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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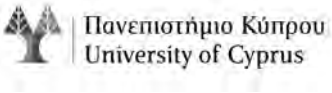

Pictures on the pages 23 (excavating the dromos of tomb 50; making a cast of a wheel of a chariot in tomb 3), 75 (ivory plaques from tomb 79 in the Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, nos. T.79-258 and T.79-143), and 569 (mosaic in the gymnasium baths): courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus

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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Section III
Ptolemaic Salamis

Section IV
Roman Salamis / Constantia

Abbreviations

AA	Archäologischer Anzeiger
AE	L'année epigraphique
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
ClPhil	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
KypSp	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 Atheniensia
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 Philelefthеros 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 Nicocles 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 theses 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 Salamis

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

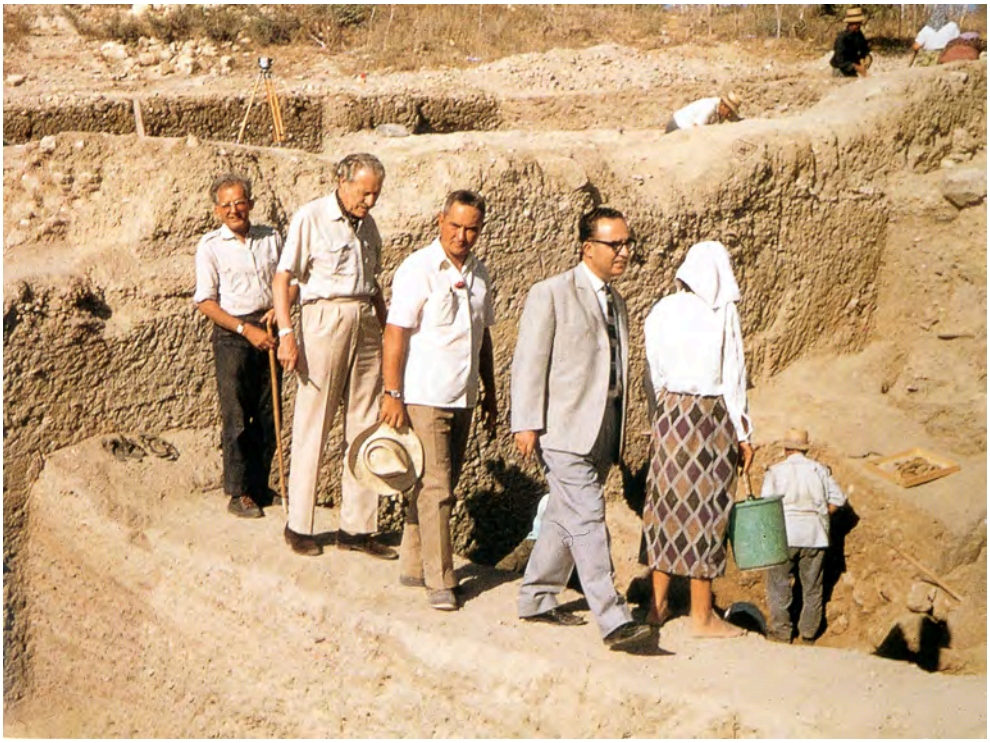

Fig. 3 | Sir Mortimer Wheeler (second from left) during a visit of the French excavations in September 1968; behind him Jean Pouilloux, in front of him Jean Jehasse and Vassos Karageorghis.

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 Mallowan 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.

this material was kept in the Museum of Famagusta or if I wanted to describe the architecture of the tombs at a later time ... The Salamis Necropolis would have never been published. With the prompt publication the material was accessible for study and discussion by people throughout the whole world. I will never forget the moment when a student of the University of Wasada, in Japan, approached me after a lecture at that University in 1989 and told me that he was working for his doctoral dissertation on the 'Royal Tombs of Salamis'.

I was invited to lecture about the tombs of Salamis in many universities and learned institutions throughout the world. Salamis had taken a prominent place in Mediterranean archaeology and helped to illustrate two of the most crucial centuries of Mediterranean culture, the 8th and 7th centuries BC.

Topics like feasting, roasting meat with obeloi, sacrifices of horses, human sacrifices, are often discussed in archaeological symposia. In 2014 I was invited to send a paper to a symposium in Milan on human sacrifices and to write a chapter on the Royal tombs of Salamis in the important exhibition in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York entitled *Assyria to Iberia at the Dawn of the Classical Age*. The editors of the impressive catalogue of this exhibition decided to illustrate its cover with the bronze cauldron on an iron tripod from Salamis, tomb 79.

As you all know the University of Ankara started carrying out excavations at Salamis from 1999 onwards, ignoring international conventions regarding archaeological activity in occupied territories. A number of Turkish archaeologists expressed to me their disapproval of the action of their Turkish colleagues. Buildings and marble statues have come to the surface. A royal tomb with numerous bronzes had apparently been discovered. We hear about discoveries from journalistic reports in the local press. These illegal excavations have not cast a shadow nor have made the scholarly world forget the excavations, which had been carried out at Salamis from 1952 to 1974. The organization of the present international conference by the University of Cyprus to celebrate 62 years and 50 years since the excavations began by the Cyprus Department of Antiquities and the University of Lyon respectively, has a scholarly significance but also a symbolic meaning. The excavated material still offers a never ending scope for research; at the same time the international community still remembers and honours the work of all those who dedicated a large portion of their career in the noble task of investigating the past of Salamis. I would like to thank and congratulate the University of Cyprus and the organizers of this conference, Theodoros Mavrojannis and Christina Ioannou – and I would like to appeal to the speakers and to all of you who are here today to keep alive the memory of Salamis.

Photo credits

Figs. 1–5: Courtesy of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

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Jacqueline Karageorghis (†)

Jean Pouilloux le Salaminien (1917–1996)

On ne peut évoquer Salamine sans rendre hommage à ses fouilleurs comme vient de le faire magnifiquement Marguerite Yon. Mais je voudrais ajouter mon humble hommage à celui dont la rencontre dans les couloirs de l'université de Lyon, dans les années 1950, devait à jamais marquer notre vie, la sienne et, aussi, l'histoire de Salamine.

Tout a commencé lorsque Jean Pouilloux, le bon génie des étudiants, ne refusa pas de parler à un jeune étudiant chypriote venu me voir à Lyon, qui l'admirait déjà et eut l'audace de l'aborder dans les jardins de l'université de Lyon. Par la suite il me prit moi aussi sous son aile, comme il savait le faire avec les jeunes étudiants, encourageant, conseillant, orientant, suivant de loin, bien qu'impliqué dans des affaires autrement plus importantes, et il me trouva un sujet de diplôme quelque peu étrange : *Les verbes chypriotes glosés par Hésychius…* Des années plus tard, fidèle à sa mission de sauvetage des étudiants perdus, il me convainquit, au prix de quels efforts de sa part, de préparer une thèse de 3e cycle, dont devait finalement émerger la Grande Déesse de Chypre qui m'occupe aujourd'hui encore. Pour la petite histoire, j'ajouterais que ma documentation pour la fameuse thèse fut perdue dans la tourmente de 1974 et qu'elle fut retrouvée dans un aéroport militaire britannique par une jeune archéologue anglaise qui avait fait ses classes à Salamine. La solidarité salaminienne n'y fut pas pour rien.

La deuxième rencontre avec Vassos fut décisive : à la fin du Congrès international d'Archéologie classique qui se tenait à Paris en 1963, lors d'une croisière sur la Seine en bateau-mouche, Vassos Karageorghis, directeur nouvellement nommé du Département des Antiquités de Chypre, proposait à Jean Pouilloux de venir fouiller à Salamine, un site qu'il fouillait déjà lui-même, mais si grand qu'il le partagerait de bon cœur, dans l'espoir aussi que la cité-royaume la plus célèbre de Chypre s'en trouverait plus rapidement mise au jour.

Si Salamine restera à jamais marquée par la présence de la mission française, on peut dire que la fouille de Salamine est aussi venue offrir à Jean Pouilloux, qui avait alors 47 ans et qui n'était encore que Maître de conférences à l'université de Lyon, mais déjà fondateur et directeur de l'*Institut Courby* d'épigraphie grecque, la possibilité de réaliser son grand projet d'une nouvelle archéologie, de pousser plus loin tous les questionnements qui l'occupaient déjà sur l'hellénisme, son extension dans l'espace et le temps, sa fusion dans le christianisme et son importance jusqu'à nos jours. Il en sortit mûr pour une vision encore plus large de la recherche archéologique, qu'il inspira plus tard à la *Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée.*

Et d'abord, sitôt la décision prise, il fit preuve de son efficacité auprès de l'administration, dans laquelle il occupa plus tard des postes importants – au *Centre national de la recherche scientifique* (CNRS) en particulier dont il fut le directeur scientifique des Humanités –, non pas pour son prestige personnel, mais pour promouvoir avec efficacité les projets de tous. Tel un Ulysse aux mille tours, il dépensa une énergie admirable pour réunir les fonds nécessaires, non seulement à la création d'une mission, mais aussi à la construction d'une vaste maison de fouilles à la mesure de son rêve d'une nouvelle archéologie vivante, qui serait une œuvre collective, et non pas la fouille glorieuse d'un seul homme, car il avait en tête de faire de Salamine un véritable centre d'archéologie modèle, de rencontres et de formation. Lui, qui ne savait pas se servir d'une machine à écrire voulut que la mission soit équipée des moyens techniques les plus modernes, et il fit installer dans les sous-sols de vastes réserves, un cabinet de photographie, une salle de dessin. Il organisa la mise en place d'un fichier signalétique, l'établissement d'une banque de données, la duplication des archives. Salamine pendant dix ans fut une école où l'on apprit non seulement à être archéologue sur le terrain, à étudier et publier le matériel rapidement, mais aussi à travailler dans un esprit d'équipe, dans la confiance, l'enthousiasme et le respect des Chypriotes qui travaillaient à la fouille. Il s'y adonna avec sa générosité habituelle, faisant sans compter profiter autrui de son savoir sans jamais se donner la belle part. Il orchestrait de loin, tel un magicien. Son souhait fut presque réalisé. Pendant dix ans, la fouille de Salamine et sa ruche de chercheurs fut une réalisation modèle et fructueuse.

Salamine venait aussi offrir à Jean Pouilloux la chance de mettre au jour un trésor de l'hellénisme. L'archéologue formé en Grèce et à Delphes en particulier, l'épigraphiste qui avait déjà publié un *Choix d'Inscriptions grecques* et les *Énigmes à Delphes*, *L'histoire et les cultes de Thasos* et *La forteresse de Rhamnonte*, était un helléniste convaincu qui disait que « le temps de la civilisation grecque fut un temps privilégié d'équilibre entre l'homme et ses moyens, entre l'homme et la société, et que, parce qu'il y eut alors cette rencontre, l'hellénisme demeure exemplaire dans l'histoire de l'Occident par l'art de vivre qu'il sut atteindre ». « La conquête de l'univers, nous le savons, disait-il encore, passe éternellement par la conquête de nous-mêmes et cet éternel retour donne à l'hellénisme sa valeur d'éternité ». Cet helléniste se voyait offrir la fouille de la cité-royaume qui fut la plus grecque des cités antiques de Chypre, celle dont Isocrate suggérait qu'elle était, du temps d'Évagoras I^{er}, plus grecque que les cités grecques, au point que les Grecs de Grèce préféraient venir y vivre plutôt que dans leurs villes, Salamine qui fut en fait le dernier poste avancé de l'hellénisme au Proche-Orient. Les fouilles chypriotes avaient déjà révélé des monuments de l'époque romaine et la nécropole royale archaïque d'une importance historique majeure. Il restait à découvrir le royaume d'Évagoras, le port, les murailles, l'agora et les monuments, la ville des arts et des lettres qui n'avait rien à envier à Athènes, dont parle Isocrate. Si Jean Pouilloux n'eut pas le temps d'exhumer de terre la Salamine d'Évagoras, il eut la satisfaction que les premiers travaux de la mission aient mis au jour les vestiges d'une occupation remontant au XI^{e} s. av. J.-C., une tombe du XI^{e} s., la tombe de la princesse, disait-il, car elle contenait une aiguille d'or, autant dire les origines de la ville qui concordaient avec celles que lui attribuait la légende de fondation par le héros grec Teucros au retour de

Jean Pouilloux (à gauche) avec Vassos Karageorghis à Salamine en 1966.

la Guerre de Troie. Il s'interrogeait : « Comment Chypre devint-elle grecque et comment le demeura-t-elle en dépit des influences diverses qui s'exerçaient sur elle ? Salamine se voulait fille d'Athènes et elle s'y attacha tout au long de son histoire… ». Il resta fasciné par l'hellénisme de Chypre « qui, disait-il, apparaît à travers les siècles parfois comme un défi et parfois comme un acte de foi en sa destinée… ».

Salamine, la ville la plus orientale de Chypre, face au Levant, devait aussi lui ouvrir des horizons bien différents de ceux de la Grèce propre. Déjà, avant qu'il ne commence la fouille, Henri Seyrig l'avait averti : « Ce sera passionnant, mais il vous faudra élargir vos horizons … Il y a fort à parier que vous n'y trouverez pas beaucoup d'inscriptions grecques [il en trouva, en fait, et regroupa toutes les inscriptions de Salamine en un beau volume], mais quel merveilleux observatoire pour étudier à toute époque la rencontre des civilisations entre l'Orient et l'Occident… ». En septembre 1974, au Congrès international des Études Classiques, il parla de la rencontre à Chypre de l'hellénisme et de l'Orient entre 1200 et 300 av. J.-C. Il montra que « Chypre était destinée à devenir un creuset d'influences diverses, mais aussi à cause de son éloignement du monde grec, un conservatoire de civilisations où l'Orient devint grec sans cesser d'être oriental ». Inspiré par l'ouverture de nouveaux horizons, il a dès lors promu la recherche sur l'Orient, et non seulement sur l'Orient hellénisé, mais aussi sur les civilisations de l'Orient lointain, puisque bientôt, en 1975, il devait fonder la *Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen ancien* – et qui devint par la suite la *Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée Jean Pouilloux* –, avec plus de 150 chercheurs, et qui allait étendre ses compétences pluridisciplinaires jusqu'au Moyen Orient, de Syrie jusqu'en Afghanistan, non seulement

pour les époques anciennes, mais aussi pour l'Orient d'aujourd'hui, « car, disait-il, notre petite Europe s'est soudain découverte légère face aux continents d'immensité... ».

