


Fanari Hill in the Urban Plan of Hellenistic and Early Roman Nea Paphos and the Question of the ‘Two Akropoleis’ of Nea Paphos

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Abstract: The topography of ancient Nea Paphos features two hillocks, *Fabrika* and *Fanari*, that would provide a natural setting for buildings of some significance in the city’s life. Recent discoveries at *Fabrika* have identified its southern part as a sacred area of the Hellenistic and early Roman period. In contrast, *Fanari* hill remains virtually unexplored while there are reasons to believe that, beside housing another temple, it was the seat of the civil/military power of the Ptolemies. The aim of this paper is to re-examine all topographical and archaeological evidence related to the *Fanari* site and its role in the life of Nea Paphos.

Keywords: Hellenistic-Roman period Cyprus, Nea Paphos, topography, urban plan, *Fanari* hill, *Fabrika* hill, akropolis

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Nea Paphos, founded between c. 321 and 310 BC by the last Paphian king Nikokles,¹ became the seat of the *strategos* (the Ptolemaic governor of the island) probably at the turn of the third century or in the early second century BC. After the final fall of the Ptolemaic kingdom in 31/30 BC, the town continued to play the role of the island’s capital, this time as the seat of the Roman governor.²

A pioneering study on the topography of ancient Nea Paphos was published by Kyriakos Nicolaou, the nestor of Paphian archaeology, at the time when the ancient remains within the area of modern Kato Paphos could be relatively easily mapped.³ This important paper inspired the present author to undertake research on the Hellenistic phase of the town. A surface survey of the site of ancient Nea Paphos in the 1970s, combined with examina-

¹ Młynarczyk 1990: 67–73; for a recent discussion of the early history of the future town, see: Młynarczyk 2021: 556–562.

² Młynarczyk 1996: 200.

³ Nicolaou 1966.

tion of aerial photos and mapping of some sections of the Hellenistic streets discovered in the habitation quarter of *Maloutena* site, allowed us to propose the outlines of the original Hellenistic plan of Nea Paphos.⁴ That was clearly a ‘Hippodamean’ (‘Milesian’) foundation, typical of the Greek town-planning principles of the fourth century BC, subsequently applied in the early Hellenistic foundations in the East.⁵

Within the circuit of the Hellenistic city walls as mapped by Nicolaou,⁶ two natural hillocks, known by their modern site-names *Fabrika* and *Fanari*, provided a natural setting for any construction of a potentially prestigious nature (**Fig. 1**). They also enjoyed a strategic position within the town, both abutting the fortification line: *Fabrika* constituting the north-eastern limits of the town, and *Fanari* situated on the central-west border of Nea Paphos. One of the aims of the topographical research on Nea Paphos today should be a detailed comparative study of the respective function of the two sites in question and their historical development.

The hill of *Fabrika*, a large outcrop of calcarenite rock reaching 26m asl, initially served as a quarry for the construction of the town and its fortifications.⁷ The field research at the site was initiated in 2008 by a French team directed by Claire Balandier and is still continuing,⁸ while an Australian team presently headed by Craig Barker explored a theatre built against the south-eastern slope of the hill and established its original date as early as the fourth/third century BC, which made it the earliest theatre known so far in Cyprus.⁹ It is noteworthy that the theatre was virtually adjacent to the north-east city gate which marked the beginning of the sacred road to Palaipaphos during annual festivals to Aphrodite (Strabo, *Geog.* XIV.6.3). The joint French-Polish excavations conducted in the southern part of *Fabrika* above the theatre since 2018 has demonstrated that it was a vast sanctuary area of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods, consisting of several different elements.¹⁰ While street P of the proposed city grid of Nea Paphos was running along the southern side of the theatre (**Fig. 1:TH**) toward the north-east city gate, street R was ending at the western border of the theatre where an ascent led to the sanctuary area (**Fig. 1:SA**).

Rather surprisingly, the chronology of the finds from the sanctuary area on *Fabrika* strongly suggests that cultic activity had ceased there by the mid-second century AD, presumably due to the destruction of the sanctuary in an earthquake. If the temple, which was a focal point of the sacred area, was indeed dedicated to Paphian Aphrodite, who was a *polias* deity of both Palaipaphos and Nea Paphos,¹¹ it seems probable that instead of rebuilding the destroyed structure, the city decided to establish it in a new, more prestigious

⁴ Młynarczyk 1990: 160–177 and Fig. 16.

⁵ Młynarczyk 1990: 160ff. At present, the research on the urban grid is being continued by a joint mission of the University of Warsaw and the Jagiellonian University, Kraków.

⁶ Nicolaou 1966: Fig. 3.

