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Giorgos Papantoniou, Trinity College Dublin, Organiser of POCA 2005

stodoulou is a doctoral candidate at the Department of History and
y, University of Cyprus. Her research focuses on Hellenistic and Roman
prus, while her broader research interests include the ancient water supply
logy, the iconography of Hellenistic and Roman mosaics and the history
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aki has recently acquired a PhD from the Department of History and
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n of ancient Cyprus, from 1700 to 300 BC based on archaeological evidence.
rticipated in a number of field projects in Greece and Cyprus. She is a
ssociate of "The Palaepaphos Pilot Project," and Assistant Director of "The
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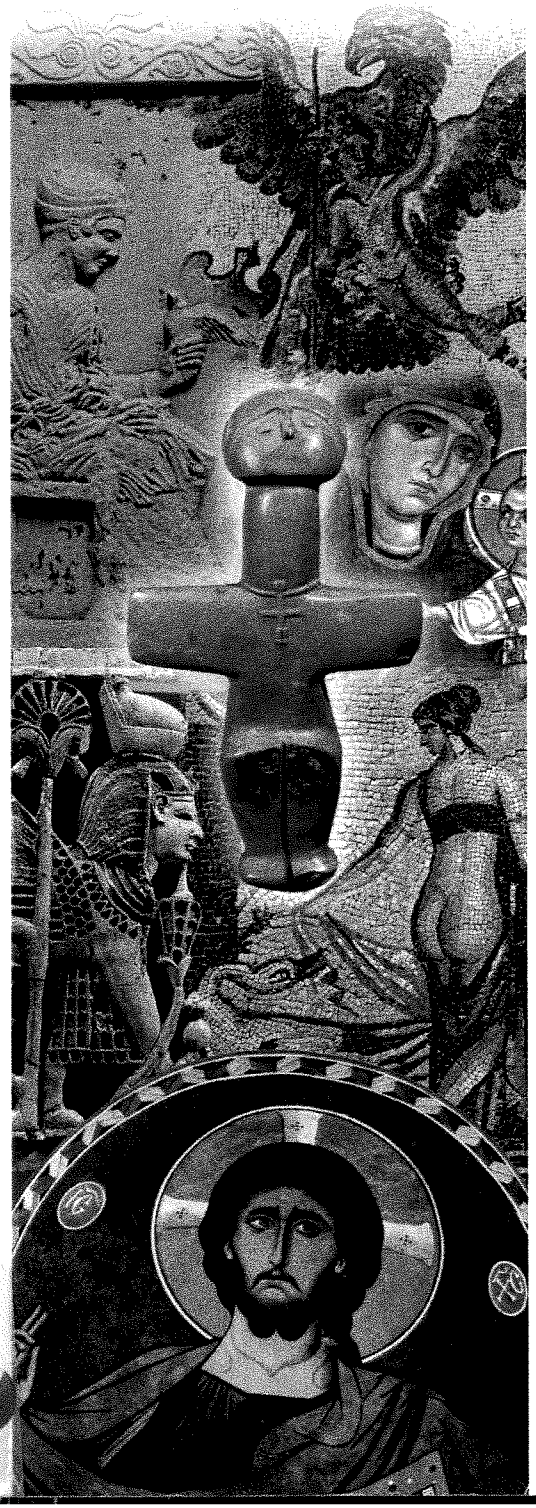
Christodoulou and Satraki POCA 2007 Postgraduate Cypriot Archaeology Conference



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Skevi Christodoulou
and Anna Satraki

In Research of Nea Paphos' Lighthouse: New and Old Theories Concerning its Existence and Location

Dimitris Vitas

Introduction

One of the major questions encountered in the studies on Nea Paphos' coastal topography is that of the existence and the location of the city's lighthouse. More than 50 years of systematic research and excavations in the site of Nea Paphos have revealed many different sections and monuments of the ancient city. Even though there are some theories concerning the lighthouse, up to now, no architectural remains have been discovered that have securely identified such a building. The main aim of this research is to cite all the theories concerning this topic with the intention of reaching new conclusions. There are two basic questions that are part of this study:

- Was there really a lighthouse in Nea Paphos?
- If a lighthouse did exist, where was it located?

Was there a lighthouse?

Nea Paphos was founded in the late 4th century BC by king Nicocles of Paphos, but it seems that Ptolemy Soter of Egypt was also responsible for construction in the city and the harbour[1]. We could not be quite sure as to where Nicocles was aiming by founding the new city. Perhaps silting of the harbour of Palaepaphos motivated the Paphian king to build another harbour-city in his realm. However, Strabo[2] mentions the presence of a mooring-place in Palaepaphos during his time (1st century BC), and so partly overturns the aforementioned hypothesis.

