
Craig Barker
Sydney

SOME INITIAL OBSERVATIONS
ON A BUILDING EXCAVATED
ON FABRIKA IN NEA PAPHOS
IN CYPRUS BY THE AUSTRALIAN
ARCHAEOLOGICAL MISSION

Dedicated to Jolanta Młynarczyk

Abstract: *The Australian archaeological mission to Nea Paphos in Cyprus has begun exploring the remains of a structure to the rear of the cavea of the ancient theatre on the southeastern edge of the hill known as Fabrika. The preliminary results of this excavation suggest a significantly large post-medieval building constructed using stone taken from the former theatre. The building appears to have been used in some sort of industrial production, the precise nature of which is not yet determined, and is perhaps the source of the etymology of the name of the hill. This paper discusses a need for a reassessment of this area of the city of Nea Paphos in its more recent history, and discusses the needs for a better understanding of the urban relationship between Fabrika and the theatrical precinct during the Hellenistic and Roman periods.*

Keywords: *Hellenistic and Roman urbanism; medieval and post-medieval Cyprus; ancient theatre; the archaeology of post-medieval industrial architecture*

Introduction

A team of Australian archaeologists from the University of Sydney¹ have since 1995 worked at Nea Paphos alongside our colleagues and friends from the University of Warsaw (Meyza and Zych 2015) and the Jagiellonian University in Krakow (Papuci-Władyka 2015) exploring the archaeological remains of the Hellenistic and Roman capital city of Cyprus. Working on the southern slope of Fabrika hill (Pl. 1) in the northeastern quarter of the ancient city, the Australian mission has concentrated their efforts on the excavation and study of a Hellenistic-Roman theatre and its surrounding theatrical precinct. Until recently however, we had completed little investigative work on the top of Fabrika immediately behind the *cavea* of the theatre. Since 2012, however, the Australian team has put greater effort into exploring the architectural remains in this area at the rear of the theatre. This paper aims to present some of the preliminary findings from our recent investigations. It must be stressed that ceramic and other finds have not yet undergone detailed analysis and study, so more interpretation, along with further excavation in coming field seasons is anticipated. However preliminary work has confirmed evidence of a major building of the medieval and/or post-medieval periods and this is already providing us with exciting fresh evidence of activities in the city's more recent past.

The theatre of ancient Nea Paphos

The findings of the excavation of the site of the theatre are well documented elsewhere (Green *et al.* 2004; Barker 2015), so only a brief summary of our knowledge of the use of the theatre and later activity on the site is required here.

¹ The Australian excavations were inaugurated by Emeritus Professor J. Richard Green. Our work in Cyprus was initially financed by an Australian Research Council (ARC) grant, in more recent years the project has been self-financing with support from the Nicholson Museum at the University of Sydney and the Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens (AAIA). The project works under the auspices of the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Cyprus, and enjoys the support and collaboration with our colleagues in the Paphos District Archaeological Museum, the Paphos Municipality, and the Australian High Commission in Nicosia. This paper is the result of discussions with many colleagues, but all ideas are preliminary at this stage, until further excavation and study takes place. Gratitude is expressed to Candace Richards for assistance with the preparation of this paper.

Archaeological evidence suggests the theatre at Nea Paphos was constructed around 300 BC and was used as a venue for performance and entertainment by the Paphians for over six and a half centuries (Pl. 2: 1, 2).

If this early construction date is accurate, and all evidence, particularly epigraphic,² confirms this is the case, then the theatre is one of the first public buildings constructed after Nea Paphos had been founded formally in the very late 4th century BC.³ It is a clear demonstration of the significant role of theatre in the creation of a new Hellenised *koine* of the eastern Mediterranean, and of the ready reception of Cypriot audiences to the concept of performance in the wake of Alexander the Great's conquests.⁴

Not much can be said about the earliest phases of the theatre's use, layout and architectural impact upon the bedrock of Fabrika. However, the creation of artificial earthen embankments on the western and eastern sides of the *cavea* held in place by support walls from the very earliest phases demonstrates considerable alteration to the natural shape of Fabrika on the southeastern slope of the hill (Green and Stennett 2002, 160–164). Throughout the lifespan of the theatre there was considerable alteration to the appearance of this section of Fabrika, particularly during the Roman period which saw a massive expansion of the *cavea*, and the construction of a significant outer perimeter wall, of which a small section has been excavated by the Australian team on the northwestern exterior of the theatre (Green and Stennett 2002, 164–165 and 168, fig. 7 on the perimeter wall). The discovery of deep bedrock cuts on areas of the theatre that would later be the location of the western and eastern *parodoi* (Green *et al.* 2015, 324–325)⁵ indicates that the significant quarrying of stone seen elsewhere on Fabrika, was likely occurring on the southern side either before the construction of the theatre or during its earliest phase of use.

The second phase of the theatre is Ptolemaic-influenced and so must be dated to the middle of the 2nd century BC by the dedicatory inscription on

² Green *et al.* 2015. M. J. Osborne will publish the epigraphic remains from the site in the final publication, including the early letters carved in the upper level of the central *cavea*.

³ For a discussion on the foundation date of Nea Paphos see Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 226–230; Daszewski 1987; Młynarczyk 1990, 67–70; Bekker-Nielsen 2000.

⁴ For discussion on Late Classical and Early Hellenistic adoption of Greek theatrical tradition see Green 2013, 35–57; Green 2014, 339–369. On theatre in Cyprus more generally see Antoniadou 2014.

⁵ The western *parodos* cut is at least 3.3m deep and 2.2m wide.

a statue base from the Dionysian *technitai* (Green *et al.* 2015, 325)⁶ discovered in the early 20th century on the site. The construction of a stone stage building and of a subterranean passageway (a so-called ‘Charonian tunnel’) from the stage to two-thirds of the length of the orchestra represented a significant expansion of the infrastructure of the theatre and probably brought it into line with contemporary Alexandrian architectural styles (Green *et al.* 2015, 328–331 on the orchestral passageway; see also Green 2000, 115–126; Green 2007, 3–16).

Some evidence for minor architectural developments is associated with the Augustan period and is most likely related to repairs needed following an earthquake of the late 1st century BC.⁷ A major renovation of the theatre, however, was undertaken during the Antonine era of the mid-2nd century AD where the stage building is enlarged and façaded with columns of imported marble and imperial statuary (Barker and Stennett 2004, 257–258; Green *et al.* 2004, 13–16), the *parodoi* are extended and now barrel-vaulted and painted with elaborate frescoes (Wood Conroy 2003, 275–300) and the *cavea* expanded outwards with a new support wall to compensate for the enlargement, part of which was excavated by the team in 2001 revealing evidence of a *vomitorium* connecting the rear of the theatre to Fabrika (Green and Stennett 2002, 164–165). The theatre was at its largest at this stage; the *cavea* had a seating capacity for over 8500 spectators and measured over 90m from side to side (Green *et al.* 2004, 5).

The entire theatrical remodeling was commemorated with an dedicatory inscription placed across the front of the stage building, measuring over 12m in length and honouring the emperors Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius for the theatre’s Imperial makeover. The marble inscription survives in two fragments now in Paphos District Archaeological Museum, one of which was recovered in 1916 from the property of Ioannis Zenieris who owned land across the former orchestra of the theatre. The second larger piece was recovered by the Australian excavations in 2001 lying face down as a threshold to the orchestra for the final phase of the theatre’s usage before its destruction (Green and Stennett 2002, 188; Nicolaou 2003, 305–308).

The entire 2nd century appears to have been a period of profound infrastructure construction and consolidation in the northeastern quarter

⁶ The inscription by the Guild of Artists of Dionysos on a statue base that was recovered in 1927, but subsequently lost, is the oldest theatrical document found in Cyprus and thought to date to c. 142 BC. We have suggested it is associated with an opening festival of a remodelled theatre. For the inscription: Le Guen 2001, 300–330.

