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EVIDENCE FOR A LIGHTHOUSE AT NEA PAPHOS?

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I. INTRODUCTION

The question of whether or not the ancient port of Nea Paphos was equipped with a lighthouse during Hellenistic and Roman times is an unresolved concern in the study of the coastal site's topography. The maritime importance of

Nea Paphos in the Hellenistic and Roman periods suggests that the port very likely did have a lighthouse, but confirmation of its existence, as well as evidence for its appearance and location, have eluded archaeologists through more than thirty years of survey and excavation. Two possible towers lying in mounds at the submerged *termini*

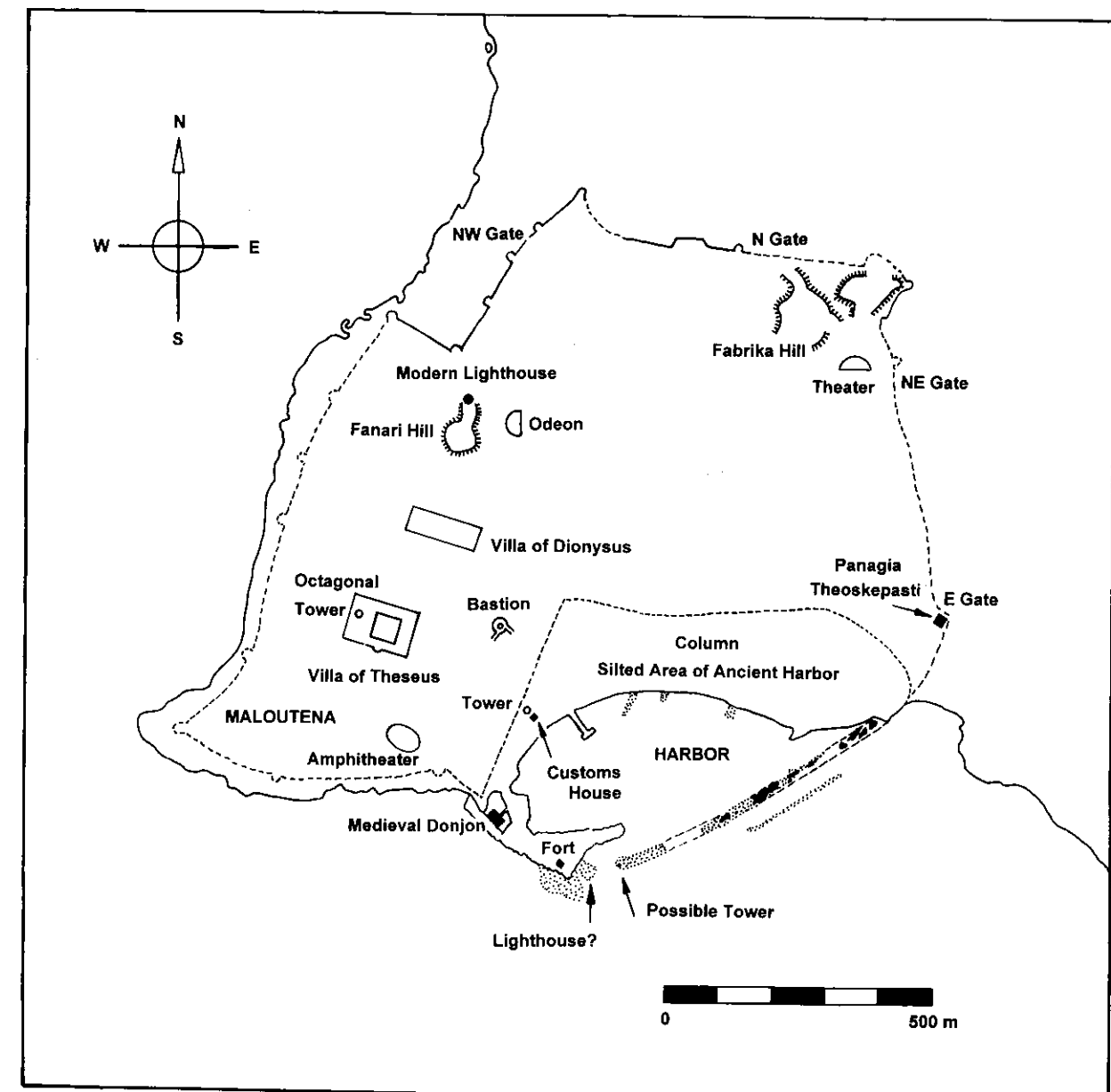


Fig. 1. General plan of Nea Paphos.

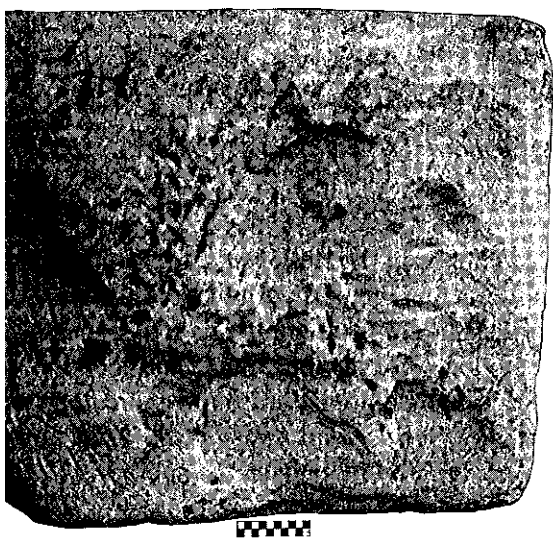


Fig. 2. General view of block (PM 680).

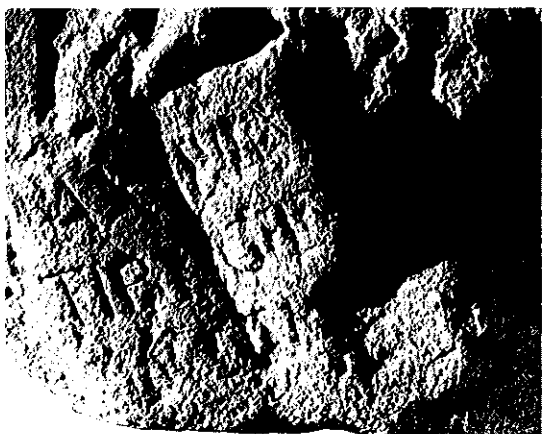


Fig. 3. Detail of diptych/inscription.

the ancient breakwaters and the natural rock outcropping upon which the Church of ayia Theoskepasti now stands, where the cut foundations of a tower have been recorded, represent the most practical candidates for a lighthouse at Nea Paphos. Other possible evidence and locations are also worthy of consideration, including the masonry foundations of an octagonal structure located within the area of Theseus on the western side of the area known as *Maloutena* (the local toponym found on governmental cadastral maps; Fig. 1) and architectural remains on the two other natural prominences within the ancient city, the Fanari and Fabrika hills. In addition, evidence for the lighthouse's overall appearance, at least from late Roman times, may be provided by a low relief carved into a block (PM 680) located in the Paphos District Museum.¹

