

7. From regional gateway to Cypriot kingdom. Copper deposits and copper routes in the chora of Paphos

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[A]rchaeological evidence must be interpreted on its own terms before it can

be related to historical sources or literary traditions in any meaningful way.

J. D. Muhly (1984, 54)

Introduction: a living memory of mining history

The ore bodies may have run dry, but Sardinia preserves in exemplary manner the tangible memory of its long mining history: mining shafts stand out in the landscape; artificial hills made of the residue of mining operations come alive as they capture the light of day; custom-made industrial establishments and abandoned miners' villages, complete with church and hospital, create an intense and eerie atmosphere. They are protected monuments within the first Geomining Park in the world – a UNESCO World Heritage site. The Park includes eight different areas spread over the entire island. Together, they represent the 8000 years old mining history of Sardinia. The attention paid to the preservation of the visible evidence keeps the memory alive, and memory is channelled into Sardinian literature that dwells on the life of the island's mining society – as in the novel *Paese d'ombre (Land of Shadows, 1972)* by author Giuseppe Dessì (1909–1977). Memory is also fostered with the publication of richly illustrated books on the social and economic aspect of Sardinian mining since antiquity. All this creates a strong link with the historical past of Sardinia.

Although my contribution in honour of Professor Muhly will not dwell on Sardinia there is a purpose to this introduction. It is meant to help us contemplate what the exact opposite can do: how deeply the loss of memory and the lack of visible evidence can affect the reconstruction of the economic history of an entire region; a region as extensive as that of Paphos, whose early (pre-Classical)

history seems to have been overshadowed by the post-Classical cult of a fertility goddess that was not always the love symbol described in numerous Greek and Latin literary sources; in Cyprus, she was not even addressed as Aphrodite until late in the 4th century BC. Material evidence from Late Bronze Age contexts across Cyprus suggests that both she and her male consort may have acted as protectors of the island's copper trade; their 'responsibilities included the productivity of the mines, furnaces and workshops' (*cf. Webb 1999, 234, 298*).

It is a fact that 85% of the total copper reserves of Cyprus are concentrated on the north side of the Troodos mountain range (*cf. Stos-Gale et al. 1998, 235*) (Fig. 7.1). This should explain why in the first half of the 20th century, when the island was a British colony, corporate mining companies (*e.g. the Cyprus Mines Corporation: Bruce 1937; Kassianidou 2009, 52*) concentrated their activities on the northern foothills. There is even good reason to think that in areas such as Skouriotissa, Apliki and Mitsero, mining activity was not discontinued for long periods of time since antiquity. This vital continuity, besides having kept the industrial memory alive, has also led to the collection of significant material evidence on ancient mining. In fact, this rich heritage has recently become the theme of a masterful documentary: *Miners' Memories* (Papapetrou 2007) is more than a record of the harsh life of the Cypriot miners at Mavrovouni in the 1950s; it is a teaching tool for the economic history of Cyprus, as it contains data which show that copper and other minerals formed the centrepiece of the island's export economy, certainly up to Independence (1960).

Copper geography and the political structure of ancient Cyprus

Many different works (including papers in this volume) have repeatedly underlined that copper ores played a decisive

