

Paphos before Palaepaphos. New approaches to the history of the Paphian kingdom

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Περίληψη

Οι πρώτες ανασκαφικές έρευνες των Βρετανών στην Παλαίπαφο (1887–1888), έφεραν στο φως, ανάμεσα σε άλλα, ένα βωμό από λευκό μάρμαρο – σήμερα στο Βρετανικό Μουσείο – που φέρει στην μία του πλευρά έμμετρη αλφαβητική επιγραφή. Την επιγραφή, που αναπτύσσεται σε τρεις στίχους, δημοσίευσε το 1961 ο Βρετανός επιγραφολόγος Terence B. Mitford αποδίδοντάς της την εξής κατά λέξη ερμηνεία: “Nikokles King of Paphos rebuilds the walls of (Old) Paphos: c. 320 B.C.”. Η ανενδοίαστη αμεσότητα με την οποία ο Mitford καταθέτει ότι πρόκειται για επανακατασκευή του τείχους της Παλαιπάφου εκ μέρους του Νικοκλή, σε συνδυασμό με την περίπου σύγχρονη ανασκαφή τμήματος αμυντικού έργου στη θέση Μαρτσέλλο Παλαιπάφου (στη δεκαετία του 1950), καθιέρωσαν ως γεγονός που ασπάζστηκαν πολλοί ερευνητές – της γράφουσας συμπεριλαμβανομένης – ότι το αστικό κέντρο του βασιλείου της Πάφου, η ‘ευρύχωρος πόλις’ της επιγραφής, ήταν εξολοκλήρου τειχισμένη.

Το όνομα του Νικοκλή στον πρώτο στίχο δεν αφήνει αμφιβολία ότι, αν και σε τρίτο πρόσωπο, πρόκειται για έμμετρο βασιλικό ανάθημα του 4^{ου} π.Χ. αιώνα. Όμως, ποια ιστορική πληροφορία κρύβει, αλήθεια, η κατά τα άλλα λακωνική και αποσπασματική επιγραφή, που είναι συνάμα από τις πρωϊμότερες αλφαβητικές που εκδίδει ο τελευταίος βασιλιάς της Πάφου;

Το ερευνητικό πρόγραμμα που διεξάγει η Ερευνητική Μονάδα Αρχαιολογίας του Πανεπιστημίου Κύπρου στην Παλαίπαφο από το 2006 προτείνει εναλλακτικές ερμηνείες, οι οποίες πιθανόν να αποδειχθούν καθοριστικής σημασίας για την άγνωστη ως τα σήμερα δομή του βασιλείου της Πάφου, το οποίο υπήρξε και ‘βασιλείο’ της ελληνικής συλλαβικής γραφής.

Introduction

As an archaeologist who has never received formal training in epigraphy, I consider myself fortunate in having realised early enough that the complex history of Cyprus in antiquity, and especially the era of the first millennium BC Cypriot kingdoms, would have remained an untangled knot, had it not been for the primary evidence supplied by inscriptions in syllabic and alphabetic scribal systems. For this I am, in no small part, indebted to the meticulously documented work of Dr Ino Nicolaou, distinguished Cypriot epigraphist.

Inscriptions, like the rest of the material evidence, undergo analysis and interpretation. Only, sometimes, we tend to forget that in archaeology there is no such thing as a 'definitive interpretation'. As long as new evidence is brought forward, our discipline expects us to re-examine and reconsider the (not all that obvious or straightforward) message carried by an inscription. In this paper, which is submitted in honour of Dr Nicolaou, I saw fit to present the circumstances under which one such re-evaluation process was generated.

The literary pre-eminence of Salamis and the epigraphical weight of Paphos

Salamis and the royal house of the *Teukridai* feature in the literary sources of antiquity more often than any other Cypriot kingdom or dynasty since the reign of the celebrated 6th century BC king Evelthon (Herodotus 4.162), who is traditionally credited with the introduction of a monetary economy to Cyprus (cf. Chavane & Yon 1978). I dread to think, however, how we could have approached the history of the kingdom had it been left solely to inscriptions. Other than abbreviated coin legends and the fragment of a lapidary inscription that preserves part of the name Evagoras, presumably Evagoras I (cf. Yon 1993: 145, fig. 7), the thin epigraphical corpus of Salamis does not contain primary information relating to its political history. The polity of Paphos, on the other hand, is conspicuously absent from the ancient sources which, from Homer to Tacitus and Pausanias, dwell almost exclusively on the Paphian goddess, her sanctuary and its legendary founders. Homer mentions a sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos (*Odyssey* 8.363) and identifies the goddess as *Kypris* (*Iliad* V.330). Tacitus (*Annals* 3.62) states that the Cypriots claimed that the Paphian sanctuary was the most ancient on the island ('*vetustissimum Paphiae veneri*') and that according to different traditions it had been founded by Aerias or Kinyras (*Histories* 2.3.1). Pausanias (8.5.2) ascribes its foundation to the Arcadian Agapenor. Had it been left to the surviving written records, the political history of the Paphian kingdom would have been a void down to the reign of its last king, Nikokles, son of King Timarchos (Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976: 15–16). Paphos, in stark contrast to Salamis, is blessed with an unsurpassed number of Greek syllabic, digraphic and alphabetic legends, supplemented by short-hand inscriptions on its coinage, which together provide an impressive list of *basileis* from the late 8th to the end of the 4th century BC (cf. Mitford 1971: 7–11, 373–637; Masson 1983: 100–123; Iacovou 2006: 319).

