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REMARKS ON THE CLASSICAL SETTLEMENT ON THE SITE OF NEA PAPHOS

If Strabo's and Pausanias' accounts are to be believed, Nea Paphos, as founded by Agapenor, should have been in existence since the 12th cent. B.C.:¹ a tradition considered a historical truth until the middle of our century. Additional information on the beginnings of Nea Paphos comes from Stephanos of Byzantium, who gives the alleged original name of Paphos (Nea Paphos) as Erythra.² Indeed, evidence of habitation in the times of the mythical Agapenor (Late Cypriote IIIC) has been discovered near the site of Nea Paphos (modern Kato Paphos), but no closer than the village of Ieroskipou (about 3 km. east of Paphos), the Palaeokastro-Maa peninsula (about 11 km. north-west of Paphos) and Kouklia, the ancient Palaepaphos (about 16 km. south-east of Nea Paphos).³ On the site of modern Ktima-Paphos (c. 2 Km. north of Nea Paphos) there had also existed since the 11th century B.C. a settlement to which the Iskander necropolis on the northern outskirts of Ktima belonged.⁴ But as for Nea Paphos itself, the results of trial trenches opened in 1951-1952 by J. Bérard and the Kouklia Expedition have convinced most researchers that the town came into existence near the end of the 4th cent. B.C. and that the Agapenor accounts should rather be related to Palaepaphos.⁵ No traces of Mycenaean occupation were unearthed in these trenches located in the western part of the city site (in the area of the harbour, round the Saranda Kolones ruins and near the lighthouse) and north of it, along the coast, while the earliest potsherds (few in comparison with the great amounts of Hellenistic and Roman pottery) belonged to imported Attic ware, none earlier than the turn of the 5th/4th cent. B.C.⁶

Discoveries made in the next years were soon to suggest the Paphian king Nikokles, son of Timarchos, as the founder of Nea Paphos.⁷ In 1940 a marble stela was found, with a digraphic inscription (in both Cypriote syllabary and Greek alphabet) commemorating the construction by Nikokles of a temple with annexes (*τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὰ ἐπίναια*) dedicated to Artemis Agrotera, the

1. Strabon XIV: 6, 3; Pausanias VIII: 5, 2.

2. Stephanos of Byzantium *s.v.* Erythra (quoted by M.R. James, *JHS* IX, 1888, p. 181); in the 12th century Eustathios (Ad. II. II, 399) gives the name 'Erythrai'.

3. For Ieroskipou see D.W. Rupp, *RDAC* (1981), pp. 256-257; K. Nicolaou, *RDAC* (1983), p. 142 ff. For Palaeokastro-Maa see annual reports by V. Karageorghis in *BCH* and *ARDAC* since 1980; for Palaepaphos see F.G. Maier, in *Chypre des origines au Moyen-Age* (Genève 1975), pp. 38-48, where other references are given.

4. J. Deshayes, *La nécropole de Ktima* (mission Jean Bérard 1953-1955) (Paris 1963).

5. J.H. Iliffe and T.B. Mitford, *Liverpool Libraries, Museums and Arts Committee Bulletin* 2 (1952), p. 32; J. Bérard, *RA* 43 (1954), pp. 8-9; T.B. Mitford, *OpAth* III (1960), p. 204; Deshayes, *o.c.*, p. 11; K. Nicolaou, in *Mélanges offerts à K. Michalowski* (Warszawa 1966), p. 564; Z. Kapera, *Etudes et Travaux* II (1968), p. 138.

6. Iliffe and Mitford, *o.c.*, p. 53; Bérard, *o.c.*, p. 6; Mitford, *OpAth* III, l.c.

7. On Nikokles see: T.B. Mitford, in *Anatolian Studies Presented to W.H. Buckler* (1939), pp. 197-199; G. Hill, *History of Cyprus* I (1949), p. 161 ff.; K. Spyridakis, *Kyprioi basileis tou 4^{ou} ai. p. Chr.* (1963), pp. 143-154; H. Gesche, *Chiron* 4 (1974), pp. 103-125; I. Michaelidou-Nicolaou, *Kypriakai Spoudai* 40 (1976), pp. 15-28; O. Mørholm, *Chiron* 8 (1978), pp. 135-146; O. Masson, *Kadmos* XIX (1980), p. 61 ff.

Lady of wild animals.⁸ Even though this stela was a casual surface find, its discovery place (the southern end of the Maloutena site, south of the Late Roman palace and west of the 'amphitheater') may mark in a way the localization of the sanctuary, which undoubtedly — regardless of possible architectural development — existed throughout antiquity in the same spot. Because this part of the city was abandoned in the early Middle Ages⁹ and never later built up and inhabited, one can hardly suppose that the inscription had been brought here from another distant region of the town.

In 1965 a hoard of silver coins of Alexander the Great and Phillip III Arrhidaios was unearthed by the Polish Mission also within the Maloutena site, just outside the southern wing of the Late Roman palace. The coins lay under a floor which was set upon the bedrock, and thus belonged most probably to the oldest phase of habitation in this area.¹⁰ Their perfect state of preservation suggests that they were not circulated any length of time after being minted. This hoard allows the dating of the building under whose floor the coins had been hidden to the end of 4th cent. B.C., that is, to the period of the activity of Nikokles. If we add to these data the accounts of Arrian and Diodor, we may rightly suppose that Nea Paphos was founded between 321 B.C. (the year in which Nikokles is first attested as the king of Paphos) and 313/312 B.C. (when Paphos was still so sparsely populated that it could accomodate — and indeed needed — the people resettled from Marion).¹¹ It is rather improbable, however, that Nikokles would have founded his new capital on completely virgin land.

