Lemesos

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A History of Limassol in Cyprus from Antiquity to the Ottoman Conquest

Edited by

Angel Nicolaou-Konnari
and Chris Schabel

Cambridge
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ABBREVIATIONS

1. Archives - Libraries

ASV = Vatican City, Archivio Segreto Vaticano.
ASVe = Venice, Archivio di Stato di Venezia.
BAV = Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.
BnF = Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France.
BNM = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana.
Bodleian = Oxford, Bodleian Library.
BSB = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek.
CSA = Nicosia, Cyprus State Archive.
CMC = Venice, Biblioteca di Civico Museo Correr.
KBL = Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek.
Querini Stampalia = Venice, Biblioteca della Fondazione Querini Stampalia.

2. General Works - Periodicals – Series

AASS = Acta Sanctorum, 71 vols. (Paris, 1863-1940).
AB = Analecta Bollandiana.
ABSA = The Annual of the British School at Athens.
AOL = Archives de l'Orient latin.
AR = Archaeological Reports (supplements to *JHS*).
ARDA = Annual Report of the Department of Antiquities (1982-) = *Annual Report of the Director of the Department of Antiquities* (1962-1979) = *Annual Report of the Chief Antiquities Officer* (1961) = *Annual Report of the Director of Antiquities* (1950-1960) (Nicosia).
BCH = Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique.
BEC = Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes.
BEFAR = Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome.
BF = Byzantinische Forschungen.
BZ = Byzantinische Zeitschrift.
CCEC = Cahiers du Centre d'Études Chypriotes.
Chronique des fouilles = 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre' in *BCH*.
CICO = Pontificia commissio ad redigendum codicem iuris canonici orientalis, Fontes, Series III (Rome, 1943-).

CSFS = Collana storica di fonti e studi, general ed. G. Pistarino (Genoa, 1969-).
DOP = Dumbarton Oaks Papers.
DOS = Dumbarton Oaks Studies.
EHB = A. Laiou (chief ed.), *The Economic History of Byzantium from the Seventh through the Fifteenth Century*, 3 vols. [DOS 39] (Washington, D.C., 2002).
JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
JMH = Journal of Medieval History.
MEFR = Mélanges de l'École française de Rome.
OCP = Orientalia Christiana Periodica.
ODB = The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium, ed. A. Kazhdan, 3 vols. (New York – Oxford, 1991).
PG = Patrologiae cursus completus. Series Graeca, ed. J.P. Migne, 161 vols. (Paris, 1857-1866).
PL = Patrologiae cursus completus, Series Latina, ed. J.P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-1864).
PmbZ = F. Winkelmann, R.-J. Lilie, C. Ludwig *et al.* (eds.), *Prosopographie der mittelbyzantinischen Zeit, Abteilung I: 641-867,* 7 vols. (Berlin - New York, 1998-2002).
RDAC = Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
RE = Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumwissenschaft, 47 vols. (Stuttgart, 1894-1963).
REB = Revue des études byzantines.
RHC = Recueil des historiens des croisades, ed. Comte A. Beugnot, 16 vols. (Paris, 1841-1906).
RHC Arm. = RHC Documents arméniens, 2 vols. (Paris, 1869-1906).
RHC Lois = RHC Lois: Les Assises de Jérusalem, I. *Assises de la Haute Cour* (Paris, 1841). II. *Assises de la Cour des Bourgeois* (Paris, 1843).
RHC Occ. = RHC Historiens Occidentaux, 5 vols. (Paris, 1844-1895).
RHC Or. = RHC Historiens Orientaux, 5 vols. (Paris, 1872-1906).
ROL = Revue de l'Orient latin.
RS = *Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores* (Rolls Series), 251 vols. (London, 1858-1896).
TIB = Tabula Imperii Byzantini (Vienna, 1976-).
TSHC = Texts and Studies in the History of Cyprus, Cyprus Research Centre (Nicosia).

ΕΚΕΕ = Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών (Κύπρου) (Nicosia).
ΕΚΜΙΜΚ = Επετηρίδα Κέντρου Μελετών Ιεράς Μονής Κύκκου (Nicosia).
ΚΣ = Κυπριακαὶ Σπουδαί (Nicosia).

ΚΧ = *Κυπριακὰ Χρονικά*, 13 vols. (Larnaca, 1923-1937).
ΜΚΕ = *Μεγάλη Κυπριακή Εγκυκλοπαίδεια*, gen. ed. A. Pavlides, 14 vols. (Nicosia, 1984-1991).
ΜΥ = *Μελέται καὶ Ὑπομνήματα* (Nicosia).
ΠΑ΄ΔΚΣ = *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Πρώτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Nicosia, 1969), 3 vols. (Nicosia, 1972-1973).
ΠΒ΄ΔΚΣ = *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Δευτέρου Διεθνοῦς Κυπριολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Nicosia, 1982), 3 vols. (Nicosia, 1985-1987).
ΠΓ΄ΔΚΣ = *Πρακτικὰ τοῦ Τρίτου Διεθνοῦς Κυπρολογικοῦ Συνεδρίου* (Nicosia, 1996), 3 vols. (Nicosia, 1996-2001).

