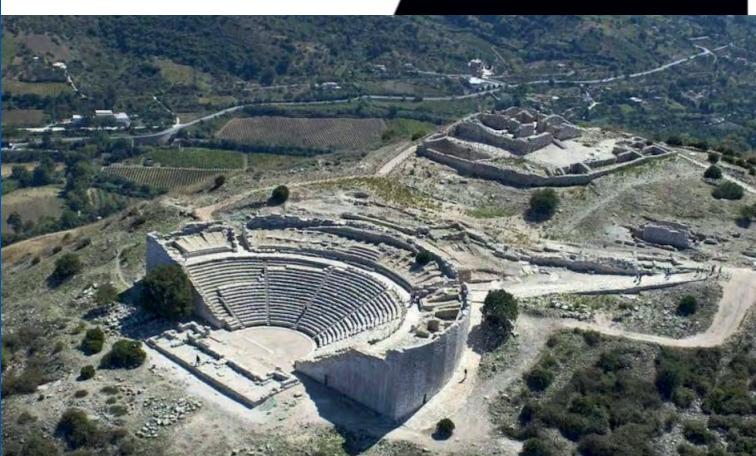


Journal of Greek Archaeology

Volume 8 2023

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The journal appears annually and incorporates original articles, research reviews and book reviews.

Articles are intended to be of interest to a broad cross-section of archaeologists, art historians and historians concerned with Greece and the development of Greek societies, and can be up to 10,000 words long. They are syntheses with bibliography of recent work on a particular aspect of Greek archaeology; or summaries with bibliography of recent work in a particular geographical region; or articles which cross national or other boundaries in their subject matter; or articles which are likely to be of interest to a broad range of archaeologists and other researchers for their theoretical or methodological aspects. JGA does not publish preliminary excavation reports, nor articles on individual objects unless such are considered to be of unusual importance and of interest to a broad audience of Greek specialists.

Review articles are an important feature of this journal. They can be up to 5000 words in length, and the reviewers have the opportunity to enlarge the topic under consideration by placing the book or books within the context of other recent work in that area of study and by introducing the reviewer's own research where relevant. There may be discussion of the relevance of the book for other researchers of Greek history, art and archaeology, who are not specialists in the particular field, such as discussion of methodology or theoretical considerations. The journal does not intend to publish short reviews limited to summarizing the contents of the book in question.

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The journal can be subscribed to as hard copy or in a less expensive online version.

JGA is published by Archaeopress Publishing Ltd

Subscriptions to the Journal of Greek Archaeology should be sent to
Archaeopress Publishing Ltd, Summertown Pavilion, 18–24 Middle Way, Oxford OX2 7LG, UK.
Tel +44-(0)1865–311914 Fax +44(0)1865–512231
e-mail info@archaeopress.com
<http://www.archaeopress.com>

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ISSN: 2059–4674 (print)

ISBN 978-1-80327-656-4

978-1-80327-657-1 (ePDf)

Journal of Greek Archaeology

ISSN: 2059-4674 (Print) | ISSN: 2059-4682 (Online)

Published annually in Autumn by Archaeopress



Editor in Chief

John Bintliff

Edinburgh University, U.K. and Leiden University, The Netherlands

An international peer-reviewed English-language journal specializing in synthetic articles and in long reviews, the *Journal of Greek Archaeology* appears annually each Autumn. The scope of the journal is Greek archaeology both in the Aegean and throughout the wider Greek-inhabited world, from earliest Prehistory to the Modern Era. Thus we include contributions not just from traditional periods such as Greek Prehistory and the Classical Greek to Hellenistic eras, but also from Roman through Byzantine, Crusader and Ottoman Greece and into the Early Modern period. Outside of the Aegean contributions are welcome covering the Archaeology of the Greeks overseas, likewise from Prehistory into the Modern World. Greek Archaeology for the purposes of the JGA thus includes the Archaeology of the Hellenistic World, Roman Greece, Byzantine Archaeology, Frankish and Ottoman Archaeology, and the Postmedieval Archaeology of Greece and of the Greek Diaspora.

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JOURNAL OF GREEK ARCHAEOLOGY

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Journal of Greek Archaeology Volume 8: Editorial



Our volume opens on a very sad note, the sudden passing of that great scholar of Greek Art, Andrew Stewart (1948-2023). A scholar of immense knowledge and energy, Andy was also greatly loved and admired by his students as well as innumerable colleagues in international scholarship. He supported this Journal from its creation, peer-reviewed papers, contributed his own pathbreaking articles, and encouraged others to successfully offer their work to us. Over many books and papers he gave us unique insights into Greek artistic culture, a contribution to the field which is irreplaceable. This volume is dedicated to him, while our first article is an appreciation by his close friend and colleague Tonio Hölscher. Later in this volume the article by Maria Panagiotonakou is also dedicated to Andy's memory.

Moving on to the other contents of this volume, as always we have encouraged and succeeded in spanning the millennia of Greek Archaeology in its fullest sense. We begin with Copper Age and Early Bronze Age lithic industries and food economies in Attica and Cyprus respectively, before diving into the complexities of the dating of the immense eruption of Santorini in the early Late Bronze Age. A detailed geographic study of Cretan settlement history over the Late Bronze Age and into Protohistoric times is complemented by an article on the existence or not of a Dorian invasion of the island over the same period. For the Early Iron Age, an innovative exploration of Geometric vase decoration deploys the patterning of chess moves.

With Classical-Hellenistic times we learn about houses and group dining in Sicily and a contextual analysis of the construction of the Segesta theatre on the same island.

In the absence of Roman-era offerings (readers and prospective authors please note!), we jump to two papers on Medieval ceramics. One focusses on their production in Messenia, the other is a response to a review on architectural ceramics (bacini) in Crete that appeared in Volume 7.

Finally we give you a study of physical landscape transformation by geoarchaeologists from the Valley of the Muses in Boeotia, and a very insightful report on public outreach initiatives undertaken by an archaeological project in the Xeros valley on Cyprus.

Following on these articles there appears our usual wide-ranging set of book reviews, compiled by our Assistant Editor Damjan Donev.

*John Bintliff
General Editor*

Encounters with Andrew Stewart

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Writing in memory of Andrew Stewart is an almost impossible task. For all who have ever met him he was, and still is, incomparably present, not only in his books and articles but as a person. Even using his official first name presupposes an inappropriate distance: he was and is 'Andy'. His scientific thoughts and insights are not just dated texts on paper but ongoing provocative challenges in life, beyond libraries, classrooms and desks. Those who have once been confronted with them continue to have them in their minds and before their eyes. Yet all this was never achieved by translating ancient Greek culture light-heartedly into notions of present-time actuality and 'identity'. On the contrary: he transferred himself and his audiences deep into the world of antiquity - and not only through his enormous erudition but by an emphatic and vital immersion, with burning curiosity, into this foreign world with its inhabitants. This was a past, but in a way it was not yet over: he brought these people to life.

Andy Stewart was a sailor. His boat on the Bay was his world. He spoke of it with glowing eyes, he took his friends on boat tours, and he was proud to steer it through stormy weather. This was precisely his scientific habit. He enjoyed staying in the middle of stormy debates, going the whole hog, always getting to the fundamental point.

