

**Sabine Rogge
Christina Ioannou
Theodoros Mavrojannis
(eds.)**



Salamis of Cyprus

**History and Archaeology
from the Earliest Times
to Late Antiquity**

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Salamis of Cyprus

History and Archaeology from the Earliest Times to Late Antiquity

Conference in Nicosia, 21–23 May 2015



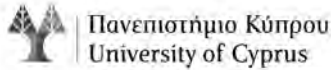
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Pictures on the pages 443 (capitals of the temple of Zeus Olympios) and 569 (Basilica of Campanopetra): Sabine Rogge

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*For Vassos
and in memory of Jacqueline*

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Abbreviations

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AE	L'année épigraphique
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung
ANRW	Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt
AntCL	L'antiquité classique
AntJ	The Antiquaries Journal
AP	Archaeological Reports
ArchCl	Archeologia classica
ASAtene	Annuario della Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente
BAAL	Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaises
BABesch	Bulletin antieke beschaving. Annual Papers on Classical Archaeology
BAR	British Archaeological Reports. International Series
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
BCH	Bulletin de correspondance hellénique
BCom	Bullettino della Commissione archeologica comunale di Roma
BE	Bulletin épigraphique
BHG	Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca
BICS	Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London
BSA	The Annual of the British School at Athens
BSR	Papers of the British School at Rome
CCEC	Cahiers du Centre d'Études chypriotes
CIG	Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum
CIL	Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum
CIPhil	Classical Philology
CMS	Corpus der minoischen und mykenischen Siegel
CPJ	Corpus papyrorum Judaicarum
CRAI	Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres
CVA	Corpus vasorum antiquorum
DNP	Der Neue Pauly. Enzyklopädie der Antike
DOP	Dumbarton Oaks Papers
EGF	Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta
FHG	Fragmenta historicorum Graecorum
FGrHist	F. Jacoby, Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker
HEROM	Journal on Hellenistic and Roman Material Culture
Historia	Historia. Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte
ICS	O. Masson, Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques. Recueil critique et commenté (Paris 1961; Paris 1983 [réimpr. augm.])
IEJ	Israel Exploration Journal

IG	Inscriptiones Graecae
IGR	Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes
IJO	Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis
ILS	H. Dessau, Inscriptiones Latinae selectae (Berlin 1892–1916)
IstMitt	Istanbuler Mitteilungen
JASc	Journal of Archaeological Science
JdI	Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts
JHS	The Journal of Hellenic Studies
JMedA	Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JRA	Journal of Roman Archaeology
JRS	The Journal of Roman Studies
ΚυρSp	Κυπριακαί Σπουδαί
LIMC	Lexicon iconographicum mythologiae classicae
LTUR	Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae
MEFRA	Mélanges de l'École française de Rome. Antiquité
MemLinc	Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Memorie
ÖJh	Jahreshefte des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien
OGIS	W. Dittenberger, Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae (Leipzig 1903–1905)
OpArch	Opuscula archaeologica (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska institutet i Rom)
OpAth	Opuscula Atheniensi
PBF	Prähistorische Bronzefunde
PG	Patrologia Graeca
PIR	Prosopographia Imperii Romani
PraktArchEt	Πρακτικά της εν Αθήναις Αρχαιολογικής Εταιρείας
RA	Revue archéologique
RDAC	Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus
RE	Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft
REG	Revue des études grecques
RendLinc	Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Rendiconti
RendPontAc	Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Rendiconti
RivStFen	Rivista di studi fenici
RM	Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung
RNum	Revue numismatique
RPC	Roman Provincial Coinage
SCE	The Swedish Cyprus Expedition
SEG	Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum
SIMA	Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology
TAM	Tituli Asiae Minoris
ZPE	Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik

Preface

On a sweet spring afternoon in Nicosia in April 2014, when discussing with Vassos Karageorghis the history and archaeology of Cyprus, its past, present and future, we also mentioned our wish to organise a symposium in Nicosia in order to bring together people, whose research area is Cyprus. Vassos Karageorghis, the host of this meeting, at once suggested to focus on Salamis and celebrate the five decades of excavation and research work of the French-Cypriot team on that site (the joint enterprise had started in 1964).