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[1] Daszewski 1987, 173-175.
[2] Strabo 14, 6.3.

On the contrary, Ptolemy soon realised the importance of controlling Cyprus[3] and the benefit of constructing a new harbour-city there. More precisely, the sea in the region where Nea Paphos was built had the advantage of a natural shelter and anchorage that could easily be converted into a harbour. Moreover, this harbour, which was the closest Cypriot harbour-city to Alexandria, was located on the sea route that connected the Egyptian capital with Rhodes, the Aegean islands and Greece. So, owing to proximity with Egypt, the city could serve as a naval base for the fleet of Ptolemies on its way towards their overseas possessions[4], whilst also being extremely useful for the defensive policy of Egypt.

Apart from the strategic significance, Nea Paphos was important for the Ptolemies for economic reasons as well. The city turned into one of the main exportation centres of copper and timber, because of its vicinity with the mountains of Troodos, where these two natural resources occur in abundance[5]. Copper was the most important metal for the Ptolemaic numismatic policy[6], so Cyprus, a well-known centre of copper production and treatment during antiquity, became their main provider. Timber, on the other hand, was necessary for ships' construction and respectively for the maintenance of Ptolemaic thalassocracy.

Nea Paphos was also important from a cultural and religious point of view, as it was very close to the eminent sanctuary of Aphrodite Paphia in Palaepaphos. Although Strabo[7] cites that the town had a mooring-place ("ὕφορμον ἔχουσα"), it is very possible that the massive crowd of pilgrims disembarked at the harbour of Nea Paphos and travelled upon the *Via Sacra* to the sanctuary[8].

[3] Probably the coalition formed (in 321 BC) by Ptolemy and the kings of Salamis (Nicocreon), Paphos (Nicocles), Amathous (Androcles) and Soloi (Pasicrates), during his clash against Perdiccas (*cf.* Arrian, *Affairs after Alexander*, 10.6 = *FGrHist*, 156), was part of Ptolemy's plan to have access in Cyprus.

[4] Maier 1968, 47; Hauben 1987, 214-216; Mehl 2000, 642-643.

[5] Nea Paphos as exportation centre, *cf.* Daszewski 1981, 334. For copper in Cyprus, *cf.* Rostovtzeff 1941, 297, 339, 381 and 1173; Mehl 2000, 718-720; for timber in Cyprus, *cf.* Rostovtzeff 1941, 339, 381 and 1168-1170; Hauben 1987, 217-222; Mehl 2000, 717-718.

[6] Rostovtzeff, 1941, 398-404.

[7] Strabo 14, 6.3.

[8] Strabo 14, 6.3: "*διέχει δὲ πεζῇ σταδίους ἑξήκοντα τῆς Παλαιπάφου, καὶ πανηγυρίζουσι διὰ τῆς ὁδοῦ ταύτης κατ' ἔτος ἐπὶ τὴν Παλαίπαφον ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ γυναιξὶν συνιόντες καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων πόλεων*" ("It is sixty stadia distant from Palaepaphus by land; and on this road men together with women, who also assemble here from the other cities, hold an annual procession to Palaepaphus": translation by Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 250).

All the above demonstrate that Nea Paphos was of great strategic, economic, commercial and cultural significance for the Ptolemies. However, at the beginning of the 2nd century BC, after the loss of Egypt's overseas possessions and the expansion of Roman power, which began to limit Ptolemaic influence and authority in eastern Mediterranean, Nea Paphos turned into the most important Ptolemaic naval base outside Egypt. This conclusion arises from at least three significant facts:

a) From the transfer of the Cypriot capital from Salamis to Nea Paphos (probably between 200-180 BC)[9].

b) From the strengthening of *Strategos*' authority and power with the title of *Navarchos* (Admiral) in 142 BC. That means that the *Strategos*, commander of the island, also became commander of the fleet that anchored in the island's harbours[10].

c) From the following inscriptions that were found in Paphos district, confirming the existence of a flourishing shipbuilding centre:

i. "[Β]ΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΣ [ΠΥΡΓ]ΟΤΕΛΗΝ ΖΩΗΤΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΤΕΚΤΟΝΗΣ[ΑΝΤΑ] ΤΗΝ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΗΡΗ ΚΑΙ ΕΙΚ[ΟΣΗΡΗ]" ("King Ptolemy for Pyrgoteles, son of Zoes, builder of the triakonteres and eikoseres")[11]; written on the base of a Hellenistic dedicatory statue, found in the temple of Aphrodite in Palaepaphos.

ii. "ΠΡΙΤΙΟΥ ΝΑΥΠΗΓΟΥ" ("[belonging to] Pritius the Shipbuilder")[12]; written upon a Hellenistic amphora found in the northern necropolis of Nea Paphos.