He always held his views with great vigour, never avoided controversies, yet was totally free of any dogmatism. Around him, there was always an atmosphere of immense freedom, intellectual as well as personal. His preferred place to meet for academic and friendly encounters was the Free Speech Cafe on the Berkeley campus where the student movement had begun in 1967. There, on the terrace, he could stay for hours, forget time, and there was no issue that was not open for discussion.

My first encounter with Andy Stewart was literary: reading his ‘Greek Sculpture’ subtitled ‘An Exploration’, of 1990. In Germany, Classical sculpture was at that time considered a traditional German domain of the history of styles (‘Stilgeschichte’), in the sense of absolute artistic creativity, which seemed to me leading more and more into a sterile dead end, being in urgent need of opening up towards the vitality of real life. This book was a revelation. It not only mastered with admirable sovereignty the whole spectrum of sculptures from the ‘Dark Age’ to Augustus, but it dealt with them as powerful factors in a wide horizon of social life. All such phenomena which in former research had played, if at all, an implicit ancillary role in dealing with ‘art’, were here given explicitly their full weight – and, crucially, were integrated in a comprehensive vision of cultural practice: sculptures’ locations and situations; sculptors’ materials, techniques and workshops; sculptures’ markets, functions and social impact (‘rewards’); last but not least, basic concepts of mimesis and artists’ personalities. And significantly: these phenomena were not developed in a process of progressive generalization out of descriptions and analyses of the vast variety of works of art, but exposed in the first part of the book as the fundamental preconditions of artistic practice. Based on these general premises, this book on Greek sculpture acquires an enormous explanatory power: part two deals with sculptures in their historical contexts of epochs and places, while part three focuses on individual sculptors as exponents of their specific historical contexts. No earlier history of Greek art was so systematically conceived as an ‘exploration’ of art as social culture. And the path leads from the general to the individual, to societies and people.

This was typical of all his further work. Andy Stewart had a broad interest in, and a deep understanding of, modern and contemporary theory, be it philosophical, aesthetic, cultural or anthropological. Reviewing a book based on Foucaultian premises that did not convince him, he countered not only by archaeological arguments but above all by a better understanding of the French philosopher. Yet, for himself he never considered theoretical concepts an end in themselves: he never wrote a systematic book on archaeological or art-historical methodology, nor such demonstrative theoretical introductions to his books and articles as are en vogue today. Theory was highly appreciated and needed, but always in the service of better understanding historical reality.

For Andy Stewart, Greek culture was to a high, and astonishing, degree a culture of the body. After centuries of Classical Studies in which the naked bodies of Greek art were understood as symbolic *incunabula* of Greek idealism, which was another dead end in my eyes, he took them as what they first of all were: representations of real human bodies – yet not in the sense of blank realism but of a fundamental element of Greek culture and society. His book ‘Art, Desire, and the Body in Ancient Greece’, of 1997, deals with an immense spectrum of social practices and concepts of the body, collective and individual, public and private, male and female, political and erotic, divine, heroic and human, Greek and foreign, normative and transgressive. And the correlative phenomenon to this was, as he impressively demonstrated, the immense importance of visuality, of appearing as well as perceiving, and of the ever-present ‘public eye’ in Greek societies. A revolution.

Of course, such views implied fundamental personal choices. Andy Stewart's book 'Classical Greece and the Birth of Western Art', of 2008, is an immensely powerful exploration of the 'Greek revolution' and what followed along the 5th century B.C. Most significant are the differences from Jerome J. Pollitt's famous 'Art and Experience in Classical Greece', from 1972, which Stewart was asked to replace, and which he judged, with all great respect for its author, as rather 'impressionistic', grounding the 'Classical' in general mental and psychological attitudes, such as 'consciousness', 'control' or 'the individual'. What he offers instead is an immensely rich 'socially grounded' approach in which works of 'art' are conceived as powerful factors in concrete historical situations. This implies giving a particularly strong impact to individual artists and individual works, most notably in his interpretation of the Tyrannicides' monument in Athens, which he sees as 'the' single founding monument of 'Classical' art as such. Contrary to earlier scholarship which had pointed out certain trends in late Archaic art leading towards 'Classical' styles, he emphatically insisted on the uniqueness of this revolutionary monument of the beginnings of Athenian democracy, with its overwhelming physical energy and presence. They 'formally inaugurated what art historians call the Severe Style in Greek art'. For Andy Stewart this was a kind of fundamental credo which he expanded in a recent contribution to this Journal on 'Rupture or continuity?' - a most powerful plea for art history as a field (in my words) of agency against pre-determination, event against process, human beings against 'structures'. Ultimately, we may consider this controversy to be less a matter of factual history than of historians' interests and perspectives. But whether one agrees with him or not, his view of the impact of individual actors and their individual works is a most formidable and provocative challenge for understanding how major changes in art and artistic practice generally occur. More or less unconsciously, this would probably have been his own understanding of his individual role as a scholar: he was convinced he could achieve great things. An attitude of Hercules.

This is not the place for a general appreciation of Andy Stewart's great scientific work, which would have to include wonderful articles such as on Stesichoros and the François vase (1983), and above all his groundbreaking books 'Attika' on Athenian Hellenistic sculpture (1979), 'Faces of Power' on images of Alexander the Great (1993), 'Attalos, Athens, and the Akropolis' (2004) on the 'Little Barbarians' and other Pergamene victory monuments, culminating in 'Art in the Hellenistic World' (2014). Of all periods of Greek art, Hellenism perhaps best suited his character: the powerful dynamics of Alexander and his followers, the storm-blown Nike of Samothrace on her steep ship's prow. Instead, I would like to come back to some personal experiences.

In 2004 I received, out of the sudden, an invitation from the Dean of the Department of Berkeley to give the Sather Lectures in 2007, and I guessed that Andrew Stewart must have played a major role in this initiative, although we had never met nor been in any contact until then. For him, this must have been a risky decision, for these lectures involved participation of colleagues from both departments, of Classics and Art History, and moreover a graduate seminar course: so, he had to cut a fine figure in front of many colleagues and his advanced students. But one of his characteristic features was that he firmly trusted those he had once decided for. His graduate students were just wonderful: eager to learn new approaches, inspiring with all sorts of challenging questions and ideas, highly experimental but always precisely to the point – and above all with an attitude of absolute intellectual freedom and equality. What they had got from him was much more than technical training: it was an academic *habitus* that was at the same time a vital cultural attitude, including political commitment and social coherence.

Andy Stewart was a great communicator. He was one of the central figures of Berkeley's very lively academic community. And he had his advanced students every week at his home: for a lively grill party. He was a wonderful and passionate cook, especially when he prepared the turkey for Thanksgiving parties with his wife Darlis, his family and his beloved grand-daughters.