The conference held in the island's capital in May 2015 was not the first conference on that topic: In 1978, four year after the Turkish invasion, which meant the abrupt end of the excavations in Salamis and the loss of this most significant archaeological site for further archaeological investigations, the first international symposium on Salamis was held in Lyon. The scientific and academic community, which had been working in Salamis before the invasion and had brought to light all the splendour of that city (city-kingdom), met in Lyon in a very sad and emotional atmosphere. The publication of the archaeological finds gave the opportunity to keep the interest in Salamis alive, and although the area was no longer accessible, everyone could continue with her/his studies on the history and archaeology of that most important and impressive site on Cyprus.

The objective of the organizers of the 2015 symposium was to start a new scientific discussion on Salamis by paying particular attention to the younger generation of scholars. They should be given the opportunity to get in touch with those, who have had a very direct 'dialogue' with the area of Salamis. The symposium held in Nicosia in 2015 was a success, and a most productive dialogue on Archaic, Classic, Hellenistic, Roman and Byzantine Salamis resulted from the attempt to connect the old generation of scholars with the new one. The deplorable current situation of Salamis was a major issue during that conference, and the need to continue the scholarly work on Salamis was emphasised as well.

We will close with a wish and a hope: We *wish* that this was the last conference on Salamis under the present political situation and we *hope* that the conference held in 2015 will prove to have been a catalyst for others to join us in our attempt to internationally reveal the importance of Salamis and of the entire island of Cyprus.

Christina Ioannou & Theodoros Mavrojannis
Nicosia, spring 2019

Acknowledgements

The conference ‘Salamis of Cyprus. History and Archaeology from the Earliest Times to Late Antiquity’, was an attempt to put Salamis of Cyprus back on the agenda of an international scientific discussion by presenting new evidence and scientific studies, which addressed both its history and its archaeology. Through Cyprus’ most prominent archaeological site – ancient Salamis – the multicultural nature of the island’s ancient history was again brought to light.

Realising this project also meant to overcome a number of challenges – and this required immense efforts from certain individuals and institutions to which we are extremely grateful.

First of all, much gratitude goes to Professor Vassos Karageorghis for his belief in the significance of our endeavour and his advice throughout the formulation of the project.

Dr. Charalampos Bakirtzis is the second person we would like to thank – for the stimulating dialogue that we had at the very beginning of our ‘journey’.

We would also like to express our thanks to the Dean of the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Cyprus, Professor Michalis Pieris, for his strong support of our endeavour.

Our profound thanks go to the Rector of the University of Cyprus, Professor Constantinos Christophides, whose unwavering belief in our effort and continuing commitment were greatly appreciated.

Two members of the Cypriot Government, Mr. Prodromos Prodromou and Mr. Nikos Christodoulidis, receive our highest praise; they have always been willing to help us and have also been a source of encouragement from the outset.

We thank in particular Professor Marguerite Yon, who worked for countless hours, demonstrating extreme dedication to our project and always displaying collegiality. She furthermore was involved in the editing process of the papers written in French – a most precious contribution regarding the realisation of this book.

In addition, we would like to express our great appreciation to Dr. Thomas Kiely for his assistance. He has been willing to give his time most generously during the process of organising the conference, but also later, when – during the editing process – the expertise of a British native speaker was needed from time to time.

Another ‘helping hand’ during the editing process was Dr. Thorsten Kruse (Institute of Interdisciplinary Cypriot Studies, University of Münster), who must be thanked as well.

Finally, we are greatly indebted to our external sponsors: firstly, to the Anastasios G. Leventis Foundation for its generous endorsement of this project, which reflects once more the foundation's commitment to the history and archaeology of the island and, secondly, to the Government of the Republic of Cyprus, whose financial support has made the publication of the conference proceedings possible.

