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Impressions, Itineraries and Perceptions of a Coastscape: The Case of Medieval Paphos (A.D. 12th–16th Century)

Maria Ktori

The author analyzes the monumental topography of Paphos, a harbor town in western Cyprus, during the Lusignan (A.D. 1191/92-1474/89) and the Venetian periods (1474/89-1570/71). The analysis was based on narrative sources (primarily travelogues and chronicles), as well as archaeological finds. These were used to record the activities reflecting its economy, character, and geographical range, its mariculture. The process highlighted the vulnerability of the medieval monuments and the importance of creating a Cultural Heritage Management plan. Potential cultural trails can highlight new areas of cultural interest, consider others under new light, and raise awareness among the public in order to safeguard them.

Introduction

Medieval travelers and pilgrims often describe Paphos as a once glorious town that had been reduced to a mere derelict village. This short description underlines what they had encountered when visiting Paphos on their way to the Holy Land: a coastal landscape, abundant in ancient ruins and other interesting monuments without its former glory. Their travelogues are usually written in the form of diaries, furnishing the genre of travel literature with one of its main characteristics (Grivaud 1990:11). Diaries are a very personal form of writing, reflecting the author's mentality, convictions and perceptions of reality. These texts, although short when compared to other literary genres, provide information on various subjects and raise questions on the circulation of ideas in the Middle Ages.

The present work derives information from a larger project, concerning the partial reconstruction of Paphos' monumental topography during the Lusignan and Venetian periods. Paphos' medieval topography has received little attention when compared to the study of the town during other periods, such as the Hellenistic or Roman, and even less attention, compared to medieval Nicosia (Leventis 2005; Trélat 2009; Michaelides 2012) or Famagusta (Enlart 1987; Walsh, Kiss and Coureas 2014). This created a gap in understanding and interpreting the town's fragmented topography and the "umbrella" project was established to minimize it. Paphos' medieval monuments were studied both as unique entities and within the urban landscape nexus, to illustrate the evolution over time and contextualize processes often described in historical sources.

It is accepted that townscapes and their populations have strong connections with their territories,

hinterlands, and natural resources, all comprising their landscape (Christie 2004). Human impact, as well as the influence of the environment on human activities, can create impressions which are often expressed in the form of short notes, lengthy travelogues or paintings. Landscape Archeology offers significant analytical possibilities in interpreting such phenomena, characterized by an integrated multidisciplinary approach (Bintliff 1999; David and Thomas 2008). The temporal and spatial variation is acknowledged and reflected in a case-dependent, flexible methodology, throughout the development of a given project (Christie 2004:4); the present study of Paphos was no different, while its coastal setting adds another layer of complexity, predicated on its being a maritime landscape (Ford 2011).

Paphos' maritime cultural landscape encompasses every activity associated with the sea and the coastline, whether far-ranging (e.g. maritime trade) or close-ranging (e.g. coastal fort maintenance). Its topography reminds one of Westerdahl's (1992:5–6) theoretical approach: the landscape is multi-faceted as attested by pre-industrial, military and religious activities. It is chronologically multi-layered, and has a profound action radius based on the exports of local wares, particularly to the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. Paphos' landscape evolution over time reflects local and regional developments, as per Westerdahl's notion of the cognitive landscape, contributing to the reconstruction of the town's functions, trade relations, and the flow of people and ideas.

The medieval perception of Paphos as a harbor, landing place or entrepôt, coexists with that of pilgrim itineraries, providing contextual information for secular and sacred places, as well as archaeological finds. These were used here to record the activities which reflect its economy, character, and geographical range, or, its

mariculture (Westerdahl 1992:6). This process highlighted the vulnerability of the medieval monuments and the importance of creating a Cultural Heritage Management plan, to highlight new areas of cultural interest, consider others under new light and examine the future prospects of medieval monuments in a developing modern urban landscape.

Materials, Methods and Objectives

The methodology reflects both the data used in this study and the objectives mentioned below. Travelogues became the starting point, as they furnished information stemming from impressions, comments, and experiences, which were collected and assessed both individually and comparatively. Chronicles provided necessary data on the historical and political events, and contributed another perspective on Paphos' development. Moreover, they were used to gauge the accuracy of travelogues. The sources are dated between the 12th and 16th centuries: A.D. 1150 was the conventional cut-off point used for the texts, in order to focus on those chronologically closer to the beginning of the Lusignan period in 1191-1192.

The literary sources gave a clearer view of *loci communes* in the description of monuments, yet their combination with archaeological data was challenging. Maier and Karageorghis' (1984) general volume on Paphos' history and archeology remains the most important work to date, but there are no works focusing on the 12th-16th centuries. Several other issues plague the period's archeology: most archaeological finds come from rescue excavations, the majority of the material remains unpublished or is only partially published in brief articles, and there is a general neglect and lack of particular focus on archaeological research concerning medieval Paphos.

The substantial research on Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Paphos provided a good starting point to delve into its medieval topography. Młynarczyk (1990) and Vitas (2013) focused on the Hellenistic period, while Gkioles (2003) furnishes an expansive overview of Paphos in his textbook on the Early Christian and Byzantine heritage of Cyprus. Chotzakoglou's (2005) chapter on Byzantine archeology of the island focuses only on monuments, particularly their architecture and decoration, whereas Gkioles briefly discussed other forms of art (e.g. illuminated manuscripts). Various aspects of Roman Paphos have been presented elsewhere and although they do not address topography directly,

they provide a background to understand the landscape evolution (Bekker-Nielsen 2004; Lysandrou 2014).

