C." (Aström 1985, 175). Thus, Tekke surrendered first its port authority and then also its economic zone, and much of its population, to a successor a few kilometres to the east: Kition.

Kition and Paphos seem to have profited from everybody else's problems. For them, the critical LCIIC-IIIA transition heralded an era of territorial expansion and, almost certainly, to judge from the construction of their unparalleled sacred monuments, urban nucleation. They are, as a matter of fact, situated on either side of the

depleted territories of Kouris and Vasilikos. During this unsettling (for others) period, they had evidently managed to concentrate so much strength —translated as agricultural and industrial territories as well as man-power— that they could afford to give a monumental expression to their economic vitality. For the first time in the island's cultural history, human and material resources of an unprecedented scale were directed towards a hitherto unknown enterprise: constructing in megalithic ashlar masonry walled *temene* in what had been modest open-air sanctuaries.

The concentration of attention to a single sacred quarter at Paphos and Kition in LCIIC-LCIIIA suggests that these large-scale sanctuary projects were planned and executed by centralised political authorities (Webb 1999, 292). Kition also acquired at this time a massive fortification wall. Although its exact circuit is uncertain (Iacovou 2007, 12), its surviving section to the north-east of the sanctuary was the harbour front (Nicolaou 1976, 71). Metallurgical workshops of the temple precinct were established directly against the inside of the surviving section, which fronts the harbour basin. The spatial association of cult, copper workshops and harbour is eloquently evident at Kition (Sherratt 1998, 300, 304; Webb 1999, 287).

If the common architectural model employed in the enhancement plans for Kition Temple 1 and Paphos Sanctuary I (using ashlar masonry, horns of consecration and stepped capitals) permits us to surmise that similar expressions of a hierarchically structured authority directed the urban development of Kition and Paphos, then this closely knit triad (cult, copper workshops and harbour installations) allows us to put forward the idea that the Paphos sanctuary, despite the fact that it did not have a wall around it, was also positioned on a site from where it could bless and protect the harbour and its operations. Looking at the map (Fig. 5) one may think that the sanctuary is about one kilometre away from the coast. This, however, is a misleading perception. We need to take into consideration that the completely flat land that stretches below the sanctuary (south of the modern highway) was created largely by the deposition of river silt. This fertile low-lying coastal zone, which is today covered with plantations, is largely the result of the activity of the drainage systems of Diarizos —a river whose waters have carved out one of the widest river beds on the island— Xeros and Cha-Potami.

The silted up and now invisible inlet of the original harbour may be to the east of the natural terrace on which the sanctuary of Paphos was founded. Today, this inlet, once a well-protected cove, is a narrow strip of land —fittingly called *Loures* (strips)— that retains water even in high summer. It is defined on either side by steep slopes.[6] If one were to step down and follow the bed of *Loures* to the south as it widens out, one would eventually reach the modern seashore without encountering any barriers.

PAPHOS AS AN IRON AGE KINGDOM

Paphos, the name by which the polity is identified, is first attested in the 7th century B.C. on the prism of Esarhaddon (673/2 B.C.). The long cuneiform text on this Neo-Assyrian royal inscription (Borger 1956, 59-61) contains a unique list with the names of ten Cypriot leaders and their respective seats of authority (cf. Iacovou 2002). The Greek-named Ituander (Etewandros) is identified as 'sharru' (king) of 'Pappa' (Paphos). Moreover, from the later 7th to the end of the 4th century B.C., inscriptions in the Cypriot syllabary (Mitford 1971, 7, 373; Masson 1983, 95-123) —also a couple of 4th-century alphabetic inscriptions by, or referring to, the last king Nikokles (including one found in the sanctuary

6. The Cypro-Classical limestone sarcophagus decorated with scenes from the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* (Flourentzos 2007, 10, fig. 1), comes from *Kato Alonia* T.176, which was accidentally found in 2006 on top of the western slope of *Loures*.

of Hera at Samos in 2005)—[7] identify the polity as Paphos and its succession of leaders as *basileis.* The earliest Greek inscriptions, written in the island's Cypriot syllabary, which introduce the term PA-SI-LE-WO-SE —a word first attested in the Linear B script of the Mycenaean palace organisation as QA-SI-RE-U (Iacovou 2006)— are inscribed on a silver plate and on a pair of solid gold bracelets. The plate, dated *circa* 725-675, is claimed as property of Akestor, *basileus* of Paphos (Mitford 1971, 373-76); the bracelets (long-lost in the Metropolitan Museum) belonged to Etewandros, also *basileus* of Paphos (Mitford 1971, 7-11). Thus, in its second cycle of political authority, Iron Age Paphos functioned as the kingdom of a Greek-speaking dynasty, which, however, retained a strong and direct relationship with the monumental Late Cypriot temenos and the worship of the goddess therein.

Of all the kings of Cyprus who are epigraphically recorded, only the Paphian kings —specifically, Timarchos, Timocharis, Echetimos and Nikokles, all of whom reigned in the Cypro-Classical period— insisted on introducing themselves as *basileis* of Paphos and *iereis* of the *wanassa* (Maier 1989). The dual prerogative of the priest-king was of such an outstanding significance that in order to have it duly sanctioned, the *basileis* of Paphos forfeited their lineage from their legendary founding father Agapenor, leader of the Arcadian contingent at Troy, and identified themselves as *Kinyradai*. Kinyras, the autochthonous pre-Greek king of Cyprus, was Aphrodite's beloved priest (Pindar, *Pyth.* 2, 15-16). He was also the inventor of "metalla aeris" (Pliny, *Naturalis Historia* 7.195) and, as the legend has it, he presented Agamemnon with a bronze cuirass to wear during the expedition against Troy. Evidently, this proverbially rich personality personified the lucrative metals industry on which rested the autonomy of a regional polity, whether in the 2nd or in the 1st millennium B.C. (Iacovou 2008). In what way, then, did the urban landscape of Paphos change or remain the same under its *hellenophone* Iron Age leaders who continued to see in the Late Bronze Age open-air temenos the monumental centrepiece of their capital and the embodiment of their dual authority?

THE FIRST GEOPHYSICAL SURVEY (2003) AND THE CITY WALL OF PALAEPAPHOS

In 2003, following the 2002 field-work, whose purpose was to map visible monuments as well as no-longer visible sites, such as burial clusters, we decided to introduce geophysical survey as a second component in the "Archaeological Atlas of Palaepaphos".[8] In designing a strategy that would allow us to survey the most promising sectors within an area of approximately two sq. km., we took for granted that in the 1st millennium B.C. the urban nucleus of Paphos was contained within a city wall. Why? Any piece of literature on Palaepaphos one may wish to consult —not excluding my own (Iacovou 2005, 33)— speaks confidently of the existence of a wall that enclosed the capital city of the kingdom of Paphos (cf. Maier 2004, 74), offering protection to the sacred, secular and urban sectors. Using a non-invasive method, we aspired to locate the circuit of the city wall and supply the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus with evidence that would allow it, in its capacity as

7. Klaus Hallof, "Eine Ehreninschrift aus Samos für einen Stadtkönig von Paphos"; the announcement was made during the *International Colloquium in honour of Dr Ino Nikolaou: Epigraphy, Numismatics, Prosopography and History of Ancient Cyprus*, which was held at the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus, in November 2007. The publication of the proceedings, which are edited by Demetrios Michaelides, is in preparation.