I should stress here that with the term Paphos I identify the original polity, situated today within the village of Kouklia, which after the foundation of Nea Paphos began to be referred to as Palaia, Palaeopaphos or Palaepaphos (cf. Mitford 1960: 198; Masson 1983: 93–94; Młynarczyk 1990: 23).

A research strategy based on false impressions

As recently as 2001, in an international conference of the British Academy on *Mediterranean Urbanization 800–600 BC* (Osborne & Cunliffe 2005), I claimed without the slightest hesitation that Paphos was contained within a city wall (Iacovou 2005: 33). It was not an original idea; any piece of literature on Paphos one may decide to consult will provide reassurance of the existence of a defensive wall that enclosed the capital

city of the kingdom, rendering protection to its sacred, secular and urban sectors (cf. Maier & Karageorghis 1984: 152, fig. 146). Besides the sanctuary, however, what one sees above ground from the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical landscape of Paphos are the excavated parts of four built monuments distributed in four distinct localities that spread over an area of almost two square kilometres (**Fig. 1**): at *Arkalon* there is a sepulchral monument known as 'Spilaion tis Regainas, at *Evreti* and *Hadjiabdoulla* there are two different secular structures built with exceptional craftsmanship, and at *Marchello* a 112-metre long stretch of a monumental wall with an impressive gate protected by towers (cf. Maier 2004: 59, 74, 77). Then, there are also the invisible monuments. As a rule, they consist of extensive clusters of earth-cut chamber tombs. Almost all of these *necropoleis* were inaugurated at the beginning of the Iron Age, alternatively in the opening phase of the Cypro-Geometric period, and they continued



Figure 1. Orthophotomap of the archaeological landscape of Palaepaphos showing localities with visible built monuments of the 2nd and 1st millennia BC (drafted by Athos Agapiou for the Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project)

to be used for long into the 1st millennium BC. In fact, if one were to fix the location of tombs known to have been in use during the Cypro-Archaic and/or Cypro-Classical periods on a two-dimensional topographical map, one would have the impression of an almost complete 'girdle' of burial grounds surrounding the urban space (cf. Maier & Wartburg 1985: 152–159, fig. 5; Maier 2007: 26, fig. 1). For a long time, therefore, I too harboured the belief that these burial grounds were literally *extra muros* and I never questioned the existence of an Iron Age city wall, especially since the excavated rampart on *Marchello* is described as the northeast city-gate (cf. Maier 1985: 15–18, fig. 11)

Convinced that there was a well-defined *intra* and *extra muros* landscape, in 2002, in the context of the deployment of a programme on cultural resource management, which we christened the Digital Archaeological Atlas of Palaepaphos (the Palaepaphos Atlas Project, for short), I proposed a research strategy that was meant to allow us to define the urban space by tracing the circuit of the city wall (cf. Sarris *et al.* 2006). The Atlas was designed primarily as a heritage management tool in order to collect under one (digital) roof a vast amount of archaeo-cultural information dispersed over five to six square kilometres around the village of Kouklia and dating from prehistoric to pre-modern times. Following the 2002 fieldwork – the purpose of which was to map visible monuments, as well as no-longer visible sites, such as burial clusters – in 2003 we proceeded with a geophysical survey. Using this non-invasive method, we aspired to locate sections of the circuit of the city wall and supply the Department of Antiquities with substantial evidence that would have allowed it – in the face of rapidly increasing urban construction projects – to place the ancient capital under a significantly greater degree of protection. We invested considerable effort surveying the terrain between *Marchello* and *Hadjiabdoulla*, since the visible monuments on these two plateaus are believed to incorporate sections of the northeast and the southeast circuit of the city wall respectively (cf. Maier 2004: 59, 74).

It was in the course of carrying out the 2003 fieldwork that the realities of the topography made us feel that some long-established facts were suspect. The presumed external side of the urban sector was always on higher ground; the space assumed to be inside the wall was always on lower ground. Every time we tried to survey parcels of what should have been the inner side of the wall, we had to work on uncomfortable slopes or descend into deep narrow valleys, from where the plateaus of *Marchello* and *Hadjiabdoulla* loomed high over our heads. It seemed very odd to think that the royal engineers of the Paphian kings would have constructed an all-encompassing city wall around a depressed terrain. Besides having to bridge a series of narrow valleys that are regularly intercepted between distinct plateaus, at the end of the day their defensive system would have placed under protection a landscape that may be likened to the inside of a deep bowl – with the centre of the capital lying in the bottom and the sanctuary and the monuments on *Marchello* and *Hadjiabdoulla* on the rim.

Geomorphology and physical topography

Our team struggled *against* the lie of the land for a fortnight. Despite valiant efforts on behalf of our project collaborators at the Laboratory of Geophysical-Satellite Remote Sensing and Archaeo-environment, who proceeded to analyse and interpret the results of the geophysical survey, the city wall remained as invisible as it had been all along. Moreover, its existence began to seem less probable when our geologist reassured us

that despite severe human-induced soil erosion the surrounding geomorphology was not much different in antiquity. Two other environmental processes, however, have been at work in this area: coastline evolution and climate change. Uplift of the coast and river silting from fluvial materials of the Dhiarizos river have continued to shape the coastline well after the stabilisation of sea-level around 6000 BP (Zomeni 2012). The flat land covered with lush green plantations that stretches below the village of Koukليا today has fertile soils formed from deposits accumulated during wetter climates and cultivated during warmer periods.