⁷ The earthquake was recorded c. 15 BC and caused considerable damage: Dio Cass. 54.23.7.

of the city beneath Fabrika: the team has uncovered a nymphaeum⁸ to the southeast of the theatre facing onto a major colonnaded Roman paved road (Barker 2016, 14–17)⁹ that is over 8.4m wide and which we suspect leads past the theatre to the North East city gate.

The final phase of the theatre seems to have occurred from some point in the 3rd century AD until its final destruction by earthquake in the 4th century. The orchestra was raised and waterproofed, and a barrier wall built between the orchestra and the seating of the *cavea* to allow for flooding of the orchestra or displays of exotic animals to the citizens of Nea Paphos (Green and Stennett 2002, 172–175; Green *et al.* 2004, 16–17).

After the earthquake that destroyed the theatre, the site was then put to other purposes. It became a centre of quarrying activity; firstly the marble remnants of the theatre were stripped to be reused in the nearby Early Christian basilica of Chrysopolitissa, then architectural elements from the stage building and the nymphaeum were removed, and then eventually the bedrock of the *cavea* was itself quarried.¹⁰ The landscape of the theatre was considerably altered, and much of the architectural evidence of the various phases of the theatre was strewn across the site towards the east. After the end of quarrying activities, the former theatre precinct remained active for a number of centuries for a range of semi-industrial activities until the 7th century AD, before being abandoned for some time.

Excavations by the Australian Mission demonstrate that the site of the former theatre became an area of major activity once the economy of Paphos boomed again during the Crusades. The slope of the former *cavea* was terraced for agricultural use (and remained so until excavation began). A series of domestic structures, built on foundations of reused masonry, and associated courtyards were constructed across the area of the former stage building and orchestra. Evidence for the production of sgraffito ceramics (Cook and Green 2002, 413–426; Cook 2004, 275–285), as well as hand-

⁸ The nymphaeum measuring 2x5m with plastered walls and a simple mosaic lying in water-proofed mortar was found to the southeast of the theatre. Its dating is not certain, but it is either late 1st or early 2nd century AD, as the Antonine expansion to the eastern *parodos* abutted the rear of the nymphaeum (Barker 2012, 8–11; Barker 2013, 18–19).

⁹ A publication discussing the colonnade of Paphos by J. R. Green and C. Barker is forthcoming.

¹⁰ For a summary of the quarrying of the theatre following its destruction and abandonment in the late 4th century AD see Green *et al.* 2004, 22–25. Inscriptions bearing the name Eustorgis found at the theatre give a tantalising clue as to the commercial nature of the removal of the stone and the gradual transference of the site from a theatre to an industrial zone (Green and Handley 2010, 197–211).

made coarse pottery (Gabrieli *et al.* 2001, 335–356; Gabrieli 2004, 287–298), and possibly glass production (McCall 2009, 165–170) indicates a continued use of the theatre area for centuries for a range of low scale industrial activity. These finds and other significant and considerable archaeological evidence show that this area of Paphos was burgeoning during the Crusades (Green *et al.* 2014).

While much work remains to be done, the excavations by the Australian mission demonstrate the important role the southern slope of Fabrika played throughout the city's history: firstly as the venue for the theatre and then later as an industrial zone. As the team begins to archaeologically investigate the area to the north of the *cavea* it is important to note that the relationship between the activities on the hill and those on the southern slope was seemingly always integral to the success of this quarter of the city.

Fabrika

The rocky area known as Fabrika is one of two major hills within the ancient city wall; the other, Fanari, is located on the western coast of the town and separates the agora from the sea. Fabrika is located in the very northeastern corner of the ancient city, and the hill itself formed part of the city wall. Geologically the hill is of the local hard calcified sandstone originating in the Pliocene seen elsewhere in Kato Paphos.¹¹

The modern shape of the hill is certainly radically different from its natural state because of earthquakes and the quarrying and building activities that have been going on since antiquity. Most obviously the construction of the theatre *cavea* (Pl. 3) and exploitation of stone as a resource during the Hellenistic and Roman eras. One can see a series of at least 14 subterranean chambers carved into the western side of the hill, although there were undoubtedly more of them. Their function and chronology, however, remains debated.¹²

In 1966, in his landmark topographical study of Nea Paphos, Kyriakos Nicolaou (1966, 601, n. 93) stated that Fabrika hill and its puzzling underground chambers were in desperate need of detailed survey and excavation. Jolanta Młynarczyk's (1990, 215) masterly study of Hellenistic Paphos likewise describes how the hill had never 'been the object of such research (systematic archaeological research), and it has not been sufficiently

¹¹ Młynarczyk (1990, 18) referencing Bellamy C. V. and Jukes-Browne A. J. 1938. *The Geology of Cyprus*, 37, 58. Nicosia.

¹² See Młynarczyk 1990, 216, fig. 30 for a plan of the chambers.

described either'. Fortunately this situation has changed since 2008, with a team from the University of Avignon working at various locations across the hill (Balandier 2012, 151–164). The excavations directed by Claire Balandier (2012, 160) have revealed amongst other materials, domestic structures on the northern side of the hill, a cistern on the southeastern side (most likely used as a reservoir for water storage for flooding the theatre in the final Roman phase of the theatre's use¹³, and considerable evidence of medieval activity, including a burial. It is also quite likely that the eastern side of Fabrika was also the point at which a Roman aqueduct, running from Ktima Paphos and probably originating in the villages of Tala in the hilly hinterland of the region, provided an outlet for water supply across the town. The remains of the aqueduct were noted by a number of early travelers and sections of it were at least still partially visible in the 19th century (Młynarczyk 1990, 222–223, esp. n. 262). Amongst Fabrika's rock-cut chambers, a number of cisterns with visible traces of water-proof plaster were noted in early traveler accounts suggesting water was stored on the hill,¹⁴ in addition to the cistern excavated by the French. The hill of Fabrika with its height certainly could act as 'pressure tower' channeling the water in various directions to be used for a variety of purposes, such as supplying the nymphaeum discovered by the Australian mission (Barker 2013, 18–19), in terracotta pipes discovered in association with the theatre¹⁵ and probably supplying the rest of the town.¹⁶

There has been much speculation on the ancient uses of Fabrika, particularly by Jolanta Młynarczyk (1985, 286–292) in relation to the possible

¹³ We are estimating that a volume of 346.1m³ would have been required to fill the orchestra of the theatre in its final phases (based on the calculation of the orchestra area being a space approximately 227.7m² and the depth of the water of the containment wall being 1.52m. The rock-cut cistern on the top of Fabrika at 10.7m by 6.5m and a depth of 5m provides a storage capability of 347.75m³. These initial calculations by Bruce Brown of the Australian National University will undergo further detailed analysis in future, but they are suggestive of the relationship between the water and water-based spectacles taking place within the theatre in the 3rd century AD.

¹⁴ Młynarczyk 1990, 223: Pococke, Peristianis and Philippou all describe the plaster traces.

¹⁵ Green and Stennett 2002, 182, 184, fig. 1 for a discussion on the use of water sprinklers at the theatre. Also note the discovery by Peristianis in the 1920s of terracotta pipes found 2m below the soil level in a field belonging to Ioannis Tsenieris, located on the site of the ancient theatre (Młynarczyk 1990, 222).

¹⁶ Potentially explaining the reoccurring local legend often told, of underground passageways linking Fabrika to the area of the later Saranda Kolones fortifications, as they may represent original ancient drainage and water supply facilities (Młynarczyk 1990, 223).

existence of a Hellenistic temple dedicated to Aphrodite Paphia, which we shall return to shortly. That Fabrika was built upon in antiquity is undeniable from the number of structural foundations still visible on the ridge, some of which have been planned (Pl. 4).¹⁷ An early Hellenistic mosaic, for example, was found on the western part of the hill in the late 1990s. It also seems likely given the high levels of activity in Paphos during the Crusades that there may well have been architecture of the medieval and post-medieval periods as well on the top of the hill.