Salamine vint aussi combler un autre de ses désirs de connaissance des sources du monde chrétien, qu'il avait déjà en lui. Lui, qui se disait un *parpaillot* (un protestant) et que rien ne semblait orienter vers de la curiosité envers le monde chrétien, avait fait la rencontre à Athènes en 1947 du Père Claude Mondésert, jésuite, secrétaire général de l'*Association des Amis des Sources Chrétiennes*, épigraphiste chargé de publier les inscriptions en grec et en latin de Syrie (au sens antique du terme). Est-ce l'épigraphie qui les unit d'abord ? Toujours est-il que Jean Pouilloux voua une amitié sans défaut au Père Mondésert jusqu'à sa mort et fit tout son possible pour aider au fonctionnement et au financement de cet organisme de recherche sur les sources chrétiennes. Bientôt, en 1957, ils se lançaient dans la grande aventure de l'édition pour la première fois en France des Œuvres complètes de Philon d'Alexandrie, « ce conciliateur juif de la foi biblique et de la philosophie grecque », dont il traduisit lui-même deux volumes et deux autres en collaboration, et dont la publication collective finale atteignit les 40 volumes en 1992. Je me souviens d'avoir parfois entendu Jean Pouilloux parler de Philon d'Alexandrie et je me disais : Mais que va-t-il chercher chez ce Philon, lui l'helléniste ? Je compris plus tard la raison de son intérêt. Il disait : « Qui eût, en effet, pensé qu'après les tourmentes qui avaient balayé l'Occident au III^e^ s. av. J.-C, après la lente et sûre conquête, et obstinée, du monde méditerranéen par la puissance romaine, que l'hellénisme pût encore être de quelque service. Les petits Grecs, comme on disait, n'étaient plus que des prestidigitateurs, épris seulement du bruit de leurs paroles… Mais soudain apparut une autre clientèle parmi les auditeurs qui fréquentaient leurs écoles. Ces disciples d'un nouveau genre venaient emprunter au grec son instrument d'expression incomparable pour propager la foi chrétienne. La greffe du christianisme fut entée sur le corps d'une pensée exsangue et ce fut le renouveau imprévisible... ».

Et voilà que la fouille lui offrit la surprise de compléter la vision de l'histoire de Salamine par l'ouverture sur le monde chrétien des premiers siècles. La grande découverte des années 1970 fut celle de la basilique dite de la Campanopétra, en bord de mer, ainsi que d'autres bâtiments paléochrétiens. Le plan intégral de cette superbe basilique paléochrétienne surgit du sol, sous les mains expertes de Georges Roux, sur un site d'où n'émergeait au départ qu'un pieu de pierre, qui se révéla être un montant de porte de la basilique. Le plan de cette basilique surgit du sol, intact. Il était parfait, et l'on pouvait juger de la grandeur de cette construction du début du VI^e^ s., peu après que l'église de Chypre fut devenue autocéphale. Et voilà que Jean Pouilloux se trouvait devant la grande basilique de Constantia, la ville byzantine qui succéda à Salamine dans les premiers siècles chrétiens. La boucle était bouclée. La mission de Salamine avait mis au jour l'alpha et l'oméga de l'histoire de 18 siècles de la grande ville de Salamine dont la fouille lui avait été confiée. Lui restait le regret de ne pas avoir révélé le royaume d'Évagoras. Mais elle le confortait dans la pensée que l'hellénisme finissant se renouvelait dans la pensée chrétienne en un superbe élan.

Jean Pouilloux et ses disciples furent peut-être trop heureux à Salamine. Car on pourrait dire que Salamine fut, non pas l'Abbaye de Thélème selon Rabelais, mais celle d'Epistème, l'abbaye de la science heureuse, où il mit en application les principes d'une

archéologie nouvelle à laquelle il croyait, une fouille qui ne serait pas l'œuvre glorieuse d'un seul homme, mais une œuvre collective rassemblant des archéologues expérimentés et de jeunes archéologues. Salamine fut l'école dont il avait rêvé, une école où l'on apprenait non seulement à fouiller, à recueillir le matériel, le conserver, le classer, l'étudier avec rigueur et respect, le publier rapidement, mais surtout à travailler dans un esprit d'équipe, dans l'amitié et la joie – on se souvient que les plaisanteries et les traits d'esprit fusaient à Salamine comme des épigrammes – sous la tutelle de ce maître généreux qui ne voulait rien pour lui, mais voulait faire profiter les jeunes de son savoir, n'était avare ni de son temps, ni de son ouverture d'esprit ni de sa générosité de cœur, lui qui se comportait avec les Chypriotes, contremaîtres, ouvriers et ouvrières comme avec des égaux, mettant en pratique cette grande leçon de l'humanisme, *qu'un homme est un homme, quels que soient sa fonction, son âge, ses titres...* Tous ceux qui furent formés à son école lui vouent une admiration et une affection indéfectibles.

Mais les dieux, disait-on, sont jaloux du bonheur des hommes... Vint 1974 et l'anéantissement de son œuvre. Il ne s'en consola jamais et cette perte lui arracha ces paroles amères :

Est-il pensable qu'un seul jour de l'histoire efface ce que tant de siècles avaient accompli, que la Salamine grecque soit dérobée à l'hellénisme ?

Crédit photographique

Photographie de Marguerite Yon

Marguerite Yon

Un cinquantenaire
La mission de l'université de Lyon à Salamine

Il y a cinquante ans, la « *Mission archéologique française de Salamine de Chypre* » commençait ses travaux dans l'île, et je tiens à exprimer ma reconnaissance à l'Université de Chypre, en particulier à Theodoros Mavrojannis et Christina Ioannou, d'avoir organisé un colloque à l'occasion de cet anniversaire, en collaboration avec le Département des Antiquités.

Sur le terrain, les travaux de fouilles de la mission française n'ont duré que dix ans[1] – une courte mission exploratoire en octobre 1964, puis deux campagnes de plusieurs mois par an de 1965 à 1973, et une campagne de printemps en 1974 – jusqu'à l'invasion de juillet 1974 qui a interrompu le programme, nous interdisant l'accès au site ; mais l'exploitation des résultats s'est poursuivie au cours des années[2]. Bien sûr, depuis ce temps, beaucoup de « Salaminiens » nous ont quittés, d'autres ont obliqué vers d'autres activités scientifiques. Mais quelques anciens participent encore aujourd'hui à ces travaux, tels Annie Caubet et Olivier Callot, qui participent au présent colloque[3]. Depuis 1976, la « mission de Salamine » de l'université de Lyon est devenue « mission de Kition et Salamine », et à partir de 1976 nos activités se sont développées à Larnaca, l'ancienne Kition ; le programme scientifique est aujourd'hui dirigé par Sabine Fourrier.

À Salamine puis à Kition, la mission française a eu la chance de participer à l'exploration de deux grandes villes antiques. Cette coopération scientifique avec nos collègues chypriotes a été une chance extraordinaire, et nous sommes heureux qu'elle se poursuive[4]. Le présent article se propose d'établir un état de la question concernant l'histoire et l'archéologie de Salamine, en combinant nos travaux de terrain avec ceux du Département des Antiquités, et avec toutes les recherches que ces fouilles ont engendrées ensuite.

En hommage à la mémoire de son fondateur Jean Pouilloux, et en souvenir de tous ceux qui ont participé à ces travaux, je me propose de rappeler rapidement les étapes et quelques grands moments de la mission française, de dire comment elle est née dans les années 1960, ce que furent ses débuts et les objectifs qu'elle s'était proposés. Puis

1 Les rapports de fouille de la mission sont parus régulièrement dans la « Chronique des fouilles … à Chypre », *BCH* 90, 1966 - 99, 1975.
2 Pour un bilan : voir Yon 2014, 29-44.
3 Je renvoie à leurs contributions dans le présent volume.
4 Sur cette coopération, voir Yon 1996.

nous verrons comment la fouille s'est développée de 1964 à 1974, et quels résultats elle a obtenus au cours des cinquante années de recherches qui ont suivi son installation à Chypre.

I. Les débuts de l'aventure archéologique de Salamine

Les circonstances (1963-1965)

En avril 1965, l'équipe de la mission française découvrait le site, couvert de fenouils géants et d'acacias en fleurs. C'était le début d'une nouvelle entreprise dont les fondateurs étaient Jean Pouilloux, professeur à l'université de Lyon, et Vassos Karageorghis, Directeur des Antiquités de Chypre. Au début des années 1960, J. Pouilloux souhaitait créer un chantier-école qui pourrait accueillir, non seulement des étudiants lyonnais, mais de jeunes chercheurs de toutes nationalités. L'intérêt de la communauté scientifique se portait alors sur les relations entre les civilisations grecque et romaine et ce que l'on désignait comme « civilisations périphériques », thème central du Congrès international d'Archéologie classique de Paris en 1963. Chypre retint alors l'attention de J. Pouilloux, et la décision d'y créer une mission de fouilles a été prise lors de ce Congrès : le site choisi fut Salamine.

Les circonstances étaient favorables. La jeune République de Chypre proclamée en 1960 s'ouvrait à la coopération scientifique internationale sous l'impulsion du nouveau directeur des Antiquités V. Karageorghis, dont l'épouse Jacqueline Girard, française, avait été étudiante à l'université de Lyon. En quelques années, il allait donner à l'archéologie de Chypre une position centrale et dynamique dans le développement de l'archéologie méditerranéenne.

Les dossiers administratifs ont été mis au point au cours de l'année 1964 ; la mission serait financée par le Ministère français des Affaires étrangères, et soutenue par le CNRS et l'université de Lyon, où le répondant académique serait l'Institut F. Courby. Les travaux ont commencé au printemps de 1965. En 1972, j'ai pris la responsabilité de la mission, lorsque J. Pouilloux se préparait à présider le Centre de Recherches archéologiques (CRA) du Centre national de la Recherche scientifique (CNRS), puis à devenir en 1976 le Directeur scientifique des Sciences humaines du CNRS. À Chypre, le soutien des autorités publiques ne nous a pas manqué ; le Président de la République Mgr Makarios a accueilli et reçu plusieurs fois la mission française, et le Département des Antiquités (Ministère des travaux publics) nous a apporté tout le soutien nécessaire pour organiser le travail. Nous avions d'excellentes relations avec nos amis de Famagouste qui suivaient avec intérêt le progrès des découvertes. Les ouvriers et ouvrières de fouille venaient des villages voisins, Enkomi et Agios Sergios, sous la responsabilité du chef de chantier Michalis Marinos Vaïos, très vite devenu lui aussi un ami.

Dès 1966, J. Pouilloux commença la construction d'une maison de fouille, au bord de la mer, immédiatement au nord du site archéologique. C'était un lieu à la fois accueillant et fonctionnel, avec des ateliers, des salles de travail, de vastes apothèques sur deux niveaux (rez-de chaussée et sous-sol), un grand laboratoire photographique, des salles de dessin, et une capacité d'accueil permettant de loger jusqu'à dix-huit ou vingt participants. Bref, la maison de fouille idéale.

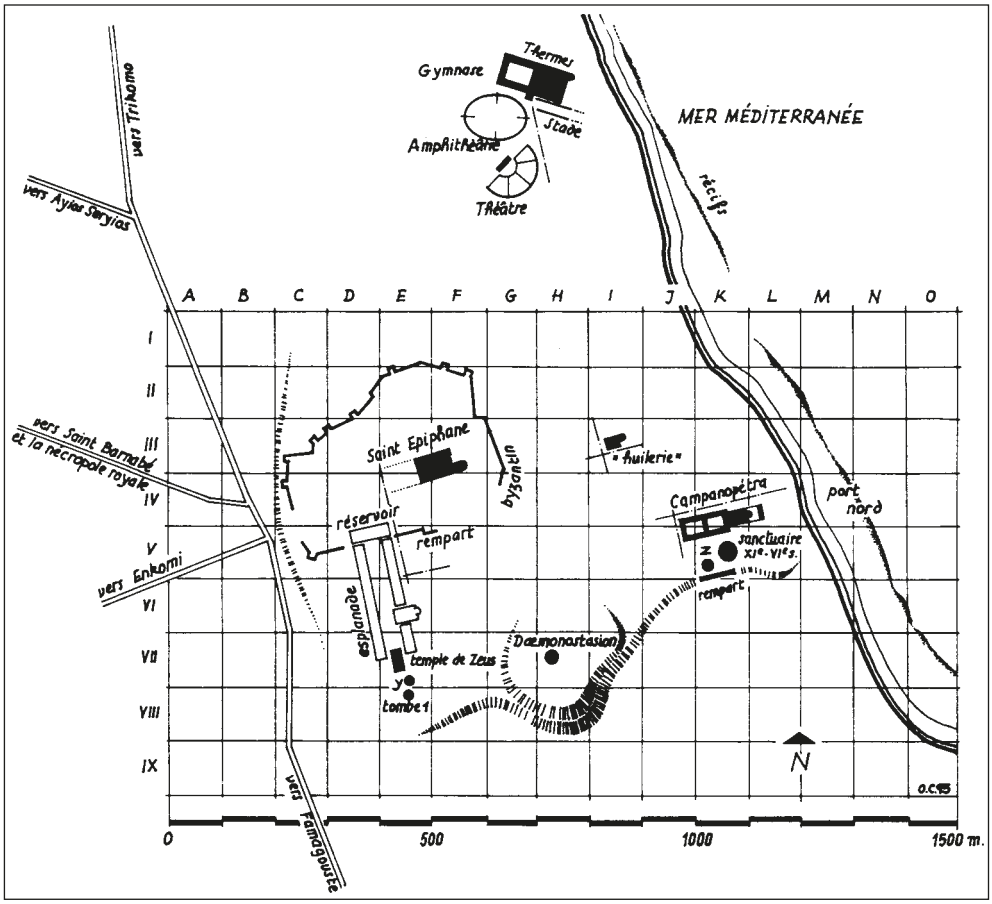

Fig. 1 | Le site urbain de Salamine, quadrillage des fouilles françaises.

Je ne reviens pas sur l'interruption brutale de nos travaux de terrain en juillet 1974 : la deuxième partie de notre campagne 1974, prévue pour septembre–octobre, n'a jamais eu lieu.

Les objectifs

Le programme scientifique qui sous-tendait le début des activités de la mission a été établi en collaboration avec nos collègues chypriotes, avec qui nous allions partager le territoire archéologique : V. Karageorghis et le Département des Antiquités fouillaient, avec les résultats spectaculaires qu'on connaît, les grands bâtiments publics du nord de la ville et la nécropole[5] ; à la mission française était dévolu l'espace de la ville elle-même qui s'étendait au bord de la mer (Fig. 1).

Nous nous y sommes préparés avec enthousiasme. Dès octobre 1964, J. Pouilloux et Jean Jehasse se rendaient dans l'île pour prendre contact avec le site et organiser la première mission, prévue pour le printemps 1965. Une des premières opérations a

5 *Salamis* I-IV.

été d'établir un relevé altimétrique du site, et un quadrillage général de 100 m de côté matérialisé par un bornage sur le terrain[6], préalable à toute opération de fouille. Au cours de l'hiver 1964-1965, les séminaires hebdomadaires de l'Institut F. Courby (université de Lyon) ont été mis à profit par la future équipe pour amasser de la documentation sur Salamine et son histoire, et mettre au point un programme. Les activités s'appuyaient sur les travaux antérieurs, et en particulier sur les résultats de l'exploration menée par les Britanniques en 1890 : le compte rendu que Arthur Munro et Henry Tubbs avaient publié sans attendre a été pour notre mission une base indispensable dans la phase préliminaire de l'entreprise[7].