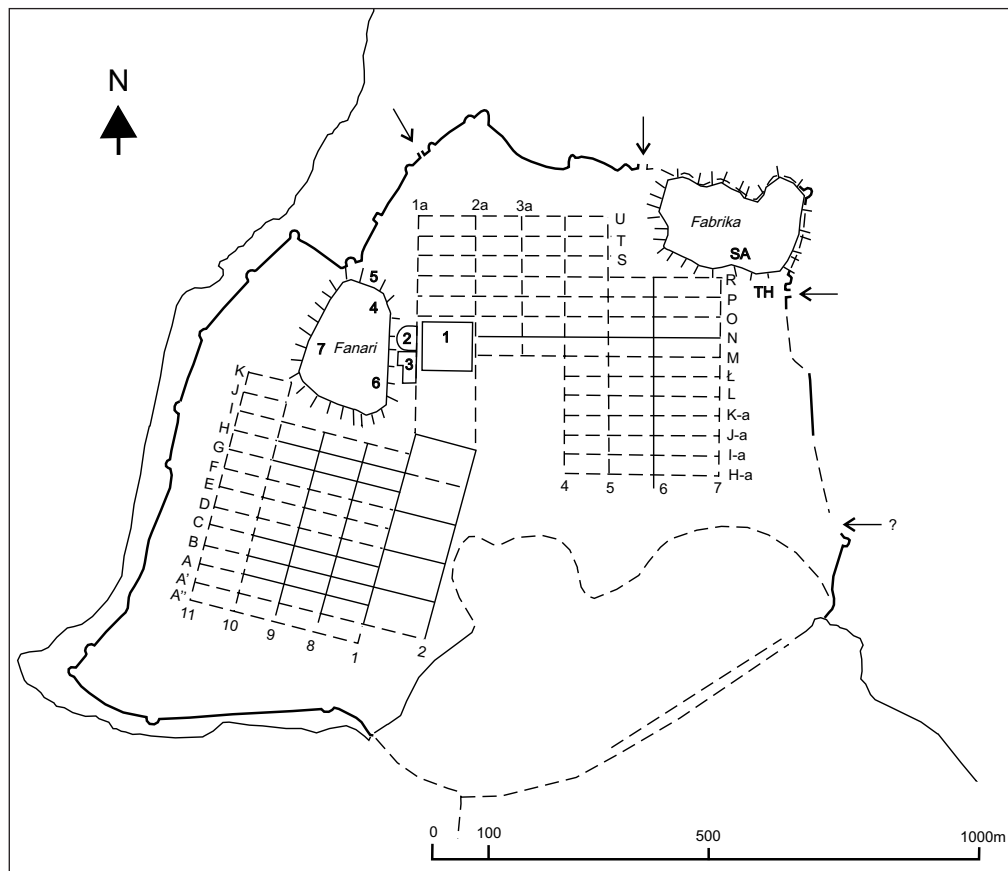
⁷ Bessac 2016.

⁸ Balandier, Młynarczyk 2021: 43 and n. 1.

⁹ Green, Barker, Stennet 2015: 321–323; Barker 2016: 94–95.

¹⁰ Młynarczyk 2020; Balandier, Młynarczyk 2021.

¹¹ Młynarczyk 2020: 67–68, 71–72.



1. Urban plan of Hellenistic Nea Paphos: 1. agora; 2. odeon; 3. so-called asklepion; 4. presumed sanctuary site; 5. remains of a gate(?); 6. possible palatial area; 7. cisterns and corridor(s); TH. theatre site at *Fabrika*; SA. sanctuary area at *Fabrika*; the arrows mark respective locations of the city gates (Drawing: M. Burdajewicz; based on: Młynarczyk 1990: Fig. 16; Papuci-Władyka 2020: Pl. 5).

location, i.e., closer to the centre of the town. After that, the area of the abandoned sanctuary became a place of industrial activity (i.e. glass production) during the middle Imperial period, while at the northern foot of the hill a mansion was built in the first century AD.¹²

Unfortunately, unlike *Fabrika*, in the case of the *Fanari* site we must rely on re-examining the hitherto existing evidence. Archaeological relics at the site have already been discussed in the past. This section of the paper aims at summarising the conclusions of previous research and expanding them by new topographical observations.¹³

¹² Balandier *et al.* 2018.

¹³ Nicolaou 1966; Młynarczyk 1990; 1996. Since then, *Fanari* hill as a temple site was discussed by Vörös 2006, and mentioned as the akropolis by Papuci-Władyka, Misk 2020: 505 and by Barker, Green 2021: 127 (the latter accompanied by very sketchy and inaccurate plan of the town).