During the Roman period, the city kept its great importance since it remained the capital of the island until the 4th century AD. It is of significance for the town that after a devastating earthquake in 15 BC, August himself offered great financial relief for the reconstruction of the town and called her by his name "Augusta" ("Αυγούσταν")[13].

From what I have mentioned up to now the importance of Nea Paphos both for the Ptolemies and for the Romans is evident. Moreover, the size and the formation of the harbour (*cf. supra*) indicate significant levels of maritime activity, which leads to the conclusion that there was indeed a

[9] Mitford 1980, 1309; Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 244; Mehl 2000, 686-687.

[10] Hill 1940, 197; Mehl 2000, 675.

[11] *OGIS* I, 39; Mitford 1961, 9, no. 17; Nicolaou 1966, 564.

[12] Megaw 1952, 115; Robert 1953, no. 224; Nicolaou 1966, 564.

[13] Dio Cassius, 54, 23.7-8.

lighthouse in Nea Paphos. So, the main question that is left to be clarified concerns the location of that building.

Where was the lighthouse located?

If there was, indeed, a lighthouse in Nea Paphos, why are there no remains of it or why is not there a single reference to it, so that we can locate its site? From time to time many different opinions have been expressed by scholars, who studied or excavated the site of Nea Paphos, as to where the lighthouse was situated. Lots of the architectural remains and rock cut foundations detected in different parts of the city have been identified as parts of the lighthouse. The most important places proposed for its location are as follows:

a) On the south-western promontory of the Maloutena cape (Fig. 12-1:1). This cape is well visible to ships approaching from all directions, but there are no architectural remains that would indicate a possible lighthouse there[14]. The only clue that could probably identify a possible lighthouse is the substructure of semicircular bastions that were incorporated in the south-west part of the city-walls[15]. Although defensive towers and bastions by the coast were used sometimes as lighthouses[16], this could not be practical in Nea Paphos; a lighthouse built here would stand against the dominant wind, which blows west-southwest, resulting in a very stuffy and unsanitary atmosphere from the smoke and the ashes produced by the lighthouse fire signal[17].

b) In the residential area, west of the port, within the confines of the villa of Theseus (Fig. 12-1:2). Foundations are known of a Roman tower, which was certainly not a defensive structure, consisting of two concentric sections (Figs 12-2, 12-3); the outer was octagonal in shape and the inner circular[18]. This formation is very similar to the architecture of the lighthouse at Alexandria, and given that this tower was not far away from the coast and the port, has urged scholars to assert that these are the remains of Paphos' lighthouse[19].

[14] Młynarczyk 1990, 183.
[15] Nicolaou 1966, 568-569; Młynarczyk 1990, 101-102.
[16] Castagnoli 1960, *s.v.* Faro, 596-597.
[17] Leonard *et al.* 1995, 244.
[18] Daszewski 1978, 427; Daszewski 1979, 280-281; Daszewski 1983, 310-311.
[19] *ARDAC* 1994, 71-72; *Cyprus Bulletin* 1994, 3.

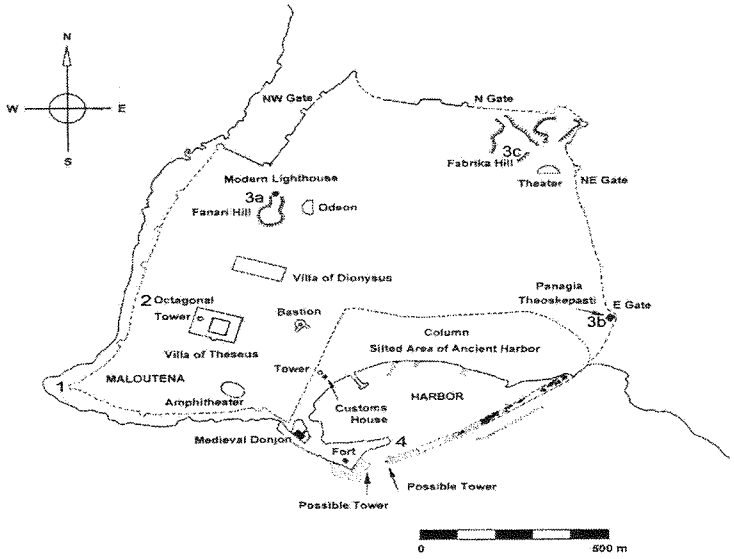

Fig. 12-1: General plan of Nea Paphos. Upon it are marked all the proposed locations for the lighthouse: 1. Maloutena promontory, 2. octagonal tower, 3a. Fanari hill, 3b. Panayia Theoskepasti, 3c. Fabrika hill, 4. Harbour.