To the best of our knowledge there has been no archaeological activity in the section of Fabrika to the rear of the theatre until the Australian excavations, and, with the exception of a viewing platform constructed by the Department of Antiquities in the late 1990s to provide stunning views of the theatre and across modern Kato Paphos, no modern construction in this area either.

Early travellers' accounts of visits to Paphos give tantalising clues as to the nature of structures on this area of the hill, but the details are often unclear and confused, and most commentators focused solely on the subterranean chambers. Młynarczyk has collated many of them, but in all cases any description of buildings are vague at best.

Richard Pococke (1745, 225–226), visiting Paphos in 1738 is one of the earliest accounts of the area likely to be Fabrika; in it he describes caverns, quarries and a cistern as well as traces of an aqueduct in the area. Subterranean rock-cut chambers are mentioned by Josef von Hammer (1811, 134–139) who visited in 1800, and he thought the chambers were sources of building materials but that their original function in antiquity was not clear. More significantly, von Hammer describes a large structure built of beautifully dressed stone which he thought was either a public assembly hall or a private palace (Młynarczyk 1990, 46). There is no clear indication however where in the hill this large carefully dressed masonry building was located.

William Turner in 1815 gives a more detailed account, describing the ruins of three vaulted rooms, probably from the Venetian period, located on the top of the hill *Afrikee*, above the rock chambers (Cobham 1908, 442). This has led Młynarczyk (1990, 217) to suggest that the building was in the western part of the hill. Turner also notes elsewhere on the hill 'some marks of foundations of buildings' (Młynarczyk 1990, 217). In 1841 W. H. Engel mentions the remains of a large building of well-hewn blocks

¹⁷ Młynarczyk (1985, 291, fig. 2; 1990, 219, fig. 31) published a sketch plan of foundations visible on the surface. These plans were made in 1978 by Krzysztof Kamiński.

with great grottos nearby (i.e. Fabrika), but gives little further detail (Młynarczyk 1990, 47). Englishman John Thompson's (1879, photos 43 [mislabelled Paleokastro] and 45) 1878 photographs show a number of images taken on or from Fabrika, although it is not possible to determine any details of architecture on the hill.

Early 20th century publications continue the discussion about the foundations on the hill. In his 1936 publication, L. Philippou (1936, 21), discusses how Fabrika was named after a cotton thread factory 'which existed there during medieval times and relics of which were in existence 60 years ago, together with the arches of a large building.' As late as 1927, Peristianis writes about foundations of a large building on the hill, although he does not locate where, and it does contradict Philippou's (1936, 24–43) statement from a decade later. It is difficult to determine the validity of the two later accounts; whether they are accurate accounts or whether they are fictionalising a building to match the local myth of a factory.

None of these walls survive on Fabrika today, although in certain areas of the rocky surface, outlines of foundations are still visible.¹⁸ Jolanta Młynarczyk (1990, 218) describes how on the rocky ridge immediately behind the *cavea* of the theatre, cuts marked out a regular space 6 to 8m wide and approximately 31m long following a NE-SW axis. She argued this was a portico or a square adjacent to a stoa of similar length found to the east, with further rectangular outlines in the bedrock cut to serve as foundations visible further to the north and to the northeast.¹⁹ She also notes a square outline cut for the 'foundation of a small building(?) 5m to the side' (Młynarczyk 1990, 218).

Further to the west from these foundations, separated by a rock cleft,²⁰ she notes a platform with cuts forming the outline of a rectangular building measuring c. 23x15m, and suggests this was most probably was a temple with a *pronaos* to the east and a *cella*, with a suggested construction date of no later than the 3rd century BC (that is contemporaneous with

¹⁸ It is these outlines plotted in 1978 that appear in 1990, fig. 31. Of particular interest are the generally N-S running lines of stone immediately to the rear of the *cavea*.

¹⁹ These are still visible today.

²⁰ This cleft today features a pathway which today marks the western edge of the theatre site, although in antiquity this area was taken by the rear seating of the western section of the *cavea*. It is difficult to determine what the actual edge of Fabrika looked like in the Hellenistic and Roman eras, but it must be assumed that there was some degree of pedestrian access from the southern side of Fabrika from the lower city to the top of the hill, given the theatre presumably had access through the western *parodos* and western *vomitorium*.

the initial construction of the theatre), and coinciding with W. A. Daszewski's hypothesis of a temenos of Paphian Aphrodite (Młynarczyk 1985, 289–292). Two early statue bases dedicated to Paphian Aphrodite found in the area of the orchestra of the theatre in the early 20th century support this identification of a temple dedicated to the goddess on Fabrika,²¹ and can further suggest the significance of the road identified to the south of the theatre by the Australian team as connecting the architecture of Fabrika with the North East city gate and the start of the *hierahodos* (processional road) connecting Nea Paphos with the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Palaepaphos (Strabo 14.6.3.).

I would suggest further that the epigraphic evidence found on the southern slope of Fabrika, near the theatre in the first decade of the 20th century,²² associated with Septimius Severus and Caracalla and dated to AD 196 to 198, is significant to the understanding of the Roman era usage of the southern slope. It appears it is evidence of Roman Imperial cult worship related to Aphrodite, which was located to the west of the theatre; that is as close as possible to the Temple of Paphian Aphrodite without being built upon the hill itself. It remains to be seen what, if anything, of this Imperial temple survives and its precise location. Either way they are probably related to significant infrastructure construction and improvements throughout the 2nd century AD in this quarter of the town, including the nymphaeum, the colonnaded road and the major remodeling of the theatre.

In summary, on the southeastern section of Fabrika near the theatre we have conflicting historical accounts of ruins and bedrock cuts of foundations of sizable buildings with little evidence of function and

²¹ One inscription of the 3rd century BC is a statue base of Charitime dedicated to Aphrodite Paphia by Charitime's mother, the second is 1st century BC and was a marble pedestal of the proconsul M. Vehilius dedicated to Aphrodite Paphia (Młynarczyk 1990, 157–159, table B, no. 3 and no. 23). Both were found in the area of the former orchestra of the theatre which suggests that the movement of valuable stones towards the east of the city in Late Antiquity was not restricted to just the architecture of the theatre, but possibly the entire area including Fabrika.

²² The fragmentary inscription on a marble architrave was recovered from Ioannis Tsenieris's property on the area of the former theatre. The inscription mentions a large temple with approaches and imperial statues dedicated between AD 196 and 198 to Septimius Severus and Caracalla (van Buren 1908, 198, n. 31; Nicolau 1966, 589, n. 67). Despite some initial confusion in an early publication by T. B. Mitford, there is no mistake that the findspot of the inscription was in the area of the theatre. The base of a statue of Caracalla of AD 211 was also found on the Tsenieris property and probably associated (Młynarczyk 1990, 217, n. 244).

chronology without proper investigation. The Australian excavations have at last begun slowly to reveal more of the large structure closest to the rear of the *cavea*.

Australian excavations on the southern edge of Fabrika

Three small trenches have been opened on this area of Fabrika. The first Trench 2A was an exploratory trench excavated in 1996 in order to explore the area where the Department of Antiquities would build a viewing platform the following year. The two other trenches, 12C and 14A are both larger, and have been opened in more recent years towards the eastern edge of the ridge.

