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A HUNDRED YEARS AFTER HOGARTH : DIGGING AT APHRODITE'S SANCTUARY AT PALAIPAPHOS (PL. XXXIII-XXXV)

Franz Georg MAIER

Excavation aims at recovering history from the earth, but at the same time each excavation creates a history of its own. On sites where digging has been going on over long periods, the history of excavation becomes inextricably interwoven with the actual work - influencing, for better or worse, the interpretation of the results obtained by later excavators.

During his last years, Olivier Masson took an increasing interest in the history of scholarship in Cyprus, and we often discussed this particular aspect of "Wissenschaftsgeschichte". Thus a brief account of the history of excavation at Aphrodite's Paphian Sanctuary - reflecting the development of archaeological research at Palaipaphos in general - would seem a fitting contribution to a volume dedicated to his memory.

A quarter of a century ago, in 1970, A.H.S. Megaw paid a brief visit to Kouklia while we were digging there. He found me supervising a trial section west of the sanctuary's megalithic temenos wall. Questioned about further plans, I admitted that excavating the Sanctuary of Aphrodite was not my prime interest. What I really wanted to do was to investigate the eastern settlement area of the ancient city at Evreti and Asproyi, where a number of fascinating Late Bronze Age finds had come to light while I had been working with the British Kouklia Expedition in 1952 and 1953. To which Peter replied (and the sentence has stuck to my memory): "If I were still Director of Antiquities, I would not stand a foreign expedition working at Kouklia for years without doing something about the Temple". Despite such advice, three more years (and some string-pulling of Vassos Karageorghis, then Director of the Department of Antiquities) were to pass before we began the systematic excavation of the Sanctuary¹. In 1973 we

1. Incidentally, Karageorghis had nearly become a member of the British Kouklia Expedition : in a letter of May 11th, 1950, A.H.S. Megaw warmly recommended him to T.B. Mitford. The unpublished letters and diaries quoted in this article are in the possession of the present writer (except for the letter of W.P. Hogarth, below n. 14, which was copied from the Liverpool Museum files).

finally followed, after nearly one hundred years, in the footsteps of D.G. Hogarth.

Hogarth had not been the first to dig at Kouklia-Palaipaphos : we investigated a site which had attracted interest over long centuries. Hunting for treasure had probably been going on there from times immemorial. The earliest unambiguous record of digging activities at Couvoucle (as it was then called) is more than 400 years old. Stephen de Lusignan, a scion of the royal house of Cyprus, describes in his "Chorograffia" the looting of antiquities all over the site : "si ritrovano molte anticaglie, et cose preziose nelle sepolture di essi antichi : le quali sepolture sono fatte a modo di camere sotto terra ; et non è da quattro anni, over sei, che hanno trovato un Rè quasi intiero : et infra le altre cose se trovarono un carbonchio et un liocorno tutto intiero, et secco, con il corno". Lusignan's text provides interesting but slightly tantalizing pieces of information. One would, inter alia, dearly love to know what the "Rè quasi intiero" looked like - not to mention the Unicorn².

Admittedly, Lusignan does not expressly mention the sanctuary. But part of its ruins were always visible above ground and were described by learned travellers from Richard Pococke to William Turner³. Reports such as that of the Austrian Oriental scholar Hammer von Purgstall (acting as secretary to a British naval commander, Commodore Smith) in 1802, strongly suggest that the looting and treasure hunting of the Koukliotes did not spare the temple site⁴.

For a long time, pilgrims and travellers had been the only strangers to be seen at Kouklia-Palaipaphos⁵. A new species began to arrive, however, towards the middle of the 19th century : the archaeologist. The first of these scholars was the German Ludwig Ross in 1840 - at that time actually in the service of the new kingdom of Greece. His professional assessment of the Paphian Sanctuary as an archaeological site did not sound promising : he found "die Wichtigkeit der Ruinen des muthmasslichen Heiligthums der phönicischen Aphrodite... sehr überschätzt ; es lässt sich aus ihrem heutigen Zustande nicht viel entnehmen"⁶. Later excavation disproved this dismissive appreciation of the archaeological possibilities offered by the remains of Aphrodite's famous Temple.