I will attempt a simplified analysis of the physical topography of the area in order to explain the research goals of the 'Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project', which was launched in 2006 (Iacovou 2008a). The lowest point of the archaeological zone of Paphos, likened above to the bottom of a deep bowl, is a stream-bed with steep sides on either side, fittingly known as *Loures* (Fig. 2). From here radiate four plateaus,

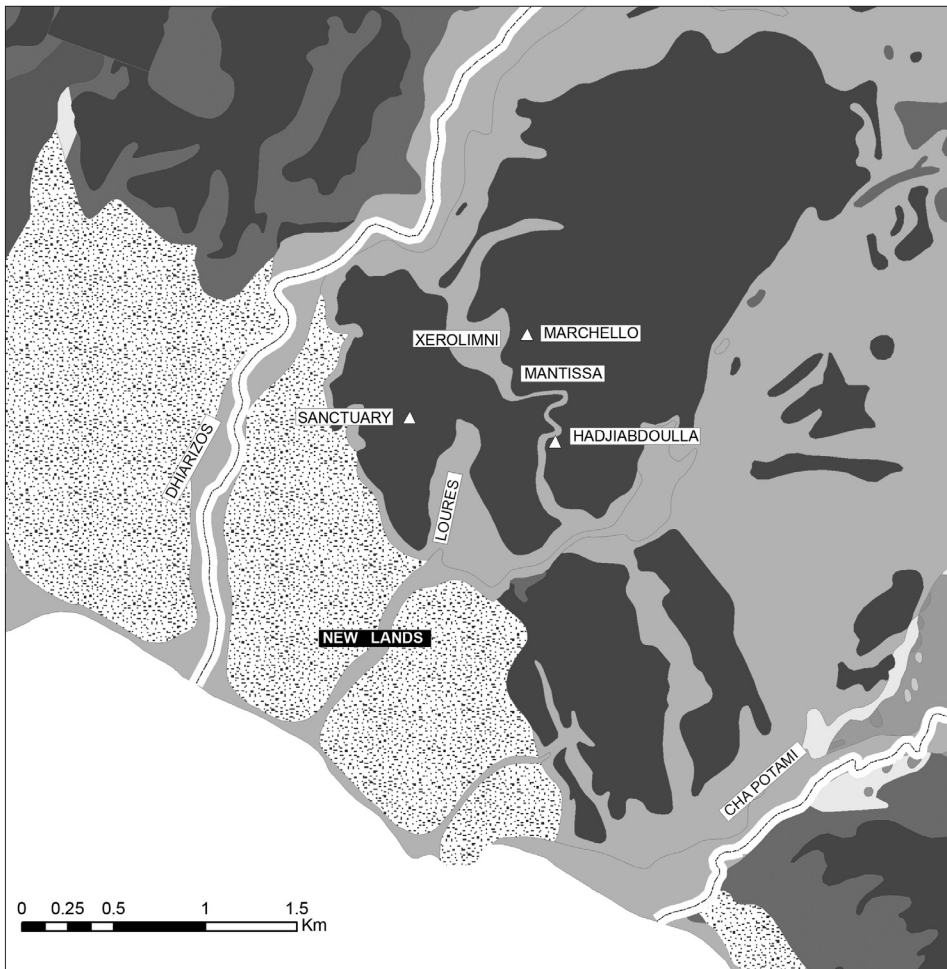


Figure 2. Geomorphological map of Palaepaphos showing the relation of the plateaus to the flat land and the coastline below the sanctuary (drafted by Athos Agapiou for the Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project)

which dissect the landscape into four distinct zones. The west side of *Loures* is defined by the sharp slopes of the lowest of the four plateaus (about 100m above sea level), which holds the terrace on which the sanctuary was established in the Late Bronze Age. Today, the rest of the plateau is occupied by the village of Kouklia. The other three, *Marchello*, *Mantissa* and *Hadjiabdoulla*, share the same height (circa 112m above sea level) and from their summits one commands a superb view of the sanctuary and the coastline beyond it. The terrace of the sanctuary is separated from *Marchello*, the plateau to the northeast, by the deep valley of *Xerolimni*, the 'Dry Lake', which also forms a sharp, almost vertical cut against the west side of *Marchello*. *Xerolimni* extends around the foot of *Marchello* until it joins up with the narrow valley on the east side of the plateau. Thus, *Marchello* is completely separate from *Mantissa*, the next plateau to the east. Likewise, the southeast side of *Mantissa* is separated from the fourth plateau, *Hadjiabdoulla* to the south, by the *Kaminia* depression. *Hadjiabdoulla* consists of gradually descending terraces, the lowest of which creates the sharp east side of *Loures*, whose bottom is hardly any higher than sea level. *Loures* holds water even during summertime since the narrow valleys between the plateaus come together right above *Loures* and drain into it

The structure of the capital of the kingdom of Paphos cannot be described as a unified urban space that could be easily contained within a city wall. Its topographical continuity is broken up by different low-lying strips of land, which even if they were not streams or lakes, were undoubtedly prone to annual flooding. Only the terraces of the four plateaus would have afforded good living space. It was time to wonder, therefore, why a city wall that does not seem to fit the topography of the area had become the decisive factor in the interpretation of the urban and political development of Paphos before the time when it was renamed Palaepaphos.