The Paphos Tower Relief (PM 680)

The block (Fig. 2), recorded in the Paphos Museum registry as having been found in Kato Paphos in 1938, is roughly hewn limestone with irregular unfinished sides ($0.73 \times 0.66 \times 0.26$ m.). The block is undecorated except for the lower left corner of one of the larger faces, on which is carved an open diptych with a Latin inscription dated to the fourth century A.D. (see below, Part II), and a relief depicting a multi-storied tower (Figs 3, 4). The rough surface of the block in this corner has been chiseled away from its left edge, and the tower shallowly carved on a smooth,

1. The authors would like to express their gratitude to Dr Demos Christou, Director of the Department of Antiquities, for his approval of the study of the Paphos tower relief (PM 680). In Paphos, Mr Yiannis Ionas, Paphos District Archaeological Officer, Mr Takis Herodotou, and Mr Neoptolemos Demetriou also provided their generous assistance, for which we are sincerely grateful. Special thanks are extended to S.C. Fox, who prepared the general plan of Nea Paphos, Fig. 1.

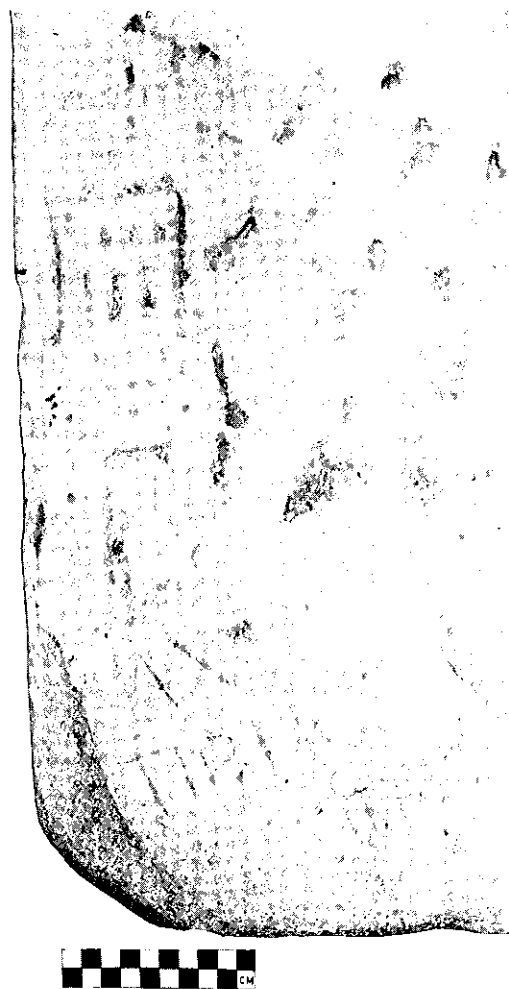


Fig. 4. Detail of tower.

clear background. In technique and orientation, the tower appears different from the inscription and diptych below. The inscription is carved on the uneven surface of the stone, with no attempt having been made to provide a smooth background either on which to work or with which to distinguish the letters visually from the rest of the diptych's surface. Moreover, the tower stands parallel to the edge of the block, while the diptych and inscription are carved at an acute angle.

Whether the tower and diptych/inscription were carved at the same moment in time or on two separate, chronologically distinct occasions remains problematic, for although the technique and orientation of these two features are noticeably different, there does exist an unbroken line forming the left boundary of the tower relief and open diptych. This continuous carved line may indicate that the tower and the diptych/inscription were rendered as a single effort (see below, Part II). Nevertheless, another line separates the lighthouse from the diptych and emphasizes the impression that the diptych overlies the tower, perhaps as a result of later modification to the block.

Interpretation of the tower and diptych/inscription is also problematic, for the inscription appears to be funerary (Part II), while the tower may be either a funerary monument or a lighthouse. The function of the tower may not necessarily be dictated by the nature of the inscription, however, since—as suggested above—the diptych and associated inscription may represent later additions to the block. Furthermore, the connection between lighthouses and funerary monuments (in which capacity the Paphos block appears to have served, at least during one phase of its use) is very strong, particularly in Roman art.² Therefore, while the inscription suggests perhaps a funerary function both for the tower and the block as a whole, the alternative possibility that the tower represents a lighthouse must also be considered.

The tower is carved in three stories of diminishing height (Fig. 4). Each is just less than half the height of the story below. The structure appears rectilinear and rests on a plinth course that is visible only on the left side of the relief.

The survival of this plinth course is significant, since it allows us to determine conclusively the number of the tower's stories. The lowest story is dominated by a central, flat-linted doorway flanked by two square windows. Above the doorway lie more windows arranged in two rows, the lower consisting of three square, evenly spaced windows and the upper of six rectangular windows horizontally oriented. The story terminates in a crenellated wall with two freestanding crenellations at each end (Fig. 4).

The middle story, barely three-quarters the width of the lowest story, is carved in slightly lower relief. Three long, rectangular windows fill the height of this second level, which terminates in a straight line.

The highest story has the same width as the middle story, with four short, rectangular, evenly spaced windows. The height of the windows is suggestive of a clerestory. Immediately above these windows are two parallel horizontal lines that isolate the flat, slightly flaring roof (Fig. 4).

Although tower construction in antiquity is rather generalized, especially in Greek and Roman architecture, many features of the tower relief from Paphos find excellent comparanda in both known architectural remains of ancient lighthouses and lighthouse representations in classical art. Lighthouses are exceptional among the numerous types of towers constructed around the Mediterranean, for although most ancient towers are known only from trace finds and occasional artistic representations, lighthouses have been widely found in archaeological context and are depicted in seventy-four extant representations.³ Various types of lighthouses are evident from these representations, a range that may best be explained by local variation in form and the

2. For sarcophagi with maritime scenes, mainly lighthouses, see: D.J. Blackman, "Ancient harbors in the Mediterranean, Part 1", *JNA* 11.2 (1981), 83. A typical example is that in the Vatican Museo Gregoriano, no. 681. Of the 74 extant representations of lighthouses, nearly 50 occur in funerary context. See M. Redde, "La Représentation des Phares à l'Époque Romaine", *MEFRA* 91.2 (1979), 847-54.

3. For typologies of lighthouse representations see *Enciclopedia dell'Arte Antica, Classica e Orientale*, s.v. Faro F. Castagnoli (Rome 1960); Redde (*supra* n.2), 847.

dividual decisions of the artists themselves, so may have wished to emphasize particular features such as height or sculptural decoration.