Some twenty years after Ross, the famous (or rather infamous) Luigi Palma di Cesnola claims to have done some digging at the temple site at Kouklia - according to his own record in 1869, 1874 and 1875⁷. There seems no doubt that he greatly exaggerates the extent of his work. Thus he pretends to have

2. St. Lusignan, *Chorograffia dell'Isola di Cipro*, Bologna, 1573, fol. 7 ; *Description de toute l'isle de Chypre*, Paris, 1580, p. 16-17. The French text is slightly more detailed, giving, inter alia, the date of the discovery of the tomb with "un Roy couronné" as 1564. A. Hermay, *Cahier 3*, 1985, p. 30 suggests that the "Roy couronné" may have been an anthropoid sarcophagus.

3. R. Pococke, *A Description of the East II* 2, London, 1745, p. 227 ; W. Turner, *Journal of a Tour in the Levant*, vol.II, London, 1820, p. 51.

4. J. v. Hammer-Purgstall, *Topographische Ansichten gesammelt auf einer Reise in die Levante*, Vienna, 1811, p. 150-153.

5. F.G. Maier - M.-L. von Wartburg, Strangers at Palaepaphos, *RDAC* 1988, p. 275-279.

6. L. Ross, Phönicische Gräber auf Cypem, *ArchZeitung* 9, 1851, p. 222 [= *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln IV*, Halle, 1952, p. 180f].

7. L. Palma di Cesnola, *Cypem*, Iena, 1879, p. 174-185.

excavated in 1869 “several months with 20 men”, and then to have “repeated the experiment with the personal assistance of Dr. Friederichs, of the Berlin Museum”⁸. Yet Friederichs himself notes one day’s stay only at Kouklia and does not mention digging at all. His one-page report describes impartially at equal length the ruins of the sanctuary, and the food and social life of Kouklia⁹. Cesnola’s description of a shaft he sank to a depth of 52 feet (c.17 m) in the southeastern corner of the Manor House may not necessarily be pure fiction, but again sounds fairly fanciful¹⁰.

Generally, Cesnola’s text shows no close familiarity with the site: its description rests partly on Hammer von Purgstall’s observations; his “plan” of the Temple of Aphrodite is sheer phantasy. Yet he must have observed, to judge from his description of the ornamental pattern, part of the mosaic floor of the South Stoa of the Sanctuary still in situ. Cesnola also claims to have acquired - whether by digging or by purchase, he does not disclose - a number of votive terracottas from the temple site. A number of these terracottas were purchased by the Berlin Museum through Dr. Friederichs¹¹.

The history of scholarly investigation of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite begins with the British excavators of 1888: David G. Hogarth may be called the father of systematic excavation at Palaipaphos. Formally the project of the Cyprus Exploration Fund was directed by E.A. Gardner, the then Director of the British School at Athens¹². Yet the most active and colourful person of the team, the driving spirit of the excavation was Hogarth. To the fairly extensive report, published a year after the work had ended, Hogarth contributed the narrative of excavations, describing the day to day work and its results¹³. Many parts of his

8. Cesnola, *l.c.*, p. 176. D.G. Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, London, 1889, p. 18 n. 1, states on good authority that Cesnola stopped “one day only at Old Paphos”. See also the critical remarks of L. Dyer, *The Nation* 47, 1888, p. 190-192 (he visited Kouklia for three days in 1888), and now O. Masson, *Quelques épisodes de la vie des frères Palma di Cesnola*, *RDAC* 1990, p. 285-290.

9. C. Friederichs, *Kunst und Leben. Reisebriefe aus Griechenland, dem Orient und Italien*, Düsseldorf, 1872, p. 47.

10. Cesnola, *l.c.*, p. 177-79. Our own excavations in 1985 showed that over most of the courtyard bedrock is met with only a few cms below the present level, but that deeper foundations survive in the southeastern corner. Yet even here bedrock is reached at a depth of 2.10 m; see F.G. Maier - M.-L. von Wartburg, *RDAC* 1986, p. 56-8. As nearly no pre-medieval pottery was found in the excavation, it seems unlikely that the vessel fragment Cesnola pl. XL, 3 came from the shaft, as stated *l.c.*, p. 179 and 413.