Mitford's interpretation of the 'altar inscription'

In 1887 the Cyprus Exploration Fund recovered from the sanctuary four fragments of an 'inscribed marble altar' (Gardner *et al.* 1888: 187), which preserves two lines of an alphabetic inscription. The inscription, which has since been kept in the British Museum (BM 1888, 11-15.17), runs as follows (copied from Gardner *et al.* 1888: 239):

ΕΥΡΥΧΟΡΟΣ ΠΟΛΙΣ ΑΔΕ ΤΕΑ ΝΙΚΟΚΛΕΕΣ ΟΡΜΑΙ
ΥΨΗΛΟΜ ΠΥΡΓΩΝ ΑΜΦ////ΕΘΕΤΟ ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝ

The following is verbatim how the celebrated epigraphist Terence Mitford interpreted the meaning of the inscription in 1961: 'Nikokles King of Paphos rebuilds the walls of (Old) Paphos: c. 320 BC' (Mitford 1961: 2; see Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976: 20–21, fig. 5 and Satraki 2012: 399, no. 18 for illustrations of the fragments of the inscription).

Diodorus Siculus (20.21.1–3) dwells on Nikokles' misfortune of having to suffer the cruel termination of the royal house of Paphos, as ruled by Ptolemy I, and describes how his entire family committed suicide inside the palace. 'Nikokles' tragic death happened in the archonship of Hieromnemon, i.e. in 310/9 BC' (Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976: 25). Neither Diodorus, however, nor any other ancient historian refers to the achievements of this gifted political personality, repeatedly identified on inscriptions as *basileus* of Paphos and priest of the *wanassa* (cf. Nicolaou 1971: 17, pl. XVI), whom

modern-day historians and archaeologists credit (almost unanimously) with the decisive transfer of his administrative capital to Nea Paphos (cf. Młynarczyk 1990: 67–76). Granted that Mitford was a champion of this view, he ought to have been the first to claim that Nikokles would have had no vested interest in the reconstruction of city walls at (Old) Paphos at a time when he had his hands full with a challenging building programme on the site of the new capital, 12km to the west, or 60 *stadia* on foot according to Strabo (14.683), where the establishment of a new port must have been his top priority (see below).

Why, then, did Mitford hold stubbornly to the view that the altar inscription referred to (Old) Paphos ‘although in fact the foundation and fortification of New Paphos were with little doubt also the work of Nikokles’ (Mitford 1961: 2)? In an earlier article of his, on ‘Unpublished syllabic inscriptions’, one may trace a revealing statement:

I take it therefore that Nikokles is recording his services in the fortification of Old Paphos – where however he doubtless did no more than repair the mud-brick superstructure of pre-existing walls. That New Paphos did in fact receive its walls from Nikokles I consider it probable; but I do not believe that *JHS* IX.1888, 239 no. 46 [the altar inscription] makes this claim (Mitford 1960: 198, n. 5).

Because of this reference to ‘mud-brick superstructure of pre-existing walls’, I have come to think that Mitford wanted the altar inscription to stand in support of what he believed he had uncovered on *Marchello* during the excavations he and J.H. Iliffe had conducted between 1950 and 1955. If we consult the *Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities for the Year 1950*, we will read the following description:

On the Marchello hill overlooking the village, the expedition investigated a mount... The mount, the purpose of which is still obscure, was found to overlie part of a massive wall (of mud-brick faced with stone) and the fosse outside it, possibly the outer wall of the earliest city (Megaw 1951: 13).

It would appear, therefore, that the existence of a wall that contained the urban landscape of the Paphian capital had been decided in the course of Mitford’s first digging season in 1950 and it has not changed one iota since. In fact, in their first joint report, the two excavators express the hope that ‘it might be possible eventually to trace the whole circuit of the city walls, and thence obtain some clue to the size and population of Bronze and Early Iron Age Paphos’ (Mitford & Iliffe 1951: 57).

In the *Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities for the Year 1952* the mount is described as ‘the Persian siege-mound of 498 BC’, which was built against the city wall (Megaw 1953: 13). We should remind ourselves that Herodotus, our only historiographic source concerning the Cypriot episodes of the Ionian Revolt, does not mention either a kingdom or a king of Paphos in his account – in spite of the fact that he is the earliest surviving source to refer to the goddess of Cyprus as *Paphia* (Herodotus 8.53.7). He, in fact, tells of a Persian army laying siege specifically to Soloi (5.115). That same year (1952), Mitford and his co-director, Iliffe, also reported that ‘against the inner face of another sector of the city wall were laid bare the remains of an important building’ (Megaw 1953: 13). The reference concerns the monumental secular building on the plateau of *Hadjiabdoulla*, which is deservedly described as a royal residence (cf. Scäfer 1960; Maier 2004: 76). Thus, irrespective of the realities of the topography, the distance between *Marchello* and *Hadjiabdoulla* has since been bridged by a notional city wall that would have had to pass over the plateau of *Mantissa*, circumvent or

cross over two valleys on either side of it and then turn west in order to run (from an unidentified point on *Hadjiabdoulla*) towards the sanctuary of the goddess.