Fanari is a low oval-shaped hillock (amounting to 20m asl), roughly 150m long and 80m wide, within the present-day archeological park of Paphos.¹⁴ Its name derives from the modern lighthouse (*fanari* or *faros* in Greek) built on its northern highest point in 1887 and still active today.¹⁵ The hillock is aligned on an NE-SW axis parallel to the seashore which marks the western border of the ancient town. Importantly, the presence of such a conspicuous landmark as *Fanari* seems to have been the reason of the bent applied to the urban grid and visible on the plan to the E-SE of *Fanari* (**Fig. 1**): while in the south-western part of Nea Paphos the street grid follows an NE-SW axis, in the remaining area of the ancient town it runs in a N-S (and an E-W) direction.

The site of *Fanari* was very rarely mentioned in the accounts of early researchers on Nea Paphos. Specifically, Eugen Oberhummer who visited the site in 1887 and 1891, described it as ‘Akropolis’ without, however, mentioning any ancient remains except for the ‘Amphitheater’ (apparently referring to what has been identified later as an odeon).¹⁶ Hieronymos Peristianes who referred to this place as ‘Faros’, and also mentioned a ‘small theatre’ (*mikron theatron*) to the south of it, suggested that the hillock might have been a place of the temple of Aphrodite.¹⁷ Actually, Peristianes lists four ‘*akropoleis*’ of Nea Paphos: the northern one which may be identified with the area around the site known today as Garrison’s Camp or *Toumballos*, the western (or the ‘main’) *akropolis*, which is *Fanari* hill, the southern one which should be identified with the southern part of the promontory known today as *Maloutena*, and the eastern *akropolis*, which is *Chavrika* (*Fabrika*), with the foundations of ancient buildings upon it.¹⁸

Unfortunately, unlike *Fabrika*, the *Fanari* hill has never been subject to regular field-work, except for the clearing of a rock-cut eastern crepidoma of a temple (**Figs 1:4, 2:T**),¹⁹ visible above the Roman-period so-called odeon and some rescue excavations, which remain unpublished and which will be discussed below. However, the importance of the site is evident both from the strategic point of view, the proximity of fortifications at their most defensible point and a northern bay that may have served as an emergency haven,²⁰ and the fact that it commanded the zone of the squares and complexes of public character situated at a low ground to the east of it: the agora quarter, currently excavated by the team of the Jagiellonian University,²¹ and extending all the way down to the harbor on the south-east.²²

A row of buildings along the eastern foot of *Fanari* hill were excavated by Nicolaou, specifically (from north to south): the odeon (*bouleuterion*?), the ‘asklepieion’, although

¹⁴ Cadastral plan: Sheet LI Plan 10 W 2: Paphos Town, Kato Paphos Quarter [Block D] surveyed by the Department of Lands and Surveys, Cyprus 1979. For the orthophotomosaic of the area of the archaeological park, see: Papuci-Władyka 2020: Pl. 7.1

¹⁵ Cf. Młynarczyk 1990: 51.

¹⁶ Oberhummer 1949: 949–950.

¹⁷ Peristianes 1910: 410, 417.

¹⁸ Peristianes 1927: 38–39.

¹⁹ Młynarczyk 1990: 202, and n. 179 with references to the short notes of the excavator.

²⁰ Młynarczyk 1996: 195–196.

²¹ See: Papuci-Władyka (Ed.) 2020.

²² According to Młynarczyk 1990: 212.

no satisfactory explanation was ever given for such identification, and the third equally monumental one, presumably a part of the 'asklepieion' (**Fig. 1:2–3**). They were dated to the first or second century AD.²³ Recently, however, a hypothesis has been posited regarding the possible origin of the whole complex in the late Hellenistic period, that is, concurrent with the earliest phase of the porticoed agora believed to have been constructed in the second half of the second century BC (**Fig. 1:1**).²⁴ Regardless of the chronology of this series of buildings, it is only before their construction that access to the top of *Fanari* was possible from the east. After that, the mound could be accessed by longitudinal streets 8 and 9 from the south, longitudinal street 10 from the west-southwest, and possibly through a gate in the north. Remains of a 'built gate' (that would lead to the akropolis) to the north-west of the lighthouse mentioned by Peristianes²⁵ were also described by Nicolaou²⁶ as foundations of three rectangular constructions parallel to each other, built of small, undressed stones held together with lime mortar. They are still visible today (**Figs 1:5, 3**) although they were much better preserved in the 1970s, when they were examined and measured by the author. At that time, the best preserved, easternmost, pier measured 7m in length and was 2.20m wide, while its core seemed to be built upon a layer of ashlar.

Except for the assumed gate, four elements characterise the role of *Fanari*: the site of a temple, the probable remains of a palace, sections of water supply system, and rock-cut passages of unclear function (**Fig. 1:4, 6–7**).