The joint consideration of literary and archaeological data has evoked a more coherent image of medieval Paphos, which resulted in the following: a) partial reconstruction of Paphos' monumental topography, b) critical assessment of the literary information on the identity of monuments, c) identification of Cultural Heritage Management issues, and, d) proposal of possible solutions to promote and safeguard medieval monuments.

Monuments across Time and Space: Interpreting Literary Sources and Archaeological Data

Harbor towns are places bustling with people who influence the natural landscape to accommodate their needs and activities. Whether the harbor is natural or artificial, military or commercial, building harbor installations is essential towards establishing a safe haven for vessels. Merchant and passenger vessels frequenting commercial harbors contribute in their development, as foreigners would engage in trading and purchase local goods. Consequently, local inhabitants and authorities profit and reinvest their gains. For example, tax revenue from trading can be redirected towards the construction or repair of administrative, storage or other buildings directly related to harbor activities. Although one can surmise that such buildings existed, it is difficult to identify them at Paphos without archaeological or other evidence.

The successful ventures of the Crusaders in the Middle East and the establishment of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem gave a new impetus to medieval pilgrimage. As pilgrims embarked on their journey to visit places where the events of the Bible had taken place, maritime powers such as Pisa, Genoa and Venice controlled the seaborne routes in the eastern Mediterranean and pilgrim transportation (Jacoby 1986). Many pilgrims set off from Venice to go to Acre, which had become a religious center particularly after the fall of Jerusalem to the Ayyubids in 1187 (Jacoby 1986:28). Cyprus' geographic location along the seaborne routes, between the Italian harbor cities frequented by pilgrims and Acre, was not ignored. The island was incorporated in medieval pilgrimage routes relatively quickly, initially as a stop for vessels that needed supplies to complete their journey. The early contracts between pilgrims and ship captains included a clause mentioning they could stay in Cyprus for only three days during their journey to

the Holy Land (Grivaud 1990:23), while later contracts included a visit to Nicosia (Von Breydenbach 1911:xii). The primary sources provided a glimpse into Paphos' topography between 1191 and 1571. The quality of the information varied as the authors provided the amount of details they considered meaningful. Their personal perspective and the influence of the available literary sources are often difficult to distinguish, but still allowed the identification of areas of interest.

Chronicles and travelogues are the two types of narrative sources used and dated between the late 12th to 16th centuries. Travelogues provided the basis for identifying monuments, as travelers often provided detailed descriptions. A number of compilations of excerpts from travelogues mentioning Cyprus have been published by Cobham (1969 [1908]), Mogabgab (1941; 1943; 1945), Flourentzos (1977) and Grivaud (1990). These provided the basic information on monuments and the landscape itself, complemented by papal letters (Schabel 2010), and a series of chronicles written by Leontios Machairas (1932; 2003), Florio Bustron (1886; 1998), George Bustronios (1997; 2005), Francesco Amadi (Amadi and Strambaldi 1891; Coureas and Edbury 2015), Estienne de Lusignan (1580; 2004), and Pietro Valderio (1996).

Once the literary data were combined with the archaeological finds, it became possible to identify areas and types of activity: military, religious, pre-industrial, and trading. Another group of monuments emerged though, which cannot be integrated in the topography at present. These monuments are: a) known only from sources and cannot be located, b) known from their

architectural remains but lack any other pertinent information, and, c) a series of unassociated finds to any monument or site (Figure 1).

Fortifications and Harbor Installations

Archaeological investigations from the 1980s onwards established that Paphos is a settlement tracing its roots to the Cypro-Archaic Period, an assertion corroborated by the existence of the 160-meter-long defensive wall at Paphos-*Marcello* (Iacovou 2008) and necropolis and tombs in the area dated to between the 11th and 3rd centuries BC (Daszewski 1985; 1987).

The harbor installations and fortifications had remained visible but changed considerably over the centuries. St. Neophytos' imprisonment in the φροντριον (*frouirion*, fort) located at the ναυσταθμος (*nafstathmos*, harbor) area draws our attention (Chotzakoglou 2005:557), as Nicholas of Thingeyrar and Roger of Howden mention a castellum in the 12th century (Petre 2012:315). These texts are thought-provoking, especially in light of the finds from nearby Saranda Kolones Castle. Megaw had argued that the circular corner tower of Saranda Kolones was of Crusader origin, possibly constructed in 1192 as an independent structure and later incorporated into the castle (Megaw and Rosser 2001). A Crusader tower would only tally with Roger of Howden's testimony, as his text is dated sometime after 1191. Petre (2012:315-316) notes that it is unclear what kind of defense building is referred to, yet it must have had a military character. The location of these monuments can only be estimated at this point (Figure 1),