Site structure and settlement history

Having remained under the overpowering spell of Mitford's interpretation for a very long time, it was not an easy matter by any means to question the existence of a city wall. Nobody doubts that the ruins on *Marchello* belong to a strong rampart, but in case it was not meant to be joined to the secular structure on *Hadjiabdoulla* by a continuous defensive system, then a whole new set of questions arise. Although it may be considered an established fact that the two monuments seen today on *Marchello* and *Hadjiabdoulla* were constructed by Paphian authorities at different times in the course of the Cypro-Archaic period, their relation to each other and their spatial position within the insufficiently known urban landscape of the Paphian polity remain undisclosed; therefore, without meaning to, the Palaepaphos Atlas Project had opened a can of worms. An alternative and holistic approach to the study of the urban landscape was needed. Thus, I began to consider site structure as a guide to the settlement's history (Iacovou 2007: 3–5).

Since when had the four plateaus become constituent parts of the urban landscape of Paphos? Each is spatially isolated from the others and retains its own physical integrity. It is not unlikely that each had also developed a different functional identity in the urban landscape of the polity. This identity may have changed over time in the long life of a settlement that was founded in the Late Bronze Age (c. 1600 BC), did not suffer abandonment before or during the transition to the Iron Age (c. 1200–1100 BC), and apparently had its state functions transferred elsewhere (to Nea Paphos) before the closing decade of the 4th century BC; from that point in time it was left to become an exclusively religious centre of Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus or, as Professor Maier has aptly described it, a 'sanctuary town' (Maier 2007: 17). The primary concern of the Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project, therefore, is to consider the structure of the settlement in the 2nd millennium BC, when it functioned as a Late Cypriot polity, and then in the 1st millennium BC, when it became the capital of an Iron Age kingdom.

The starting point for the spatial and temporal analysis of each locality which formed part of the ancient settlement is the valuable data collected by the long-term programme of the Swiss-German Archaeological Expedition at Kouklia (Palaepaphos), directed by F.-G. Maier since 1966 (cf. Maier 2004: 31–36). Where archaeological visibility is limited but there is still some potential to increase it, or where our intervention may rescue archaeo-cultural information from parcels of land that are destined to undergo development in the near future, our project conducts small-scale excavations – as on *Marchello* between 2006 and 2008 – and/or large-scale geophysical surveys – as in 2003 and 2007, when we scanned a total of 56,202 square metres (cf. Iacovou 2008a).

Marchello: a special function zone

Marchello Plots 147 and 110, lying to the west of the excavated stretch of Mitford's city wall, became our first field target. After three digging seasons, the arm of the *Marchello* rampart to the northwest of the dog-leg gate has been uncovered for another

52m all the way to the steep west side of the plateau, which looks down into the ravine of *Xerolimni* (Fig. 3). The situation is thus similar to that on the opposite side of the plateau, where the exposed southeast arm of the wall (nearly) encounters the precipitous drop, which separates *Marchello* from the plateau of *Mantissa*. Thus, the top terrace of the plateau affords natural protection to east and west and has to the south an impressively strong wall stretching from one end of the terrace to the other. Extensive levelling operations by local farmers and the placement of a dirt road to the north of Mitford's 'mount' make it difficult to reconstruct the north edge of the terrace.

While Plot 147, the northern plot, is at a higher level on the flat top of the terrace, Plot 110, the southern plot, slopes gently towards the village kindergarten following the natural slope of the plateau to the south. The line of wall we have exposed was sealed under the property boundary between the two plots; in some cases only the foundation course is *in situ*. The project's topographer, Dr Stratos Stylianides, and his assistants have shown that this 52-metre-long section aligns with the section excavated by Mitford and (later) Maier to the northwest of the gate. The five-metre gap between the two sections was created by a donkey/cart track, which until the