T.B. Mitford supposed that there must have existed a presumably quite modest sanctuary of Artemis within the area of the future town and that this precinct had to be beautified when it became part of the new city.¹² If so, the existence of such a cult place had to be connected with some settlement. Here, deserving of mention are the few conjecturally Archaic and early Classical objects purchased by the Paphos Museum from a private collection and marked as coming from Kato Paphos. However, neither the terracotta statuettes of horse riders and birds, nor the jug with an appliqué female figure have been published, while the dating of such long-lived types should indeed be preceded by careful studies.¹³ During the excavations on the Chrysopolitissa site in 1964, Hellenistic potsherds made up the oldest group of finds, while a 'tête en terre cuite d'époque archaïque' was also found lying on bedrock;¹⁴ but here again, neither description nor reproduction of this isolated find has been published, so that its dating remains open.

As we have said, the trial pits of the mission of J. Bérard and the Kouklia Expedition did not uncover any architectural remains earlier than the Early Hellenistic period, but I suppose that reported Greek Classical potsherds were numerous enough to allow the statement that 'le site de Kato-Paphos n'avait pas été occupé avant la fin du V^e siècle et ne s'était pas développé avant le

8. Mitford, *OpAth* III, No. 17, pp. 200-201; O. Masson, *Inscriptions Chypriotes Syllabiques* (Paris 1961), pp. 95-96 (Paphos Museum, inv. 357).

9. K. Nicolaou, in *Mél. K. Michalowski* (1966), p. 566; W.A. Daszewski, in *Praktika tou Protou Diethnous Kypriologikou Synedriou*, I, (Nicosia 1972), p. 36, n. 2. The finding spot of the inscription has been described by Nicolaou, *o.c.*, p. 585 and fig. 3: 7.

10. K. Michalowski, in V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles à Chypre en 1965', *BCH* 90 (1966), pp. 355-356; *id.*, *Poland* 4/140 (1966), p. 44; Daszewski, *RDAC* (1968), p. 35 and p. 37, n. 1; Kapera, *o.c.*, p. 135.

11. Arrian, *Diad.* fr. 24,6 and Diodor XIX. 79, 4-5, respectively.

12. Mitford, *OpAth* III, pp. 204-205.

13. Paphos Mus., inv. nos 207-208, 210-213, 209; their contributor Photis Papadou of Kato Paphos is no longer alive and cannot confirm the objects' source in the ancient city.

14. *BCH* 89 (1965), p. 297. In 1983 during excavations below the Late Roman palace level in Maloutena, a terracotta head of a warrior statuette was found. This object is of an Archaic type, but probably of a Classical date.

IV^e et le III^e.¹⁵ In other words, they would testify to the existence of a Classical settlement in this area. Similar results were obtained from some of the trial pits opened by the Polish mission in Maloutena. The oldest floors uncovered under the Late Roman palace, date from the last quarter of the 4th cent. B.C. at the earliest; there is however a quite abundant collection of Classical sherds coming from 3 different trial pits especially. Apart from Attic black-glazed sherds (some of them as early as the last quarter of the 5th cent. B.C.) and a rich repertory of Plain White VI and VII forms, the finds include nearly all of the decorated wares distinguished by E.Gjerstad for the Cypro-Classical period (White Painted VI-VII, Black-on-Red VI-VII, Black Slip VI, Red Slip VI-VII, Bichrome and Bichrome Red VII), as well as a fragmentary rim of a White Painted V jar, probably of the early 5th cent. B.C..¹⁶ In each instance it appears that the fill of these early potsherds had been used to form a levelling layer: twice — under the earliest habitation floors and once — in connection with foundations of a Late Hellenistic building.¹⁷ Certainly, the pottery could not have been brought from a very distant place confirming the possibility of the existence of a nearby settlement in the period as early as the end of the 5th cent. B.C..

It is self-evident that reconstruction of the Classical habitation pattern within the coastal region of Paphos would be of great importance to our knowledge of the beginnings of Nea Paphos. As it has been said, just to the north of the Nea Paphos site, within the area of modern Ktima (Paphos), there must have existed a settlement neither the size nor name of which is known; to it the Iskander necropolis with its chamber tombs dated to the period from the 11th — down to the 4th/3rd cent. B.C. must have belonged.¹⁸

Another site known to be inhabited in the Classical times is the area of Ieroskipou, the name of which still recalls the sacred garden of Aphrodite.¹⁹ A few hundred terracottas of the 6th - 5th cent. B.C. discovered in Ieroskipou, probably belonged to a local sanctuary of the goddess.²⁰ Ieroskipou never became the object of methodical archaeological research, but the very layout of the terrain, sweeping south from below the rocky plateau to the sea, invites the localization of the sacred gardens here. Fertile plots lie here today cultivated under the cover of the rocky plateau edge and watered by several springs, the largest of which gushes from one of the ancient artificial caves. Part of this plain owned by the bishopric of Paphos has been known as the 'Ierokipia estate'; in the vicinity, I.K. Peristianis noted some relics of ancient buildings and expressed the view that two reefs (the Moulia rocks) sheltering the entrance to the small natural harbour a little way to the east, may have been the island Noumenios of the 'Stadiasmus' account and the Hiera Cepia of Pliny.²¹ The coastal region between this spot and the site of Nea Paphos is hardly known in the archaeological literature. Within this area, however, several cemeteries can be distinguished connected with surely more than one ancient settlement.

