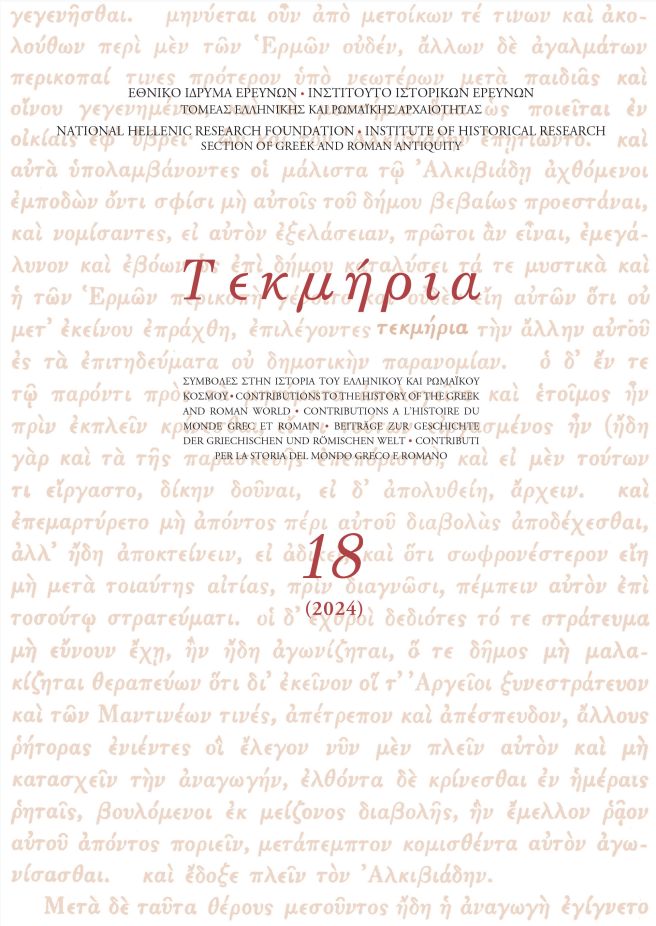
Tekmeria

Vol 18 (2024)

Tekmeria 18 (2024)



Integrating Numismatic Evidence into the Study of the Urban Landscape of Paphos. From Palaepaphos to Nea Paphos with the Last King

Maria Iacovou, Evangeline Markou

doi: 10.12681/tekmeria.36215

To cite this article:

Iacovou, M., & Markou, E. (2023). Integrating Numismatic Evidence into the Study of the Urban Landscape of Paphos. From Palaepaphos to Nea Paphos with the Last King. *Tekmeria*, *18*, 67–96. https://doi.org/10.12681/tekmeria.36215

MARIA IACOVOU – EVANGELINE MARKOU

Integrating Numismatic Evidence into the Study of the Urban Landscape of Paphos
From Palaepaphos to Nea Paphos with the Last King

Introduction

Coins issued by the kings of the Cypriot polities in the course of plus or minus 200 years –between the second half of the sixth and the last decades of the fourth centuries BC– are, primarily, known from museum and private collections. At best, these specimens may have a general provenance ("from Cyprus", since they were minted and circulated on the island), but they have little to no contextual history. Hence, their study is beset with often insurmountable difficulties. This makes coins and coin hoards found in the context of organised excavation projects particularly valuable for the political history and monetary economy of the island's Iron Age polities, especially as regards the activity of their autonomous mints. At the same time, the issuing authority that minted them, often a historically recorded Cypriot king, can be associated spatially and temporally with the archaeological landscape of his polity.

In the present article, stimulated by the discovery of a bronze coin found in the context of controlled field work conducted by the Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project (hereon, PULP)[1] on the plateau of Palaepaphos-Hadjiabdoullah one km east of the sanctuary of the Cypriot goddess, the numismatist (EM) initiates the discussion with an updated assessment of the state of research regarding the bronze coinage of the Paphian mint under its last fourth-century kings, Timarchos and his son Nikokles. The archaeologist (MI) responds by integrating the information acquired through the coin's analysis with the information provided by the coin's context in the fourth-century citadel landscape of Paphos, and its relation to two exceptional secular monuments on the plateau of Hadjiabdoullah (**fig. 1**). The integration of the currently available archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence appears to support a longer-term process regarding the foundation of Nea Paphos in the fourth century BC.

1. For the initiation of PULP, consult Iacovou 2008, 2013a, and PULP's website https://ucyweb.ucy.ac.cy/pulp/.

The sacred, secular and mortuary remains of Paphos, the primary urban centre of the homonymous polity, are spread over an area of 5 km,[2] in a radius of 1.3 km around the famous sanctuary of the Cypriot goddess (**fig. 2**). Established ca. 1700 BC as a gateway to the sea, Paphos became the primary urban settlement with an extensive *chora* (territory) in the thirteenth century BC; it remained a political and economic centre for the next one thousand years (ca. 1300-300 BC).[2] During the Hellenistic and Roman eras when it was transformed from a political centre to a "sanctuary town",[3] Paphos was referred to as Palaea, Palaeopaphos or Palaepaphos (modern Kouklia). It had become Palaea (Old) in the context of the development of Nea (New) Paphos, which was founded some 16 km to the west.[4] Kouklia, from *Couvoucle/Covocle*, the third name by which the same geographical locus has been known since the Middle Ages, is still in use today; it defines the community that lives around the sanctuary of Aphrodite.[5]

The archaeological context

The coin discussed in this paper comes from Unit 3 of a newly discovered workshop complex, which stretches over 65m from E to W across the north ridge of the Hadjiabdoullah plateau (**fig. 3**). The coin was discovered when the north to south baulk between squares HA64 and HA65 was removed during PULP's summer campaign of 2017. It is not associated with a layer of use, since it did not lie on the floor level, which is documented at 106.988m a.s.l. It was found at 107.421m a.s.l., in the *post* abandonment fill that covered Unit 3, as well as the rest of the complex, which had remained invisible and undetected until 2009.[6]

A few days after its discovery, and before it had been delivered to the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus for conservation and safe keeping, the coin was examined by Mr Andreas Pitsillides, well-known amateur numismatist and collector, who identified it as a fourth-century BC bronze issue of Nikokles

2. Iacovou 2012; Georgiou 2015.

3. Maier 2007.

4. In the written sources the differentiation between Old and New Paphos dates from the 2nd cent. BC; Mitford 1960, 198; Masson 1983, 93-94; Młynarczyk 1990, 23.

5. On *Couvoucle/Covocle*, see Maier 2004, 28. On the politico-economic significance of the three names, see Iacovou 2014, 162.

6. Cf. Iacovou 2017, 207-209.

or, perhaps, of his father, Timarchos. Following the coin's professional cleaning in the conservation laboratory of the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia,[7] the identification was confirmed by Dr Evangeline Markou.

The bronze coin HA2017.MMA.015: type and denomination

The bronze coin with accession number HA2017.MMA.015 has a diameter of 13mm, a die axis of 12h and it weighs 3.013g (**fig. 4**). It features on the obverse, the head of Aphrodite to left, wearing a diadem; on the reverse, a rose flanked by a small tendril on the right and a rosebud on the left. The combination of types confirms that the bronze coin was issued by the mint of Paphos and falls in a series of bronzes with the rose as a reverse type.[8] The differentiation of the series is based on the diadem of Aphrodite on the obverse and the variation of the rose flanked by a small tendril on the right, and a rosebud on the left, instead of the right, as is the case on the larger denomination.

For the bronze coins, it is the diameter that indicates the denomination and not the weight. Contrary to the gold and silver coinages, whose weight was carefully adjusted, bronze coins present as much as 50% difference in the median weights of the various denominations because of the fabrication method of the flans.[9] The diameter of HA2017.MMA.015 is 13mm. A limited number of bronze coins of this type, unpublished up to 2005, are now considered as an intermediate series, placed between a heavier and a lighter series. In 2005, 14 examples were known with a diameter of 11-13mm and a weight of 2-2.5g.[10] The series falls between the smaller denomination of bronze coins, with a diameter of 10-12mm and a weight of 1-1.5g, and the heavier denomination with a diameter of 13-14mm and a weight of 3-4g.[11] The diameter of HA2017.MMA.015 fits both the intermediate and the heavier denomination of

7. The coin was conserved by Ms. Ourania Makri (Lab. No. 285/2017) in the conservation laboratory of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus.

