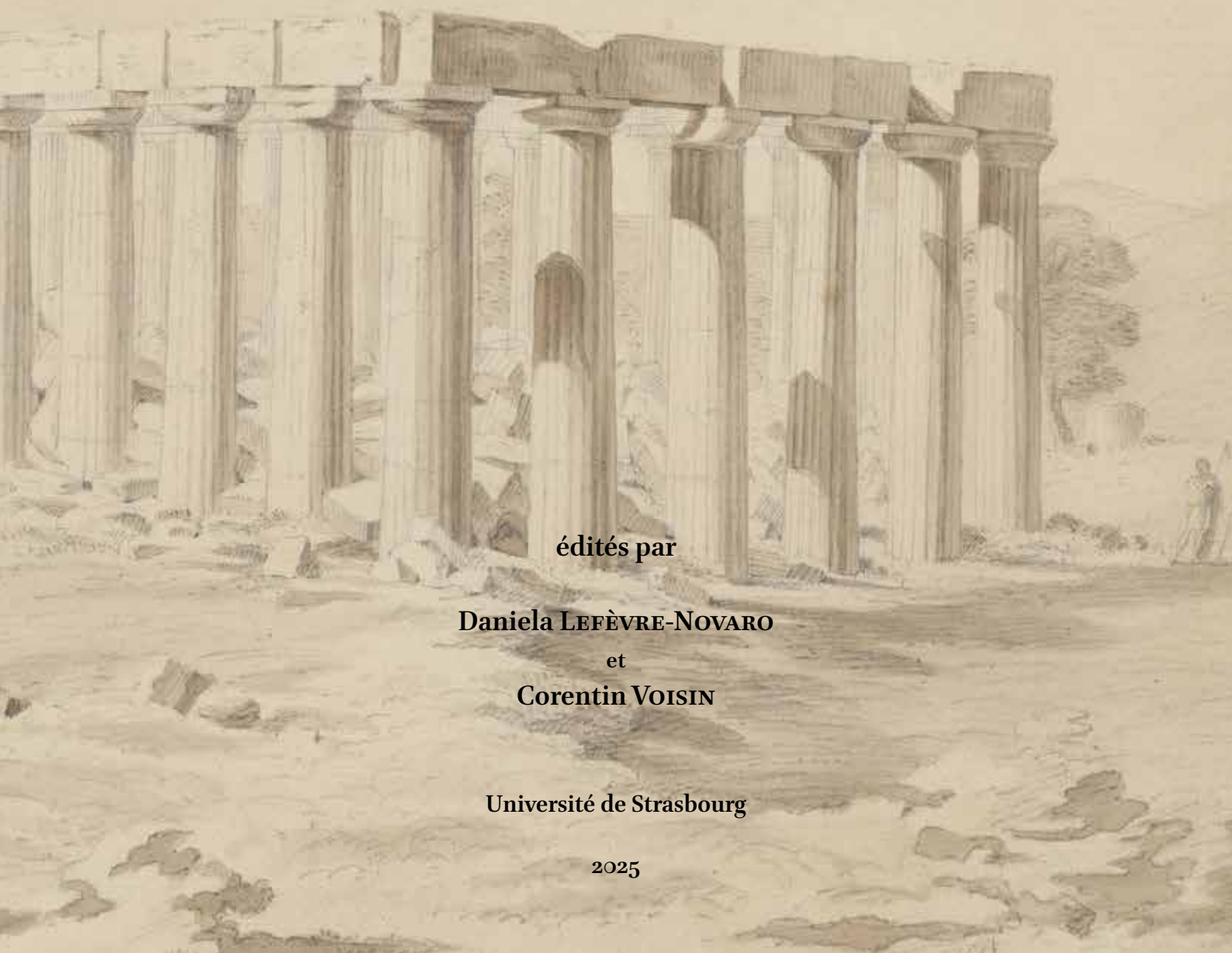


# Sanctuaires et paysages

La (re)découverte des lieux de culte en  
Méditerranée centrale et orientale

Actes du colloque international  
Strasbourg, 21 - 23 novembre 2023



édités par

Daniela LEFÈVRE-NOVARO

et

Corentin VOISIN

Université de Strasbourg

2025





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C. Haller von Hallerstein, *Le temple d'Apollon Épikourios à Phigalie*  
Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg  
Ms. 2.724, 2, 4, K 1900a, f° 83

Les articles de ces actes ont fait l'objet d'une expertise par les pair.es en double aveugle.

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Pourquoi certaines montagnes sont-elles considérées comme sacrées et d'autres, tout aussi impressionnantes, ne le sont pas ? Pourquoi les nymphes sont-elles censées habiter seulement certaines sources ou certains arbres ? Quelles sont les motivations qui conduisent une communauté, ou ses représentants, à attribuer une portée symbolique particulière à des endroits spécifiques qui deviennent sacrés ? S'il n'est plus envisageable de parler d'un « esprit des lieux » pour évoquer l'aura impalpable qui semble empreigner certains lieux naturels, d'où vient alors l'émotion que nous éprouvons à les contempler ? Et dans quelle mesure les premiers découvreurs des sanctuaires aux XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> siècles avaient-ils conscience des relations subtiles existant entre paysage et lieu sacré ?

Ces questions et bien d'autres à propos des interactions entre religion et nature sur les rivages de la Méditerranée ont été au centre de la rencontre internationale qui a eu lieu en novembre 2023 à Strasbourg. Ces trois jours furent une occasion fructueuse de dialogue interdisciplinaire entre archéologues, architectes, historiens et historiens des religions autour de l'une des problématiques les plus intrigantes pour les spécialistes qui s'intéressent aux « paysages religieux ». Une occasion de dialogue, mais également d'interaction et de confrontation entre définitions du paysage parfois bien différentes.

L'idée de ce colloque est née en 2021 lors de l'organisation de l'exposition participative « À l'aube de l'archéologie grecque » à la Maison Interuniversitaire des Sciences de l'Homme – Alsace de Strasbourg. À cette occasion nous avons présenté quelques dessins de sanctuaires grecs réalisés par l'architecte franconien Carl Haller von Hallerstein lors de ses voyages en Grèce de 1810 à 1817. Conservées à la Bibliothèque nationale et universitaire de Strasbourg, ces œuvres ont permis de souligner l'intérêt pour les lieux de culte des premiers voyageurs qui visitèrent l'Italie méridionale, la Sicile et la Grèce dans les premières décennies du XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle, avant la révolution grecque (*épanastasis*). Équipés souvent d'un simple crayon, ces artistes nous ont légué de nombreux dessins et aquarelles représentant des vestiges antiques au milieu de paysages encore intacts des bouleversements contemporains. Leur vision, certes imprégnée de romantisme et du *Zeitgeist*, n'en est pas moins un témoignage saisissant de l'état dans lequel nous sont parvenus ces sanctuaires, immergés dès leur fondation dans une nature exubérante. Celle-ci a-t-elle, d'une manière ou d'une autre, joué un rôle lors du choix de l'emplacement du lieu de culte par ses fondateurs ? Entre histoire de la redécouverte de ces sites, archéologie sensorielle, anthropologie religieuse et analyse des rituels et des mythes attestés par les sources écrites, cette rencontre souhaite apporter une contribution originale à une meilleure compréhension du choix de certains sites, à nos yeux remarquables dans le milieu naturel, pour y développer une activité culturelle parfois dès l'âge du Bronze et, sur le temps long, jusqu'à la fin de l'Antiquité.