8. I take this opportunity to thank in print the former Director of Antiquities, Dr Sophocles Hadjisavvas, for granting us permission to undertake the 2002 and 2003 field seasons in the name of the "Archaeological Atlas of Palaepaphos". The 2003 geophysical survey, which covered 44.178 sq.m., was made possible due to the eager participation of my colleagues in the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Cyprus, Dr Vasiliki Kassianidou and Dr George Papasavvas, our students Maria Dikomitou and George Papantoniou, and Dr Apostolos Sarris and his team from the Institute for Mediterranean Studies (Rethymnon, Crete).

heritage manager, to place the *intra muros* urban space of the ancient capital under a significantly greater degree of protection. We concentrated most of our efforts to the east (consult Fig. 2, above), assuming that it would not be all that difficult to trace sections of the wall that bridged the distance between the visible monuments on *Marchello* and *Hadjiabdoulla*. To this day, these two edifices, which originated in the Cypro-Archaic period, are believed to incorporate sections of the NE and the SE circuit of the city wall (cf. Maier 2004, 59, 74). This interpretation is further strengthened by the fact that some of the vast Iron Age cemeteries of Paphos are situated beyond the excavated monuments on *Marchello* and *Hadjiabdoulla*, thus suggesting an *extra muros* burial landscape.

In the course of carrying out the geophysical survey, not only did we find no definitive indication of that section of the city wall that was assumed to extend from *Marchello* to *Hadjiabdoulla*, but the realities of the topography also made some long-established facts seem suspect. The presumed external side of the wall, outside the urban sector, was always on higher ground; while the urban space assumed to be inside the wall was on lower ground. Every time we tried to survey parcels of what should have been the urban area inside the wall, we had to work on rather uncomfortable slopes or to descend down into deep valleys, from where the plateaus of *Marchello* and *Hadjiabdoulla* and that of the sanctuary loomed high above our heads. What reason could the royal engineers of the Paphian kings have had to construct an all encompassing city wall around a series of steep valleys? Besides having to bridge the hollow valleys that cut up the landscape between *Marchello* and *Hadjiabdoulla* and also between *Hadjiabdoulla* and the sanctuary, at the end of this incredibly arduous operation they would have created a defensive system around a depression, which would have been the centre of the urban settlement of their capital. After having struggled *against* the lie of the land (loaded down with geophysical survey gear) for a fortnight, the possibility that the whole *intra* and *extra muros* concept, on which we were operating, could have been false was beginning to dawn on us.

Almost another year went by before we could formulate the critical question: how did an all-enclosing city wall that probably never existed, certainly not in the way we have been imagining it all these years, become a decisive factor in the interpretation of the political history of the Iron Age kingdom of Paphos, before it became Palaepaphos? Meanwhile the results of the 2003 geophysical survey were duly analysed by Dr Apostolos Sarris and his team at the Institute for Mediterranean Studies and the final report submitted to the Director of the Department of Antiquities later that year.

T.B. MITFORD

The great epigraphist Terence B. Mitford of Saint Andrews University was a scholar to whom we will always owe gratitude for his work on the inscriptions of Cyprus. Epigraphical work aside, "those who knew him would agree that digging was a branch of field archaeology he neither particularly enjoyed, nor did he have a natural flair for it" (Catling 1979). Nevertheless, having heard that inscriptions were being uncovered at *Marchello*, he teamed up with J.H. Iliffe of the Liverpool Museums, and the two of them conducted excavations at Palaepaphos between 1950 and 1955 (cf. Maier 2004, 34). It seems more than likely that the belief in the existence of a city wall was formulated as early as Mitford's first digging season in 1950. In the *Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities for 1950*, we read: "On the Marchello hill overlooking the village, the expedition investigated a mound … This proved to be a well-packed pile of rubble encircled by a retaining wall and containing throughout a proportion of sculptural and architectural debris from an archaic sanctuary … The mound, the purpose of which is still obscure, was found to overly part of a massive wall (of mud-brick faced with stone) and the fosse outside it, possibly the outer wall of the earliest city." (*ARDA*

1951, 13). Two seasons later, in the *Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities for 1952*, we read: "The investigation of the Persian siege-mound of 498 B.C. was pursued and the stretch of the city wall against which it was built was further examined" (*ARDA* 1953, 13). It has since been assumed that the hundreds of sculptural and architectural fragments and votive inscriptions, some by Paphian kings (Masson and Mitford 1986, 19-98), found in what Mitford defined as the moat of the city wall, had been transported from an extra-urban Cypro-Archaic sanctuary and had been thrown into the moat so that an attacking Persian force could scale the walls with siege engines (cf. Maier 2004, 66-72). Herodotus is the only historiographic source that covers specific episodes of the Ionian Revolt in Cyprus. Herodotus, however, never mentions either a city or a king of Paphos. Nevertheless, Mitford's interpretation has been writ in stone.

That same year (1952), Mitford and Iliffe extended their operations to the plateau of *Hadjiabdoulla* from where they reported that "*against the inner face of another sector of the city wall* [my emphasis] were laid bare the remains of an important building" (*ARDA* 1953, 13). Thus, irrespective of the realities of the topography to which closer attention should have been paid, the distance between *Marchello* and *Hadjiabdoulla* has since been bridged by a notional city wall, which was also assumed to turn south to enclose the sanctuary of the Goddess.

THE LIE OF THE LAND

At this stage, a simple analysis of the natural topography of the area (as we have come to comprehend it) is necessary, as it will justify the next moves of the field project. We may describe the area, which Mitford thought was enclosed in a city wall, like the inside of a deep bowl.[9] On the rim of this bowl we find the highest plateaus of four natural terraces. The lowest of the four terraces (about 100m. above sea level) carries the plateau on which the sanctuary was established in the Late Bronze Age, while its lower slopes are now occupied by the village of Kouklia. The topmost plateaus of the other three terraces, *Marchello* to the North-East, *Hadjiabdoulla* to the South-East and *Mantissa* wedged in between, share the same height, close to 130m. above sea level, and command a superb view of the sanctuary and the coastline beyond it. All four terraces are sharply defined by fairly steep sides, which terminate below in deep valleys and/or dry lakes. No wonder that the sharply sloping depression to the west of *Marchello* is known as *Xerolimni* ("The Dry Lake"). In fact, *Xerolimni* extends around the foot of *Marchello* (close to where the village kindergarten is today), where it joins up with the valley on the east side of the plateau. In this respect, *Marchello* is completely separated from the *Mantissa* terrace. Likewise, the east side of *Mantissa* is separated from *Hadjiabdoulla* by the *Kaminia* depression. Thus, the four terraces remain separated from each other and each retains its own physical integrity and functional identity in the urban landscape of the kingdom.