Let us start from the east, with the necropolis situated approximately half way between the

15. Deshayes, *o.c.*, p. 11. Mitford (*OpAth* III, p. 204) presents the same finds in a different way: 'for times earlier than the Hellenistic only a handful of sherds, and these chiefly Attic, probably from vases long cherished as heirlooms'.

16. See a report on the earliest pottery finds by the author, *RDAC* (1984), pp. 309-311.

17. In the pit S. 7/83 early potsherds were found below the oldest surface of a Hellenistic street E-W, while in the pit 1/82 - 83 - below the oldest habitation floor, probably of the late 4th cent. B.C.. For the Late Hellenistic building in the pit SW/80/78 compare Daszewski, *BCH* 102 (1978), p. 928.

18. Cf. note 4 above.

19. I.K. Peristianis, *Genikè Istoria tes nesou Kyprou* (Lefkosia 1910), p. 405; J. Rudhardt, *Chypre des origines...* (Génève 1975), pp. 126-127; Kapera, *o.c.*, p. 130.

20. J. M. Cook, *JHS* LXVII (1947), p. 44; L. Philippou, *JHS* LXVIII (1948), p. 155; J.H. Young, *AJA* 52 (1948), p. 532.

21. Stad. 298-299 (*GGM* I, Paris 1855, pp. 502-504); Plin., N.H.V., 31. Cf. Peristianis *o.c.*, pp. 405-406.

modern village of Ieroskipou on the north and the bay facing the Moulia rocks on the south; the site can be identified on the cadastral survey as 'Ambeli'. The necropolis comprises two types of rock-cut tombs, of which chamber tombs with dromoi are the first type and deep rectangular shafts carved in the surface of the rock with jutting ledges for covering slabs are the second. As far as I know, this necropolis remains unknown in descriptions of the Paphos area. The tombs date probably from the period not later than the 4th cent. B.C., judging from their resemblance to the tombs of the Ellinika necropolis (near Nea Paphos), where syllabic inscriptions of the 4th cent. B.C. were found.²² The 'Ambeli' necropolis seems to have belonged to a settlement situated in the area of the bay facing Moulia rather than on the site of Nea Paphos, which was about 3 km. away to the west.

Another 1.2 km. to the west from the 'Ambeli' necropolis, on the way from Ieroskipou to Kato Paphos, there is a rocky mound comprising an underground rock-cut sanctuary of Apollo Hylates, as two dedicatory syllabic inscriptions (dated on the grounds of palaeography to the 2nd half of the 4th cent. B.C.) prove.²³ The origins of the sanctuary, as suggested by T.B. Mitford, would either be contemporaneous with the foundation of Nea Paphos by Nikokles, or they could have preceded the foundation of the city, having been connected with 'some settlement or village' existing on the site occupied later by the new town.²⁴ In most archaeological accounts the spot of the sanctuary appears as 'Alonia tou Episkopou' with the exception of E. Oberhummer's description, where it is called 'Katarameni'.²⁵ The latter name is given also by the cadastral survey with the site of 'Alonia tou Episkopou' marked just to the west of it.

The vault of Apollo Hylates, once certainly accompanied by a sacred grove of the god, had been arranged in a two-chambered tomb within an ancient necropolis.²⁶ It means that at least a part of this necropolis had had to be out of use at the time when the vault was dedicated to the god; thus the necropolis is at least several decades older than the sanctuary and must have belonged to a settlement earlier than the town of Nea Paphos. Was this Classical settlement located to the west or to the east of the 'Katarameni' (or 'Alonia tou Episkopou') necropolis? In the former case, it would lie near the site of the future Nea Paphos; in the latter, it would perhaps be identical with the settlement to which the 'Ambeli' necropolis belonged.

It seems that Cypro-Classical tombs occur still closer to the eastern border of Nea Paphos, within the area traditionally regarded as the vast eastern necropolis of the Hellenistic and Roman town. The necropolis was never the subject of methodical excavation; the tombs were rarely mentioned and no photographic documentation of the terrain was ever made. Today this region, comprised between the eastern border of the ancient town and the site of the Apollo Hylates sanctuary, is made up of private land possessions and cultivated fields, while modern villas and hotels constructed along the seashore have greatly obliterated original features of the terrain. The rock-cut chamber tombs east of Nea Paphos were mentioned by L. de Mas Latrie in 1845 and two groups — 'Ellinika' and 'Alonia tou Episkopou' — distinguished successively by M. de Vogüé and

22. Cf. notes 30-31 below.

23. Mitford, 'Paphian Inscriptions Hoffmann Nos 98 and 99', *BICS* 7 (1960), pp. 1-10; Masson, *ICS*, pp. 96-98, Nos 2-3; cf. J. Mlynarczyk, *RDAC* (1980), pp. 239-252, where other references are given.