8. Destrooper-Georgiades 2005, 246-248; Hill 1904, 44 no. 49, pl. VIII, 11 (13 mm, 1.17 g), with the notice "from Cyprus 1878" [= Babelon 1910, col. 799-800, no. 1321, pl. CXXXV, 6]. E. Babelon and G.F. Hill, in their publications, were unaware of other examples of this type; they described the tendril and the rosebud as "uncertain letters".

9. Picard 2013, 75.

10. Destrooper-Georgiades 2005, 248 n. 27, fig. 13.

11. Destrooper-Georgiades 2005, 247-248.

bronzes. Although the weight is closer to the heavier denomination, the type belongs to the intermediate series.

The coinage of the kings of Paphos

The earliest coinage of Paphos was minted by an unknown king at the end of the sixth century BC and the last by king Nikokles no later than 310/309 BC, the year of his death.[12] Although we have a good understanding of the numismatic production of the kings of Paphos, no die study of this coinage has been produced so far, and several questions concerning the identification and succession of the early silver royal issues that date to the late sixth or early fifth century remain unanswered.[13] It should be noted that out of 18 kings known to have issued coins of the city-state ("kingdom")[14] of Paphos during the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods, only the last two, namely Timarchos and Nikokles, are recorded by name in literary sources, as well as in inscriptions and on silver coins.[15]

The coinage of the kings of Paphos in the fourth century remains rather obscure. This is because the surviving gold coins are extremely rare, the silver coins are limited in number, and the bronze coins which, in theory, would have been more numerous, are not present in the public collections, since they offer no pleasure to the eye. Bronze coins are usually corroded, with badly preserved types and inscriptions; they are difficult to clean, to read and to exhibit.

The importance of the bronze coinage

Contrary to the impressive, but rare, gold coins and the more numerous silver coins of the late Archaic and Classical periods, bronze coins have only recently been adequately appreciated. Today, we acknowledge that bronze coins have an exceptional historical value: they hold exclusive information on the history of the city-states of Cyprus and on the kings that issued them; they inform on the society's monetization and on the circulation patterns on a local level. The monetary value of the bronze coins is moderate; they were mostly destined to

12. Markou 2016, 236-238.

13. For an overview of the coinage of Paphos, cf. Destrooper-Georgiades 2000; Destrooper-Georgiades 2013; Markou 2015; Markou 2016.

14. For the replacement of the term "kingdom" with the term city-state (*polis*) for the Iron Age polities of Cyprus, consult Hatzopoulos, Iacovou 2014.

15. Markou 2016, 238, fig. 9.

cover the daily expenses of their recipients.[16] Because of their reduced nominal value, they had legal tender only in the territories where they were issued; therefore, they circulated primarily in the cities that had minted them.[17] Thus, their attribution is principally based on their find place.

The bronze coinage of Paphos

Bronze coins were first minted in Sicily as early as the middle of the fifth century,[18] and many Greek cities and their colonies followed suit.[19] The minting of coins in this new metal was generalized in the fourth century. In Cyprus, bronze coinage is attested from the second quarter of the fourth century and was probably initiated either by king Milkyathon of Kition (392/1-362/1 BC) or by king Nikokles of Salamis (ca. 373-361 BC).[20]

To this day, no systematic study on the bronze coinage of Cyprus has been published, but the work of Anne Destrooper-Georgiades on the bronzes of Paphos and Marion provides us with a solid starting point.[21] The earliest bronze coins of Paphos are dated to ca. 370-350 BC and are attributed to king Echetimos, because of the presence of the Cypro-syllabic sign "E" on the reverse. Then, follows a series of bronzes with the syllabic signs "pa-ti", abbreviation for "basileus (king) Timarchos" (350? – 325? BC) and, finally, a series with Aphrodite's head on the obverse and a dove or a rose on the reverse, attributed to Timarchos and/or to his son, and last king of Paphos, Nikokles (325? – 310/9 BC).[22]

Bronze coins are rarely found in hoards. The only hoard of bronze coins discovered in Cyprus was brought to light in 1928 by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition at Soloi.[23] It was composed of bronze issues that have been attributed

16. Picard 2013, 74-77.

17. Destrooper 2008; Picard 2013; Psoma 2013.

18. Brousseau 2013, 82-83, on the early bronze coinage of Sybaris, dated between 446-444 BC.

19. Psoma 2013, 67-68.

20. Destrooper-Georgiades 2008, 33-35.

21. Destrooper-Georgiades 2008, 33 and n. 2

22. Destrooper 2008, 36-37.

23. Destrooper-Georgiades 1991, 37. The hoard was kept in the Medelhavsmuseet (Museum of Mediterranean and Eastern Antiquities) in Stockholm; only a label indicated that the coins were found by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in Soloi-Pezoulia

to Soloi because of the hoard's place of discovery, and they were dated to the period between 320-310 BC.[24] Likewise, the discovery of bronze coins in the context of excavations in the region of Paphos has established their attribution to the city-state of Paphos.[25] A total of five bronze coins of the second half of the fourth century were brought to light in Nea Paphos during the excavations of the "House of Dionysos" and were published by Ino Nicolaou in 1990.[26] Although Nicolaou attributed all five coins to king Timarchos, only the three with a dove on the reverse have the Cypro-syllabic sign "ti", confirming their attribution to Timarchos. The remaining two bronzes with no legend, but with a rose on the reverse, could have been minted either by Timarchos or his successor, Nikokles.

The bronze coin HA2017.MMA.015: attribution and dating

The series of bronzes of Paphos with the dove on the reverse was vaguely dated, first by Ernest Babelon and then by George Hill, to the third quarter of the fourth century and was attributed to king Timarchos based on stylistic criteria.[27] The two numismatists were also aware of a series of bronze coins with the head of Aphrodite on the obverse and a rose on the reverse, known from a few examples that were variously attributed either to Paphos or Soloi in Cilicia, or even to Tarsus or Nagidos. As Hill suggested, "the consistency of the provenance of these coins, together with the type of the obverse, is

on 24/3/1928. The hoard was not included by E. Gjerstad in the publication of the SCE 1927-1931 excavation campaigns. Destrooper-Georgiades examined the coins in Stockholm in the early 1990's and received the information regarding the hoard by A. Westholm, who located his notes of the excavation records. The hoard was discovered in jar of plain white fabric in a disturbed area on the theatre of Soloi and the coins were all stuck together, forming a compact mass.

24. Destrooper-Georgiades 1991, 38-40.

25. Nicolaou 1990, 107. Also, six coins came from the excavations of Kourion (1932-1953) and were published by Dorothy Cox (1959, 6, nos. 26-28). From the more recent excavations in Alassa Paliotaverna came one silver 1/6 of a siglos from an unnamed king of Paphos of the second half of the 5th cent. (Destrooper-Georgiades 2017, 559).