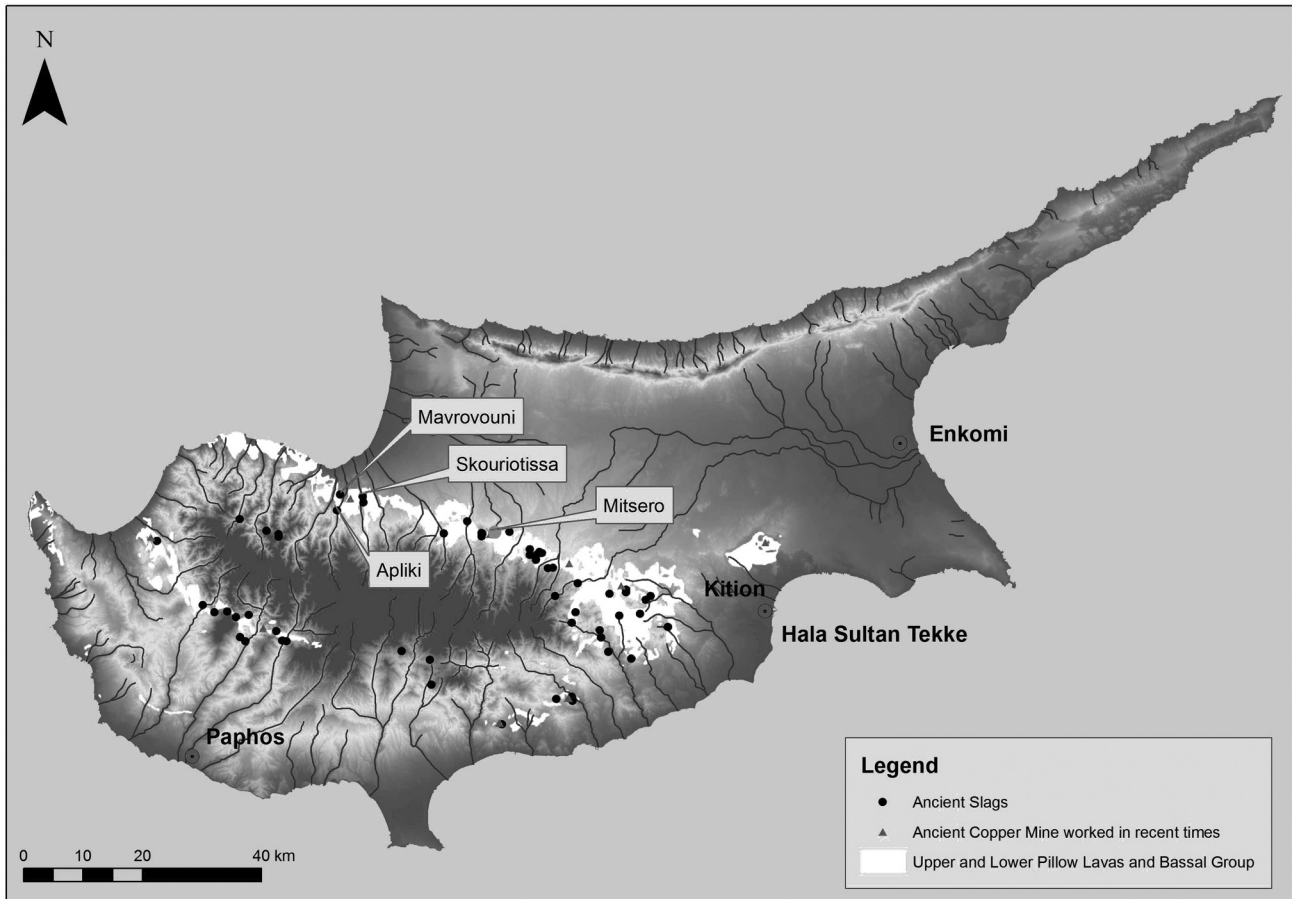


Fig. 7.1. Geological map of Cyprus showing ore bodies around the foothills of the Troodos and the concentration of ancient copper mines worked in recent times on the north slopes. Courtesy of the Cyprus Geological Survey.

role in the emergence of the island's urban geography in the second millennium BC (*cf.* Muhly 1989, 298) and, equally, in its long-term maintenance in the first millennium BC (*cf.* Iacovou 2008a, 650). Had the copper sources been isolated in one or two extremities of the island, the Karpass or the Akamas peninsula for instance, it would have been impossible for Cyprus to sustain such a large number of successful regional economies to north (*e.g.* Lapithos), east (Enkomi-Salamis and Idalion), south (*e.g.* Hala Sultan Tekke and Kition, Kalavassos and Amathus, Alassa and Kourion) and west (*e.g.* Marion and Soloi), from at least as early as the 13th century to as late as the end of the 4th century (1300–300 BC), when the Cypriot kingdoms were eventually abolished by an exogenous factor, Ptolemy I and his newly drafted imperial policies (*cf.* Iacovou 2007a, 464–5).

The segmented political geography of ancient Cyprus was, therefore, determined by this one non-variable factor: the distribution of mineral wealth all around the central mountain range. Urban polities rose in a star-like pattern around the Troodos, and Paphos was undoubtedly one of them. Why, then, has the foundation of ancient Paphos not

been discussed in relation to the region's copper sources, which lie at a distance of 25km from the coast? Instead, we read that 'Paphos' claim to fame did not so much spring from political or economic power... but rather rested on her Sanctuary' (Maier 2004, 12). This is almost certainly true of the Ptolemaic and Roman eras, when ancient Paphos had turned from 'regional centre to sanctuary town' (Maier 2007, 17). Before that time, however, the political autonomy and economic prominence, which the polity of Paphos enjoyed for more than a thousand years, did not depend on revenues from pilgrim tourism.

Like the well known Late Cypriot metropolis of Enkomi on the east coast, ancient Paphos has no evidence of settlement before the Late Cypriot era (*cf.* Maier and von Wartburg 1985, 145, on the 'complete lack of Early Cypriot finds'). The establishment of coastal centres as ports of export (from around 1600 BC) was an innovation to the existing site pattern of Early and Middle Cypriot settlements. We tend to think of these new coastal establishments as the leading polities they became more than a couple of centuries after their foundation. Upon foundation, however, Enkomi