Andy Stewart knew that he was highly esteemed in the international world of Classical Studies, and he enjoyed very much to be honoured, in his last month, with the gold medal of the Archaeological Institute of America. But in his heart he was a modest person. He felt he was in the service of science, and he was happy to spend much time for this. During the last years of his life, he passed regularly several months in the storerooms of the Athenian Agora excavation, patiently ordering thousands of sculptural fragments, mostly quite insignificant – but finding out with an eagle's eyes those of which he most ingeniously reconstructed pediments and friezes of classical temples, or the history of the iconography of Aphrodite. And here, too, he enjoyed the company of some of his students.

This was Andy Stewart's world. In this world he will continue to be present.

Landscape archaeology in a contested space: Public engagement and outreach in the Xeros River valley in Cyprus

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Introduction

This paper presents the activities carried out in the context of the public outreach framework of the *Settled and Sacred Landscapes of Cyprus* (SeSaLaC) and the *Unlocking the Sacred Landscapes of Cyprus* (UnSaLa-CY) projects of the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus in a former conflict zone, the Xeros River valley (Larnaca district) in Cyprus. The public outreach initiatives were born out of the long-term aim of the projects to encourage public engagement and interaction of the present-day communities in the Xeros valley with the cultural heritage of the region.

Public outreach and community involvement have become increasingly common components of archaeological projects, particularly in countries where public archaeology was first developed, such as North America, Britain and Australia¹ but also elsewhere, especially by foreign archaeological teams from Anglophone countries who integrate public archaeological work in their research and field practice.² Archaeologists engage with many different publics or communities, employing a wide variety of methods, means, and conceptual frameworks. These frameworks are greatly affected by the social, cultural, economic and legislative settings in which archaeology and consequently public or community archaeology takes place.³ What is clear from the practice of public and community archaeology globally is that the theoretical understanding and their interpretation are shaped to a large extent by the regional, national and local context in which they sit.

Archaeology's growing engagement with different audiences is a response to the latter's increased interest in learning and participating in archaeology.⁴ In addition, demonstrating to the public that there is a benefit to doing archaeology as well as the importance of the public in archaeological stewardship are both vital for the survival of archaeology as a discipline (and practice). Archaeology cannot survive without public support in the form of participation and interest in the past, as well as financial contributions.⁵ Archaeology's relevance depends on continuing public involvement.

¹ Marshall 2002; Merriman 2004; Little and Shackel 2014; Greer, Harrison and McIntyre-Tamwoy 2002; Moshenska 2017.

² Moser *et al.* 2002; Tully 2009; Tringham 2012; Baker *et al.* 2019; Matsuda and Okamura 2011.

³ Matsuda and Okamura 2011; Thomas 2017: 16; Richardson and Almansa-Sanchez 2015; Berliner and Nassaney 2015.

⁴ Thomas 2017: 15.

⁵ Berliner and Nassaney 2015: 4.

Outreach activities take many forms, ranging from informal talks and guided tours to museums, archaeological or heritage sites, basic training in archaeological skills, educational activities with schools, popular publications and heritage open days. These activities tend to be driven by the notion of public education and its ability to inform⁶ and that experts bear the responsibility of sharing their knowledge with those who can appreciate and use it.⁷ Public education in public archaeology becomes something that is done for the public instead of something that is done with them.⁸ Thus, current debates in public archaeology tend to criticise the activities guided by this stance on public education,⁹ as being positivistic and adopting a top-down approach, where the expert tells the public what to think about the past and what to know.¹⁰ In response, some commentators have suggested alternative ways of approaching this issue,¹¹ where the focus is on the notion that the past is understood and used differently by different social groups.¹² However, each approach, whether instructive or collaborative can be suitable depending on the context in which it is practiced.

As Waterton argues,¹³ there can never be a single educational model. Archaeologists should be mindful and respectful of the underlying principles guiding their outreach work and whether the approaches they select are fit for purpose in the context they operate. As Kyriakidis rightly points out,¹⁴ the public and especially the local communities associated with archaeological projects deserve to have access to knowledge and to be informed of the importance of their heritage. Furthermore, outreach activities based on the notion of education as instruction are significant as they may generate interest about archaeology and that is a vital step not only in developing this relationship further, but also in justifying the work of archaeology. In countries like Cyprus, where public archaeology is in its infancy, these approaches matter as they contribute to making archaeology more relevant to society.

In Cyprus, public archaeology has primarily taken the form of public engagement activities as part of archaeological field projects run by foreign universities. The Ancient Akrotiri Project,¹⁵ the Ancient Theatre of Paphos,¹⁶ the Arediou Project¹⁷ and the Athienou Archaeological Project,¹⁸ are some examples. The outreach programs by the SeSaLaC and UnSaLa-CY projects of the University of Cyprus are the first initiative in public archaeology in Cyprus to have been organized by a Cypriot institution, with clearer longer-term objectives related to public archaeology and the employment of landscape archaeology in healing various forms of social trauma.¹⁹

The public engagement activities of the SeSaLaC and UnSaLa-CY projects carried out in 2020 in the Xeros valley consisted of the development of a cultural route to religious and secular heritage places in the rural landscape, offered to the public through a mobile phone application (henceforth mobile app) and the organization of two public outreach activities that included a guided tour and an educational activity for children in the two main communities of the valley, Kophinou

⁶ Merriman 2004.

⁷ Merriman 2004: 5; Moshenska 2017: 8.

⁸ Waterton 2014.

⁹ Holtorf 2007; Kyriakidis 2020.

¹⁰ Merriman 2004.

¹¹ Merriman 2004; Holtorf 2007; Matsuda and Okamura 2011.

¹² See Bintliff 2013.

¹³ Waterton 2014.

¹⁴ Kyriakidis 2020: 3.

¹⁵ Ancient Akrotiri Project: Dreamer's Bay excavation and survey, September 2015, Interim Report [<https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/archaeology/research/projects/ancient-akrotiri/images/DreamersBay2015interim.pdf>] (last accessed on 10.06.2019); Outreach and community engagement. Akrotiri-Dreamer's Bay (Nissarouin) excavation and survey, Spring 2019, Interim Report [<https://www2.le.ac.uk/departments/archaeology/research/projects/ancientakrotiri/images/DreamersBay2019interim.pdf>] (last accessed on 27.09.2019).

¹⁶ Barker 2015.

¹⁷ Hidden Past: Developing narratives for community archaeology and local history at Arediou, Cyprus. UK Research and Innovation [<https://gtr.ukri.org/projects?ref=AH%2FK005391%2F1>] (last accessed 10.05.2022).

¹⁸ Kardulias, Toumazou and Counts 2011: 5; Counts *et al.* 2013.

¹⁹ Papantoniou 2019.

and Alaminos. The latter was seen as a pilot exercise in engaging with the public and the local communities of the valley as a basis on which to build more informed activities in the field of public archaeology in the region. We sought this opportunity to get a better sense of how people experienced the heritage places in the area, but also to enable local narratives and engage with oral histories.

This article discusses these engagement activities and provides an analysis of the public feedback, placing them within the framework of the slowly evolving strands of public and community archaeology in Cyprus. The first section provides an overview of the project, the landscape of the Xeros and its cultural heritage. The second section presents the public outreach events and the results from the analysis of the collected feedback. The final section focusses on the way forward based on the two pilot projects and their assessment.