Parmi les nombreuses questions qui nous sont apparues au cours des séminaires, certaines nous paraissaient d'une importance majeure, en même temps qu'elles correspondaient aux possibilités pratiques qu'offrait le terrain ; elles représentaient des moments-phares de l'histoire de Salamine, la cité de Chypre la mieux connue par les textes de la tradition littéraire antique[8].

Une première question concernait la date de la fondation, que la tradition liait au héros homérique Teucros venu d'Attique à la fin du 2e millénaire. Or rien d'antérieur à la période des grandes tombes royales du VIIIe s. n'avait encore été découvert sur le site. L'idée était qu'une étude stratigraphique du site permettrait de mieux situer dans l'histoire le temps de la fondation et les premiers siècles de son existence, et d'éclairer ses liens avec une métropole athénienne qui aurait porté le même nom.

Une deuxième question portait sur la ville classique. Je n'insisterai pas ici sur la place de premier plan qu'a tenue dans l'histoire le roi de Salamine Évagoras Ier, et je rappellerai seulement qu'Isocrate (IX *Evagoras*, § 47) évoque pour nous une ville reconstruite et embellie par ce roi au tournant des Ve-IVe s. Un des aspects du projet de J. Pouilloux et Georges Roux, archéologues et historiens du monde grec classique, était de redécouvrir la capitale du roi philhellène Évagoras, et de faire revivre la ville brillante évoquée par les textes.

La troisième question concernait le grand bloc de pierre dressé (dit *Campanopétra* dans la tradition locale), qui se voyait dans les dunes à quelque distance de la mer, et qui semblait être un montant de porte. J. A. R. Munro et H. A. Tubbs l'avaient signalé en 1890[9] ; ils n'y avaient pas fait de fouille, mais un ramassage de surface dans la zone environnante avait livré de la céramique archaïque et classique[10]. Il était tentant de chercher à savoir à quel type de monument appartenait ce bloc, à quelle date il avait été construit, et quelle place il tenait dans l'urbanisme général.

Enfin, une quatrième question était posée par les restes monumentaux visibles au sud-ouest du site : ceux d'un temple à *podium* qui se dressait à l'extrémité d'une longue esplanade, désignée dans le rapport des Britanniques sous le nom d'*Agora*[11]. En 1924, le Département des Antiquités avait confié à l'architecte George Jeffery le soin de transformer les écroulements de blocs en un monument présentable, à des fins tou-

6 Collaboration avec Chr. Polycarpou, topographe du Département des Antiquités.
7 Munro – Tubbs 1891.
8 Cf. les témoignages rassemblés dans *Salamine* X.
9 C'était leur site E : Munro – Tubbs 1891, 95-97.
10 Munro –Tubbs 1891, 145.
11 Site C : Munro – Tubbs 1891, 67-91.

Fig. 2 | Jean Pouilloux sur le podium du temple de Zeus (octobre 1964).

ristiques : G. Jeffery a donc reconstruit un *podium*, sur lequel ont été dressés des tambours de colonnes pour faire plus crédible (Fig. 2), bouleversant ainsi totalement les restes antiques. Le temple méritait donc d'être réexaminé de près – et même refouillé – pour qu'on puisse analyser le monument, en dater la construction et suivre son histoire, et déterminer plus sûrement la divinité à qui il était réellement consacré.

Telle était la situation lorsque nous sommes arrivés en avril 1965 pour découvrir le site de Salamine, où rien n'était visible sous la luxuriante végétation du printemps.

Le choix des points de fouille

Sur le terrain, passant à la pratique, nous nous sommes efforcés d'ouvrir des chantiers là où le terrain nous y incitait et en fonction des possibilités d'action, tout en gardant à l'esprit les interrogations qui s'étaient imposées à nous. Pour lancer les opérations, trois chantiers ont d'abord été implantés en 1965[12]. Le premier visait à explorer la zone qui entourait le grand bloc de pierre dit *Campanopétra* (voir ci-dessus), car on voyait bien que les restes archéologiques se poursuivaient sous les hautes dunes de sable qui séparaient le site de la mer. Il nous a semblé nécessaire, d'autre part, d'ouvrir à la limite des dunes un sondage destiné à établir dans cette zone proche de la côte une stratigraphie de l'occupation du site (voir fig. 1 : K V). Enfin, un troisième chantier fut installé sur le « temple » situé au sud-est de la ville (au sud du site C dit *Agora*)[13]. Des impératifs financiers et logistiques nous faisaient renoncer momentanément à d'autres sites pro-

12 Sur les travaux de 1965, voir Pouilloux 1966.
13 Munro – Tubbs 1891, 76.

metteurs – tels par exemple le « Δαιμονοστάσιον » (site D)[14], ou les restes portuaires visibles dans l'eau le long de la côte –, qui furent réservés pour des opérations futures.

Mais le hasard oblige parfois à modifier le cours des travaux pour s'adapter aux circonstances, et ce fut le cas dès la première campagne au printemps 1965. Au bout de quelques semaines, la découverte fortuite, sous un habitat d'époque romaine (voir fig. 1 : E VIII), d'une tombe – dite *Tombe I* – remplie de mobilier du XI^e^ s. av. J.-C. nous a obligés à modifier l'organisation des chantiers. G. Roux interrompit le chantier du temple pour se consacrer momentanément à la fouille des maisons romaines du IV^e^ s. apr. J.-C. qui recouvraient la tombe, et j'ai pour ma part interrompu le nouveau sondage à peine commencé au sud-est de la ville (sondage Z) pour fouiller la tombe elle-même. En revanche, l'exploration commencée autour de la pierre dressée dite *Campanopétra* s'est poursuivie, et elle a très vite révélé la partie ouest d'un grand ensemble basilical d'époque paléochrétienne, qui avait disparu sous le sable. Pendant plusieurs années, un gros effort de la mission s'est porté sur le dégagement de la dune côtière, en utilisant un petit train-*Decauville* et des norias de camion pour évacuer les tonnes de sable qui recouvraient les vestiges antiques, et rendre possible en totalité la fouille de la basilique et de ses annexes, jusqu'à la bordure de plage.

Par la suite, les circonstances ou le résultat des prospections nous ont incités à ouvrir d'autres chantiers qui n'étaient pas prévus dans le projet initial. À la limite sud-est de la ville, là où le terrain une fois dégagé du sable montrait une assez forte rupture de pente dont on pouvait penser qu'il correspondait aux restes d'un rempart, fut implanté le chantier dit « du rempart ». D'autre part, la zone située entre cette fouille « du rempart » et le sud de la *Campanopétra* s'est révélée comme l'emplacement d'un quartier urbain du XI^e^ s. Enfin, une belle résidence byzantine – dite « *de l'Huilerie* » – a été localisée et fouillée au nord-ouest de la *Campanopétra*.

II. Les résultats, 1964-2014

En définitive, ces cinquante années de recherches, appuyées sur dix ans de travaux de terrain et leurs implications, ont contribué à éclairer quatre phases importantes de la longue histoire de Salamine, qui s'étendait sur dix-huit siècles. Les résultats sont exposés dans de très nombreux rapports et articles publiés au cours des années, et dans les seize volumes déjà parus de la collection *Salamine de Chypre* (De Boccard, Paris, 1969-2004)[15].

Le temps de la fondation, XI^e^ siècle av. J.-C.

La première réponse est arrivée très vite dès 1965, et par hasard comme je l'ai dit. Le mobilier de la *Tombe I* datait du début de l'époque géométrique (XI^e^ s. av. J.-C.), précédant donc de trois siècles les plus anciens documents découverts jusque-là à Salamine. La tombe se trouvait sous une maison construite environ quinze siècles plus tard, à

14 Munro – Tubbs 1891, 91.

15 Série *Salamine* I-XVI. Cf. un premier bilan bibliographique dans Yon 1993, 155-158 ; pour les travaux parus après cette date (qui ne recouvrent pas forcément les questions initialement posées : voir plus haut), voir Yon 2014.

une époque où le souvenir de la nécropole des premiers temps de la cité avait disparu. Après avoir dégagé la maison romaine sous les écroulements de pierre, il nous a été possible de fouiller la tombe elle-même. À l'exception de quelques importations levantines, la céramique, caractéristique du début du Chypro-Géométrique (*Proto-White Painted, Proto-Bichrome, White Painted I, Bichrome I* …), relève d'un répertoire local homogène, et déjà bien constitué dans les ateliers chypriotes, qui combine des traditions venues de Grèce (e.g. calathos, amphores, coupes), avec d'autres formes caractéristiques du Levant (e.g. bouteilles, gourdes). Il ne restait que quelques débris informes des ossements dispersés, et on n'y a trouvé aucun objet de bronze, car la tombe avait été visitée dès l'antiquité, probablement à l'époque archaïque (VII^{e} s. ?). Mais quelques bijoux raffinés en or qui avaient échappé au pillage faisaient penser à une société qui bénéficiait d'une économie florissante, et ils appartenaient sans doute à une femme qui jouissait d'un statut social élevé. Un tel ensemble de mobilier émanait d'un groupe humain stable, riche et organisé, déjà bien installé à Salamine au cours du XI^{e} s.[16].

La fouille menée au sud de la *Campanopétra* dans la zone du rempart sud-est de la ville fut brutalement interrompue, mais elle était du moins suffisamment avancée pour confirmer l'interprétation d'une agglomération déjà organisée au milieu du XI^{e} s. Des constructions – très ruinées, aux pierres arrachées, et dont presque partout les superstructures disparues ne laissaient que des traces dans le sol – appartenaient au temps de la fondation de la ville : une rue protégée par un rempart, un sanctuaire... De petits *ex-voto* en protomes de taureaux, datant du XI^{e} s. au VI^{e} s., suggèrent l'existence d'un sanctuaire construit à l'intérieur de l'enceinte de la nouvelle ville. Ce sanctuaire, qui a fonctionné jusqu'à la fin de l'époque archaïque (il n'est plus attesté après le VI^{e} s.), est celui d'un dieu mâle symbolisé par le taureau ; j'y ai reconnu volontiers le « *Grand Dieu de Salamine* », celui qui est désigné par la suite comme *Zeus* dans les textes et les inscriptions. Protecteur du héros fondateur Teucros – qui est son arrière-petit-fils par Éaque et Télamon –, il protègera ensuite la dynastie royale des descendants de Teucros jusqu'à Nicocréon, le dernier roi teucride qui se donne la mort en 310 av. J.-C.

Les temps classiques (V^{e}-IV^{e} s.), et le rôle d'Évagoras I^{er}

Par rapport aux espérances d'une étude monumentale de la cité classique, les travaux de terrain de ces dix années ont été plutôt décevants : les prospections ou les sondages n'ont fait repérer aucun bâtiment organisé de cette époque, et il est impossible de localiser les monuments évoqués par Isocrate. En revanche, des quantités très considérables de mobilier d'époque classique ont été découverts dans des niveaux mêlés ou des déblais : on évoquera par exemple tout ce qui avait été jeté en contrebas du rempart sud-est (dont ces déblais donnaient la forme en négatif puisque toutes les pierres de la muraille elle-même avaient disparu), ou dans les remblais de constructions plus récentes. Par leur masse et par leur nature, ils constituent des documents de grand intérêt sur la Salamine classique dont ils confirment l'existence et l'activité[17].

Ainsi, une inscription digraphe (alphabet grec et syllabaire chypriote : Fig. 3) des environs de 400 av. J.-C., portant le nom Évagoras et l'épithète *Salaminios*

16 Publiée en 1971 : *Salamine* II.
17 Voir notamment *Salamine* I, III, IV, VI, VIII, XII, XIII, XIV.

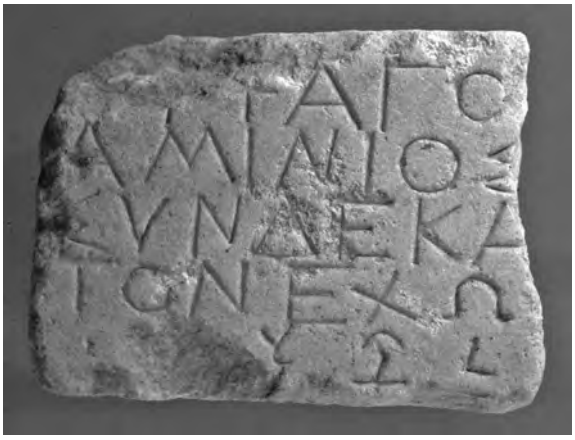

Fig. 3 | Inscription d'Évagoras (inv. Sal. 12), autrefois au musée de Famagouste.

([EY]FAΓO[PAΣ] / [ΣAΛ]AMINIOΣ / …), est la plus ancienne inscription salaminienne utilisant des caractères grecs ; mais les quelques signes syllabiques sont difficile à interpréter.[18] S'il s'agit réellement – comme on peut le proposer à juste titre – du roi Évagoras I[er], bien connu par la tradition littéraire, c'est le seul document archéologique lié à ce personnage.

On est frappé par la quantité de céramique importée d'Attique : une amphore « panathénaïque » fragmentaire, mais bien reconnaissable, témoigne qu'au IV[e] s. un Salaminien chypriote est revenu d'Athènes où il a gagné au concours de la « course de vitesse ». Des fragments de vases à boire attiques – coupes, canthares, skyphoi, etc., types fréquents dans le mobilier des sanctuaires – ont été trouvés dans les déblais de la zone entre le rempart et le *Daimonostasion* ; certains portent, incisés en syllabaire chypriote, les signes *ti-wo* : c'est-à-dire très probablement le génitif ΔιFός [Διός], « appartenant à Zeus »[19]. Or l'abandon après le VI[e] s. du sanctuaire ancien probablement dédié à Zeus, construit contre le rempart du XI[e] s. (voir plus haut), ne signifie nullement que le culte du dieu principal de la cité est abandonné, bien au contraire : il est probable que le lieu de culte a été déménagé pour installer le dieu dans un nouvel espace plus spectaculaire ou plus grandiose. La présence de ces *ex-voto* fait penser que le sanctuaire d'époque classique, encore inconnu de nous, se trouvait à proximité de leur lieu de découverte. On en revient donc à la question cruciale de l'emplacement et de l'extension de la ville classique, qui reste à découvrir.