Trench 2A

This trench was 4x7m in size and opened in 1996.²³ It was located on the western side of the rear of the *cavea*, and quickly revealed the foundations of a masonry wall running N-S. This wall (structure 018) coincidentally represented the eastern baulk of the trench, and was revealed quickly beneath the topsoil: indeed the entire trench was not at all deep. The wall was about 80cm wide, and could be seen protruding south of the trench over the *cavea*. Both this N-S wall, and a second wall (structure 032) with a small opening was found: both walls created by cutting into the bedrock, with at least two rooms created by the foundations. Room 1 is the closest to the theatre, the room behind the wall 032 was only partially revealed. The superstructure of both walls was bifacial with a rubble core. One of the blocks in wall 018 had a mason's mark in the shape of an angular *psi* symbol carved into it. A very hard and compact mortar/cement floor (structure 056) was found lying over the bedrock of Room 1. The function of this floor surface was suspected to be related to both walls. A series of drainage channels quarried into the bedrock (structure 057) were filled with a red-brown silt (deposit 055). Within the fill of Room 1 was found a series of stone blocks, including a keystone block 29cm by 41cm, and 17cm wide at the one end and 8.5cm at the other which is suggestive of an arch within the structure. A substantial quantity of a plaster mortar was noted on these architectural blocks and the angling of the blocks suggested a collapse of the wall towards the south (Pl. 5: 1).

No clear occupational deposit was identified given the limited soil between the bedrock and topsoil, however amongst the finds from Room

²³ Excavation supervised by Jennie Lindbergh.

1 were a series of medieval glazed ceramic sherds. It was assumed by the excavators that unless the rooms were cleaned out on a regular basis, that the structure, or at least this section of it was only used for a relatively short time during the medieval period.

Trench 12C

In 2012, the Australian team opened another trench on the edge of Fabrika. In the intervening 16 years much of the *cavea* had been cleared and a series of walls over the upper rows of seating were revealed: initially it was thought they were rubble terracing walls associated with agricultural usage, but it soon became clear that these were architectural, if somewhat ruinous. Investigation on the bedrock cutting of the *cavea* made it clear that this structure was post-theatrical. The retaining wall (structure 2986) marks the southern edge of the building (Pl. 5: 2), which from the visible surface lines of the same walls depicted in Młynarczyk's plan, show that the building was large and significant.

Trench 12C was opened as a 5x5m stretch at the northeastern corner behind the theatre but was soon extended.²⁴ The trench was designed to explore bedrock cuts exposed by wind erosion that may have been associated with the structure of the theatre but quickly following the removal of topsoil it became apparent that there were significant walls being exposed. The first wall running E-W (structure 2855) was soon followed by a N-S wall (structure 2857). Aware of Młynarczyk's plan and the walls found in Trench 2A these walls became the primary focus of the investigation and extended clearance to the north (2x5m) and to the west (7x2m)²⁵ quickly followed. Additional work included the removal of small soil deposits over the last of the *cavea* seating to the south.

Wall 2857 was the first part of our large building to be exposed with any clarity (Pl. 6: 1). It was exposed for a length of 11.7m, and has a maximum width of 1.25m, surviving between 0.2 and 0.85m in height. The wall is remarkable well built, with the rectangular blocks making an incredibly straight edge on its eastern side (Pl. 6: 2). Mason's marks were visible on some of the blocks. The western side is not so well-hewn, but again the wall is impressively well built, and constructed directly onto earlier Roman architecture (Pl. 7: 1). A fill deposit (deposit 2901) to the immediate east of this wall included many painted plaster fragments, predominantly

²⁴ Excavations supervised by Kerrie Grant.

²⁵ All still within the Department of Antiquities fenced area of the ancient theatre.

pale blue in colour but with some darker colours which may be associated with the theatre, rather than our large building.

Further west another N-S running wall (structure 2907) was uncovered. This wall is also clearly marked on Młynarczyk's plan and is visible event today from the surface running over 30m to the north. Excavation in 2012 exposed it for a length of 5.6m to a maximum height of 0.85m and is 0.75m wide. Like the eastern wall, the blocks are large cut rectangular stone. The alignments of walls 2857 and 2907 are the same, but the construction technique varied somewhat. 5.5m apart and joined by the retaining wall 2986, it is clear they formed the walls of a room constructed over the ruins of the theatre. Although no clear floor surface was determined,²⁶ the deposits between the two walls were filled with much tumbled stone.

It was clear the large structure was constructed over top of the ruins of the theatre, when excavation in the western area of Trench 12C revealed the large Roman ashlar blocks of the foundation wall of the rear of the theatre (structure 2965) (Pl. 7: 1). This wall exposed for a length of at least 7m and a width of 1.2m and the later structure was built directly upon this wall which provided foundation support. The wall 2965 continued to be cleared in 2014 and it was clear that there was at least another course of the wall yet to be exposed by the end of the season.

Two small E-W walls were recovered on the eastern side of the excavations abutting wall 2857: structure 2855 (surviving to 2.2m length and 0.75m wide), and to its north structure 2856 (surviving 2.7m length and 0.95m wide) which are both in alignment with the Roman wall 2965 and may have been associated with the rear of the theatre despite their higher elevation, rather than our later structure.

Trench 14A

The second season of excavation in this area took place during the next field season (Pl. 7: 2). Trench 14A²⁷ was a continuation of Trench 12C with particular focus on removing soil to the south of the area excavated in 2012 between walls 2857 and 2907 towards the retaining cross-wall above the *cavea*. To the west of the wall 2907, a further extension was added as well.

²⁶ In 2014 it was speculated that deposit 2987 may represent the floor surface of the large building in this room at least. 2987 was a rough layer of hand-sized pebbles, in some limited areas with mortar preserved, and it abuts with the southernmost wall over the *cavea* 2986.

²⁷ Excavations supervised by Kerrie Grant.

This further western extension exposed another area associated with the structure. However, a couple of key differences were noted. The retaining wall (3010) is further north than 2986 in the section to the east.

The westernmost N-S running wall (designated structure 2990 during excavation but it is the same wall as 018 excavated in 1996), is 0.8m wide but does not survive to the south as far as the two more eastern walls, presumably having collapsed and tumbled down over the *cavea* in previous decades. It does not appear to be as substantially constructed as the other two parallel walls.

Although the wall foundations are all substantial, it should be noted that none have been built using the exact same construction methodology – all are similar but not identical. Whether this observation has any chronological implications remains to be seen.

The room explored between walls 2907 and 2990²⁸ was filled with tumble. Beneath that tumble E-W wall 3007 was revealed to the south of the room, which explained the large amount of plaster fragments that were being recovered in the upper fills. The wall was constructed of flat rectangular blocks, well-fitted and mortared. It was held in place to its south by a retaining wall (3010), which seems to fulfill a similar function to wall 2986 further east, although they are not aligned. Wall 3007 was faced with plastered benches (Pl. 8: 1), and small plaster niches in the east end return (structure 3017) and a similar one in the west (structure 3018). Both niches are approximately 30–35cm long, 20cm wide and 20cm deep (Pl. 8: 2). The function of this space is not known and the area requires further excavation to define the room more clearly.

Meanwhile excavation continued to the eastern room (between walls 2857 and 2907), and in the fill deposit 2981²⁹ the fine pale greyish silt soil was filled with plaster fragments and plaster powder. This seems to be associated with wall collapse and architectural block tumble. Amongst these architectural fragments are what maybe the remains of an arched roof, with blocks reminiscent of the keystone found in Trench 2A (Pl. 9: 1, 2). There is no clear evidence at this point for what this building was being used.

Continued clearance of the ash pit (deposit 3006) found in 2012 in the north extension, found it densely filled with bone, pottery (especially cooking pottery), metal (nails) and an extraordinary hand-made Hellenistic terracotta head of Alexander the Great which is obviously in a secondary

²⁸ Some 5.5m separates the two N-S walls.

²⁹ Which sits above what may be the floor surface 2987.

context. The rest of the material seems to be of a late post-medieval context, but awaits full analysis.

To the north east of the area of excavation (the north-north extension) the two walls (structures 2997 and 2998) noted by Młynarczyk, were cleared which appear to suggest some sort of small room or structure, but not enough of the area was opened to answer any questions, and it is hoped they can be cleared in future investigations. Both walls are well constructed like the other longer walls (Pl. 10), but unusually in a few courses of the foundation rectangular blocks are laid vertically not horizontally. A considerable number of metal finds were discovered between the walls and a number of cavities of the bedrock appear to have been filled with plaster to flatten the surface.