26. Nicolaou 1990, 6-7, nos. 1-5 (nos. 1-3 with dove on the reverse, nos. 4-5 with rose on the reverse).

27. Hill 1904, lxxvii.

in favour of attributing them to Cyprus, and perhaps to Paphos".[28] In 1904, Hill was aware of only three examples of the rose type. By 2005, according to Destrooper-Georgiades, almost 100 coins with the rose on the reverse had become known.[29] Amongst these coins are included the five bronzes from Nea Paphos, mentioned above, whose discovery during excavations established their attribution to Timarchos and/or Nikokles of Paphos, who are also known to have issued gold and silver coins.[30]

Timarchos appears in literary and epigraphic documentation as king of Paphos and father of king Nikokles.[31] Nikokles is mentioned in Arrian's account of the Cypriot kings allied to Ptolemy in 321,[32] which confirms that he was ruling in Paphos at least from that date.[33] His tragic death, which marks the termination of the Paphian dynasty, "happened in the archonship of Hieromnemon, i.e. in 310/9 BC".[34] According to Diodorus, Ptolemy Lagos accused Nikokles of having sided with Antigonos and ordered him to commit suicide.[35]

In 2008 Destrooper-Georgiades had stated that "[m]alheureusement aucune monnaie (de bronze à la colombe ou la rose, attribuée à Timarchos ou Nikoklès) n'a été trouvée dans une couche archéologique bien datée, qui permettrait une datation plus précise de ces bronzes".[36] The discovery of coin

28. Hill 1904, lxxviii and n. 6.

29. Destrooper-Georgiades 2005, 246.

30. For the silver coinage of Timarchos, cf. Destrooper-Georgiades 2005, 245-246; for Nikokles, cf. Markou 2019, 162-163, with bibliography. The gold coinage minted by the two kings is quite limited. Back in 2011 only two gold coins, one 1/10th of a stater of Timarchos and one 1/5th of stater of Nikokles (?) were known (Markou 2011, 112-113, nos. 191-192). In 2017, a previously unknown and unpublished gold hemistater of Timarchos turned up in a coin auction (Classical Numismatic Group, Triton XX, 10/1/2017, no. 335). Unfortunately, it was not possible to examine in person this *unicum*, which is now in private hands.

31. Masson 1983, 95, no. 1, 99, no. 4, 103, no. 6, 104, no. 7, 146, no. 90 and 147, no. 91; Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 15-21.

32. Arr. *FGrH*, 156 F 10.6.

33. Cf. Collombier 1993; Destrooper-Georgiades 2005, 246.

34. Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 25.

35. Diod. Sic. 20.21.1-3. On this much-discussed passage see the recent translation and commentary by Durvye 2018, 31-32 (translation) and 184-187 (commentary).

36. Destrooper-Georgiades 2008, 37.

HA2017.MMA.015 in a controlled excavation on a prime location of the urban landscape of Paphos, allows us to confirm that this series of bronzes, minted by Timarchos and/or Nikokles, date from the second half of the fourth century BC.

The coin in the archaeological landscape of Paphos in the Cypro-Classical period

The one thousand year-long period of Paphos' political supremacy as one of the island's autonomous city-states came to an end when Ptolemy, son of Lagos, who later ruled as King Ptolemy I Soter, engineered the extermination of the local dynasties throughout the island.[37] By the end of the fourth century Cyprus had become, for the first time, a unified but "colonial" political landscape.[38] Consequently, following the death of Nikokles (310/309 BC), who had issued gold, silver, and bronze coins during his reign, Paphos lost its status as the administrative centre of a Cypriot polity.[39] The minting of Paphos' independent coinage, which had been initiated in the third quarter of the sixth century, and was the king's exclusive prerogative, also came to an end. During the third and second centuries the urban landscape to the north and east of the sanctuary was abandoned together with the built monuments (e.g., palace) that had served Paphos for as long as it had functioned as the political and economic centre of the Paphian *polis*. In the Roman era the settlement of Palaepaphos did not extend beyond the plateau of the sanctuary.[40]

Until the inception of PULP's fieldwork in 2006 the archaeological landscape of Kouklia-Palaepaphos had two secular monuments, whose life cycle could be chronologically associated with the Cypro-Classical period and, therefore, with the reign of fifth and/or fourth century Paphian *basileis*, known from inscriptions and literary sources.[41] The first monument was until recently

37. On the historical background of the transition from the Cypriot *basileis* to the Ptolemaic *strategos*, see Collombier 1993; Mehl 2004; Papantoniou 2012, 7-15 and 2013.

38. Iacovou 2007, 464-465.

39. On Nikokles of Paphos, see Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976; Satraki 2012, 232-236.

40. Maier 2007, 27-28.

41. For the inscriptions, Mitford 1960, 198 and 1961, 136; Masson 1983, nos. 1, 4, 6-8, 16-17, 90-91; Masson, Mitford 1986, no.237. See, also, Satraki 2012, 227-239 and 394-400. For the literary *testimonia*, see Näf 2013.

described as the "Late Archaic palace" on Hadjiabdoullah,[42] the second is the "Late Classical peristyle house" at Evreti.[43] Both were originally investigated by the British Kouklia Expedition between 1950 and 1955. Most references to the two monuments continue to rely on the invaluable published work of the late Professor Franz-Georg Maier, under whose directorship the Swiss-German expedition resumed the investigation of Palaepaphos in 1966 and continued well into the first decade of the twenty-first century.[44] Although there is still no definitive publication of either the Evreti house or the Hadjiabdoullah palace, the study of the pottery, which is under way, suggests that they were largely contemporary Cypro-Classical monuments. Their construction was most probably initiated in the fifth century BC,[45] but the bulk of their ceramic material is primarily associated with fourth-century BC pottery production.[46]

In 2009, following the implementation (since 2002) of a landscape analysis digital programme, which generated a new research agenda and, not long after, a set of new data in relation to the urban topography of Palaepaphos,[47] PULP began targeted excavations on the plateau of Hadjiabdoullah to the north, west and south of the palace, whose partially excavated remains are visible in plot 140 (**fig. 5**). Its ground plan is still incompletely known –only the southern section had been excavated by the Kouklia Expedition.[48] PULP's excavations to the north of plot 140 (in plots 122 and 127) revealed the northern face of the palace (32m E to W), which consists of a series of monumental

42. Maier 1989. "[I]imposing building of the sixth or early fifth century BC (Cypro-Archaic II/Classical I period)" in Maier 2004, 74.

43. Cf. Maier 2004, 77-79.

44. Cf. Maier 1997 and 2004, 74-79, and, for further bibliography, 107-109.

45. Consult Maier 1989 and 2007, 24, 27.

46. Peverelli 2020. For discussions and exchange of information on the Iron Age ceramic material from Evreti and Hadjiabdoullah, we are thankful to Cheyenne Peverelli, who has studied the Attic imports from the palace and is currently working on the ceramic material from the Evreti Residential Area and its wells.

47. Sarris et al. 2006; Agapiou, Iacovou, Sarris 2013.

48. Cf. Schäfer 1960. "Constructed in the Late Archaic or Early Classical period, the building [palace] seems to have fallen into disrepair after some time. In the fourth century it was rebuilt on a poor scale..." (Maier 2007, 24).

stone-built buttresses constructed against the sharp north slope of the plateau. Trial trenches, totalling close to 250m^2, to the south of plot 140 (plot 139 south) confirmed that the plateau was part of the urban landscape of Paphos since the Late Bronze Age.[49] The excavations to the west of plot 140 (plots 126 and 139 west) revealed, for the first time, the presence of an intricate, custom-made, stone-built complex, whose design, lay-out and content leaves little doubt as to its functional role: it operated as a multi-purpose workshop complex in close spatial relation with the palace.[50]

The West (Workshop) and the East (Palace) complexes

With its continuous south wall still standing to a height of almost 2m, the Workshop, or West complex, extends for over 65m until it reaches the heavily eroded west cliff of the plateau (**fig. 6**). PULP's annual campaigns have so far exposed 1000m^2 of the workshop complex. Ten different units of different size and purpose, and with evident modifications, have been identified to this day; some extend down the north slope of the plateau on stepped terraces supported by retaining walls; they are equipped with an efficient system of drains. The bulk of the ceramic material, to the extent that has been analysed, belongs to the fourth century BC.[51] There are residual sherds from the end of the Cypro-Archaic period and a relatively limited number of fifth-century shapes. No Roman-date concentration of ceramic materials has been observed on the plateau of Hadjiabdoullah to this date. After the end of the fourth century BC, when Paphos ceased to be the seat of a local dynasty, the two monuments fell in disrepair.[52] Sporadic use during the third and second centuries BC of the workshop's facilities, associated as a rule with the production of olive oil,[53] is made evident by the presence of fragments of discarded local and imported amphorae (not complete vessels) in the depositional fill (almost two-metre thick) of Unit 1 and Unit 3.