Dans les lieux qui ont fourni du mobilier de cette époque, la topographie et l'analyse du relief nous incitent à supposer la présence d'éléments urbains de cette époque au sud de la ville. Les monuments royaux officiels – et peut-être le Palais royal évoqué par Isocrate (IX.47) –, pourraient se trouver dans le quartier qui forme une petite acropole haute d'une dizaine de mètres, dominant la ville et l'embouchure du fleuve (Fig. 1 : G-I VI-VIII), agréablement exposée au sud entre le site du rempart et *Daimonostasion*. Comme je l'ai déjà suggéré, il existe de bons arguments pour voir entre ce

18 *Salamine* XIII, 14, n° 17.
19 *Salamine* XIII, 14, n° 20.

site et celui du rempart fouillé au sud-est un quartier majeur de la ville classique, où seraient situés des monuments officiels et un lieu de culte dédié à Zeus protecteur de la cité. Mais nous n'avons pas encore eu l'occasion d'identifier de restes architecturaux organisés qui éclaireraient cette période, et on doit actuellement en rester au stade de l'hypothèse.

La fouille a mis au jour des quantités de figurines en pierre ou en terre cuite d'époque classique trouvées dans les déblais, des *ex-voto* provenant du pillage de sanctuaires dont on ignore l'emplacement précis dans la ville : ainsi, une belle tête de *couros* du début du V^e^ s.[20] se trouvait dans un remblai de la basilique de la *Campanopétra* ; d'innombrables figurines féminines en terre cuite laissent reconnaître dans le quartier du rempart sud l'existence d'un sanctuaire féminin[21].

Ces objets témoignent en tout cas de l'abondance et de la variété des productions des ateliers salaminiens, dont les artisans et les artistes sont souvent de grande qualité. C'est aussi ce qu'indiquent les statuettes en pierre du petit sanctuaire rural que j'ai fouillé en 1968 à l'extérieur de la ville, à quelques centaines de mètres au sud du monastère de Saint-Barnabé (site A) ; il a livré essentiellement des statuettes féminines en calcaire, sculptées dans des ateliers locaux à la fin de l'époque archaïque et au V^e^ s. Elles illustrent bien ce que pouvait être la production des officines de sculpteurs salaminiens, formés à la sculpture grecque qui était pour eux la référence absolue, mais attachés aussi aux traditions locales qui gardent toute leur vigueur : ainsi une petite coré reproduit assez bien le type des corés de l'acropole d'Athènes, tandis que d'autres sont fidèles aux critères traditionnels de la sculpture chypriote[22].

L'extension de la ville hellénistique et romaine, II^e^ siècle av. J.-C. – II^e^ siecle apr. J.-C.

La fouille du temple situé au sud-ouest de la ville (Fig. 1 : E VII) avait été, dès le début, l'un des objectifs de la mission. Mais pour différentes raisons (exposées plus haut), le programme entrepris en 1965 avait dû être reporté. Il n'a été vraiment repris qu'en 1973 avec une nouvelle équipe, obtenant cette fois des résultats spectaculaires. Après une longue campagne en mai-juin 1974, la fouille qui devait se poursuivre en automne est restée inachevée[23].

Après la disparition des royaumes qui se partageaient l'île depuis des siècles, quand Chypre tombe finalement au pouvoir de Ptolémée à la fin du IV^e^ s. Salamine perd sa prééminence politique locale, puisque le gouvernement des rois lagides établit son siège à Paphos. Mais elle conserve son importance et sa richesse, et reste une étape majeure de la navigation et du négoce de Méditerranée orientale. La ville va connaître un intense développement urbain et s'étendre vers l'ouest, recouvrant comme on l'a vu l'espace de la plus ancienne nécropole.

Au II^e^ s. av. J.-C., les grands projets d'extension de l'espace urbain décidés par le pouvoir lagide donnent lieu à un programme architectural d'envergure, comportant en

20 N. Weill, dans : *Salamine* IV, 57-79.
21 Voir *Salamine* XIV.
22 *Salamine* V.
23 Voir un état de la question au moment de l'interruption des fouilles : Argoud *et al.* 1975.

Fig. 4a-b | Chapiteaux du temple de Zeus (1973) ; un grand chapiteau à décor végétal [a] ; détail d'un chapiteau : crocodile sous un palmier-dattier [b].

particulier la construction d'un nouveau sanctuaire monumental ; une longue esplanade de 250 m bordée de portiques (Fig. 1 : D-E V-VII) mène au sud à un grand temple périptère construit sur un podium[24]. Le type des chapiteaux (Fig. 4) et de certains décors architecturaux porte la marque d'Alexandrie, confirmant le rôle des rois Ptolémées dans la réalisation de cet ensemble. Les artisans expriment une grande liberté, et beaucoup d'inventivité, comme en témoigne par exemple un petit crocodile sous un palmier-dattier (Fig. 4b) sculpté sur un chapiteau de la *cella*, allusion discrète à l'origine égyptienne du sculpteur qui signe ainsi son travail.

L'époque romaine voit d'importants travaux de réfection et des modifications (notamment une transformation de la rampe d'accès au nord du temple). Nous avons découvert plusieurs documents reliant ce temple au pouvoir impérial : une tête de statue en bronze, que nous proposons d'interpréter comme représentant l'empereur Claude (41-54) ; un trésor de 26 monnaies d'argent de Vespasien (69-79) et de Titus (79-81), neuves, provenant de l'atelier de frappe monétaire de Salamine, et dont plusieurs portaient au revers l'image d'un personnage debout, sans doute la représentation de la statue de « Zeus de Salamine »[25].

Aucune identification définitive n'avait encore été faite de la divinité vénérée dans ce temple. H. A. Tubbs signalait deux inscriptions de Salamine : « one mentions probably a Zeus Olympios […]. One of these, the pedestal of a statue in honour of Livia Augusta, is dedicated to Zeus Olympios », ajoutant que « the inscriptions do not afford a certain clue as to the dedication of the temple », mais qu'on pouvait s'en servir par commodité pour désigner le temple ; c'était sans conviction, car il concluait : « … there is no reason as yet to identify the presumptive Zeus Olympios with the chief deity of Salamis, Zeus Salaminios »[26]. Cette position était cohérente avec l'interprétation des Britanniques qui pensaient voir un sanctuaire de Zeus dans le site B, au nord de la

24 Voir dans ce volume la communication d'Olivier Callot.

25 Cf. Yon 2014, 39, fig. 6.

26 Munro – Tubbs 1891, 78-79 ; cf. *Salamine* XIII, 27, n^{os} 47-48 ; cf. *ibid*., n° 46 (autre dédicace trouvée en 1968) et commentaire.

ville (« *Site B. Zeus Temenos* »)[27] ; le plan de ce site B a été en réalité reconnu ensuite comme celui de la palestre du *Gymnase*.

Mais beaucoup d'arguments concourent à faire attribuer à Zeus, le grand dieu de Salamine, le temple au sud-ouest de la ville : il devait être celui dont l'historien latin Tacite disait qu'il bénéficiait du « droit d'asile »[28]. Comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, on peut imaginer que le lieu de culte du dieu protecteur de la cité s'est déplacé au fil du temps : établi à l'origine au bord de la mer, où son activité aurait duré plus de 500 ans, il aurait à la fin du VI^e^ s. (?) émigré plus à l'ouest (quartier proche du *Daimonostasion* ?). Quatre siècles plus tard, à l'époque hellénistique (fin du II^e^ s. ?), le lieu sacré aurait une nouvelle fois été transporté vers un vaste espace libre au sud-est de la ville, pour aboutir à l'ensemble monumental hellénistique et romain, resté en fonction jusqu'à la christianisation décidée par le pouvoir impérial au IV^e^ s. apr. J.-C.

L'apogée de Constantia-Salamine, IV^e^-VI^e^ siècle apr. J.-C.

L'île a vu arriver très tôt le christianisme, et l'on connaît le rôle qu'ont joué au I^er^ s. le Salaminien Barnabé et son cousin l'évangéliste Marc, et le débarquement à Salamine dès 45 de l'apôtre Paul qui convertira à Paphos le gouverneur romain Sergius Paulus *(Actes des Apôtres* 13, 4-12*)*. La ville reprend sa prééminence dans l'île comme métropole chrétienne, et connaît à partir du milieu du IV^e^ s. un développement spectaculaire. Après les violents séismes de 332 puis 342 qui détruisent la ville, elle est reconstruite et refondée comme *Constantia* – du nom de l'empereur Constance II (337-361, fils de Constantin I^er^) –, métropole ecclésiastique de l'île jusqu'au VIII^e^ s. Elle connaît en particulier du IV^e^ au VI^e^ s. une longue période de faste et d'opulence, dont les traces sont perceptibles sur le terrain malgré les destructions et les pillages.

La grande église dite *Saint-Épiphane* (au nord-est de la ville), dégagée en partie par le Département britannique des Antiquités avant 1960, était probablement la cathédrale. La mission française, quant à elle, s'est attachée à l'exploration de la basilique de la *Campanopétra*, identifiée comme telle dès 1965[29]. Le montant de porte en pierre qui apparaissait dans la dune appartenait à un vaste ensemble basilical de pèlerinage, construit à la fin du V^e^ s. apr. J.-C. : c'était une période glorieuse pour l'Église de Chypre, au temps où l'empereur de Byzance Zénon (474-491) reconnaissait son « autocéphalie », la dégageant ainsi de la suzeraineté d'Antioche.

Le plan des bâtiments, d'une grande clarté, aligne ses éléments d'ouest en est, et d'abord une grande place (publique) extérieure, où s'arrêtaient les pèlerins et où les commerçants étalaient leur marchandises. Une grande porte (dont le bloc dit *Campanopétra* était un des montants) ouvrait sur un vaste atrium carré à quatre portiques sur lesquels ouvraient les cellules des moines, et muni au centre d'un bassin au système d'arrivée d'eau très élaboré (Fig. 5) ; cette zone protégée devait contraster par son calme avec l'agitation extérieure de la place. On entrait ensuite dans une église à trois nefs terminées en absides : les couloirs latéraux qui se prolongent à l'ouest et à l'est par les galeries des atriums assuraient une unité de structure architecturale. Enfin, ce qui

27 Munro – Tubbs 1891, pl. VI.
28 Yon 1980 ; cf. *Salamine* X, 26, n° 37 (Tacite, *Annales*, III, 62), et note 3.
29 Publiée par Roux : *Salamine* XV, 1998.

Fig. 5 | Basilique de la Campanopétra, bassin central de l'atrium ouest (1969).

est exceptionnel, un deuxième atrium se trouvait à l'est, derrière les absides, muni d'un reliquaire à baldaquin sûrement destiné à abriter une relique elle-même exceptionnelle. G. Roux a émis, de façon convaincante, l'hypothèse que ce deuxième atrium abritait des reliques de la croix du Christ apportées un siècle plus tôt à Chypre par sainte Hélène, mère de l'empereur Constantin : l'ensemble aurait été construit pour accueillir les pèlerins qui venaient vénérer les reliques. Un cinquième élément, le baptistère, a été accolé au mur nord de l'église et de l'atrium est.

Par la suite (au VI^e^ s. ?) ont été édifiés au nord-est des bâtiments annexes, une résidence aux sols autrefois revêtus de luxueux tapis de mosaïques, avec une vaste citerne, des thermes, etc. Les décors de marbre et de mosaïques, malheureusement très détruits par le temps et par l'exploitation des marbres jetés dans les fours à chaux, en faisaient un monument d'un luxe et d'un raffinement exceptionnels.

À peu de distance au nord-ouest de la *Campanopétra*, la mission française a découvert et fouillé une grande résidence construite également à la fin du V^e^ s., décorée avec recherche de frises et de chapiteaux en stuc. Le bâtiment a été transformé tardivement en exploitation agricole – peut-être au VIII^e^ s. ? –, et un grand pressoir à huile occupe alors l'abside de la maison (c'est ce qui l'a fait désigner par convention sous le nom de « Résidence de l'Huilerie »)[30]. C'était une riche demeure de notable, peut-être un haut personnage de l'Église, comme pourrait le faire penser le texte d'un psaume peint sur le mur du couloir d'accès.

30 *Salamine* XI, 1980.

La fin de la ville

Marquée par la menace perse sassanide, puis par les raids arabes du VII^e^ s., la ville fut fréquentée encore quelque temps, et en particulier la basilique de la *Campanopétra*, comme l'indiquent les monnaies qu'on y a trouvées[31]; des passages sont encore attestés au temps des Croisades. Puis des fours à chaux exploitèrent les marbres des ruines de l'édifice abandonné et en ont fait disparaître la plus grande partie, avant que le site déserté soit recouvert par le sable et la végétation.

III. Conclusion

Une grande partie des résultats de l'exploitation de ces dix ans de fouilles, menée depuis 1965 jusqu'à aujourd'hui, figure dans les seize volumes de la série *Salamine de Chypre* – dont douze sont parus depuis 1974. Les résultats qui ont été obtenus ne correspondaient pas nécessairement aux objectifs initiaux, et ils ont souvent ouvert des voies inattendues. Mais ils ne nous ont pas déçus, loin de là, même si beaucoup de questions restent en suspens.

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Salamine XIII = Jean Pouilloux – Paul Roesch – Jean Marcillet-Jaubert, *Testimonia Salaminia*, fasc. 2. *Salamine de Chypre*, vol. XIII (Paris 1987).

Salamine XIV = Thérèse Monloup, *Les figurines de terre cuite chypro-classiques. Un culte de la Grande Déesse à Salamine. Salamine de Chypre*, vol. XIV (Paris 1994).

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Yon 1980 = Marguerite Yon, « Zeus de Salamine », dans : Raymond Bloch *et al*., *Recherches sur les religions de l'Antiquité classique* (Genève et Paris 1980), 85-103.

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Yon 1996 = Marguerite Yon, « Chypre et Lyon 1964-1994. Coopération en archéologie : Bilan et perspectives », dans : Françoise Métral – Marguerite Yon – Yiannis Ioannou (éd.), *Chypre hier et aujourd'hui – entre Orient et Occident. Actes du Colloque tenu à Nicosie, 1994* (Lyon 1996), 15-28.

Yon 2014 = Marguerite Yon, « Cinquantenaire des fouilles françaises de l'université de Lyon à Salamine (1964-2014). Introduction », et « Salamine 1964-1974. Un bilan », dans : *CCEC* 44, 2014, 17-18, et 29-44.

Crédits photographiques

Fig. 1-5 : © Archives de la mission française.