11. Friederichs, *l.c.*, p. 32 (“14 Tage brachte ich im Hause des Consuls [Cesnola] zu mit der Durchsicht der Sammlung”); 50, “Es ist heute... fast Alles schon eingepackt, was ich aus der Sammlung des Consuls für unser Berliner Museum angekauft”). The report on “Erwerbungen des Königlichen Museums an Antiken in den Jahren 1869-1870” (*ArchZeitung* 28, 1871, p. 123) lists “Terracotten aus dem Heiligthume von Paphos, durch Herrn Cesnola ausgegraben. (Noch nicht inventarisirt)”. E. Curtius also referred to this purchase in a lecture at Berlin in 1869: “Hr. Friedrichs ist deshalb nach Larnaka gesandt worden und hat aus der Sammlung Cesnola eine Auswahl gemacht, welche in den letzten Tagen eingetroffen ist” (*ArchZeitung* 27, 1869, p. 128). Only some of these terracottas could be traced thus far, and their provenience is not above suspicion; see Masson, *RDAC* 1990, p. 286-7. The terracotta head Cesnola, *l.c.* pl. XL, 1, comes definitely not from Palaipaphos.

12. See A.H.S. Megaw, *The British School at Athens and Cyprus*, *RDAC* 1988, p. 281.

13. E.A. Gardiner - D.G. Hogarth - M.R. James - R.E. Smith, *Excavations in Cyprus, 1887-88*, *JHS* 9, 1888, p. 149-271.

text look suspiciously as having been culled from a diary. Hogarth did indeed keep diaries, parts of which still exist. The 1888 diary which included his work at Kouklia was inspected in 1952 by the late J.H. Iliffe, one of the directors of the British Kouklia Expedition, but does not seem to survive¹⁴.

Hogarth's excavation methods were, of course, the methods of his time: "I knew nothing of the digger's art at the beginning, and very little at the end", he admitted frankly¹⁵. This is borne out by his text which provides a number of illuminating glimpses of the late 19th century way of digging in the Mediterranean. The treatment of the Roman mosaic in the South Stoa, a large part of which seems still to have been preserved when the dig began, provides a graphical example: "the mosaic pavement of the stoa was soon struck, and cutting through that, the men dug down into a mass of debris"¹⁶.

A very helpful addition to the printed report are the few surviving 1888 photographs, taken by R.E. Smith, which are priceless for both atmosphere and information. Only two of these were published with the 1888 report, showing the Temenos wall and the East Wing. Photographs illustrating work on the site and documenting the way of digging were not included in the publication. But Hogarth also decribed his experiences briefly in a nearly forgotten small book, "A Wandering Scholar in the Levant". There he refers to his archaeological work at Kouklia only in passing, but uses a photograph of work going on in the South Stoa to illustrate his travelogue¹⁷. The photograph of a crowd of workmen, supervised by the famous foreman Gregori (Gregorios Antoniou), has been reproduced several times¹⁸, but nobody seems to have noticed that Hogarth himself figures in it - the solitary figure at the left, wearing European-style hat and jacket.

A second series of early photographs of the sanctuary site were taken only two years after the British excavation by another eminent archaeologist, Wilhelm Dörpfeld. They still provide important information about the sanctuary site¹⁹. Dörpfeld did not dig at Kouklia, as the plan of German excavations in the Sanctuary of Aphrodite was discarded owing to the activities of the Cyprus Exploration Fund. But Dörpfeld actually visited the site in 1890, *inter alia*

14. A letter of W.P. Hogarth to H.J. Iliffe (28th Oct., 1952), refers to "my father's two Cyprus diaries of 1888", which are "not excavation diaries in the strict sense; they are just his personal travel journals but they do cover the period of the Cyprus dig. Some of the entries are very faint". Iliffe also recorded in a note book: "W.D. Hogarth, Athlone Press, Senate House, Univ. of London, W.C.1 (son of D.G. H. - has loaned me D.G. H.'s diary of Paphos dig)". P. Lock's "Chronological list of the extant daybooks of D.G. Hogarth" lists only daybooks from 1894 to 1911 (*BSA* 85, 1990, p. 195-6). Dr. C. Baron, Hogarth's granddaughter, also kindly informed me that she possesses "no diaries compiled by my grandfather earlier than 1894" (letter of May 8, 1994).

15. *Accidents of an Antiquary's Life*, London, 1910, p. 11.