What is even more interesting to notice in this highly fragmented urban space is that the different low-lying strips of land between the terraces (*Xerolimni*, *Kaminia*, etc.) slope gradually down towards the bottom of the "bowl" until they all come together to drain into *Loures*.

CHANGE OF PLANS AND NEW PRIORITY TARGETS

Whether a continuous encircling city wall existed only in archaeological imagination, or not, was no longer our primary concern. Two partially excavated monumental structures, which were constructed in the Cypro-Archaic period, no doubt by Paphian kings, stand on *Marchello* and *Hadjiabdoulla*. To this day, we continue to understand very little about the spatial and struc-

9. Sincere thanks are due to geologist Zomenia Zomeni of the Cyprus Geological Survey for helping us understand the region's geology.

tural position they held in the urban landscape of the kingdom and even less about their relationship to each other; decisive archaeological evidence is still missing. A change of plans was, therefore, necessary and it was this that began to breathe life into the "Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project". Clearly, it was no longer possible to proceed without digging out the answers from the earth. We therefore decided to supplement the non-invasive geophysical surveys with small-scale but specifically targeted excavations that would increase the exposure of the two monuments and would also expose selected targets around them. This makes for a long-term research project that will hopefully continue to enjoy the support of the University of Cyprus and will be taken up and continued by younger members of our research team. In 2005, however, when we requested the Director's permission to initiate excavations at Palaepaphos, the choice of the 2006-2009 field targets was based on the degree of danger that certain parcels were facing as a result of rapidly progressing development plans.

MARCHELLO 2006-2007

If one consults Fig. 3 above, one will see that the plot to the north-west of the parcel of land occupied by the *Marchello* monument, which is shown in red as part of Protection Zone "A" since the land has been expropriated, is unlisted; it has even been left out of Protection Zone "B". This unprotected piece of land, *Marchello* Plot 147 and also Plot 110 to the south of it became our first field target. The Director of Antiquities issued an excavation permit and also proceeded to have the two plots declared for two years (2006-2007) so that we could begin work.[10]

The direction followed by the stumps of wall left on either side of the monumental façade of the *Marchello* monument (cf. Maier 2004, 61, fig. 43) became our first concern. The south-east arm can hardly be followed further east since it encounters the precipitous drop that defines the plateau on that side. We thought, however, that the arm stretching north-west of the dog-leg gate had to have a much greater length; and we were proved right. From the fence that protects the *Marchello* monument to the west side of the plateau that now overlooks the asphalt road leading up from Kouklia to the village of Archimandrita, there is a less than 60-metre wide parcel of land, which serves as the property line between Plot 147 and Plot 110. The owners of Plot 147, situated on higher ground, and the owners of Plot 110, which begins to slope down towards the village, had carob trees planted on this boundary zone where they also piled up unwanted fragments of worked limestone blocks unearthed in the course of ploughing their respective fields. Thus, without meaning to, they had protected the rest of the north-west arm of the *Marchello* rampart in its entirety.[11]

Following the 2006 exploratory season and the 2007 full-scale campaign,[12] the north-west arm of the *Marchello* rampart is no longer looking amputated. As has been shown by Dr Stratos Stylianides and his topographers, the recently excavated section is in perfect alignment with, and has the same width as, the old section

10. Digging in the 2006 and 2007 seasons was carried out primarily by undergraduate students of the University of Cyprus and also by Cypriot students who, having graduated from the University of Cyprus, are currently pursuing M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in archaeology at Bryn Mawr College (USA), Trinity College, Dublin, University College London, University of Oxford and University of Freiburg. The excavation team also included a student from the University of Athens, a second from Belgium and a third from the U.K.
11. Preliminary announcements have been made at the 24th CAARI Workshop (2006), and at the 25th CAARI Workshop (2007).
12. Anna Satraki (Ph.D. candidate, Department of History and Archaeology, University of Cyprus), is Assistant Director of the excavation project. The custom-made data-base we use was designed in 2006 by Sophia Topouzi (Ph.D. candidate, Department of History and Archaeology, University of Athens). Giorgos Stamatis, University of Crete graduate and author of the Master's thesis on "The Use of Geophysical Prospection and Geographical Information Systems for the study of the archaeological topography of Palaipaphos" (Stamatis 2004), offered valuable assistance in the field during the 2006 exploratory season.

(Fig. 6). The five-metre gap between the two (observed inside the fence) is due to the donkey- and cart-track, which until the 1950s was the only communication artery between Kouklia and Archimandrita. By the end of the 2007 season our first goal had been achieved: the horizontal exposure of the stone foundation of a wall that runs for 52m. until it encounters the drop on the steep north-west side of the plateau provided the Department of Antiquities with visible evidence as to the existence of an ancient monument (Fig. 7). This allowed the Director of Antiquities to initiate expropriation procedures.

There can hardly be any doubt as to which is the inner and which is the outer face of the section of wall we have excavated. The inside face is made of a narrow, 70cm. wide, retaining wall. The core of the wall is made of loose stones set in a thick bed of lime plaster, which is admirably well preserved in many areas. The outer face is menacingly strong; it is built of much larger, roughly hewn, boulders (Fig. 7a) and looks down the slope towards the sanctuary and the coast. But this is not all, as another section, which seems more than a metre wide, has begun to appear on the external side of this three-and-a-half metres wide wall. A channel seems to run the whole length between the two sections, which if measured together, are bound to have a width of close to five metres. Almost half way through the new stretch, at a distance of about 55m. from the monumental dog-leg gate of the *Marchello* wall, we have what looks like another gate built with bossed ashlar blocks, each almost a meter in length (Fig. 7b).[13]

CERAMIC MATERIAL

Analysis by Dr Susan Sherratt of the ceramic material recovered during the first two seasons has established that the construction of the *Marchello* wall disturbed and destroyed a line of Late Cypriot chamber tombs that were in use to the end of the 12th century B.C. This is made evident by a large number of easily recognisable White Slip and Base Ring ware sherds, as well as sherds of White Painted Wheelmade III pottery, which date to LCIIC and LCIIIA. The recovery of two complete White Painted Wheelmade III vases (a feeding bottle and a shallow bowl), as well as a miniature pomegranate beat of gold from near a shallow pit —apparently what has remained from the chamber of a tomb directly inside the wall (indicated on Fig. 7b)— confirms that the Late Cypriot material represents the residue of burial assemblages.[14] Although we consider it likely that the Late Cypriot tombs coexisted with contemporary living quarters, evidence has not been forthcoming. The use of the site for burials must have been terminated at the end of LCIIIA or the beginning of LCIIIB (12th-11th centuries B.C.).