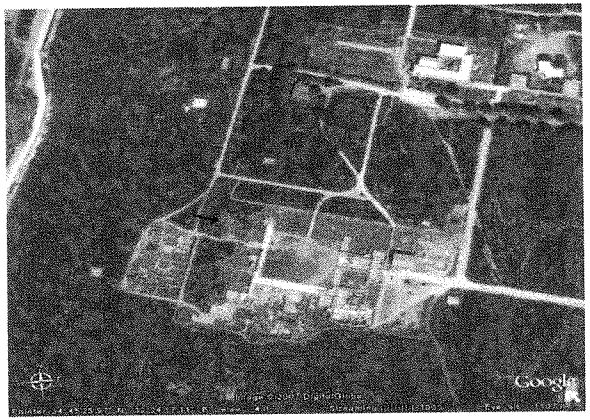

Fig. 12-2: The octagonal tower within the confines of the Villa of Theseus.

Fig. 12-3: Octagonal tower. Photo taken from SE.

This location nevertheless seems to be inappropriate for the construction of a lighthouse. Firstly, for the same reason that I highlighted for the former hypothesis; a lighthouse at the location of the octagonal tower would stand upwind of the city, causing unsanitary living conditions[20]. Moreover, this tower was not built at the coast or at the port; although there are some cases of lighthouses constructed away from the sea (for example, the Roman lighthouses of La Coruña and Dover[21]), there is not a single case of a lighthouse erected within a residential quarter, and more precisely, within the confines of a dwelling. Finally, we must keep in mind that a huge number of labourers with their pack animals and their lorries, moving constantly from and towards the lighthouse, would be necessary for its proper function and its maintenance[22]. For that reason, an open area, easily accessible, would be more appropriate for the construction of a lighthouse, rather than a residential quarter.

c) Upon one of the three hills that arise within Nea Paphos' city walls. These are the Fanari hill[23], where the modern lighthouse stands (Fig. 12-1:3a), the eastern hill, where the church of Panayia Theoskepasti is located (Fig. 12-1:3b)[24] and the north-eastern hill, called Fabrika (Fig. 12-1:3c)[25]. It

[20] Leonard *et al.* 1995, 244.
[21] Hague 1973, 293-303.
[22] Leonard *et al.* 1995, 244.
[23] Młynarczyk 1990, 51 and 183.
[24] Leonard *et al.* 1995, 243-244.

is known that some lighthouses of the ancient world were built upon hills away from the coast[26]. However, the architectural remains found upon these three hills cannot be identified as part of a lighthouse; the Fanari hill, which constituted the acropolis of Nea Paphos, was occupied by a temple[27], part of which (a row of seven rock-cut steps belonging probably to its *crepidoma*) is still visible at the east end of the hill (Fig. 12-4), above the *Odeon*[28]. On the hill of Panayia Theoskepasti, on the spot where the church now stands, there are rock-cut foundations of a tower that once stood there (Fig. 12-5)[29]. It is howe however unlikely that this tower was a lighthouse, since the area probably formed the eastern city-gate, and so the tower might have been a defensive bastion, flanking the gate. Finally, the architectural remains found upon the Fabrika hill, belong to the theatre, constructed at the slope of the hill, probably to the Temple of Aphrodite Paphia and to some other buildings (Fig. 12-6), not yet fully investigated[30].

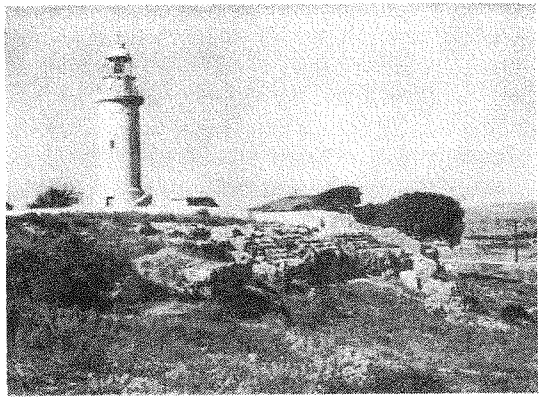

Fig. 12-4: Rock-cut steps on the east side of the Fanari hill, belonging probably to the crepidoma of a temple that stood upon the hill.