49. Georgiou 2019.

50. Descriptions and illustrations in Iacovou 2017, 2019 and 2021.

51. The ceramic analysis is carried out by Professor Antigone Marangou (amphorae fragments) and Dr Anna Georgiadou (fine and utilitarian vessels).

52. Maier (2007, 27) thinks that the palace "finally collapsed late in the late fourth century".

53. Hadjisavvas 2021, 199-201.

Although the West complex is entirely separate from the palace, which is now defined as the East complex, and has a different orientation, there is hardly any space left between the two complexes. The thick westernmost wall of the palace compound and the workshop's easternmost Unit 9 have only a narrow blind corridor between them. Despite their structural autonomy, their proximity is clearly intentional and suggests a collaborative relationship. One assumes that they must have depended on each other for the fulfilment of their distinct roles. However, it is still unclear how they would have communicated with each other. Despite the incomplete state of their investigation, it is evident that access to the two complexes was regulated and controlled. Constructed on the highest elevation of Hadjiabdoullah, the palace is contained between different types of strong and thick walls, especially to east and west, that define and isolate it from the rest of the plateau. Similarly, the continuous south wall of the West complex prohibits any direct contact between the units and the internal side of the plateau; there is no entrance into the workshop's area from the south. With a blind south wall standing up close to two metres and with foundations at 107m a.s.l., the units would have been rather dark semi-basement areas. The collapsed building materials, with which the use layers of the units were sealed, leave little doubt that most of them (Units 1-2, 4-6, 8) had an upper story.[54] Unit 3, where the bronze coin was located, did not. It is the largest and widest of the units and it appears to have had a light roofing with perishable materials;[55] extensive wall plastering survives along its east wall.

At 109.850m a.s.l., the floor level –with flagged stones of exceptional quality– of the monumental south wing of the palace is almost three metres higher than the floor level of the workshops (at 107m a.s.l.). However, this was only the palace's ground floor; pilasters attached to its walls and sizeable (1x1m) masonry piers between rooms indicate that they would have supported a first story (**fig. 7**). Clearly, the palace would have been visible from all over the landscape, including the sanctuary and the coast. As regards the north side of the plateau, together, the north buttresses of the palace and the retaining walls and terraces of the Workshop complex extend over the entire length of the north slope (97m) of the plateau. Besides providing an impressive visual

54. Consult Iacovou, Mylona 2019, 171, fig.3, and Iacovou 2021, 74.

55. Phytolith analysis, carried out by Dr. Georgia Tsartsidou, identified the use of reeds.

effect, they assign a special function to the plateau and distinguish it from the rest of the urban landscape.

A bronze coin from the citadel landscape of fourth-century BC Paphos

Cautiously, at first, and with considerable certainty since 2019, after the discovery of indisputable evidence in support of the maintenance of accounts, the plateau of Hadjiabdoullah has been identified as the administrative centre, the citadel of the *polis* of Paphos in the Cypro-Classical period. The decisive clue with respect to the economic function of the West complex is a dipinto sherd with an inscription in the (Greek) syllabary, which preserves a fragmentary list with quantities of an unidentified product. The sherd appears to contain a logistic entry, since the same item is counted in three different instances.[56] It is the first known evidence of record-keeping by the ruling dynasties of Paphos. The sherd was found in the corridor outside Unit 2, the unit which was found to contain 460 kilos of purple dye shells, stored for secondary use (after the extraction of the dye).[57] Unit 3, from where the coin was recovered, is primarily associated with olive oil production.[58] Although the completion of the excavation of the two complexes and the study of pottery and movable finds will require a long-term archaeological investment,[59] it is certain that palace and workshop co-existed on the plateau of Hadjiabdoullah during the Cypro-Classical period and that, from the point of view of pottery, the fourth century BC was the last era of their joint function. Hence, irrespectively of whether it was issued by Timarchos or Nikokles, the bronze coin represents the first numismatic evidence from the citadel landscape of the last Paphian kings.

However, to the extent that the dramatic events described by Diodorus Siculus in relation to the extermination of Nikokles and his family can be taken at face value,[60] the East complex on Hadjiadoullah cannot be identified as the palace that was torched after the last member of the royal family of Paphos committed suicide.[61] The archaeological evidence does not support

56. Studied by Artemis Karnava; consult Iacovou, Karnava 2019.

57. Studied by D. Mylona, in Iacovou, Mylona 2019.

58. Iacovou 2017, 208, fig. 18 and 2021, 79, fig. 6; Hadjisavvas 2021, 146-152.

59. Maier (2007, 24) noted the need for the "excavation of the site [palace] on a large scale".

60. Diod. Sic. 20.21.1-3.

61. See Papantoniou 2012, 1-2.

destruction by fire of either the East or the West complex. No sign of conflagration has been observed on Hadjiabdoullah or in Evreti in relation to the contemporary peristyle house. Is it likely that the last royal family was residing elsewhere when Ptolemy accused Nikokles of siding with Antigonos? The palace seems to have been carefully emptied of all kinds of materials. The architectural splendour of the East complex, especially evident in the drafted ashlars of its external south wall (**fig. 8**), is in stark contrast with the absence of movable objects that one could associate with the residence of an elite family. Maier has even questioned "the building's use after a definitely less sumptuous reconstruction".[62] With this question in mind, we turn back to the bronze coin HA2017.MMA.015 to explore the new link, which the context of its discovery creates between Old and New Paphos.

Nea Paphos: The spatial context of the foundation horizon

Despite the extent of the excavations in Palaepaphos, to this day the most impressive number of bronze coins issued by Timarchos and/or Nikokles comes from Nea Paphos. The five bronze coins found under the House of Dionysos – three issued by Timarchos, plus another two issued either by him or Nikokles, as analysed above by EM–[63] prompt us to return to the status of Nea Paphos in the Cypro-Classical period because their low monetary value constitutes decisive evidence in support of the society's monetization. To what extent can the currently available archaeological material from Nea Paphos defend the presence of this fourth-century BC monetized social group?

Scholars conducting fieldwork in Nea Paphos have been painstakingly collecting evidence on the settlement's elusive foundation horizon (**fig. 9**). Over the years, the topographical identity of chronologically pertinent material data –i.e. Cypro-Classical– has led to the spatial documentation of the early phases in the establishment of Nea Paphos.[64] These phases predate not only the dissolution of the Paphian city-state by Ptolemy I but, in some cases, also the reign of Nikokles, the traditional founder.[65] Based on the study of tombs

62. Maier 2007, 24.

63. Młynarczyk 1990, 60, 194-196, for a summary of the pre-Roman finds below the House of Dionysos.

64. Cf. Nikolaou 1966; Młynarczyk 1985; Daszewski 1987.

65. See Michaelides, Młynarczyk 1988, on the Cypro-Classical material from the Eastern necropolis. Also, consult Lysandrou et al. 2018 for digitally generated maps of the necropolis.

–especially from the Eastern necropolis and the Ellinika–[66] Młynarczyk places the nucleus of the original settlement to the east of the natural bay.[67] Ellinika is the westernmost cemetery in a chain of burial sites recorded between Yeroskipou and Nea Paphos. Although, as Michaelides prudently remarks, one cannot define the limits between the two settlements,[68] there is little doubt that Nea Paphos was founded at the western terminal point of the coastal route from Yeroskipou.[69] It is more than likely that the new site received its first settlers during the fifth century BC, but the crucial question is the actual status of Nea Paphos in the context of the city-state's political geography in the fourth century BC, especially during the reign of Nikokles. This long-debated issue can now be exploited in combination with the current results of the landscape analysis project conducted in Palaepaphos; thus, from the point of view of Nea Paphos' predecessor.