The Xeros River valley and the archaeological projects

SeSaLaC comprises an archaeological field project aiming at the systematic exploration of landscape archaeology, the formation and evolution of settled and sacred places in Cyprus through time, from prehistory to today. A range of informed methods and interdisciplinary approaches to Cypriot landscapes and society, including archaeological surface survey, geophysical prospection, geoarchaeology, digital applications, anthropology and ethnoarchaeology are employed in order to explore relevant research questions. The Xeros River valley, and specifically in the periphery of the present-day villages of Kofinou, Alaminos, Agios Theodoros and Menogeia in the Larnaca district, has been the focus of the SeSaLaC project's archaeological field research since 2014 (Figure 1).²⁰

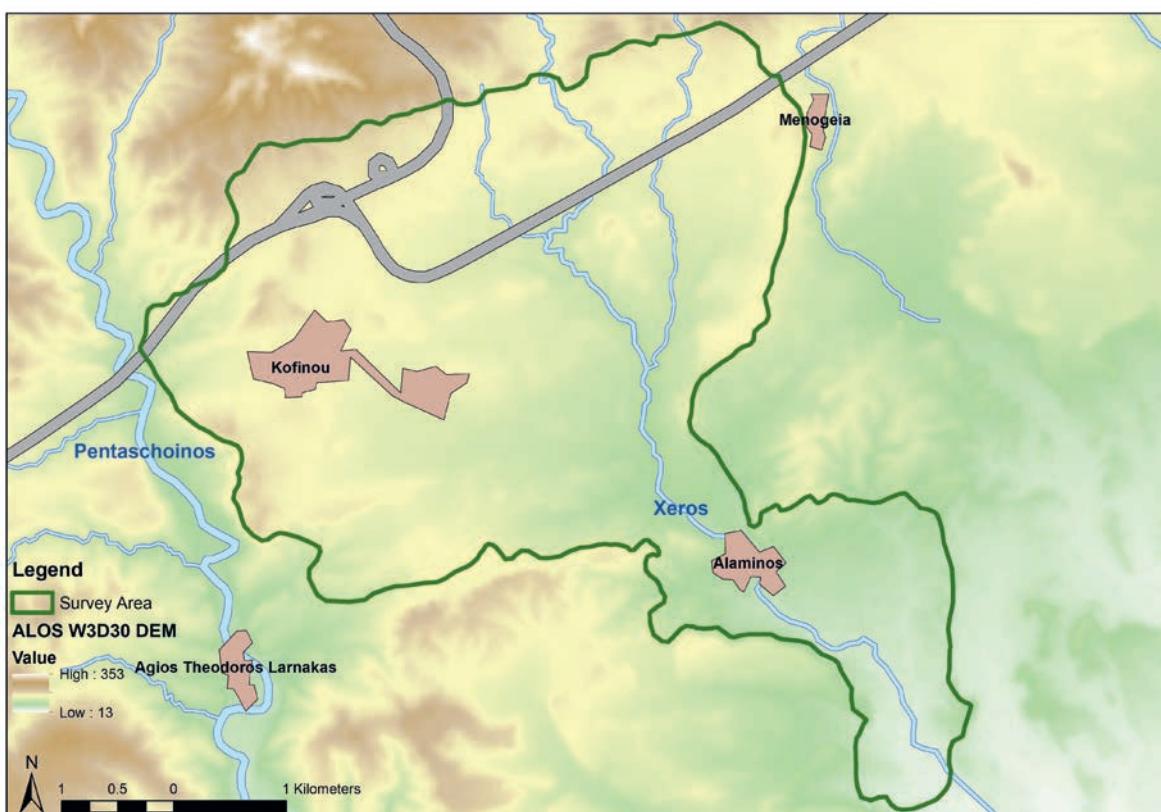


Figure 1. The Xeros River valley with the villages of Kofinou and Alaminos (SeSaLaC 2016).

²⁰ Papantoniou and Vionis 2018.

The wider area of the Xeros valley is about 2500 ha in size and is situated 20 km southwest of Larnaca and 7 km inland from the south coast of Cyprus in the Larnaca district. It is located at a major junction of the island's main motorways, linking the capital Nicosia with the towns of Larnaca to the southeast, Limassol on the south coast and Paphos to the west. The valley is traversed by the river Xeros and it is defined by the foothills of Troodos to the north and a series of hills to the west, south and east. On the horizon to the northeast, the imposing Stavrovouni conical mountain, with the Byzantine monastery of the Holy Cross on its top, comprises an important religious landmark and a reference point in the sacred landscapes of the southern coast of Cyprus diachronically, perhaps since Antiquity.

Xeros, or Xeropotamos (meaning the 'dry river' in Greek) as some locals call it, stems from the area west of the Stavrovouni Mountain and flows into the sea, near the modern yacht shelter in Alaminos. The river creates a fertile valley along its way, where people from antiquity to this day have used a canalization system to water their orchards. The fertility of the valley, in combination with the presence of the river, has contributed to agricultural development in the area from antiquity. The Ottoman tax census of 1572 confirms that the Xeros valley was one of the most important areas for the cultivation of olive trees and cereals on the island. Livestock has also been a significant source of income for the inhabitants of the region. The valley today, home to the communities of Kophinou and Alaminos, is almost devoid of recent development and is archaeologically a *terra incognita*. Alaminos is located 4 km southeast of Kophinou.

SeSaLaC's study of the archaeological material from several sites in the Xeros valley confirms human habitation and land use in the area in several chronological phases from prehistory to the present.²¹ The valley bears evidence for remarkable development during the Bronze Age, where a large settlement grew up in the area east of the medieval tower of Alaminos. The archaeological material suggests that during the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical periods the valley was part of the territory of the Kingdom of Amathus.²² The Xeros region saw notable growth in Late Antiquity, with the mushrooming of rural settlements, significant population rise and extensive land use. Like other areas in the eastern Mediterranean, the Cypriot countryside flourished during the 5th-7th centuries AD, at least in terms of demographics and intensive cultivation of the available agricultural land.²³ The ceramic finds from the valley, mainly from storage and transport vessels, are indicative of the rural character of contemporary settlements in the area.

The valley of the Xeros river offers a unique landscape with a diverse cultural heritage that includes remains from Late Antiquity, including the remains of a basilica at the church of Panagia Kophinou; churches from the Byzantine era, such as the church of Panagia Kophinou; the 15th century church of Panagia Astathkotissa; the Medieval tower and Ottoman watermill of Alaminos; and stone bridges from the British colonial period. Archaeological research in the area has attested to its central role in antiquity in an otherwise un-central territory in terms of its location in the landscape and its relation to neighboring centers or 'central places'.²⁴

The Muslim religious places and the remains of the abandoned Turkish-Cypriot villages of Kophinou and Alaminos, along with the Turkish-Cypriot abandoned military bunkers on the hilltops around Kophinou from the period of inter-communal strife (Figure 2), attest to the historical significance of the valley in the 20th century, as it was pivotal in the interethnic conflict from 1963-1974 and its devastating consequences.