At the highest point of *Fanari*, close to the modern lighthouse, there is a site of a temple recognisable by an eastern crepidoma consisting of seven steps cut in the rock, c. 13–15m long (cf. **Fig. 2:T**).²⁷ The temple seems to have been built on an E-W axis, probably facing east. However, this observation is not certain: in a theoretical reconstruction by Gyula Istvánfi who emphasize the presence of a flat area right to the south of the lighthouse fence (**Fig. 2:GPR survey**), the long axis appears to be N-S.²⁸ Next to nothing can be said about the architectural order of the temple.²⁹ A proposed theoretical reconstruction of the temple as a Corinthian *peripteros* with granite columns is completely unfounded,³⁰ especially as regards the kind of building materials used in Hellenistic Paphos. Even more bizarre is Gyozo Vörös' supposition that the temple was dedicated to 'Aphrodite-Arsinoe-Isis' (by Ptolemy II?) and that Arsinoe's II reputation as the 'bad queen' gave it the name of *Kakobasilea*,³¹

²³ Młynarczyk 1990: 63 and n. 51 with references to the preliminary reports published by the excavator.

²⁴ Papuci-Władyka, Misk 2020: 505.

²⁵ Peristianes 1927: 39.

²⁶ Nicolaou 1966: 594 and Fig. 3:19.

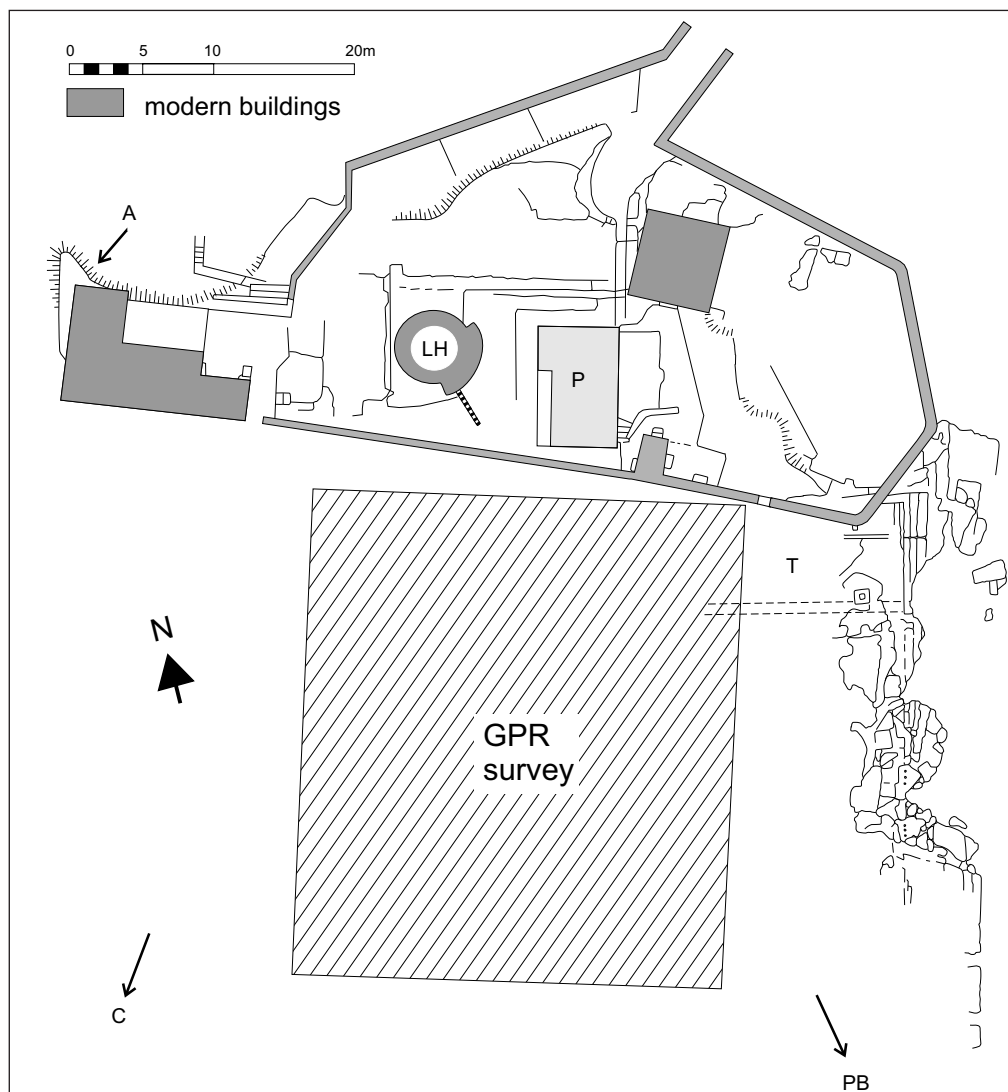
²⁷ Młynarczyk 1990: 201–204, Photos 47–48.