Like the tower depicted on the Paphos block, of the extant lighthouse representations in Roman art, with the exception of personified lighthouses,⁴ are multi-storied towers with flat roofs. Flat roofs were an important feature of lighthouses, and were not merely a byproduct of constructional limitations. Although gabled roofs are both possible and common in classical architecture, lighthouses required flat roofs to serve as burning platforms. Despite many modern reconstruction drawings depicting ancient lighthouses topped with elaborate lanterns, none of the ancient representations include lanterns.⁵

Three-storied lighthouses constitute a common type among ancient representations, for, of the fifty-nine examples of lighthouses cited by Redde that are well-preserved enough to ascertain relevant details, seventeen have three stories.⁶ Well-known examples include two mosaics from Ostia⁷ and the relief decoration on the arch of Septimius Severus in Leptis Magna.⁸ Both Ostia and Leptis Magna served as major ports in the Roman imperial period, and their lighthouses were constructed under the direct patronage of emperors. Multi-storied lighthouses with a statue at their summit provide a special problem of interpretation,⁹ but if the statue is understood to symbolize the final story of the lighthouse — which can indeed be inferred from their design — then twenty-five of the aforementioned fifty-nine lighthouses cited by Redde have three stories.

The crenellated lowest story seen in the Paphos tower relief (Fig. 4) is also an architectural feature attested in representations of lighthouses. One of the clearest examples, both with legends including «φάρος», probably represent the Ptolemaic lighthouse at Alexandria (Figs 5, 6).¹⁰ It is noteworthy that both of these lighthouse depictions also have a central doorway in the lowest story, a prominent feature in the tower relief from Paphos.

Although the large doorway in the Paphos tower relief, as well as those in the representations of the Alexandrian Pharos, might seem better suited to city gates or defensive walls, light-

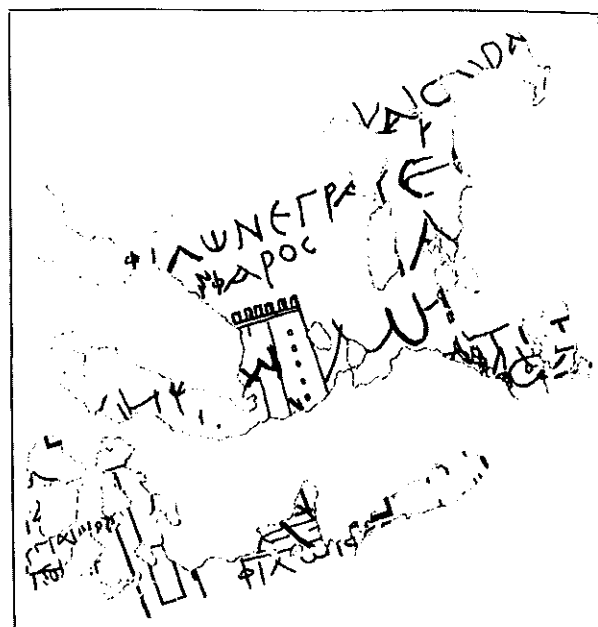


Fig. 5. Thiersch, fig. 48.

houses were also designed in antiquity with large doorways, because of their unique supply needs. The custodians of a lighthouse would have required an enormous quantity of firewood to keep the beacons burning as they did day and night.¹¹ Large doorways, therefore, do not appear merely to be stylistic features of lighthouse representa-



Fig. 6. Illustrated London News, 1034.

tions. This conclusion is supported by the architectural remains of one of the best preserved lighthouses in the ancient world, that at Leptis Magna, where a broad doorway is preserved in the lowest story.¹²

Lighthouses in antiquity were simply elevated platforms for the kindling of fires whose light and smoke served as navigational marks. The fire itself, however, which we might consider the distinguishing characteristic of a lighthouse, is not a necessary feature in every lighthouse representation. Nineteen of the fifty-nine aforementioned lighthouse representations cited by Redde are tower without fire — like that depicted in the Paphos relief — yet in all other aspects of their appearance they are similar to the towers with flames on their roofs.¹³

Lighthouse iconography

Lighthouse depictions had a number of meanings in the ancient world, and they appeared in various contexts. When lighthouses were used on funerary monuments, they represented a safe haven, perhaps a metaphor for a secure place in an afterlife.¹⁴ In this context, the lighthouse itself may have served as a shorthand symbol for the entire port, since it was the most recognizable monument of a harbour and the first and last feature seen from the sea during arrival and depart-

ture. Examples of this type of symbolism are also found in the pavements of the Piazzale delle Corporazioni in Ostia. Mosaics paving the colonnade of the Piazzale illustrate the business of the occupants of the small shops or offices associated with them. Since these quarters were used by maritime traders, many of the mosaics feature ships, usually in a harbour. The harbour itself is indicated merely by the presence of a lighthouse.¹⁵ It can be inferred from the replication of the lighthouse in each panel that the scenes are all set in the port of Ostia.

Coinage provides another form of testimony to the use of lighthouses as symbols for cities, since many ancient cities placed lighthouses on their local issues. This decision was likely due to two factors: first, the appropriateness of the lighthouse as a shorthand expression for the city. A port city's lighthouse was a recognizable monument that would seldom fail to capture the attention of local residents and foreign visitors alike.¹⁶ When depicted on sculptural monuments, on coinage, or in other representational art, a lighthouse lends a certain geographical determination to a scene. Secondly, a lighthouse was a prestige monument in the ancient world. Lighthouses could be expensive and technically complex to construct, as well as costly to maintain. Like modern skyscrapers, not all cities had lighthouses, and the earliest lighthouse, at Alexandria, was considered one of the seven wonders of the ancient world.¹⁷

4. A special type of lighthouse representation not addressed by Redde (*supra*, n.2). They consist of a nude or lightly draped figure, invariably male, standing on a tall plinth or base holding a torch. See M.-H. Quet, "Pharus", *MEFRA* 96.2 (1984), 789-845.
5. The reconstruction of ancient lighthouses equipped with lanterns has its foundation in the influential work of H. Thiersch, *Pharos, Antike und Islam* (Leipzig 1900). His reconstruction of the Pharos at Alexandria recently served as a model for a painting of the lighthouse at Caesarea Maritima: see K.G. Holm et al., *King Herod's Dream: Caesarea on the Sea* (New York 1988), fig. 62; also n.23 below.
6. Redde, (*supra* n.2), 848, 852, 854.
7. Ostia, Casa delle Muse: floor mosaics to left and right of entrance.
8. R. Bartoccini, "L'arco Quadrifonte dei Severi a Leptis Magna", *Africa Italiana* VI (1931) III.
9. Redde (*supra* n.2), 848, 852, 854.
10. H. Thiersch, *Pharos: Antike Islam und Occident* (Leipzig 1909), 30, fig. 48; *Illustrated London News* (14 Dec., 1937), 1034. For the full analysis see J.B. Ward-Perkins, "A new group of sixth-century mosaics from Cyrenaica", *Rivista di Archeologia Cristiana* (1958), 183-95. Cf. also M. Guarducci, "La più antica catechesi figurata: il grande mosaico della basilica di Gasr Elbia in Cirenaica", *MAL* (series 8), XVIII, 7 (1975), 659-86.
11. During daylight hours, the smoke column rising from a lighthouse practically increased the height of the structure and may well have presented mariners with their first indication of approaching land.

12. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *The Buried City: Excavations at Leptis Magna* (New York 1966) 114, fig. 250.
13. Redde, (*supra* n.2).
14. M.-H. Quet, *La Mosaïque Cosmologique de Merida: Propositions de Lecture*; (Publications du Centre Pierre Paris, ERA 522, CNRS, no.6) (Paris 1981), 31, n.67.
15. R. Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (Oxford 1953), pl. XXIV; G. Becatti, *Scavi di Ostia IV: Mosaici e Pavimenti Marmorei* (Rome 1961), figs 104, 105, 120, 123.
16. R. Goodchild concludes, from a close reading of Strabo and other sources, that the lighthouse at Alexandria was visible 300 stades (35 miles) away. R. Goodchild, "Harbors, Docks, and Lighthouses" in *History of Technology II* (Oxford 1957), 516-24.
17. P. Clayton and M. Price, *The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World* (New York 1988). Not all port cities equipped with lighthouses, however, chose to use these structures as reverse types on their coinage. Such was the case at Caesarea Maritima.

A Lighthouse at Nea Paphos

Nea Paphos, since the port city's foundation in the late fourth century B.C., played an important maritime role in Hellenistic Cyprus, largely because of its geographical proximity to Alexandria, strategic central position in the Eastern Mediterranean, and abundant natural resources such as timber and copper.¹⁸ From perhaps the governorship of Pelops (ca 217-209 B.C. until 203 B.C.), Nea Paphos also served as the Hellenistic capital of Cyprus; i.e., the seat of the strategos.¹⁹ In the Roman period, Nea Paphos continued to be one of the island's foremost ports,²⁰ as well as the Roman provincial capital until the fourth century A.D. As a large port facility of such military (in the Hellenistic period), political, and commercial²¹ importance, Nea Paphos was an ideal candidate for a lighthouse.

The continued prominence of Nea Paphos during the Roman period is also indicated by the personal interest taken in the port city by the emperor Augustus.²² Cassius Dio (54.23.7-8) reports that following an earthquake in 15 B.C., Augustus offered monetary relief and allowed the city to be renamed after him. Dio neglects to mention the extent of the damage inflicted by the earthquake upon the city, but it seems reasonable to assume that the harbor area as well suffered severely. If indeed the harbour was damaged, it would certainly have been refurbished under Augustus' benefaction. A contemporary example of Augustan interest in an eastern Mediterranean port city can be seen in the development of Caesarea Maritima, which was also named after him, and where R.L. Vann has convincingly argued for the existence of a previously unknown lighthouse.²³

Possible locations for the Nea Paphos Lighthouse

The likelihood is great that Nea Paphos had a lighthouse both in the Hellenistic and Roman period, but where would such a tower have been located? Since lighthouses in antiquity marked harbours, not hazards such as shoals or islands, most were constructed at or near harbour entrances. At Alexandria, the lighthouse was built on the western side of the entrance to the east harbour —on the tip of the island of Pharos.²⁴ At Portus, the

port of Rome, the famed lighthouse of Claudius was founded on the hull of a concrete-filled ship sunk near the *terminus* of the western mole.²⁵ Similarly, the lighthouses at Leptis Magna and Caesarea Maritima also stood on the seaward ends of the western moles, overlooking the entrances to these harbours.²⁶

18. See R.L. Hohlfelder and J.R. Leonard, "Underwater explorations at Paphos, Cyprus: The 1991 preliminary survey", *Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 51 (1994), 46-7; J.R. Leonard and R.L. Hohlfelder, "Paphos harbour, past and present: The 1991-1992 underwater survey", *RDAC* 1993, 366-7; H. Hauben, "Cyprus and the Ptolemaic navy", *RDAC* 1987, 217. For more on the history of Nea Paphos, see also: J. Mlynarczyk, *Nea Paphos III: Nea Paphos in the Hellenistic Period* (Warsaw 1990); W.A. Daszewski, "Nikokles and Ptolemy: Remarks on the early history of Nea Paphos", *RDAC* 1987, 171-5; T.B. Mitford, "Roman Cyprus", *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* II 7.2 (1980), 1285-1384.
19. Mlynarczyk, (*supra* n.18), 121.
20. J.R. Leonard, "Harbor Terminology in Roman Periplus" in the proceedings of the symposium *Res Maritima 1994: Cyprus and The Eastern Mediterranean, Prehistory through the Roman Period; The Second in the Series, "Cities on the sea," Nicosia, 18-22 October, 1994* (Forthcoming: American Schools of Oriental Research, Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute); *idem*, "Evidence for Roman ports, harbours, and anchorages in Cyprus" in *Cyprus and the Sea: Acts of the International Symposium, Nicosia, 25-26 September, 1993*, V. Karageorghis, D. Michaelides, eds (1996).
21. For the establishment of an Italian trading community at Nea Paphos in the late Hellenistic and early Republican periods, see D. Michaelides, "The Roman Period" in *Footprints in Cyprus*, D. Hunt, ed. (1990), 121; G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, Vol. I (Cambridge 1940), 240.
22. J. D'Arms notes, *Romans on the Bay of Naples* (Cambridge Mass. 1970), 84, that "an emperor's presence... his local administrative actions, his public works and his benefactions, should not be construed as expressions of his personal liking. They were also acts of imperial policy".
23. In A. Raban *et al.*, *The Harbours of Caesarea Maritima*, Vol. I: *The Site and Excavations*, (BAR International Series, no. 491), (Oxford 1989), 78ff., 151; R.L. Vann, "The Drusion: a candidate for Herod's lighthouse at Caesarea Maritima", *JFNA* 20.2 (1991), 123-39. At Cosa, the excavators have reconstructed a lighthouse based on the evidence of a votive model and an amphora stamp: see A.M. McCann *et al.*, *The Roman Port and Fishery of Cosa* (Princeton 1987), 14, 139-40, 328, figs IX-122, 123, 124.
24. P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972), 17-20.
25. Meiggs, (*supra* n.15), 154-8.
26. R. Bartoccini, "Il Porto Romano di Leptis Magna", *Boll. Del Centro di Studi per la Storia dell'Architettura*, 13, Suppl. (Rome 1958), 67, pl. 19; Holm *et al.*, (*supra* n.5), fig. 62. Cf. also Knidos, where the ancient lighthouse is located on land near the base of the western breakwater, and Mytilene, where excavation has revealed an ancient breakwater with a tower at its *terminus*: M.J. Mellink, "Archaeology in Asia Minor", *AJA* 72.2 (1968), pl. 59, fig. 23; G. Touchais, "Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques en Grèce en 1977", *BCH* 102 (1978), 729.