In the 1st millennium B.C., *Marchello* was incorporated into the Iron Age urban fabric of Palaepaphos. On the evidence of pottery, this new horizon seems to have begun at the end of the Geometric period but it picked in the Late Archaic and Early Classical. There is not much to suggest activity on the plateau after the 3rd century B.C. We are, in fact, amazed at how 'clean' the surface levels of Plot 147 are. They are almost completely free not only of modern garbage but also of any ceramic material that would suggest use of the plot either for burials or for habitation in Late Antiquity or thereafter. This would suggest that the area lost its position in the

13. The figures and ground plans in this article were prepared by my research assistant and manager of the project's GIS programme, Athos Agapiou (topographer, graduate of the Athens Polytechnic), who is currently pursuing a Master's degree in Mediterranean Archaeology in the Department of History and Archaeology, University of Cyprus.

14. The ceramic material collected in 2006-2007 is being studied by Dr Susan Sherratt, to whom I wish to express my most sincere gratitude for joining the "Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project". I also wish to thank her for reading, editing and discussing many points of this preliminary report with me. It has been agreed that after our third (2008) campaign on *Marchello*, Dr Sherratt will submit a separate article on the ceramic material.

urban landscape from early on and that from then on it was primarily used for agricultural purposes.

PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS

Plots 147 and 110 proved to be an excellent "window" that led —below a maximum of 90cm. and a minimum of 20cm.— directly onto Archaic and/or Classical levels. Unlike the west and east sides of the *Marchello* plateau, which afford natural protection, the south side, which looks down towards the sanctuary and the village, has no definite natural barrier to define and protect it. However, the defensive system that was constructed from one end of the south side to the other is of such an extravagantly monumental character and size —it is so far unique in Iron Age Cyprus— that we should also think of it as the dynamic statement of a royal authority - but one that was probably violently terminated around the beginning of the 5th century B.C. when that amazing cache of limestone sculptures and inscriptions were sealed in a huge pit *inside* the rampart. That the *Marchello* plateau represented a special function zone within the Cypro-Archaic landscape of the kingdom of Paphos is not in doubt. It is, however, highly unlikely that Mitford and Iliffe were excavating in the "moat" of the city wall of Paphos, as there is no moat, only a man-made "bothros", which does not extend either way.

Besides the lie of the land that led us to reconsider the case of the Palaepaphos city wall, it is also time to face up to the fact that it was not in the priorities of Cypriot kingship to protect cities or citizens with city walls. They were primarily concerned with the definition and protection of their regional frontiers, and especially their copper-rich zones, for which extra urban sanctuaries —like the one near Agia Moni to which Nikokles dedicated columns to the goddess Hera (Masson 1983, 145)— played a decisive role. Also, to judge from the extremely important results of the recent excavations at Idalion (Hadjicosti 1997) and Amathous (Petit 2002), the *basileis* fortified their administrative citadels, which were given to large-scale storage, industrial and cultic activities.

We hope to complete the horizontal exposure of the wall during the 2008 campaign, after which a detailed report on the new section of the *Marchello* rampart will be submitted for publication. Now that the destiny of Plots 147 and 110 has been secured, vertical soundings will have to wait, as we need to hasten to the next endangered zone on the terraces of *Hadjiabdoulla*.

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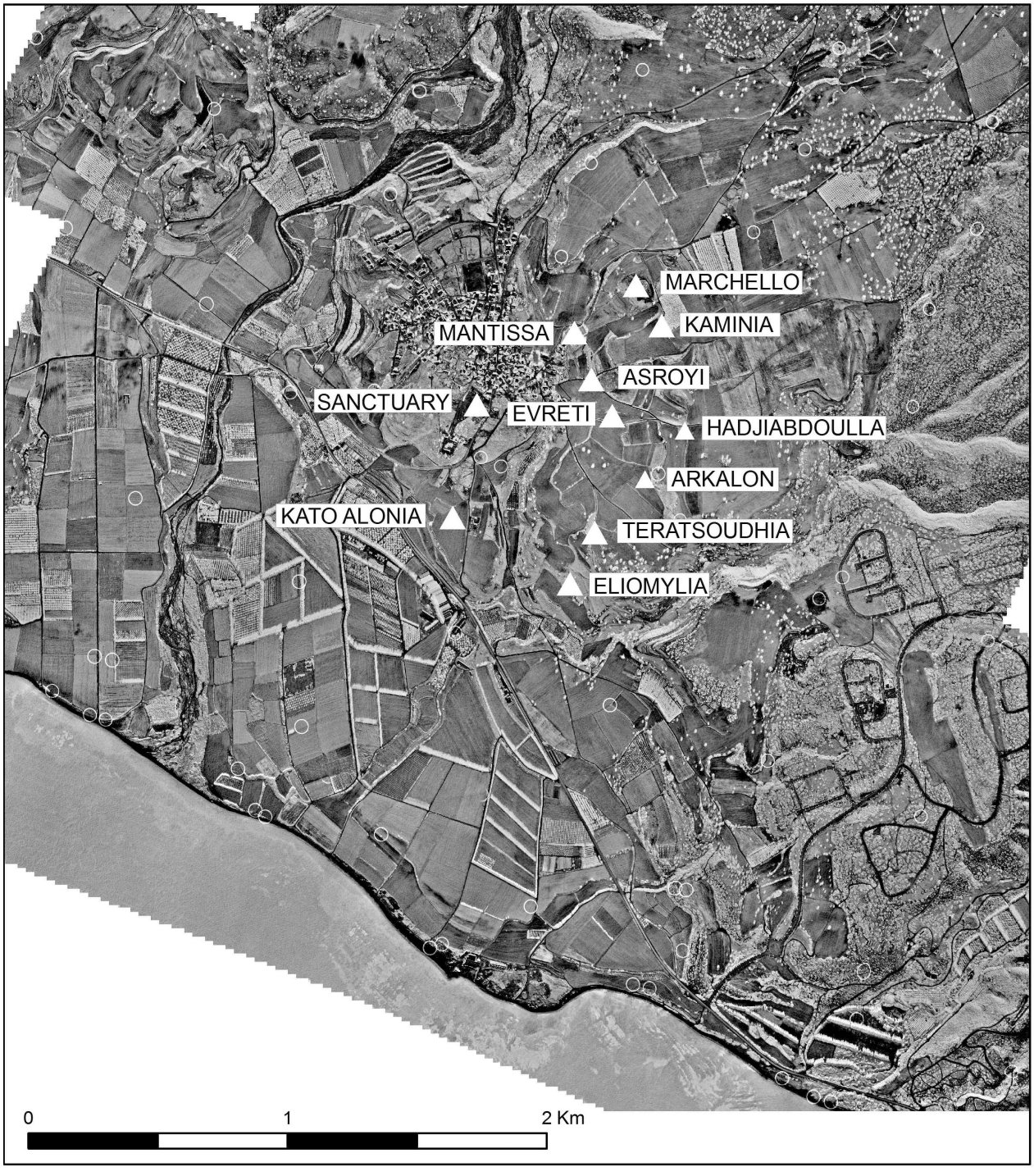
ΠΕΡΙΛΗΨΗ