²¹ Papantoniou and Vionis 2018.

²² Papantoniou and Vionis 2018.

²³ Papantoniou and Vionis 2018; Vionis 2018; Vionis and Papantoniou 2017; 2019. See also Hadjisavvas 1992; Gordon and Caraher 2020.

²⁴ Papantoniou and Vionis 2019.



Figure 2. Military bunker in the region of Kophinou (SeSaLaC 2016).

The valley was home to a Turkish-Cypriot community in the 19th and 20th centuries, that lived peacefully with the Greek-Cypriots. Many villages in the valley had almost an equal number of Greek- and Turkish-Cypriots. Alaminos is an example,²⁵ whose living quarters were divided by a small stream running through the village: the Turkish-Cypriots lived on the eastern bank and the Greek-Cypriots on the western bank, connected with a bridge built during the British colonial period. Kophinou was the second largest Turkish-Cypriot village on the island (in 1960 it accommodated 710 Turkish- and 18 Greek-Cypriots).²⁶

The gradual segregation of the two communities during British colonial rule resulted in Greek-Cypriots striving for the union of Cyprus with Greece, while the Turkish-Cypriots initially expressed preference for the continuation of British rule and later demanded *Taksim*, the partition of the island and the reuniting of the Turkish part with Turkey.²⁷ Their opposing political agendas in the newly established Republic of Cyprus in 1960 culminated in interethnic conflict that escalated into violence in 1963, first in Nicosia and then to other parts of the island. During this time, about 20,000 Turkish-Cypriots were displaced into refugee camps, while more than 90% of the community sealed itself inside self-administered militarized enclaves created around Turkish-Cypriot quarters in towns or villages, where they lived in squalid conditions for more than a decade.²⁸ In the Xeros valley, Kophinou and its surrounding areas became a major Turkish-Cypriot village in the region in 1963, operating as an important reception center for displaced Turkish-Cypriots who had evacuated their villages.²⁹ The village also served as the military headquarters of the Larnaca enclave.³⁰

On 15th November 1967, the bi-communal escalation of violence in the region led to a major diplomatic crisis that was averted by the UN. It erupted when the Greek-Cypriot police patrol escorted by a platoon of infantry of the Cypriot National Guard³¹ had to pass through the Turkish-

²⁵ Papadakis, Peristianis and Welz 2006.

²⁶ Bryant 2012.

²⁷ Papadakis, Peristianis and Welz 2006: 2; Moisi and Zachariades 2021.

²⁸ Papadakis, Peristianis and Welz 2006; Bryant 2014; Kruse 2020.

²⁹ Patrick 1976.

³⁰ Bryant 2014.

³¹ United Nations Security Council, Special Report by the Secretary General on recent developments in Cyprus, S/8248, 18 November 1967: 2 [<https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/520479?ln=en>] (last accessed 20.05.2021).

Cypriot quarter of the mixed village of Agios Theodoros to resume patrols in the area. The Cypriot National Guard launched an attack on the entire village following three shots from the Turkish-Cypriots, using heavy machine guns from armored cars. At the same time, Cypriot National Guard armored cars and infantry moved towards the village of Kophinou and launched another attack.³² The attacks led to the killing of 24 Turkish-Cypriots and the wounding of nine.³³ Turkey reacted immediately by threatening to invade the island but was prevented by the UN.³⁴ As Mallinson comments,³⁵ the crisis of 1967 ‘in some ways, it was almost a dress rehearsal for the Turkish invasion of 1974’.

On 15th July 1974, a military coup against the Greek-Cypriot government organized by the junta regime in Greece (1967-1974) with a view to leading to the island’s union with Greece, prompted the subsequent invasion by Turkey on 20th July in order to protect the Turkish-Cypriot community.³⁶ The invasion led to the occupation of 37.2% of the island by Turkey, and the displacement of the two ethnic communities.³⁷ Around 200,000 Greek-Cypriot refugees fled to the southern part of the island, while 71,000 Turkish-Cypriots were forced to move to the northern part and were mainly accommodated in the vacated Greek-Cypriot properties.³⁸

In the aftermath of the war in 1974, the Xeros valley witnessed the displacement of its Turkish-Cypriot communities and the resettlement of Greek-Cypriot refugees. Most of the Turkish-Cypriots of Kophinou were resettled in Lefkoniko village, renamed Geçitkale after the Turkish alternative name of Kophinou.³⁹ Greek-Cypriots from the northern part of the island settled at Kophinou. The Turkish-Cypriots from Alaminos fled to the occupied side and resettled in Kythrea. Today many of the inhabitants of the two main villages in the valley (i.e., Kophinou and Alaminos) are first generation refugees, living in anticipation of a solution to the Cyprus problem. Hence, their perception and experience of the valley, at least for the first-generation refugees, starts in 1974-1975, and has been predominantly shaded by the interethnic conflict and the war. Similarly, the historical significance of the Xeros valley in the political history of Cyprus has also dominated Greek-Cypriots’ perception of the area: as a place primarily identified with 20th-century politics and conflict, and the November-1967 attack of the Greek-Cypriot army on the Turkish-Cypriot communities, known as the ‘Kophinou crisis’.

The displacement of Turkish-Cypriots to the north and Greek-Cypriots to the south led to the abandonment of their homes, neighborhoods, and treasured possessions. Places that were once alive became empty and silent, victimized by decay as a result of abandonment or by deliberate destruction by the other side. It is quite common to see vandalized and ruined Greek-Cypriot cemeteries, archaeological sites, churches and houses in the north, and similarly to see destroyed Turkish-Cypriot cemeteries, mosques and villages in the south.⁴⁰ In the physical absence of those persons for whom these sites were important, a damaged church or mosque or a ruined cemetery could fade into the background, occupying a minimal place in the landscape of everyday life.⁴¹

³² Patrick 1976: 5.

³³ United Nations Security Council, Special Report by the Secretary General on recent developments in Cyprus, S/8248, 18 November 1967: 156 [<https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/520479?ln=en>] (last accessed 20.05.2021); Richter 2010.

³⁴ United Nations Security Council, Report by the Secretary General on the United Nations operation in Cyprus, S/8446, 9 March 1968: 157 [<https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/519122?ln=en>] (last accessed 20.05.2021); United Nations Security Council, Special Report by the Secretary General on recent developments in Cyprus, S/8248, 18 November 1967 [<https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/520479?ln=en>] (last accessed 20.05.2021); United Nations Security Council, Special Report by the Secretary General on recent developments in Cyprus, Addendum, S/8248/add. 3, 22 November 1967 [<https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/520481?ln=en>] (last accessed 20.05.2021).

³⁵ Mallinson 2005: 51.

³⁶ Demetriou 2019: 6.

³⁷ Loizos 2001: 115.

³⁸ Loizos 2001: 115; Stylianou-Lambert and Bounia 2016: 29.

³⁹ Papadakis, Peristianis and Welz 2006.

⁴⁰ Human Rights Archaeology: Cultural Heritage in Conflict. Kofinou mosque, village: previous destruction - arson context, March 02, 2010 [human rights archaeology:cultural heritage in conflict: Kofinou Mosque, village: previous destruction - arson context (human-rights-archaeology.blogspot.com)] (last accessed 19.03.2023); Hardy 2014; Kruse 2019: 9; Jansen 2005.