24. Mitford, *BICS* 7 (1960), p. 9, n. 14; *id.*, *OpAth* III, p. 204.

25. E. Oberhummer, 'Paphos', *RE* 36/II (1949), map on the cols 945-946; for Alonia tou Episkopou see D.G. Hogarth and M.R. James, *JHS* IX (1888), p. 268, fig. 4; I.K. Peristianis, *Kypriaka Chronika* V (1927), pp. 29-30; L. Philippou and O.H.E. Burmester, *Paphos* (1948), p. 23.

26. Mitford, *BICS* 7, pp. 6-9; cf. J. Mlynarczyk, *o.c.*; Oberhummer (*l.c.*) who has observed the necropolis in the vicinity of the vault of Hylates, states that no one of its tombs does seem to be earlier than from the 5th cent. B.C..

the members of the English expedition in 1888.²⁷ In both spots I.K. Peristianis mentioned large tombs which he was inclined to ascribe to Agapenor and his successors.²⁸ On the map published by K. Nicolaou, the site 'Ellinika' lies northwest of the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates and northeast of the 'East Necropolis' used by inhabitants of Hellenistic and Roman Nea Paphos.²⁹

The above-mentioned English report on the necropolis to the east of Nea Paphos discusses in some detail only the 'Ellinika' site, distinguishing there two types of tombs; traces of illegible syllabic epitaphs noted in a few tombs,³⁰ suggest for this necropolis a 4th cent. B.C. date. Chamber tombs with a symmetrical axial ground plan (a dromos leading down to a rectangular chamber with oblong loculi for bodies cut in each of its three sides) neighbour with rectangular shaft tombs, as in the above-mentioned Ampeli necropolis. The same two types of tombs in 'Ellinika' (plus a single large tomb with two pillars in the entrance) were recently mentioned by K. Nikolaou; in the upper part of one of the shaft graves a syllabic epitaph has been preserved ('The priest of Anassa, Timarchos...').³¹

The same type of chamber tombs as found within the necropolises 'Ellinika' and 'Ambeli' occurs also in Kouklia (Palaepaphos). Some of the chamber tombs investigated there by the English in 1888, had had syllabic epitaphs set 'over the actual door as in the case of the early graves at Hellenika and Halonia tou Episkopou' near Nea Paphos; on the wall, as in one of the Halonia tombs, or over the niches as at cape Drepano'.³² The authors do not date either the necropolises east of Nea Paphos or the Palaepaphos tombs, yet in the light of this information one of the tombs in Kouklia, known as the 'Queen's Cave' (*To Spileon tis Rigenas*), takes on chronological significance. Its ground plan conforms with the first type of tombs from 'Ellinika', differing only in the number of rectangular chambers, of which it has two instead of just one. In the first chamber, by the entrance to the second one — in the very same position as the second inscription in the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates — there was a slab with a syllabic epitaph: '(grave) of king Timochares, priest of Anassa', dated on the grounds of palaeography to c. 350 B.C..³³ This tomb is then, in a chronological sense, an analogy to the chamber tombs in 'Ellinika' as well as to the arrangement of the Apollo Hylates hypogeum which is probably contemporaneous to some of the tombs in 'Katarameni' and later than others.

Since the vault of Hylates had previously been a tomb and its adaptation to the cult had been limited to the cutting of a wide entrance (as the dedicatory inscriptions expressly state), analogies to its original appearance should be searched for among two-chambered tombs, where the first

27. L. de Mas Latrie, *L'île de Chypre* (Paris 1879), pp. 24-25; M. de Vogüé, *Mél. d'Arch. Or.* IV (1868), p. 98; Hogarth and James, *o.c.*, p. 264.

28. Peristianis (1910), p. 414; *id.* (1927), pp. 29-30.

29. K. Nicolaou, in *Studies Presented in Memory of P. Dikaios* (Nicosia 1979), fig. 1, p. 156; on the preceding page he wrote, however: 'C' est à l'époque de la fondation de la Nouvelle Paphos qu'il faut dater la nécropole est qui comprend le site Ellinika'. According to the same author (*Mél. K. Michalowski*, pp. 583-584) also the site of the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates should be regarded as a part of the East Necropolis of Nea Paphos: the statement that does not seem to be right. On the other hand, several chamber tombs belonging to the 'East Necropolis' have been found by accident in 1983 in the area close to the hotel 'Paphos Beach' and excavated by the Department of Antiquities.

30. Hogarth and James, *o.c.*, pp. 267-268, Nos 1-3; probably from the same site there come also inscriptions marked by A.A. Sakellarios (Kypriaka I, Athenai 1890, p. 114, Nos 5-7) as found at Nea Paphos. See also note 31 below.

31. K. Nicolaou, in *Studies...* (1979), pp. 155-158, Pl. XXI; Masson, *JCS*, p. 99, No. 4 = *id.*, in *Studies...* (1979), pp. 159-161, Pl. XXII.