16. *JHS* 9, 1888, p. 161; see in a similar vein p. 162.164.168.

17. D. G. Hogarth, *A Wandering Scholar in the Levant*, 2nd ed. London, 1896, facing p. 190.

18. E.g. Megaw, *l.c.*, pl. LXXXV, 2; E. Goring, *A Mischievous Pastime*, Edinburgh, 1988, p. 23.

19. For a list of these photographs see *AA* 1891, p. 89-91. The glass negatives are kept to this day in the German Archaeological Institute at Athens. Photographs of this series published so far are listed by Masson, *Cahier* 3, 1985, p. 26-7 n. 9-12.

posing solemnly in the courtyard of a Kouklia house - presumably because he believed it to furnish evidence for his theories about early wooden architecture (Pl. XXXIII, 1). His companion (and in this case also the photographer) was the ubiquitous Max Ohnefalsch-Richter.

The 1888 campaign was followed by a long period of archaeological neglect, broken until 1948 only by occasional and inconclusive attempts at the site. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter (of whom Olivier used to say that he ought rather to be known as "Vielfalsch"²⁰), after having visited Kouklia in 1890 with Dörpfeld, returned there in 1910 together with Robert Zahn. Zahn investigated the site of Rantidi and its Syllabic inscriptions²¹, but did not carry out trial excavations in the sanctuary, as Ohnefalsch-Richter claims²².

The preparation of the Rantidi publication gave Olivier Masson in 1979 the first opportunity of a more than fleeting visit to Kouklia (Pl. XXXIII, 2). He returned to stay there - together with M. Szyner - in 1981, this time checking the original inscriptions for his volume *Les inscriptions syllabiques de Kouklia-Paphos* (published as *Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern, Band 4* in 1986). He greatly enjoyed these excursions "in the field", even if staying in a village house meant that the two professors were woken every day by the cocks of Kouklia at the unearthly hour of 4 a.m.

John Lynton Myres paid a brief visit to Palaipaphos in December 1913, not intending to resume excavations there. But he caused Aphrodite's "black stone" to be removed from the spot to which it had been transferred in medieval or modern times²³. Some 40 years later, in 1935, an unknown Englishman began, with the help of the Kourion technites Christos, to dig up terracottas "dexia apo ton naon" (that means at the western outskirts of the Temple of Aphrodite), but left the task unfinished²⁴. In general the site remained neglected, and the Swiss archaeologist Pfuhl complained in 1938: "The ruins of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite are a shame for the Department of Antiquities. The peasants of the miserable village have long since removed the barbed wire around it and rob the place, already devastated by unmethodic excavation, continuously"²⁵.

A new phase of research began with the activities of the British Kouklia Expedition, directed by John H. Iliffe and Terence B. Mitford. Both knew the

20. Being more benign than Th. Mommsen, who referred simply to "der erbärmliche Ohnefalsch-Richter" (letter to C. Humann, 13.5.1893; see H.-G. Buchholz, *Cahier* 11-12, 1989, p. 24).

21. The Rantidi material was finally published some 70 years later: T.B. Mitford - O. Masson, *The Syllabic Inscriptions of Rantidi-Paphos. Ausgrabungen in Alt-Paphos auf Cypern, Band 2*, Konstanz, 1983.

22. M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Globus* 98, 1910, p. 296: "Auch an dieser Stelle hat Dr. Zahn versuchsweise graben lassen und einige Bildwerke gefunden". See O. Masson, *Les visites de Ohnefalsch-Richter à Kouklia, Cahier* 3, 1985, p. 19-28.

23. J.L. Myres, The black stone on the site of the Paphian Temple at Kouklia, *BSA* 41, 1940-45, p. 97-8.

24. Oral information about these activities provided by the former custodian at Kouklia, the late George Ioannou. The actual spot is most likely the one marked "robber pit" on the plan of Site KC in 1952 (*Liverpool Bulletin* 2, 1952, p. 44 fig.8).

25. E. Pfuhl, *Ostgriechische Reisen*, Basel, 1945, p. 54-55. For the state of the temple ruins in the Thirties see the photograph in H. Luke, *Cyprus*, London, 1957, facing p. 19.