⁴¹ Constantinou, Demetriou and Hatay 2012: 179.



Figure 3. The church of Panagia Astathkiotissa (photo by Adamos Papantoniu 2020).

As an area that was inhabited by a large community of Turkish-Cypriots, the Xeros valley is a microcosm of the destruction of the heritage of both communities in the period 1963-1974 and in the post-1974 era. In the first instance, it was the Christian churches located inside the Turkish-Cypriot control-area that suffered, as the Greek-Cypriots were not allowed access to them. In the post-war period, however, the abandoned heritage of the Turkish-Cypriots appears to have been at times the focus of deliberate destruction or was left to decay. For example, the church of Panagia Astathkiotissa (Figure 3) fell inside the area that was under the Turkish-Cypriot control of Kophinou in 1963-1974, and thus not accessible by the Greek-Cypriots.

The church was declared an ancient monument in 1977.⁴² The wall paintings in the interior of the monument are covered with extensive engraved graffiti of Muslim names, dates and symbols (Figure 4a-b), while in some areas a layer of soot is visible. These are attributed to Turkish-Cypriots, most likely shepherds or soldiers,⁴³ although local people do not recall the latter as being true. According to the Department of Antiquities and the Cypriot Press,⁴⁴ during the period that the region was under Turkish-Cypriot control, Turkish-Cypriot shepherds took refuge in the church and lit fires to keep warm, which resulted in the layer of soot over the wall paintings. Local people, however, recall that Greek-Cypriots also took refuge inside the church and lit fires before the interethnic conflict. According to them, the church was not used for religious services in the period prior to the setup of the enclaves. Furthermore, they recall that the church had no doors, and was easily accessible by anyone who was in the area in need of refuge. Indeed, a request to the

⁴² Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus. The church of Panagia Astathkiotissa or Panagia ton Astathkion. Department of Antiquities Archives 1977, folder no. 2.39.

⁴³ Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus. The church of Panagia Astathkiotissa or Panagia ton Astathkion. Department of Antiquities Archives 1989, folder no. 2.39; Conservation report (3rd phase) of the wall paintings of the church of Panagia Astathkiotissa. The Archaeological Society at Athens, Cyprus Branch. Department of Antiquities Archives 2001, folder no. 2.39: 3.

⁴⁴ Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus. The church of Panagia Astathkiotissa or Panagia ton Astathkion. Department of Antiquities Archives 1989, folder no. 2.39.



Figure 4a-b. Graffiti with Turkish names and dates in the interior of Panagia Astathkotissa; view of the east apse in the Holy Bema (left) and detail of inscription (right) (SeSaLaC 2016).

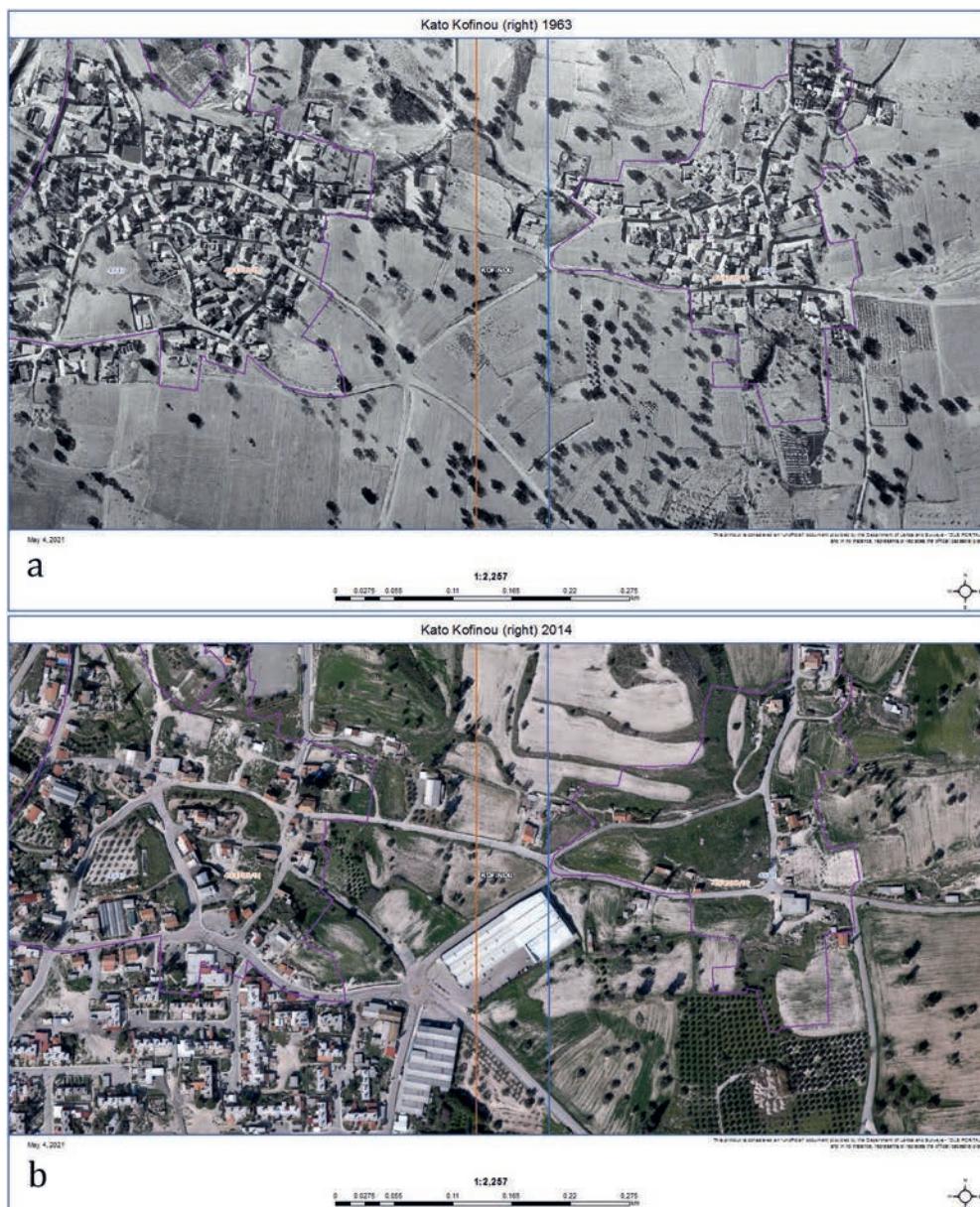


Figure 5a-b. Maps of the village of Kophinou in 1963 (top) and 2014 (bottom) showing the disappearance of the Turkish Cypriot village (Republic of Cyprus, Ministry of Interior, Department of Lands and Surveys, DLS-Portal).