[25] Leonard *et al.* 1995, 244.
[26] Castagnoli 1960, *s.v.* Faro.
[27] Vörös 2006.
[28] Młynarczyk 1990, 201-204.
[29] Nicolaou 1966, 577; Młynarczyk 1990, 100.
[30] Młynarczyk 1985, 289-292; Młynarczyk 1990, 218-222.

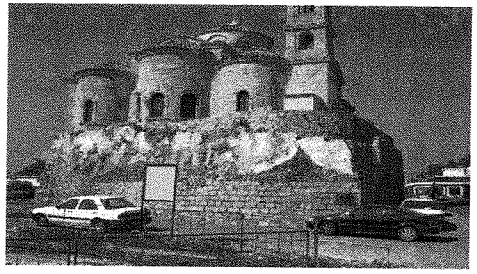

Fig. 12-5: Church of Panayia Theoskepasti. The church stands upon a former construction, probably a defending tower, flanking the city's eastern gate.

d) In the harbour area (Fig. 12-1:4). Harbours, and especially breakwaters, were the most common places for the building of lighthouses, in order to guide the sailors by their light, during night time, and by their smoke, during daytime[31]. The harbour of Nea Paphos (Fig. 12-7), which was created in a natural embayment, was much larger in ancient times than today, but has gradually silted from the waves and alluvial deposits from the nearby stream that flowed into the harbour basin. The main feature of the ancient coastline was a bedrock ridge, in a north-south direction, that divided the bay into two distinct basins (Fig. 12-8)[32]. The geoarchaeological research that took place in the area between the castle of "Saranda Kolones" and the modern coastline, and the discovery of sections of the ancient seawall, has shown that those two basins, particularly the eastern one, extended inland. This means that the harbour was extending northward, up to the Castle of "Saranda Kolones"[33]. The discovery, by D. Michaelides, of sections of the Hellenistic and Roman seawall somewhere below the Chrysopolitissa Basilica, to a distance of *c.* 150 and 140m respectively, north of the modern shoreline[34], shows that the northeast limit of the harbour's basin reached up to that point. Finally, the discovery of another part of the seawall, behind the modern Customs House[35], establishes its northwest limit.

[31] Castagnoli 1960, *s.v.* Faro.
[32] Daszewski 1981, 332; Leonard *et al.* 1998, 149.
[33] Nicolaou 1966, 567; Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 227; Młynarczyk 1985, 288; Megaw 1988, 137.
[34] Personal communication with D. Michaelides.
[35] *ARDAC* 1987, 64-65.

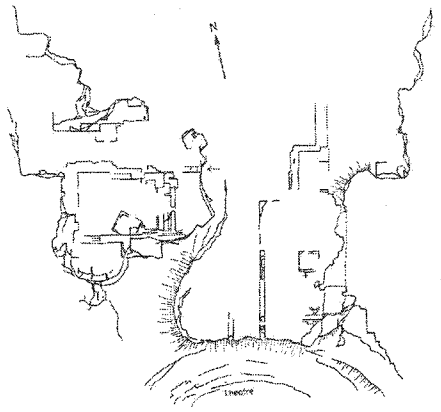

Fig. 12-6: Plan of the SE part of the Fabrika hill with the foundations of a building, probably the temple of Aphrodite Paphia.

According to an anonymous literary source, titled "Stadiasmus" or "Periplus Maris Magni", Paphos had a tripartite harbour, well-protected from all the winds (Stad. 297: "ἔχει λιμένα τριπλοῦν παντὶ ἀνέμῳ"). The word "τριπλοῦν" has many different interpretations; one of these supports that the tripartite harbour consisted of the main harbour basin, an anchorage outside the city's northwest gate and another one, formed on the outer side of the eastern breakwater, between the coast and the breakwater[36]. Another hypothesis, maybe the most common, argues that the ancient harbour was divided into three internal basins/areas serving as a military harbour, a commercial harbour, and as a shipyard[37]. This theory is mainly based on the natural division of the embayment by the bedrock ridge[38] and the formation of two separate basins, while the third section was formed by the south-western shore of the bay and the western breakwater[39]. However, the third section of the harbour could have been formed by one of the following ways:

a) By the installation of a masonry quay as a divider in the larger basin (that is the western one).