²⁸ Vörös 2006: Figs 8, 11.

²⁹ During the cleaning of the area below the rock-cut steps of the presumed crepidoma in 1972 by Nicolaou (see footnote 19 above), discovery of fragments of architectural elements of limestone and *stucco* were reported, but no samples of them were ever published.

³⁰ Vörös 2006: 305, Figs 11–15 and 21.

³¹ Vörös 2006: 300, n. 11. Arsinoe II not only did not have a bad reputation, but on the contrary, her popular cult was widely disseminated in Cyprus (Paphos included); see, e.g. Młynarczyk 1990: 116–120.



2. Situation plan of the northern part of *Fanari*, with the GPR survey area by Gyoza Vörös's team. From north to south: A. ashlar blocks seen under a modern building bombed in 1974; LH. lighthouse building; P. outline of dismantled modern building under which a piscina was found; T. location of the temple; PB. approximate location of the porticoed building (possible palatial area); C. approximate location of the underground cisterns and corridor(s) (Drawing: M. Burdajewicz; based on: Vörös 2006: Fig. 8).

a building mentioned in an anecdote about Pompey's landing in Paphos written down by Valerius Maximus (Val. Max. 9.1.5.6), while in fact it should refer to the *Fanari* palace (see below).

The fenced area of the modern lighthouse (**Fig. 2:LH**) with its accompanying buildings encroach upon what appears to be the north-eastern corner of the



3. Architectural remains, possibly of a gate, to the north of *Fanari* as seen from the south in 2021, with a modern viewing platform in the background (Phot. J. Młynarczyk).

temple.³² Inside the fence, many vertical and horizontal rock cuttings are visible, all in agreement with the alignment of the temple: they include three regular steps on the western side of a platform (perhaps an altar?) on which the lighthouse has been constructed. However, it is only after dismantling one of the modern buildings in recent years that the presence of a rectangular basin with a pebbled floor was revealed (**Fig. 2:P**). Its insignificant depth (c. 1m) suggests that it should be regarded as a piscina rather than a cistern, fed with water by rock-cut channels.³³ The localisation of this installation in the vicinity to the temple might perhaps point to its use in some religious rituals, parallelly to the use of the piscina of the so-called throne of Astarte in the temple of Sidon.³⁴ It should, however, be noted that neither the date of the presumed temple nor that of the piscina have ever been confirmed, and, therefore, it cannot be stated unequivocally that they are fully contemporary. Beside the piscina and several carefully worked rockcut surfaces, the fenced area revealed some architectural fragments of limestone, such as a cornice and bases with

³² See plan published by Vörös 2006: 299, Fig. 8.

³³ Personal observation of the author.

³⁴ Dunand 1969: 103–104.

column drums, some of the latter stuccoed and painted, all of them unpublished.³⁵ One may suppose that they were connected with the sanctuary area. A shell pit right to the north of the western cluster of the lighthouse premises, which resulted from a Turkish bombing in July 1974, exposed a vertically cut rock surface and ashlar blocks of an ancient building, its date obviously unknown, present under the foundations of the westernmost house (**Fig. 2:A**).³⁶

The question of a possible palace situated on *Fanari* has already been raised in the past,³⁷ based on the information published by Nicolaou with a photograph which showed column shafts standing and lying (apparently not *in situ*) on a pavement of stone slabs.³⁸ That was a picture of Trench B-C, one of the four trenches opened during some military works on *Fanari* in 1958–1959.³⁹ This trench was situated in the south-eastern part of the mound on a slightly lower ground than the temple site (**Figs 1:6, 2:PB**). Nearby Trench D revealed a small section of probably the same building. In both trenches, a stone-paved floor was reached at 1.20–1.40m below the present-day ground level, fragments of Doric and Ionic columns were reported, as well as sections of walls apparently following the same axis as the street/*insulae* grid in the *Maloutena* quarter (**Fig. 1**).

A short note published in 1958 announced that ‘important structures of the Ptolemaic period [were found] on the high ground immediately south of the lighthouse’ (...) ‘Below a stratum with buildings from the Roman period [there were] fluted column drums covered with stucco of an exceptionally fine quality and walls with brilliantly coloured stucco simulating drafted masonry’.⁴⁰ It should be noted that on the picture of Trench B-C published by Nicolaou both fluted and unfluted column shafts are recorded. Despite the backfilling of the trench, the tops of the latter were still visible in the 1970s, but just two of them can be seen today (**Fig. 4**).