L'approche constructiviste semble d'emblée pouvoir être privilégiée, car tout paysage est d'abord un construit social, qui résulte aussi bien de l'interaction d'une communauté avec son environnement naturel que du regard d'un observateur, différent selon les points de vue, les circonstances et l'intentionnalité de celui-ci. Dans un célèbre entretien diffusé sur France Culture en 1984, Gaston Maspero interrogeait Yves Lacoste sur le paysage de Turenne en Corrèze, qu'ils contemplaient alors communément. Or, au moment où le deuxième reprend la parole après une abondante description reposant sur des termes techniques de géographie physique, il commence par préciser que le paysage au centre duquel se trouve le château de Turenne « est beau ». Très vite toutefois, il ajoute que cette beauté dépend du lieu où se place l'observateur,

de la saison, voire d'une opinion commune qui fait que de nombreuses personnes trouvent « beaux » des paysages qui leur ont été présentés ainsi. Donc Turenne, son fort et ses alentours forment autant un paysage objectif que façonné par ceux qui les contempnent, en fonction des périodes, des points de vue, de la culture et des intentions. Est-il alors possible de reporter cette expérience sur un sanctuaire grec inclus dans un paysage antique, physique et sensoriel, aujourd'hui largement perdu ? Gageons que les différents contributeurs de ces riches actes ont su chacun aborder diversement la question et apporter des perspectives nouvelles pour les spécialistes des diverses disciplines qui se sont croisés au colloque de Strasbourg.

# Remerciements

Daniela LEFÈVRE-NOVARO  
Corentin VOISIN

Le colloque international « Sanctuaires et paysages » a été organisé et financé par l'Institut Thématique Interdisciplinaire d'Histoire, Sociologie, Archéologie et Anthropologie des Religions (ITI HiSAAR) dont nous tenons à remercier tout le staff, en particulier Guillaume Ducoeur et Céline Redard-Jacot.

Nous adressons nos remerciements les plus chaleureux à tous les participants, enseignants et jeunes chercheurs provenant d'Europe et des Amériques, pour avoir contribué à créer un climat studieux autant que serein et constructif, ouvert aux échanges. Les étudiants du Diplôme Universitaire de l'ITI HiSAAR ont pu en bénéficier lors de l'école d'hiver, organisée en parallèle du colloque international.

Nous remercions en outre tous ceux qui ont œuvré à l'organisation du colloque et des événements qui l'ont accompagné : le staff de la MISHA et en particulier son directeur adjoint, Sylvain Perrot ; l'UMR 7044 Archimède et sa gestionnaire Bernadette Gein ; l'Association Alsace-Crète et son infatigable président, Jean-Claude Schwendemann ; le groupe musical *To Kafedaki* qui a égayé la soirée d'ouverture.

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# The so-called Sanctuary of Apollo in Toumballos in the urban Landscape of Nea Paphos

Elvia GIUDICE  
Giada GIUDICE  
Leonardo FUDULI

## ABSTRACT

Methodical excavations carried out by the Italian Archaeological Mission during the period 1988-2018 uncovered sanctuaries and residential complexes dating from the 4th century BC to the 6th century AD in the area of the "Garrison Camp" in the north-western part of the city. The area covers a quarter of Nea Paphos, one of the largest cities in the Hellenistic-Roman East, which was also the capital of Cyprus for a long time. It had already been partially explored in recent decades, revealing a remarkable complex of underground chambers dug into the rock and linked to the cult of Apollo by similarity to those of the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates, discovered in the south-eastern part of the village of Kato Paphos. In the absence of detailed archaeological and literary evidence, identifying the cults practised in the sanctuaries remains rather difficult. Nevertheless, in the light of the discoveries of recent decades, a number of hypotheses can be put forward.

Keywords : Cyprus, Dioskuroi, Hellenism, Nea Paphos, Sanctuary.

## RÉSUMÉ

Des fouilles menées par la Mission archéologique italienne, au cours de la période 1988-2018, ont mis au jour, dans la zone du « Garrison Camp », dans la partie nord-ouest de la ville, des sanctuaires et des complexes résidentiels datant du IV<sup>e</sup> siècle avant J.-C. au VI<sup>e</sup> siècle après J.-C. La zone couvre un quart de Nea Paphos, l'une des plus grandes villes de l'Orient hellénistique-romain, qui a longtemps été aussi la capitale de Chypre. Elle avait déjà été partiellement explorée au cours des dernières décennies, révélant un remarquable complexe de chambres souterraines creusées dans la roche et liées au culte d'Apollon sur la base de la ressemblance de deux d'entre elles avec celles du sanctuaire d'Apollon Hylates, découvert dans la partie sud-est du village de Kato Paphos. L'identification des cultes pratiqués dans les sanctuaires, en l'absence de preuves archéologiques et littéraires détaillées, reste assez difficile. Néanmoins, à la lumière des découvertes des dernières décennies, quelques hypothèses peuvent être émises.

Mots-clés : Chypre, Dioscures, hellénisme, Néa Paphos, sanctuaire.

The area assigned to the Archaeological Mission of the University of Catania, on the basis of an agreement between the Republic of Cyprus and the Republic of Italy, covers a quarter of Nea Paphos, one of the largest cities of the Hellenistic-Roman East and for a long time the capital of the island.

In July 1988<sup>1</sup>, the mission, composed of members of the University of Catania, began an excavation around the so-called 'Garrison Camp', in the north-western part of the city.

Before the arrival of the Italian archaeological mission, the site had already been the subject of research and excavation in the 1950s, when Honorary Inspector Georgios Eliades<sup>2</sup> had almost completely emptied a complex of underground chambers dug into the rock, the nature of which was not clear. Kyriakos Nikolaou<sup>3</sup> wrote about the complex in his article 'The topography of Nea Paphos': "The rooms arranged in this way could be the quarters of soldiers. The fact that the site is adjacent to the city wall at the northern gate may suggest that this complex is a military camp where the garrison of the city, or part of it, was stationed". And to support his hypothesis, he refers to a general discussion of 'garrisons' in the Hellenistic period, in which he also quotes a fragmentary petition inscription addressed to Ptolemy VI or VIII by certain troops stationed at Nea Paphos. According to the scholar, it is very likely that the underground chambers continued to be used as a camp sanctuary and that the cult of an Egyptian god such as Isis or Serapis was introduced during the Hellenistic period, or a deity such as Mithras during the Roman period.

Subsequently, the Polish scholar Jolanta Młynarczyk<sup>4</sup>, in her book *Nea Paphos III*, analysing the plan and structure, rejected what Nikolaou had already theorised and suggested the existence of a chthonic rite linked to the mysteries, effectively ruling out the hypothesis that part of the city had been allocated to military garrisons and that it was a 'garrison camp'.

Jolanta Młynarczyk wrote in *Nea Paphos III*<sup>5</sup>: "Even leaving aside the question of the location of the garrison, the whole complex of Toumballos is far too large and well-planned to have been a mere camp sanctuary". The scholar concludes that "the fact that the sanctuary of Toumballos was located on the outskirts of the city, far from the busiest districts, should not be considered as proof of its alleged connection with the military barracks, as suggested by K. Nikolaou, but rather as further evidence of the chthonic nature of the cult accompanied by mysteries<sup>6</sup>".

The complex (fig. 1), excavated by Eliades around 1950 and studied by Nikolaou and Młynarczyk, consisted to the east of a short corridor with a few blocks emerging from the ground, an access staircase half covered by the layered soil, a vestibule leading to a circular chamber, a long corridor oriented N-S and three other rooms in its southern part: a semicircular, a second circular and a third quadrangular.

It could also be accessed from a second entrance, opposite the first, on the northern wall of which an exedra opens and leads further east to a second northern complex consisting of a second corridor and three other chambers, now partly filled with soil.