[36] Daszewski 1981, 332.
[37] Daszewski 1981, 334.
[38] It is worth mentioning that at the southern end of that ridge many submerged architectural debris have been detected, indicating the presence of a quay there (Daszewski 1981, 333; Leonard *et al.* 1998, 149).
[39] Daszewski 1981, 333.

b) By the formation of a small embayment in the eastern basin, divided from the rest of the basin by the stream's slightly projecting delta.

c) By the presence of a natural anchorage somewhere around Nea Paphos, as proposed in the first theory[40].

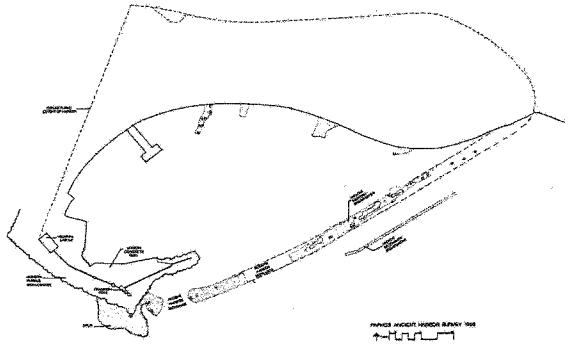

Fig. 12-7: The harbour of Nea Paphos. The dotted line marks the conjectured extent of the ancient harbour.

The harbour's embayment and its basins were protected by two breakwaters (Fig. 12-7); the western one, in a northwest-southeast direction, had its base somewhere close to the medieval donjon, measuring *c.* 170m in length, according to K. Nicolaou[41]. W.A. Daszewski, after his measurements in 1965, estimated the length of the breakwater at *c.* 210m and 10-15m wide. He has also noticed the submerged remains of a spur wall that branched away from the main mole, at the point where now stands the so-called Frankish fort, heading southward, for about 70m. This wall served to protect the harbour's entrance from the prevailing west wind, from the waves, and from alluvial deposits in front of the harbour's entrance[42]. However, later on, Daszewski concluded that the western breakwater had different dimensions, estimating its length at *c.* 235m, 5-15m wide, and the length of the spur wall at *c.* 50m[43]. As for the eastern breakwater, which runs in northeast-southwest direction, Nicolaou was the first to calculate its length at *c.* 350m[44], while Daszewski estimated it,

[40] Leonard *et al.* 1998, 155-156.
[41] Nicolaou 1966, 578.
[42] Daszewski 1981, 330-331.
[43] Daszewski 1987, 174, no. 39.
[44] Nicolaou 1966, 578.

initially at *c.* 400m, and later at *c.* 480m, with its width around 5-10m[45]. However, west of the entrance of the modern harbour a mound of submerged debris has been detected, measuring 94m in length and 18m wide. This mound was the west *terminus* of the eastern breakwater and it has been cut off during the opening of the modern harbour's entrance. So, adding this section to the main breakwater its total length reached up to 600m[46]. The city-walls extended upon these moles which probably ended in two towers that defined the entrance of the port, forming a "λιμὴν κλειστὸς" (a harbour that could be closed)[47].

This brief description of Paphos' harbour has been given in order to reveal its extent and complexity as well as to show how important and how useful it would be to locate the lighthouse at its entrance, upon the *terminus* of one of the breakwaters. However, the suggested location could also be impractical, due to the Maloutena cape which extends west of the harbour, protecting it from the west and northwest winds, but also hiding it in a way that "the light from the lighthouse would have been hardly visible to ships sailing along the coast from the north"[48]. Despite this objection, the harbour's entrance remains the most probable location for the building of a lighthouse, since the area extending northwest of the harbour is generally a low-lying ground and normally it should not cause big problems to the visibility of ships[49].

J.R. Leonard, S.L. Tuck and R.L. Hohlfelder were the first to suggest that the lighthouse stood at the entrance of the harbour. More precisely, at the *terminus* of the western breakwater they detected the remains of a submerged construction. These remains consisted of large blocks (measuring 1,36-2,51×0,92-1,94×0,51-1,74m), indicating the presence of an imposing tower, which they identified as the lighthouse of Nea Paphos[50]. Their hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that most of the lighthouses of big ancient harbours (such as Alexandria, Ostia, Leptis Magna and Caesarea Maritima) were standing upon the western mole[51]. Unfortunately nothing more can be said about this tower or other