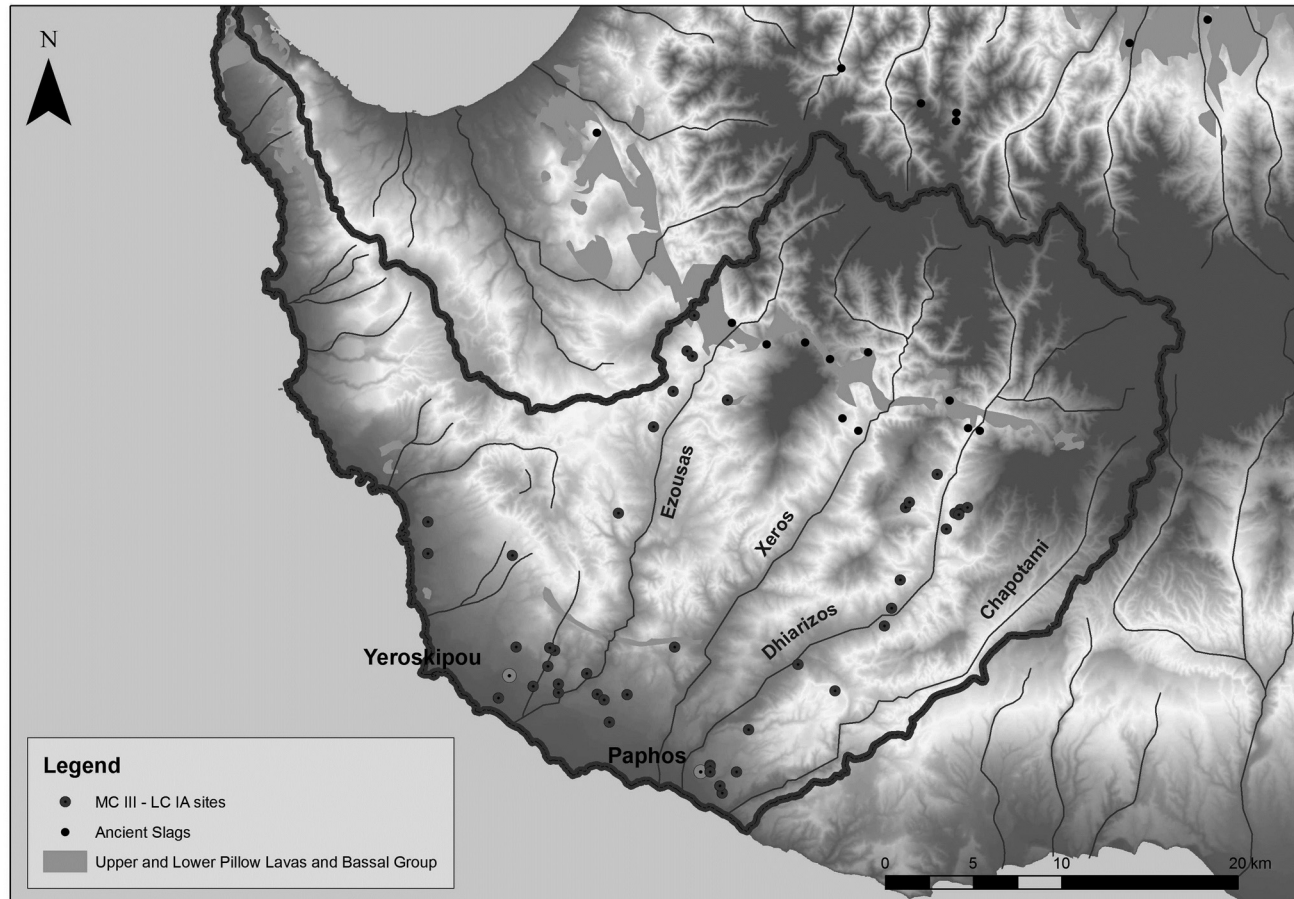


Fig. 7.2. Distribution of Late Cyprriot I sites in the Paphos catchment area. Courtesy of Athos Agapiou.

or Paphos could not have been more than the terminal link in a chain of industrial establishments and support settlements that originated in the cupriferous pillow lavas.

The foundation of coastal gateways should be seen as an integral part of those processes that replaced the village-based agricultural economy of Early and Middle Cyprriot with a complex economy, which was geared towards the procurement and bulk export of a heavy industrial product. The imprint of this revolutionary, region-wide transformation *should not* be sought in the newly founded port sites of Enkomi or Paphos but rather in the changes that the settlement structure of entire regions underwent during the transition from MC III to LC I. A coherent picture of these transformations has been admirably drafted by Georgiou, as part of his doctoral thesis. Based on the analysis of the available evidence from close to 500 sites island-wide, *The Topography of Human Settlement in Cyprus in the Early and Middle Bronze Age* (Georgiou 2007) is a region-by-region, period-by-period site registry that encapsulates the reorganization of the settlement pattern in the opening phase of the Late Cyprriot Bronze Age.

In the case of Paphos, Georgiou's maps (2007, 435–437)

show that the region, which to this day has failed to provide concise evidence of settlement activity in the Early Cyprriot, experienced a significant increase in sites in the Middle Cyprriot. During the transition from Middle to Late Cyprriot the site registry of Paphos jumps from 25 to 45 sites (Georgiou 2007, 425), and it includes the first evidence of activity at the site where the urban centre of Paphos was to grow. If we, then, focus on the existing evidence (mostly from surveys and rescue excavations) for Bronze Age sites in the Paphos catchment area, and analyse it on three dimensional maps using Geographical Information Systems – as Athos Agapiou has done in his Master's thesis – we are bound to see that site activity began close to the copper-rich foothills; also, that the majority of Late Cyprriot I sites are concentrated on a north to south axis (Agapiou 2010, 116). They appear to mark two different routes, one along the river Dhiarizos, the other along the Ezousas (Fig. 7.2). Both routes lead to the coast: the Dhiarizos route terminates at the newly founded Late Cyprriot settlement of Paphos; the Ezousas route by the coastal site of Yeroskipou, a few kilometres to the west (Agapiou *et al.* 2010). Agapiou's starting point and methodology may be different from