The excavations carried out by the Italian mission, which began in 1988<sup>7</sup>, did not prejudge the nature of this complex of chambers, now completely emptied of its contents, preferring instead to study

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1 GIUDICE 1992a, p. 91-103 ; GIUDICE 1992b, p. 205-250 ; GIUDICE 1992c, p. 153-156 ; GIUDICE 1993, p. 279-327.

2 ELIADES 1956, p. 14 ; ELIADES 1957, p.18 ; KARAGEORGHIS 1960, p. 292.

3 NIKOLAOU 1966, p. 587-588.

4 MŁYNARCZYK 1990, p. 226-232.

5 MŁYNARCZYK 1990, p. 229

6 MŁYNARCZYK 1990, p. 231.

7 GIUDICE 1993, p. 279-327. For a synthesis of the excavation results also GIUDICE & GIUDICE 1998, p. 31-33 ; GIUDICE 2000a, p. 485-493 ; GIUDICE 2016, p. 79-90. For a summary of the ceramic finds in the Garrison's Camp area, GIUDICE, GIUDICE & GIUDICE 2017, *passim*.

the vestiges around the sanctuary in order to obtain the elements that could be used later for an overall assessment of the structures. This logic led us to explore the area to the east of the staircase leading to the hypogean sanctuary, the area to the west of the chambers now visible, and finally the area to the north of the hypogean sanctuary, where some tests on the sides of a large oval depression partially revealed a *xystos*, a small training stadium. It was probably preceded by the stoai to the north, in the area behind the city walls (fig. 2).

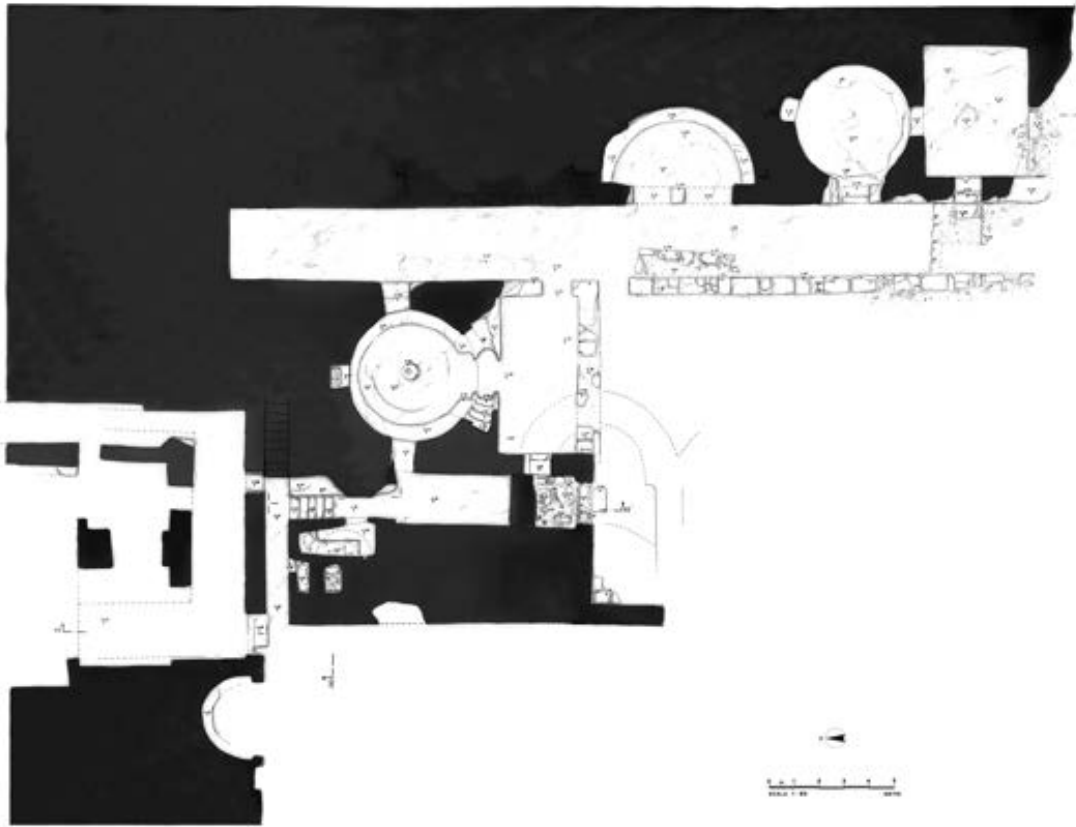


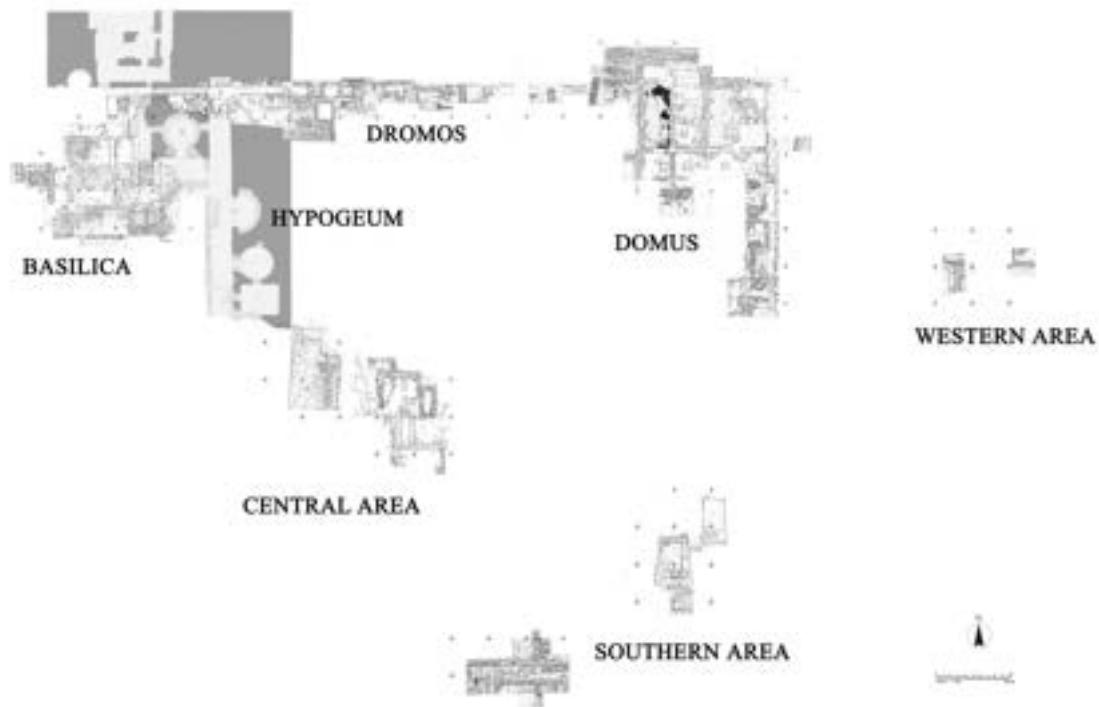
Fig. 1 : Paphos, Garrison's Camp. Ipogea sanctuary. © University of Catania, Archivio Ceramografico.

To the west of the sanctuary are the ruins of a small early Christian church<sup>8</sup> (figg. 3-3a), built at the end of the 4th century AD after the closure of the pagan cults. It partly used the structures of the pagan sanctuary immediately to the west of the hypogean chambers, and partly rested on the surface of two large overlapping rectangular pools lined with hydraulic mortar, undoubtedly functional for the sanctuary's water needs in an area that has always had little rainfall, and functional for the ritual practised in the pagan sanctuary. Particularly important were the investigations carried out to the east, in the direction of the staircase leading to the hypogean chambers, which revealed a very long access *dromos* to the sanctuary, excavated in a west-east direction (fig. 4).