Middle East intimately and had actually met there during the war. When on a bicycle tour in Cyprus in the summer of 1949, they heard about the finding of Archaic sculpture in a mound outside the village of Kouklia, decided to start digging there, obtained a licence to excavate, and persuaded the Liverpool Museums and the University of St. Andrews to foot the bill. The Director of Antiquities, A.H.S. Megaw, first agreed only on a "permit for soundings in a wide area" which should not "impair the value of the sites examined as targets for other potential excavators", but was favourably impressed by the first season's work: "I have never encountered a dig as free from psychological blood, sweat and tears". In 1951 a licence was issued "valid for the maximum period of 2 years, but capable of renewal", applying to "limited areas specified by plot numbers", but giving the holder "the 'first refusal' of other sites within the large area you were last year authorized to make soundings" (Pl. XXXIII, 3)²⁶.

The joint directors of the British Kouklia Expedition were different men with different backgrounds. J.H. Iliffe (Harry, as he was always known) had read archaeology at Cambridge and then worked for a time in the Toronto Museum. In 1936 he found a post that very much suited his tastes and abilities, when he was appointed director of what was then called the "Palestine Archaeological Museum" at Jerusalem. Forced to leave Palestine in 1948, he became director of the Liverpool Museums. T.B. Mitford had graduated from Jesus College, Oxford, but spent the whole of his academic life - except for daring war time exploits - at the University of St. Andrews²⁷.

Terence Mitford was direct, commanding, sometimes incisive, often laconic (Pl. XXXIII, 4). But he could also be considerate in a deliberately unobtrusive way - a quality he shared with his co-director. Harry Iliffe was the kindest of men, of a rather diffident but persuasive nature; invariably friendly and helpful, though sometimes prone to be irritatingly vague in comment and advice (Pl. XXXIV, 1). It may have been just this opposition of characters which made their collaboration work.

The Kouklia Expedition (1950-1955) did not attempt to re-investigate the sanctuary area, except for an inconclusive section west of the Temenos wall, dug in 1952. It contributed to the sanctuary's history, however, by continuing to exploit the "cache" with "concentrations of Archaic terracottas" on the eastern side of the Roman peristyle house opposite the Temple, first tapped in 1935²⁸. Furthermore, P.L. Shinnie, the then Commissioner for Archaeology in the Sudan, while spending part of his leave in Cyprus, conducted a trial excavation from 3rd to 27th July, 1953: "At Site F, N. of 'Temple', Shinnie continuing to investigate the ashlar wall + pavement (H. Paraskevi ?)". Neither the date nor the function of the building remains laid bare could be determined satisfactorily,

26. From letters by A.H.S. Megaw to T.B. Mitford of 25th February, 1950, 4th July, 1950, and 20th March, 1951.

27. F.G. Maier, Terence Bruce Mitford, 1905 - 1978, *Proceed.Brit.Acad.* 67, 1981, p. 433-442.

28. See T.B. Mitford - J.H. Iliffe, *AntJ* 31, 1951, p. 59. 63-66; *Liverpool Bulletin* 1, 1951, p. 36; 2, 1952, p. 49. 57. History here repeated itself. The Kouklia Expedition was unable to examine thoroughly this disturbed bothros; it was left to us to complete its excavation in 1976-7 (F.G. Maier, *RDAC* 1977, p. 140; 1979, p. 172-4).

as the following entry shows: "Work on Site F finished: final section shows occupation from Hellenistic to recent, with much medieval. Stone pavement possibly a piazza with surrounding portico?" (Pl. XXXIV, 2)²⁹. No report of this trial excavation was published³⁰, but in 1975 we were able to ascertain that the structures uncovered in 1953 formed part of the North Hall of the Sanctuary³¹.

When our own work on the sanctuary site began in 1973, no comprehensive investigation was planned. We intended to show by one short campaign that nothing more was to be got from a site turned over so thoroughly - a site of which the British 1888 report stated categorically: "We have recovered whatever antiquities were to be found on the site of the Temple"³². Yet the excavation of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite (Site TA, as we denominated it) developed into a major undertaking. Work on the site continued for 6 full seasons from 1973 to 1979, except for the annus terribilis of 1974. Thereafter, we turned to other projects, not the least to the investigation of the medieval sugar refinery installations, of whose existence Site TA had yielded the first clues. Three more campaigns in 1993, 1994, and 1995 were needed to complete finally the archaeological investigation of the sanctuary site.