[45] Daszewski 1981, 331; Daszewski 1987, 174, no. 39.
[46] Hohlfelder and Leonard 1993, 54-55; Leonard and Hohlfelder 1993, 375; Hohlfelder 1995, 201-204; Leonard *et al.* 1995, 243; Leonard *et al.* 1998, 147.
[47] Daszewski 1981, 331; Hohlfelder and Leonard 1993, 51, 54-55; Leonard and Hohlfelder 1993, 375; Leonard *et al.* 1995, 242-243.
[48] Młynarczyk 1990, 183.
[49] Leonard *et al.* 1995, 246.
[50] Hohlfelder and Leonard 1993, 54; Leonard and Hohlfelder 1993, 375; Hohlfelder 1995, 201-204; Leonard *et al.* 1995, 243.
[51] Leonard *et al.* 1995, 242.

constructions that might have stood upon the western mole, since it is covered today by the modern breakwater. The theory of a lighthouse standing at the harbour's entrance seems the most probable, because such constructions in antiquity were usually located at the mouths of ports, not for giving warning of reefs or promontories, but just to mark their entrances[52]. There are however some objections about this suggested location.

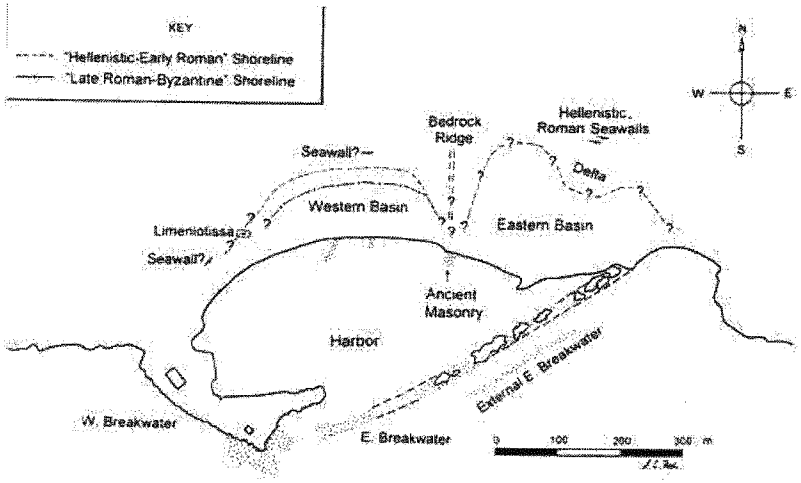

Fig. 12-8: The formation of two separate basins within the natural embayment of Paphos' harbour, caused by a natural bedrock ridge.

First of all, the size of the blocks is not sufficient alone to convince that the submerged construction was indeed a lighthouse. Lighthouses were not always so towering and imposing as the one in Alexandria. Usually a simple tower surmounted by a lantern was sufficient to guide the navigators to their destination[53]. So, in my opinion, it seems more reasonable to identify the submerged debris of the western mole with a sturdy construction, probably a defensive tower or a bastion, designated to guard the harbour's entrance.

However, another tower was detected on the eastern side of the harbour's entrance, upon the *terminus* of the eastern breakwater where much architectural material has been found, mainly blocks (measuring

[52] Goodchild 1957, 521.
[53] Rédde 1979, 846.

0,90-1,40×0,74-0,95×0,40-0,60m), with the width of the mole augments reaching up to 22m[54]. But why should we identify that tower with the lighthouse and not the western one? There are some clues that lead towards this conclusion. The first one has to do with the location of other lighthouses; if someone takes a close look at all the well-known and well-testified lighthouses of the Mediterranean that were constructed at the harbour's area (*e.g.* Alexandria, Ostia, Caesarea Maritima, Leptis Magna, Apollonia in Cyrenaica[55]), will notice that all were located on the western mole, but will also realise that they were all standing on the right side of the port's entrance. Whether or not this was coincidental or it was a sort of navigational code, it is an undeniable fact that ships entering those harbours had the lighthouse on starboard (that is on their right side), which from a practical perspective seems very convenient for a captain sailing into the harbour. So, if that was truly a navigational rule, then it is very possible that the lighthouse of Paphos was located upon the edge of the eastern breakwater.