The lighthouse at Nea Paphos may have occupied the same position attested for the harbours of Alexandria, Portus, and Leptis Magna; i.e., on the western side of the harbour entrance (Fig. 1). Daszewski, on the basis of his 1965 underwater survey, notes a possible tower ("defensive bastion") on the end of the eastern ancient breakwater,²⁷ but omits any mention of the more distinct tower remains at the end of the western ancient breakwater. This western tower is indicated by a jumbled mound of massive blocks, much greater in size that those of the associated western breakwater remains.²⁸

The remains observed by Daszewski on the eastern breakwater may indeed be those of a "defensive bastion", or merely those of the breakwater itself. It should be noted, however, that Daszewski appears to have mistaken the present end of the eastern breakwater as having been the original *terminus* of the eastern mole. In fact, despite having been severed by modern dredging, the eastern ancient breakwater continues on the seabed, extending in a mound across the modern mouth of the harbour, where it culminates in a distinctly wider area of rubble and blocks, possibly a tower (Fig. 1).²⁹ The remains of this possible tower, which are similar in size to those of the associated breakwater, indicate a less monumental structure than the tower (the possible lighthouse) on the opposite, western side of the ancient harbor mouth.³⁰

According to Mlynarczyk, however, placement of the lighthouse at the harbour entrance

would have been impractical, ... [since] the light from the lighthouse would have been hardly visible to ships sailing along the coast from the north.³¹

Instead, Mlynarczyk identifies three other "convenient", though still unproven, locations: 1) the southwest promontory of *Maloutena*, "which, though flat, extended into the sea and was well visible from seaward;" 2) the spot occupied by the modern lighthouse, on the northern edge of the Fanari hill; and 3) the Roman octagonal tower located in the western wing of the Villa of Theseus (Fig. 1).³² Each of these locations on the western side of the city, as well as the two eastern prominences —the hill of Panayia

Theoskepasti and the Fabrika hill (Fig. 1)— will now be considered.

The southwestern promontory of the *Maloutena* cape, despite its visibility to ships approaching from all directions, has to date yielded no architectural evidence of a possible lighthouse. K. Nicolaou does identify several semicircular bastions along the southwestern circuit of the city wall,³³ but whether one of these minimally preserved defensive towers also functioned as a lighthouse remains unknown (Fig. 1). The single towers depicted at Paphos or "Bafa" on the sixteenth century maps of Matheo Pagano (1538)³⁴ and an anonymous Italian cartographer (1570)³⁵ are probably representations of the medieval donjon that stands on the western breakwater,³⁶ not of an ancient tower on the *Maloutena* cape itself.

The Fanari hill, where the modern lighthouse facility was installed in 1887,³⁷ was a prominent feature on the landscape of the ancient city as well (Fig. 1). Mlynarczyk argues convincingly for the presence on the Fanari hill of a Hellenistic temple and the palace of the island's strategos, but she also stresses that "the rather limited finds... have not as yet shown any evidence for the existence of an ancient lighthouse there".³⁸

27. W.A. Daszewski, "Port główny i przystanie pomocnicze w Nea Paphos w świetle obserwacji podwodnych" (The main harbour and auxiliary anchorages of Nea Paphos in light of underwater observations), *Meander* 6 (1981), 331.
28. Hohlfelder and Leonard, (*supra* n.18), 51, 54; Leonard and Hohlfelder, (*supra* n.18), 375, pl. XCIX:2.
29. Hohlfelder and Leonard, (*supra* n.18), 51, 55, fig. 8; Leonard and Hohlfelder, (*supra* n.18), 375, fig. 2.
30. The "huge defensive tower" recorded by Daszewski at the junction of the western breakwater and the subsidiary spur wall may be dismissed as a candidate for the ancient lighthouse, since these remains belong to the later, so-called Frankish Fort. See Daszewski, (*supra* n.27), 331; Hohlfelder and Leonard, (*supra* n.18), 54.
31. Mlynarczyk, (*supra* n.18), 183.
32. *Ibid.*
33. K. Nicolaou, "The topography of Nea Paphos", *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michałowski* (Warsaw 1966), 568-9, fig. 3. See also: Mlynarczyk, (*supra* n.18), 101-2.
34. A. and J.A. Stylianou, *The History of the Cartography of Cyprus* (Nicosia 1980), Entry 19, fig. 22.
35. *Idem*, Entry 36, fig. 39.
36. F.G. Maier and V. Karageorghis, *Paphos: History and Archaeology* (Nicosia 1984) 310, 323, 350, fig. 266.
37. Mlynarczyk, (*supra* n.18), 51.
38. *Idem*, 183.

The remains of three rectangular constructions about 50m. north of the modern lighthouse appear to have been substructural foundations, and were identified by Peristianis in 1927 as perhaps having been part of the propylon to the city's acropolis.³⁹ K. Nicolaou notes that "the size of [these] foundations as well as their arrangements into a line in three distinct parts do not offer any explanation as to their use".⁴⁰

The foundations of an octagonal tower of Roman date, unearthed by the Polish Archaeological Mission in 1975,⁴¹ constitute the only certain evidence for a non-defensive tower yet found in the area of the ancient harbour. Unlike the towers along the city walls, the possible towers on the breakwaters, and those on shore near the old Customs House and the carob store (now an art gallery),⁴² the octagonal tower stands in a domestic quarter well within the perimeter of the city walls (Fig. 1). Since its discovery two decades ago, the octagonal tower—located within the confines of the Villa of Theseus, the probable residence of the Roman proconsul⁴³—has remained an unexplained feature of the ancient city. Mlynarczyk includes the octagonal tower in her list of possible lighthouse locations, but notes "even though earlier walls were documented beneath the foundations of the tower, no evidence as to its functioning as a lighthouse was uncovered".⁴⁴ Recently, however, Daszewski has undertaken renewed investigation of the tower's remains, and he asserts that this structure was indeed the lighthouse of the port of Nea Paphos.⁴⁵

Although the evidence for Daszewski's assertion remains to be disclosed, the octagonal tower's topographical position by itself already suggests that this structure was not a lighthouse. The octagonal tower, as well as Mlynarczyk's other two possible locations: the southwestern cape of *Maloutena* and the Fanari hill, all stand upwind of the city, and would have been unpopular locations for the lighthouse. The smoke and ash produced by the lighthouse's signal fire would have been blown by predominant western and frequent southwestern winds directly into the city, particularly into public areas (forum, odeon, amphitheater, port, etc...) and the well-to-do residential quarter. Furthermore, the necessity for a constant stream of labourers (and their animals), hauling

baskets and cartloads of wood to fuel the lighthouse and later removing the ash, would have required that the lighthouse be located in an easily accessible position. Such functional aspects of an ancient lighthouse suggest that the lighthouse of Nea Paphos was probably not located in Hellenistic times adjacent to the palace of the strategos on the Fanari hill, or in Roman times within the residence of the island's proconsul in the *Maloutena* district.