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Michalis Olympios was educated at the Department of History and Archaeology of the University of Athens (BA 2003) and the Courtauld Institute of Art, University of London (MA 2005, PhD 2010). His research interests revolve around medieval art and architecture in Europe and the Latin East. He has published on Gothic architecture and sculpture in Lusignan Cyprus, on which subject he is preparing a book. Since 2011, he

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SERIES EDITOR INTRODUCTION

As the editors state in their foreword, Limassol has played a significant part in the history of Cyprus and the broader Mediterranean. To be sure, it has never served as the capital of the island, as Paphos and Nicosia have, it has not had the same foreign consular (and thus trade) presence that Larnaca did, or the same romantic allure of Famagusta and charm of Kyrenia, but there have been moments in the history of the island and the Mediterranean when Limassol has played a very significant role. The co-editors, both leading scholars in their field, Angel Nicolaou-Konnari and Christopher Schabel, both from the University of Cyprus, and who teamed up so well ten years ago to publish *Cyprus – Society and Culture 1191-1374* (2005), should be commended for bringing to life the history of Limassol in this exciting volume.

The city of Limassol is situated on the southern coast of Cyprus and is the capital of the eponymous district. Limassol (the city) developed between two ancient cities, Amathus and Curium (Kourion in Greek), well before the myth that it was a Latin creation, and was originally known as Neapolis (new town). A small colony may have existed in ancient times, because tombs found there date back to 2000 BC and others to the eighth and fourth centuries BC. So when, as Tassos Papacostas in this volume argues, 'in May 1191 Limassol was unexpectedly propelled to the international limelight literally overnight, as a result of the events surrounding the island's conquest by Richard the Lionheart in the course of the Third Crusade', Limassol had already existed for millennia. Indeed, Limassol has an important history beyond the three or four dramatic moments in its past.

This volume brings together leading scholars, from the inter-disciplinary backgrounds of archaeology, art history, and history, to set out the history of both the city and the surrounding rural areas of the broader Limassol District, from ancient times to the end of Latin rule in the sixteenth century. The volume is comprehensive, so much so that the coverage of the Ottoman, British, and independence periods of its history, which have been understudied, has been postponed for a second volume, which I hope my series, *Cyprus Historical and Contemporary Studies*, will have the honour to publish. The scholars selected are all experts in their field and it is no easy task to unite such an eclectic group.

Organised chronologically, this volume starts with a chapter on ancient Amathus by Professor Antoine Hermary, Aix-Marseille University, and ends with a wonderful postscript by the two co-editors on the place of pre-Ottoman Limassol in the memory of Cypriots and travellers to Cyprus over the centuries. With five main chapters, all varying in length depending on the availability of source material and the importance of the period and theme that is being addressed, the volume is impressively rich in detail and focussed on answering the pressing historiographical questions associated with Limassol.

Today the city has grown into an important Mediterranean port, with an urban population of just under 180,000, and is one of the most vibrant in all of Cyprus. The city has extended much farther than the castle and port, spreading along the Mediterranean coast, with its suburbs reaching Amathus to the east. To the west of the city is the Akrotiri Peninsula, part of the British Sovereign Base Areas of Akrotiri and Dhekelia. Known for its antiquities and its annual festivals, Limassol is a multicultural city. This multiculturalism is reflected in the scholars contributing, who are connected to Cyprus, France, Greece, UK, and US.

This volume is timely because it also coincides with the growth in studies into Cypriot cities, namely Nicosia and Famagusta, and thus allows for a comparison. Demetrios Michaelides edited the scholarly survey *Historic Nicosia*, published by Rimal in 2012, while Michael Walsh and Nicholas Coureas, along with other scholars, have co-edited two volumes that focus on medieval Famagusta: the first, titled *Medieval and Renaissance Famagusta: Studies in Architecture, Art and History*, was published by Ashgate in 2012, and the second, titled *The Harbour of All This Sea and Realm: Crusader to Venetian Famagusta*, was published by Central European University Press in 2014. A third volume by Walsh is to be published in 2015 in this series. Meanwhile Brepols, also in 2015, has published the first of two volumes on the city: *Famagusta, volume 1: Art and Architecture*, edited by Annemarie Weyl Carr, with the second volume on *History and Society* to follow soon, edited by the editors of the present work, together with Gilles Grivaud and Catherine Otten-Froux. Together the volumes on Nicosia, Famagusta, and Limassol, although varying in aim and scope, provide readers with the most sophisticated and scholarly historical accounts of those three places.

It gives me great pleasure to publish this volume as part of my series. I hope this will be the beginning of many more studies on the history of Limassol and the other cities of Cyprus.

Andrekos Varnava,
Senior Lecturer in Imperial and Military History, Flinders University

SPONSOR'S PREFACE

Neapolis, Theodosias, Nemesos, Lemesos, Limassol. 'At times a very important Mediterranean port'. 'A town between Amathus and Kourion'. 'The place where Richard the Lionheart's wedding to Beregaria of Navarra took place'.

All the above are bits and pieces from references on Limassol. I have always had the feeling that we need a comprehensive, academic work on Limassol – we have to know its history all along the millennia gone, of which only the last 137 years (from 1878 to now) are more or less well documented.

This is the reason why I turned to Angel and Chris again for this book. It took some time to compile the first volume, but I believe it is worth the effort after all.

I now expect that the second volume (Turkish, British, and independence periods) will follow soon.