On account of the remains of a monumental porticoed building uncovered in the above-mentioned two trenches (B-C and D), the present author forwarded a hypothesis about the palace of the Ptolemaic *strategoi* and kings, the latter while in exile in Cyprus, as having been situated in this part of *Fanari*.⁴¹ It should be recalled that Ptolemy VIII had already spent considerable time in Paphos during 131–130 BC, and very probably Ptolemy VI had stayed there before him in 163 and/or 154 BC, not to mention their successors: Ptolemy IX, Ptolemy X and the last ‘Ptolemy the king of Cyprus’.⁴² The etymology of the *Kakobasilea*

³⁵ Noted by the author in 2016.

³⁶ Personal observation of the author in 1975.

³⁷ Młynarczyk 1990: 204–206; 1996.

³⁸ Nicolaou 1966: 595–596 and Fig. 25, repeated by Młynarczyk 1990: Photo 49.

³⁹ Documentation consisting of sketchy plans and some photos has been deposited in the Record Office of the Cyprus Museum, encoded as ‘Paphos Town vol. I, Ant./D. 1958/38 K. Paphos LH 1958–1959’ to which I got access thanks to the kindness of the late Dr. Kyriakos Nicolaou. It seems, however, that no collective plan showing respective location of all the four trenches was ever made.

⁴⁰ Megaw (Ed.) 1958: 18. It should be noted that otherwise the report does not contain details on stratigraphy of the trench that would enable distinction between possible Hellenistic and early Roman phases.

⁴¹ Młynarczyk 1990: 204–206; 1996.

⁴² Młynarczyk 1996: 193.



4. The location of trench B-C of 1958 excavations with the temple crepidoma in the background; view from the south in 2016 (Phot. J. Młynarczyk).

building mentioned by Valerius Maximus as having been seen by Pompey the Great in 48 BC upon approaching Paphos by boat (doubtlessly from the west, that is, with a close view of *Fanari*) must have derived from a person of a bad king or from the king's bad luck,⁴³ which brings to mind the fate of Ptolemy, the last king in Cyprus who committed suicide in 58/57 BC and whose palace could hardly have stood anywhere else than on *Fanari*.

Of course, the monumental building's remains in trenches B-C and D were too fragmentary to enable one to comment on their plan, yet they might have been paralleled by the palatial peristyles at Pergamon⁴⁴ and the Palazzo delle Colonne in Ptolemais in Cyrenaica, the latter considered as the seat of a representative of the Ptolemaic civil administration.⁴⁵

⁴³ Młynarczyk 1996: 194 and n. 16.

⁴⁴ Akurgal 1969: 81.

⁴⁵ Rekowska 2020, with comprehensive discussion of functional parts of this *villa publica*.