Chronology has been difficult to determine without detailed analysis of the finds; many of the coarse wares and cooking pots found, particularly in ash pit 3006, seem to be datable to the 15th or 16th century. To date, there has not been the same degree of medieval glazed ceramics found in Trench 2A further east. However, the majority of the material does seem to confirm the post-theatrical dating of the structure, and we hope that future analysis will assist with tightening of the date of activities in this area.

Some comments on the building

A photogrammetric image of the site of the Paphos Theatre taken by Guy Hazell in 2015 (Barker 2016, 17) clearly indicates the line of the foundations of the large building to the rear of the *cavea* (Pl. 11) and give an indication of the size and scale of the building, complementing Młynarczyk's published plan of the 1970s.

To date, three walls running N-S have been revealed to the rear of the theatre (from east to west structures 2857, 2907 and 2990/018), with some rubble evidence of the cross-wall constructed approximately above the six top rows of seating of the *cavea* (this E-W cross walls 2986 and 3010 are very fragmentary). These walls are positioned 5.5m apart, and are each around 1m wide, or slightly smaller (Pl. 12). Each wall is slightly different in construction, but it is not possible at present to tell if that represents chronological developments. The outer facing of the easternmost wall (2897) is extraordinarily well-hewn. Plastered floor surfaces in some of the rooms and the use of a plaster mortar in the building is also noted. The function of the plastered edges of the walls in the south room of the central section of the building is not yet clear.

Overall the building appears to be long (at least 20m in length) and positioned with a clear view across the village of Paphos and the coastline. It is directly N-S in alignment (Pl. 12). It is divided into three long sections: eastern, central and western, but with no signs of a fourth N-S wall to the very west of the area (west of Trench 2A). The southern sections of most of the wall use Roman theatrical architecture as supports. Each of the sections appears to have been divided into smaller rooms with cross-walls. The surfaces of some of these rooms are plastered with a mortar, and in the case of the southern room of the central section there are plastered benches lining the southern and parts of the eastern and western walls. There is no clear evidence of arches or indeed any other roofing support as only lower course foundations have survived, but the recovery of keystones in Trenches 2A and in deposit 2981 suggests that the structure was in least partially vaulted.

The foundations of the long building are extraordinary in that they are clearly built above the rear rows of seats of the Roman theatre's *cavea*. Therefore the structure must post-date the cessation of theatre activities in late 4th century AD, which means they cannot represent the foundations of the Hellenistic or Roman temple of Aphrodite Paphia, which was instead probably located further to the west on the hill.

At this point, acknowledging that further research and investigation is required, we speculate that some of the historical accounts of Fabrika have confused modern interpretation of the area. There was no temple directly behind the theatre, and it is not possible that the structures represent a stoa and associated courtyard. It is extremely likely, however, that there was an entranceway to the theatre seating from the rear in this general area from the top of Fabrika which has yet to be uncovered, but may be associated with wall 2965. It seems apparent that the building we are beginning to investigate represents a medieval or post-medieval structure, the ruins of which were seen by von Hammer, Turner and Engel in the 19th century and reminisced about by Philippou in the early 20th century. Whilst the building's exact purpose is not yet clear from the excavations, it seems it was industrial in function.

'Fabrika'

It is difficult to determine at what point in the town's history that the hill began to be known locally as Fabrika. The first modern usage of the name Fabrika in reference to the hill of northeastern Paphos

in comes from the written account of E. Oberhammer published in 1891; the only earlier mention is the 1815 account of W. Turner who calls the hill *Afrikee* and can probably be discarded (Młynarczyk 1990, 51). The word *fabrika* is Turkish, taken from the Italian *fabbrica*, and originating from the Latin word *fabrica*, and is generally taken to mean a factory, workshop or place of industrial manufacturing. It can be assumed with some degree of confidence that Philippou (1936, 21) and Peristianis (1927) were correct in their assumption that at some point in the history of the site there was some degree of industrial production taking place on the site which has given the location of the hill its modern etymology. We believe this building is associated with that industrial activity. J. R. Green (personal communication) has associated the original use of the word to the Crusader-period activity in the orchestra area and the manufacture of sgraffito ceramics. An industrial building of Venetian or later date may have reinforced this association of the area with industrial production of some sort.

Conclusions

The construction of the theatre on the southern slope of Fabrika in the later 4th or early 3rd centuries BC radically altered the natural shape of that southeastern section of the hill, and caused the architects to create earthen embankments sloping from the hill on both the western and eastern sides of the *cavea* in order to create the shape required for a performance space. Continual development of the theatre throughout its six centuries of use saw further expansion of the *cavea*, the creation of more substantial exterior support walls and at least one *vomitorium* on the northwestern side, with presumably a symmetrically placed northeastern *vomitorium* in an area where the rock has now been completely quarried away. The pedestrian passage to the theatre from Fabrika was significant. Although we have yet to excavate evidence for one, it is highly likely that there would have been a rear entrance to the seating from the back of the theatre along the central axis of the performance space, with access to the *cavea* from Fabrika. From the levels of the upper rows of seats of the *cavea*, the theatre was an integral part of activities taking place on the Hellenistic and Roman Fabrika, including at least pedestrian access and water storage, and the theatre helped link Fabrika to the urban activities of the northeastern part of the town behind the stage building.

This relationship between the area of the theatre and Fabrika continued after the abandonment of the theatre. The Australian Mission has detailed

evidence of rich agricultural and semi-industrial activity taking place on the site of the former theatre from the period of the Crusades onwards. It makes sense that Medieval Paphians used Fabrika, too. The masonry being cleared by the Australian Mission demonstrates an incredibly well built and substantial structure once existed there. We are tentatively suggesting that this building may be the medieval or post-medieval industrial structure that gave the hill its very name Fabrika, and is likely to be the large vaulted building mentioned in early 19th century travel accounts. It can be suggested with some confidence that the structure is not a Hellenistic or Roman temple dedicated to Aphrodite, although that does not preclude that there may have been connections between the theatre and the religious activities honouring Aphrodite on the hill. Future investigation and excavation of the walls and rooms should provide better definition of the size of the large building, and proper analysis of finds, which will begin in the 2016 field season should assist with the gaining a more accurate chronology of the usage of the building. At this point however, it is an exciting addition to the architectural remains of the rich archaeological heritage of Nea Paphos.

References

- Antoniadou A. 2014.** Αντωνιάδου Α. *Τα Αρχαία Θέατρα της Κύπρου*. Nicosia.
- Balandier C. 2012.** Du nouveau sur la capitale hellénistique et romaine de Chypre: premiers résultats de la Mission archéologique française à Paphos [MafaP] (2008–2012). *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 38/2, 151–164.
- Barker C. 2012.** Nea Paphos Theatre excavations 2010. *The Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens Bulletin* 8, 8–11.
- Barker C. 2013.** Nea Paphos Theatre excavations 2011. *The Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens Bulletin* 9, 18–19.
- Barker C. 2015.** From performance to quarry: the evidence of architectural change in the theatre precinct of Nea Paphos in Cyprus over seven centuries. In S. Chandrasekaran and A. Kouremenos (eds.), *Continuity and Destruction in the Greek East: The Transformation of Monumental Space from the Hellenistic Period to Late Antiquity*, 33–48. (BAR-IS 2765). Oxford.
- Barker C. 2016.** Nea Paphos Theatre: 2015 season. *The Australian Archaeological Institute at Athens Bulletin* 12, 14–17.
- Barker C. and Stennett G. 2004.** The architecture of the ancient Theatre of Nea Paphos revisited. *Mediterranean Archaeology* 17, 253–274.
- Bekker-Nielsen T. 2000.** The foundation of Nea Paphos. In S. Isager and I. Nielsen, *Proceedings of the Danish Institute at Athens* 3, 195–207. Aarhus.
- Buren A. W. van 1908.** Inscriptions from Asia Minor, Cyprus and the Cyrenaica. *JHS* 28, 180–201.
- Cobham C. D. 1908.** *Excerpta Cypria: Materials for a History of Cyprus*. Cambridge.
- Cook H. K. A. 2004.** The Hellenistic Theatre of Nea Paphos and its Medieval players. *Mediterranean Archaeology* 17, 275–285.
- Cook H. K. A. and Green J. R. 2002.** Medieval Glazed Wares from the Theatre site at Nea Pafos, Cyprus: a preliminary report. *RDAC*, 413–426.
- Daszewski W. A. 1987.** Nicocles and Ptolemy: remarks on the early history of Nea Paphos. *RDAC* 1987, 171–175.
- Gabrieli R. S. 2004.** Under the surface: decoration and shape in the Coarse Ware of Medieval and post-Medieval Cyprus. *Mediterranean Archaeology* 17, 287–298.