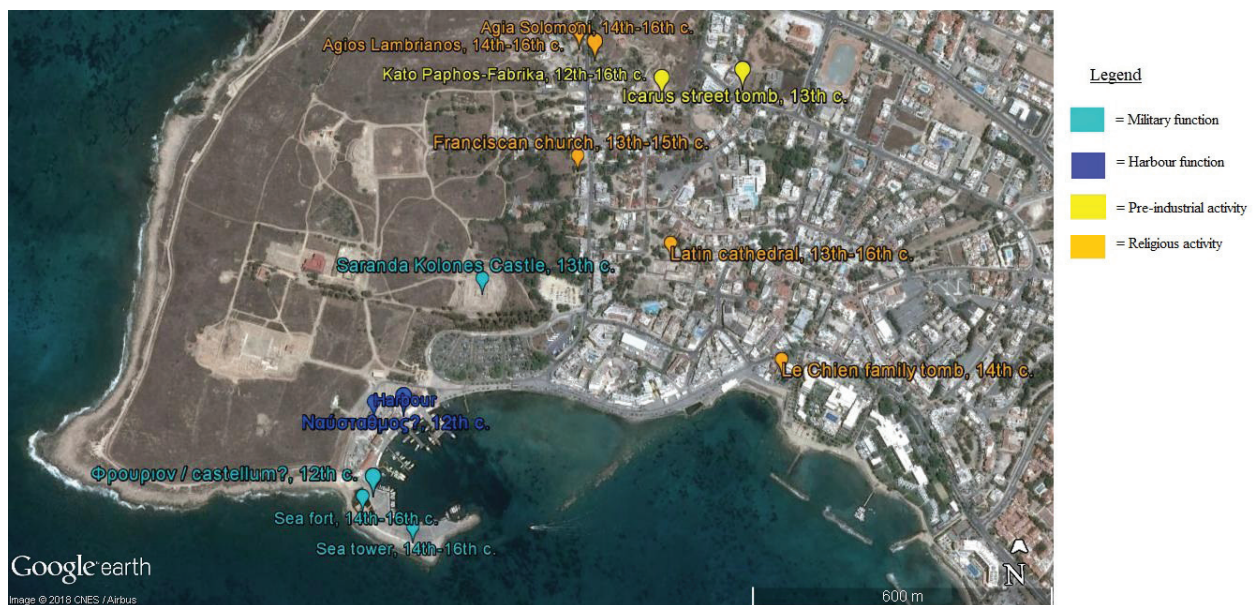


Figure 1: Paphos' function zones (A.D. 12th – 16th centuries).

yet one can assume they were situated somewhere in the harbor zone.

The harbor area changed significantly in the 13th century once the Saranda Kolones Castle was built, on a sloping hill overlooking the area (Figure 2). The material culture related to the Crusaders (Megaw 1972:340–343) and the castle outline were key factors in attributing it to a military order or even Aimery of Lusignan (1194–1205) (Megaw 1984; Megaw 1994; Rosser, 2010). This led to a complete reconsideration of the construction chronology, privileging the late 12th to early 13th century.

The castle is an imposing feature in the landscape but its destruction in 1222 (Department of Antiquities 1958:16; Department of Antiquities 1959:14–18; Megaw 1971:118), or, as per Von Wartburg (2001) during the 1268 earthquake, naturally prevented any later travelers from making further observations, since it was never rebuilt (Megaw 1971:130; Rosser 2004). The harbor fort and coastal tower were likely erected to defend the area after the loss of Saranda Kolones. The mid-13th-century portolan Parma Magliabecchi advised seamen to anchor their vessels east of the tower, possibly near Moulia Rocks, an anchoring location favored by the mid-14th-century portolan Il Compasso da Navigare (Gertwagen 1995:518). While the first source provides a terminus ante quem for the construction of the tower, the portolans do not indicate a military function.

The construction of the medieval fort benefited from the previous, structurally resilient harbor installations (Gertwagen 1995:518). The allied Genoese forces took over the *καστελλία* (*kastellia*, castles) (Machairas 1932:358–359; Machairas 2003:276, MS V, fol. 158r;

O, fol. 148r; R, fol. 103r), noted in *Amadi* as *fortezze* (Amadi and Strambaldi 1891:444; Coureas and Edbury 2015:404, §899). The Genoese then raised the originally low walls and created a moat for a more effective defense, which gave the fort its present form (Machairas 1932:358–359; Machairas 2003:276, MS V, fol.158r-v). Sources of the 15th century state that Paphos had been ravaged by earthquakes to the point of being reduced to a small harbor town. Travelers referred to the 14th-century fort and tower, demonstrating that they had remained functional in the 15th century, whereas Leonida Attar's 1542 map indicates that the harbor and its fortifications were present (Cavazzana-Romanelli and Grivaud 2006:102) (Figure 3). Their condition remains unclear but the garrison stationed at the 'castle of Paphos' shows that the sea fort remained operational (Bustronios 1997:108), at least until 1566, when Fürer von Haimendorf visited Paphos and spoke of a small harbor with a castle (Młynarczyk 1990:40).

Pre-Industrial Activity and Habitation Area

Pre-industrial activities have been securely identified and dated in two locations: the Kato-Paphos *Fabrika* site, and in an underground Roman tomb which was converted into a workshop in the 13th century. A team from the University of Sydney has been excavating the ancient theater at *Fabrika* hill since 1995 (Green, Barker and Gabrieli 2004:3), and revealed a medieval building complex erected over the orchestra still under investigation (Department of Antiquities 2007:70). The pottery from closed deposits and scattered finds belongs to three occupational phases: Early / Industrial Phase (late 12th–early 14th century), Middle / Habitation Phase (late