Dr Andreas Pittas
Medochemie
Limassol

FOREWORD

Following the success of *Cyprus - Society and Culture 1191-1374*,[1] which appeared in 2005 and was the brainchild of Dr Andreas Pittas, the project's sponsor, the editors approached the CEO of Medochemie with the idea for another book, this time on the history of Limassol. Why Limassol? Some of the motivation was of a personal nature: Medochemie is headquartered there, Dr Pittas being a Limassolian, and the seaside city has been either a home or an adopted home for both the editors. Writing about one's hometown can be awkwardly emotional, but solid scholarly reasons for composing the book counterbalanced personal involvement. True, Limassol was never the capital of the island, as Paphos, Salamis, and Nicosia were, and it never experienced an explosion of growth comparable to that of Frankish Famagusta. Yet Limassol is by no means insignificant, with a long and fascinating history, often a multicultural one, which presents interesting analogies with the city's recent and present situation. Limassol also provided us with a great scientific opportunity: the primary source material, while ample, was not overwhelming, allowing us to inspect the vast majority of what survives (although we hope more sources surface in the future); the scholarly secondary literature was limited, assuring us that much of what we would find, or at least many of our interpretations, would be fresh and exciting and, for some periods at least, we began with a relative *tabula rasa*.

The scattered nature of the extant information on the city, dispersed in manuscripts, monographs, collective volumes, and journals, rendered the composition of a scholarly study, which would combine in a single volume the ancient, medieval, and modern history of Limassol for the layman and the specialist alike, all the more demanding. In fact, despite the long entry by Andros Pavlides in the eighth volume of the *Megali Kypriaki Encyclopaideia*, which appeared in 1988, Christakis Sergides' *Limassol Until the Turkish Period,* published in 2003, and the collective volume *Limassol: A Journey to the Past of a City*, edited by Anna G. Marangou and Titos Kolotas in 2006, there does not exist a comprehensive study on the history of Limassol that is similar to the one for Nicosia edited by Demetrios Michaelides in 2012. The above works are very

[1] Nicolaou-Konnari and Schabel (2005).

useful and in many respects pioneering, but their scope and methodological approach are different from those of the present volume. Xenophon P. Pharmakides' *History of Limassol*, Agnes Michaelide's *Limassol, the Old City*, Costas A. Pilavakes' *Limassol in Past Times*, and Christakis Savvides' *Limassol Yesterday and Today*, published in 1942, 1981, 1997, and 2001 respectively, are in contrast personal or popular testimonies and recollections, focusing on the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[2]

Nine years later the product of Dr Pittas' generous support does not much resemble what we agreed upon in 2006. Originally, we had envisioned a simple organisation of four large chapters written by four scholarly 'couples': Maria Iacovou and Theodoros Mavroyiannis (both of the University of Cyprus) would cover the ancient cities between which Limassol is situated, Amathus and Kourion respectively; Tassos Papacostas (King's College, London) and Ioanna Christoforaki (Academy of Athens) were assigned Byzantine Limassol and Byzantine art in the Limassol area; the editors (University of Cyprus) took Frankish and Venetian Limassol; and Rita Severis and George Dionysiou (experienced independent scholars) were to cover Ottoman Limassol. Although every scholar longs to present and analyse exhaustively a topic of research, we wisely did not think it possible to add the British period in a single volume on the history of Limassol, let alone Limassol since independence.

Still, in the end the book has grown so large that the huge chapter by Severis and Dionysiou will have to form part of a planned second volume, taking the city's history down to 1960. Similarly, years ago Professor Mavroyiannis turned in a mere portion of his piece on Kourion that was so extensive that we decided that the finished product should constitute a separate monograph on its own, and we sincerely hope that this comes to fruition. Sacrificing Kourion was only possible thematically because it is Amathus, much closer geographically, that is considered to be 'Old Limassol'. In this case, however, Professor Iacovou opted to turn over her assignment to two respected specialists. Antoine Hermary (University of Aix-Marseille), director of the French archaeological mission at Amathus, agreed to synthesise what is known about that city, a chapter that the editors have translated from French. Using very recent archaeological finds and based on her doctoral thesis, Laurence Alpe (independent scholar) contributed a welcome chapter on ancient Limassol that the

[2] See Pavlides (1988), Sergides (2003), Marangou and Kolotas (2006), Michaelides (2012), Pharmakides (1942), Michaelide (1981), Pilavakes (1997), and Savvides (2001). For more titles of personal testimonies, see Pilavakes (1997: 17-20).

editors also translated from French and that forms a smooth transition to Papacostas' piece on Byzantine Limassol. As research progressed, it became clear to Dr Christoforaki and the editors that, with the volume's focus on Limassol before 1570, what would best accompany Papacostas' chapter and that of the editors was a thorough study of the physical remains of Frankish and Venetian Limassol, and that her own chapter should be expanded to incorporate the Ottoman period for inclusion in the second volume. In 2006 we had no specialist for the archaeology of Frankish and Venetian Limassol, but Dr Michalis Olympios joined the faculty of the University of Cyprus in 2011 and has stepped in to fill this gap admirably.

Despite these vicissitudes, we believe that the result is excellent, better than we had hoped. The book is organised chronologically, beginning with ancient Amathus, moving to Limassol in Antiquity, and continuing with Byzantine Limassol. Whereas the focus in these early chapters is often mostly and sometimes exclusively on archaeological sources, for the chapter on Frankish and Venetian Limassol written sources are – relatively speaking – plentiful, and this chapter is divided into four distinct periods. Limassol already lay in partial ruins in the late fourteenth century, and this and modern development have made Olympios' reconstruction of Frankish and Venetian Limassol a complex endeavor, combining written sources, archaeology, and careful observation. The decline of the city in the late Middle Ages, and then the radical break occasioned by the Ottoman conquest of 1570, also fractured the continuity of collective memory, and the Conclusion traces the distorted image(s) of ancient, Byzantine, Frankish, and Venetian Limassol down to the present day. The discussion of the history of the toponym(s) for what is today called *Lemesos* in Greek, *Limassol* in French, Italian, English, and some other languages, and various other similar spellings in still other tongues follows the chronological evolution of toponomastics and can be found in special sections of Alpe's and Papacostas' chapters and in a separate note.