The bedrock outcropping on the eastern side of Nea Paphos, where the Church of Panayia Theoskepasti now stands, was another of the ancient city's natural prominences (Fig. 1). A lighthouse on top of this hill would have stood high above the surrounding area; smoke produced by the signal fire would have been blown away from the city; and fuel for the fire, as well as any resulting ash and other refuse, could have been supplied or disposed of without being hauled through the city's public and residential areas. The hill of Panayia Theoskepasti, however, has traditionally been identified as the location of the city's east gate, largely because of the rock-cut foundations of a tower upon which the church now rests.⁴⁶ That the ancient city wall incorporated the hill of Panayia Theoskepasti, and that an ancient tower once stood where the modern church now stands, seems certain based on the

39. *Idem*, 208; Nicolaou, (*supra* n.33), 594, fig. 3:19; I.K. Peristianis, «Ἡ Ν. Πάφος». Διάλεξις γενομένη ἐπὶ τῶν ἐρειπίων τῆς Νέας Πάφου, 14.11.1926, *Κυπριακά Χρονικά*, ἔτος Ε' (1927), 24-43.
40. Nicolaou, (*supra* n.33), 594.
41. W.A. Daszewski, "Nea Paphos 1975", *Études et Travaux* 10 (Warsaw 1978), 427. See also: *idem*, "Nea Paphos 1976", *Études et Travaux* 11 (Warsaw 1979), 280-1, fig. 7; *idem*, "Nea Paphos 1977", *Études et Travaux* 12 (Warsaw 1983), 310-1; Mlynarczyk, (*supra* n.18), fig. 21:80.
42. See A.H.S. Megaw, "Reflections on Byzantine Paphos", *ΚΑΘΗΓΗΤΡΙΑ, Essays Presented to Joan Hussey*, (Athens 1988), 143, figs 1, 2; D. Michaelides in V. Karageorghis, ed., "Chroniques des fouilles en Chypre en 1987", *BCH* 112 (1988), 849-55.
43. W.A. Daszewski, "Polish Excavations in Kato (Nea) Paphos in 1970 and 1971", *RDAC* 1972, 206, 216; Michaelides, (*supra* n.21), 130-1.
44. Mlynarczyk, (*supra* n.18), 183.
45. "Discovery of an Early Lighthouse", *Cyprus Bulletin*, vol. XXXII: 19 (31 October, 1994), 3.
46. Nicolaou, (*supra* n.33), 577, fig. 3; Mlynarczyk, (*supra* n.18), 100. See also *ARDAC* (1976), 19.

rock-cuttings and other evidence for the city's wall and gates.⁴⁷ Whether the tower on this hill served as a lighthouse as well as a defensive bastion remains unknown.

The other natural prominence on the eastern side of Nea Paphos, the Fabrika hill, stands at the city's northeastern corner adjacent to the northeast gate.⁴⁸ Although the Fabrika hill is situated relatively far inland, this geographical position alone does not necessarily rule out the hill as a possible location for the ancient lighthouse. Several lighthouses in the ancient world are known to have stood on commanding heights at some distance from the sea, the best preserved examples of which include the lighthouse at La Coruña, in Spain, and the two hilltop lighthouses overlooking the harbor and naval station at Dover.⁴⁹ Nevertheless, the summit of the Fabrika hill does not appear to have been occupied by a lighthouse, but, according to Mlynarczyk, by the Temple of Aphrodite Paphia, which may have been the point of congregation and departure for pilgrims travelling to the Sanctuary of Aphrodite in Palaipaphos.⁵⁰

Conclusions

Although conclusive archaeological evidence for a lighthouse at Nea Paphos has yet to be discovered, the port city's military, political, and commercial importance during Hellenistic and Roman times allows us to infer that such a monument did exist. Nea Paphos was a prominent maritime center that not only served the Ptolemaic navy, Hellenistic and Roman government officials, and foreign and domestic merchants, but also numerous pilgrims passing through to the Sanctuary of Aphrodite in Palaipaphos.⁵¹ The Palaipaphos sanctuary was renowned throughout the ancient world, and Nea Paphos, as the sanctuary's primary port of entry, would surely have erected and maintained a lighthouse to guide sea travellers safely into the harbor. Furthermore, Nea Paphos was a relatively affluent community, about whose well-built temples we also hear from Strabo.⁵² A lighthouse at Nea Paphos would have been both an affordable and appropriate architectural monument to enhance the city's prestige and physical splendor.

Where the lighthouse may have stood in Nea

Paphos remains a difficult question, since the port city contained three natural prominences and an enclosing city wall lined with defensive towers, one of which could have also served as a lighthouse. To visitors approaching from the sea, the skyline of Nea Paphos, at least before the ruinous earthquake of 15 B.C., must have been filled with temples, towers, and other lofty structures. It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that the lighthouse would have been placed in a prominent position that was widely visible from the sea and unobscured by surrounding structures. The southwestern extremity of the *Maloutena* promontory and the Fanari hill both fit this description, but the first contains no evidence for a lighthouse. The second did contain at least two monumental structures, possibly a temple and the palace of the strategos, but no specific remains of a lighthouse have yet been found there either. Furthermore, the smoke and ash blowing from the lighthouse may have created a nuisance for neighboring public and residential areas.

The octagonal Roman tower can probably also be dismissed as a candidate for the lighthouse, since again smoke and ash would have posed a problem, and access for supplying fuel was limited by the tower's position within the western wing of the Villa of Theseus. In general, the octagonal tower's position on low-lying ground, in the midst of a residential neighborhood, and in direct association with the probable residence of the Roman proconsul seems highly unsuitable and unlikely for the ancient lighthouse. The octagonal tower may instead have been merely an ornamental building, such as a weather vane or clock tower in the tradition of the Tower of the Winds in the Roman Agora in Athens.

47. Nicolaou, (*supra* n.33), 567-578; Mlynarczyk, (*supra* n.18), 98-102.
48. Nicolaou, (*supra* n.33), 576-7, figs 12, 13; Mlynarczyk, (*supra* n.18), 99-100.
49. S. Hutter, *Der römische Leuchtturm von La Coruña* (Mainz 1973); R.E.M. Wheeler, "The Roman lighthouse at Dover", *AntJ* 86 (1929), 29-46.
50. J. Mlynarczyk, "Remarks on the Temple of Aphrodite Paphia in Nea Paphos in the Hellenistic period", *RDAC* 1985, 286-92; *Idem*, (*supra* n.18), 218-22.
51. Strabo 14.6.3.
52. 14.6.3.

On the eastern side of the city, where smoke and ash from the lighthouse would have been less of a concern, the two natural prominences —the Fabrika hill and the hill of Panayia Theoskepasti— can probably also be dismissed as possible lighthouse locations. The Fabrika hill is not only further inland and less visible than other possible locations, but was also a much frequented public area containing the Temple of Aphrodite Paphia and a hillside theater. The hill of Panayia Theoskepasti, which once overlooked the now-silted harbour's inner seawall,⁵³ seems a more convenient location for the lighthouse, but was evidently the foundation for a defensive tower that flanked the city's eastern gate.