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From Salamis to Bloomsbury: Transporting the Bull's Head Capital to the British Museum in 1891*

In one of the most evocative images from the annals of Cypriot archaeology (Fig. 1), the personnel of the British Royal Navy ship HMS Melita, overlooked by a group of the local population, direct a large workforce in a monumental 'tug-of-war' with what was perhaps the single most important item discovered by the Cyprus Exploration Fund (CEF) excavations at Salamis in 1890 – the later Cypro-Classical or Hellenistic marble bull's head capital discovered in the great colonnaded street (or 'Agora') leading to the Temple of Zeus (Fig. 2).[1] This photograph is one of a series preserved in the archives of the Department of Greece and Rome at the British Museum showing different stages of this procedure, beginning with the capital *in situ* in Salamis and ending with it being safely installed in the Melita, anchored off the shore at Famagusta, early in February of 1891 (Fig. 2).[2] From here, the capital was transported to Alexandria where it was transferred to a second Royal Naval vessel, HMS Amphion, which took it to Malta; a third ship, HMS Wye in turn carried it on to Sheerness naval station in Kent, where it arrived on the 28th March.[3] The final stage of its long journey was by train to London and to the British Museum in Bloomsbury. It was almost immediately exhibited in the Ephesos gallery next to the sculpture from the fourth-century BC phase of the Artemision,

* This paper is dedicated to the memories of Donald Bailey and Veronica Tatton-Brown who, during their long careers at the British Museum, did so much to further the study and display of the antiquities of Salamis as well as to advance research into the history of the collection. I would like to thank Francesca Hillier, Central Archivist at the British Museum, for her help with the archival sources. I am very grateful to Lesley Bushnell for transcribing the report in the appendix of this paper and more generally for her help with the digitisation of the Salamis material in the BM. This is part of the broader programme of the Cyprus Digitisation Project which is generously supported by the A. G. Leventis Foundation.

1 Inv. BM GR 1891,8-6.1. Munro – Tubbs 1891, 67, 133–135 and fig. 4 (findspot marked 'B' on plate VII); Karageorghis – Vermeule 1966, no. 90; George Roux, 'Le châpiteau à protomés de taureaux découverts à Salamine de Chypre', in: Marguerite Yon (ed.), *Salamine de Chypre. Histoire et archéologie. État des recherches* (Paris 1980) 257–274; Wilson 1980, fig. 18; Marguerite Yon, 'Le culte impérial à Salamine', in: *CCEC* 39, 2009, 289–308. The capital was deemed sufficiently striking to be used as the cover image of a survey of Cypriot civilization published in a popular British literary journal in 1914 (Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, 'Cyprus. Its Ancient Civilization', in: *Pall Mall Magazine*, June 1914, 739–753).

2 British Museum Greece and Rome (henceforth BM GR) archives, *Miscellaneous Photographs* 2, 101. Various annotations are written in the margins, including one identifying the Commander of the Melita, George Fowler King-Hall (see below).

3 British Museum *Central Archives, Original Papers* January–April 1891, no. 1228.

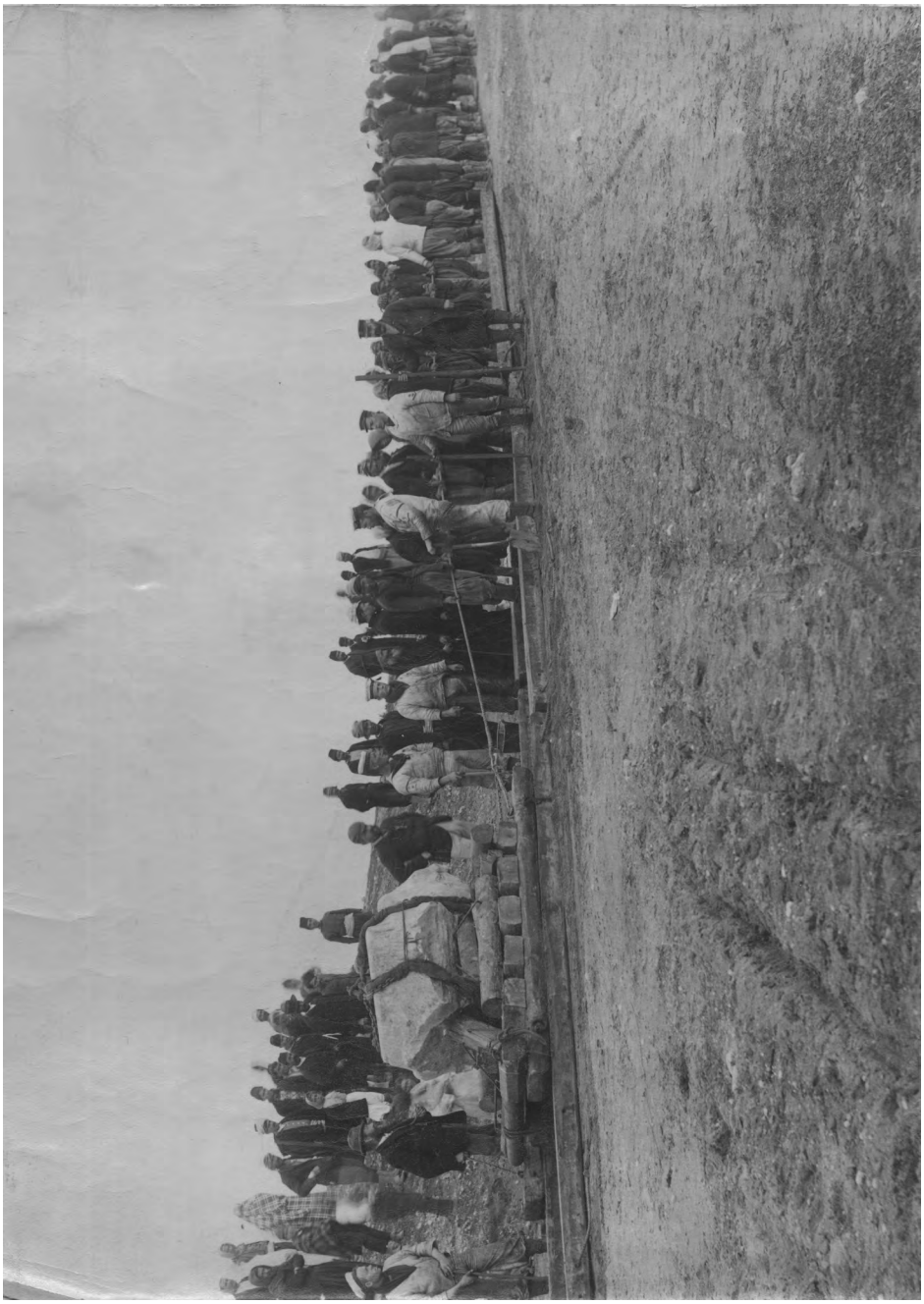

Fig. 1 | The marble bull's head capital from Salamis being pulled through Famagusta.

Fig. 2 | The bull's head capital on board the HMS Melita.

remaining here for many years before being put on display in the gallery of Greek and Roman architecture (Room 77) where it currently resides (Fig. 3).

Focusing on Figure 1 in particular and on a previously unpublished written account of the capital's transportation (transcribed in the appendix), this paper considers a number of aspects of the social history of the archaeology of Cyprus in this period, with a view to encouraging greater engagement with the subject by scholars. Several of the photographs showing the transportation of the Salamis capital have been published before and will not be entirely new to students of Cypriot archaeology, but their significance can easily be overlooked.[4] The image discussed here, taken as the object

4 Karageorghis – Vermeule 1966, 22, figs. 7–8; Wilson 1980, 69, figs. 19a–b (though note that the present figure 1 has been cropped at both sides so does not include all the figures); Marangou in Karageorghis 1999, figs. 228–331 reproduces a different set of prints of these photographs which have descriptive titles and dates written on each image. This establishes that the

Fig. 3 | Marble bull's head capital from the 'Agora' of Salamis, Cyprus; London, British Museum, inv. no. GR 1891, 8-6.1.

was being moved through Famagusta, provides a fascinating snapshot from a period in Cypriot archaeology when digging was rapidly emerging from being a 'mischievous pastime' to a somewhat more disciplined scholarly pursuit – even if, as in this case, the fruits of excavation continued to leave the island in order to furnish foreign museums with Cypriot antiquities.[5]

But the photograph also provides a glimpse of the broader world of late 19th-century Cyprus in which this transformation took place. This is a subject less commonly addressed by historians of archaeology in Cyprus, or throughout the Eastern Mediterranean, and one that is easily overlooked given the prevalent focus on the political aspects of the subject; indeed, the narrative of archaeological activities is often used as a tool with which to both critique and criticize colonialism and imperialism in general.[6] Whatever the justifications for these approaches, there is much more to be said. To

image of the bull *in situ* (her figure 228) was taken during the excavations in May 1890 rather than immediately before its transportation the following year.

5 See Elizabeth Goring, *A Mischievous Pastime. Digging in Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh 1988) for a survey talking its name from Myres' famous characterisation of the archaeological activity (John Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* [New York 1914] xv); Markides 2014, 165.

6 E.g. Bruce Trigger, 'Alternative archaeologies: nationalist, colonialist, imperialist', in: *Man* 19, 1984, 355–370; Margarita Díaz-Andreu, *A World History of Nineteenth-Century Archaeology. Nationalism, Colonialism and the Pas*t (Oxford 2007); also Oscar Moro Abadía, 'The

begin with, the socio-economic status and – in some cases – religion/ethnicity of many of those depicted in the photograph can be determined through their diverse costumes. The decidedly filthy naval uniforms of the sailors together with the rather smarter 'country wear' of the bearded man with the whistle and the stick on the left of the capital, George Fowler King-Hall, the Commander of the Melita, as well as the unknown individual on the right who wears what looks like a sporting cap, mark them out as representatives of the British rulers of Cyprus. They contrast strongly with the large crowd of local onlookers whose clothing and head-gear represent the typical social and cultural kaleidoscope of late 19th-century Cyprus.[7] Traditional *vrakes*, fezes and various kinds of headscarves abound among the men, though the black and white image probably masks subtle differences between Christian and Muslim men who might be distinguishable only by the colour of their clothing.[8] A number of individuals are clearly better dressed than other (some in traditional Cypriot town wear, others wearing European garments, or else the mix of both that emerged in the later 19th century). A Greek Orthodox priest stands out in his *καλυμμαύχιον* in the middle of the photograph as does another well-dressed individual in a white turban on the left (perhaps a local community leader or Muslim cleric). Were these two socially significant figures merely onlookers? Or else, far from being mere picturesque bystanders, as key figures in the everyday world and communities of those shown in the picture did their presence signal the importance or at least unusual nature of the event?

Most of the people in the picture are men, though a few women or girls are also shown. They may well have been among the scores of female workers who participated in the CEF campaign the previous year which employed several hundred people over the course of the campaign in 1890 (see below). Some of the women wear headscarves, though another who stands ghost-like behind the bull's head holding a child is uncovered. Most striking perhaps is the figure on the top left dressed in what looks like a plaid *çarşaf* (*chador*). She is presumably a Muslim woman, though one would normally expect this garment to be white, as seen in contemporary photographs, including that showing the excavations at Palaepaphos in 1888 (Fig. 4).[9] Both 19th-century commentators and modern scholars of Cypriot costume have stressed the very limited differences in clothing between the majority of Christian and Muslim islanders at this time but distinctions nonetheless existed, especially for women within an essentially

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History of Archaeology as a "Colonial Discourse"', in: *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 16(2), 2006, 4–17, the title and content of which express this approach very well.

7 Surveyed by, for example: Elena Papademitriou, *Cypriot Costumes* (Athens 1991); Papademitriou 2000; *Cypriot Costumes* 1999; Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou – Damdelen 2012.

8 See Euphrosyne Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou in *Cypriot Costumes* 1999, 64.

9 See, for example: the image of Ayia Sophia in Nicosia in *The Illustrated London News*, 7 Sep. 1878 (reproduced in Anne Cavendish, *Cyprus 1878. The Journal of Sir Garnet Wolseley* [Nicosia 1991] pl. 17); John P. Foscolo's photograph of the Women's Bazaar in Nicosia towards the end of the 19th century (Andreas Malecos, *J. P. Foscolo* [Nicosia 1992] no. 60; also reproduced in Papademitriou 2000, 31), though here an individual in the foreground also seems to be wearing a similar garment decorated with broad horizontal stripes; and *Cypriot Costumes* 1999, fig. 46 showing a woman standing in front of a shoe-maker's workshop in Nicosia in the late 19th century.

Fig. 4 | Excavations at the Sanctuary of Aphrodite, Palaeapaphos, 1888.

conservative society.[10] At the same time, the relatively unusual choice of cloth for this garment – perhaps an imported English fabric or else a Cypriot imitation – might be another reflection of the interaction between local and foreign material goods, fashions and identities that was widespread in this period and which might easily be overlooked if the photograph is viewed solely from the relatively narrow perspective of archaeological history.

Scenes such as this can simply be read as typical reflections of the archaeological manifestations of Empire. These include large and relatively cheap workforces deployed in the excavation and transportation of large archaeological finds, the presence of an obliging naval service to transport archaeological treasures with – literally – military precision back to the museums of Western Europe, and of course the alienation of cultural heritage from their original territories.[11] Yet archaeologists rarely discuss these images much beyond the immediate concern to establish provenance of objects and to create a basic narrative of excavations within a particular socio-political narrative (usu-

10 Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou – Damdelen 2012, 52 and *passim*; See Anne Bridgwood, 'Dancing the Jar: Girls' Dress at Turkish Cypriot Weddings', in: Joanne Eicher (ed.), *Dress and Ethnicity* (Berg 1995) 35 who notes how Muslim Cypriots, especially villagers, were slower to abandon traditional costumes than their Christian neighbours down into the 20th century; see also Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou – Damdelen 2012, 80 and Adil 2014, 108.

11 See Michael Greenhalgh, *From the Romans to the Railways. The Fate of Antiquities in Asia Minor* (Leiden 2013) 354ff. Charles Newton's transportation of the 'Lion of Knidos' using the Royal Navy is a classic example of this practice (see Ian Jenkins, *Archaeologists and Aesthetes in the Sculpture Galleries of the British Museum* [London 1992] 187–188). To this we can add the removal of the 'Amathus Vase' by the French navy in 1865 (see Lucie Bonato, 'La France et l'archéologie chypriote pendant la gestion du consul Louis Dumesnil de Maricourt [1862–1865]', in: *Thetis* 16/17, 2010, 113–120.

ally defined as 'imperial' or 'colonial' archaeology: see note 6 above), or else to establish a distance between 19th-century methods and ethics and those espoused by modern scholars and heritage professionals. This includes of course the issue of ownership of cultural heritage which, in this scene, is literally being hauled away from the island and which – over the course of the 1890s in particular – increasingly elicited political responses in Cyprus.[12] Yet important though these latter issues surely are, the various social aspects of excavation are commonly neglected in these discussions, even on a quite basic level such as the central role played by local populations in this work; this is a somewhat surprising omission given the claims of post-colonial approaches to champion local voices that are often ignored both in the original narratives and in most modern histories of archaeology.