- Gabrieli R. S., McCall B. and Green J. R. 2001.** Medieval Kitchen Ware from the Theatre site at Nea Pafos. *RDAC*, 335–356.
- Green J. R. 2000.** The Theatre of Paphos and the Theatre of Alexandria: some first thoughts. In R. MacLeod (ed.), *The Library of Alexandria: Centre of Learning in the Ancient World*, 115–126. London.
- Green J. R. 2007.** Paphos and the world of Theatre. In P. Flourentzos (ed.), *From Evagoras I to the Ptolemies: the Transition from the Classical to the Hellenistic Period in Cyprus*. Proceedings of the International Archaeological Conference, Nicosia, 29–30 November 2002, 3–6. Nicosia.
- Green J. R. 2013.** Establishing the ancient background. The beginning of Greek theatre in Cyprus. In A. Ch. Constantinou and I. Hadjicosti (eds.), *To Αρχαίο Θέατρο και η Κύπρος*. Πρακτικά Συμποσίου, 35–57. Nicosia.
- Green J. R. 2014.** Regional Theatre in the fourth century. The evidence of comic figurines of Boeotia, Corinth and Cyprus. In E. Csapo, H. Goette, J. R. Green and P. Wilson (eds.), *Greek Theatre in the Fourth Century*, 339–369. Berlin.
- Green J. R. and Handley E. W. 2010.** Eustorgis in Paphos. In A. Tamis, C. J. Mackie and S. G. Byrne (eds.), *Philathenaios. Studies in Honour of Michael J. Osborne*, 197–211. Athens.
- Green J. R. and Stennett G. 2002.** The architecture of the ancient theatre at Nea Pafos. *RDAC*, 155–188.
- Green J. R., Barker C. D. and Gabrieli R. S. 2004.** *Fabrika: an Ancient Theatre of Nea Paphos*. Nicosia.
- Green J. R., Barker C. and Stennett G. 2015.** The Hellenistic phases of the Theatre of Nea Paphos in Cyprus: the evidence from the Australian excavation. In R. Frederiksen, E. R. Gebhard and A. Sokolicek (eds.), *The Architecture of Ancient Greek Theatre*, 319–334. (*Monograph of the Danish Institute at Athens* 17). Aarhus.
- Green J. R., Gabrieli R. S., Cook H. K. A., Stern E. J., McCall B. and Lazer E. 2014.** *Paphos 8 August 1303: Snapshot of Destruction*. Nicosia.
- Hammer J. von 1811.** *Topographische Ansichtengesammelt auf einer Reise in die Levante*. Vienna.
- Le Guen B. 2001.** *Associations de technites dionysiaques à l'époque hellénistique* 1. Paris.
- McCall B. 2009.** Use or re-use: Late Roman glass finds from the Nea Paphos Theatre site, Cyprus. In D. Ignatiadou and A. Antonaras (eds.),

- Annales du 18e Congres de l'Association Internationale pour l'histoire du verre*, 165–170. Thessaloniki.
- Maier F. and Karageorghis V. 1984.** *Paphos: Archaeology and History*. Nicosia.
- Meyza H. and Zych I. 2015.** *Nea Paphos. 50 Years of Polish Excavations 1965–2015*. Warsaw.
- Młynarczyk J. 1985.** Remarks on the Temple of Aphrodite Paphia in Nea Paphos in the Hellenistic period. *RDAC*, 286–292.
- Młynarczyk J. 1990.** *Nea Paphos 3. Nea Paphos in the Hellenistic Period*. Warsaw.
- Nicolaou I. 2003.** Inscriptions Cypriae alphabeticae 42/2002. *RDAC*, 305–308.
- Nicolaou K. 1966.** The topography of Nea Paphos. In *Mélanges offerts à Kazimierz Michałowski*, 516–601. Warsaw.
- Papuci-Władyka E. 2015.** Recent Polish excavations in the Agora of Paphos, the ancient capital of Cyprus. *Antiquity Project Gallery*. Retrieved from www.antiquity.ac.uk/projgall/papuci-wladyka347 (status as of Feb. 10th, 2016).
- Peristianis I. K. 1927.** Περιστιάνης Ι. Κ. Η Νέα Πάφος. Διαλέξη γενόμενη επί των ερειπιόντων της Νέα Πάφου 4.11.26. *Κυπριακά Χρονικά* 5, 24–43.
- Philippou L. 1936.** *Paphos. The Birthplace of Aphrodite and the Most Attractive District of Cyprus*. Nicosia.
- Pococke R. 1745.** *A Description of the East and Some Other Countries*, part 2. London.
- Thompson J. 1879.** *Through Cyprus With the Camera in the Autumn of 1878*. London.
- Wood Conroy D. 2003.** Roman wall painting in the Pafos Theatre. *RDAC*, 275–300.

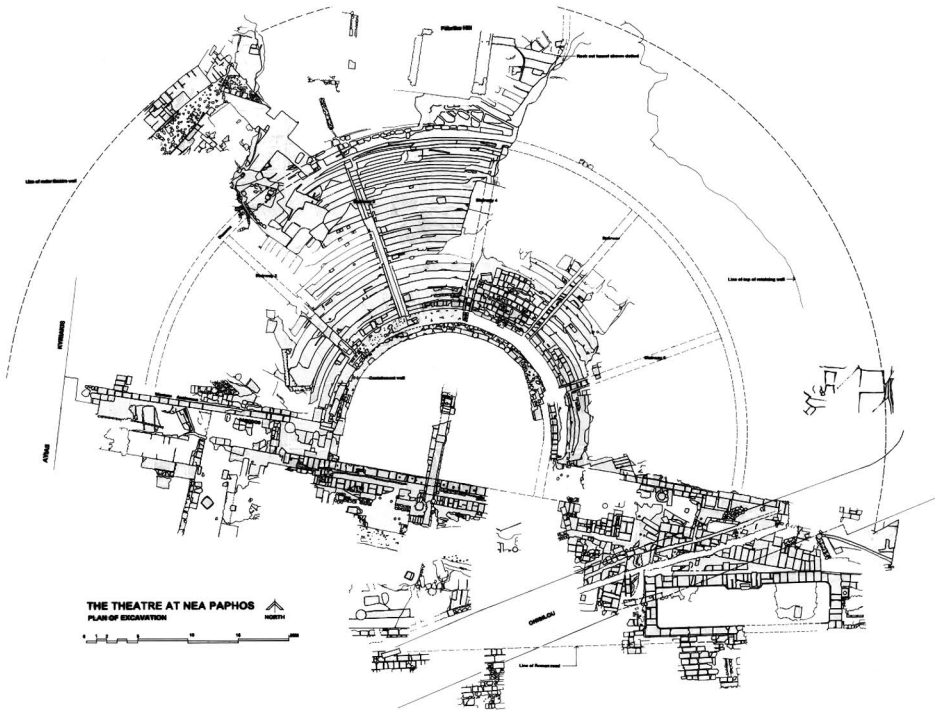
Craig Barker
Sydney University Museums
Macleay Museum, Nicholson Museum, University Art Gallery
University of Sydney
craig.barker@sydney.edu.au