The most probable location for the ancient lighthouse at Nea Paphos is the harbour entrance, specifically the *terminus* of the ancient western breakwater. This position, despite Mlynarczyk's objection, would be widely visible from the sea, as the *Maloutena* cape to the northwest is generally low-lying ground. Furthermore, a lighthouse on the western breakwater would have been easily accessible for refuelling either by land or by sea, and the smoke and ash from the signal fire would have been blown, for the most part, away from the populated city and port facilities. Although other towers may have stood on the eastern breakwater as well, the large blocks on the *terminus* of the western breakwater appear more suitable for the sturdy foundation of a lighthouse.⁵⁴

Evidence for the actual appearance of the lighthouse at Nea Paphos is perhaps provided by the tower relief on the squared block from Kato Paphos (PM 680). Although the associated Latin inscription is funerary in nature, the tower's flat roof, large central doorway, numerous windows, crenellation, and three stories of diminishing height all find parallels in classical representations and the architectural remains of ancient lighthouses. Furthermore, the connection between lighthouse depictions and funerary monuments is well-established, while depictions of tower tombs on funerary monuments is virtually unknown. The tower relief on the funerary block from Nea Paphos may have been intended to represent the local lighthouse as a symbol for the city of Nea Paphos itself. In this way, the block contains not only an epitaph to "Julia", but also a

clue to where the deceased spent at least the end of her life. On the other hand, this relief, to date unparalleled in Cyprus, may represent a foreign lighthouse or city, such as Caesarea Maritima or Alexandria, or simply the façade of a tomb.

53. Leonard and Hohlfelder, (*supra*, n.18), 371.
54. It should be noted, however, that the remains at the *terminus* of the western breakwater in Paphos do not appear as substantial (at least presently) as those found at other port sites such as Caesarea Maritima, where the platform supporting the lighthouse may once have been *ca* 14m. wide.

II. THE INSCRIPTION: The Epitaph of Julia, 4th century A.D. (?) (by Ino Nicolaou)

The sandstone block described above bears on the lower left corner a Latin inscription set in the diptych engraved in low relief (17cm. high×17.7cm. max. width). The right page of the diptych is mutilated to the right (width: left page, 10cm.; right page, 7.7cm., below 7.4cm.). Above the left page is the facade of a monument carved again in low relief (Fig. 7). Both the diptych and the monument seem to have been engraved simultaneously. It seems that the monument was the first to be carved on the plain flat surface of the left corner of the stone. The stone-cutter having realized that not much space was left for the diptych, he managed to carve it at a slant, giving it an oblique profile. However, the left edge of both the monument and the diptych form a continuous slightly curving line.

The monument engraved above the diptych may have been an above-ground tomb (*υπεργειος τάφος*) rather than a lighthouse (*φάρος*) or beacon station (*φρουκτώριον*). The façade of the above-ground chamber of the tomb is crowned with a decorated (triple?) *fascia*(?), as the peck tooling marks suggest, and a plain doorway. Above the chamber stands a square tower with three vertical deep carvings (pilasters?) on its façade, with an entablature above bearing four niches(?). The uncarved surface of the block is much eroded and bears in some parts peck marks, perhaps another relief that has been purposely destroyed. However, the whole setting in which the monument and the diptych are engraved, I dare say, gives the impression that they are rock-cut. The monument as a whole is indeed reminiscent of some Nabataean "nefesh", minor funerary monuments engraved on or cut into the rock, to be seen in Petra⁵⁵ and some tombs in Palmyra.⁵⁶

The inscription itself attests that we are indeed concerned with a tomb. It is a funerary Latin inscription arranged in three lines on each page of the diptych. The letters are well formed and plain, except "M" in line 3 of the right page, which has a horizontal stroke on its left apex (a ligature: M and T (?). Their height varies from 0.03-0.04cm.

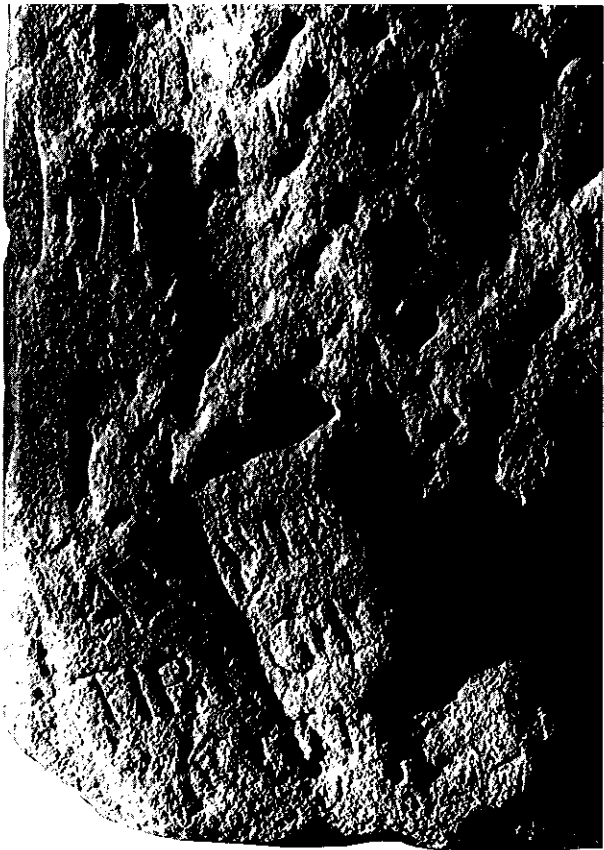


Fig. 7

Pax	Julia [in?]
tibi	celis(?) [B(ene?)]
[- -] C	M(eren)t(i?)

"Peace be with you- - - - - Julia in Heavens, well-deserving".

Left page, line 1: of "P", only part of the lobe survives. Right page, line 2: L is followed by a short vertical *hasta*, which I take as "I", and this appears to be followed by the upper half of an "S", to be interpreted perhaps as CELIS for CAELIS (?).

55. J. McKenzie, *The Architecture of Petra* (Oxford 1990).
56. Cf. K. Michalowski, *Palmyra* (Warsaw 1961), *Tombeau-Tours* No. 19, 199, figs 240, 241; J. Kubinska, *Les Monuments funéraires dans les inscriptions d'Asie Mineure*, vol. 5 (Varsovie 1968), 158-9.

The Latin expressions "*pax*", "*in pace*" — the Greek equivalent, «εν ειρήνῃ» — are standard formulas in Christian Latin inscription. This, however, is the only one found in Cyprus so far. Its sense is: the deceased to enjoy in heaven Eternal Happiness (with equivalents being *in Christo* or *in Deo*).⁵⁷ I would thus restore, with much reserve, "in" before "C" in line 3, left, and consider "C" as an abbreviation for "C(hristo)".