The foundation of a new gateway to the sea

In the context of PULP, we have on many occasions discussed the foundation of Paphos as a Late Cypriot gateway to the sea (ca. 1700/1600 BC).[70] We have also claimed that the silting and disuse of its original anchorage,[71] whose exact location has yet to be confirmed, would have led, probably even before the Cypro-Classical period, to the use of alternative anchorages; Yeroskipou would have probably been one of them.[72] Hence, like the original Paphos in

66. On the fragmentary syllabic inscription, carved on a rock-cut tomb at Ellinika, which reads "Timarchos, priest of the Wanassa", see Masson 1979, and Nicolaou 1979; Michaelides (2008, 16) and Młynarczyk (2015, 80) reject the identification with the king.

67. Młynarczyk 2015, 79-80 and 2016, 33-46.

68. Michaelides 2008 is the only thorough analysis of the archaeological landscape of Yeroskipou in antiquity.

69. "The necropolis of Ellinika is just one in a chain of necropolises recorded in the past as extending between Yeroskipou and the site of Nea Paphos" (Młynarczyk 2015, 80). Also, Młynarczyk 2016, 39, on "the NE gate, which marked the beginning of the road towards Palaepaphos".

70. Initially put forward by Georgiou 2007 in his unpublished doctoral thesis. Cf. Iacovou 2008, 264 and 2012.

71. See Iacovou 2019, 216, figs. 12-14, on the port lagoon, with earlier references.

72. Based on the geospatial analysis of the settlement pattern in the Palaepaphos

the Late Bronze Age, Nea Paphos was also founded as a new, initially alternative, gateway to the sea. Archaeological data suggest that it may have taken Late Cypriot Paphos a long time (probably as long as 300 years) before its development into the first urban and political centre of the Paphian territory.[73] Admittedly, it is much harder for archaeology to establish how long it took the gateway community of Nea Paphos to become a fully urbanised landscape around a commercial and, almost certainly, also military harbour.[74] As in the case of Salamis or Kourion, for example, the structure that Nea Paphos had in the Cypro-Classical period has been eliminated by the Graeco-Roman and Early Christian monuments for which the site is a famous visitors' destination. However, as we have argued in earlier research papers, the political economy model of the Cypriot polities required of the ruling authorities and the official harbour to operate as a tightly linked management unit.[75] Time and again, since the second millennium BC, when natural causes (e.g. silting, coastal uplift) or even the need for more up-to-date port facilities led to the relocation of a state harbour, the administrative centre followed suit (e.g. Enkomi/Old Salamis moved to Salamis), or lost its administrative status (Hala Sultan Tekke surrendered its status to Kition) and was subsequently abandoned.[76] It is, therefore, unlikely that the new harbour at Nea Paphos would have been left to operate for a long time at a distance of 16 km from its political centre in Old Paphos. Inevitably, once the new harbour had assumed the role of the polity's main commercial hub, the transfer of the seat of power from its original location to Nea Paphos would have been set to motion.

The settlement that grew next to, and because of, the Nea Paphos harbour could have been at least one hundred years old when Nikokles became king in the second half of the fourth century. He is, however, deservedly acknowledged as its founder because during his reign he appears to have undertaken the official implementation of the new capital project, primarily through a

---

catchment, Yeroskipou could have been founded as a gateway to the sea since the Late Bronze Age; Agapiou, Iacovou, Sarris 2013; Iacovou 2019, 215-216.

73. Crewe, Georgiou 2018; Iacovou 2023.

74. Cf. Daszewski 1981; Theodoulou 2006. For the "Paphos Ancient Harbour Exploration Project", see Leonard et al. 1998; also, Miszk, Papuci-Władyka 2016.

75. Cf. Iacovou 2013b, 31 and 2018, 21-22.

76. Cf. Iacovou 2013b, 26.

well-planned sacred propaganda.[77] The spatial distribution and the content of his inscriptions[78] allow us to identify the locations he found necessary to sanctify and protect as priest-king of Paphos:[79] the new state harbour, where he established a sanctuary to Artemis Agrotera, and the hinterland territory from where precious raw resources (e.g. copper and timber) were procured. The pair of his Ayia Moni syllabic inscriptions (**fig. 9**), through which he announces the establishment of a sanctuary in honour of Hera on the fringe of the Paphos forest and the cupriferous region on the southern foothills of the Troodos, appear to mark a new transport route that would terminate in Nea, instead of Old, Paphos.[80] Nikokles, therefore, urbanised Nea Paphos so that it could become the new economic and political centre of the Paphian *polis*.[81] In the urban context of the new capital, neither the five bronze coins, nor the Hathoric capital[82] should be considered fortuitous discoveries. Rather, we should remain open to the possibility that the former applies to the monetized character of the community residing and working in the urban harbour. As for the latter, which is the symbol of Cypriot royalty *par excellence*, it allows us to imagine that a new palace, where Nikokles and his family may have met their deaths (if Diodorus can be trusted), had been erected in Nea Paphos. It should not be considered unlikely that, in the future, controlled or rescue excavations will stumble across evidence that will strengthen the visibility of the urban structure of Nea Paphos under the last fourth-century king.

Where does this leave us with respect to the citadel landscape of Hadjiabdoullah? Evidently, during the fourth century BC the plateau and its built structures were undergoing a gradual transformation. In the course of the implementation of the new capital project by Nikokles, their functional role

77. Młynarczyk 2015, 79, on "the stately propaganda of Nikokles" in relation to new sacred *loci* in the names of Artemis Agrotera, Apollo Hylates and Hera. See also Hallof 2007, for the recently discovered inscription in the sanctuary of Hera in Samos.

78. On inscriptions where his name is written (in the syllabary or alphabetically), Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976. Also, Karageorghis 2016, on the names of goddesses in Nikokles' inscriptions.

79. On the priest-kings of Paphos, Maier 1989b; Hermary 2014.

80. Iacovou 2013a, 287 and 2014, 167.

81. Εὐρύχορος πόλις ἅδε τεâι, Νικοκλέες, ὁρμâι ὑψηλὸμ πύργων ἀμφ[έ]θετο στέφανον: alphabetic epigram referring to the *polis* of Nikokles (Masson 1983, 103).

82. Masson, Hermary 1986; Satraki 2012, 238.

would have changed; the citadel was still a major production and processing centre (e.g. for purple dye and olive oil), but its political status was weakened. This could explain why the palace was rebuilt on a poor scale in the fourth century, but it also brings to the forefront "the problem of the building's use after a definitely less sumptuous reconstruction in the Late Classical period".[83]

We feel confident that the integration of evidence provided by coinage and inscriptions from Old and New Paphos, and the development of a quantified and qualified approach to the distribution of Cypro-Classical materials from tombs, secular and sacred monuments from both sites will reveal the pattern and the timing of the move from the old to the new capital of the city-state of Paphos.

Acknowledgements
The authors express sincere thanks to the Director of the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus Dr Marina Solomidou-Ieronymidou, the archaeological officer of Paphos Margarita Kouali, and the head of the conservation department in the Cyprus Museum Eleni Loizides, for providing permits for, and assistance in, the study of the bronze coin. We extend our gratitude to Mr Andreas Pitsillides for sharing with us his extensive knowledge on the coinage of Cyprus and for his long-term support of our respective research projects. We are also indebted to Professor Emeritus Demetrios Michaelides for enlightening discussions on the archaeology of Nea Paphos based on his first-hand knowledge of the site, and for information on relevant material from his extensive excavation work. We are, however, solely responsible for all views presented in this paper.

Maria Iacovou
Archaeological Research Unit,
University of Cyprus
mariai@ucy.ac.cy

Evangeline Markou
Institute of Historical Research,
National Hellenic Research Foundation
emarkou@eie.gr

83. Maier 2007, 24.

Summary

The discovery of a bronze coin, in the context of controlled excavations conducted by the Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project (PULP) on the plateau of Palaepaphos-Hadjiabdoullah since 2009, presented the opportunity for a challenging collaborative dialogue on the integration of numismatic discoveries, as well as relevant inscriptions and literary sources, with the current results of the landscape analysis and the excavations that have contributed to the identification of the plateau as the citadel of the *polis* of Paphos in the Cypro-Classical period.