Of this, the northern wall has been preserved in its entire length (72 m), showing a fine polygonal technique (fig. 5).

Only two blocks of the southern wall of the *dromos*, immediately to the east of the first step of the staircase leading to the sanctuary, have survived, the rest having been completely demolished and reused for the construction of an early Christian quarter.

<sup>8</sup> GIUDICE & GIUDICE 2001, p. 143-164.



**Fig. 2 :** Paphos, Garrison's Camp. General plan of excavation area. © University of Catania, Archivio Ceramografico.

The new residential area leaned against the northern wall of the dromos from the end of the 4th century A.D., when the area was transformed into a residential area after the closure of the pagan cults<sup>9</sup>.

Not far from the steps leading up to the sanctuary are the remains of a rich votive shrine<sup>10</sup>, which yielded pottery dated between the 3rd and 2nd centuries B.C.; interestingly, many of the vases and lamps were found on the floor of the dromos itself, probably thrown in at the time of the demolition of the southern wall and the construction of the new residential area.

The pagan structures were not completely destroyed, but rather reused and, we might say, adapted to the new and different social, economic and cultic reality and practical needs of a now Christianised community<sup>11</sup>. The decision to build a basilica on this site, we believe, was undoubtedly motivated by the desire to strongly affirm the new Christian faith in a place that had been the site of pagan worship for centuries.

Along the dromos leading to the sanctuary, numerous rectangular or quadrangular votive pits, dug into the rock and unfortunately partially emptied when the area was occupied by Christians, skirt the corridor to the sanctuary to the south, which runs east-west for 72 metres, until reaching a rocky ridge inside which are two hypogeal chambers<sup>12</sup> (fig. 6), brought to light by the Italian mission.

The exploration of the area delimited by two doors (and a large window) carved into the rock has made it possible, for the first time, to bring to light and partially empty (5 metres of soil have been removed so far) two large underground chambers, one trapezoidal and the other rectangular, also belonging to the Hellenistic-Roman sanctuary.

<sup>9</sup> GIUDICE, GIUDICE & GIUDICE 2021, p. 27-36.

<sup>10</sup> PAFUMI 1994, p. 225-231.

<sup>11</sup> GIUDICE, GIUDICE & GIUDICE 2021, p. 27-36.

<sup>12</sup> GIUDICE 2010, p. 439-440 ; GIUDICE 2011-2012, p. 775-779.

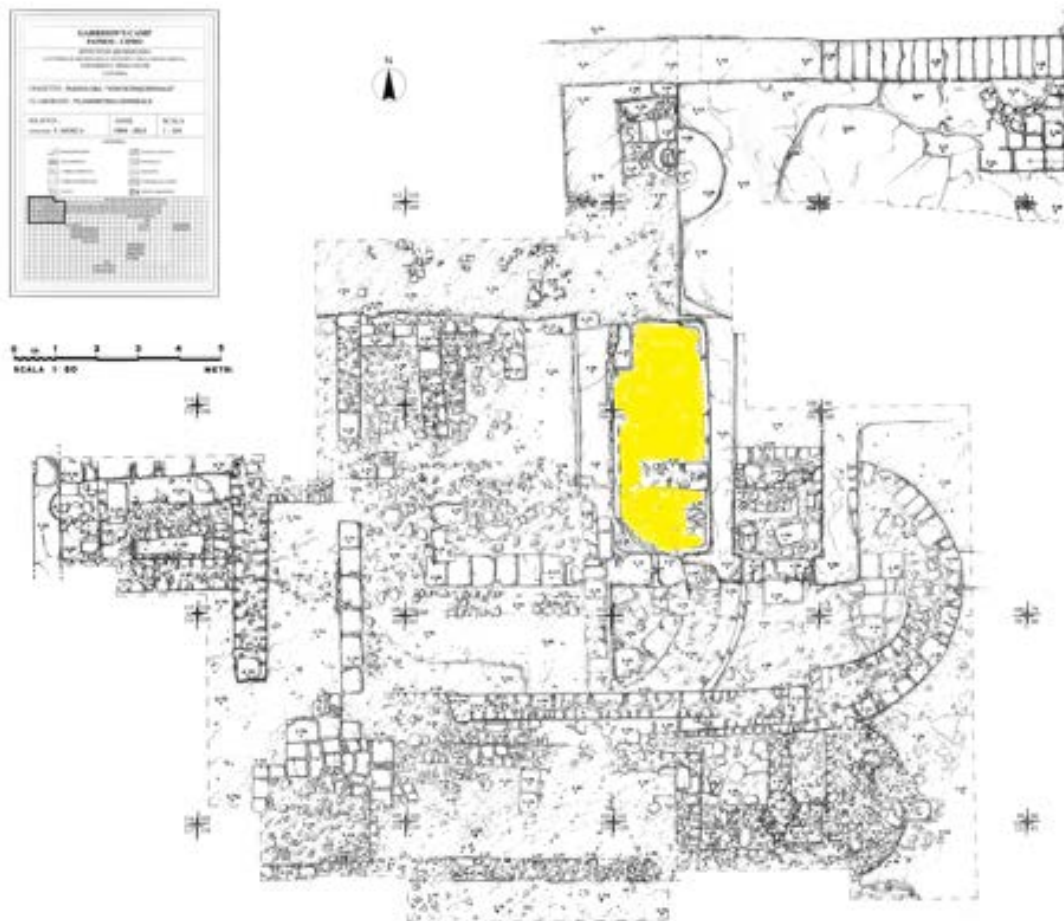


Fig. 3a-b : Paphos, Garrison's Camp. Basilica, plan and photo. © University of Catania, Archivio Ceramografico.





The southern doorway, in whose intrados two square recesses are visible, probably for inserting the hinges of a wooden door, now lost, appears to be partially obstructed by a collapsed wall. Three rows of square blocks and roughly hewn stones remain. It was built at a time when the pagan cults were closed and the chamber of a large early Christian *domus* was built on the rock face.

Inside, the hypogean chamber<sup>13</sup> is delimited to the east by a wall, also dug into the rock of the sanctuary, 5.25 metres long, with narrow natural crevices; to the north it is closed by a wall with a very large rectangular aedicule; on its sides there are two small niches, probably used as bases for oil lamps.

Between the northern and western stone walls, a narrow tunnel, about 0.80 metres wide, runs north-west. This tunnel, about 1.80 m long, was partially obstructed at its entrance by a small wall made up of six rows of square blocks.

To the south, the hypogean chamber is closed off by a wall that opens up in its western part to give way to a skylight, which is currently partially blocked by a Corinthian anta capital with rosettes<sup>14</sup>, to then give way to a large opening, also dug into the rock, that leads to a second, smaller and irregularly shaped underground chamber<sup>15</sup>.

The excavations carried out inside the hypogeum chamber I allowed it to be partially emptied. Five layers have been excavated: the first is made up of compact, grey soil mixed with small stones; the second is characterised by a softer, darker soil and very few stones; the third is made up of red soil mixed with large stones... which give way to a layer (layer IV) of red soil. This is followed by a layer of clay, greyish in colour (layer V), in which the upper face of blocks and roughly hewn stones, arranged in a flat surface, has been revealed at a height of 5.80 metres<sup>16</sup>.

(G.G.)