The geographical location of a port city and the agricultural character of its inland region may explain its role as a trading centre. The present volume attempts a global approach, however, studying urban (dis)continuity and development on the basis of the multifold function of a port city (administrative, commercial, religious, residential, etc.) and the relation between demographics and environmental factors; most importantly, this holistic approach takes into consideration the various patterns of connectivity in the Mediterranean – often affected by the evolving geo-political situation in distant areas – that determined the role of cities in networks of Mediterranean exchange, the social and economic

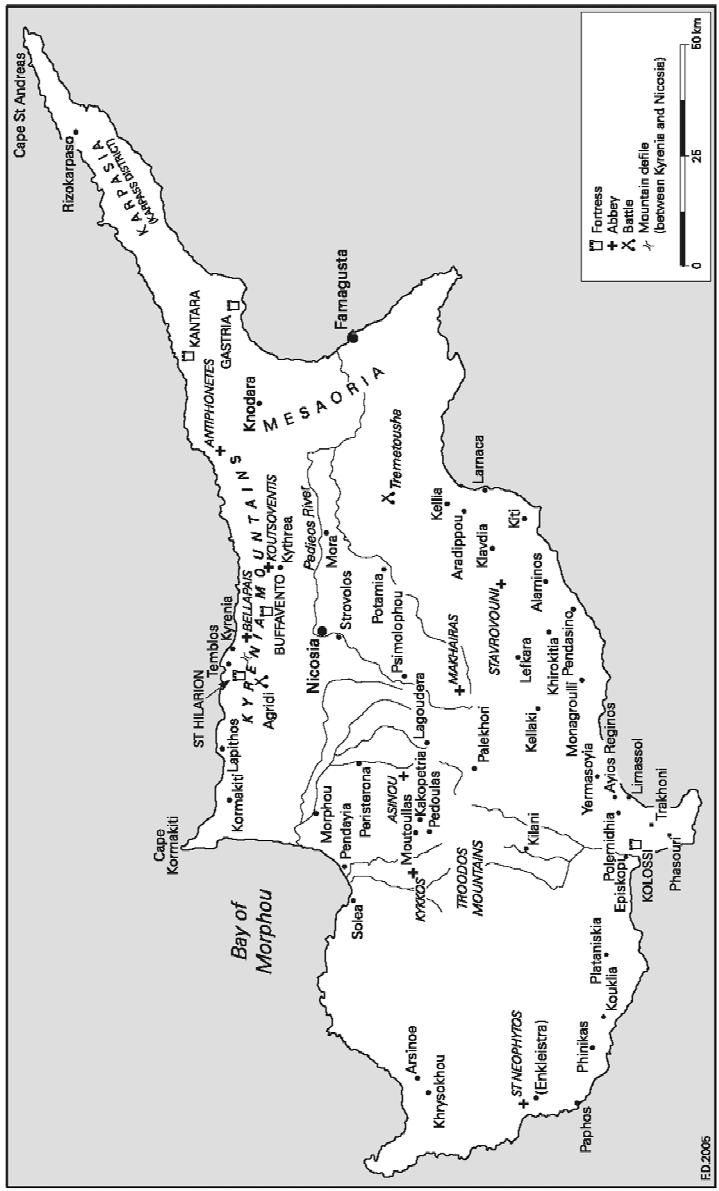
behaviour of the elite regarding production and distribution, trade routes, and the nature of trade.[3] Thus, Limassol as the object of the present study is taken in its broad sense to include both the town and the countryside. The extent of the inland area studied for the Byzantine and Latin periods follows loosely the post-1960 district borders, although some villages do pose a problem, since there are some discrepancies between modern and medieval divisions. For example, Avdimou was a different district in the late Lusignan and Venetian periods. Lefkara is also a case in point: today it is neither administratively nor ecclesiastically part of Limassol, but in the Middle Ages, even though it belonged to the district of Mazotos, it was the see of the Greek bishop of Amathus.

* * *

The editors would like to thank above all Dr Andreas Pittas for his support and, especially, his patience. The contributors, both those whose work has ended up in this volume and those whose efforts will, we hope, be published in the near future, deserve our gratitude for their scholarship and their professional attitude, and in some cases their patience as well. A number of individuals and institutions have made essential contributions over the years; we would like to thank, in particular, Alexander Beihammer, Lorenzo Calvelli, Gilles Grivaud, Maria Iacovou, Valandis Papadamou, James Petre, Eleni Procopiou, Yiannis Violaris, and the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation. Finally, we are grateful to our friend Andrekos Varnavas (Flinders University), who kindly requested that we submit a scholarly volume for his series *Cyprus Historical and Contemporary Studies* for Cambridge Scholars Publishing, a perfect place for the present book. Although CSP has followed up with frequent reminders, the people at the press have also been flexible, as deadline after deadline passed. We think it has been worth the wait.

A. N.-K. and C.D.S., Limassol and Paris, 27 January 2015

[3] See Horden and Purcell (2000).