Last but not least, we thank the Phileleftheros newspaper for their technical support and for the advertisement of the conference.

A final thank you goes to all the participants of our conference, who generously offered their ideas in the spirit of a fruitful exchange of opinions rather than in sterile confrontation.

Christina Ioannou, Theo Mavrojannis & Sabine Rogge
in spring 2019

Address

by the Rector of the University of Cyprus

The greatest civilizations of Antiquity, which still determine the life of the Western world today, were gathered around the Mediterranean, a sea of major importance, the center of earth at the time.

Cyprus's prominent geographical position in the Eastern Mediterranean, as a gateway between the East, the West and the South, is reflected by the significant role the island played in ancient times.

When Professor Theodoros Mavrojannis and Dr. Christina Ioannou proposed setting up a conference focusing on the history and archaeology of one of the island's most significant archeological sites, Salamis, which is a prime example of the role and position held by Cyprus in the ancient world, we responded positively and worked at supporting this project.

It is with great pleasure and excitement that I salute this volume, as the capstone of a successful effort, and I am sure that it will prove to be a milestone in scientific research worldwide.



(Professor Constantinos Christofides, Rector)

Theo Mavrojannis

Introductory Remarks on Some ‘Questions’ about Salamis – Seen from the Historical Perspective

One may probably wonder, why we did not begin our conference on ancient Salamis with a paper on the myth of Teucros and the Mycenaean colonization – a paper delivered by a classical philologist. We did not do this, because we did not intend to add any kind of modern ideology to ancient history and to ideologies sometimes developed within ancient societies themselves. We cannot yet prove in all its consistency the written tradition about Teucros, son of Telamon, son of Aeacus, which begins to appear in the written sources about 470 BC – with Pindar. This is the reason why we put aside the details of the written tradition in relation to the archaeological evidence of the 12th/11th century BC. However, a chamber tomb of the Cypro-Geometric period with a *dromos* found in 1965 south of the much later temple of Zeus Olympios testifies that in the 11th century BC there must have existed a well-established seaside town in this area. Due to the substantial lack of reliable testimonies regarding Salamis’ early periods we only have an almost invisible thread for reconstructing the city’s past, its identity and what actually resulted from the dialectic relationship between Hellenism and the East, which shaped that city over the centuries. Therefore, questions like these need further investigation:

- Did the royal family of Salamis really descend from such glorious Greek ancestors, as we are told by Isocrates in his speeches, or was it a royal family of the periphery – with a faked genealogy?
- Was it, indeed, one of the most prestigious royal families, not only with regard to Cyprus, but the entire ‘Hellenentum’, as Georg Busolt would have said?
- What does this really mean for the city, of which only a small part is excavated until now, for its entire population, for the public monuments and the cults, for the external policy and the relations between Salamis and Athens on the one hand, and Salamis and the Persian Kingdom on the other?
- After all, how long does Salamis – the Cypriot ‘enclave’ within the civilizations of the Middle East – reach back into time?
- What was exactly the so-called privileged position of Salamis within the frontiers of the Assyrian Empire?

Some of these issues constitute the focus of the publications of Vassos Karageorghis, one of the most prominent classical archaeologists, throughout the past years. In Salamis he excavated Archaic, Hellenistic as well as Roman monuments. The very special relations between Salamis and Classical Athens were conceived by the brilliant intuition