There are strong characteristics of homogeneity in the finds in the two hypogean chambers and in the earthed-up diaphragm that obstructed the passage between the hypogean chamber I and the chamber II. Among the oldest archaeological discoveries<sup>17</sup> are three fragments of Attic pottery - dated on the basis of stylistic considerations to around 340-336 BC<sup>18</sup> - belonging to two Panathenaic amphorae<sup>19</sup>: the first two<sup>20</sup> (fig. 7) preserve part of the peplos and the aegis of Athena, while the third prize shows only the fan-shaped folds of a garment; a black-glazed bowl<sup>21</sup> from layer II (red soil mixed with stones from m. 9.18 to m. 8.76) is comparable with an identical specimen from Salamis dated to the second quarter of the 4th century BC, and a capital<sup>22</sup> inscribed with the letters iota, lambda and rho dated to the 4th century BC.

Also noteworthy among the finds from the hypogean chambers is a small marble fragment<sup>23</sup> with part of an inscription: '[...] RGETH, probably referring to Ptolemy I or Ptolemy II Evergete, and a marble

---

13 The hypogeum chamber I, entirely excavated in the rock, is approximately 5.50 m wide and 3.65 m long.

14 FUDULI 2015, p. 20, 36, no. 38.

15 Hypogeum II, which is much narrower than Hypogeum I, has walls with a more irregular course. In particular, the eastern wall has in its northern part a curved niche 0.75 m deep and 1.50 m wide, then bends slightly to the south and extends 2.30 m. The south-western wall, which is 1.35 meters long and bends sharply to the north-west, opens up in its western section to give way to a skylight.

16 GIUDICE 2011-2012, p. 775, n. 9, p. 777-778.

17 GIUDICE 2010, p. 443-468 ; GIUDICE 2011-2012, p. 779.

18 BENTZ 1998, p. 175-176, n. 4080 and 4086.

19 GIUDICE 2011-2012, p. 782, no. 14, tav. V ; GIUDICE 2011-2012, p. 779.

20 Panathenaic prize amphora, two matching fragments. H. cons. cm 6.5; max. thickness cm 1.0; W. cm 7.0. Red clay.

21 PLATANIA 2010, p. 449, n. 43, fig. 3.

22 PUPPO 2010, p. 451 and 486, n. 62, fig. 4.

23 GIUDICE 2000b, p. 60 ; GIUDICE 2011-2012, p. 779-781, n. 3, tav. V ; GIUDICE 2011-2012 ; DI ROCCO 2011, p. 91-124 ; GARUTI 2016, p. 315-326.

inscription<sup>24</sup> on which the letters ΛΟΙ ΟΣΤΟ are recognisable. There are a large number of Hellenistic dishes and bowls (dated between the 4th and 1st centuries BC), fairly common lagynoi, dishes, bowls and serving vessels of terra sigillata ware, Megarian bowls, unguentaria and oil lamps, while the number of Cypriot sealed kraters (dating to the second half of the 2nd century BC), amphorae (of Rhodian and Cnidian production, of the Chiota and Dressel II types), cooking vessels and even Cnidian grey ware bowls is almost negligible<sup>25</sup>. A coin of probable local issue from the time of Ptolemy IX Soter II (142-80 BC)<sup>26</sup> with the head of Zeus Ammon on the obverse was found in layer V of chamber I; from the soil diaphragm between the two hypogean chambers (layer II) came a coin of provincial imperial issue with the head of the Emperor Augustus on the obverse and the Temple of Aphrodite with a conical *xoanon* with a semicircular court on the reverse<sup>27</sup>.



Fig. 5 : Paphos, Garrison's Camp. *Dromos*, northern wall. © University of Catania, Archivio Ceramografico.

24 GIUDICE 2011-2012, p. 780 and 793, no. 62 ; DI ROCCO 2011, p. 91-124 ; GARUTI 2016, p. 315-326.

25 GIUDICE 2010, p. 443-469 ; GIUDICE 2011-2012, 779-780.

26 GUZZETTA 2011-2012, p. 806, M1, fig. 7.

27 GUZZETTA 2011-2012, p. 806, M2, fig. 7.

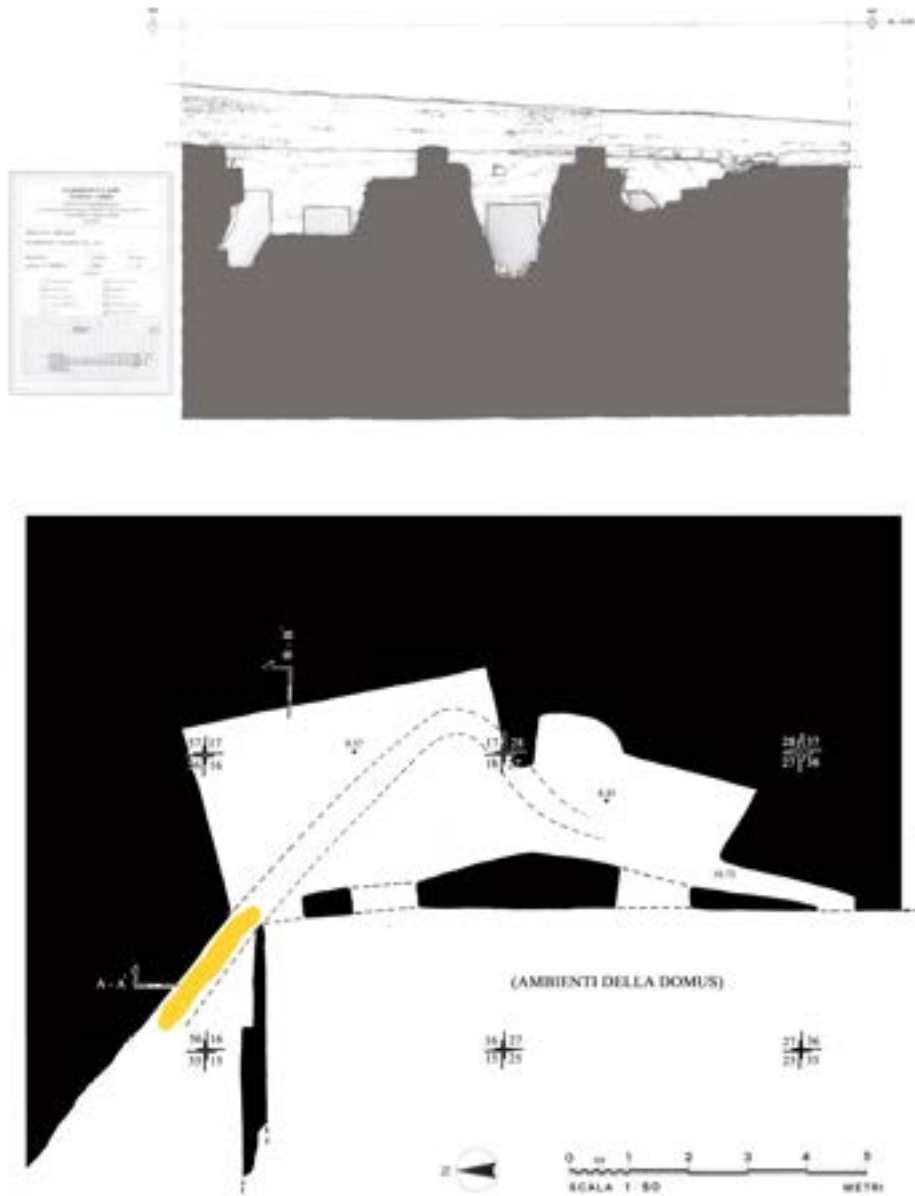


Fig. 6 : Paphos, Garrison's Camp. Hypogeic chambers I-II. © University of Catania, Archivio Ceramografico.