Map 1. Latin Cyprus

Map 2. Limassol and Its Hinterland (T. Papacostas)

AMATHUS, CAPITAL OF THE KINGDOM AND CITY-STATE

ANTOINE HERMARY

Before Amathus

The first human habitation of Cyprus was probably in the Limassol area. This may have taken place before the Neolithic period, considering that humans were probably responsible for the extinction of pygmy hippopotami, remains of which were found at the site of Akrotiri-*Aetokremnos*. Human presence is clearly attested at the site of Parekklisha-*Shillourokambos*, north-east of Amathus, from the Neolithic Pre-Ceramic A at the end of the ninth millennium BC.[1] The French team excavating there since 1992 under the direction of Jean Guilaine has shown that these early inhabitants lived in circular houses, dug deep wells for their collective water supply, and introduced new plant and animal species: wild wheat, wild goat, deer (*Dama mesopotamica*), and cattle, which then disappeared from the island's fauna, not to return until the Early Cypriot era, in the third millennium BC.[2] In addition to local stone, the inhabitants used obsidian imported from Cappadocia. The beginnings of the rise of navigation allowed the establishment of maritime connections with Syria and southern Anatolia, but the Neolithic sites of the island quickly developed their own characteristics. A feline head (probably a cat) in serpentine (height 9.4 cm) that was found in the earlier levels of Shillourokambos can be considered the oldest known sculpture in Cyprus.[3]

This area close to Amathus was still densely settled in the seventh-sixth millennia, when the site of Khirokitia a few kilometres east was flourishing. Afterwards it seems to have been abandoned until new agricultural settlements were established in the fifth millennium, when the 'Sotira culture' prospered west of Limassol. Near this village, on the site

[1] Guilaine *et al.* (2011).
[2] Guilaine (2003).
[3] Guilaine *et al.* (1999).

of Teppes, the excavations of Porphyrios Dikaios uncovered a settlement dating from the Ceramic Neolithic era (*ca.* 4600-3900 BC) that, in its final phase, may have accommodated about 150 people who mastered cereal cultivation and domesticated goats, sheep, and pigs.

The Chalcolithic period (*ca.* 3900-2900/2500 BC) is not yet attested around Amathus, but it is represented at Sotira-*Kaminoudia* and at Erimi-*Bamboula*, a site between Episkopi and Limassol that covered about 15 hectares and where, as elsewhere in Cyprus, we find a significant change in burial practices: stylised human figurines in serpentine, characteristic of the Cypriot art of the era, are found among the offerings to the deceased.

The Episkopi area was still inhabited in the Early (*ca.* 2300-2000) and Middle Cypriot (*ca.* 2000-1600), as the excavations conducted by Kent State University at Phaneromeni have shown, and at this point the first settlement in Limassol itself is attested (see below). Further east, near the village of Pyrgos, an important new site arose, excavated by the Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche of Rome: crafts flourished in metal, ceramics, and, probably, the production of perfume. The recently proposed interpretation of a certain building as the first temple of Cyprus, however, remains hypothetical.[4]

In the Late Bronze Age (Late Cypriot=LC), especially in its second phase (LC II, *ca.* 1400-1200), Cyprus underwent profound changes, due to trading links established with the great powers of the Eastern Mediterranean – Egypt, the kingdoms of the Levant, the Hittite Empire, the Mycenaean palatial states – that enabled the island's development of the production and export of copper ore in particular. Enkomi, on the east coast, remains the main example of urban development, for the wealth and diversity of the objects uncovered in its dwellings, places of worship, and tombs, but an entire series of sites on the south coast attest also to the emergence of economic, political, and social complexity: from east to west, Kition-*Kathari*, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kalavasos-*Ayios Dimitrios*, Maroni, Episkopi-*Bamboula*, Alassa, Palaepaphos. It is difficult to discern what the political structure of the island was at the time and, therefore, what type of organization accompanied this very dense network of settlements, but the areas of Limassol and Amathus were not affected by this dramatic expansion of habitation. The end of the period (LC III) corresponds to a sharp decline in human occupation: only the necropolis of Kourion-*Kaloriziki* near Episkopi attests to the transition from the Bronze Age (LC IIIB) to the Iron Age (Cypro-Geometric=CG), characterised by the introduction of a type of tomb Aegean in origin and by the production

[4] Belgiorno (2000).

of new types of ceramics. Tomb 40 of Kaloriziki, which contained the famous gold sceptre surmounted by birds of prey, is the most striking example of these changes, undoubtedly related to the presence of Greek immigrants in the region, as elsewhere on the island. Nevertheless, the situation observed in the Kourion area has no equivalent in the east, where the origins of the future Kingdom of Amathus remain mysterious.

The Site of Amathus: History of Research

Throughout Antiquity the small settlement of Limassol was certainly dependent on Amathus.[5] The town of Amathus itself (fig. 1), about ten kilometres east of modern Limassol, mainly occupied a hill of about 12 hectares that slopes gently toward the sea to the south and is protected on the north, east, and west sides by a rather steep cliff, reaching a height of 88 metres at the summit, on which the sanctuary of Aphrodite was established. The natural situation is, thus, relatively favourable, but the hill has no water resources and there is no protected bay on the coastal side. There must have been an older port, therefore, before the Hellenistic port was constructed, probably located to the west of the later agora. The date and conditions for the settlement of the first inhabitants of Amathus are difficult to determine due to the paucity of written sources and the dearth of the archaeological evidence currently available.