We are all apt to complain about old digs and old reports, but at Kouklia the history of excavation in Aphrodite's Sanctuary inevitably became part of our own work on the site. D.G. Hogarth's narrative of the actual digging as well as the observations of R.E. Smith still proved to be an indispensable mine of information - even if one often wished the information would go just one small step further. Yet it has to be admitted that even an extensive preliminary report cannot describe every item and every square meter laid bare in the course of a large scale excavation. Not even the Swedish Cyprus Expedition fully succeeded in that respect.

Much time was indeed spent reading and re-reading the 1888 report, trying to reconcile the old expedition's and our own findings, and detecting new clues. The re-examination of the site every now and then confronted us with unexpected, sometimes slightly baffling aspects of our predecessors' work. But more often than not previous information and new excavation results interlocked, and in the end led to the better understanding of a problem. Our three last seasons - devoted to the investigation of the precise architectural

29. I have not been able to trace dig notes or a preliminary report of P.L. Shinnie either in the archives of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities or in the papers of T.B. Mitford. Iliffe's diary, however, gives some interesting glimpses. Quoted above are entries of July 15th, 1953, and July 27th, 1953; see also July 6th: "working at the N. end of the temple of Aphrodite (Site F), cutting through the mosaic just inside N. wall".

30. *JHS* 74, 1954, p. 173 gives only a brief non-committal notice. Mitford suggested to Iliffe "I think the whole of Site F should be done by him [Shinnie]. This will put the Medieval Pottery in a proper archaeological context" (letter of 28th March, 1954). Shinnie himself wrote to Iliffe on April 10th, 1954: "I will certainly go ahead with the publication of site F. - it will not be a lengthy or complicated report."; a year later (March 17th, 1955, announcing his impending dismissal from the Sudan Antiquities Service) he was "bothered about getting the Kouklia work finished, but will do my very best to go there at least to draw the pot [sic]"; on April 22nd, 1956, he states: "I will get ahead with the Kouklia report as fast as I can".

31. F.G. Maier, *RDAC* 1976, p. 94; see further *RDAC* 1981, p. 101.

32. *JHS* 9, 1888, p. 242.

structure of the northern part of the Roman sanctuary - represented an exemplary lesson in this respect ³³.

The 1888 notes concerning this particular area are fairly brief, but are supplemented fortunately by an hitherto unpublished photograph showing work in progress in a crucial spot, just north of the wall of imposing limestone blocks regarded in 1888 as a wall of the "North Stoa" (Pl. XXXIV, 3)³⁴. The line of clay waterpipes have since disappeared but for one single piece, yet the photograph indicated clearly that we were dealing in this area with backfill of the old 1888 excavation (Pl. XXXV, 1). It thus provided an important clue for both a rather enigmatic passage of the old report, and an equally enigmatic feature encountered by us in that spot.

The report describes "a thick stratum of the ferruginous earth, absolutely full of rude terracotta Aphrodites, stone statuettes, lamps, large terracotta fragments and odds and ends of every description. At this point there had been a portico, of which the piers remained"³⁵. The back fill in this area contained pockets of bright red soil and yielded several dozens of terracotta fragments. Underneath it, a rock-cut pit of c. 1.40 m diameter was exposed. Taking into account the large number of terracottas found in 1888, it seems reasonable to assume that this pit had formed the lowest part of a bothros - similar to the bothros disturbed or destroyed at the west side of the sanctuary by the builders of the Roman peristyle house.

But what about the "portico"? While digging at the eastern end of the North Hall we had discovered a curious arrangement of six limestone column drums, roughly in line with the foundations of the Hall's eastern podium wall. It was first thought possible that the columns had been thrown in by the Roman builders to strengthen the foundations, but a section dug against the east side of the deposit showed them to be embedded entirely in the 1888 back fill (Pl. XXXV, 2). The most likely explanation seems that the existence of a "portico" was inferred from the finding of a number of columns, which the excavators deposited nicely between the surviving parts of the Roman wall foundation, when they had to fill in their trenches.