of Jean Pouilloux, who was invited in Cyprus to give substance to the ‘Cypriot Speeches’ of Isocrates: Rarely is the archaeological evidence so lacking in comparison to the written tradition. The French excavations of the University of Lyon – resulting in the publication of nine precious books – also touched upon the Ptolemaic period of Salamis, which we know mainly from inscriptions. The Atticism in Salamis from the end of the 5th through the 4th century BC – that is from Evagoras I to Nicocreon, through Nicoles and Pnytagoras – still remains a great but unavoidable problem to be faced with. Since having published the book, entitled *Salamis – Homeric, Hellenistic and Roman*, V. Karageorghis has taken position from a historical point of view towards all arising archaeological problems by describing with accuracy every testimony of the past and promptly publishing it. It took him years to convince the international scholarly community that the sacrifice of horses on the *dromos* of the Archaic royal tombs perpetuated the Homeric burial customs known from the Iliad. As far as the earliest period is concerned, the isolation of the island from the Greek world during the formation of the city-states in the motherland from the 9th/8th century BC on cannot yet be detected without first defining the terms of the conception of ‘conservatism’ in the case of Cyprus and its relation to the transmission of the oral tradition, of the institutions worked out by the society of Salamis in Archaic times and of what we could call the ‘ideology of the material culture’.

- Indeed, what may we perceive with this conception of ‘conservatism’ for the élites, the aristocratic clans and the relatives of the Teucrids?
- What was the impact of the striking and heavy royal myth upon the whole of the society?
- How powerful was the Phoenician influence upon that society?

Cultural survival and continuity, as well as moments of ideological revival and intentional history, should have been alternating with periods of internal strength (that is strong power in the interior) and with periods of political or military interventions from abroad, thus restating the economic, social and even demographic conditions of Salamis. This is true for the Hellenistic period during the conflicts between Ptolemy and the Antigonids or, and especially, for the time when Salamis had been reconstructed – after the institution of the Roman province – in the form of a self-governing city within the universe of the Roman empire. In the 1st and 2nd centuries AD Salamis was a very rich city, which enjoyed all the privileges of the imperial peace and stability. But there is always the shadow of the Teucrids which calls on us to find a more precise, and more definite archaeological trace in the future – the Palace on the hill of Daemonostasion for example, as Professor Marguerite Yon first argued – a trace to be followed until the end of the life of the proper Roman city. This end is to be placed after the reign of Diocletian, in the time of Constantine. From this point we would have to move backwards to the beginning of this itinerary, in order to prove our statements. We are not, therefore, ready to formulate all the questions arising from the transformation of Salamis from a Pagan to a Christian city by the time of Constantius II up to years of the Emperor Heraclius. The monuments themselves – especially the great Basilica of Campanopetra excavated by Bruno Helly and published by Georges Roux – force us to rethink the history of the

Christianization of the Eastern Mediterranean and to relocate the place of Salamis in the formation of the early Christian values. We would mainly like to know the reasons, why Salamis was the centre of the autocephaly of the Cypriot Church, leading to the political independence of Cyprus from Antioch and Constantinople.

Some of the questions about Salamis put forward in these introductory remarks have been treated in the conference; and for some of these questions good and convincing answers have been presented – but we still have to notice that in most cases we cannot regard them to be conclusively answered. So, ancient Salamis will continue to be an attractive subject for further studies and the shifting of the Roman city towards Christianity constitutes still issues to be dealt with in depth in the future, as well.



Section I

Excavating at Salmis



Vassos Karageorghis

Excavating at Salamis: 1952–1974 Reminiscences and Remarks

I have spent a large part of my lifetime excavating at Salamis, dreaming about future work at Salamis, and since 1974 lamenting the fate of the beloved city. The excavations of the Department of Antiquities lasted for 22 years (1952–1974). I was there two or three months every year and when we started excavating in the Necropolis in the early 1960s Salamis became my second home. I was 23 years old when I was sent there, immediately after I had finished my studies in London. An enormous chance and an equally enormous challenge.