As elsewhere in Cyprus, field research began in the second half of the nineteenth century. As a result of the passage of the French mission directed by Melchior de Vogüé (1862), the colossal vase that adorned the summit of the acropolis of Amathus was transported to the Louvre. Next, the American Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola opened, mainly in 1875, a considerable number of tombs, from which the most spectacular discovery was a sarcophagus decorated in relief. Like the bulk of the Cesnola Collection, 'the Amathus Sarcophagus', as it has become known, is housed in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The mission of the British Museum continued excavations in the necropolis in 1893-1894, followed by the Swedish mission led by Einar Gjerstad, which opened 26 tombs in 1930 and produced the first reliable information about the occupation of the site in the CG period.[6] Nevertheless, Amathus remained very little known until the inception in 1975 of the excavations on the acropolis, conducted by the mission of the École française d'Athènes (under the direction of Pierre Aupert, then Sabine Fourrier, and currently

[5] See Laurence Alpe's contribution to this volume.
[6] Gjerstad *et al.* (1935).

Antoine Hermary), and the excavations in the lower town, conducted since 1976 by the Cyprus Department of Antiquities (under the direction of Michalis Loulloupis and then Pavlos Flourentzos). Since the early 1980s, the great development of tourism in the area has led to the discovery of hundreds of tombs that had to be excavated during rescue operations by the Department of Antiquities.

A synthetic presentation of the findings is given each year in the 'Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre' of the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique*.

Origins (Eleventh-Ninth Centuries BC)

According to Theopompos, an historian of the second half of the fourth century BC, quoted by Photius, the Greeks who accompanied Agamemnon conquered Cyprus after having driven off the companions of Kinyras, from whom the Amathusians descended. Around the same time, Pseudo-Skylax writes that the people of Amathus are 'indigenous' as opposed to the inhabitants of the Greek (he cites Salamis and Marion) or Phoenician (Lapithos) towns of the island, for which ancient authors have transmitted some 'foundation legends', in contrast to Amathus.[7] To this indigenous tradition (autochthoneity) was added another that made Amathousa, Kinyras's mother, the eponym of the town. From the Cypro-Archaic (=CA) period to the late fourth century BC, a local language – neither Greek, nor Semitic – was employed in Amathus, attesting to the permanence of an 'indigenous' community that, nevertheless, had not occupied the site until the Iron Age, contrary to what Theopompos's text would lead one to believe. Indeed, the archaeological record does not support the settlement of Amathus or its immediate environs before the transition period between LC IIIB (at the earliest) or CG IA, i.e., around the middle of the eleventh century BC. Currently, evidence for this first habitation, or early use of the site, is quite limited. On the acropolis it consists of a small deposit of pottery found to the north of the palace, the sherds divided between the 'Proto-White Painted' and 'White Painted I' styles. This rather fragmentary material probably comes from one or several tombs; it was gathered there in the CG III period.[8] It is possible that the tomb dug on the summit of the hill, inside the future sanctuary of Aphrodite, originally dates from the CG IA period, in spite of the fact that it was found filled with CA I sherds (see below). The neighbouring

[7] Baurain (1984).
[8] Iacovou (2002).

necropoleis have not yet yielded any material from the early CG IA period. The oldest tomb that one can associate with Amathus is located about 1.5 km west of the acropolis, in a place called Diplostrati(a).[9] It is therefore difficult to argue that a population of much significance occupied the site in the first decades of the Iron Age. For the following period (CG IB-II, tenth and first half of the ninth century), the presence – mainly to the west of the acropolis, in the area of the Amathus Beach Hotel – of tombs with luxury items suggests that the situation had changed, but the excavations on the acropolis have not yet revealed levels of occupation of that era. The shape of the tombs and the pottery deposited in them testify that the material culture of the new settlement is the same as in the rest of Cyprus, including relations with the Near East: 'From the beginning of its foundation, Amathus participated in a homogeneous Cypro-Geometric culture. There is no tangible evidence of an alien people at Amathus'.[10] The large number of vases from the Levantine coast in Tomb 521 indicates, however, the existence of particularly strong links between Amathus and the Near East in the first half of the tenth century BC. Other vases attest that in the second half of the century, at the latest, this new settlement had also established maritime trading networks with the Greek world of the Aegean and even with the Western Mediterranean, as shown in the discovery of two drinking vessels belonging to the Protogeometric Euboean style – the oldest known in Cyprus – and of a bronze skewer (*obelos*) of the 'Atlantic' type, the only one of its kind in the Eastern Mediterranean, unearthed in Tomb 523.[11]

The Kingdom (Ninth Century [?]-ca. 310 BC)

The following period, that of Cypro-Geometric III (*ca.* 850-750 BC), is characterised by an increase in the number of tombs, the appearance of a style of pottery that has a local fingerprint, and the first signs of a settlement halfway up the acropolis. The evidence from excavations of necropoleis is essential. Although only a portion of these finds have been published, it is certain that the number of tombs dated to CG III is much higher than for the earlier periods and that pottery imported from the Aegean world (Euboea and Attica) and the Levantine coast (Phoenicia) becomes more abundant. Tomb NW 194, found in the necropolis to the north of the city, provides an excellent example; although it has been

[9] Hermary and Iacovou (1999).
[10] Karageorghis and Iacovou (1990: 98); see also Iacovou (2006: 42-3).
[11] Gjerstad (1977: 23, nos. 1-2, pl. I. 1-2); Karageorghis and Lo Schiavo (1989).

looted, 'it has nevertheless produced more Greek pottery of the Geometric period than any other tomb in Cyprus, except for the far better preserved Royal Tomb I at Salamis'.[12] In addition, the French mission's excavations on the acropolis, on the site of the future archaic and classical palace, have revealed a first level of occupation dated to CG III according to the abundant ceramic material, including sherds belonging to one or more Euboean skyphoi with pendent semicircle, the first of this kind from a Cypriot context. A limestone column base (diameter 47 cm) belongs to this phase and demonstrates that a relatively important building had been constructed in this area around the late ninth or early eighth century BC.[13] Was it a first palace of the local kings? This question is again connected to that of the origins of Amathus and, more generally, to the rise of the Cypriot kingdoms. This very complex and widely debated problem concerns a critical moment in the island's history, when new political and administrative structures were created or consolidated around a 'capital' having a well-defined territory that encompassed smaller towns, villages, farms, and other agricultural settlements, as well as artisans whose work depended, to varying degrees, on the authority of the 'capital'.[14] From the advent of the kingdoms down to the end of the Early Christian era, a period of at least fifteen centuries, the principle remains the same, and it will change only partially with the establishment of a capital for the entire island.