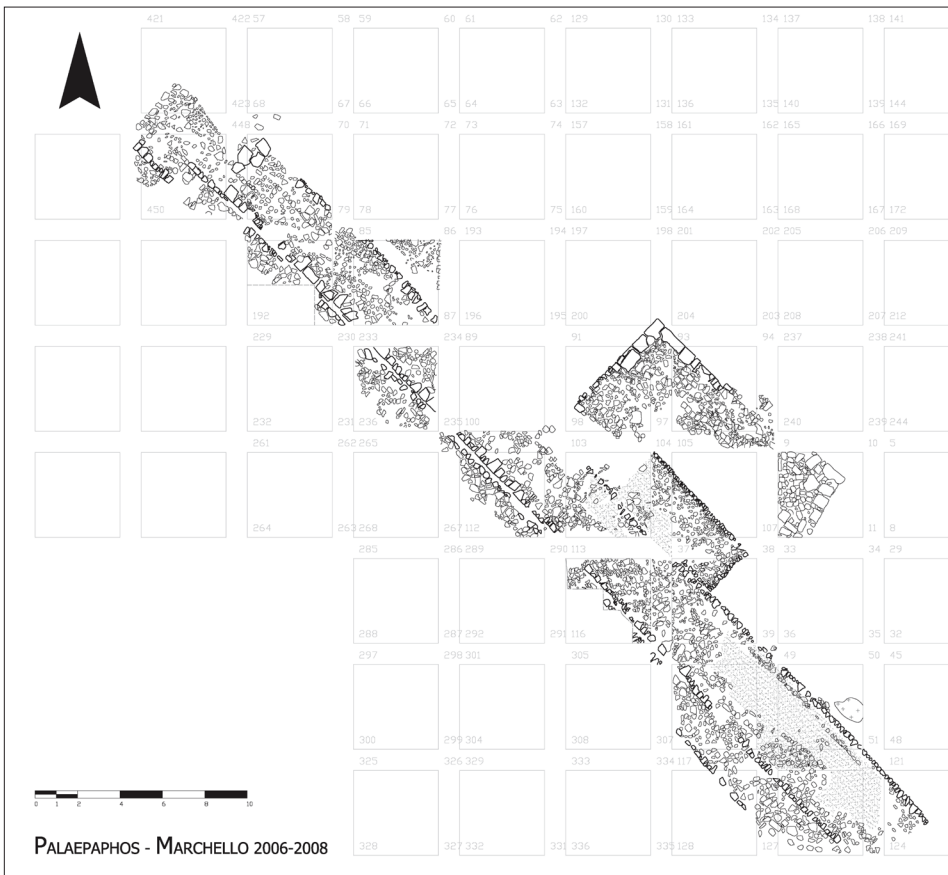


Figure 3. Ground plan of the northwestern section (52m in length) of the Iron Age rampart on the Marchello plateau, excavated between 2006–2008 in Plots 147 and 110 and covered up for protection (drafted by Athos Agapiou for the Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project)

1950s was the only communication artery between Kouklia and Archimandrita, the next village to the north. Various construction details, for instance the fact that its south face is reinforced with larger boulders, suggest that the external side of the wall looked to the south and the internal to the north. Is it possible that Mitford interpreted the rampart inside out because he could not associate a massive defensive system with anything other than a wall that was meant to protect a city, hence his interpretation of the 'altar inscription'?

After half a century of espousing Mitford's interpretation, an alternative reconstruction of the *Marchello* defensive system is bound to seem heretical but I should stress, once again, that it is tentative. A lot more work will have to be conducted before we can formulate a holistic understanding of the urban structure of the Iron Age polity and the function of its various components. For the moment, we would like to suggest that the massive rampart on *Marchello*, with its ashlar-built section to the east of the gate looking to the south, was meant to define and enhance a special function zone of the Cypro-Archaic capital that was contained on the top terrace of the plateau. Mitford assumed that the material which was found sealed in the mound had been transported from an unidentified extra-urban sanctuary and had been thrown into the moat (fosse or dry ditch) of the city wall by the attacking Persian forces so that they could scale the walls with siege engines, hence the 'siege ramp' (cf. Maier 2004: 66, figs 42–43). Out of this horseshoe-shaped mount came hundreds of dedicatory syllabic inscriptions, some by members of the royal family, including one that preserves the names of two 6th century kings of Paphos, Stasis and Onasicharis, father and son (Masson & Mitford 1986: 19–98). Also found were 'more than 1,000 fragments of human and animal statues' (Maier 2004: 71), which, to judge from what has been illustrated (cf. Maier 2004: figs 55–57) or is exhibited in the regional museum at Kouklia, constitute a Late Archaic assemblage of cultic and royal insignia, with sphinxes, lions, votive stelae and incense altars, the limestone portrait of a priest-king, who wears on his forehead the winged sun emblem, and, maybe, also that of his mortal *wanassa*.

Was the dry ditch truly part of the moat of a city wall? Despite the fact that Maier never challenged Mitford's interpretation, his investigations have shown otherwise. He may have harboured some doubts about it since two years after he had conducted his last campaign on the plateau (cf. Karageorghis 1972: 20), he decided to test the area on the other (northwest) side of the gate in order to ensure the continuation of the moat or great fosse or dry ditch. The negative results, reported in the *Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities for the Year 1973*, are extremely significant:

Work on Site A (North-East Gate and City Wall) was completed by a number of sections probing the outer defences. It was found that for reasons hard to explain the dry ditch in front of the Archaic city wall does not continue on the other (northwest) side of the Gate' (Karageorghis 1974a: 23; see also, Karageorghis 1974b: 871: 'Un autre sondage sur la ligne prolongée de la façade Nord-est du bastion II de la porte n'a donnée aucune indication d'un fossé à l'Ouest de la porte. Ce résultat est certain mais paraît cependant curieux, du fait que de l'autre côté de la porte ...il y a un fossé sec devant le rempart).

Since there is no moat, chances are that this huge ditch was dug inside the rampart and that the material found in it was not necessarily transported from a nearby extramural sanctuary (one that has never been located). It is a viable alternative that the original context of the material was all along the top terrace of *Marchello*. Situated behind the monumental façade and entered via the great dog-leg entrance, this sacred

locus was intimately connected with the royal house of Paphos in the 6th century BC. For this reason, and because it expressed the ruler's political agenda in a grand manner, it was purposefully destroyed and sealed in a *bothros*, following a violent military confrontation for which there is ample evidence in the form of 'more than five-hundred bronze and iron arrowheads and spear points' and a fine Greek bronze helmet (Maier 2004: 68, figs 49–50). The curious tunnels found beneath the rampart justifiably bring to mind Herodotus' description (5.115) of how the Persians, in besieging Soloi, undermined its walls. The material suggests that the event may have taken place late in the Cypro-Archaic period. Such a date would fit the chronology of the Ionian Revolt (498 BC). Maybe we are faced with an act of condemnation and punishment of the Paphian dynast who had participated in the uprising against the Persians but, as long as written sources on the matter remain silent, these are, admittedly, mere speculations.