The later discoveries are the limestone pin of a door<sup>28</sup>, probably from the 5th century A.D., which dates back to the construction of a Christian domus on the ancient pagan sanctuary, and the final closure of the entrances and window of the two hypogeic chambers, walled up at the time of the construction of a large villa with mosaic rooms in the area above, and a coin found during the cleaning of the upper layer of hypogeum I, at the time of the entrance to the chambers themselves.

The excavation of these two closed hypogeic chambers has yielded extremely interesting data, and the finds in the excavated layers have allowed us to confirm that the hypogeic chambers were closed at the beginning of the 5th century AD, to trace the different phases of the sanctuary's life, and to identify different types of pottery: the most recent findings, which were found in the uppermost greyish layer, probably corresponding to the time when the hypogeic chambers were closed, date from the beginning of the 5th century AD.

<sup>28</sup> PUPPO 2010, p. 451, n. 63, tav. V.

The oldest discoveries in the two hypogean chambers, however, are the two Panathenaic prize amphorae mentioned above (fig. 7); they are only slightly more recent than a fragment of an Attic red-figure krater<sup>29</sup> found at the bottom of a votive pit, in which a female figure of Artemis (Agrotera<sup>30</sup>) (fig. 8) (with a quiver behind her shoulders and a kybotion in her hand) is clearly discernible, which our friend Jahn McPhee<sup>31</sup> has suggested dates between 410 and 370 BC, probably around 400-390 BC.

The Attic red figure fragment deserves special attention: it belongs to a krater<sup>32</sup> (perhaps a bell-krater) and we do not know when it arrived in Cyprus, whether it was the fruit of a second-hand trade or was consecrated in the sanctuary by a worshipper a few years after its creation in Athens, but it is precisely this fragment that I would like to draw your attention to, not only because of the possible cult of the pagan sanctuary, but also because of the implications of its chronology.

It is dated, as we have said, between 400 and 390 BC, before the presumed date of the foundation of Paphos, attributed to King Nicocles and dated to the last decade of the 4th century BC.

The closest comparisons for the dating and attribution of the fragment found in the 'Garrison Camp' to the Masters of the Athenian Kerameikos are vases from the circle of the Nikias Painter, the Semele Painter, the Pronomos Painter, the Meleager Painter and the New York Centauromachy Painter, all active in the late 5th and early 4th centuries BC.



Fig. 7 : Panathenaic Prize Amphora, two fragments. © University of Catania, Archivio Ceramografico.

The drawing of the head of the goddess Artemis on a krater attributed to the Semele Painter<sup>33</sup> (fig. 8a), found in Crete, is very close; it is also similar to the woman on a bell krater found in Mina and assigned to the Nikias Painter<sup>34</sup>. The anatomical details of the female figures are remarkably identical; compare especially the shape of the eye and eyebrow and the very pronounced lips and chin.

How can we explain the discovery of this fragment of a bell krater in the sanctuary, together with the fragments of a Panathenaic Prize amphora dating from around 340 B.C. and the numerous fragmentary cups, bowls and saucers of black-glazed Attic pottery from the early 4th century BC that were unsoiled during the 2016-2019 excavation campaigns<sup>35</sup> in the area immediately south of the entrance to the pagan sanctuary, under a new domus, where a votive bowl and the base of a thymiaterion<sup>36</sup> were also found?

29 GIUDICE 2010, p. 466-467, n. 174, fig. 12, tav. VI, n. 174.

30 On the cult of Artemis in Cyprus most recently see VERNET 2020, p. 149-151.

31 Communication by email dated 10-21-2023.

32 Krater, fr. of the belly; max. h. cm 1.3; w. cm 2.3; thickness cm 0.6. Pale beige-orange clay.

33 Athens, National Museum, inv. no. 1442, from Crete; BEAZLEY 1963, p. 1342, 2.

34 Aleppo, Museum without inv., from Mina; BEAZLEY 1963, p. 1333, 11.

35 Unpublished.

36 Unpublished, 2019 excavation.

There was certainly a 'settlement' before the official foundation of the city by Nicocles: the decisive proof is the discovery by the excavators of the House of Theseus, in the north-eastern sector of Paphos, of black-glazed Attic pottery with palmette decoration, dated to the end of the 5th century BC, under the oldest floor of the villa<sup>37</sup>.

It is possible that the sanctuary in the 'Garrison Camp' predates the official foundation of the city by Nicocles<sup>38</sup>, that it reused, and sometimes repurposed, hypogean structures from pre-existing necropolises, as already hypothesised by Prof. Młynarczyk<sup>39</sup>, and that its use as a sanctuary should therefore be linked not so much and not only to the official foundation of the city by Nicocles, but rather to the activity of its ports<sup>40</sup>, the southern and especially the north-western one, adjacent to the area of the 'Garrison Camp', and to the activity of the Kinyrad dynasty (of which Timarchos and his son Nicocles are the most illustrious representatives), aimed at trade between Cyprus, the Middle East, Rhodes and Pharaonic Egypt.

As in many Mediterranean sites, ports and sanctuaries seem to have been linked and frequented by merchants transporting goods from one side to the other, east to west and west to east, and the port is not always contemporary with the settlement. Examples such as Naukratis in Egypt, Locri in Magna Graecia, Erice in Sicily, Gravisca in Etruria explain this phenomenon.

Unfortunately, the cult practised at Toumballos has so far escaped detection; it has been attributed to Apollo on the basis of the similarity of the hypogean chambers to those of the sanctuary of Apollo Hylates<sup>41</sup>, discovered in the eastern part of Kato Paphos. In any case, the mysterious nature of the cult is not lost on anyone. The dark subterranean chambers, lit only by narrow skylights in the centre of the ceiling, must have been illuminated by the torches of the initiates who completed the long process of initiation.

As far as material evidence is concerned, in addition to the numerous Hellenistic-Roman ceramics, the finds from the votive pits next to the dromos seem to be of some importance. These include a small fragment of black varnish on which can be read  $\omicron\lambda\lambda$ <sup>42</sup> or, the torso of a marble statuette<sup>43</sup>, the discovery of a small votive scissors<sup>44</sup>, a gold earring of fine workmanship<sup>45</sup> and a gold ring with a horse protome<sup>46</sup>, a small terracotta staff with coiled serpents<sup>47</sup>, which seems to refer to Asclepius, son of Apollo.

In addition, there is a limestone relief<sup>48</sup>, unfortunately without context, because it came from the excavated area, but was reused in a house adjacent to the excavated area and subsequently confiscated by the Cyprus Antiquities Department, which may allow us to formulate some hypotheses.

(E.G.)

As previously stated, one of the main problems relating not only to the sanctuary area of Toumballos, but to the entire ancient city concerns the identification of the cults that were practiced there. This is

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37 MŁYNARCZYK 1990, p. 75-76.

38 See about MŁYNARCZYK 1990, p. 66 ss. ; VITAS 2016, p. 241-248 ; BALANDIER 2020, p. 147-156.

39 MŁYNARCZYK 1990, p. 90.

40 MISZK & PAPUCI-WŁADYKA 2017, p. 1-20 ; SEIFERT & BABUCIC 2018, p. 142-149.

41 PAPAGEORGHIOU 1989, p. 59-61 ; MŁYNARCZYK 1980, p. 239-252 ; MŁYNARCZYK 1985, p. 69-72 ; MŁYNARCZYK 1990, p. 76-84 ; MICHAELIDES 2008, p. 29-61 ; BALANDIER 2011-2012, p. 657-669.