The oldest and most precise document concerning the division of the island into small kingdoms is the inscription in which, in 673 BC, the Assyrian King Esarhaddon gives a list of rulers (*sharru*) under his authority. For Cyprus ('the land of Yatnana in the middle of the sea') ten rulers are given, governing cities/kingdoms among which the names Idalion, Chytroi, Salamis, Paphos, Soloi, Kourion, Tamassos, and Ledra seem to be discernable, while the names Qartihadast and Nuria/e pose a problem of interpretation. Is, perhaps, Qartihadast the 'new town', Kition, and Nuria/e Amathus, by deformation of the name Kin-nuria or Kinyreia, 'the City of Kinyras' mentioned by Pliny and Nonnus in Roman times?[15] Or could Qartihadast be Amathus and Nuria/e another city (Marion?), which would imply that Kition was not included on the Assyrian king's list? Another inscription, stored in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris, provides important evidence: fragments of at least two bronze bowls, dated around the middle of the

[12] Coldstream (1995: 187).
[13] Blandin *et al.* (2008: 133, figs. 5, 2).
[14] Iacovou (2006).
[15] Baurain (1981).

eighth century BC, preserve a Phoenician dedication of a 'governor of Qartihadast, servant of Hirom, king of Sidon', to the god Baal of Lebanon. These fragments, which first belonged to George N. Lanitis of Limassol, had been found at 'Mouti Shinois', between the villages of Kellaki and Sanida, north-east of Amathus. The indication is unverifiable, but it is highly likely that the discovery actually was made in the Limassol area.[16] Even if we do not yet possess any document giving with certainty the original name of the city, whose Greek form 'Amathus' is first attested by the Greek poet Hipponax in the second half of the sixth century BC,[17] the development of Amathus in the eighth century does seem to imply that it was one of the kingdoms of the island at the time. In addition to the testimony of the tombs and the first settlement on the site of the palace, the French excavations have shown that it is in the first phase of the Cypro-Archaic period (CA I), in the second half of the eighth century, that the sanctuary of the local Great Goddess, who would later bear the name 'Aphrodite Kypria', was established on the summit of the acropolis. The creation of this place of worship, which would become one of the most important in Cyprus, is certainly – as the case is at Kourion, at the same time, for the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates – an essential stage in the affirmation of the kingdom's autonomy. The tombs dating from CA I found in Limassol, on the other hand, are a significant witness to the western delineation of the boundaries of its territory with that of Kourion.

It is currently impossible to estimate the number of tombs dating from this period in the history of Amathus, but it is certain that they are distributed all around the city, to the west, where, as we have seen, most of the geometric tombs are located, to the north, and to the east. A very particular type of necropolis, characteristic of a population of Phoenician origin (but probably not a 'tophet'), was also found on the sea front, some distance to the west of the acropolis, near the Four Seasons Hotel (see below). In an exceptional way, we can complement this funerary evidence with what has been brought to light in the sanctuary of Aphrodite, in the palace area below the acropolis, and near the northern rampart of the city.

1. The Sanctuary of Aphrodite

Despite the confusion on the site of the sanctuary of Aphrodite due to the construction of a monumental temple in the late first century AD, followed by its destruction and the erection of a church and other religious buildings

[16] Masson (1985).
[17] Aupert (1984: 15, no. 11).

in the late sixth or early seventh century AD (fig. 2), the evidence for the occupation of the sanctuary between the mid-eighth century and the early fifth century BC is relatively abundant.[18]

A tomb dug on the highest point of the hill, oriented north-south, poses a delicate problem of interpretation.[19] It was excavated in 1988 in an area until then known only for remains of the Early Christian era. It is impossible to define precisely the date when it was first used, even if the shape is reminiscent of tombs of the early Cypro-Geometric period, particularly at Palaepaphos-*Skales*, because no human remains were found, nor any offerings *in situ*. The fill of the tomb contained, apart from stones and elements of basins (?) in mud brick, numerous sherds of pottery all dating to CA I. At the top level, the access corridor to the chamber (*dromos*) was closed by a wall to the east and surmounted on the west by a large slab of limestone carved with 12 circular holes, one of the 'gaming stones' abundantly attested in Cyprus in the Bronze Age. This object appears to indicate the existence of a cult linked to this ancient tomb, which is confirmed by the presence, a few metres to the east, of a channel carved in the rock, resulting in a smaller 'gaming stone'. Whatever the exact date of this primitive sepulchre, it precedes the first development of the sanctuary of Aphrodite, in the midst of which it acquired a sacred character.