The archaeological site was situated in a forest of mimosas and eucalyptus, along the sandy beach of Salamis bay, with a strip of low land of meadows bordering the seashore, full of wild flowers during late winter and early spring. From the dig-house I could see the medieval monuments of Famagusta to the south; Enkomi and St. Barnabas were only a few miles away and not very far was the village of Trikomo where I was born. A perfect setting to spend the first years of any archaeological career. I realized from the first day I set foot on the soil of Salamis that my claim to field archaeology was very limited. The history of ancient Greek art, and the Greek and Latin texts I was taught at the University had little relevance to what I was facing in the field, to remove intelligently hundreds of tons blown sand and debris, to consolidate walls, to direct dozens of labourers to plan a complicate operation (Fig. 1). Salamis was my second school, I had to learn everything from scratch. I had several years of experience in the field participating in summer schools in England under Sir Mortimer Wheeler, but I continued learning, particularly from very able technicians and foremen from the Department of Antiquities. I was surrounded by friendly workers, several from my own village and the group of fans from Famagusta, particularly members of the teaching staff from the Greek gymnasium of Famagusta, who were regular visitors and supporter of what was happening at Salamis. Poets, painters, judges, teachers and businessmen were gathering in the afternoons at the site and the small dig-house which was built by the Forestry Department right on top of the remains of the baths of the gymnasium would become a cultural centre with discussing sessions lasting often until mid-night.

The long emotional outburst, I know, is quite unsuitable for the solemn occasion of the inaugural session of a scholarly symposium. My only intention is to tell you why Salamis is such a special excavation and deserves never to be forgotten. The brutal events of 1974 put an end to a happy undertaking, destroyed a dream and initiated a



Fig. 1 | View from the theatre to the gymnasium, where enormous quantities of sand had to be removed during the excavations.

never-ending lamentation. In 2007 I returned to Salamis incognito, for the purposes of a documentary film. I paid an entrance fee and revisited the site. It took me months to recover.

It is gratifying that the younger generations of archaeologists, some of whom were not even born when the excavation started, keep the memory of the ancient city alive. For them, like for most of us, this is not just another ancient site which was brought to light through excavation, it is a symbol which is linked with our identity and national pride. Before the excavation it was just a site for a picnic or a place where one could collect wild asparagus and mushrooms.

The excavation and what it brought to light happened at a most propitious time, after our island had gained its Independence and when we all needed a moral boost of self-identity, through a link with our past. Those who had the good fortune to attend the performance of Greek drama in the newly restored theatre of Salamis by the Greek National Theatre and the pupils of the Famagusta Greek gymnasium will understand the full meaning of what I have just pointed out. The excavation and restoration of monuments at ancient Salamis for the first time was not simply a government project,

it became an affair which concerned the whole of the town of Famagusta, the whole of Cyprus. We had material support from various citizens and companies, even from foreign visitors.

Marble statues of Greek gods and heroes were coming up to the surface from both the sites of the gymnasium and the theatre; Greek inscriptions were discovered praising the benefactors and officials of the Roman city. An inscription of late Roman date praised a local official who, with his laws and behaviour gave back to Cyprus its pristine glory. The Cyprus Museum in Nicosia and the Archaeological Museum of Famagusta opened their doors to receive dozens of marble statues. It was a joy to spend hours in the library identifying statues of Zeus, Apollo, Hera, Heracles, Meleager. My friend and colleague in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston Cornelius Vermeule shared with me his expert knowledge of Greek sculpture and we produced the first volumes of sculptures from Salamis. Terence Mitford and Ino Nicolaou produced one on the inscriptions from Salamis.

The blown sand which covered the city after its abandonment in the 7th century AD preserved the public buildings of the northern part of the site to a considerable height. The excavation and restoration of the gymnasium and the theatre created a spectacular, in fact the most spectacular ancient site in Cyprus (Fig. 2). Salamis was put on the archaeological and touristic map of the east Mediterranean, a site to be visited by hundreds of tourists from the Swan's tours, headed by my own teacher Sir Mortimer Wheeler, who never stopped mentioning to his tourists that the excavator of Salamis was trained by himself (Fig. 3)!

In 1965 we were joined by the French mission from the University of Lyon, under the direction of Jean Pouilloux (Fig. 3). The strengthening of the Salamis team and the extent of the excavation to the southern part of the city added a new, international dimension to the Salamis project. Together with Jean Pouilloux we were making grandiose plans which would make Salamis one of the most important archaeological sites in the Mediterranean, by expanding our excavation not only horizontally but vertically, to discover the Hellenistic, Classical and earlier phases of the city. This was not only possible but could be achieved quickly, considering our good human and material resources and the fact that the whole of the ancient site was in government hand. As I mentioned earlier this dream was destroyed in 1974.