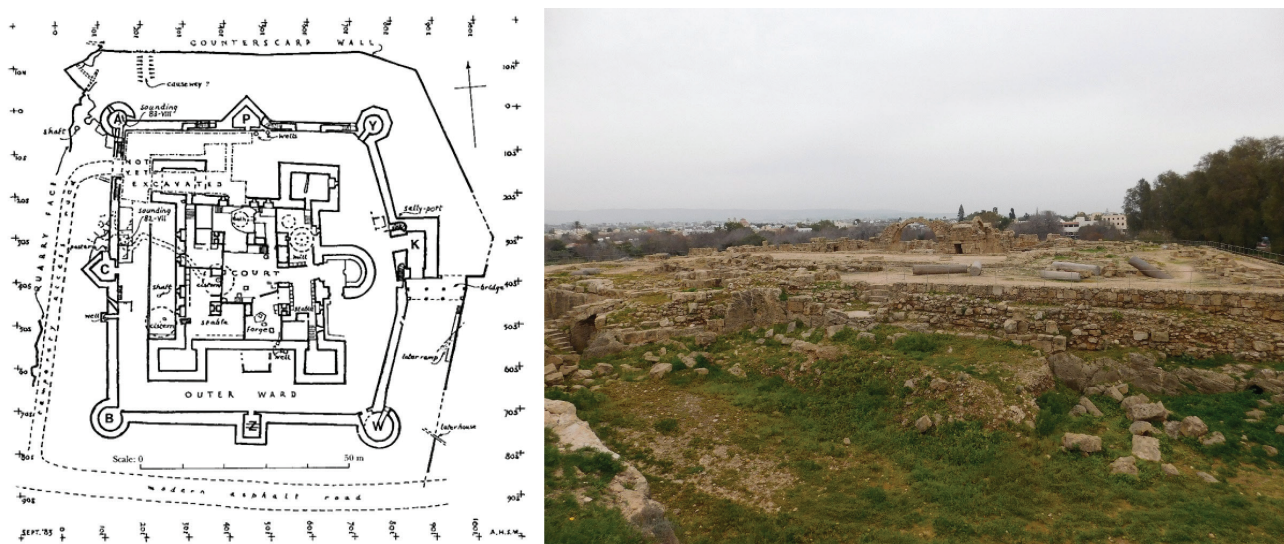


Figure 2: The Saranda Kolones Castle 1985 plan (left; Rosser 1985:83) and photo (right; author).

14th–15th century), Late / Rebuilding and Habitation Phase (16th–17th century).

The pre-industrial activities, found mainly southwest of the orchestra area, may have given the hill its toponym. The team identified those elements early on: layers of ash, burnt material, signs of metalworking (metal slag, runs from molding) and glass manufacture (Department of Antiquities 2007:70). The kilns attest to large-scale glazed pottery manufacture (Green, Barker and Gabrieli 2004:3; Green et al. 2014:15), while the system of interconnected cisterns over the eastern *parodos* area was considered to have been used for tanning leather (Department of Antiquities 2010:64; Barker 2009–2010:16–19). The discovery of a medieval farmstead adds another layer of complexity, as agriculture was simultaneously practiced at the site (Department of Antiquities 2003:55). A team of researchers from the University of Avignon has identified a possible habitation quarter during their investigation regarding the ancient walls of Nea Paphos (Balandier and Morvillez 2009:434–436), as well as a medieval hydraulics system related to a cistern (Balandier 2012:151–164).

Fabrika did not develop in isolation, but was connected with its surroundings based on the finds from the Roman tomb at Icarus Street, from a rescue excavation in 2001. They recovered 13th-century glazed wares, coarse wares and Levantine imports (Raptou 2006:319; Gabrieli 2008). The coarse wares formed an assemblage belonging to a complete household, while the absence of large storing vessels indicates that the tomb was perhaps used for only a brief period (Gabrieli 2008:423–426). The assemblage was compared with the material from *Fabrika*, Saranda Kolones, the three pit groups Megaw

excavated in 1937–1939 at Nicosia, and Flourentzos' rescue excavation of a medieval well in the capital in 1988 (Megaw 1951; Flourentzos 1994:4–5; Gabrieli 2008:427–444).

The tomb at Icarus Street is connected to other underground tombs, previously discovered during rescue excavations in the 1990s (Raptou 2006:319). The pottery indicates that this underground system was perhaps established in the 13th–14th centuries (Raptou 2006:319; Gabrieli 2008; Department of Antiquities 1991:69). The complex hydraulic installations effectively converted the tombs into a type of workshop (Department of Antiquities 1991:69), showing how the locals repurposed existing structures to meet their needs. The system demonstrates that one should look for pre-industrial activities in less conventional environments, while a complete investigation would provide significant information on how the *Fabrika* area developed and what its connection might have been to the repurposed tombs.

Religious Sites

The religious sites of Paphos can be distinguished into shrines (Agia Solomoni, Agios Lambrianos), and churches (Latin cathedral at Agia Kyriaki Chrysopolitissa area, Franciscan church). The 'Catacombs' of Agia Solomoni and Agios Lambrianos show an evolution of their identity and a site repurposing process similar to the tomb at Icarus Street. These underground complexes are situated in close proximity, at the southwestern edge of *Fabrika* (Młynarczyk 1990:88–90). Evidence indicates that they were altered to accommodate ongoing sepulchral needs and converted into cult places, probably simultaneously,



Figure 3: Southeast view of the harbor fort (left; author) and a detail from Leonida p (right; Cavazzana–Romanelli and Grivaud 2006:102).

for Christian worship (Młynarczyk 1990:225–226; Papageorgiou 1996:153; Vitas 2013:157–160; Lysandrou 2014:214–215). They are mentioned more often in 15th-century travelogues, due to an increased interest in the early years of Christianity in Cyprus and the phenomenon of *interpretatio christiana* (Calvelli 2009:29).