Who was worshipped in this place? We know that in the Greek world many of the founding heroes were honoured in a sanctuary and, in Cyprus itself, the Christian writer Clement of Alexandria reports that one could see in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos the tomb of Kinyras and his descendants. For Amathus, the only literary testimony that can be applied to this discovery is a passage in Plutarch,[20] that reports that, according to Paion of Amathus, Theseus and Ariadne ran aground on Cyprus on their return from Crete, the young pregnant woman was left on the shore and, despite the help of local women, she died in childbirth. On his return, Theseus founded a cult in honour of the young woman and, during the celebrations, a young boy would mimic the pains of childbirth. The Amathusians called the place of the tomb of the heroine 'the sacred grove' (*alsos*) of Ariadne-Aphrodite. In the absence of any votive inscription, this attractive hypothesis remains unverifiable.

No monumental structure appears to have been erected in the sanctuary in the Cypro-Archaic period, but it has been possible to identify an area

[18] Fourrier and Hermary (2006).
[19] Hermary (1994a).
[20] Plutarch, *Vit. Theseus*, 20.3-7.

where animal sacrifice was practiced, and where animal bones were discovered. Moreover, the great stone vases, two deposits of pottery, a stele of Hathor, and various other offerings give an idea of the importance and nature of the cult of the goddess, who certainly was not yet assigned the name of Aphrodite.

In the absence of imposing architecture, the monolithic limestone vases that adorned the summit of the acropolis were the most spectacular elements of the site of the archaic cult. Some evidence from the nineteenth century and fragments of handles found in our excavations indicate that there must have been three of these great vases,[21] but only two of them can be located precisely, the one in the Louvre, almost intact, and the one that remained *in situ*, very fragmentary. The vase transported to the Louvre in 1865 is a gigantic crater (ht. 1.87 m, max. diam. 3.19 m) cut from the local hard limestone. It seems to have been extracted from the hill of Anemos, west of the acropolis. The extraction and transport of this monolith of about 13 tons was quite a feat of engineering. Many travellers noted the vase (and its neighbour) starting from the late sixteenth century,[22] and visitors sketched it repeatedly between the early nineteenth century and its removal by the French. During the official mission to Cyprus that he led in 1862, Melchior de Vogüé had planned to bring this exceptional monument to the Louvre, beating the English to it. The plan was realised three years later when two French warships were dispatched,[23] and the vase arrived at the Louvre in 1866. This kidnapping of one of the most remarkable witnesses of the ancient heritage of Cyprus had its precedents, such as the purchase by the Berlin Museum of the stele of King Sargon II of Assyria, discovered in 1846 at the site of Kition-*Bamboula*, or that by the Cabinet des Médailles of Paris of the famous bronze tablet of Idalion; it would be continued until the end of Ottoman rule in 1878, in the numerous excavations of the consuls posted to Larnaca, mostly those of an American of Italian origin, Luigi Palma di Cesnola, already mentioned above. Yet Amathus suffered less from such pillaging than Idalion and Golgoi. The transport of the vase to the Louvre gave rise to a polemic whose chief spokesman was the German traveller Franz von Loher. In a book published in 1878, he denounced the 'barbarity' of the French, because of the removal of the vase and, especially, the alleged destruction of the one that stood beside it. In fact, it does not appear that the French sailors deliberately smashed the second vase to pieces, as von Loher states:

[21] Fourrier and Hermary (2006: 25-9).
[22] Hellmann (1984: 79-87).
[23] Vivielle (1927).

resting against the other, it was already broken into several pieces in the early nineteenth century, writes J. von Hammer, and clearing the soil around the vase of the Louvre must have caused the breakup of its basin.[24]

The vase that is intact is the only one with a figurative decoration. A bull marching toward the right is sculpted under the arch created by each of the four handles, which terminate in palmettes. In 1989 I also identified on handle no. 3 of the vase[25] a syllabic inscription, that had been mentioned in 1876 but wrongly located on the rim of the vase. There are only five signs, of which only the first three are legible. Following O. Masson, there is an *a*, a *na*, and, very probably, a *ta*. The first two signs form a word attested in the beginning of two other inscriptions from Amathus that undoubtedly transcribe the local language, conventionally called 'Eteocypriot'; the word is also found in graffiti on some vases. Its meaning is uncertain, but it may mean 'divinity'. In any case, a photograph of the vase taken before its removal shows that the inscription was engraved on the handle that faced east, where the entrance to the sanctuary was probably then located, as it was later.[26] The date of the vase is based solely on its form and decoration. It is likely that the production and dedication date to the first part of the Cypro-Archaic period, but a more recent dating cannot be totally excluded.

The presence of large stone vases is attested in several other Cypriot sanctuaries, but never on this scale. The three gigantic craters of the sanctuary of Amathus probably contained water that was necessary for the cult rituals (including banquets that followed sacrifices). The bull motif was surely not chosen at random, since it symbolised strength and fertility and had represented the male gods of Cyprus since the Bronze Age. It is found on a clay vase from the sanctuary (see below), but neither the inscriptions nor the offerings suggest the presence of a masculine cult on the summit of the acropolis of Amathus.

The oldest deposit, dating from the CA I (second half of the eighth and seventh century BC) and thus contemporary with the filling of the tomb (see above), was found in a small pit beneath the chapel of the Roman period, hence the name *bothros* given to it in the literature. Among the refuse discarded in the pit was pottery of various techniques and forms, including jugs decorated with stylised birds, typical of the production of Amathus at that time. Imported vases are extremely rare, in accordance with the desire to use almost exclusively local pottery that characterised

[24] Hellmann (1984: 83, 91-2).
[25] Based on the numbering in Hermary (1981: no. 81).
[26] Hermary and Masson (1990: 212-13 and fig. 29).