32. Hogarth and James, *o.c.*, 264-265, 'one of the Halonia tombs' surely meaning the vault of Apollo Hylates.

33. M.R. James, *JHS* IX (1888), pp. 186-187. The date of the inscription is given after Masson (*JCS*, pp. 112-113, No. 16) who is right in questioning a Hellenistic date assigned to this tomb by A. Westholm (*SCE* IV: 3, p. 23). For a similar ground plan compare a tomb at 'Ellinika', *JHS* IX (1888), fig. 2 = *SCE* IV: 3, fig. 17: 3.

chamber approaches a rectangle in shape, while the second one is circular. A similar vault of an unknown function had been carved at the foot of the western edge of the plateau beneath the village of Ieroskipou, adjoining the chapel 'Epta Yioryides' (the 'Kangelli' site, according to the cadastral survey). Its plan is in a sense the reversal of the Hylates grotto arrangement, for the outer room is circular, while the inner is rectangular. I have no knowledge of any tomb identical to the Hylates vault from any other region in Cyprus. Nevertheless, circular chambers with radiating loculi are to be found in Marion, where they contained imported Classical Greek

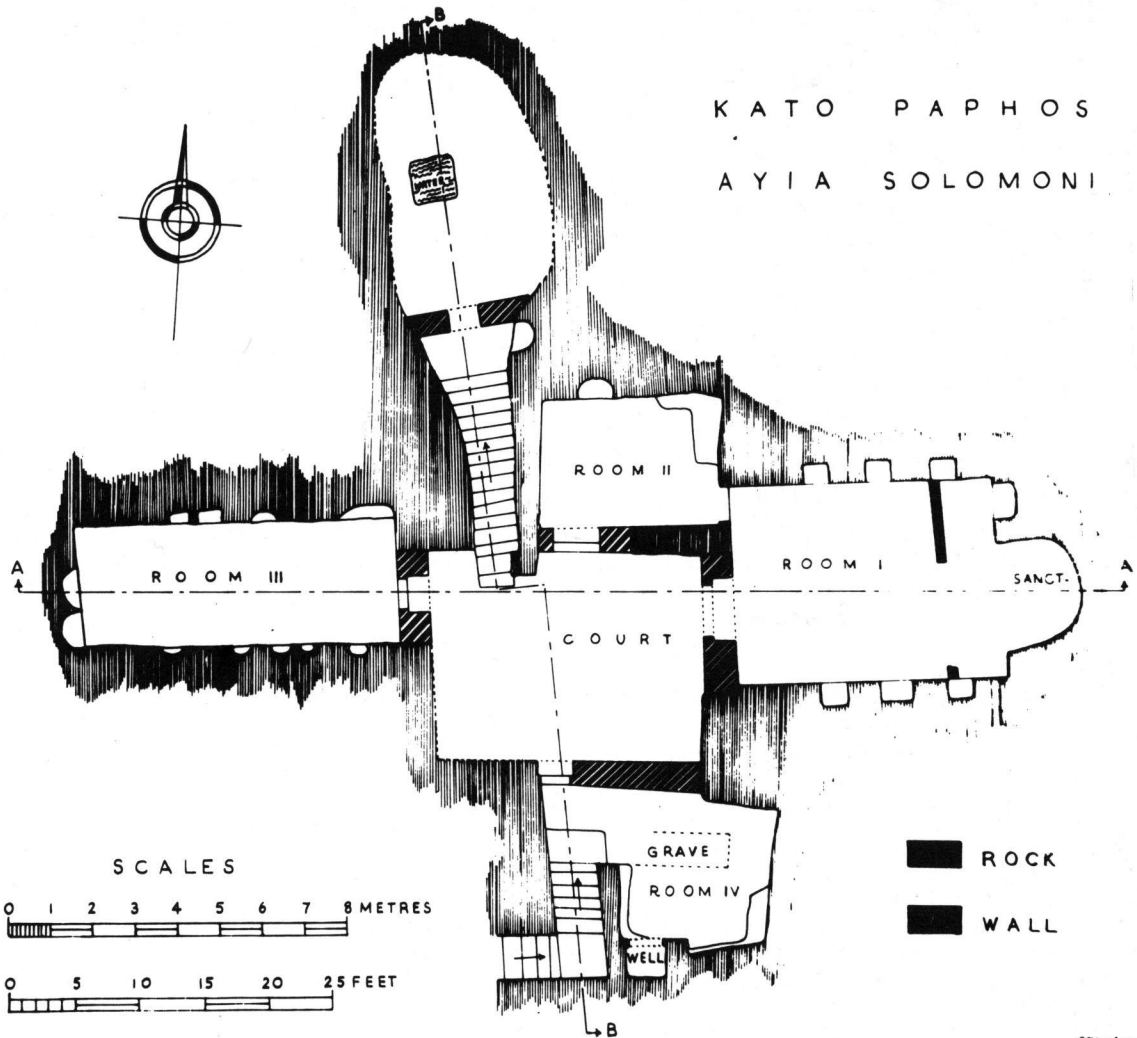


Fig. 1. Ground plan of the Ayia Solomoni 'catacombs' (drawn by Elias Markou).

pottery, and sporadically in Palaepaphos.³⁴ In the southwest of Karpasian peninsula Hogarth mentions a necropolis, whose robbed graves he considers 'early' on the grounds that their dromoi were wide and in some cases the chambers were circular 'like those in the 4th cent. group known as Alonia tou Episkopou near Nea Paphos'.³⁵ Tombs with round chambers were used in many areas in Cyprus during the Archaic and Classical periods, although as a rule these chambers were singular and small.³⁶

Traces of another necropolis associated with a settlement older than the foundation of Nea Paphos can possibly be detected within two 'catacombs': Ayios Lambrianos and Ayia Solomoni. They lie at the southwest edge of the rocky eminence 'Fabrika', which formed the northeast limit of the ancient town. The reconstruction of the original features and extent of Fabrika is difficult, for the hill became one of the main sources of building material for the new city. In the Late Roman and Medieval periods earthquakes destroyed the ancient appearance of the hill, while in the times of the Kingdom of Cyprus and during the Turkish occupation Fabrika must have again been used as a stone quarry.