Besides that conjectured argument, there is another one, more tangible, relating to the two columns lying upon the mound of architectural debris at the *terminus* of the eastern breakwater (Figs 12-9, 12-10). One is of unknown material, measuring 2.45m×0.36m long in diameter; the other is of marble, measuring 2.75m×0.50m long in diameter, while its base is a little bit wider at 0.60m in diameter. The second column is identical to the pillars that were pulled up from the harbour, during the deepening of its entrance and now are standing outside the Paphos District Museum[56]. That means that there were more columns upon the eastern mole. But what was the role of those columns? The fact that they were found upon the mound of debris implies that they probably were part of a certain construction. Perhaps a colonnade could have stood upon the eastern breakwater for decorative reasons[57]. In that case however, some more decorative or architectural features, such as statues, capitals or pediments, should have been found aside, but, as far as I am aware, they have not. Moreover, the extension of city-walls upon a relatively narrow mole (its maximum width reached up to 10m) would not leave much space for any other constructions. Besides a colonnade, another construction that could make use of columns was a lighthouse; ancient lighthouses usually consisted of two or more storeys of different shapes (rectangular, octagonal, round,

[54] Hohlfelder and Leonard 1993, 55; Leonard and Hohlfelder 1993, 375; Hohlfelder 1995, 199-201.
[55] Vann 1991, figs 1, 3, 5 and 7.
[56] Leonard and Hohlfelder 1993, 375.
[57] Leonard and Hohlfelder 1993, 378.

etc.) surmounted by a lantern[58]. In some cases a circular colonnade constituted the upper storey of the lighthouse, propping or surrounding its beacon[59]. Based on that architectural model of lighthouses, it is possible that the columns found upon the eastern breakwater were part of the lighthouse, probably the highest, supporting the lantern.

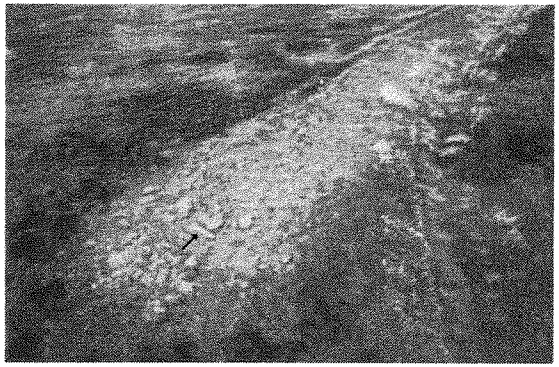

Fig. 12-9: The submerged terminus of the eastern breakwater. One of the columns is evident upon the mound of debris.

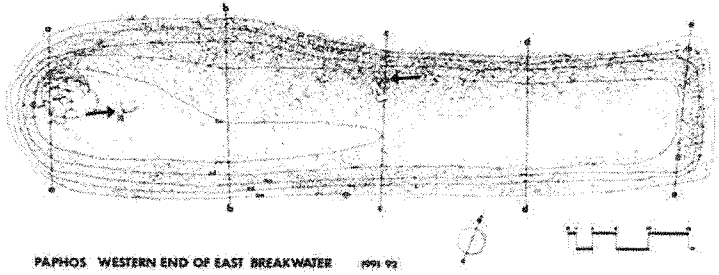

Fig. 12-10: Plan of the western end of eastern breakwater with the locations of the columns marked upon it.

I would therefore like to emphasise the most important points in order to draw some helpful conclusions. It is true that the whole theory relating to Paphos' lighthouse is based upon the hypothesis that there actually was

[58] Castagnoli 1960, *s.v.* Faro.
[59] Rédde 1979, 868-870.

such a building in the ancient city. This hypothesis, however, seems very probable due to the city's strategic, commercial and cultural significance during Hellenistic and Roman periods. Even though many places within the limits of the ancient city are candidates for the location of the lighthouse (the south-western extremity of the Maloutena promontory, the octagonal tower within the confines of Villa of Theseus, the Fanari hill, the Fabrika hill, the hill where the church of Panayia Theoskepasti stands), the most probable is the harbour's entrance, where the remains of two towers have been found. The western one seems more massive than the eastern, but the construction of the modern breakwater upon the remains of the ancient, does not allow a clear picture of the western mole and its *terminus*. On the contrary, we have a better view of the eastern tower, which seems more delicate, while the detection of columns close to it is indicative of a colonnade. Judging by the architectural type of lighthouses, a round colonnade could crown the upper section. Moreover, the fact that most of the known ancient lighthouses were standing on the right side of the harbour's entrances increases the possibility of identifying the eastern tower with the lighthouse of Nea Paphos. But in order to be certain of the validity of this theory, a closer examination and an underwater excavation, if possible, of the submerged debris of both towers are necessary. Such an operation would certainly provide information for the dating of those buildings as well. Unfortunately, up to now there are no identified remains of the lighthouse. So, until time that such remains are revealed, we can only guess the location of the lighthouse and imagine its form.

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