Οι έρευνες πεδίου που διεξάγονται υπό την αιγίδα της Ερευνητικής Μονάδας Αρχαιολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου Κύπρου στα Κούκλια Παλαιπάφου συνδέονται με δύο αλληλένδετα ερευνητικά προγράμματα. Το πρώτο αφορά στην αποσαφήνιση της αστικής τοπογραφίας της αρχαίας Πάφου. Το δεύτερο είναι ένα τριετές πιλοτικό πρόγραμμα εφαρμοσμένης έρευνας, το οποίο αποσκοπεί στην προώθηση ενός διαχειριστικού μοντέλου που θα συμβάλει στη συμφιλίωση των αναγκών της σύγχρονης ανάπτυξης με την ανάγκη διάσωσης της ιστορικο-αρχαιολογικής πληροφορίας σε περιοχές υψηλού κινδύνου και ιδιαίτερης αρχαιολογικής-πολιτισμικής σημασίας, όπως ακριβώς είναι η περίπτωση της Παλαιπάφου.

Στο παρόν άρθρο αναπτύσσεται το θεωρητικό υπόβαθρο που οδήγησε στη συγκρότηση του πρώτου προγράμματος, βασική επιδίωξη του οποίου είναι η κατανόηση της οργάνωσης του χώρου της αρχαίας πολιτείας – από της ιδρύσεώς της (στα μέσα περίπου της δεύτερης π.Χ. χιλιετίας) έως και την κατάλυση του βασιλείου της Πάφου (στο τέλος του τέταρτου π.Χ. αιώνα) – και η χαρτογράφηση των ορισμάτων με τη χρήση Γεωγραφικών Συστημάτων Πληροφοριών. Το άρθρο αναφέρεται, επίσης, στους στόχους των ερευνών πεδίου που έγιναν το 2006-2007. Συμπεριλαμβάνουν μικρής έκτασης ανασκαφές στη θέση *Μαρτσέλλο* Παλαιπάφου και μεγάλης έκτασης γεωφυσικές έρευνες, οι οποίες διενεργήθηκαν εντός χωρικού πλαισίου δύο και πλέον τετραγωνικών χιλιομέτρων που οριοθετείται από διάσπαρτα, ορατά και αόρατα μνημεία της Ύστερης Χαλκοκρατίας και της Εποχής του Σιδήρου (1600-300 π.Χ.). Τόσο οι ανασκαφές όσο και οι γεωφυσικές έρευνες θα συνεχιστούν στο εγγύς μέλλον και σε άλλες θέσεις της αρχαίας Πάφου που εντοπίζονται περιμετρικά του τεμένους της Κύπριδας ή Παφίας θεάς.


MARCHELLO
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MANTISSA
ASROYI
SANCTUARY
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ELIOMYLIA
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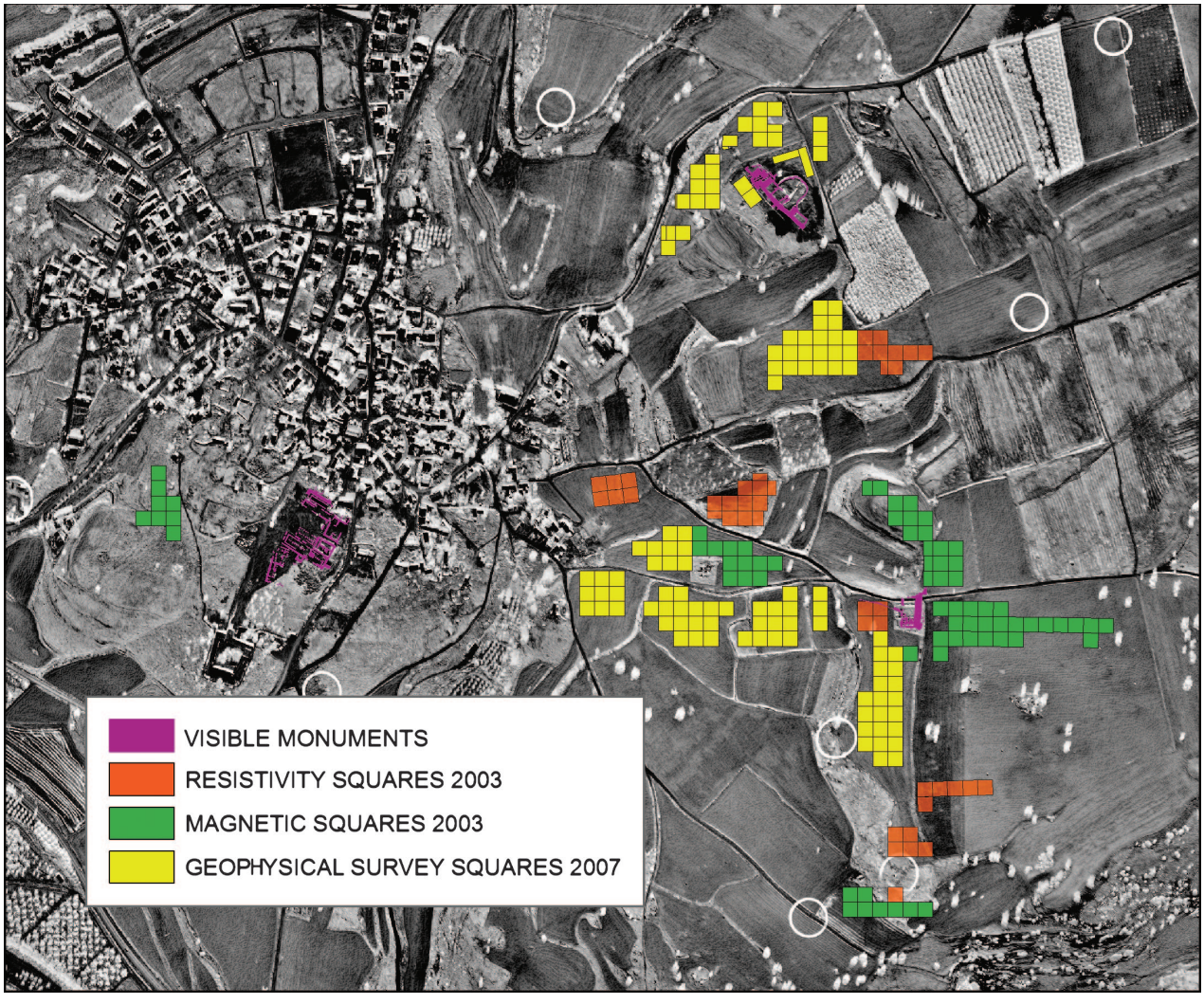
Fig. 1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MAGNETIC SQUARES 2003
GEOPHYSICAL SURVEY SQUARES 2007