Both shrines were a favorite stop for pilgrims. The descriptions of the grotto of the Seven Maccabees or the Seven Sleeper Saints correspond to Agia Solomoni: a stairway leading underground, niches on the walls and a fountain of healing water which is still in use even today. The Byzantine mid-14th century frescoes at Agia Solomoni (Hatfield-Young and Hatfield-Young 1978; Papageorgiou, 1966), carved crosses and Greek and Latin graffiti on the frescoes and walls indicate the diachronic religious character of the monument, with different approaches to the shrine on the part of their authors (Volanakis 2001; Meinardus 1969; Trentin and Hadjikyriakos 2007; Trentin 2010). Latin graffiti can be linked to travelogue entries mentioning visits to religious sites, and therefore elucidate the pilgrims' landscape perceptions and intended itineraries. Conversely, the Greek graffiti suggests that the Orthodox associated it with a spiritual journey, even seeking divine protection (Trentin 2010:300–302, 320).

Agios Lambrianos 'catacomb' has been linked to St. Paul's incarceration incident. According to several travelogues, his prison was supposedly located beneath the Franciscan church (Grivaud 1990:35, 89–91; Cobham 1969 [1908]:51). Ulrich Brunner described it as an underground complex with four caverns and a well (Grivaud 1990:78–79; Calvelli 2009:29), while others noted numerous caves below the Franciscan church (Grivaud 1990:98–101, 106–111). Fra Noe's late 15th-century description of the landscape provides accurate directions to the shrine: it is near a church with a fountain of healing water and the underground rooms of the Seven Sleepers, i.e. opposite Agia Solomoni (Cobham 1969 [1908]:53).

The Franciscan church, frequently associated with the incarceration of St. Paul and Barnabas in 15th-century texts, was mistaken by Enlart to be the Latin cathedral (Enlart 1987:357–358). Currently known as 'Panagia Galatiani / Galatariotissa', it is almost completely ruined. The simplicity of the single-nave edifice and its proximity to the catacombs are indicative of its identity (Olympios 2011:117). Its design was influenced by the Franciscan church of Famagusta, which had been completed in the 1290s, and together with Angelo Clareno's comment in

his *Chronica septem tribulationum Ordinis Minorum*, the evidence points to a late-13th-century date (Olympios 2011:105, 118–119; Golubovich 1906:345).

The Agia Kyriaki Chrysopolitissa site is about 400 meters east of Saranda Kolones Castle and was continuously used in a religious context: the 4th century Early Christian basilica was expanded in the 6th century, the Latin cathedral was erected adjacent to it in the 14th, and a Christian Orthodox church was erected in the 15th. The space was used for both religious and secular purposes as the archaeologists found 14th century houses below the 15th-century Orthodox church (Department of Antiquities 1965:11), concurrent with the Latin cathedral based on the chronology of the pottery assemblage (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1988:245–248) and the recovery of a coin of Hugh IV (1324–1359). The area around the churches had been used as a cemetery at the same time (Department of Antiquities 1973:14; Department of Antiquities 1974:29; Department of Antiquities 1992:60). The Early Christian mosaic floors were destroyed in the process of creating graves, and the archaeologists recovered five tombstones in total from the Latin cathedral furnishing a 14th-century date on epigraphical and stylistic grounds (Department of Antiquities 1972:22; Imhaus 2004, I:227–229).

A final area with a religious character is situated at the Porto Paphos Hotel, just outside the ancient walls. The accidental discovery of the Le Chien family tomb in 1982 under the hotel provides us the easternmost attested limit of the 14th-century urban development. The tomb was possibly related to a church known to have existed there (Imhaus 2004, I:230–232), similarly to the tombstones found at the Latin cathedral, although their relationship remains unclear.

Coastal Monuments as an Educational Tool: The 'Medieval Cultural Trails' Concept

Rogers (2013) aptly discusses the importance of applying a social approach to port and harbor studies, as harbors have a diachronic importance in travel, trade and human interaction, to name but a few areas. Harbors are integral in many of the key themes that are significant throughout history, which is evident in the case of the Paphos harbor, too. The harbor accommodated various activities, ranging from trading and travelling, to defending the town from possible incursions and pirate raids. It was further associated with the pre-industrial activities identified at *Fabrika* and Icarus Street, and provided the necessary seaborne link to perform long-distance trade

and travelling. There are certain harbor facilities which are absent in the archaeological record, but must have existed nonetheless. Granaries, a customs house, docks and jetties are the primary features that come to mind when thinking of trading activities, loading and unloading goods from vessels. The presence of passing travelers would require the existence of one or more loggie, if not in the immediate harbor area, then certainly in close proximity.

The military buildings at the harbor add another layer to Paphos' daily life, as they are naturally associated with army corps. Soldiers and commanding officers were stationed there, which meant that barracks and a storage space for munitions and equipment must have been the minimum requirements to facilitate military activities. One could also entertain the possibility of having soldiers patrolling the harbor as part of their duties, signifying thus the relationship between the capital, and the ruler, with such a remote urban center. The imposing Saranda Kolones Castle could also be interpreted as a sign of the firm administrative link between Paphos and the Lusignan kings in the 13th century, when they were

consolidating their rule in Cyprus. This creates questions about the location of the administrative buildings and their relationship with the military center, which apparently remained in the harbor during the Lusignan and Venetian periods.