42 GIUDICE 2010, p. 464 and 482, n. 156, pl. VI.

43 MALFITANA 2004, p. 311-312, I, pl. V, 1-3.

44 GIUDICE, GIUDICE & GIUDICE 2017, p. 104-105, fig. 6 (XXIII campaign).

45 MALFITANA 2004, p. 312, I2, pl. VI, 7.

46 GIUDICE, GIUDICE & GIUDICE 2017, p. 104-105, fig. 6. *RDAC* 2013-2014 cds. (XIV campaign).

47 Unpublished.

48 Paphos, District Museum, inv. no. ΜΠ 1416. Architectural frame. Figured sandstone relief from the sanctuary of Toumballos area. MŁYNARCZYK 1990, p. 231.

partially due to the lack of sufficient data from the completed research. In fact, the topography of the ancient city is burdened by interpretative problems due to the fragmentary knowledge which precludes the possibility of attempting an alternative reconstructive hypothesis. In 1972, the remains of an unpublished temple were brought to light on the Fanari hill, perhaps the city's acropolis. It is perhaps a peripteral temple with an EW axial development, on a crepidome of seven steps<sup>49</sup>.

The Hellenistic temple, certainly restored or rebuilt after the construction of the adjacent Roman *odeum*, must have been in a key area of the city and located not far from the identified *strategos* palace. It would therefore be important to our understanding of the site to identify the deity worshipped here although there is not currently enough data to draw any definitive conclusions.

Even the identification of two other temples in the urban area that were certainly built in the Hellenistic age, the temple of Aphrodite and the temple of Artemis Agrotera, were both attested in Nea Paphos by sources although they were identified in a dubious manner<sup>50</sup>. The latter must certainly have been an important cult centre, although scholars have expressed doubt about its survival in the Hellenistic and Roman ages<sup>51</sup>.

This framework of uncertainties also regards other important sanctuaries on the island such as that of Apollo Hylates in Kourion and that of Aphrodite in Amathous. Both these sanctuaries are united by the fact that they were the seats of very ancient cults which then experienced a revival in the early Imperial age; the construction of the temple and other buildings of the sanctuary, however, obliterated the previous phases of the Hellenistic age<sup>52</sup>. In this highly incomplete picture, the sanctuary of Toumballos poses further questions, having been excavated in the 1950s and lacking any scientific documentation that could provide a more accurate overview. Filippo Giudice speculates that the subterranean sanctuary may have been the seat of one or possibly more cults based on some discoveries from the site including: a ceramic fragment with the inscription  $\omicron\lambda\lambda$  to be integrated with Apollo, perhaps a dedication to the god, and a fragment with a depiction of Artemis with *kaunos*<sup>53</sup>.

The fragment according to Giudice, could be a clue for the identification of the local *Artemision* although this is known only from literary sources; the two divine twins would have been venerated jointly in the underground rooms of the sanctuary, perhaps providing evidence to suggest that it was the site of a mystery cult. Other data that support the cult of Apollo hypothesis can be suggested by the association with Asclepius, his son. The aforementioned staff of Asclepius, and the superimposition on the Asclepius cult of that of St. Hilarion of Gaza who was known in the Middle Ages for his gifts as a thaumaturge<sup>54</sup>, suggest a possible link to a 'medical' cult of Apollo; this, however, remains a hypothesis due to the lack of corroborative data. On the other hand, it cannot be ruled out that the cult of Asclepius and Hygieia attested on the island in the Proto-Imperial age could be in continuity with these attestations, as demonstrated by some epigraphic sources.<sup>55</sup>

The cult of Apollo in Roman times is testified by a marble inscription with an oath of loyalty to Tiberius, dated to 14 AD. Made in Nikoklia, not far from Paleapaphos, Cypriot deities such as Aphrodite,

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49 MEYNARCZYK 1990, p. 204 and 1996, p. 196. On the identification of the city's acropolis, see the recent BALANDIER & MEYNARCZYK 2021, p. 43-70.

50 MEYNARCZYK 1990, p. 192-193, n. 247, n. 140.

51 MITFORD 1990, p. 2182.

52 In general see WRIGHT 1992, p. 365. On the sanctuary of Amathonte see HERMARY & SCHMID, 2021.

53 GIUDICE, GIUDICE & GIUDICE, 2017, p. 62.

54 GIUDICE & GIUDICE 2001, p. 143-164.

55 MITFORD 1990, p. 2178- 2183 ; see also Mitford 1980, p. 1372-1373.

Kore, Apollo, Dioscuri, and Hestia are mentioned in the inscription<sup>56</sup>. Młynarczyk underlined how the cult of the deities mentioned in the early Imperial inscription must have already been rooted in Nea Paphos in the Hellenistic period<sup>57</sup>, the divinities are in fact accompanied by the possessive *ἡμέτερος* with an ethical value.

In the inscription, the Dioscuri are distinguished from the other divinities by the fact that they are defined not only *τοὺς ἡμετέρους* but also *σωτήρας*. This name, perhaps linked to their role as patrons and therefore protectors of navigation<sup>58</sup>, would be easily understandable in the context of a coastal city with an important harbour such as Nea Paphos. Moreover, the cult of Castor and Pollux, variously attested in Cyprus, was certainly introduced to the island in the Hellenistic age by Queen Arsinoe II<sup>59</sup>. Other archaeological evidence has also been suggested to support the existence of this cult in the Nea Paphos area with examples such as a terracotta medal from a Hellenistic house to the west of the House of Dionysus which has been dated to the early 1st century and depicts the Dioscuri. This object has been identified by the characteristic headdress (*pilos*) with a female figure, probably representative of Helen<sup>60</sup>. Another object, a frame, carved from local stone depicts two figures, possibly a woman and a knight, although this find has been difficult to interpret. This object, currently being studied<sup>61</sup>, carries some interpretative problems useful for the debate surrounding the form of worship conducted in the city. The frame (fig. 9), which is currently kept at the Archaeological Museum of the Paphos District (inv. MII 1416), was found in the area of the Toumballos sanctuary in the 1950s. Due to the nature of the archaeological investigation in the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century, there is only a brief description of the object that was found inside the hypogeum which is now lacking a known find location and any stratigraphic context<sup>62</sup>.



**Fig. 8a** : Attic Red-figured bell-krater, fragment. © University of Catania, Archivio Ceramografico.



**Fig. 8b** : Attic Red-figured bell-krater, Athens NM 1442. © University of Catania, Archivio Ceramografico.

<sup>56</sup> MITFORD 1960, p. 75-79 ; MICHAELIDOU, NICOLAU, 1971, p. 28, tab. 34 ; *SEG XVIII*, 578.

<sup>57</sup> MEYNARCZYK 1990, p. 145-146.

<sup>58</sup> BASTA DONZELLI 1984, p. 311.

<sup>59</sup> For bibliography on the worship of the Dioscuri Saviors see MEYNARCZYK 1990, pp. 145-146, n. 242; most recently BARNARD 2003, p. 73.

<sup>60</sup> NICOLAU 1970, p. 75, tab. 22, fig. 20 ; see also QUEYREL 1985, p. 324, n. 27 and HERMARY 1986, p. 579, n. 148.

<sup>61</sup> GIUDICE & FUDULI, forthcoming.

<sup>62</sup> The news of the opening of the underground environments is in *ARDA* 1958, p. 16.