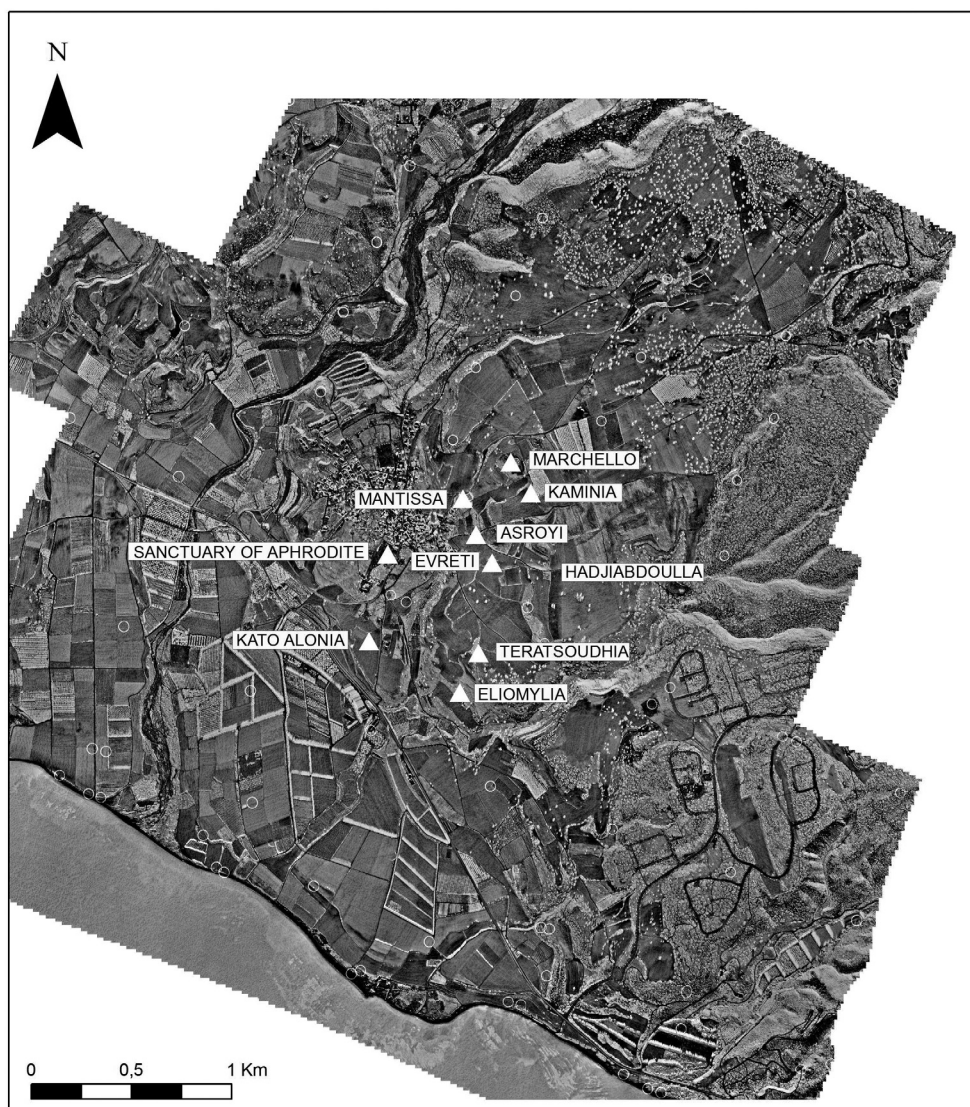


Fig. 7.3. Distribution of Late Cypriot burial clusters on orthophoto map of Kouklia-Palaepaphos. Map issued by the Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project.

Georgiou's but his research results on the *Paphos catchment area* reconfirm Georgiou's earlier observations on the *Paphos region* (Georgiou 2007, 477).

Paphos: foundation horizon

Let us focus briefly on what the evidence can tell us about the early history of the site of Paphos. Today, in this vast rural landscape, the only visible monument that dates back to the Late Bronze Age is the famous sanctuary which, however, was not erected until the very end of the 13th or the beginning of the 12th century (*cf.* Maier 1985, 12–13). At the moment, the little we know about the first settlers of Paphos is confined to an almost insignificant number of

MC III and LC I ceramics – some unstratified, others recovered from tombs in the adjacent localities of *Asproyi* and *Evreti* (*cf.* Maier and von Wartburg 1985, 146; Maier 2004, 14).

Late Cypriot burials (LC I–LC IIIA) are recorded at different localities that are spread over an area of almost 2km² to the north, east and south of the sanctuary (*cf.* Catling 1979; Karageorghis 1990). Three hundred years after the foundation horizon, thus as late as the 12th century, the same localities continue to provide increased evidence of burial activity. *Teratsoudhia* T.104 is a characteristic example: it contains material from LC IA/B to LC IIC/IIIA (Karageorghis 1990, 60). Furthermore, it appears that each cluster of chamber tombs belonged to a discrete settlement nucleus (Fig. 7.3). This is suggested by the large amount of

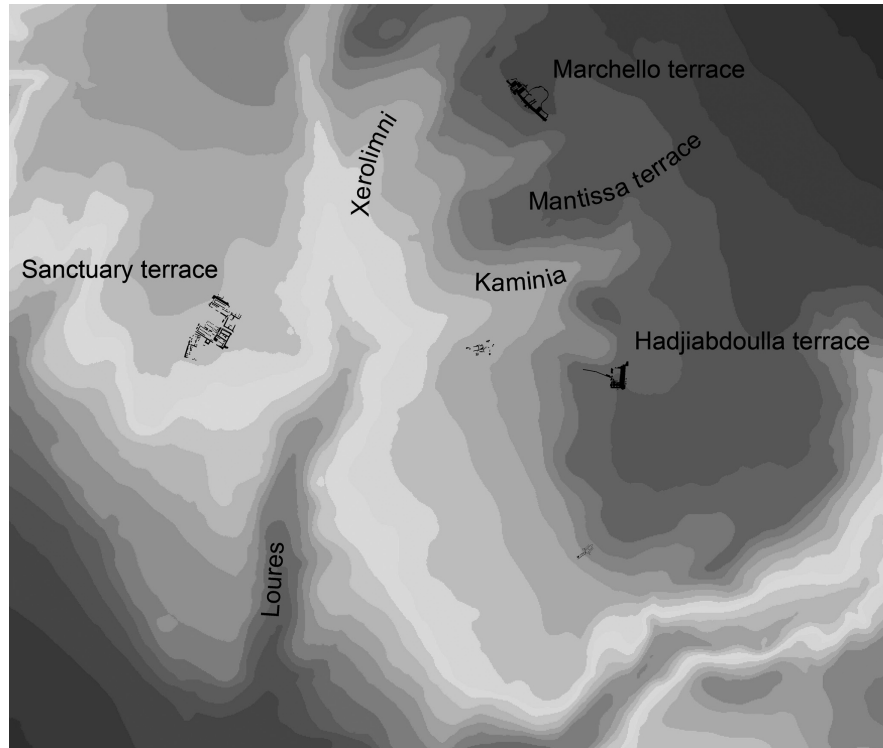


Fig. 7.4. Landscape map showing the four main terraces on which grew the urban units of Palaepaphos. Map issued by the Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project.

storage vessels, household objects and animal bones recovered from wells in the localities *Asproyi*, *Evreti* (Maier and von Wartburg 1985, 147) and *Teratsoudhia* (Karageorghis 1990, 71–73). Settlement and burial evidence has also been found to coexist at *Marchello* ‘from the 14th century BC onwards’ (Maier 2004, 16; also, Maier 2008, 195). More recently, fragments of Late Bronze Age storage vessels and plain ware vases have been found together with Late Cypriot painted pottery during field work carried out by a University of Cyprus team at *Marchello* and *Hadjiabdoulla*. Among the LC IIC–LC IIIA diagnostics from *Hadjiabdoulla* is a vertical handle with a sealing impression and sherds of Late Cypriot pictorial vases. This is the first time that the plateau of *Hadjiabdoulla* has been identified as a Late Cypriot settlement site. Launched in 2006, the excavations are part of a long-term research and cultural management project, whose target is to identify the structure of the urban landscape that extended around the sanctuary of the Paphian Aphrodite in the second and first millennia BC (cf. Iacovou 2008b; Iacovou *et al.* 2009).