Fig. 2

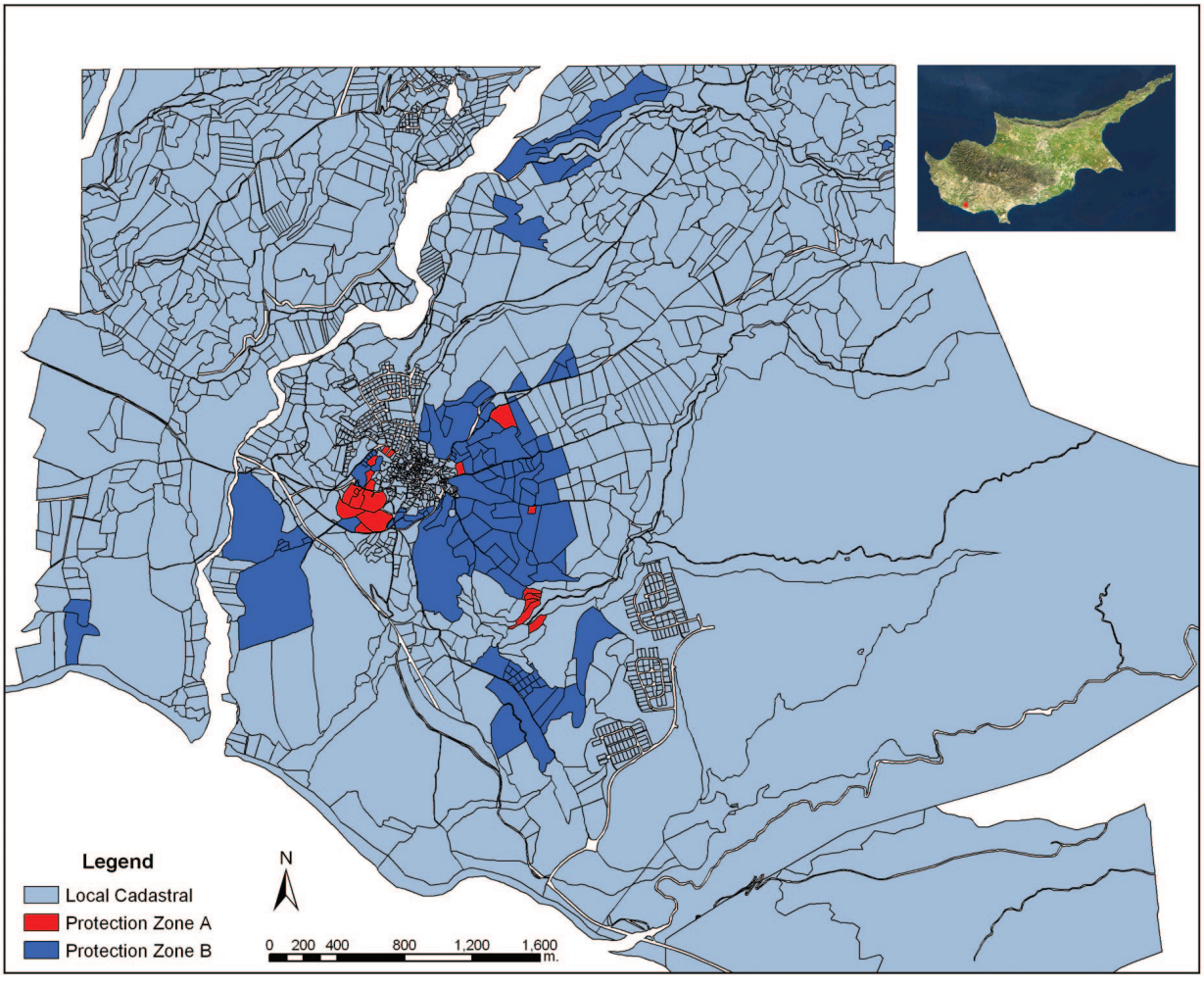
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Fig. 3