In this regard, another common reading of such scenes is to see them as examples of western appropriation and (mis)representation of the images of local populations, monuments and landscapes, the so-called western or colonial gaze.[13] This is sometimes of course true to a quite egregious extent, especially when images were used to express or imply racial or cultural stereotypes and to create or reinforce hierarchies of various kinds.[14] Yet here too this approach requires a more nuanced and variegated approach in order to avoid the very objectification of the 'East' highlighted by modern critiques of orientalism and cultural imperialism, and certainly to balance the cruder forms of post-colonial analysis which often assume the worst motivations and attitudes lurking behind such images.[15] John Thomson's famous album of photographs of Cyprus, taken in 1878 and published with a commentary the following year, is a *locus classicus* for this approach within Cypriot scholarship on this subject.[16] Both Mike Hajimichael and Hercules Papantoniou, for example, while recognising Thomson's generally sympathetic (though romanticised) account of the local population, also stress the book's broader agenda to promote a new British colony to visitors and especially its potential to investors and settlers, all within a more generalised colonial perspective.[17] Yet the agenda attributed to Thomson should come as little surprise to students of the early period of British rule in Cyprus.[18] Pretty much every statement he makes about the island can also be found in the flood of contemporary writings occasioned by the British Occupation of 1878; many indeed were factually correct (such as its underdeveloped state and

12 Anna Marangou, *The Consul Luigi Palma di Cesnola 1832–1904: Life and Deeds* (Nicosia 2000); Anna Marangou in Karageorghis 1999, 179 reproduces the near-contemporary comments of Peristianis describing the 'kidnapping' of the capital.

13 E.g. Adil 2014; Hajimichael 2006; Papantoniou 2014.

14 Susan Sherratt, '"Ethnicities", "Ethnonyms" and Archaeological Labels. Whose Ideologies and Whose Identities?', in: Joanne Clarke, *Archaeological Perspectives on the Transmission and Transformation of Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean*. Levant Supplementary Series, vol. 2 (Oxford 2005) 25–38.

15 Edward Said interestingly omitted any discussion of photography in *Orientalism* (London 1978) despite the long tradition of viewing photographs as tools of colonial objectification (see Papantoniou 2014, 21).

16 John Thomson, *Through Cyprus with the Camera in the Autumn of 1878* (London 1879; reprinted in 1985 with preface by Ialeen Cowan).

17 Adil 2014, 105–106; Hajimichael 2006, 67 observes how 'Thomson displays a categorically imperialistic narrative'; Papantoniou 2014, 15–16.

18 Hook 2015, chapter 8.

need for investment, which was also one of the expectations, sadly not met, of the Cypriot community).[19]

More to the point, it would be somewhat perverse not to recognise Thomson's genuine interest in the local population in sociological and indeed humanistic terms at the same time as he was framing his subjects in a manner that was of interest and relevance to his anticipated middle-class audience in Britain. A few years earlier, for instance, he produced a volume of images highlighting the conditions of the poor of Victorian London.[20] In this respect, as stressed by Euphrosyne Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou and Asiz Damdelen in their study of Turkish Cypriot costumes, we should highlight the crucial importance of this relatively new technology in recording 'authentic scenes of Cyprus and its peoples in daily lives or in special events'.[21] Even Thomson's admittedly highly packaged images show signs of spontaneity and unpredictability, sometimes acknowledged in the text, which undermines the notion that they were intended merely as crude tools of cultural imperialism. For instance, commenting on plate 16 showing a group of men in Nicosia, he noted that '[t]he turbaned Turk in the distance was introduced into the picture accidentally', an admission of the vagaries of even the most carefully staged scenes. Similarly, plate 18 was described as a chance shot showing the 'fleeting expression of sentiment' between an older and a younger woman that he noted was otherwise very difficult to obtain with a camera. While this observation is partly a narratological device designed to bring the reader/viewer closer to the scene, and perhaps to create empathy with the subjects, this very fact is grounded in the social realities that confronted the photographer on the spot. Furthermore, the fact that one women appears twice in these images, but dressed in different costumes (one Cypriot, the other western European), might support the notion of a highly artificial and inauthentic staging by the photographer and indeed that the subject was paid to participate (as Hajimichael suggests[22]); yet this very possibility can admit other explanations, from the agency of the woman herself (who may have been happy to benefit financially from her supposed 'objectification' if she was paid to pose by Thomson) to a simple wish to facilitate and take part in the novel and exciting activities of a visitor to the island.[23]

Returning to the photograph of the Salamis capital, it is notable that the image looks fairly 'normal' beyond the technical limitations of contemporary technology to freeze the subjects for long enough to achieve a sharp and focused picture. Even then, several of the subjects shown here are blurred, reinforcing the impression that this was a lively crowd scene with limited formal 'staging', though admittedly there must have been some degree of people management to ensure the overall effect was successful. It is also significant to observe that we do not actually know who the photographer was

19 Surveyed by Kyriacos Demetriou, 'Victorian Cyprus: Society and Institutions in the Aftermath of the Anglo-Turkish Convention, 1878–1892', in: *Byzantine and Modern Greek Studies* 21, 1997, 1–29.

20 See Hajimichael 2006, 62.

21 Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou – Damdelen 2012, 86.

22 Hajimichael 2006, 75.

23 Hajimichael (2006, 76) overstates the embedded colonial objectification of such images to the neglect of their potential matter-of-factness, especially with the somewhat glib statement that 'Thomson's book said more about how the first British writers perceived and received the people of Cyprus than about the Cypriots themselves'.

or what their specific agenda – if any – might have been beyond recording the scene. Might the photographer have been Cypriot or Levantine rather than a member of the British community or the Royal Navy crew? Thomson is justly famous as one of the very first photographers to turn a camera on Cyprus on a large-scale, but he was soon followed by individuals such as Mateos Papazian and John Foscolo (a French Levantine whose career took him from Zante to Smyrna and then to Cyprus where he became a favoured society and army photographer) and then by several Cypriots such as Ahmet and İsmet Şevki and Theodoulos Toufexis later in the 19th century.[24]

The scale of the original excavations, and particularly the spectacle of the capital's transportation over the course of several days from Salamis to Famagusta, no doubt excited local interest, especially by the time it reached the town where the image was taken, and this no doubt explains the large and diverse crowd of on-lookers. Yet despite the range of people visible in the image, the names of most of the individuals depicted are not known, apart from the Commander King-Hall who is identified in a marginal note on the British Museum print of the photograph. Was the man in the sporting cap standing on the right of the capital a British colonial official from his office in Famagusta where the photograph was taken? He is hardly a member of the crew, given his dress, and certainly not either of the chief excavators of Salamis – John Munro or Henry Tubbs – both of whom had left Cyprus by this time. Many of the key figures in the British administration at this time are poorly documented and matching names with rare images such as this is therefore extremely difficult.[25] The previously unpublished report on the removal of the bull's head capital included here in the appendix provides the names of a few additional individuals involved in this scene. Apart from King-Hall, there is also a Lieutenant Henderson (possibly the man in the middle of the scene, though again this costume would be quite unusual for a British naval officer); finally, the name of a single rank-and-file crew member, a Mr Joseph Martin, is recorded in the official report on the operation because of the injury he sustained and for which, on request from the ship's commander, was compensated by the British Museum with the sum of £10 (see below). Typically, none of the local participants are named in the written report where they are referred to *en masse* simply as 'natives'.

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24 Accounts of early photography in Cyprus are provided by: Haris Yiakoumis in: Lucia Bonato – Jacqueline Karageorghis – Haris Yiakoumis, *Chypre panoramique* (Paris 2011) 69–83; Andreas Malecos, *J. P. Foscolo* (Nicosia 1992); Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou – Damdelen 2012, 89–100 (significantly focused on its contribution to the study of costume); Adil 2014, esp. 107ff; Hajimichael 2006, 64. See also the comments of Hook 2015, 55–56. Agnes Smith even mentions an unnamed priest who photographed her party just outside of Famagusta (*Through Cyprus* [London 1887] 153). Her comments on his limited skill imply that interest in this new technology was not confined to professionals. Ahmet Şevki is also said to have been self-taught and even improvised a camera after seeing one owned by an English resident (Kadir Kaba, *The Origins of Turkish Cypriot Photography* [Nicosia 2007] 145). It should also be noted that the archaeologist Max Ohnefalsch-Richter and his wife Magda made extensive use of photography for recording ancient sites and the contemporary populations of Cyprus, the latter constituting a valuable record of social history in the late 19th century (Andreas Malecos – Anna Marangou, *Studies in Cyprus* [Nicosia 1994]; Magda Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Griechische Sitten und Gebräuche auf Cypern* [Berlin 1913]).

25 I am grateful to Robert Merrillees for his insights on this subject.

These general observations serve as a reminder of the neglect by scholars of significant *local* agency behind major archaeological projects such as the excavations of Salamis in 1890, but also the relatively limited research on the history of the campaign itself. The CEF campaign at Salamis in 1890 was the first large-scale attempt to excavate the urban centre of the site.[26] The area had been visited, described, speculated upon and, of course, mined for building materials and antiquities over the centuries, probably since its abandonment in the seventh century AD, but never excavated in a systematic manner. By contrast, the ancient city's burial grounds, extending as far west as the outskirts of the villages of Enkomi and Ayios Sergios, attracted many amateur archaeologists during the scramble for Cypriot antiquities of the 19th century, most notably Luigi Palma di Cesnola and his brother Alessandro in the 1870s.[27] As the title of the latter's popular book implies, much of his huge collection of more than 14,000 items was claimed to have been unearthed in the Salamis area, though the stated provenances of many are uncertain and, at times, untrue.[28] At the same time, some categories of items, which were often depicted in groups in the plates of the photographic album of the collection first published in 1880 – essentially as a lavish advertising catalogue, though presented as a scholarly work – belong to types which were probably or certainly the products of Eastern Cypriot or Salaminian workshops. These include Plain Ware jugs with gouged decoration and the lanterns or braziers in the same fabric shown on plate 18, and terracotta rattles in the shape of wild boars depicted on plate 29.[29] It is possible that much of this material derived from the short, but apparently intensive, burst of activity in this area that Cesnola claimed to have begun in November 1877 and which continued until the British Occupation the following year. Admittedly, the way he presents the story of an initial lack of success followed by a reward for perseverance looks suspiciously like a literary device of the kind also found in his brother's earlier account and indeed in many narratives of travel and discovery dating from this period.[30]

Max Ohnefalsch-Richer undertook excavations in the area on behalf of Charles Newton and the British Museum between 1880 and 1882, but these were on a relatively small scale. His original reports and letters are lost while the published details of his work at Salamis are both limited and vague, lacking even a basic map showing

26 Marangou in Karageorghis 1999, 171–176; Munro – Tubbs 1891, 59–60.

27 Luigi Palma di Cesnola, *Cyprus. Its Ancient Cities, Tombs and Temples* (London 1877) 201–202; Alexander Palma di Cesnola, *Salaminia (Cyprus). The History, Treasures, & Antiquities of Salamis in the Island of Cyprus* (London 1882); Anna Marangou in Karageorghis 1999, 175–176; Paul Hetherington, 'The "Larnaka Tympanum' and its Origins: A Persisting Problem from 19th-Century Cyprus', in: *RDAC* 2000, 361–380.

28 E.g. Olivier Masson, 'À propos des inscriptions syllabiques de Dhrymou', in: *CCEC* 27, 1997, 15–19; also Olivier Masson, 'Quelques épisodes de la vie des frères Palma di Cesnola', in: *RDAC* 1990, 285–297.

29 Henry Lawrence and Alessandro Palma di Cesnola, *Lawrence-Cesnola Collection. Cyprus Antiquities Excavated by Major Al. Palma di Cesnola.1876-1879* (London 1880/1881). Vassos Karageorghis – Thomas Kiely, 'Roman Jugs with Gouged Decoration', in: *RDAC* 2010, 497–508. John Lund's recent important survey of Hellenistic to Roman pottery made in Cyprus establishes firm distribution patterns for the first time: *A Study of the Circulation of Ceramics in Cyprus from the 3rd Century BC to the 3rd Century AD* (Aarhus 2015).

30 Cesnola 1882, xxi–xxiii.

where exactly he dug.[31] These articles, together with the finds preserved in the British Museum[32], show that that he concentrated on burial grounds, though he also excavated a bathhouse decorated with mosaics near the gymnasium[33] and collected some Greek alphabetic inscriptions during what appears to have been very limited exploration of the urban centre.[34] The same was true of the Hake-Kitchener excavations of 1882 carried out on behalf of the South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria & Albert Museum). Its authorities insisted that the work should be conducted from the 'aesthetic rather than archaeological point of view' – in other words, to secure examples of ancient art and design rather than complete tomb groups, whose collection was explicitly discouraged.[35] Kitchener's later interest in collecting *objets d'art* is said to have been spurred by his discoveries in Cyprus (though after earlier archaeological work in Palestine).[36] His assistant George Hake seems to have done most of the actual fieldwork which was focused between the monastery of St. Barnabas and the village of Enkomi where Hake explored some 45 tombs in all; despite his lack of training, his brief reports on the excavations suggest however some awareness of the basics of archaeological recording.[37] Kitchener was certainly present for some of the time at Salamis – in a charming

31 Summarised by Anna Marangou in Karageorghis 1999, 177–178 who incorrectly states that the excavations were directed by Charles Newton; Leon Fivel [i.e. Olivier Masson], 'Lettre de Max Ohnefalsch-Richter à A. H. Smith, 1912', in: *CCEC* 21, 1994, 23–28; short poorly illustrated reports by Max Ohnefalsch-Richter in: *AM* 6, 1881, 191–208, 244–255 and *AM* 8, 1883, 133–140; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 24. Also, Salomon Reinach, *Chroniques d'Orient* (Paris 1891) 179–184 whose account helps to identify the findspots of some of his discoveries. His work is described in more detail in Kiely 2018.

32 GR 1881, 8-24.1–178 *passim* (though mixed with some material from Kition); GR 1881, 9-1.1–112; GR 1882,11-10.1–5 (see note 34 below); GR 1884,12-10.241–267. See Kiely 2018 for an overview.

33 Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, 'Cyprus. Its Ancient Civilization', in: *Pall Mall Magazine*, June 1914, 753 and fig. 20; see Demetrios Michaelides, 'A New Orpheus Mosaic in Cyprus', in: Vassos Karageorghis (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium 'Cyprus Between the Orient and the Occident', Nicosia, 8–14 September 1985* (Nicosia 1986) 473–489 (with refs).

34 Charles T. Newton (ed.), *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, part II (Oxford 1883) nos. 383, 384, 391, 392, 393, 394 (?), 395, 396, 398, 398A. No. 382 was erroneously attributed to Salamis but was actually found at Achna (Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 2). Conversely, Newton's no. 394 was registered with the main group of finds from the village sanctuary at Achna in 1883 (GR 1883,1-6.1) but is unlikely to be from this site as Ohnefalsch-Richter clearly stated that no. 382 was the only inscription found in the shrine (unless it was found in one of the several sanctuaries located in the hinterland of the village that he also explored at this time). No. 396 was found near the Tomb of Ay. Katherina and it is possible that he found some of the others in this area or around *Toumba tou Michaeli* to the south where the CEF also collected or recorded numerous inscriptions (Munro – Tubbs 1891, 105–106, 167–168, 188–192). Finally, no. 981, from Ohnefalsch-Richter's exploration of the site, is explicitly stated in the BM register to have been 'found in the town ruins of Salamis' (Gustav Hirschfeld – Frederick H. Marshall, *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum*, part IV [Oxford 1893–1916]).