Aphrodite's sacred cone - the "black" (or rather dark green) stone - represents another instance of interlocking of old information and new investigation. The excavators of 1888 discovered in the western part of the South Stoa "a curious triangular stone of a hard, greenish material...it looks as if it may have been the base of a tripod..."³⁶, but did not realize that this was the famous cone, inserted upside down into the mosaic floor. J.L. Myres in 1913 found this stone "imbedded in the courtyard wall of the first house on the left of the road... partly sunk in a large hole which breaks through a Roman mosaic pavement", but remained doubtful: "there cannot now be more than a possibility that this object was *the* 'sacred cone'". He wrongly believed that "the previous excavators had

33. For these campaigns see the reports in *RDAC* 1997, p. 177-194, and *AA* 1998, p. 105-132.

34. H.W. Catling kindly informed me about the existence of this photograph, which is published here by courtesy of the British School of Archaeology at Athens.

35. *JHS* 9, 1888, p. 167. Myres (*l.c.*, p. 97) harshly refers to "the clay figurines which the excavators of 1887 called 'dollies' and failed to preserve, or even to record in detail".

36. *JHS* 9, 1888, p. 200.

only missed it by a few feet", and seems not to have realized that the mosaic floor was that of the South Stoa of the Sanctuary³⁷. In 1975 we were able to locate the find spot again and to ascertain that the stone had been inserted into the mosaic in medieval or later times³⁸.

It has to be conceded, however, that old information and new results do not tally always and everywhere. An interesting case in point is the "North Stoa". This oblong rectangular structure was reconstructed in 1888 from wall remains in an area where only a limited amount of "trenching" had been possible; it was thought to mark the northern confines of the temple area³⁹. In 1975 we were able to establish, however, that the North Hall represents the northernmost building of the Roman sanctuary. On the other hand, close investigation of the supposed "North Stoa" down to bedrock showed that only four fairly short wall stretches date from the Roman period. All other building remains in this area turned out to be of medieval or post-medieval construction⁴⁰.

Important as this discovery was for the reconstruction of the architecture of the sanctuary in the Roman period, in one respect it appeared as a kind of anticlimax. A massive rectangular pillar, re-used from the Late Bronze Age Sanctuary, had been considered to mark the southwestern corner of the "North Stoa", and until a few years ago the women of Kouklia venerated the Panagia Galaktariotissa at that very pillar (Pl. XXXV, 3). The temptation to interpret this as evidence for the survival of fertility rites on the site of the Paphian temple proved to be irresistible - to the present writer as well as to other scholars⁴¹. But the re-examination of the area seemed to suggest a rather tenuous connection between the Panagia Galaktariotissa and the cult of Aphrodite, as the pillar had been moved to its present position fairly recently⁴². Once more the sceptical anonymous dictum "religion is the last resort of troubled excavators"⁴³ seemed to have been corroborated. Yet closer scrutiny of our records leads to a somewhat different conclusion. J.L. Myres in 1913 had "asked the Commissioner to allow the stone to be moved to the local police station", but H. Luke observed as Commissioner of Paphos in 1917 that "young mothers having no milk to feed to their babies would still repair to the phallic conical stone,

37. Myres, *l.c.*, p. 97-8, with a photograph of the stone pl. 30, 5; the stone was transported from Kouklia to the Cyprus Museum some time before 1935. Myres describes it as "black basalt"; according to Dr. K. Xenophontos, who kindly examined it some years ago, it is local gabbro.

38. The fill contained besides Roman and medieval pottery a few Turkish and modern sherds; it remains uncertain whether these latter are connected with the original setting of the cone, or come from the 1888 back fill. The Land Registry Map (Sheet 51/48.6) indicates "kara dash" in a position which seems to answer the find spot described by Myres.

39. *JHS* 9, 1888, p. 167.

40. Further study has to determine to which architectural structure these walls belonged, and how they relate to the North Hall.

41. E.g. F.G. Maier, *RDAC* 1975, p. 80: "the tradition of the age-old fertility cult is alive on the temple site, in the guise of the Panagia Galaktariotissa".

42. The pillar's substructions rest largely on a 1.50 m deep layer of architectural and other debris which cannot be dated earlier than the late 18th or the 19th century.

43. J. Alexander, *The Directing of Archaeological Excavations*, London, 1970, p. 181.

glossy with olive oil, in the ruins of the temple”⁴⁴. This seems to prove that the cult of the milk-giving Virgin had indeed been linked originally with Aphrodite’s sacred cone ; only after the cone’s removal to the Cyprus Museum it had been transferred to the pillar.