Fig. 4

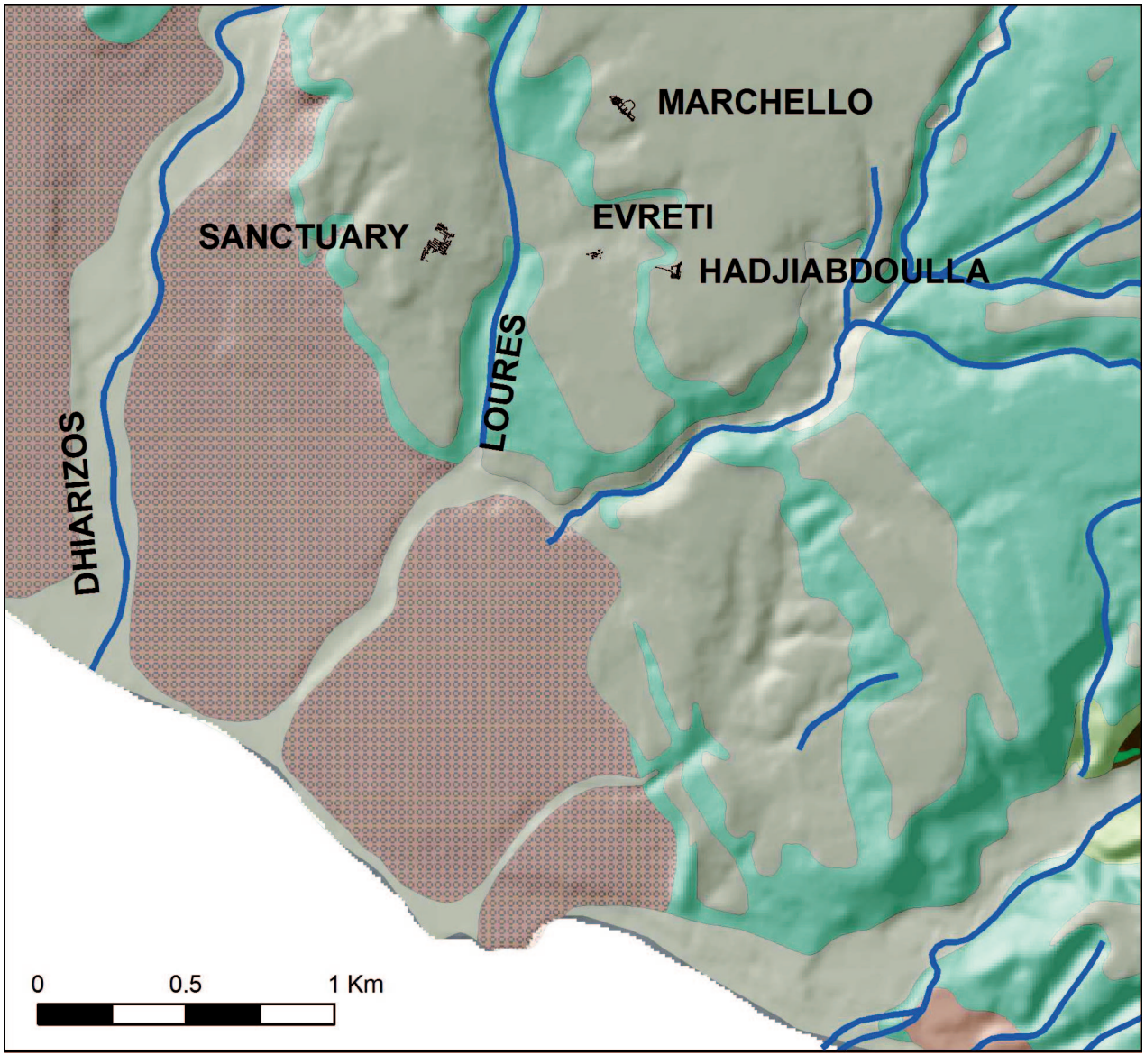


Fig. 5. From Malpas, J., Xenophontos, C., Calon, T., Squires, G., Smith, J., 1999, Geological map of the Ayia Varvara - Pentalia area, scale 1:25000, published by: Cyprus Geological Survey.

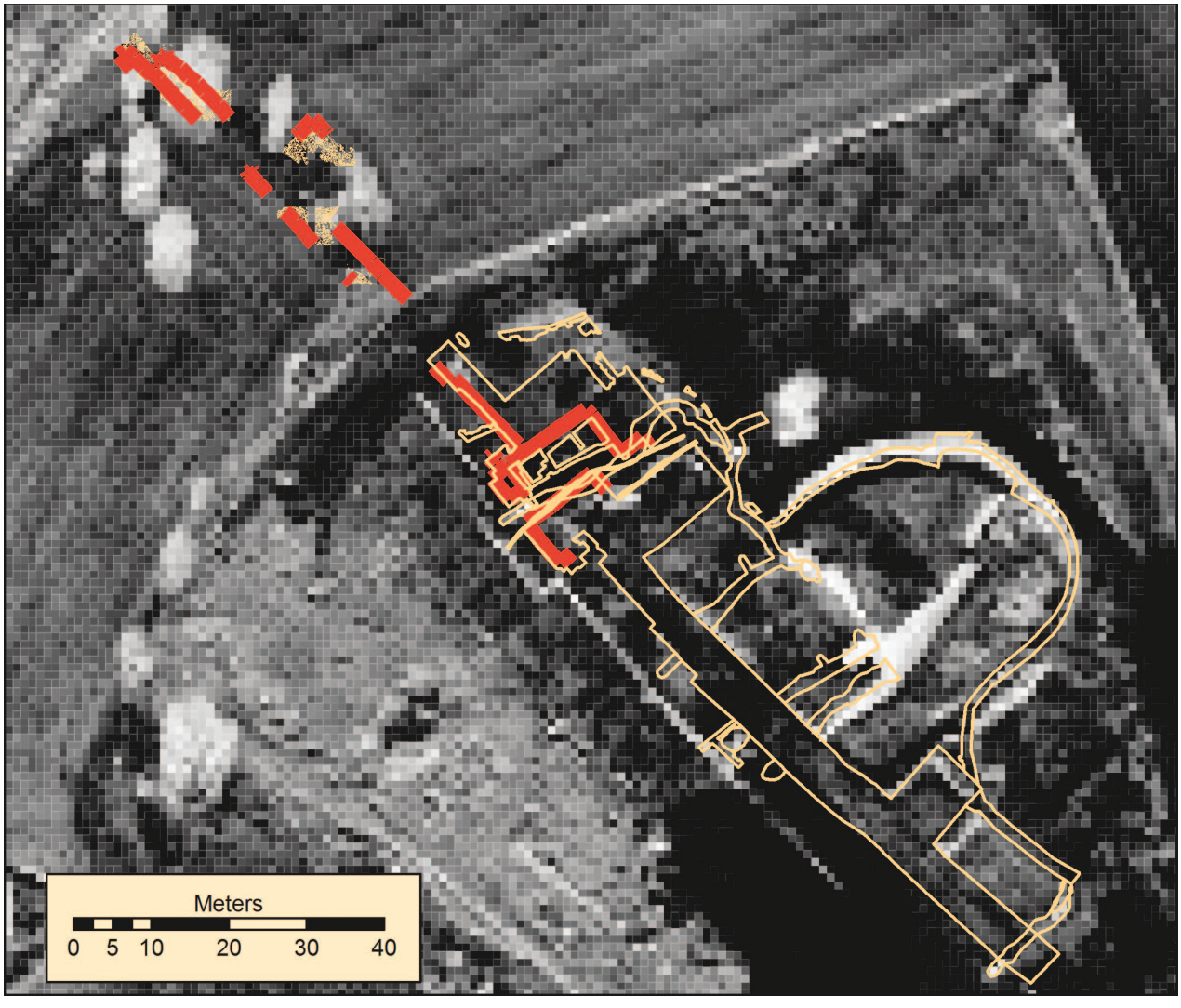
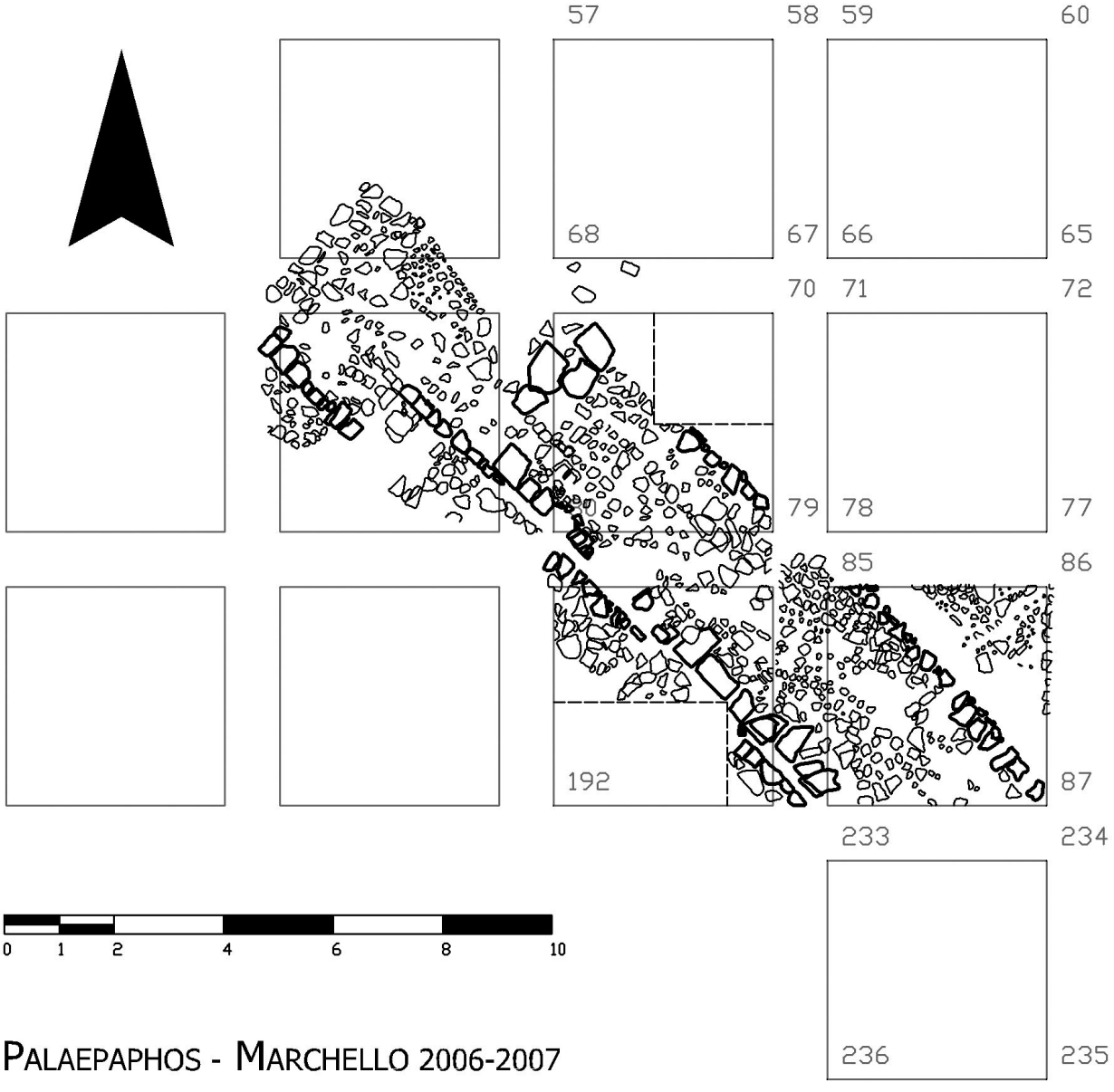