The spectacular remains and numerous marble statues found at Salamis increased considerably the contribution of Salamis to the development of cultural tourism, but what gave this site a unique position in Mediterranean archaeology was the excavation of its necropolis. Already the discovery by the French mission of an 11th century BC tomb within the limits of the forest of Salamis, not far from its natural harbour, marked the early stages of the history of the city and confirmed mythical tradition about the foundation of Salamis by Greek heroes who returned from the Trojan War. It also elucidated the succession by Salamis of the nearby Late Bronze Age site of Enkomi. This new town by the sea, with its natural harbour, was destined to dominate among all other independent kingdoms of Cyprus from the 11th century BC onwards.

A chance discovery between the forest of Salamis and the Monastery of Saint Barnabas brought to light the architectural remains of a built tomb and much of its contents,



Fig. 2 | View of the excavations in 1973; clearly visible are the bath, gymnasium and theatre. In the foreground the newly built *peripteron* for the recreation of visitors.

dating to the 8th century BC, which was excavated in 1957 and published by Porphyrios Dikaios in 1963. Having realized the importance of the Salamis necropolis with its unique built tombs and burial customs I planned a systematic excavation as soon as I became Director of Antiquities and this plan was materialized within a few years with excavations of much of what became known as the royal necropolis and the rock cut tombs of ordinary people as site Cellarka. The archaeology of Cyprus in the Archaic period (8th to 6th centuries BC), which was hitherto considered a local, provincial affair, all of a sudden gained international respectability and was destined to enrich in a spectacular way what is known as ‘Homeric archaeology’. My own teacher, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, who was the director of the series *New Aspects of Archaeology* published by Thames and Hudson and translated in various languages, asked me to write a volume on *Salamis in Cyprus, Homeric Hellenistic and Roman* which was published in 1969. The majestic built tombs of the royal necropolis, though looted, yielded in their dromoi



Fig. 3 | Sir Mortimer Wheeler (second from left) during a visit of the French excavations in September 1968; behind him Jean Pouilloux, in front of him Jean Jehasse and Vassos Karageorghis.

funerary furniture and numerous other offerings of bronze, iron, ivory etc., which were unprecedented in the repertory of art and archaeology of Archaic Cyprus (Fig. 4). The discovery of chariot burials with the sacrifice of horses and in one case with human sacrifice, revealed funerary customs, which aroused vivid interest not only among archaeologists but also among Homeric philologists. The technicians of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities, with much skill and unique ingenuity, managed to unearth in perfect condition the metallic objects of Tomb 79, for example, the skeletal remains of horses and the impressions of the wooden parts of the chariots, which helped us to restore the chariots. I soon became conscious not only of the great privilege to bring to light this material (Fig. 5), but also of my heavy responsibility to publish it promptly for the benefit of all scholars who were eager to know more about it. All the material was brought to Nicosia for conservation (except for the large bronze cauldron with griffins and sirens, which was sent to the Laboratory of the Landesmuseum in Mainz [Germany]), for study, photography, drawing and publication. The last volume (III) of the series *Excavations in the Necropolis of Salamis* appeared in 1970. This was a gigantic task, but I was not alone. Numerous colleagues from all over the world were eager to help and advice in matters of their specialization: Edith Porada, Richard Barnett, Max Malloyan and all those who wrote appendices on skeletons of horses, on chariots, on syllabic inscriptions etc. I could have kept the material longer for a fuller study, to be able to say the last word, as many scholars often do. Just imagine for a moment, if some of



Fig. 4 | Tomb 79 at the end of the excavations (1966) with the objects found in the dromos *in situ*.



Fig. 5 | Carrying the bronze cauldron from Tomb 79 to the car, which will transport it to the Cyprus Museum in Nicosia.