Pl. 1. Map of Nea Paphos laid over modern Kato Paphos. Fabrika is in the northeastern corner of the ancient walled city. Illustration by the University of Sydney archaeological mission to Paphos

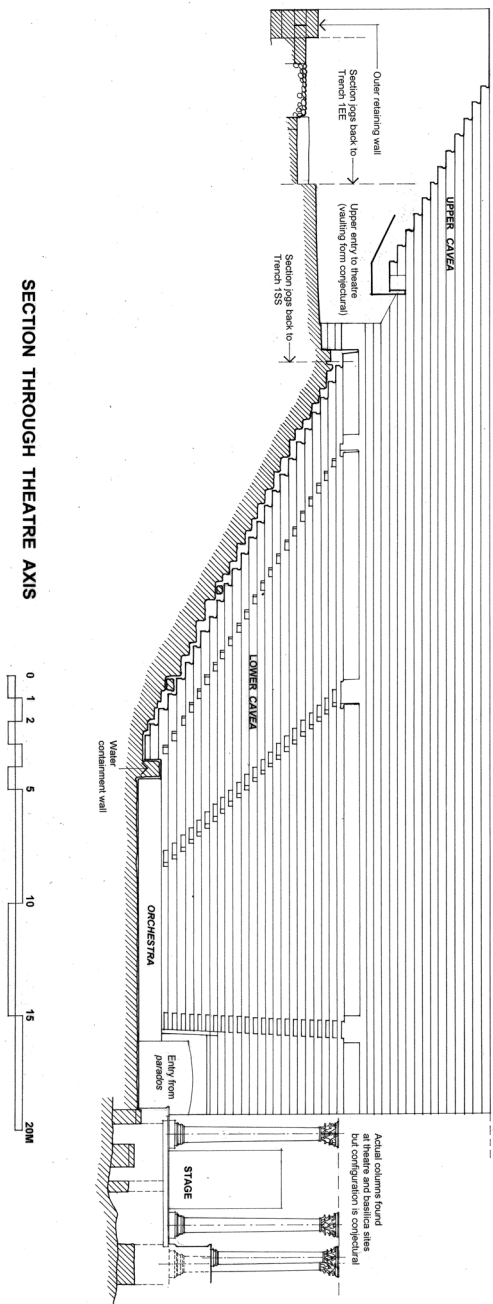


1

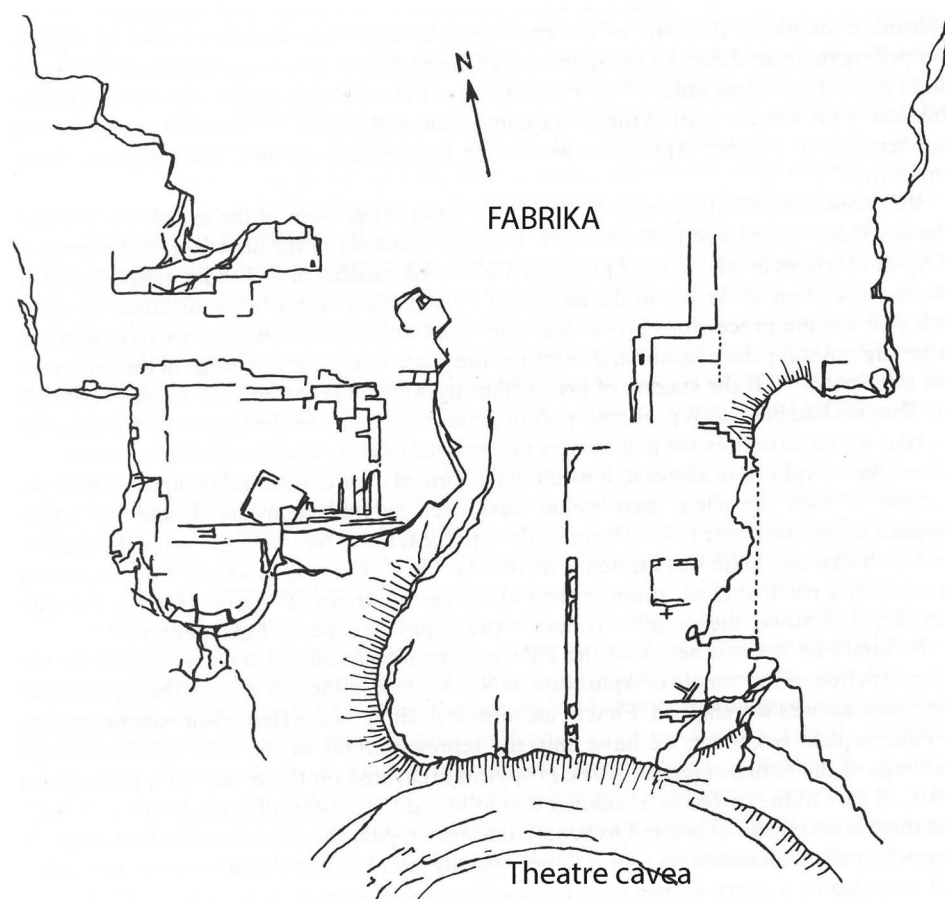


2

Pl. 2. 1 – The theatre of Nea Paphos viewed from the south following excavation of the southeastern slope of Fabrika by the Australian mission. The viewing platform is visible in the left of the photo. Photo by B. Miller; 2 – The plan of the theatre and surrounding precinct including nymphaeum and road to the south, following excavation. Drawing by G. Stennett



Pl. 3. A hypothetical cross-section of the theatre during the Antonine phase of the 2nd century AD. The construction of the *cavea* created considerable alteration to the bedrock of Fabrika's south. The upper *cavea* was artificially created on the eastern and western sides, but in the centre was carved from the bedrock of Fabrika and the upper rows represent the level of the foundation of the large building under investigation. Drawing by G. Stennett



Pl. 4. Foundation walls and bedrock cuts visible on the surface of the southern side of Fabrika in 1978. Reproduced from Młynarczyk 1990, 219, fig. 31 from Krzytof Kamiński's original sketch plan



1



2

Pl. 5. 1 – Trench 2A during excavations in 1996 facing towards the east. Wall 018 is visible at the rear of the image and wall 032 on the left. Photo by S. Cashman; 2 – Rubble wall 2986 was initial thought to be part of a medieval retaining wall and part of the agricultural terracing of the slope of the *cavea*; it is now known to the southernmost edge of the long building. View towards the north. Photo by K. Grant



1



2

Pl. 6. 1 – Part of the well-hewn outer exterior of wall 2857 – the easternmost long wall of the building. Photo by K. Grant; 2 – Wall 2857 from the eastern exterior of the large building is visible in the foreground of this view toward the west. Behind it and parallel, run walls 2907 and then wall 2990 (just before the circular viewing platform). Photo by K. Grant



1



2

Pl. 7. 1 – View facing east across Trench 12B. The Roman wall 2965 is visible in the left of the photograph running in an E-W direction. The easternmost wall of the long building (2857) is clearly built over top of the earlier Roman structure. Photo by K. Grant;
 2 – The location of Trench 14A in relation to the ancient theatre and its *cavea*. Photo by the author



1



2

Pl. 8. 1 – Plastered ‘benches’ along the interior of wall 3007 in the western extension of Trench 14A. Facing south. Photo by K. Grant; 2 – The westernmost plaster niche on the floor of this room. Facing south. Photo by K. Grant