The identification of the coin as a bronze issue of either Timarchos (350? – 325? BC) or his son and last king of Paphos Nikokles (325? – 310/9 BC) leads first to an updated assessment of the state of research regarding the bronze coinage of the Paphian mint under its last fourth-century kings. The coin is then contextualised in the micro-environment of the recently located secular monument, a workshop complex, where it was found. A preliminary study of the ceramic material suggests that the workshop functioned contemporaneously with the palace, an architecturally impressive monument with which it shares the north side of the citadel.

The precarious state of the fourth-century phase of the palatial building, which suggests that it could have lost its official status before the abolition of the Paphian dynasty (an event historically dated to 310/9 BC), turns the discussion towards Nea Paphos, where five coins of the same type were also discovered during controlled excavations. It is hereby suggested that by exploiting the results of the landscape analysis conducted by PULP, in combination with the still limited archaeological evidence, the establishment of Nea Paphos can be approached from the perspective of its predecessor, the old capital of Paphos. The possibility that a fourth-century monetized society was already residing in Nea Paphos reopens the long-debated issue of its foundation.

Abbreviations-Bibliography

Agapiou, A., Iacovou, M., Sarris, A. (2013). "Spatial Analysis of the Bronze Age Sites of the Region of Paphos in Southwest Cyprus with the Use of Geographical Information Systems", in F. Contreras, M. Farjas, F.J. Melero (eds.), *CAA 2020 – Fusion of Cultures. Proceedings of the 38th Annual Conference on Computer Applications and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology, Granada, Spain, April 2010* (BAR-IS 2494). Oxford, 177-183.

Babelon, E. 1910. *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines. Deuxième partie : description historique. Tome deuxième comprenant les monnaies de l'empire des perses achéménides, de l'orient sémitique et de l'Asie-Mineure aux V^e^ et IV^e^ siècles avant J.-C.* Paris.

Balandier, C. (ed.) 2016. *Nea Paphos. Fondation et développement urbanistique d'une ville chypriote de l'antiquité à nos jours. Études archéologiques, historiques et patrimoniales. Actes du I^er^ colloque international sur Paphos. Avignon 30, 31 octobre et 1^er^ novembre 2012* (Ausonius Mémoires 43). Bordeaux.

Brousseau, L. 2013. "La naissance de la monnaie de bronze en Grande Grèce et en Sicile", in C. Grandjean, A. Moustaka (eds.), 81-96.

Callot, O. 1992. "Note de numismatique chypriote", in V. Karageorghis, G.K. Ioannides (eds.), *Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis* (*Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί* 54-55). Nicosia, 297-300.

Christou, D. 2013. *Ανασκαφές Κουρίου 1975-1998.* Nicosia.

Collombier, A.-M. 1993. "La fin de royaumes chypriotes : ruptures et continuités", in *Actes du II^e^ Colloque international. La Syrie-Palestine à l'époque perse : Continuités et ruptures à la lumière des périodes néo-assyrienne et hellénistique. Institut Catholique de Paris, 3-5 octobre 1991* (*Transeuphratène* 6). Gabalda, 119-147.

Cox, D.H. 1959. *Coins from the Excavations at Curium, 1932-1953* (NNM). New York.

Crewe, L., Georgiou, A. 2018. "Settlement Nucleation at the Beginning of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus: the Evidence from Palaepaphos", in L. Hulin, L. Crewe, J.M. Webb (eds.), *Structures of Inequality on Bronze Age Cyprus. Studies in Honour of Alison K. South* (SIMA-PB 187). Nicosia, 53-70.

Daszewski, W.A. 1981. "The Main Harbor and Auxiliary Anchorages of Nea Paphos, in Light of Underwater Observations", *Meander* 6, 327-336.

Daszewski, W.A. 1987. "Nikokles and Ptolemy – Remarks on the Early History of Nea Paphos", *RDAC*, 171-175.

Destrooper, A. 2008. "Les débuts du monnayage en bronze à Chypre", *NC* 168, 33-41.

Destrooper-Georgiades, A. 1991. "The Hoard of Soloi", *NomChron* 37-40.

Destrooper-Georgiades, A. 2000. "Les monnaies frappées à Paphos (Chypre) durant la deuxième moitié du Ve siècle avant J.-C. et leur apport à l'histoire de l'île", in B. Kluge, B. Weisser (eds.), *XII International Numismatic Congress. Proceedings. Berlin 1997*. Berlin, 194-198.

Destrooper-Georgiades, A. 2005. "Le monnayage de Paphos au IVe s., nouvelles perspectives", in C. Alfaro-Asins, C. Marcos, P. Otero (eds.), *XIII Congreso Internacional de numismática. Actas. Madrid 2003*. Madrid, 245-252.

Destrooper-Georgiades, A. 2013. "'Paphos' sur les monnaies depuis le IVème siècle av. J.-C.", in J. Bodzek (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization XVII. Volume dedicated to Professor Ewdoksia Papuci-Władyka* (Studies in Ancient Art and Civilization 17). Krakow, 203-223.

Destrooper-Georgiades, A. 2017. "The Coins of Alassa Paliotaverna", in S. Hadjisavvas (ed.), *Alassa: Excavations at the Late Bronze Age Sites of Pano Mantilaris and Paliotaverna 1984-2000*. Nicosia, 559-567.

Durvye, C. 2018. *Diodore de Sicile. Bibliothèque historique. Tome XV. Livre XX. Texte établi, traduit et commenté par Cécile Durvye* (Collection des Universités de France). Paris.

Georgiou, A. 2015. "History of Research at Palaepaphos", in *Kyprios Character. History, Archaeology & Numismatics of Ancient Cyprus* (kyprioscharacter.eie.gr/en/t/Aa) (accessed: 1/2/2023).

Georgiou, A. 2019. "Tracing the Foundation Horizon of Palaepaphos: New Research on the Early History of the Paphos Region", in C.M. Kearns, S.W. Manning (eds.), *New Directions in Cypriot Archaeology*. Ithaca NY, 190- 218.

Georgiou, G. 2007. *Η Τοπογραφία της Ανθρώπινης Εγκατάστασης στην Κύπρο κατά την Πρώιμη και Μέση Χαλκοκρατία* (diss. Univ. of Cyprus, Nicosia).

Gjerstad, E., Lindros, J., Sjöqvist, E., Westholm, A. 1934. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*. Stockholm.

Grandjean, C., Moustaka, A. (eds.) 2013. *Aux origines de la monnaie fiduciaire. Traditions métallurgiques et innovations numismatiques. Actes de l'atelier international des 16 et 17 novembre 2012 à Tours* (Scripta Antiqua 55). Bordeaux.

Hadjisavvas, S. 2021. *The Olive and the Olive Oil in Cyprus from Antiquity to Industrialization*. Nicosia.

Hallof, K. 2007. "Ehreninschrift aus Samos für den Stadtkönig von Paphos", *AM* 122, 263-272.

Hatzopoulos, M., Iacovou, M. 2014. "'*BASILEIS* ET *POLEIS* SUR L'ÎLE DE CHYPRE' : Les régimes politiques chypriotes dans leur contexte méditerranéen", *CCEC* 44, 93-94.

Hermary, A. 2014. "Les fonctions sacerdotales des souverains chypriotes", *CCEC* 44, 137-152.

Hill, G.F. 1904. *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Cyprus in the British Museum.* London.

Iacovou, M. 2007. "Advocating Cyprocentricism: an Indigenous Model for the Emergence of State Formation on Cyprus", in S. White-Crawford et al (eds.), *"Up to the Gates of Ekron" (1 Samuel 17:52): Essays on the Archaeology and History of the Eastern Mediterranean in Honor of Seymour Gitin*. Jerusalem, 461-475.

Iacovou, M. 2008. "The Palaepaphos Urban Landscape Project: Theoretical Background and Preliminary Report 2006-2007", *RDAC,* 263-289.

Iacovou, M. 2012. "From Regional Gateway to Cypriot Kingdom: Copper Deposits and Copper Routes in the Chora of Paphos", in V. Kassianidou, G. Papasavvas (eds.), *Eastern Mediterranean Metallurgy and Metalwork in the Second Millennium BC. A Conference in Honour of James D. Muhly, Nicosia 10th–11th October 2009.* Oxford – Oakville, 58-69.