If we place these Late Cypriot localities on a relief map we will understand why Paphos could not have developed a more coherent or compact urban planning, along the lines of Enkomi, Kalavastos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* or Hala Sultan Tekke, which are situated on flat land (‘Three Late Cypriot towns on a grid’: Iacovou 2007b, 8). The urban units of Paphos, as well as its sacred quarter, grew on a series of

plateaus and terraces that are sharply separated from each other by deep and narrow valleys, rivulets (*argakia*), or depressions that were once wet but have since dried up, hence the locality ‘*Xerolimni*’ (the Dry Lake) (Fig. 7.4). The lie of the land may have stood in the way of greater urban nucleation but that was not an issue for the founding fathers of Paphos; the site must have been chosen for no reason other than its natural anchorage. Paphos must have had in those days a well-protected inlet, something not easily found on the south shores of Cyprus, which suffer from the strong south winds off the open sea.

Paphos: its natural anchorage

The original anchorage, the natural asset that had led to the foundation of Paphos, is no longer visible but the memory of a lake-size lagoon, where ships could be anchored in antiquity, had survived for such a long time that it was recorded by Archimandrite Kyprianos in his *Chronological History of Cyprus*, which was published in Venice in the 18th century (Kyprianos 1788). This precious piece of evidence has recently been discussed by Theotokis Theodoulou in his doctoral dissertation on *Nautical Activity in Classical Cyprus* (Theodoulou 2006). According to Kyprianos’ description, when communication of the lagoon with the sea was eventually blocked, the former turned into

marshy swamps, which tormented the locals with summer fevers during the harvesting period (most probably malaria). Today, this invisible ancient anchorage must be buried under river silt deposited by the drainage systems of Dhiarizos and Cha Potami that are largely responsible for the flat and fertile strip of land that stretches below the sanctuary. The original anchorage of Enkomi had the same fate due to the activity of the river Pediaeos and this forced port and town to relocate nearer the coast – a move that led to the foundation of Salamis in the 11th century BC (cf. Lagarce 1993, 91; Iacovou 2005, 25). The anchorage of Hala Sultan Tekke became the Larnaca salt lake, a process which caused the town's abandonment around 1100 BC (Åström 1996; Gifford 1978). As for the anchorages of Late Bronze and Iron Age Kition, they have long been buried under the swamps of Larnaca (Nicolaou 1976, 71–73, figs 15–17), a town notorious for its unhealthy air among early travellers (cf. Yon 2006, 22). Four Late Cypriot polities that had been founded as ports of export, Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kition and Paphos, are no longer situated directly on the coast, nor are their original anchorages visible.

Late Bronze Age Mediterranean crisis – Late Cypriot urban climax

The luxuries that were deposited in the Late Cypriot tombs of Paphos (cf. *Evreti* T.8: Catling 1968; Maier 2004, 18, fig.10), and the remains of imported raw materials such as ivory waste recovered from wells (Maier and von Wartburg 1985, 147; Maier 2004, 16, fig. 8), suggest that Paphos was able to exchange its mineral wealth for high value materials such as gold and ivory that were worked into finished products in specialized workshops at home. The bronze figurine of the Astarte-on-the-ingot type found in a Late Cypriot tomb at *Teratsoudhia* (Karageorghis 1990, 59, pl. 21) is an eloquent reminder of the significance of the copper trade (Webb 1999, 232).

These valued commodities had been taken out of circulation and were deposited in Paphian tombs not long before or after the time that saw the construction of the sacred *temenos* with megalithic ashlar blocks. The sanctuary of Paphos and that of Kition, which was similarly enhanced with expertly drafted ashlar blocks at the end of the 13th century, are the only expressions of *monumental sacred architecture* known from Cyprus in the second and first millennia BC (until the Hellenistic period, when a different sacred architecture – that of the Greek style temple – was introduced to the island). They are also the first labour-demanding monuments of Cyprus that conform to a uniform plan. The implementation of such massive construction programmes must have required the kind of decision making that is, as a rule, associated with strong centralized authorities (Webb 1999, 292). We should, therefore, acknowledge that in the

case of Paphos and Kition the anonymous authorities chose the same symbolic monumental expression to declare the successful establishment of their hierarchy (cf. Keswani 1996) over their respective regions: they erected a sacred, not a secular monument.

What is truly phenomenal is that these unprecedented, for Cyprus, developments were carried out during the period of the Mediterranean-wide crisis (Iacovou 2008a, 637); a crisis that had undermined the economic system of the Late Bronze Age states from Anatolia to Egypt and as far west as the Mycenaean palaces. Only next door, in the valleys of the Kouris, Vasilikos and Maroni rivers, monumental buildings with extensive storage and industrial facilities were for ever abandoned together with their urban centres and support (satellite) settlements. The economic regions that had been managed by the now ruined *Alassa-Paliotaverna* (Hadjisavvas 1996), *Kalavastos-Ayios Dhimitrios* (South 1996) and *Maroni-Vournes* (Cadogan 1996) lie between Paphos and Kition. This can hardly be irrelevant to the impressive ascendancy of Kition and Paphos in LC IIIA (Iacovou *et al.* 2008, 290).

The LCIIIC/IIIA model: (a) sanctuary, (b) port of export and (c) copper working

Apparently, this period, so unsettling for everybody else, had worked in favour of the coastal emporia on the south and east coasts of Cyprus. Analysis of the 12th-century material evidence from these emporia, especially Enkomi and Kition, suggests an intensification of the metal industry in relation to cult (cf. Sherratt 1998, 300, 304). Cultic activity took place in sanctuaries that were appended to an exporting port serving long distance trade that was of paramount importance to the merchant elites of these coastal polities. Webb's insightful analysis of the material evidence from the Kition temples shows that the relationship between cult and maritime trade was 'of at least equal importance to that between cult and metallurgy' (1999, 302).