The results further demonstrated that medieval monuments have been neglected both in terms of research and appreciation from the public. This resulted from the comparative review of the annual number of tourists visiting Cyprus (locals and foreigners), available from the Cyprus Tourism Organization (CTO), for the years 2002-2016 (Table 1). The numbers refer only to those renting accommodation, since one cannot monitor locals on a day trip or staying with family and friends. Nonetheless, it was useful to juxtapose these with the annual number of local and foreign visitors at museums and monuments, which were kindly provided by the Department of Antiquities. The total number includes both paid and free entrance tickets, the latter being only a small percentage. The emerging trends demonstrated a clear preference to visiting monuments located at Paphos city than the District Museum. Visitors pay a small

Year	Total number of tourists in Cyprus	Tourists staying at Paphos and Polis (number)	Tourists staying at Paphos and Polis (%)	Paphos district museum visitors	Paphos district museum visitors (%)	Paphos district monumen ts visitors	Paphos district monumen ts visitors (%)
2002	2,418,238	739981	30.6	76775	10.4	611887	82.7
2003	2,303,247	796924	34.6	66730	8.4	548890	68.9
2004	2,349,012	810409	34.5	60795	7.5	590400	72.9
2005	2,470,063	859582	34.8	57892	6.7	602429	70.1
2006	2,400,924	847526	35.3	56176	6.6	534589	63.1
2007	2,416,081	811803	33.6	51817	6.4	507622	62.5
2008	2,403,750	831698	34.6	55647	6.7	481751	57.9
2009	2,141,193	708735	33.1	54964	7.8	445123	62.8
2010	2,172,998	695359	32.0	51201	7.3	460949	66.3
2011	2,392,228	830103	34.7	55681	6.7	506812	61
2012	2,464,908	894762	36.3	53203	6	489789	54.7
2013	2,405,390	930886	38.7	46335	5	442485	47.5
2014	2,441,239	934995	38.3	43387	4.6	375424	41.1
2015	2,659,405	1106313	41.6	44794	4.1	406051	36.7
2016	3,186,531	1242747	39.0	49317	4	434407	35
Total:	36,625,207	13,041,823	35.6	824714	6.3	7438608	57

Table 1: Annual number of tourists at Paphos district and monument visits

entrance fee only for two monuments (Tombs of the Kings, Harbor fort), and the Kato Paphos Archaeological Park which actually encloses several more monuments (e.g. House of Aion, Saranda Kolones Castle). Since not all monuments require an admission fee, it is difficult to estimate their popularity and could not include here monuments such as Agia Kyriaki Chrysopolitissa or Fabrika hill. Some monuments are not open to the public due to ongoing excavations, whereas those located at the Archaeological Park are accessible by paying a general entrance fee which, in both cases hinders further insight on which monument(s) one may visit and the reasons for doing so.

The data showed a decrease in visitors at monuments over time, especially in the years 2012-2016, whereas museum visits dropped from 6% to 4% during the same period. There is a stark contrast in the overall number of tourists, which rose above one million in 2015 and 2016, and sparked further analysis on specialized tourism. Changing trends in the tourism industry since the 1980s promote alternative forms of tourism, especially Cultural Tourism (Du Cros and McKercher, 2015:1-3). McKercher and Du Cros (2005:211-212) aptly defined it as “a form of tourism that relies on a destination’s cultural heritage assets and transforms them into products that can be consumed by tourists”. Paphos is evidently a favorite tourist destination. Its cultural assets could be used to differentiate and reposition the Cypriot tourist product, and local stakeholders should be engaged in sustainable tourism development (Du Cros and McKercher, 2015:9-11).

The city offers several built heritage examples, and unlocking the 12th-16th century landscape brought forth various function zones which can be used in creating thematic cultural trails. The author performed a Strengths-Weaknesses-Opportunities-Threats analysis which illuminated several aspects of such an attempt. Harbor installations and fortifications would be an ideal function zone to establish a cultural tourism trail, as they are easily accessible, already frequently visited and one would need to make minimal changes to accommodate a trail. The pedestrian walkway provides immediate access to harbor zone monuments and the possibility of setting up information panels from the cape to the harbor fort and the sea wall ruins. More panels could be placed around Saranda Kolones Castle, introducing new concepts to the public such as the impressions of foreign travelers while their vessel was approaching the coast. Information on medieval fortifications, pilgrim

itineraries and the use of landmarks for sailing are just a few of the topics a visitor could read about.