35 See Bailey 1965, 5; Kiely – Ulbrich 2012, 323–324.

36 Trevor Royle, *The Kitchener Enigma* (London 1985) 47; Thomas Kiely, 'Kitchener's Treasures', in: *British Museum Magazine*, Spring 2016, 44–46.

37 Summarised in Bailey 1965, 5–13; on Hake's life and career, see Thomas Kiely, 'Kourion, Guide to the Collection II', in: T. Kiely (ed.), *Ancient Cyprus in the British Museum Online Research Catalogue* (www.britishmuseum.org/research/publications/online_research_catalogues/

letter to his sister Millie in 1882, the future Field Marshall describes the discovery of another example of a characteristic boar rattle.[38] Yet Kitchener's survey work in Palestine and Cyprus also reveal great sensitivity to archaeological and historical topography as well as to the acquisition of antiquities; it is a great pity therefore that so little archival material for these excavations on the island, or indeed for the survey itself, has survived.[39]

Notwithstanding the contemporary prejudice for intact and valuable antiquities which were more easily found in tombs, the reluctance to explore the urban centre of Salamis stemmed from the effort of moving the large amounts of sand, vegetation and rubble which encumbered the ancient town. Luigi Palma di Cesnola claimed to have expended considerable sums of money here on three occasions. His extremely short account does not state where he excavated, and one might reasonably doubt the veracity of his text (as with much else in his book); however, his uncustomarily humble admission that the results were unsatisfactory might suggest that he did actually tackle the urban remains rather than just the necropoleis of the city. His brother Alessandro's account is equally vague, and at times wrong, leading the CEF investigators to conclude that 'his extraordinary topographical remarks show that he had little or no personal acquaintance with the site'.[40] It took an ambitious and initially well-funded body such as the CEF to explore the urban core of the ancient kingdom; one, moreover, that was interested in broader historical questions, such as the origins, urban development and extent of the city, rather than simply the contents of the necropoleis – though admittedly this was the main aim its work at Polis in 1889 and 1890 because of the wealth of finds from the area during the commercial excavations of 1885 and 1886 which the CEF hoped to replicate.[41]

Details of the workforces used by excavators are rarely provided in 19th-century accounts of excavations on Cyprus, except in a highly discursive way, nor does the subject feature much in contemporary studies of the subject.[42] Another classic image of

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ancient_cyprus_british_museum.aspx). The material, ranging in date from Cypro-Archaic/Cypro-Classical to Hellenistic and Roman times is registered in the British Museum as GR 1982,7-29.1–137 *passim*.

38 John Lund, *A Study of the Circulation of Ceramics in Cyprus from the 3rd Century BC to the 3rd Century AD* (Aarhus 2015) 147–149, 299–302, to which this example (BM GR 1982, 7-29.89) should be added along with another two, also from Salamis (BM GR 1881,8-24.76–77 = Lund's cat. nos. 1654/1658 and 1659 respectively, the first two being the same item. None of these however are recognised as the objects in the BM's collection).

39 Trevor Royle, *The Kitchener Enigma* (London 1985) chapter 2; Rodney Shirley, *Kitchener's Survey of Cyprus 1878–1883. The First Triangulated Survey and Mapping of the Island* (Nicosia 2001); Cyprus State Archives, *Kitchener 1878–1883. Architect of the Cyprus Land Survey* (Nicosia 2012).

40 Munro – Tubbs 1891, 59.

41 Munro – Tubbs 1890; Munro 1891. On the earlier excavations, see Paul Hermann, *Das Gräberfeld von Marion* (Berlin 1887); Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, *passim*. See now Viola Lewandowski, 'The Berlin collection from the Necropolis of Marion', in: Vassos Karageorghis – Elena Poyiadji-Richter – Sabine Rogge (eds.), *Cypriote Antiquities in Berlin in the Focus of New Research* (Münster 2014) 153–168.

42 One exception is Stephen Quirke's study of Petrie's workers (*Hidden Hands: Egyptian Workforces in Petrie Excavation Archives, 1880–1924* [London 2010]); see also Zeynep Çelik, *About Antiquities. Politics of Archaeology in the Ottoman Empire* (Austin 2016) chapter 5.

19th-century archaeology in Cyprus is the much-reproduced photograph of the excavations at Kouklia in 1888, showing the teeming masses of workers, including many women (Fig. 4).[43] In his narrative of the season, Ernest Gardner makes relatively little mention of this aspect of the progress of the work itself, though he does tell us that up to 230 men, women and children were employed. The British Museum's excavations at Enkomi between March and September 1896 employed up to 100 workers at maximum extent, exclusively in search of tombs.[44] Munro's account of the Salamis season published in the 1891-report included a detailed list of the waxing and waning of the workforce across the 100-odd days of the excavation season. From 16 January to 4 June, the workforce varied between 26 and 117 men and between 23 and 70 women. This is very informative about the realities of managing large workforces, especially as Munro relates that since labourers were effectively employed by the week, they were often deployed to dig trial trenches right across the urban site when work in the main excavation areas of the site was winding down. This explains the very large sampling of the total area of the ancient city achieved within a single season, but also the broad chronological range of material uncovered. This helped to define the history of the site with greater precision than one focused largely on individual monuments and the search for sculpture and inscriptions.[45]

This scale was enabled by the relatively cheap cost of labour. Munro does not tell us the wages paid to the workers at Salamis, but other sources indicate that they might have ranged from the 5½ pence and 7 pence per day for women and men respectively paid to the workers at Kouklia in 1888 – essentially, the rate for agricultural work[46] – and perhaps as much as 1 shilling per day according to the official government rate for manual labour (though within the Limassol District the rate was set at 1 shilling 6 pence because of higher demand for labour).[47] These figures can be multiplied by between 70 and 100 to get a sense of their modern values, though must also be calibrated against the broader cost of living on the island at this time. The sums paid were generally modest by contemporary British standards. For example, the British Museum paid its general labourers between 5 and 6 ½ shillings a day around this time, though agricultural wages across the United Kingdom were both highly variable but also, in some areas (especially Scotland), not much higher in numerical terms (though again we must bear in mind the difference in spending power).[48] Nonetheless, these figures by no means represented subsistence wages in Cyprus. This is the case even if standards of living were quite low because of the generally depressed state of the island at

43 The image was first published in David G. Hogarth, *A Wandering Scholar in the Levant* (London 1896) opposite p. 190.

44 *BM GR archives*, *Excavations in Cyprus*, letters of A. S. Smith to E. Maunde Thompson, 16 and 22 July 1896.

45 Tubbs in Munro – Tubbs 1891, 121–122.

46 Hogarth in Gardner *et al.* 1888, 164.

47 John Williamson (ed.), *Cyprus Guide and Directory* (Nicosia 1885) 129.

48 Arthur Bowley, 'The Statistics of Wages in the United Kingdom during the Last Hundred Years. (Part I.) Agricultural Wages', in: *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* 61/4, 1898, 702–722; 62/1, 1899, 140–150 (see later issues for wages in other sectors); also British Museum Central Archives *Original Papers* 1891, January–April, no. 1387 provides a list of standard wages and prices for manual, semi-skilled and skilled work within the Museum.

this time.[49] At the same time, given the difficult economic conditions of this period in particular, excavations of this scale would no doubt have contributed significantly to the local community.

Yet the very scale on which the CEF conducted their work very soon exhausted their limited resources. Despite an initial flurry of donations, the fund was unable to raise sufficient money from public subscribers to continue the campaigns beyond 1890.[50] In February of that year, Munro wrote an anxious letter to Alexander Murray warning that unless additional funds were forthcoming from some source – and he was essentially fishing for a donation from the British Museum – the work at Polis would not be finished and a potentially rich source of artefacts would be lost.[51] There was also the danger that Ohnefalsch-Richter would attempt to organise his own expedition to the area. He was now an avowed rival of the CEF (and of Murray) because of his duplicitous activities surrounding the sale of items from the Polis excavations of 1886, and on account of work he conducted for the Berlin Museums at Tamassos in 1889 (which Murray had tried to prevent on the grounds that he believed that the CEF had a monopoly on the island).[52]

The surviving correspondence and documentation is incomplete and some details remain unclear, but the Trustees granted the sum of £70 to continue the work which was carried out after the cessation of the season at Salamis. Around the same time as the British Museum intervened with emergency funding, Murray proposed a much more ambitious plan to extend the excavations at Salamis into a second season. In a report to the Trustees, he suggested that the sum of £1000 be diverted from the annual acquisition budget of the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.[53] Both Murray, and his predecessor Charles Newton, had previously attempted to raise funds for excavations in Cyprus in this way – the latter in order to take advantage of the British occupation of the island and especially in order to investigate the fictional source of Cesnola's 'Curium Treasure', and Murray in light of the rich discoveries of Polis in 1886 mentioned earlier, especially after the establishment of the CEF in 1887 following Henry Bulwer's ban on private excavations.[54] Both were unsuccessful because of the reluctance of the Museum's Trustees to spend public money on excavations where there

49 On wages and living standards in Cyprus during the early British period, though with somewhat contrasting conclusions, see: Katsiaounis 1996, 135–136; Paul Caruana-Galizia, 'Strategic Colonies and Economic Development: Real Wages in Cyprus, Gibraltar, and Malta, 1836–1913', in: *Economic History Review* 68/4, 2015, 1250–1276.

50 David Gill, *Sifting the Soil of Greece. The Early Years of the British School at Athens (1886–1919)* (London 2011) 163 (with further refs).

51 *BM GR archives, Original Letters* 1890 nos. 190–191, Munro to Murray, 5 May and 2 June 1890. This source of funding is also alluded to by Munro in his published report (Munro 1891, 298).

52 Kiely – Ulbrich 2012, 334; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, *passim* on his disputes with the CEF; letters from Claude Cobham to Alexander Murray (*BM GR archives, Original Letters* 1886 *passim*) mention Ohnefalsch-Richter's apparently parallel negotiations with both Berlin and London over the finds from the Marion excavations (see Kiely 2018).

53 *BM Central Archives, Original Papers* 1890, no. 2485, report of 10 July 1890.

54 Thomas Kiely, 'The Kourion Notebook in the British Museum. Excavating an Old Excavation', in: Thomas Kiely (ed.), *Ancient Cyprus in the British Museum. Essays in Honour of Veronica Tatton-Brown*. British Museum Research Publications, vol. 180 (London 2009) 62–100,

was no guarantee of good returns. This was in spite of the great success of the 1886 excavations at Polis (from which Murray had purchased some very choice objects), but also on account of a more general unwillingness of the British government to invest in archaeological work.[55]

The reason the bull's head capital came to the British Museum was also directly conditioned by financial considerations. It had been allocated to the CEF during the division of the finds in 1890 though its final destination in the United Kingdom was as yet undecided. The Fund however was all but broke by this time and, as Munro noted in a letter to Murray in June 1890,[56] it was quite beyond its resources to move the capital to the coast in order for it to be transported back to England. He worried that if left where it was found for any length of time, the capital would be 'damaged by prowling villagers'. This fear – if genuine – might be read as simply the threat of mere vandalism, but also could be understood as a form of 'resistance' by the locals, disgruntled at the island's economic and political condition or simply because their own ability to excavate and trade in antiquities was increasingly threatened (albeit generally unsuccessfully) by officialdom.[57] To avoid this danger, Munro asked the CEF committee to allocate the capital to the British Museum which would permit an official solution to the problem. As government property, the British Museum would be able to apply to Admiralty in London to arrange for a Royal Naval vessel to remove it, though at the expense of the museum's Trustees. While the British Museum had been unable to find the money for excavation in Cyprus, it was much easier to use public funds to purchase antiquities from the market or, as in this case, to transport objects that had already been secured as its property in other ways. The latter included many items collected by British diplomatic officials who were an important source of new material for the Museum's collections throughout this period.[58] Incidentally, Munro's earlier request to collect the capital to the Admiral of the Mediterranean Fleet when the latter called at Limassol was 'politely but firmly rebuffed' as no official application from the British Museum to the British Admiralty had been made, an important reminder that the gov-

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see p. 64; corrected online edition at: www.britishmuseum.org/research. Also Kiely – Ulbrich 2012, 332–333, 341–342.

55 Kiely 2010. 241–244; Kiely – Ulbrich 2012, 334.

56 *BM GR archives, Original Letters* 1890, no. 191, Munro to Murray, 2 June 1890.

57 The authorities struggled unsuccessfully throughout the early British period to stamp out illicit digging and there was a lively local trade in antiquities (Kiely forthcoming; see also comments of Menelaos Markides, in: *Annual Report of the Curator of Antiquities* 1914, 3–4). On vandalism and banditry as forms of social resistance in Cyprus, see Katsiaounis 1996, 143–158 (with references). For a modern archaeological example in Cyprus, see Greg Defteros in: David Frankel – Jennifer Webb *et al., The Bronze Age Cemeteries at Deneia in Cyprus*. SIMA, vol. CXXXV (Sävedalen 2007) 6–7; for Israel/Palestine, see Morag Kersel, 'Transcending borders: objects on the move', in: *Archaeologies. Journal of the World Archaeological Congress* 3/2, 2007, 91–94; on Italy, see Fiona Rose-Greenland, 'Looters, Collectors and a Passion for Antiquities at the Margins of Italian Society', in: *Journal of Modern Italian Studies* 19/5, 2014, 570–582 who explores the complex social and cultural contexts of looting in the 20th century.