ILLUSTRATIONS :

Pl. XXXIII, 1 : W. Dörpfeld at Kouklia in 1890 (Courtesy Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Athen, Neg. CYP 11).

Pl. XXXIII, 2 : Olivier Masson inspecting the Rantidi site, 1979.

Pl. XXXIII, 3 : A.H.S. Megaw (centre) and J.H.Iliffe (right) at Site KC during the second digging season, 1951.

Pl. XXXIII, 4 : T.B. Mitford supervising work at Site KC in 1951.

Pl. XXXIV, 1 : J.H. Iliffe in the Royal Manor House at Kouklia, 1952.

Pl. XXXIV, 2 : Excavating Site KF, 1953.

Pl. XXXIV, 3 : Excavating in the North Hall of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite in 1888 (Courtesy British School of Archaeology at Athens).

Pl. XXXV, 1 : Removing 1888 backfill in the North Hall of the Sanctuary of Aphrodite.

Pl. XXXV, 2 : Deposit of column drums at the eastern end of the North Hall (section TA XIV 7).

Pl. XXXV, 3 : Limestone pillar supposed to mark the southwestern corner of the “North Stoa”.

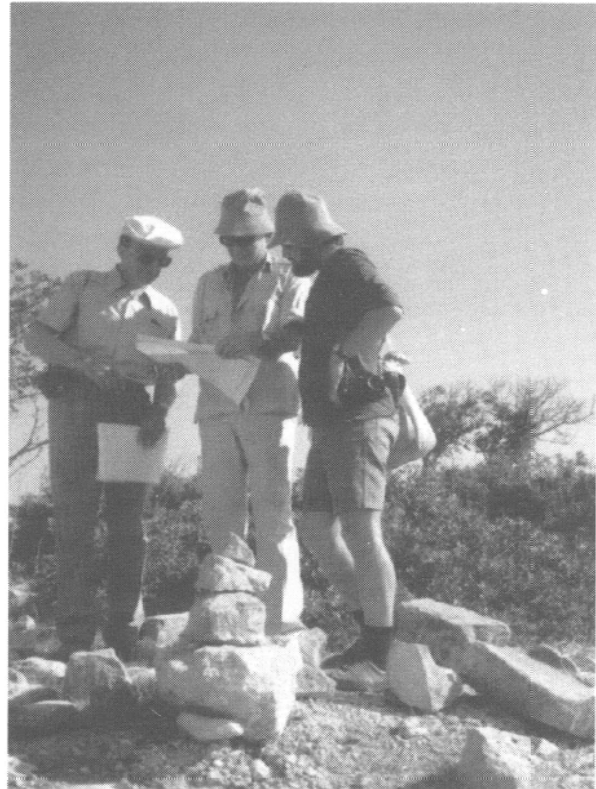
44. Myres, *l.c.*, p. 97 ; Luke, *l.c.*, p. 26. His description certainly does not apply to the pillar.



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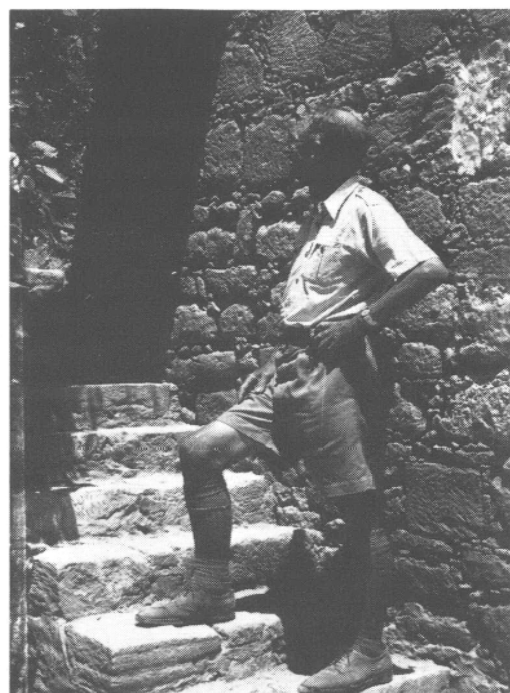


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