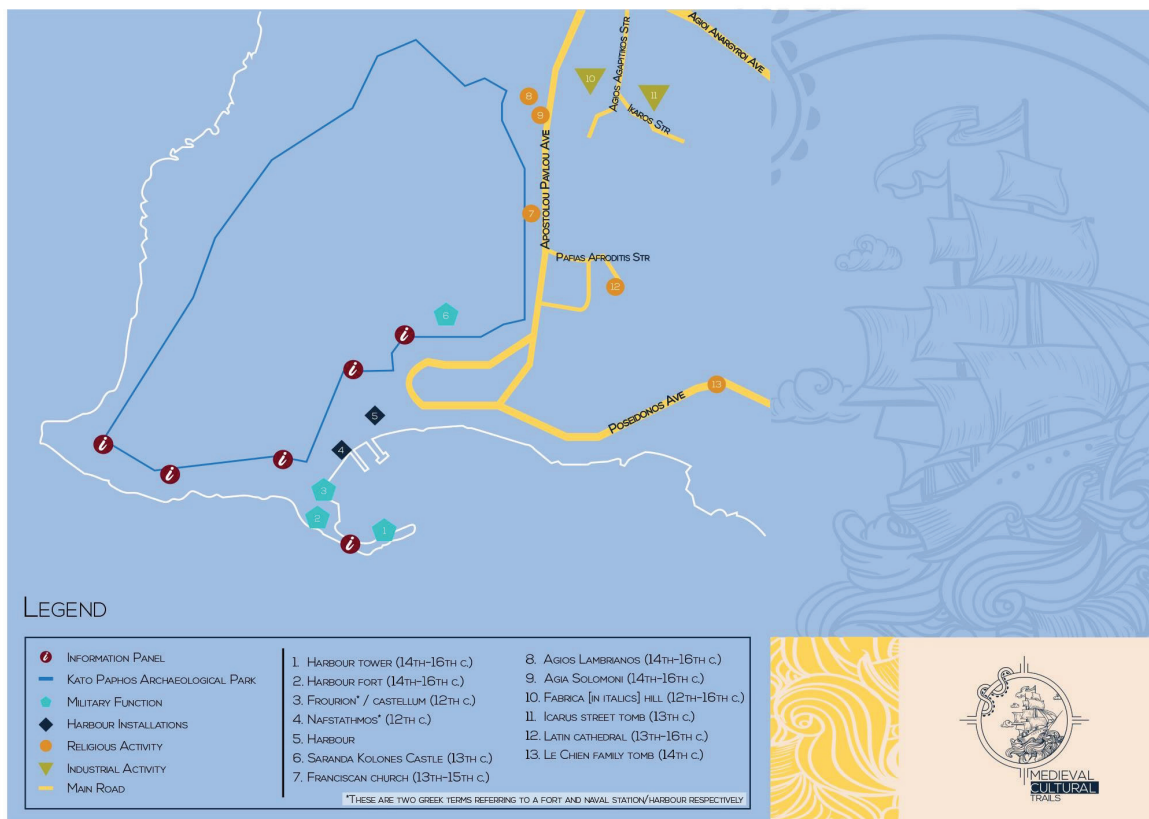
The endeavor would take time to prepare and implement, while hiring and training staff is essential. This is currently a weakness, as the human resources of the Department of Antiquities are spread thinly and understaffing remains a critical issue. However, one may moderate it by providing short seminars to accredited CTO guides who will then facilitate future excursions related to the proposed trail. This also keeps the overall expenses very low; funds can be redirected to designing and printing customized leaflets and even a mobile phone application for a self-guided tour.

The Saranda Kolones Castle offers tremendous possibilities if used as an educational tool, for both layperson and archaeologists alike. The latter, being a specialized target group would benefit from using the castle as an educational tool: archeology students could attend short courses and receive hands-on training on harbor fortifications, military architecture, its association with Crusader castles such as Belvoir, and Paphos’ historical context in the 12th-16th centuries.

All these elements were taken into consideration, to select and pilot test an easy, efficient way of conveying archaeological data to the public. To that end, a series of guided tours has been scheduled by the author, to assess the proposed cultural trail described in this paper and later connect it with the appropriate educational material. Previous research on visitors’ experience to archaeological sites and monuments further demonstrated that a tour guide would need a tool to iterate all the information related to the trail; a leaflet was selected as first method to be tested and subsequently improved based on the participants’ feedback (Figure 4).

The logo depicts a galleon sailing to its destination and is the visual representation of the concept behind the trail: the visitor will be guided through the Frankish and Venetian coastal landscape of a harbor city, which had been frequented by pilgrims and travelers of the time. The map marks the monuments on the modern urban nexus, and informs one of the function zones based on the monument uses between the late 12th to 16th centuries. This first instalment in a series of three leaflets focuses on the harbor installations and fortifications, thus, the short information text is about the harbor fort and Saranda Kolones Castle only.

The associations among artifacts, their location at an archaeological site, the intentions and hypotheses related to their function, are considered a medium allowing one to reconnect with the distant past (Chourmouziade



HARBOUR FORT

THE DESTRUCTION OF SARANDA KOLONES IN 1222, OR ACCORDING TO SOME RESEARCHERS IN 1268, CREATED A GAP IN THE HARBOUR DEFENCE. THE HARBOUR FORT AND COASTAL TOWER WERE LIKELY ERECTED TO DEFEND THE AREA AFTER ITS LOSS. THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE MEDIEVAL SEA FORT BENEFITED FROM THE PREVIOUS, STRUCTURALLY RESILIENT HARBOUR INSTALLATIONS. ACCORDING TO LEONTIOS MACHAIRAS' CHRONICLE, THE ALLIED GENOISE FORCES TOOK OVER THE KASTEVANIA (KASTELLIA, CASTLES) DURING THE 1373 RAIDS. THEY THEN RAISED THE ORIGINALLY LOW WALLS AND CREATED A MOAT FOR A MORE EFFECTIVE DEFENCE, WHICH GAVE THE FORT ITS PRESENT FORM.