One look at the plans of the hypogea of Ayia Solomoni and Ayios Lambrianos allows the conclusion that both are made up of several independent elements carved into the rock and situated rather haphazardly in their relation to each other. These then were connected in Hellenistic times to form two complexes of rooms.³⁷ In the case of Ayia Solomoni the task was easier; it seems that originally it had been a tomb with a large chamber (in place of the latter courtyard) equipped with niches on the east and west, and with two smaller chambers to the north and south. In the southern chamber (Room IV on the plan, Fig. 1), the floor retains traces of a cavity for the dead: a depression, which could have hardly been carved after Ayia Solomoni became part of the town.³⁸ Both in this room and in Room II there are rather damaged benches, destined probably for burial offerings. The regularity of Rooms I and III suggests that these chambers, in their present form at least, came into being only after the tomb had been abandoned. Sepulchral constructions of the Late Classical/Early Hellenistic period, parallel to the proposed reconstruction, are to be found within the Iskander necropolis in Ktima,³⁹ while one of the unpublished tombs of the Palaeokastro necropolis (north of Nea Paphos), just east of the peristyle Hellenistic tomb No. 2 which was cleared by the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, is a close analogy. The tomb No. 2 is most probably latter, or at least the chamber in the northeast corner of the courtyard is, because its carving caused rock-cutters to penetrate the chamber of the earlier tomb in question. A complete lack of any finds forbids any attempt at dating it, but it does suggest the original plan of Ayia Solomoni, proving at the same time its function as a tomb.

The arrangement of Ayios Lambrianos offers greater difficulties. Reconstruction of its original plan is hampered too, for we have to do here with several tombs of differing axis and depth at

34. Hogarth and James, *l.c.*

35. D.G. Hogarth, *Devia Cypria* (London 1889), pp. 69-70.

36. For instance, at Ayia Marina: A. Christodoulou, *RDAC* (1967), p. 59 ff.; at Kornos: M. Loulloupis, *RDAC* (1967), p. 126 ff.

37. On the history and function of these 'catacombs' see J. Mlynarczyk, *Nea Paphos in the Hellenistic Period* (doctoral dissertation 1981, in the press).

38. If this cavity would have been carved in the Byzantine Period, when the martyrs Ayia Solomoni and her sons were worshipped in the 'catacombs' (the worship first mentioned by Bartholomaeus Salignacus, *Itin. Hierosol.* IV, 5-6, Magdeburg 1587, cf. Oberhummer, *o.c.*, col. 943), it would be in a much better state of preservation, all the more so as the chamber in question has been blocked as early as the Middle Ages; cf. A.H.S. Megaw, *Arch. Reports* 1955, pp. 45-46; *ARDAC* (1955), p. 15; *ARDAC* (1956), p. 14.

39. Deshayes, *o.c.*, Tombe I (4th - 3rd cent. B.C.), Pl. IV, especially the lateral chamber to the right of the dromos.

which they were cut (Figs 2, 3). Certainly Room E can be recognized as an older tomb with a cavity for the corpse alongside the northern wall and a possible dromos leading from the east. In general outlines it is comparable to one of the tombs on the Iskander necropolis, dated to the 5th cent. B.C.⁴⁰ The loculi marked Gr. I, Gr. II and Gr. III, located in the southeast part of Ayios Lambrianos can be considered the relics of another tomb. The fourth original loculus of this tomb was rather elongated to form a 'Tunnel' (on the plan) and the fifth one should have appeared in the spot taken up latter by Room D. The entrance probably led through 'Airshaft II' at the bottom of which a bench had been carved for burial gifts. This would then be a type of tomb similar to those observed in Kouklia and Marion, with the distinction, however, that it had, instead of a dromos, a shaft entrance like some of the tombs on the Phoenician coast.⁴¹ The eastern end of Room C may have been part of a still another tomb, for it is at a lower level than the rest of this room and has a bench alongside the south and east walls, and also a cavity for the body; the northeast corner of this chamber was broken into during the cutting of Room D. The eastern end of the vestibule could have been the second chamber of the above-described tomb. The preserved upper part of steps above the eastern end of Room C (Section B-B: steps, Fig. 3) should not — it seems — be considered in the reconstruction unless they constituted an entrance to a vertical shaft. It is possible that many other tombs existed in the vicinity, but that they have not yet been discovered or they were destroyed in antiquity. Certainly this necropolis went into disuse by the end of the 4th cent. B.C., when Fabrika had been included within the city wall.