***Marchello* in the Late Bronze Age**

Despite the fact that we have found it necessary to reconsider the function of the defensive system on *Marchello* and its role in the urban landscape of Paphos in the Iron Age, we should stress that the meticulous stratigraphic analysis of the construction phases of the rampart by Maier remains the most reliable guide to the chronological history of *Marchello* (Maier 1985: 18, figs 11–12, 15; 2004: figs 44–45; 2008). The Swiss-German expedition has also collected evidence pointing to the different use of the terrace during an earlier cultural horizon: besides a number of Late Cypriot tombs (Maier & Wartburg 1985: 146) they have also isolated a Late Cypriot IIIA layer 'including a 6m. long stretch of wall built of limestone blocks and a circular pit close to it' (Karageorghis 1986a: 56) underneath the northwest bastion of the Cypro-Archaic gate (Karageorghis 1986b: 871, fig. 110; Maier 2004: fig. 43). It is, therefore, more than likely that *Marchello* combined settlement and burial functions like other localities (e.g. *Eoreti* and *Asproyi*) of the Late Bronze Age landscape of Paphos (cf. Maier & Wartburg 1985: 147).

Further evidence regarding the Late Cypriot burial cluster on *Marchello* comes from our 2006–2008 excavation seasons. Significant numbers of small but easily recognisable Late Cypriot fine ware sherds were present in every trench on either side of the wall; the shaft of a tomb has been located on the northeast side of the wall (see **Fig. 3**) with two complete Late Cypriot wheel-made painted vessels (a feeding bottle and a shallow bowl) resting in the foundation trench against the wall. Susan Sherratt's meticulous study of the Bronze Age ceramics recovered from *Marchello*, submitted for publication in 2011, suggests that the plateau was one of the original Middle Cypriot III/Late Cypriot I foundation nuclei of Paphos (Sherratt forthcoming).

Paphos, the sanctuary and its port of trade

Like Enkomi, Paphos appears to have originated in Middle Cypriot III/Late Cypriot I as the terminal station of the route that brought copper to the coast from the foothills of Troodos (Georgiou 2006; Agapiou 2010). It was from this gateway community that the coastal settlement of Paphos grew into one of the island's first regional polities – though, probably, not long before the 13th century BC. As long as we think that the

site was founded as an *emporium* to facilitate the export of copper from the region of Paphos, we can be fairly certain that the settlement and its sanctuary, which was monumentalised at the end of the 13th century, were established in relation and as close to the port facilities as possible.

Where could this harbour have been? Recently, I focused on the similarities shared by the settlement *histories* of Paphos and Kition, and suggested that their megalithic *temene* must have played a similar politico-economic role in their respective urban environments (Iacovou 2008b: 637). Thus, I have also come to think that the port basin of Paphos has to be sought as near the sanctuary as was the port of Kition to its sanctuary: the surviving section of the cyclopean wall to the northeast of the Kition temples is thought to have fronted the port basin (Nicolaou, K. 1976: 71). Moreover, the metallurgical workshops of the Kition temple precinct were installed against the inside of this section of the sanctuary wall. It is, therefore, likely that the close spatial association of cult, copper workshops and port of export evident at Kition were the same in Paphos (Sherratt 1998: 300, 304; Webb 1999: 287). In fact, the presence of 'quantities of copper slag in the lowest [Late Bronze Age] layer' of the Paphian sanctuary was reported from as early as Mitford's first campaign in 1950 and was justifiably promoted as an 'explanation of the wealth of the ancient city' (Megaw 1951: 13).

The Paphian sanctuary, despite the fact that it did not have a cyclopean wall around it, must have been positioned on a site from where it could oversee the harbour and administer its operation. *Loures*, directly to the east of the natural terrace of the sanctuary appears to be a probable candidate for the long-lost and invisible inlet of the original harbour. Following the stream bed of *Loures* to the south, as it widens out towards the sea, we reach the modern coastline without encountering any natural barriers. Could this silted up inlet have been the 'lake' that in the days of Agapenor received ships, according to Archimandrite Kyprianos? Evidently, Kyprianos had access to an invaluable piece of information, which is preserved in *Χρονολογική Ιστορία*. He states that near the sanctuary there was once a lake large enough to serve as a port. This port became silted and was deserted on the side of the sea (ἐρημώθη ἀπὸ τὴν θάλασσαν). Side lakes of rainwater then formed (*παραλίμνια*), and during the harvest time the stagnant water made the air unhealthy and caused many illnesses (Kyprianos 1788: 18).