58 Debbie Challis, *From the Harpy Tomb to the Wonders of Ephesus. British Archaeologists in the Ottoman Empire 1840–1880* (London 2008). This was very true of Cyprus in the same period: see Kiely 2010, *passim* (with previous refs).

ernment was not necessarily at the beck-and-call of archaeologists – correct procedures had to be followed at all time, even for the benefit of the British Museum.[59]

These various deliberations led to what we see in figure 1 but we are also able to read about this process in more detail thanks to a report submitted by the Commander of the Royal Naval vessel, George King-Hall, who organised this mammoth task early in 1891. The report is included in full here to show the scale of the effort required to achieve this operation and the military precision with which it was carried out, but also the many smaller details that do not usually find their way into archaeological histories. Despite the proliferation of naval and technical terminology, the text largely speaks for itself and requires limited comment. One aspect to stress here is the effort taken to transport what was admittedly an important archaeological find, but also the minute recording of costs in order to ensure that the Admiralty was fully recompensed. In a modern era of vast public expenditure the amounts involved seem trivial, but these are more significant in the context of later 19th-century imperial budgets where the British Treasury pursued a policy of minimum expenditure in many public spheres, including in colonies and protectorates. In Cyprus, although the early years of British rule witnessed an impressive programme of public works, including road building, the tightening of expenditure after 1882 meant that few new projects were initiated and the maintenance of existing infrastructure was sorely neglected.[60] This remained the case until the arrival of Sir Walter Sendall as High Commissioner in 1892 who increasingly pressed the imperial authorities in London to act; this was only a success after the appointment of Joseph Chamberlain as Colonial Secretary in 1895 with his avowed aim to develop the colonies, including Cyprus.[61] The absence of adequate roads throughout much of the island, as well as the lack of adequate harbour facilities (including at Famagusta), was one of a number of problems that impaired economic activity. This also impacted significantly on archaeological work, especially the cost of transporting heavy or bulky objects. While the bull's head capital could not have been moved by any other means prior to the development of mechanised transport and lifting devices, it should be stressed that archaeological finds regarded as being of limited archaeological or aesthetic value were routinely left *in situ* or otherwise disposed of (such as being sold or given away) by the excavators because of the cost of transportation. Numerous finds were left at Salamis in 1890, though some in what was described by the excavators as a temporary museum. A considerable number of the ceramic finds, but also all of the much heavier stone funeral *cippi*, excavated by the British Museum at Amathus in 1893 and 1894 were also discarded or sold off to avoid the cost of sending them to Nicosia, let alone to London.[62] This might easily be seen as a meretricious treatment

59 *BM GR archives, Original Letters* 1890, no. 194, Munro to Murray, 2 Oct. (referring to a request made earlier in the year but prior to 20 August, the day before Munro left the island – see *BM GR archives, Original Letters* 1890, no. 193, 19 Aug.).

60 Markides 2014, 19–27; Hook 2015, chapter 8.

61 Markides 2014, 31–34. Significant improvements were made towards the end of the 19th century as a result of Chamberlain's and Sendall's initiatives but much remained to be done (see Kenneth W. Schaar – Michael Given – George Theocharous, *Under the Clock. Colonial Architecture and History in Cyprus, 1878–1960* [Nicosia 1995] 37–40).

62 Elizabeth Goring, *A Mischievous Pastime. Digging in Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century* (Edinburgh 1988) 28; discussed in more detail in Kiely forthcoming.

of the finds which emphasises the concern for museums only with fine art objects, but there was significant economic logic underlying such actions, given the limited funds for excavation and the equally limited infrastructure for managing the archaeological heritage of the island at this time.[63]

To conclude, while the effort to transport the Salamis capital reflects the organisation and skill of the Royal Navy, together with its professional determination to get the job done, we must also stress the significant role of the large but nameless local workforce shown in the photographic image and mentioned in the written report. Karageorghis' observation that the history of Cypriot archaeology – to which his important account of the Department of Antiquities' excavations at Salamis in the middle decades of the 20th century is an invaluable contribution based on archival photographs and personal testimony of both the excavator and the workforce – remains to be written is especially true of its social and economic aspects.[64] This includes in particular the contribution to the discovery of the island's past made by the local population that formed the vast majority of the active agents in these important and laborious undertakings which are reflected in this photograph from the dawn of modern excavations at Salamis.

63 On the condition of the Cyprus Museum in this period, see Robert Merrillees, *The First Cyprus Museum in Victoria Street, Nicosia* (Nicosia 2005); Robert Merrillees, 'Towards a Fuller History of the Cyprus Museum', in: *CCEC* 35, 2005, 191–214 .

64 Karageorghis 1999, [6]. The present author is preparing an account of the economic aspects of the excavations of the CEF and British Museum, aspects of which are also treated in Kiely forthcoming b.

Appendix

Report on the removal of the bull's head capital from Salamis (*British Museum Central Archives, Original Papers* 1891, January to April, no. 1228, representing copies of documents forwarded by the Admiralty in London). Some of the original punctuation and layout has been edited for clarity or to remove repetition and a few terms have been explained (in square brackets)**.**

H.M.S Melita, at Port Saïd,

13th February 1891

Vice Admiral Sir A.H. Hoskins, KCB, Commander-in-Chief[65]

Sir,
In compliance with your orders 13272, of the 9th January 1891, I proceeded to Famagusta in H.M. ship under my command, and arrived there on the 19th January, I have the honor to report:

Proceedings:

General

1) On the 20th January (Tuesday) I visited the ruins of Salamis, and decided that the most feasible, expeditious, and cheapest way of shipping the sculpture weighing 3 1/2 to 4 tons (and not two as stated in the letter from the British Museum) was to bring it on a sledge over greased ways, or planks, along the road five and half miles long, into Famagusta, and there ship it in a coasting vessel and take the first favourable opportunity for bringing it alongside the ship lying in the open roadstead.

2) On the 21st January (Wednesday) I went up to Nicosia, thirty-nine miles by road, and waited on H.E. Sir Henry Bulwer, the High Commissioner, and obtained his sanction to the removal of the sculpture (Bull's Head) and on the 23rd (Friday) I returned to Famagusta.

3] On the 24th January (Saturday) the sledge had been constructed, and the stream and two Kedge Anchors taken out besides the Top Masts, and the Jib Booms of the Ship, and, a large quantity of Tackles and other rope, also a road had been made from the Bull's Head to the nearest edge of the Excavations.

4] On the 26th January (Monday) the Sheers were rigged and the Bull dragged out of the hole in which it lay, and placed under them; on the 27th (Tuesday) the Bull was raised and placed on the sledge, and transported up to the nearest edge of the ruins; on the 28th (Wednesday) I had it on the road, and by the evening of the 3rd February

65 British naval officer. See John K. Laughton, 'Hoskins, Sir Anthony Hiley (1828–1901), rev. Andrew Lambert', in: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34007).

(Tuesday) it was on small stone pier at Famagusta, under the sheers ready for lifting, everything having been taken down at Salamis, and re-erected at the pier. On the 4th (Wednesday) providentially I was blessed with a quiet fine day; the second we had experienced since we commenced operations, and by 10 a.m. it was in the Coasting Vessel, and by noon on board the 'Melita': – the ship's main yard having been lowered, and a Derrick rigged of the Topmast, during the afternoon, everything was got on board [shown in Fig. 2].

5] On the 5th February (Thursday) the ship was made all ataunto [fully rigged] and ready for sea; that evening a gale of wind came in bringing in a very heavy sea, necessitating letting go a second anchor, and getting up steam for full speed, but, finding next day, the anchors were not holding, and the Lee shore close by, with a very heavy sea running, I cleared out, and had some difficulty coming by my anchors. On the 6th (Friday) I looked in at Larnaca, in order to pick up the Cyprus Mails, but was unable to communicate on account of the heavy seas, and on the 9th (Monday) I arrived at Alexandria, transferring the sculpture on the next day to H.M.S. 'Amphion' and left the same evening for Port Saïd, arriving there on the 11th.

Particulars

1] The time taken from the commencement of rigging the Sheers to the sculpture being on board was eight and half working days, and it was transported over five and a half miles of rough road, 800 yards of which was over causeways, and 700 yards through the town of Famagusta. The weather was generally very cold and boisterous, and most treacherous, the thermometer at one time falling to 27 and the ice forming on the pools in the road. There was generally a rough sea on, which quite precluded me from sending the men by boat to Salamis three miles off, by water, which would only have given them a mile and a half to walk, so everyone went by road, and the anchors, &c., went out by ox-carts.

2] I had from 20 to 40 Natives and 8 to 15 Blue-jackets [sailors] hauling the sledge and transporting the four pairs of 'ways', and the following are distances covered day by day.

First day	550 yards
Second day	950
Third day	1400
Fourth day	1700
Fifth day	2580
Sixth day	2350
Total	9530 Yards

3] The total cost to the British Museum comes to £57 10s 11d [see below], and they are the owners of the sledge, and eight pieces of good wood, besides the sculpture; if the weather had been more favourable, or it had been summer time the cost would have been about £20 to £30, and I should have felt inclined to have built a raft and ship it to Salamis Bay, though even then it would have had to be transported by land a good mile, and the bay is very shallow and of soft sand.

4] I regret to say that through no fault of his own Joseph Martin, Able Seaman, met with an accident during the operation, and fractured his left arm and leg, but, I am thankful to say he is doing very well.

5] The successful transportation of the sculpture is due to the zeal and energy displayed by Lieutenant Henderson, and those under him taking charge of the Natives, and supervising the work on the shore. The men from the ship worked hard, were always ready, and to conclude everyone took a great interest in the proceedings, and learnt a great deal in the various operations connected with this interesting bit of work. I have, &c.

[Signed] G. King-Hall

Commander and Senior Naval Officer

Expenses [separate documents dated 20 Feb. 1891: the covering letter by G. King Hall, then stationed at Suakin in Sudan, is omitted here]

Date	Particulars	Amount		
		£	s	d
15 Jan	Telegram from Alexandria to Cyprus		9	6
15 "	Gunny bags to protect sculpture from injury in removal	3	3	3
15 "	Iron for bolts etc.} To construct a sledge for carriage		12	0
15 "	Wood } and 'ways'	7	8	6
5 Feb	Hire of lighters for embarkation	3	0	0
5 Feb	Hired labour and carts	36	12	8
10 Feb	Compensation to damage to cornfields		5	0
		51	10	11
	----------Abate----------			
2nd Feb	Sale of remaining wood	2	0	0
		49	10	11

NB: The amount here excludes another £8 in additional pay awarded to the crew of the Melita which was formally requested by the Admiralty in a letter of 9 April 1891 (British Museum *Official Papers* 1891, January-April, no. 1406) and which is included in the figure given by King-Hall in his report above. To this must be added the £10 in compensation to Joseph Martin for his accident. The total cost of transportation therefore came to £67 10s 11d.

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Section II
The City-Kingdom of Salamis

Nota Kourou

Cyprus and the Aegean in the Geometric Period: The Case of Salamis*

Connectivity between Salamis of Cyprus and the Aegean in antiquity is first and foremost inherent in the name of the site, directly referencing the homonymous island in the Saronic gulf. Mythological and literary sources further elaborate on these relations, while the Homeric type burials in the 'Royal Tombs' of Salamis add another kind of link.[1] In this paper, however, we shall focus on the imported Greek pottery from the CG contexts of Salamis and the links implied by these vases. Greek Geometric pottery from Salamis basically consists of a large assemblage of Greek vases from 'Royal Tomb 1'.[2] Beyond this find, only a small sherd from an Attic MG crater, or amphora, is mentioned from 'Royal tomb 2'.[3] The concentration of a considerable number of Greek vases in just one Salaminian tomb of the CG period is very uncommon; and much the more so as most of the imported vases are Attic, contrary to the usual practice in Cyprus at the time, where Euboean pottery is prevalent. Thus, the Greek imports at Salamis represent a complicated episode in the exchange system of the period between the Aegean, Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean. By viewing the Salamis case against its contemporary Cypriot and Mediterranean background this paper seeks to explain the reasons behind the choice of certain types of Greek wares, as well as the motives that led to it.

The first Post-Bronze Age contacts between the Aegean and Cyprus

Contacts between Cyprus and the Aegean can be traced well back to the Late Bronze Age and even earlier.[4] After the end of the Bronze Age the Cypriots were the only ones

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1 Cf. Karageorghis 1969; also, the paper by Vicky Vlachou in this volume.

2 Dikaios 1963.

3 Karageorghis 1967, 15, no, 86b (not depicted); cf. also Gjerstad 1977, 25, no. 50, n. 29. Four fragments of Euboean skyphoi and a small number of East Greek bird bowls from the sanctuary (cf. Calvet – Yon 1977, 12–14, pl. IV) belong to the later Cypro-Archaic period, during which the quantity and the pattern of Greek imports is entirely different.

4 Cline 1994, 60–64.

among Eastern Mediterranean people that continued to undertake travels westward, but the paucity of material evidence suggests only occasional and intermittent journeying to the Aegean, not regular contact.[5] Evidence is offered by a few Cypriot objects, mostly sporadic finds in 11th century-contexts in the Aegean, such as e.g. a bronze bowl from Salamis in the Saronic gulf,[6] a bronze crater from a tholos tomb at Pantanassa in Amari, near Rethymnon in Crete,[7] or a four-sided stand and a necklace of beads from Knossos,[8] all objects of characteristic Cypriot types. In Cyprus, although no imported Greek pottery has been found in 11th-century contexts, there is enough evidence to indicate contact between the two areas, such as the Opheltas obelos from Paphos or the Mycenaean type wheel-made figurines from Limassol.[9]

The absence of Near Eastern objects during the same period in the Aegean strengthens the scenario that the Cypriots were the only possible visitors to SM Crete and the SM Mainland. Thus, the recently found fragments of an Argive vase on the Levantine coast, at Tell Es-Safi (the biblical Gath) in Philistea,[10] is reasonably assumed by the excavators to have arrived there on a Cypriot ship.[11] The frequency of Cypriot pottery on the Syro-Palestinian coast supports the claim of 'a powerful alliance of the Phoenicians with the Cypriot fleet'[12] at this early post-Bronze Age time. The same observation applies with regard to the earliest Near Eastern import in post-Bronze Age Aegean, which is a small Syro-Palestinian juglet from Lefkandi found in a late 11th-century grave.[13] A very similar juglet from a CG I grave at Kition[14] reinforces the hypothesis that the carriers of the Syro-Palestinian vase from Lefkandi were closely related to Cyprus. Such sporadic finds in 11th century-contexts on both sides reflect contacts and occasional voyages, instigated in all probability from Cyprus and directed to the Central Mediterranean via the Aegean. They signify a kind of prelude for the regular contacts between the two areas that were to follow. But at this early stage Salamis does not seem to have been involved, at least not on current archaeological evidence. The earliest levels of the Salamis settlement remain unexplored, except for a single sounding, but there is a well-published rich chamber tomb ('Tomb 1' of the French excavations) dating to this time. Pottery from this tomb, however, indicates associations with the Syro-Palestinian coast, with no sign of contact with the Aegean.[15]

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5 Kourou 2009 and 2015, 216.
6 Kourou 2009, 362, fig. 1.
7 Tegou 2001 and 2014; Kourou 2009, 364, fig. 2.
8 For the fragmentary stand from the North Cemetery of Knossos tomb 201, cf. Coldstream – Catling 1996, vol. 1, 194 and vol. 4, pl. 276 and recently, Papasavvas 2017. For a necklace of 81 beads and a set of finger rings all of Cypriot types from a lady's burial in the SM family tomb 200 at Knossos, cf. Coldstream – Catling 1996, vol. 1, 194 and vol. 4, pl. 265; also Coldstream 1989, 90.
9 For the obelos cf. Maier – Karageorghis 1984, 137, figs. 112–114; Snodgrass 1988, 18, fig. 12. For the Limassol figurines cf. Karageorghis 1993, pl. XXVII,1-2.
10 Maeir – Fantalkin – Zuckerman 2009, 61 fig. 3.
11 *Ibid*., 74.
12 Botto 2015, 148.
13 Popham – Sacket – Themelis 1980, pl. 270b.
14 Georgiou 2003, pl. V,33; Kourou 2008, 364–365.
15 Yon 1971.