Due to her work in Nea Paphos III, Jolanta Młynarczyk, concluded that it could not be relied upon to provide any direct evidence of cult practices at the sanctuary due to the lack of an archaeological context. The scholar's caution is warranted due to the lack of contextual information from its recovery and the fact that the entire area has been disrupted by seismic events, spoliation, and the reuse of materials, all of which have considerably altered the stratigraphy of the site. However, the possibility that the object belonged to one of the buildings that once stood in the ancient city cannot be completely ruled out either. If this is the case, it could be a highly relevant element for our knowledge of an area on which there are currently numerous questions that have yet to be answered from a historical-archaeological perspective. Therefore, a complete analysis must be conducted both from an architectural point of view, providing a stylistic and iconographic framework, and from an object study viewpoint to analyse the frame, which remains a rare find in the considered area.



**Fig. 9 :** Frame from Toumballos, Paphos, Archaeological Museum of the Paphos District (inv. MΠ 1416).

The moulding sequence of the sub-frame links the fragment to the Alexandrian tradition, particularly when compared to a group of frames with simple consoles and dentils, which show the same

sub-frame sequence of rectangular dentils and double cavetto and a smooth crown and sloping *taenia*<sup>63</sup> on the upper part. In the frame from Nea Paphos, the ceiling decorated with consoles of Alexandrian models is replaced by a figurative field. If the mouldings are in sequence, together with the dimensions of the dentils whose depth is less than the height<sup>64</sup>, they could provide data on which to reflect in relation to the origin of the models. The replacement of the ceiling decoration with brackets and the insertion of the figured field constitutes a significant variant which could be considered the result of local experimentalism, already evident in the context of the architectural decoration of Nea Paphos<sup>65</sup>. Currently, no convincing comparisons are known, i.e., frames that present the same sequence of mouldings on which a figured field is superimposed, neither from Alexandria nor from Cyprus, which could contribute to defining the fragment as an element resulting from skilled craftsmen, certainly linked to workers who arrived from Egypt with the Ptolemaic court.



Fig. 10 : Detail of the frame from Toumballos, Paphos, Archaeological Museum of the Paphos District (inv. MΠ 1416).

In the almost total absence of data, we have attempted to interpret the two carved figures in the context of the known divinities whose cult is attested in the ancient city. It is unlikely that the male figure identifies with the Thracian warrior<sup>66</sup>, mainly because this figure is almost always depicted on horseback and not on foot next. In addition, specific attributes are missing (Fig. 10)<sup>67</sup>. Equally unlikely is the interpretation that it represents figures such as Helios and Selene who are closely linked to the Thracian warrior<sup>68</sup>. This is because of the absence of attributes referring to the luminous sphere of the divinities.

Another theory worth considering was proposed by Młynarczyk, which compares the iconography of the relief to that of the Dioscuri. Castor and Pollux appear in a standing position next to the horse with their hands on its bridle. This is an image that features widely in vase paintings and reliefs starting from the late Classical age<sup>69</sup>. This description allows us to compare the scene of our relief to iconography that was established in the late Hellenistic age, which features two male figures with horses alongside a goddess in a central position<sup>70</sup>; this figure has been a topic of many debates and interpretations from

63 PENSABENE 1993, cat. 884-886A.

64 PENSABENE 1993, p. 104-107.

65 FUDULI 2015, p. 78-79.

66 This proposal is already in MEYNARCZYK 1990, p. 231, n. 307.

67 For the iconography of the Thracian knight with goddess see also CHAPOUTHIER 1936, p. 281-286 ; WILL 1959, p. 445-446 ; GOČEVA 1994, p. 68-69.

68 MEYNARCZYK 1990, p. 231, n. 307.

69 HERMARY 1986, p. 571, n. 27-32 ; III 2, 27, 31, 30.

70 HERMARY 1986, p. 593.

scholars. The identification with Helen, proposed by Chapouthier on the basis of previous studies<sup>71</sup>, has most recently been reinterpreted by Hermary<sup>72</sup>, suggesting the possibility that it could be *Artemis Orthia*. This interpretation, however, has problems when subjected to iconographic analysis.

First of all, the lack of common attributes (the *pilos* or the star) usually allows for a precise identification of a male character as Dioscurus. Conversely, analysis of the available documentation also highlights many cases in which the figures are not accompanied by attributes that allow us to decode the characters represented, yet have still been hypothetically identified as Dioscuri on the basis of the iconographic composition<sup>73</sup>. Furthermore, the absence of a spear or other attributes may be due to the narrowness of the figurative field which limited the craftman in his selection. Various representations have been discovered where the Dioscuri are arranged on either side of a female figure and always on horseback.

The iconographic scheme appears recognizable on a relief from Pisidia, which was dedicated in the 1st century AD from Lucius Aelius Fronto to the Dioscuri. In this depiction, the *cuirassée* Dioscuri appears next to the horse, held by the bridle, with a central female figure wearing a himation and *velato capite*; this figure has been interpreted as Helen. Although the proximity to the Paphian relief is very evident, the relief from Pisidia represents a unicum and does not allow us to be certain that it is possibly an older iconographic scheme, replicated in the 1st century AD.

In analysing the fragment from a technical viewpoint and considering that there is no evidence to suggest how large the fragment may have been or how it was placed alongside other blocks, two other hypotheses have been suggested. The narrowness of the figurative field could have led to a four figure group combining a female figure on one side with a male figure on foot and on the other side with a figure that has since been lost. We also cannot exclude that it could represent Latona with Apollo and Artemis. If this is indeed the case, it would provide strong evidence to support the hypothesis of the cult of two deities that were worshipped jointly, as attested in Nea Paphos.

Due to the complexity of the building plan, it is not unlikely that multiple cults may have existed there as already hypothesized for the sanctuary of Nea Paphos. Furthermore, if the relief may indeed be ascribed to the sanctuary, it could have been part of a representation of multiple deities, possibly a *Dodektheon*. However, representations of the twelve gods with the Dioscuri next to the horse are not common. The only known example comes from Germany and dates to more than two centuries after such a relief would be dated.

The uncertainties weighing on the topography of the city do not allow us to affirm that the hypogeal sanctuary was located in a peripheral area but certainly that the building was designed or adapted according to the cults practised in it. The hypotheses formulated so far, some of which are based upon insufficient evidence with fragmentary data, can only be upheld or invalidated by future archaeological research on the site.

During the conference debate, an interesting suggestion emerged regarding the possible identification of the female figure with Queen Arsinoe herself<sup>74</sup>, who, as mentioned above, introduced or at least consolidated the cult of the twins in Nea Paphos. The identification of Arsinoe with Helen

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71 CHAPOUTHIER 1936, p. 127-151. For further bibliography see, ROBERT 1983, p. 555-556.

72 HERMARY 1986, p. 593. Robert conducts a long examination of the iconographic documentation known from Asia Minor, cf. ROBERT 1983, p. 568-569.

73 In this regard, see Chapouthier who dedicates a chapter to goddesses without attributes accompanied by knights who in the majority of cases are similarly without attributes, CHAPOUTHIER 1936, p. 23-36. The lack of an identifying attribute occurs in some examples that present the pattern of the Dioscuri alongside their horses, cf. HERMARY 1986, p. 571, no. 30-33.

74 Thanks to prof. Giorgio Camassa.

occurs in Theocritus' *Idyll* XV in which queen Arsinoe is *Helenaë similis*, probably inheriting in the poetic imagination, the royal or divine characters and the protectorate over navigation, shared with the divine brothers<sup>75</sup>. If this interpretation were to be confirmed in the figurative tradition, the relief would certainly constitute an important testimony of the Ptolemaic period of Cyprus; only the ongoing study will be able to shed light on this aspect<sup>76</sup>

(L.F.)

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<sup>75</sup> BASTA DONZELLI 1984, p. 306-316.

<sup>76</sup> See GIUDICE & FUDULI, forthcoming.

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