SOURCES OF THE 15TH CENTURY STATE THAT PAPHOS HAD BEEN RAVAGED BY EARTHQUAKES TO THE POINT OF BEING REDUCED TO A SMALL HARBOUR TOWN. TRAVELLERS REFERRED TO THE HARBOUR FORT AND TOWER, DEMONSTRATING THAT THEY HAD REMAINED FUNCTIONAL IN THE 15TH CENTURY, WHEREAS LEONIDA ATTARI'S 1542 MAP INDICATES THAT THE HARBOUR AND ITS FORTIFICATIONS WERE PRESENT. THEIR CONDITION REMAINS UNCLEAR BUT THE GARRISON STATIONED AT THE 'CASTLE OF PAPHOS' SHOWS THAT THE SEA FORT REMAINED OPERATIONAL, AT LEAST UNTIL 1566, WHEN FÖRER VON HAIMENDORF VISITED PAPHOS AND SPOKE OF A SMALL HARBOUR WITH A CASTLE.

SARANDA KOLONES CASTLE

HARBOUR TOWNS ARE PLACES BUSTLING WITH PEOPLE WHO INFLUENCE THE NATURAL LANDSCAPE TO ACCOMMODATE THEIR NEEDS AND ACTIVITIES. WHETHER THE HARBOUR IS NATURAL OR ARTIFICIAL, MILITARY OR COMMERCIAL, BUILDING HARBOUR INSTALLATIONS IS ESSENTIAL TOWARDS ESTABLISHING A SAFE HAVEN FOR VESSELS.

PAPHOS' HARBOUR INSTALLATIONS, DATED IN THE HELLENISTIC PERIOD, HAD REMAINED VISIBLE BUT CHANGED CONSIDERABLY OVER TIME. ST. NEOPHYTOS' IMPRISONMENT IN THE GPOYPRION (FROURION, FORT) LOCATED AT THE NAFSTATHMOS (NAFSTATH-MOS, HARBOUR) AREA DRAWS OUR ATTENTION, WHILE NICHOLAS OF THINGEBYAR AND ROGER OF HOWDEN MENTION A CASTELLUM IN THE 12TH CENTURY. THE LOCATION OF THESE MONUMENTS CAN ONLY BE ESTIMATED AT THIS POINT, BUT THEY WERE PROBABLY SITUATED SOMEWHERE IN THE HARBOUR ZONE.

THE HARBOUR AREA CHANGED SIGNIFICANTLY IN THE 13TH CENTURY ONCE THE SARANDA KOLONES CASTLE WAS BUILT, ON A SLOPING HILL OVERLOOKING THE AREA. THE MATERIAL CULTURE RELATED TO THE CRUSADERS AND THE CASTLE OUTLINE WERE KEY FACTORS IN ATTRIBUTING IT TO A MILITARY ORDER OR EVEN AIMERY OF LUSIGNAN.

USEFUL INFORMATION

DEPARTMENT OF ANTIQUITIES
1 MUSEUM AVENUE, P.O. Box 22024,
NICOSIA 1516
TEL: 0035722865888, 0035722865873
FAX: 22303148
antiquitiesdept@da.mcw.gov.cy

NEA PAPHOS (UNESCO ARCHAEOLOGICAL PARK)
WINTER HOURS (16/9 - 15/4)
MONDAY - SUNDAY: 08.30 - 17.00

SUMMER HOURS (16/4 - 15/9)
MONDAY - SUNDAY: 08.30 - 19.30

HARBOUR FORT
WINTER HOURS (16/9 - 15/4)
MONDAY - SUNDAY: 08.30 - 17.00

SUMMER HOURS (16/4 - 15/9)
MONDAY - SUNDAY: 08.30 - 19.30

THE MEDIEVAL CULTURAL TRAILS

WAS CREATED BY **MARIA KTORI**, TO FACILITATE WALKING TOURS RELATED TO FRANKISH AND VENETIAN MONUMENTS AT PAPHOS. THIS TRAIL FOCUSES ON HARBOUR INSTALLATIONS AND FORTIFICATIONS; MORE TRAILS ON RELIGIOUS AND PRE-INDUSTRIAL ACTIVITIES ARE PLANNED AS WELL.

CONTACT DETAILS
maria.ktori1@gmail.com
<https://ucy.academia.edu/MariaKtori>

Figure 4: The proposed cultural trail and information panel locations, focusing on the harbor and fortifications.

2010:116–117), and allow archaeologists to assign a possible identity to a monument. This is a central concept that cannot be integrated easily in a leaflet, but should instead be adequately discussed with the tour participants to further understand the relationship between monuments and rationale of assigning the function zones. This will then enable the group to delve deeper into Landscape Archaeology, as well as modern and medieval perceptions of ‘interesting’ or ‘important’ monuments, which again are connected to Paphos development in the Middle Ages.

Conclusions

Future archeological research in Paphos should include the management of its monuments, to ensure their protection and preservation for future generations. The establishment of cultural trails paired with user-friendly interactive maps which integrate historical narratives and images (Alem, Hudzik and Matthews 2017), the creation of educational material focusing on a city as a large archaeological site (Tuğberk, Pachoulides and Makriyianni 2009), or educational material focusing on artifacts dated between the 12th to 16th centuries to be used in highschool History classes (Makriyianni et al. 2011a, 2011b), are only some of the numerous possibilities into raising local awareness about Paphos’ heritage. It is hoped that the implementation of such actions will educate people in appreciating and safeguarding their heritage.

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WESTERDAHL, CRISTER

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.....

Maria Ktori,
2, Dionysios Skylosofos street,
4159 Kato Polemidia, Cyprus