Regarding the name of the deceased, Julia, it is a single name. Had our inscription been a pagan one, the name could be taken as an early name form,⁵⁸ and could contribute in a way to the dating of the inscription, but this does not count for Christian inscriptions. Our inscription is not dated — unlike most of the Christian epitaphs in Rome, in which the *dies depositionis* (= *dies natalis*) is almost always commemorated. Neither do we have other, similar, Latin Christian documents in Cyprus with which to compare the epigraphic style. Also, the tower, engraved on this block found in Paphos, is of a type unknown so far in Cyprus. I believe I am not at fault if I consider Julia a foreigner.

Could we date this document by examining the Christian epigraphic material of Cyprus? Unfortunately not, for it is extremely poor, only a few crypto-Christian inscriptions that could be dated to the 3rd and 4th centuries of our era.⁵⁹ It is to the 4th century that I reservedly date the epitaph of Julia, taking into consideration the political events and the steady propagation of Christianity in the island during that century.

57. Cf. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie*, Vol. XIII (Paris 1938), 2779: *pax tibi a Do (mino)*, ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΣΟΙ ΕΝ ΚΩ, ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΣΟΙ ΕΝ ΘΕΩ, ΕΙΡΗΝΗ ΣΟΙ ✠ ΕΝ ΟΥΡΑΝΩ.

58. I. Kajanto, *Onomastic Studies in the Early Christian Inscriptions of Rome and Carthage* (Helsinki 1963), 21-3.

59. T.B. Mitford, (*Supra* n. 18), 1374, n. 470.

ΑΜΑΘΟΥΝΤΑ. ΑΝΑΤΟΛΙΚΗ ΝΕΚΡΟΠΟΛΗ. ΤΑΦΟΣ ΟΣΤΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΟ ΤΟΥ 7ου μ.Χ. ΑΙΩΝΑ

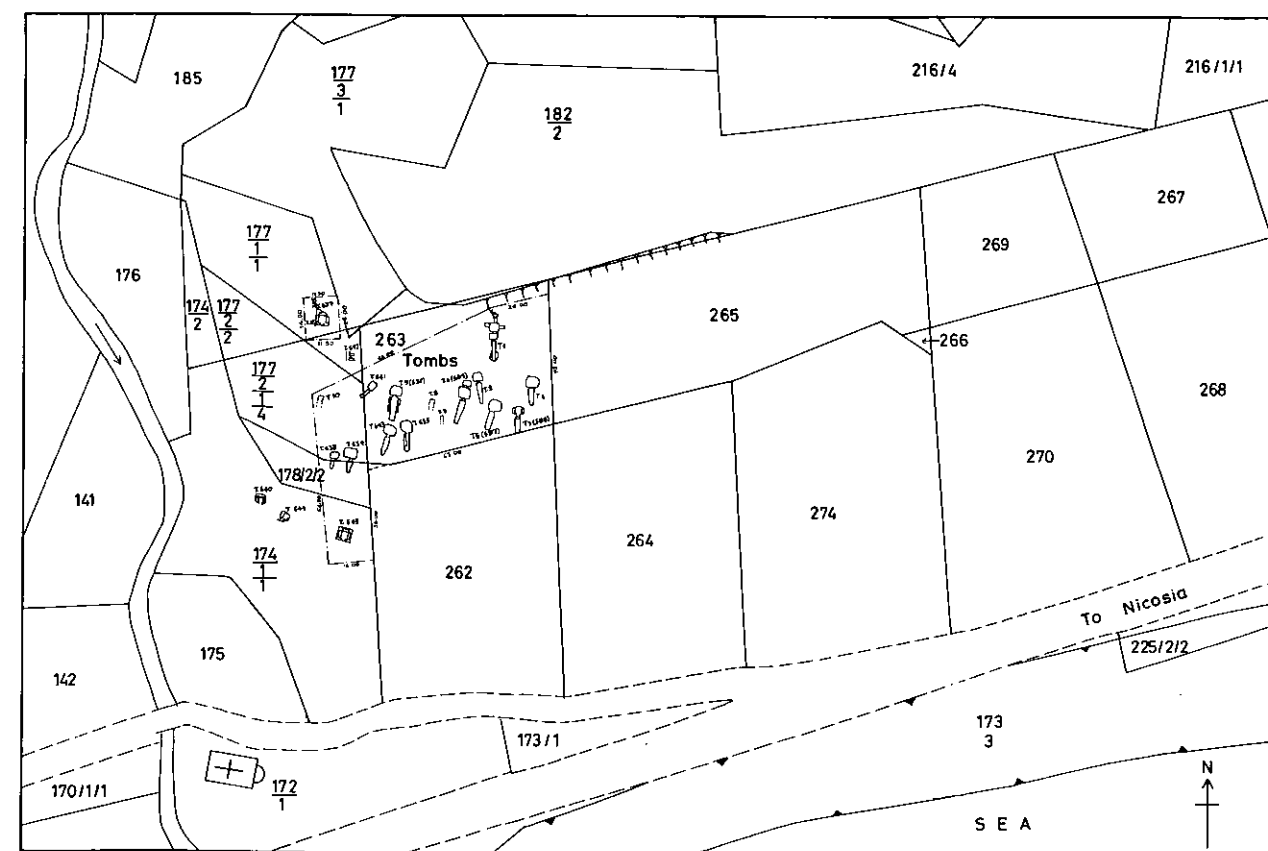
(ΠΙΝΑΚΕΣ XXVIII-XXXII)

Ελένη Προκοπίου

ΑΜΑΘΟΥΝΤΑ ΤΑΦΟΣ 636

Μεταξύ 15.7.1991 και 30.8.1991 κατά την διάρκεια συστηματικής ανασκαφικής έρευνας αποκαλύφθηκε, (τεμάχιο 263 του κτηματολογικού χάρτη LIV/46), στα βορειοανατολικά του συμπλέγματος των κτιστών τάφων της Ανατολικής Νεκρόπολης της Αμαθούντας, ο Τάφος 636 (Εικ. 1). Ο Τάφος είχε ήδη εντοπι-

σθεί από δοκιμαστικές ανασκαφικές έρευνες που είχαν πραγματοποιηθεί υπό την επίβλεψη του Δρος Σοφοκλή Χατζησάββα (αρ. 9) το καλοκαίρι του 1990, χωρίς όμως να ανασκαφεί (Πιν. XXVIII: 1). Μεταξύ των ετών 1990-1991 λαθρυνασκαφείς δοκίμασαν σκάβοντας βαθύτερα στην περιοχή της εισόδου να βρουν τη θύρα, πράγμα που επέτυχαν και αφού δημιούργησαν ένα μικρό άνοιγμα εισήλθαν μέσω



Εικ. 1. Τοπογραφικό της περιοχής.