Department of Antiquities in 1981 for urgent repairs to the church includes the provision of two doors and one window.⁴⁵

Kophinou provides ample examples of the destruction of Turkish-Cypriot heritage. Some first-generation Greek-Cypriot refugees recall that many houses in the Turkish-Cypriot quarter were demolished in the post-1974 era to create more space for the Greek-Cypriot refugee quarter. However, comparative aerial photographs of the Turkish-Cypriot village in 1963 and 2014 do not support this statement; the previous densely built Turkish-Cypriot village of Kato Kophinou appears to have partly disappeared but was not replaced by later development (Figure 5a-b). This includes the disappearance of the smaller of the two Muslim cemeteries recorded in the village⁴⁶ (Figure 6a-b). Greek-Cypriots reused some of the houses, while others suffered due to abandonment and are



Figure 6a-b. The two Turkish-Cypriot cemeteries in Kophinou in 1963 (top) and the same aerial photo in 2014 (bottom), showing the disappearance of the small cemetery in the green circle (Republic of Cyprus, Ministry of Interior, Department of Lands and Surveys, DLS-Portal).

⁴⁵ Department of Antiquities, Republic of Cyprus. The church of Panagia Astathkotissa or Panagia ton Astathkion. Department of Antiquities Archives 1981, folder no. 2.39.

⁴⁶ Pers. comm. Thorsten Kruse.



Figure 7. Abandoned shop in the Turkish-Cypriot sector of the village of Kophinou (SeSaLaC 2014).

in a state of collapse (Figure 7). The reuse of some of these buildings has proved beneficial for their preservation. The building of the Turkish-Cypriot primary school now functions as a carpentry, while the former Turkish-Cypriot high school currently houses the primary school of Kophinou.

The mosque, which is currently not operating, was built in 1920 (Figure 8). It is in good condition as it is included in the Ministry of Interior's program for looking after Turkish-Cypriot property.⁴⁷ Its southern wall is frequently subjected to graffiti of a nationalist character, but it is painted over by the local authorities.⁴⁸ The abandoned large Muslim cemetery that lies a few kilometers outside the village presents a more disheartening view. In the southeastern corner of the cemetery, a special section was added after 1967 following the killing of the 24 Turkish-Cypriots during the November 1967 attack.⁴⁹ No head plate has been preserved in any of the graves (Figure 9), while the emblem of the TMT (Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı – Turkish Resistance Organization, a Turkish-Cypriot paramilitary organization that strove for the partition of the island) above its entrance is destroyed (Figure 10). Since the opening of the borders in 2003, occasional visitors deposit flowers to the graves of the deceased.

The sight of desertion and decay of settled and sacred spaces bear their presence markedly in the landscapes of the Xeros. However, the notions of abandonment, refugeehood and negligence as integral elements of the landscape are not just echoes from the past. The deserted and derelict State Abattoir that closed its doors in 2013⁵⁰ and the Reception and Accommodation Centre for Applicants for International Protection (a second 'refugee settlement') since 2004 reaffirm these associations in the collective memory of Greek-Cypriots.

Public engagement

In the above context, the public outreach initiatives have sought to raise awareness about the archaeological and historical significance of the valley to both the local communities and the wider

⁴⁷ Kruse 2020: 13.

⁴⁸ Kruse 2019: 213; Bağışkan 2009.

⁴⁹ Kruse 2019: 213.

⁵⁰ P. Vasilas, Philenews, 14 November 2020 [<https://www.philenews.com/koinonia/eidiseis/article/1061239>] (last accessed 10.09.2021).



Figure 8. The mosque of Kophinou (photo by Adamos Papantoniou 2020).

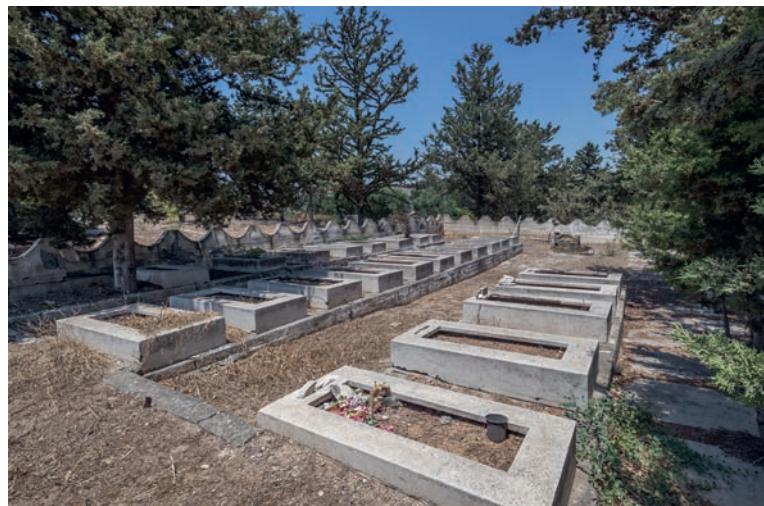


Figure 9. The 24 graves in the Turkish-Cypriot cemetery of Kophinou in its current state of preservation (photo by Adamos Papantoniou 2020).



Figure 10. The TMT emblem (Türk Mukavemet Teşkilatı) over the gate of the Muslim cemetery in Kophinou (photo by Adamos Papantoniou 2020).

public. By doing so, we wished to provide another dimension to the valley's negative association in the collective memory of the Greek-Cypriots and to learn from local oral histories. Furthermore, by narrating the history of the area since antiquity through the heritage of the Greek- and Turkish-Cypriot communities, we sought to invite the public to reconsider aspects of this painful past for Cyprus through the example of the Xeros River valley.

Raising awareness about the valley's heritage to the wider public was also an attempt to promote this area as a cultural tourist destination. We considered both local and foreign audiences due to the potential of the valley as a cultural but also alternative tourist destination (e.g., cyclists, hikers, etc.). Despite the proximity of the Xeros River valley to other places of cultural interest that are significant tourist attractions on the island, such as the archeological sites of Amathus and Khirokitia or the village of Lefkara, and its strategic location at one of the major junctions of the island's motorway, it is somehow excluded from local or foreign tourist itineraries. Cyclist groups often pass through the valley, although it is unlikely that they purposely visit to explore it. The page of the Cyprus Tourism Organization⁵¹ refers to some villages of the valley, including Kophinou, in the recommended cyclist routes, but falls short of elaborating on what the area has to offer in terms of heritage and cultural exploration.

The mobile-phone application

The development of a mobile app in 2020 for providing a cultural heritage route in the valley followed the currently widespread use of digital technology as a way of engaging audiences with their historical and archaeological heritage. Digital technology can enhance public understanding of archaeological heritage and its widespread use in the interpretation and communication of archaeological objects and sites, in-situ or in museums, attests to its educational potential.⁵² The combination of mobile apps with Virtual Reality (VR) and Augmented Reality (AR) technologies are now widely used by archaeological projects, heritage institutions and museums around the world as part of their interpretation and communication strategies.⁵³ For example, the Museum of London 'Streetmuseum' mobile app uses GPS to mark the location of the user on a contemporary London Street, where by lifting the camera of the mobile phone to a present-day street scene it provides a historical image of how the same street looked in the past.⁵⁴ Research shows that such tools can lead to a better understanding of cultural heritage, specifically when AR is involved.⁵⁵

The mobile app was developed as part of the UnSaLa-CY and SeSaLaC projects in collaboration with the Cyprus University of Technology, and it is available in Greek, English and Turkish. The app was launched in October 2020 and was preliminarily evaluated during the outreach activities in the Xeros (discussed below). The app aimed at facilitating the public's engagement with the valley and enhancing public understanding of its archaeological past, particularly using VR and AR. The mobile app comprises an interpretation tool and appears to be the best approach in communicating the importance of cultural heritage in the valley to the public, without intruding on the landscape. At the same time, this approach responded to the reality of confined access to some of the religious monuments in the area. For example, the app includes 360° photographs of the interiors of the churches of Panagia Kophinou, Panagia Astathkiotissa and Agios Mamas, enabling virtual access, since physical access is not always possible (these churches are locked when not in service).