Iacovou, M. 2013a. "Paphos before Palaepaphos: New Approaches to the History of the Paphian Kingdom", in D. Michaelides (ed.), *Epigraphy, Numismatics, Prosopography and History of Ancient Cyprus. Papers in Honour of Ino Nicolaou*. Uppsala, 275-291.

Iacovou, M. 2013b. "Historically Elusive and Internally Fragile Island Polities: the Intricacies of Cyprus's Political Geography in the Iron Age", *BASOR* 370, 15-47.

Iacovou, M. 2014. "Political Economies and Landscape Transformations: The Case of Ancient Paphos", in J.M. Webb (ed.), *Structure, Measurement and Meaning: Insights into the Prehistory of Cyprus. Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus in Honour of David Frankel* (SIMA 143). Uppsala, 161-174.

Iacovou, M. 2017. «Αποτυπώματα μιας χαμένης μνήμης: νέα δεδομένα για την πολιτεία της Αρχαίας Πάφου», in N. Papademetriou, M. Toli (eds.), *Αρχαία Κύπρος: Πρόσφατες εξελίξεις στην αρχαιολογία της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου*. Athens, 189-214.

Iacovou, M. 2019. "Palaepaphos: Unlocking the Landscape Context of the Sanctuary of the Cypriot Goddess", in G. Papantoniou, A. Sarris, C.E. Morris, A.K. Vionis (eds.), *Unlocking Sacred Landscapes: Digital Humanities and Ritual Space*. Berlin, 204-234.

Iacovou, M. 2021. "MEANING 2017-2019. From the Metalliferous Sources to the Citadel Complex of Ancient Paphos: Archaeo-environmental Analysis of the Mining and the Built Environment", in I. Diakidoy (ed.), *The A. G. Leventis Research Projects 2000 – 2020: 20 years of Research at the University of Cyprus*. Nicosia, 71-92.

Iacovou, M. 2023. "The First Urban Landscape of Southwest Cyprus: Paphos in the 'Age of Transformations'", in T. Bürge, P. Fischer (eds.), *The Decline of Bronze Age Civilisations in the Mediterranean: Cyprus and Beyond* (SIMA 154). Nicosia.

Iacovou, M., Karnava, A. 2019. "An Administrative Ostrakon from Kouklia-Hadjiabdoullah", *CCEC* 49, 37-52.

Iacovou, M., Mylona, D. 2019. "Purple Dye Production Under Royal Management: Evidence from the Cypro-Classical Citadel of Ancient Paphos", *CCEC* 49, 167-178.

Karageorghis, J. 2016. "Le roi Nikoklès et ses déesses", in C. Balandier (ed.), 287-300.

Leonard, J., Dunn, R., Hohlfender, R. 1998. "Geoarchaeological Investigations in Paphos Harbour, 1996", *RDAC*, 141-157.

Lysandrou, V., Agapiou, A., Michaelides, D., Papasavvas, G. 2018. "The Eastern Necropolis of Nea Paphos: Overcoming Challenges in a Lost Landscape", *Journal of Archaeological Science: Reports* 19, 552-561.

Maier, F.-G. 1989a. "Palaces of Cypriot kings", in V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus and the East Mediterranean in the Iron Age*. London, 16-27.

Maier, F.-G. 1989b. "Priest Kings in Cyprus", in E. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus.* Edinburgh, 376-391.

Maier, F.-G. 1997. "A Hundred Years after Hogarth: Digging at Aphrodite's Sanctuary at Palaipaphos", *CCEC* 27, 127-136.

Maier, F.-G., Hadjisavva, S., Wartburg, M.L. von 2004. *Guide to Palaipaphos (Kouklia).* Nicosia.

Maier, F.-G. 2007. "From Regional Centre to Sanctuary Town: Palaipaphos in the Late Classical and Early Hellenistic period", in P. Flourentzos (ed.), *From Evagoras I to the Ptolemies: The Transition from the Classical to the Hellenistic Period in Cyprus*. Nicosia, 17-33.

Markou, E. 2011. *L'or des rois de Chypre : Numismatique et histoire à l'époque classique* (Μελετήματα 64). Athens.

Markou, E. 2015. *Coinage and History: The Case of Cyprus During the Archaic and Classical Periods / Νομισματική και Ιστορία: Η περίπτωση της Κύπρου κατά τους αρχαϊκούς και κλασικούς χρόνους* (Lectures on the History of Numismatics / Διαλέξεις για την ιστορία της νομισματοκοπίας 6). Nicosia.

Markou, E. 2016. "From an Eagles' Head to a Standing Eagle: The Coinage of the Kings of Paphos from the Archaic to the Hellenistic Period", in C. Balandier (ed.), 233-240.

Masson, O. 1979. "Une inscription syllabique de la Nouvelle-Paphos retrouvée (ICS 4)", in V. Karageorghis, et al. (eds.), *Studies Presented in Memory of Porphyrios Dikaios*. Nicosia, 159-161.

Masson, O. 1983. *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques : Recueil critique et commenté*. 2nd ed. Paris.

Masson, O., Hermary, A. 1986. "Le chapiteau Hathorique de Paphos (Bapho 1865)", *CCEC* 5, 3-8.

Masson, O., Mitford, T.B. 1986. *Les inscriptions syllabiques de Kouklia-Paphos* (Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern 4). Konstanz.

Mehl, A. 2004. "Cypriot City Kingdoms: No Problem in the Neo-Assyrian, Late Egyptian and Persian Empires, but Why Were They Abolished under Macedonian Rule?", *Επετηρίς Κέντρου Επιστημονικών Ερευνών Κύπρου* 30, 9-21.

Michaelides, D. 2008. "The Archaeology of Yeroskipou: From the Earliest Times to the Early Christian Period", in *Yeroskipou from Antiquity to the Present*. Nicosia, 29-60.

Michaelides, D., Młynarczyk, J. 1988. "Tombs P.M. 2520 and P.M. 2737 from the Eastern Necropolis of Nea Paphos", *RDAC*, 149-170.

Michaelidou-Nicolaou, I. 1976. "Literary, Epigraphic and Numismatic Evidence on Nikokles, King of Paphos", *Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί* 40, 15-28.

Miszk, L., Papuci-Władyka, E. 2016. "Nea Paphos and its Harbours. Gates to the Mediterranean in the Light of the Jagiellonian University Research", in M. Seifert, L. Ziemer (eds.), *North Meets East 3. Aktuelle Forschungen zu antiken Häfen. Ein Workshop veranstaltet von Julia Daum und Martina Seifert an der Universität Hamburg vom 15. bis 17. März 2016 / Herausgegeben von Martina Seifert und Leon Ziemer* (Gateways. Hamburger Beiträge Zur Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte des antiken Mittelmeerraumes 6). Aachen, 1-19.

Mitford, T.B. 1960. "Unpublished Syllabic Inscriptions of the Cyprus Museum", *OpAth* 3, 177-213.

Mitford, T.B. 1961. "Further Contributions to the Epigraphy of Cyprus", *AJA* 65, 93-151.

Młynarczyk, J. 1985. "Remarks on the Classical Settlement on the Site of Nea Paphos", *Archaeologia Cypria* I, 69-78.

Młynarczyk, J. 1990. *Nea Paphos in the Hellenistic Period* (Nea Paphos III). Warsaw.

Młynarczyk, J. 2015. "Moving to a New Place: The Cult of Paphia Aphrodite in Hellenistic Paphos", *CCEC* 45, 79-86.

Młynarczyk, J. 2016. "Walking Around the Site of Nea Paphos and Through the Decades of Its Exploration", in C. Balandier (ed.), 33-46.

Näf, B. 2013. *Testimonia Alt-Paphos* (Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern 8). Mainz.

Nicolaou, I. 1971. *Cypriot Inscribed Stones*. Nicosia.