Karageorghis (1976, 94) speaks of an inner harbour at Kition and the navigable channel that connected it to the sea, and he is justified in thinking that the silting up of this inner harbour may have caused the temporary abandonment of the temple precinct in the 10th century. The proximity, therefore, of the Late Cypriot anchorage to the Kition temples and copper workshops (Area II) is not disputed (Karageorghis and Demas 1985, 163–4). Gifford's map of the coastal changes (1985, fig. 4) shows a 'marsh or shallow lagoon' to the NE of the wall and the towers that protect the temple precinct (see also Yon 2006, 46–47, fig. 24.1). It is likely that harbour installations came close to the NE wall of the sanctuary. The workshops of the temple precinct were there too, only on the inside of the wall.

Sanctuary and port at Kition were meant to function as

an inseparable production and management unit. The relocation of Enkomi (Old Salamis) to (New) Salamis, less than 2km away from its original site, further underlines that the operational model of a coastal polity relied on the spatial and visual proximity of port and administration authorities. This model seems to provide the answer to why, as late as the 4th century BC, Nikokles, the last king of Paphos, had to have his administrative capital move to the site where the new port was established: Nea Paphos (*cf.* Młynarczyk 1990; Iacovou forthcoming).

Locating the harbour of ancient Paphos

Returning to ancient Paphos, we find that the meticulous excavations of Professor Maier within the Paphian *temenos* have established that the 12th century is the earliest securely identified stratum of cult activity in the sanctuary (*cf.* Maier and von Wartburg 1985, 149). In Paphos, therefore, we have (a) the *cult*; can we also find evidence for (b) *harbour installations* and (c) *copper working within the sanctuary* to complete the model?

If, as in the case of Kition, proximity to harbour facilities is considered ‘the key factor in the initial location of the sacred area’ (Webb 1999, 287), I would be tempted to suggest that the choice of the terrace on which the imposing Paphian *temenos* was established was determined by its proximity to, and visual contact with, the location of the original Late Cypriot anchorage with which it must have formed a single management unit. This approach would limit the search for the port lagoon to sites that are visible from the sanctuary. Not many can meet the basic requirements: pending a specialized geological investigation, the most prominent candidate seems to be the southern area of *Loures* (Fig. 7.4) to the SE of the sacred terrace (Iacovou 2008b, 271).

The copper sources of the Paphian region

From where did the mineral come to the port of ancient Paphos? In 1998, the Gales and Maliotis published an extremely important preliminary survey of the Cypriot slag heaps, many of which are located in remote localities. Their purpose was to draw attention ‘to the existence of a large number of slag heaps on Cyprus beyond the well known large ones, all of which attest to past exploitation of the metal resources of Cyprus’ (Stos-Gale *et al.* 1998, 235). With respect to ‘the hilly villages and forests north of Paphos’, they noted that some of the larger slag heaps are high up on the mountains, for example at Peravasa, Pano Panaghia, Ayios Kyriakos and Ayios Charalambos (Stos-Gale *et al.* 1998, 239, table 4, 241). **They also emphasized** that ‘a considerable number of smaller, lesser known, slag heaps occur at quite a distance from any *recently exploited*

mines [my emphasis]’ (Stos-Gale *et al.* 1998, 237). This is an observation of vital significance, which could begin to explain the absence of visible mining evidence from the region of Paphos and the loss of memory related to mining: the exploitation of ores on the SW side of the Troodos was *not resumed* in modern times (with insignificant exceptions, as in the case of Vrecchia) (Fig. 7.5). Still, the presence of slag heaps leaves no doubt that mining was going on in antiquity in the Paphos region.

A lost memory: alienation from the economic history of antiquity

When we initiated the ‘Palaepaphos Urban Landscape project’ in 2006, we were conscious of the fact that, among other research targets, we would have to struggle to resuscitate the original role of the sanctuary as the institutional centre of the Late Cypriot and the Iron Age polity of Paphos; also, to disentangle the history of the sanctuary from that of the cult centre it had become in the Hellenistic and Roman eras, when it was made to serve the political agendas of the colonial empires that had replaced the Cypriot kingdoms at the end of the 4th century BC. At the time, however, we had not considered the negative impact that the absence of memory related with a local mining economy may have had on our attempts to understand the economic history of the region in antiquity.

The socio-economic imprint that mining should have left in the *chora* of Paphos has been buried deep under layer upon layer of memories that are associated with a completely different economic environment. It all began as early as the 4th century BC when Paphos lost its political status as the capital centre of the Paphian kingdom, when it lost the asset for the sake of which it had been founded: that of a functioning harbour. From then on it was known as *Palaepaphos – Old Paphos*.

Copper routes in the *chora* of Old and New Paphos

The official relocation of the kingdom’s commercial port to Nea Paphos would have meant that the copper routes, which since the middle of the 2nd millennium had terminated at the anchorage of Paphos near the sanctuary, had to be redirected further west: 12km, or 60 *stadia* on foot according to Strabo (14.683), separate Old and Nea Paphos. Inevitably, the diversion must have undermined the role of support villages, especially in the Dhiarizos basin, and it must have caused drastic changes to the settlement pattern of the eastern half of the region. As a matter of fact, I have recently suggested (Iacovou forthcoming) that the two syllabic inscriptions issued by king Nikokles (*cf.* Michaelidou-