From the above-presented archaeological evidence one can conclude, that the site on which Nea Paphos was to be founded, had been inhabited since the end of the 5th cent. B.C. at the latest, as testified by the pottery finds. Is it possible to venture a localization of this earlier settlement, regardless of whether its name was Erythra or not? The answer seems to be positive, if we take into consideration also the presence of potable water, which had to be an important feature of a habitable area. The biggest of the three streams I have knowledge of, Argaki, runs west of the Hylates sanctuary, east of 'Ellinika' — and flows into the sea near the hotel 'Paphos Beach'.⁴² About 250 m. west, just outside the supposed line of the eastern city wall of Nea Paphos, a small stream found till recently its outlet.⁴³ Its lower course has been obliterated by the construction of the hotel 'Dionysos' in 1975-76, but the upper course can be traced north of the Kato Paphos village, near the present-day cemetery. The mouth of the third stream, cutting once across the modern village, was to be found west of the eastern breakwater of the ancient port, in the spot where the hotel 'Daphne' was built in 1976-1977. Basically, the Classical settlement would have covered the area that was latter to become the eastern part of Nea Paphos, with dwellings developing presumably amongst the stream flowing into the natural bay — and on the banks of another stream further to the east. On the west it bordered with cape Maloutena which, housing perhaps the cult place of Artemis Agrotera, the protectress of wild animals, was probably wooded or at least uninhabited; neither the trial pits executed in 1951 in the Saranda Kolones area nor levels excavated below the Late Roman palace have, as we remember, unearthed any pre-Hellenistic architectural remains.⁴⁴

40. *Ibidem*, Tombe IX, Pl. IX.

41. Cf. tombs at Amrith, E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie* (Paris 1864), Pl. XVIII; G. Perrot et Ch. Chipiez, *Hist. de l'art dans l'Antiquité III: Phénicie - Cypre* (Paris 1885), pp. 147-148, fig. 89. For the 'Section C-C' of Ayios Lambrianos compare the section of a later tomb from Marion-Arsinoe, *SCE IV*: 3, fig. 16: 4.

42. K. Nicolaou, *Studies...* (1979), fig. 1, p. 156.

43. Marked on the map by Oberhummer (*l.c.*), not marked, however, by K. Nicolaou (note 42 above).

44. Notes 5 and 17 above.

The northwestern edge of the settlement was formed by the 'Fabrika' necropolis, while on the northeast it bordered with the 'Ellinika' cemetery, the tombs of which, carved in the 4th cent. B.C., may have also been used in the Hellenistic period. The eastern border of the inhabited site was marked possibly by the area which latter was to serve as the eastern necropolis of Nea Paphos.

It is difficult to say if the necropolis Katarameni (or Alonia tou Episkopou), possibly as early as

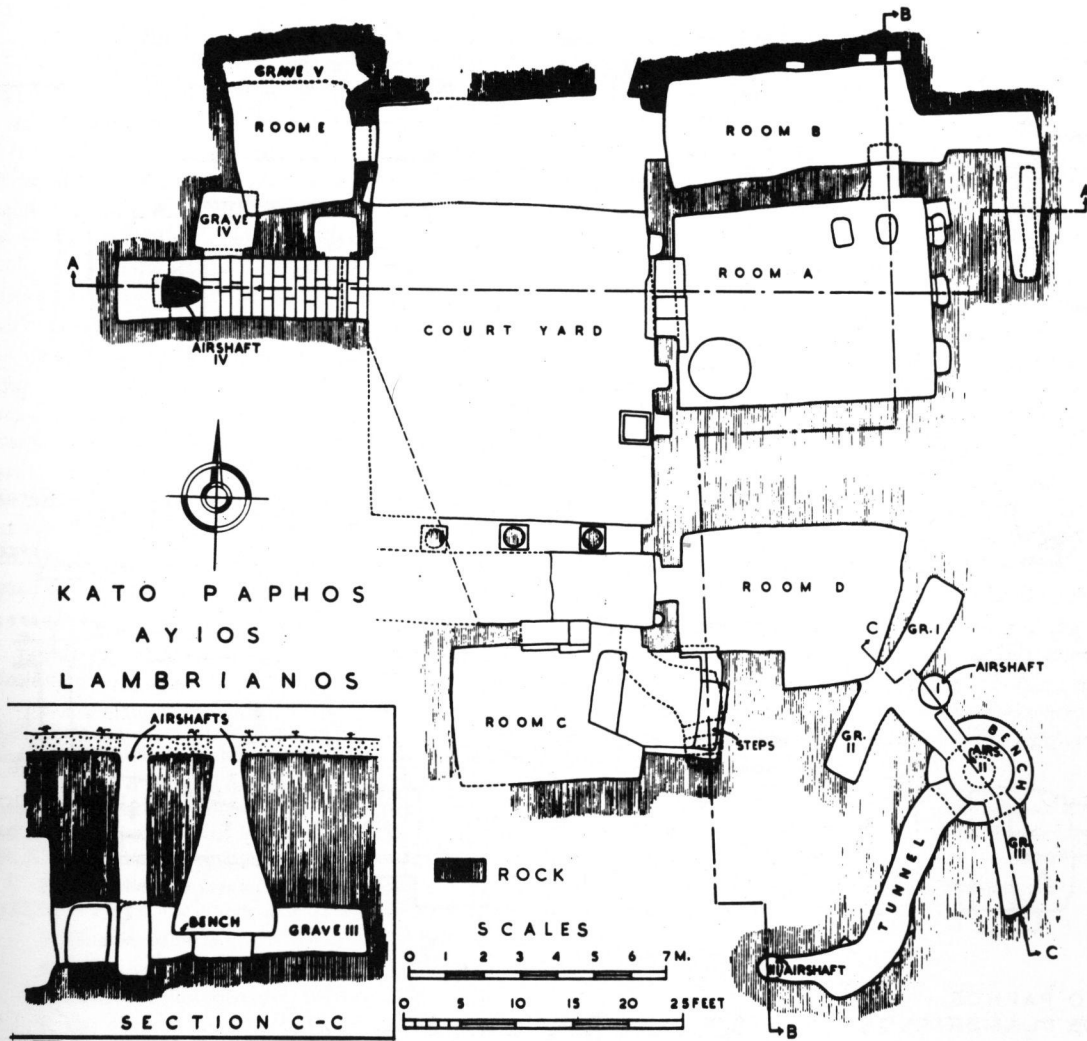


Fig. 2. Ground plan and Section C-C of the Ayios Lambrianos 'catacombs' (drawn by Elias Markou).