Fig. 6

Fig. 7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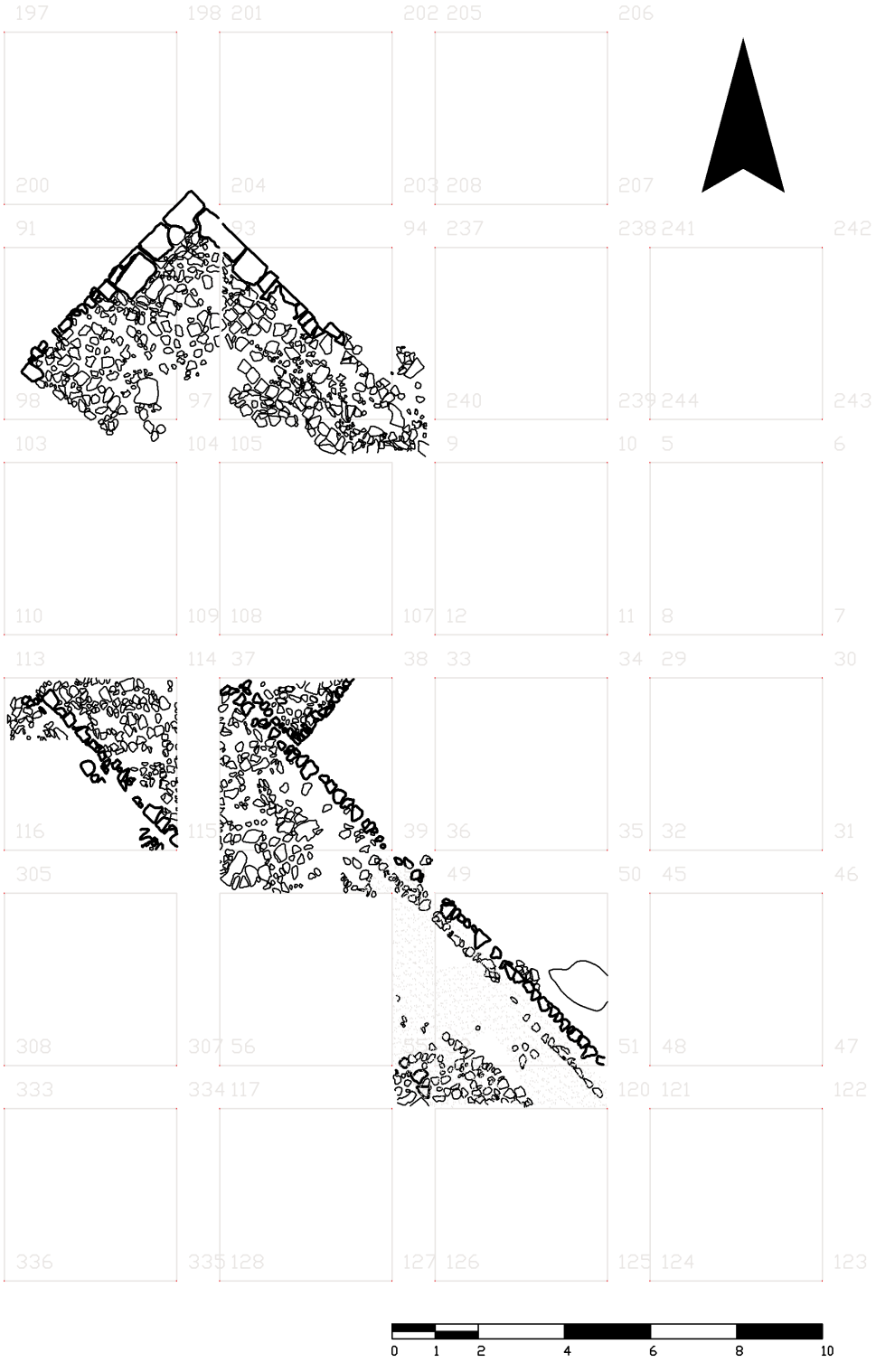
PALAEPAPHOS - MARCHELLO 2006-2007

Fig. 7a



PALAEPAPHOS - MARCHELLO 2006-2007

Fig. 7b