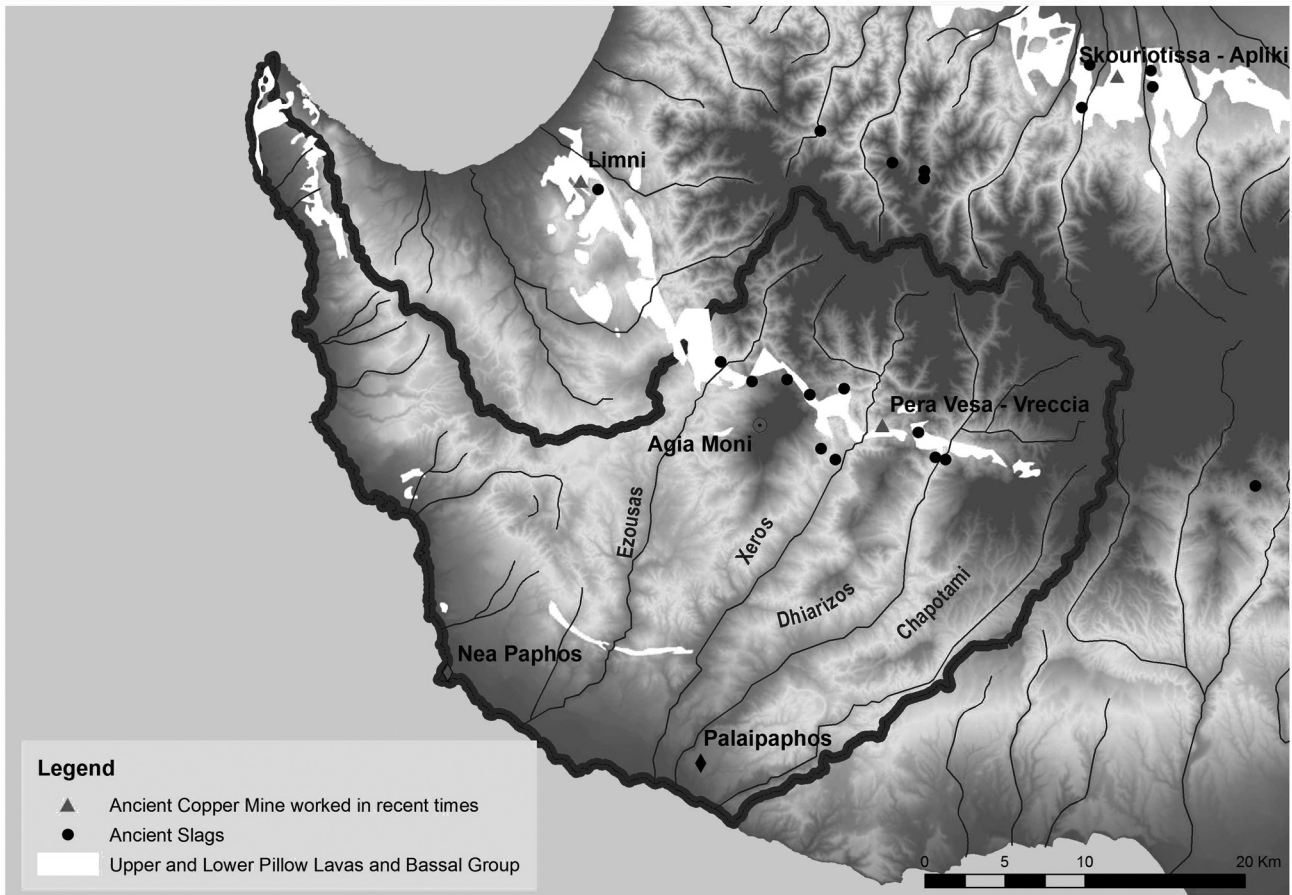


Fig. 7.5. Ancient slag heaps in the Paphos catchment area based on preliminary survey conducted by Stos-Gale et al. 1998. Coordinates courtesy of the Cyprus Geological Survey.

Nicolaou 1976, 18; Masson 1983, 145–147, fig. 29) with which he commemorates the establishment of columns (a *temenos*?) to the goddess Hera in the strangest of places, the remote highlands of what is today the Ayia Moni monastery (where they can still be seen on either side of the church entrance), show the king's concern as to the new route that was to carry the mineral safely to the harbour of Nea Paphos. Ayia Moni is situated near the copper ores of the Paphos district and is surrounded by slag heaps (Fig. 7.5). It also occupies a commanding position right on top of the saddle that overlooks the Xeros river (to the east) and the Ezousas (to the west). The two inscriptions suggest that the new route was legitimized and sanctified by royal decree. The route was thus placed under the protection of the goddess, most probably the same Cypriot female goddess that in the Bronze Age was shown standing on an ingot, while in the Iron Age she was addressed as *Wanassa* and *Theos* (e.g. Masson 1983, 99: 4, 103: 6; J. Karageorghis 2005, 40) on syllabic Greek inscriptions and as *Astarte* on alphabetic Phoenician inscriptions (cf. Yon 2006, 107, fig. 66) – the earliest by a pilgrim to the temples of Kition (Yon

2006, 56, fig. 30). The goddess was not invoked as Aphrodite before the late 4th century BC (the earliest datable occurrence is on an alphabetic Greek inscription of king Androkles of Amathus: Karageorghis 2005, 41). It is again in the 4th century BC that we encounter royal dedications to Artemis (Masson 1983, 95: 1) and Hera – both by the last of the Paphian kings.

Copper and ship building remained the main assets of the island during the Ptolemaic and the Roman eras, but none of this activity was associated with, or directed through, Palaepaphos, where the urban nucleus began to shrink drastically around the sanctuary. Christianity and the abandonment of a pagan religious centre dealt a final blow to the last vestiges of urbanism at Palaepaphos.

Economic decline in the district of Paphos

In the Middle Ages, the Royal House of the Lusignans turned Palaepaphos, which was by now known as Kouklia, into one of their most precious feudal estates (cf. von Wartburg

2001; Maier 2004, 89–105). Sugar cane plantations and the establishment of industrial facilities for the production of high quality sugar required a thorough landscape reorganization. With this, the last weak ties that Palaepaphos may have still had with settlements in its hinterland were severed; the routes that, for a thousand years since its foundation in the Late Bronze Age, had kept Ancient Paphos in direct contact with the pillow lavas to the south of the Troodos were forever lost, together with an already weak memory associated with the procurement of copper.