Was the 'lake' that was eventually blocked from the side of the sea the same port basin that could no longer respond to the needs of Nikokles' kingdom in the 4th century BC? We know that something similar happened in the bay of Larnaca towards the end of the 12th century BC: Hala Sultan Tekke, one of the first Late Cypriot polities, was abandoned when its port basin began to be transformed into the salt lake of Larnaca (Gifford 1978). We also know that at about the same time Enkomi (Old Salamis) had to relocate to (New) Salamis because its port had silted up (Iacovou 2008b: 635–637). Apparently, the administrative capital and the harbour facilities of a Cypriot polity operated best and with long-term success when they formed a single unit. Their spatial separation was neither a successful nor a secure model of operation (consider the abandonment of the inland sites of Kalavassos-*Ayios Demetrios* and Alassa-*Paliotaverna* in the 13th to 12th centuries BC and the takeover of Idalion by Kition in the 5th century BC).

Kition and Paphos did not relocate at any time in the Late Bronze or in the Iron Age. We may infer from the aggrandisement of their respective *temene* at the end of the 13th century BC (alternatively the beginning of the 12th) – and from the fact that the same cult centres continued to function as the leading intra-urban sanctuaries of their

respective Iron Age kingdoms – that their original harbour installations or some near-by alternatives met the needs of the two polities for a very long time (Iacovou 2012). In the case of Paphos, however, there comes a time when written records begin to refer to it as Old Paphos because of the transfer to a new port-site that was also named Paphos.

Nikokles, as priest-king and founder of Nea Paphos

The fact that the new site inherited the name Paphos, by which it has since been recognised, should suffice to make Nikokles its uncontested founder. Being a hereditary priest-king of Paphos, Nikokles could not afford to distance his authority from that sacred name. As Młynarczyk underlines, commenting on the planning process of founding Nea Paphos as an administrative and economic capital, '[T]hat the new city received the name 'Paphos' in a situation when the old centre also kept this name is proof enough of this planned division of function' (1990: 94). Had a new port, naval base or town been founded by the Ptolemies, they would have had many important reasons *not to* christen it Nea Paphos. The Ptolemaic rulers would have given it a name by which their own authority would be commemorated. The geographical location of the kingdom of Marion was lost to us because, after having been razed to the ground by Ptolemy I, the town was re-founded under the name Arsinoe (cf. Iacovou 2004: 275). Also, Diodorus (19.79.4) tells us that the population of Marion was moved to (Nea) Paphos, which would suggest that the site existed and was identified by that name before Ptolemy's decision to abolish the royal dynasties of Cyprus.

Now that the circuit of the walls of Nea Paphos has been sufficiently reconstructed (Nicolaou, K. 1966; Młynarczyk 1990: 98) and scholars are nearly unanimous as regards the identification of Nea Paphos with the *εὐρύχωρος πόλις* of the 'altar inscription' (even Maier [2007: 30] has come to accept it), we should begin to direct our research to the more complex and far less visible process that preceded the formal acknowledgement of Nea Paphos as the kingdom's new port *cum* administrative centre. First, we should consider the possibility that the natural harbour on the site, where cemeteries and cult sites disclose the presence of an Iron Age settlement (Młynarczyk 1990: 85), may have begun to be used as an alternative to the malfunctioning harbour of the original Paphos before Nikokles took the decision to have it developed as his capital's main port of trade (Młynarczyk 1990: 94; Theodoulou 2006: 133). Second, we should acknowledge that the decision to relocate port and capital was one and the same, since administration and trade management could not remain at a distance from the harbour. Third, we must understand that Nikokles had to redirect the copper route since Old Paphos could no longer function as the route's terminal station. Two royal syllabic inscriptions found way up in the foothills of the Troodos at Ayia Moni, and referring to Nikokles' erecting columns to Hera (cf. Mitford 1960: 203; Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976: 18), are, in my view, relevant to his drafting and securing the new copper route so that it would terminate at Nea Paphos (Iacovou 2012: 65).

Nikokles must have planned his every move in detail and with great care but, at the end of the day, this was one of the most difficult decisions a *basileus* of Paphos ever had to take: the cult of the Paphian goddess, the port of trade and the copper economy were no longer going to be spatially linked. By distancing the port and the copper route from the sanctuary he was, in fact, breaking with the tradition that had given him the legitimate prerogative to present himself and to be presented (in inscriptions) as a king-priest and a descendant of Kinyras (cf. Maier 1989). In fact, on

a 4th Century Greek alphabetic inscription from Ledra (found in Nicosia), Nikokles is honoured as descendant of the divine Kinyras (Mitford 1961: 136–138; Satraki 2012: 400, no. 19). This dual prerogative, however, was inextricably linked with a megalithic *temenos*, the *wanassa*'s sacred and ancient abode, and neither she nor her temple could be transported elsewhere. Thus, the spatial separation of the Paphian king's two roles that Nikokles introduced when he founded Nea Paphos was an extremely delicate issue that could have undermined his authority over the secular and sacred landscape of his kingdom (Iacovou 2008b: 648–649).

I am confident that in the future all eight of the inscriptions, which attest to his name, in syllabic Greek, digraphic Greek and alphabetic Greek (cf. Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976: 17–21; Satraki 2012: 396–400), including the one found as recently as 2005 in the sanctuary of Hera at Samos (Hallof 2007; Hallof in this volume), will afford a holistic interpretation and will reveal key aspects of the political agenda of this exceptional personality of the last of the *Kinyradhai*.

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