1

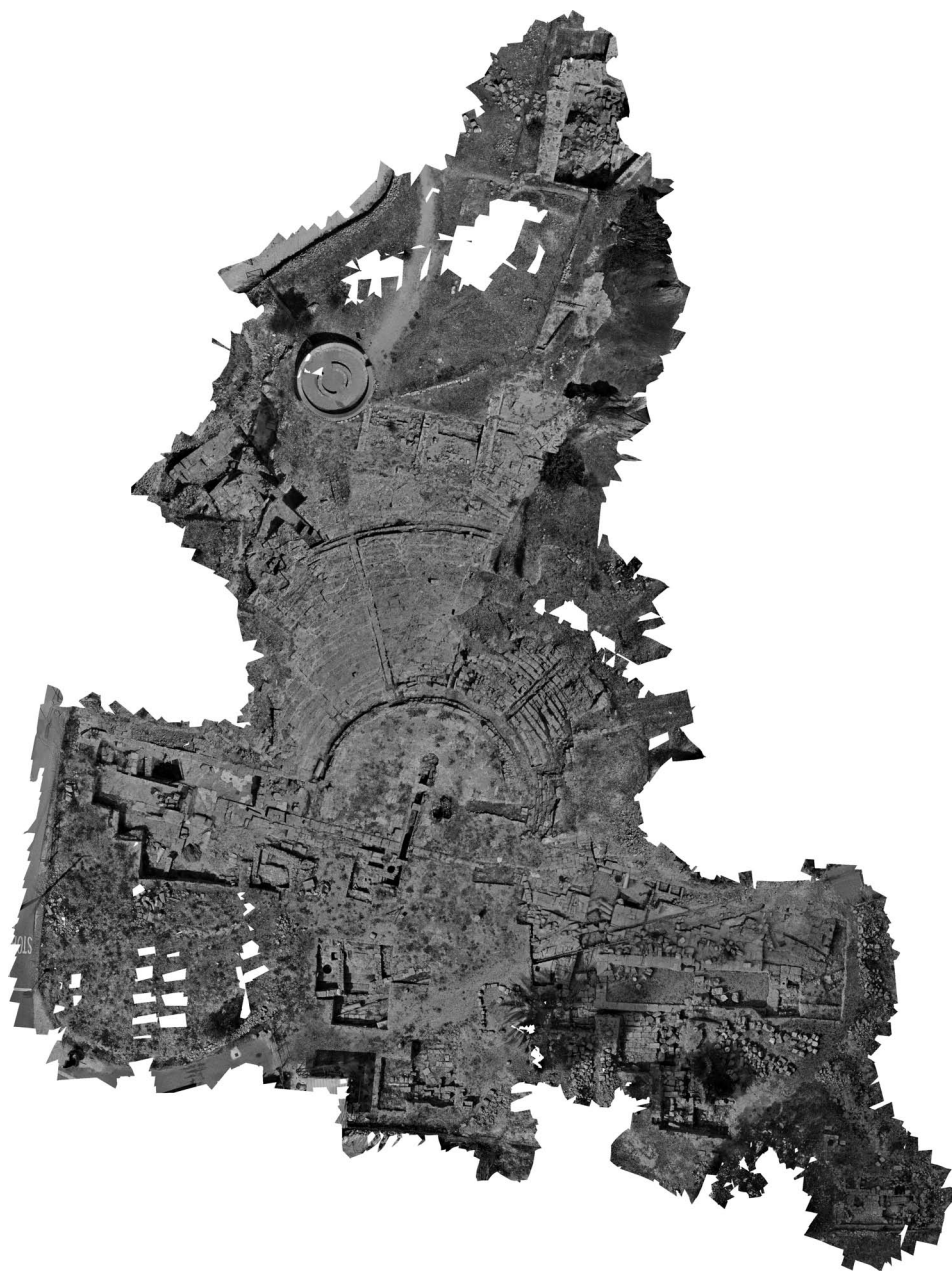


2

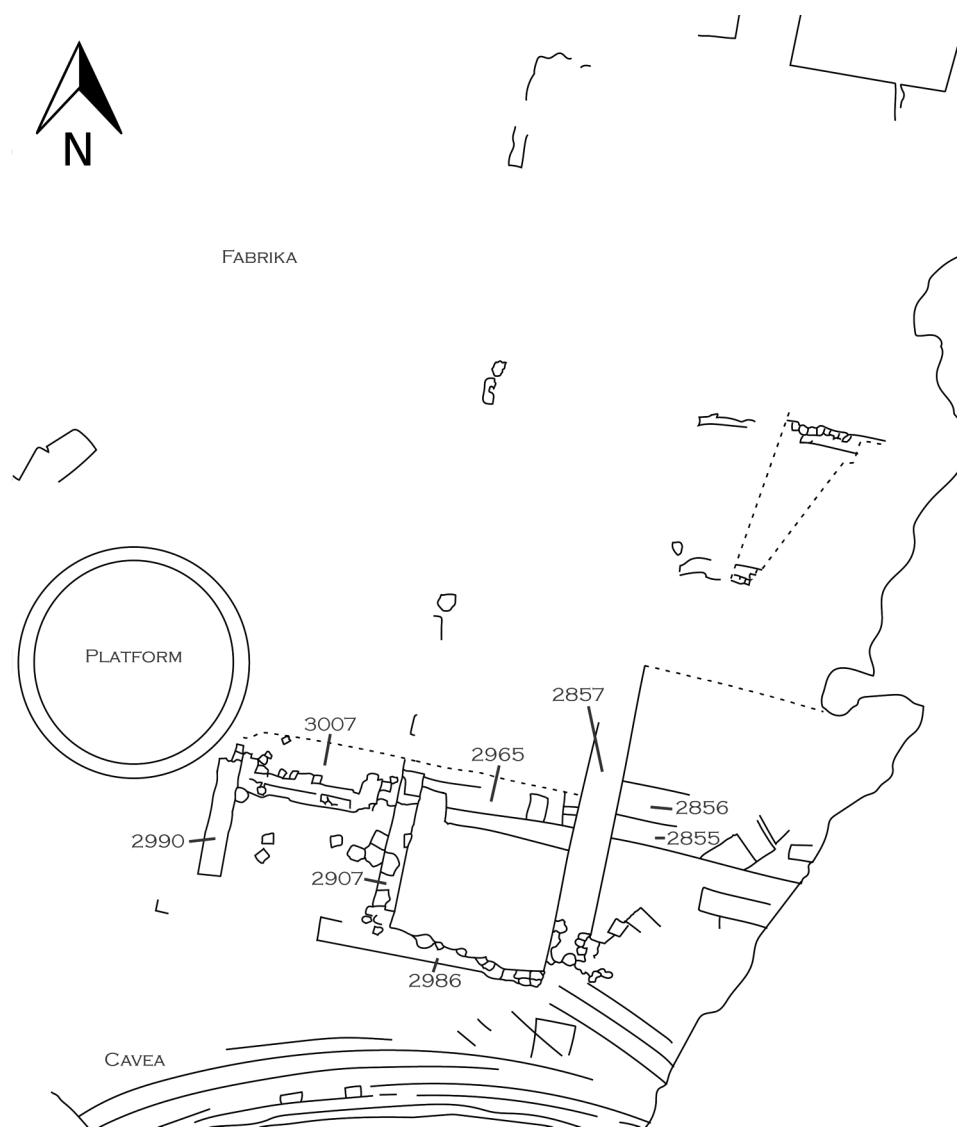
Pl. 9. Architectural blocks recovered from deposit 2981, they are suggestive of a vaulted or arched roof in this section of the long building. Photos by K. Grant



Pl. 10. Walls 2997 and 2998 in the north-north extension of Trench 14A (view towards the south). Photo by K. Grant



Pl. 11. An orthographically correct photogrammetric image of the ancient theatre and surrounding areas taken during the 2015 pole photography project. The walls of the long building exposed by excavation are visible at the top of the image next to the viewing platform. Photo by G. Hazell



Pl. 12. Plan of the walls of the long building excavated by the Australian mission on the top of the *cavea*. Drawing by C. Richards