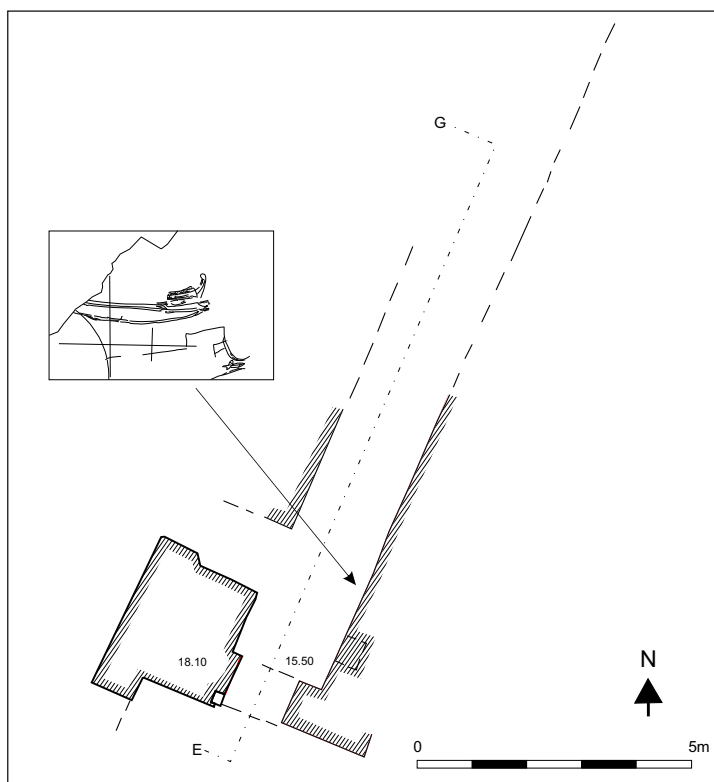


5. The outlet of an underground aqueduct under the temple crepidoma; view from the east in 2016 (Phot. J. Młynarczyk).

Another trench (Trench H-J) relates to the water distribution system (**Figs 1:7; 2:C**). It revealed an underground aqueduct tunnel 0.90m high and 0.55m wide with a channel on the floor for a water pipe. Running approximately NE-SW and traced for a length of 25m, it fed at least three interconnected underground cisterns (marked as K, L, M).⁴⁶ Excavators expressed a justified – in the present author’s opinion – view that ‘this may have been a part of the main Nea Paphos water supply system’. The three spacious cisterns, cut in the solid rock, were reportedly filled with debris containing a late Roman ceramic material, which may suggest a lengthy timespan of their use, if – as seems probable – the origin of the system goes back to the Hellenistic and/or early Roman period. To this, one can add the fact that below the presumed eastern crepidoma of the temple the outlet of an underground aqueduct can be seen (**Fig. 5**), doubtlessly directing the waters towards the east, namely toward the agora quarter. A siphon block, seen within the premises of the lighthouse, certainly belonged to this system of water distribution as well.

⁴⁶ For the plan, see: Młynarczyk 1996: 197–198, Fig. 5.

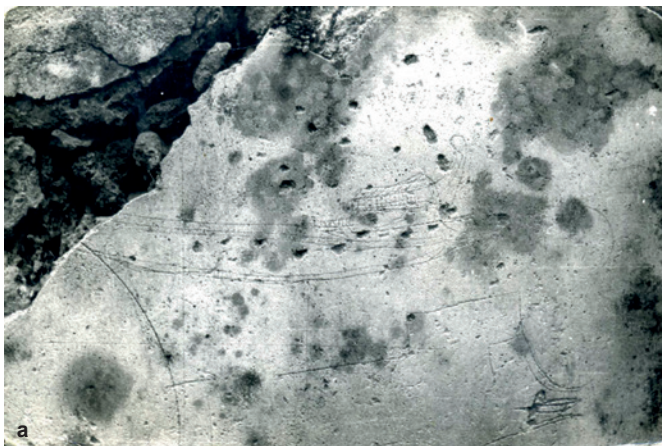
6. Trench E-G at the western slope of *Fanari* (Drawing: M. Burdajewicz; based on: field excavation records, encoded as: Paphos Town vol. I, Ant./D. 1958/38 K. Paphos LH 1958–1959).



The fourth trench of 1958, Trench E-G, ran along the mild western slope of *Fanari*, roughly parallel to the line of theoretical street 10 on the urban plan of the city (Fig. 1:7). It revealed the presence of a spacious passage (1.50m wide and 2.60m high) excavated for a length of 27m. The passage was cut in the rock, but in the places where the rock did not reach high enough, the wall was completed with ashlar blocks. At the southern end, a door led to an unexcavated room in the south, while another doorway (1.30m wide) provided access to the said corridor from the west (Fig. 6). The only find reported from this trench was a Ptolemaic coin.⁴⁷ To the left of the entrance to the southern room, a deep niche was carved in the rock wall. In several places of the passage there were also small niches for placing oil lamps, proving that the corridor was roofed and not open to the sky. All the vertical surfaces were carefully covered with white plaster, into which a *graffito* of a warship was scratched (Fig. 7). Actually, judging by the presence of two battering rams, the drawing seems to have been originally intended to depict two warships and not just one.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Cf. Młynarczyk 1990: Photos 51–52; 1996: 198.

⁴⁸ I am indebted to Prof. Michal Artzy of the Recanati Institute for Maritime Studies, University of Haifa, for this observation. A *graffito* of a warship and fragments of two others appear in one of the underground chambers in the lower city of Maresha, dated to the third-second century BC (Haddad, Stern, Artzy 2018: Figs 4, 6, 7).



7a-b. The *graffito* of warships at the southern end of Trench E-G
(a. Phot. Z. Doliński; b. drawing: M. Burdajewicz).

It is interesting to note that the drawing of the warships appears on the eastern wall of the corridor, exactly opposite the doorway opening onto the sea, as if someone was recording what could be seen while looking at the sea.

The function of the underground passage in question remains obscure; a possible, even if not exact, parallel to it may be seen in underground passages found at cape Lochias (*Selsileh* site) in Alexandria which was the area of the Ptolemaic palaces.⁴⁹ Another, although distant, parallel would be rock-cut passages and grottoes at the acropolis of Rhodes, probably connected with the cult of the nymphs.⁵⁰ However, the rock-cut corridor/passage at *Fanari* might rather relate to the provision of some sort of security to the palatial grounds. This supposition is reinforced by topographical factors: i.e., the proximity of the line of the city walls at the point where it abandons the edge of the natural cliff and turns southwards

⁴⁹ Adriani 1940: 38, Fig. 12, no. 2; cf. Młynarczyk 1996: 198 and n. 41.