the 5th cent. B.C., originally belonged to this settlement or to another one located further to the east. When a part of this necropolis was abandoned, one of the grander tombs was adapted to serve as the oracular vault of Apollo Hylates; this happened in the times of king Timarchos or of his son Nikokles, possibly in connection with the foundation of Nea Paphos.

Finally, it remains to be said that the area in which we tentatively locate the Classical settlement preceding the foundation of Nea Paphos, had not been covered by the 1951-1952 trial excavations (which could have decided the question either way), so that we have still no sure archaeological evidence, either in favour of or against the hypothesis presented above.

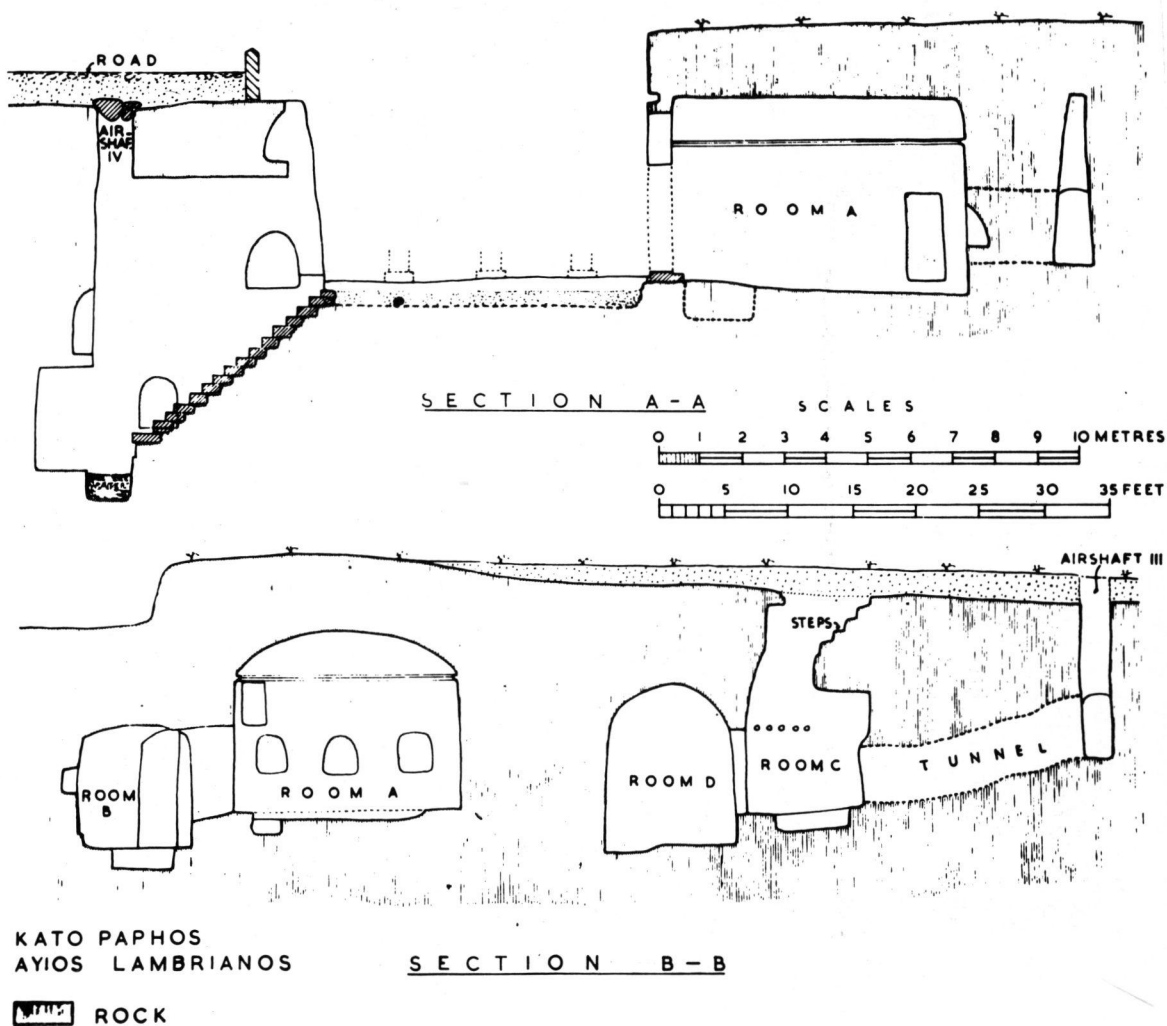


Fig. 3. Sections A-A and B-B of the Ayios Lambrianos 'catacombs' (drawn by Elias Markou).