Nicolaou, I. 1990. *Paphos. Vol. II: The Coins from the House of Dionysos. Appendix: The Coins from A. the Odeion, B. the Gymnasion, C. the Asklepieion*. Nicosia.

Nicolaou, K. 1966. "The Topography of Nea Paphos", in M.L. Bernhard (ed.), *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michałowski*. Warsaw, 561-601.

Nicolaou, K. 1979. "Une tombe avec inscription syllabique retrouvée à la Nouvelle-Paphos", in V. Karageorghis et al. (eds.), *Studies Presented in Memory of Porphyrios Dikaios*. Nicosia, 155-158.

Papantoniou, G. 2012. *Religion and Social Transformations in Cyprus: From the Cypriot* Basileis *to the Hellenistic* Strategos (Mnemosyne 347). Leiden.

Papantoniou, G. 2013. "Cypriot Autonomous Polities at the Crossroads of Empire: The Imprint of a Transformed Islandscape in the Classical and Hellenistic Periods", *BASOR* 370, 169-205.

Peverelli, C. 2020. "Attische Keramik von Alt-Paphos: Untersuchungen zu den Importen in der Stadt anhand des Materials der Deutsch-Schweizerischen Grabungen", in M. Christidis, A. Hermary, G. Koiner, A. Ulbrich (eds.), *Classical Cyprus. Proceedings of the Conference at the University of Graz, Austria, 21-23 September 2017* (Forschungen zum Antiken Zypern 5). Wien, 161-175.

Picard, O. 2013. "La valeur du bronze : du métal à la monnaie", in C. Grandjean, A. Moustaka (eds.), 71-77.

Price, M.J. 1991. *The Coinage in the Name of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaeus: A British Museum Catalogue.* Zurich – London.

Psoma, S. 2013. "La monnaie de bronze : les débuts d'une institution", in C. Grandjean, A. Moustaka (eds.), 57-70.

Sarris, A., Stamatis, G., Papadopoulos, N., Kokkinou, E., Topouzi, S., Kokkinaki, E., Moissi, E., Iacovou, M., Kassianidou, V., Papasavvas, G., Papantoniou, G., Dikomitou, M., Stylianides, St. 2006. "Palaepaphos, Cyprus: the Contribution of Geographical Information Systems and Geophysical Prospection in the Study of the Archaeological Topography and Settlement Patterns", in A. Figueiredo, G. Velho (eds.*), The World in your Eyes. Proceedings of the XXXIII Computer and Quantitative Methods in Archaeology Conference, March 2005, Tomar*. Tomar, 199-204.

Satraki, A. 2012. *Κύπριοι βασιλείς από τον Κόσμασο μέχρι το Νικοκρέοντα* (Αρχαιογνωσία 9). Athens.

Schäfer, J. 1960. "Ein Perserbau in Alt-Paphos?", *OpAth* 3, 155-175.

Theodoulou, T. 2006. *Ναυτική Δραστηριότητα στην Κλασική Κύπρο. Το λιμενικό δίκτυο στα τέλη του 4ου αι. π.Χ.* (diss. Univ. of Cyprus, Nicosia).

Fig. 1. Oblique aerial view taken over the plateau of Hadjiabdoullah looking towards Evreti and the Sanctuary to the west. Aerial photo taken by K. Themistocleous during the October 2020 UAV campaign, figure compiled by A. Agapiou, the Eratosthenes Research Centre, Cyprus University of Technology (©PULP).

Fig. 2. Visible monuments and site locations to north and east of the Palaepaphos Sanctuary. Background: aerial orthophoto of 2008; source: Department of Lands and Surveys, Cyprus. Drafted by A. Agapiou (©PULP).

Fig. 3. Unit 3; star indicates where coin HA2017.MMA.015 was found. Detail from true orthophoto mosaic over the Hadjiabdoullah Workshop Complex. Drafted by A. Agapiou (©PULP).

Fig. 4. Bronze coin, HA2017.MMA.015 (13mm, 12h, 3,013g). Coin image scale, 2:1. © Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

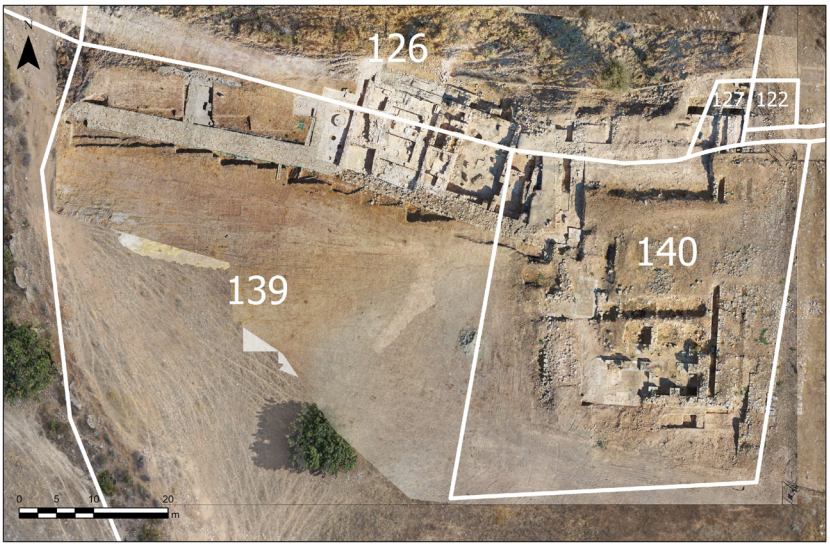


Fig. 5. The East (Palace) and West (Workshop) complexes on the Hadjiabdoullah plateau. Cadastral map with aerial orthophoto background and plot numbers. Drafted by A. Agapiou (©PULP).

Fig. 6. True orthophoto mosaic over the Hadjiabdoullah Workshop Complex showing Units 1-10; generated from photogrammetric structure from motion (SfM) processing of high-resolution low altitude nadir and oblique drone images. Drafted by A. Agapiou (©PULP).

Fig. 7. View to east of the excavated south section of the palace (interior) showing pilasters and piers; photogrammetry by M. Secci (©PULP).

Fig. 8. Drafted ashlar blocks on the external south wall of the Hadjiabdoullah palace. Photo by M. Iacovou (©PULP).

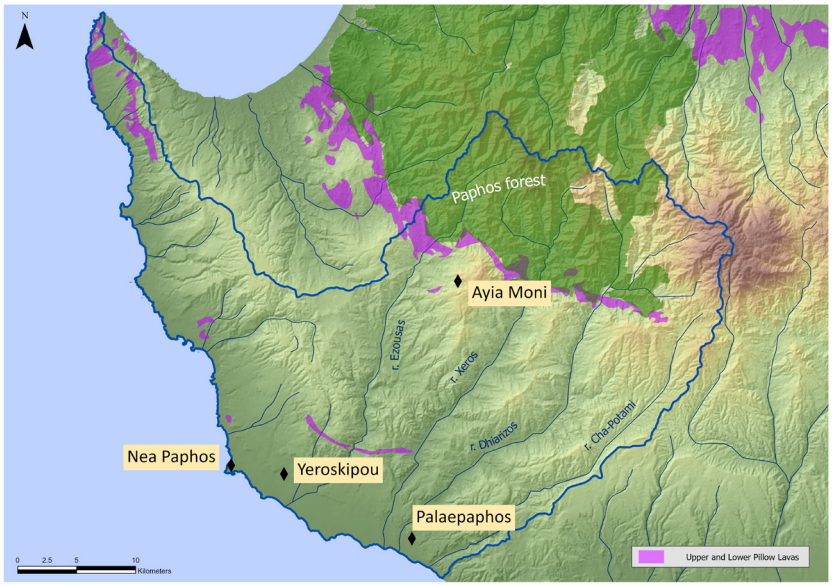


Fig. 9. Map of the Paphos hydrological region (catchment) with location of Palaepaphos, Nea Paphos, Yeroskipou and Ayia Moni. Digital geological data from Cyprus Geological Survey Department. Drafted by A. Agapiou (©PULP).