⁵⁰ Konstantinopoulos 1968: 118–119; Rice 1995.

to continue on the flat area all along the seashore down to the harbour (**Fig. 1**). As a matter of fact, in the early twentieth century Peristianes recorded the presence of 'artificial wide fortifications leading to the harbour'.⁵¹ That area, protected by the southward turn of the city wall and so close to the presumed centre of power on *Fanari*, would be a much more convenient place for the Ptolemaic garrison's barracks than the alleged Garrison's Camp of Nicolaou. The latter is a site of a vast underground sanctuary of the Hellenistic period dedicated to an unknown chthonic cult. Its tentative identification as a military complex was based on its position in the vicinity of the northern city gate.⁵²

Given the configuration of *Fanari*, its building arrangement may have been of a terracing kind, known in the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical (to early Hellenistic) tradition as exemplified by Idalion, Amathus, Vouni, or Soloi,⁵³ with the temple at the highest place, an administrative centre (palace) on slightly lower ground, and the residential areas below. The terrace arrangement of the Hellenistic *akropoleis* has also been known from the island of Rhodes (towns of Lindos, Rhodos, Kamiros) as well as from Pergamon.⁵⁴ In the case of *Fanari*, with its presumed garrison's barracks at the 'rear' (i.e., on the west) of the mound, two hypothetical compounds, the temple and the palace, built on successive levels would be towering above the civic centre (the agora) to the east and the residential quarter to the south. Judging by such finds as a pebble mosaic depicting the sea-monster Scylla in a panel flanked by pairs of dolphins, dated to no later than the third century BC and discovered under the Roman-period's so-called House of Dionysos, the area directly at the southern foot of *Fanari* must have been of importance from the early Hellenistic period onwards.⁵⁵ Furthermore, the more than 11,000 clay seal impressions dated from the second half of the Hellenistic period, which were recovered from a secondary context in the House of Dionysos (a fill under Room V) and which prove the vicinity of a city archive, point to the special character of the area.⁵⁶ And, last but not least, to the south-west of *Fanari* there might have been a site of the sanctuary of the ancestral cult of Artemis Agrotera which most probably predated the foundation of Nea Paphos as a town.⁵⁷

CONCLUSIONS

While comparing the nature and function of *Fanari* and *Fabrika*, one should bear in mind the popular understanding of the *akropolis* in a Greek city as a central defensively oriented district located on the highest ground and containing the chief municipal and religious

⁵¹ Peristianes 1927: 39.

⁵² Nicolaou 1966: 587–588.

⁵³ Karageorghis 1981: 996–997 (Idalion); Wright 1992: Fig. 50 (Amathus) and Fig. 51 (Vouni); Gjerstad, Westholm 1937: 412–413 (Soloi); cf. Młynarczyk 1996: 197–198.

⁵⁴ Konstantinopoulos 1968: 115–118; Akurgal 1969: 71–75.

⁵⁵ For the references see: Młynarczyk 1990: 60, n. 33; 2016: 35, n. 22.

⁵⁶ Młynarczyk 1990: 60 and n. 31.

⁵⁷ Młynarczyk 2021: 562.

buildings.⁵⁸ *Fabrika*, indeed, housed an important sacred area, topographically related to the theatre, and most probably established at the very beginnings of Nea Paphos. That was in accordance with an old Cypriot custom of locating sacred places on the borders of the town, preferably at elevated places. There is no doubt that this ancestral tradition was followed by king Nikokles upon designing the new town. However, for the Hellenistic and early Roman period there is no hint that, beside the sacred area, *Fabrika* may have housed any buildings of civic importance that would define it as an *akropolis*.

From a topographical point of view, *Fanari* mound was more tightly connected to the town's civic centre than *Fabrika*. Especially from the beginning of the second century BC, when Nea Paphos apparently became a permanent seat of the Ptolemaic *strategos* and eventually kings in exile from Alexandria, the arrangement and apparition of its urban space may have been profoundly influenced by cosmopolitic (*koine*) ideas. It seems very plausible that *Fanari* hill at that period housed not only a temple towering above the civic centre, but also a palace or even a cluster of palatial buildings. The available evidence and the strategic location of *Fanari* allow us to suggest that this should be regarded as an official *akropolis* of the town and a manifestation of Ptolemaic power.

It is unfortunate that the archaeological investigation of *Fanari* has not been pursued in more recent times, something that is now partly hindered by the construction of tourist foot-paths and a viewing platform. Thus, the interpretations presented above are to some extent research hypotheses based on the limited archaeological material available (most of which comes from old studies), and the personal observations and examination of the remains by the author. Clearly, only the systematic archaeological investigation of the site can lead to a better understanding of the occupational history, transformation and function of *Fanari* hill.

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⁵⁸ See, e.g. Sacks, Murray, Brody 2005: s.v. acropolis.

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