By the time the cane sugar industry of the Medieval period had died out, the Lusignans (1191–1489) had been replaced first by the Venetians (1489–1571) and later by the Ottomans (1571–1878). Under the British colonial rule, which began in 1878, the entire region of Paphos reached the nadir of its economic potential. Sheer hunger forced a significant percentage of the village population of the Paphos district into what can be described, by Cypriot standards, as mass migration to the UK, Australia, South Africa and the USA.

A black and white picture dated to 1888 – a decade after the British had landed on Cyprus – commemorates the work carried out by the first British archaeological project, known as the Cyprus Exploration Fund, in the Paphos sanctuary in 1887–1888 (Maier 2004, 32, fig. 21). In the background, one can make out the low houses of the hamlet of Kouklia, built with the stones of the dismantled monuments of the ancient city. In 1950, when a second British team returned to the sanctuary, the village was just as destitute and it continued to occupy the terrace of the sanctuary.

Copper slag in the sanctuary

In the 1950s the British project was directed by a leading epigraphist from the University of Saint Andrews and the Director of the Liverpool Museums, Terence B. Mitford and J. H. Iliffe. We cannot blame them for not being able to grasp the far reaching significance of the evidence they had uncovered from inside the sanctuary during their first season of digging. Had it not been for Peter Megaw, and the insightful description he wrote in the *Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities for the year 1950* (below verbatim), this piece of evidence, so decisive for the reconstruction of the economic history of ancient Paphos, would have probably been completely overlooked:

‘The Kouklia Expedition: Mr. T.B. Mitford of St. Andrews University led a team which carried out trials on the site of Palaepaphos at Kouklia where nothing had been done since the work of the Cyprus Exploration Fund in the sanctuary of Aphrodite. West of the area cleared in 1887 were found superimposed remains, totalling nearly four m. in depth and including late medieval, Roman and Archaic-Hellenistic structures overlying the lowest layer, which contained

Mycenaean pottery. *The discovery of quantities of copper slag in this lowest layer offers an explanation of the wealth of the ancient city.*’ (Megaw 1951, 13).

Quantities of copper slag were, therefore, found in the lowest layer of the sanctuary that was dated to the Late Bronze Age by ‘Mycenaean’ pottery – as much of the wheelmade Late Cypriot painted pottery was described in those days. This is the missing third part of the crucial triad that defines the role of intra urban sanctuaries at Enkomi, Kition and now, also, Paphos in the Late Cypriot period, and specifically in the 12th century.

In LC IIIA, Paphos was no longer the newly established gateway settlement of LC I, but it was also more than just an urban emporium. In the 12th century, it possessed a state authority that was apparently centred not in a secular palace but in an imposing sanctuary. During the critical passage to the 11th century, and throughout the Early Iron Age, Paphos did not suffer an economic decline (*cf.* Karageorghis 1983 and Raptou 2002 on the wealth of the Cypro-Geometric cemeteries). It was instead involved in the production and circulation of, not only copper, but also tools and weapons made of iron (*cf.* Sherratt 1994). Thus, the double role of the sanctuary as the religious and politico-economic heart of the kingdom was never weakened, not even in the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods, when, as elsewhere on the island – *e.g.* at Idalion (*cf.* Hadjicosti 1997), Amathus (*cf.* Petit 2002) and Soloi-Palaea Chora and Vouni (*cf.* Gjerstad *et al.* 1937, 413; Hermary 2001 and, most recently, Satraki 2010, 273–276) – a secular palace seems to have been established, probably first on the plateau of Marchello (Iacovou 2008b, 277) and, after 500 BC, on Hadjiabdoulla (*cf.* Maier 2004, 74).

Priest-kings: breaking with the tradition

It should also be remembered that of all the royal families of Cyprus, the one that managed to monopolize its descent from Kinyras, the island’s legendary pre-Greek king, was the Greek dynasty of Paphos (Iacovou 2008a, 649). As late as the 4th century BC, Nikokles is honoured on a Greek alphabetic inscription from Ledra as descendant of the divine Kinyras (Mitford 1961, 136–138). Kinyras’ proverbial wealth personified the lucrative metals economy on which rested the autonomy of a Cypriot state in the 2nd as well as in the 1st millennium BC (Iacovou 2007b, 17–9). As acknowledged first by Pindar (*Pyth.* 2, 15–16), the autochthonous king Kinyras was also Aphrodite’s beloved priest.

It is intriguing that in the 4th century, and not before (unless the inscriptional evidence is biased), the Greek kings of Paphos felt that it was necessary to stress *in writing* their dual authority as secular and religious rulers: the formula

‘*basileus* of Paphos and priest of the *wanassa*’ is repeatedly used on the inscriptions of Echetimos, Timocharis, Timarchos and Nikokles (Maier 1989). Is it possible that with this written formula they were attempting to secure their undivided authority over the different components of their kingdom, despite the fact that the port of export and the copper routes were no longer going to be spatially linked to the monumental sanctuary (Iacovou forthcoming)? Their dual authority was inextricably linked with a megalithic *temenos*, the *wanassa*’s sacred and ancient abode, and neither she nor her temple could be transported elsewhere. Forced to distance the port and also the copper route from the sanctuary, the Paphian kings were, in fact, breaking with the tradition that had given them the legitimate prerogative to hold the extraordinary powers of a king-priest in the context of managing the state of Paphos.

Epilogue

The survey results of the Gales and Maliotis are, as they themselves write, ‘the tip of the iceberg’ (Stos-Gale *et al.* 1998, 237), but they are enough to show that the history of copper extraction in the region of Paphos in antiquity has only just begun. The route, rather the routes, that brought the mineral wealth to the coast of ancient Paphos for more than a thousand years, as well as the new routes that terminated at Nea Paphos, deserve to be charted and studied as part of the social, demographic and economic history of the region, and the same has to be done as regards the location of the first of the ancient harbours of Paphos and of those that may have succeeded it before the final establishment at Nea Paphos.

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