The app suggests a route through the landscape to visitors interested in experiencing the sacred and secular space in the valley, while it narrates the historicity of the landscape and the fate of religious and other places over the past 1500 years. The suggested route includes the following places: (1) the Turkish-Cypriot quarter of the village of Kophinou, (2) the Turkish-Cypriot cemetery of Kophinou, (3) the church of Panagia Kophinou and (4) the Byzantine village of Kophinou, (5) the church of Panagia Astathkiotissa and (6) the Medieval rural settlement of Astathkion, (7) the church of Agios Mamas in Alaminos, (8) the tower of Alaminos, (9) the watermill of Alaminos,

⁵¹ Cyprus Tourism Portal. Search: Kofinou [https://www.visitcyprus.com/index.php/en/component/search/?searchword=kofinou&searchphrase=all&Itemid=222] (last accessed 26.09.2021).

⁵² Barker 2018; Luna, Rivero and Vicent 2019; Jeater 2012: 1.

⁵³ Economou and Meintani 2011; Ioannou *et al.* 2021.

⁵⁴ Ioannou *et al.* 2021.

⁵⁵ Jeater 2012.

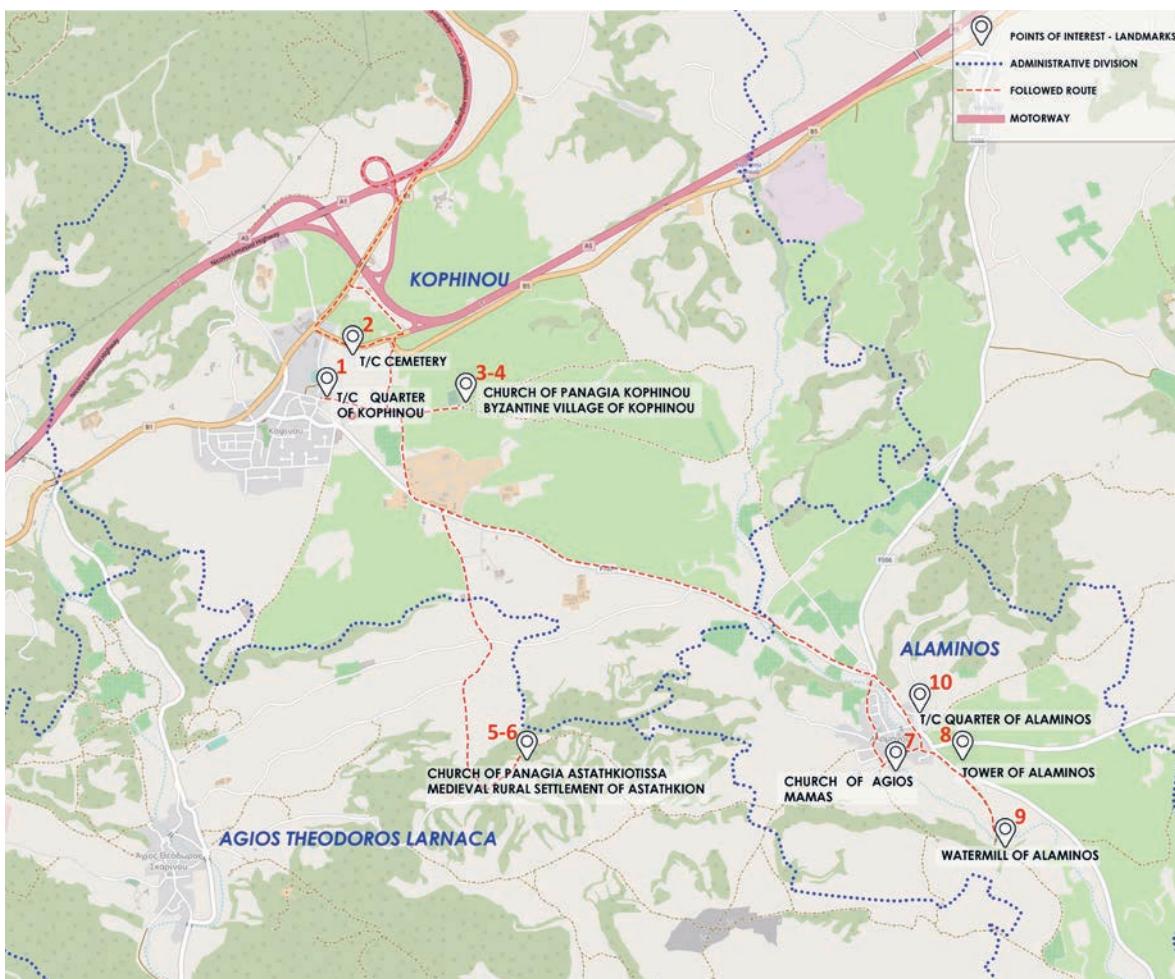


Figure 11. The suggested UnSaLa-CY app cultural route in the Xeros valley (UnSaLa-CY app 2020).

and (10) the Turkish-Cypriot quarter of Alaminos (mosque and school) (Figure 11).⁵⁶ Users can personalize their route depending on their own preferences and where they are located.

The mobile app employs image recognition and utilizes a location-based practice. It uses target images placed at the Points of Interest (POI) along the cultural route.⁵⁷ The app encourages visitors to visit those POIs and scan the target images with their smartphones. Once a target is recognized, a text with historical information and related images about the corresponding monument appear on the users' mobile-phone screen. To motivate the users to visit all places included in the recommended route, a score is maintained while the user visits each place.

To enhance the experience and understanding of the heritage landscape, 3D models were created of reconstructed religious and secular buildings, such as that of the early Byzantine basilica, the ruins of which rest under the standing church of Panagia Kophinou (Figure 12), as well as the multiple 3D-models of the typical Cypriot medieval longhouse, which was the core structure of rural settlements in the landscape (Figure 13). The latter can be projected at selected locations in the landscape to recreate parts of past settlements, such as the villages around the churches of Panagia Kophinou and Panagia Astathkiotissa. The creation of the longhouse and the locations of these rural settlements were identified based on geophysical prospection, archaeological evidence

⁵⁶ Bryman 2016.

⁵⁷ Bryman 2016.



Figure 12. 3D-reconstruction of the early Byzantine basilica in Kophinou (UnSaLa-CY app 2020).

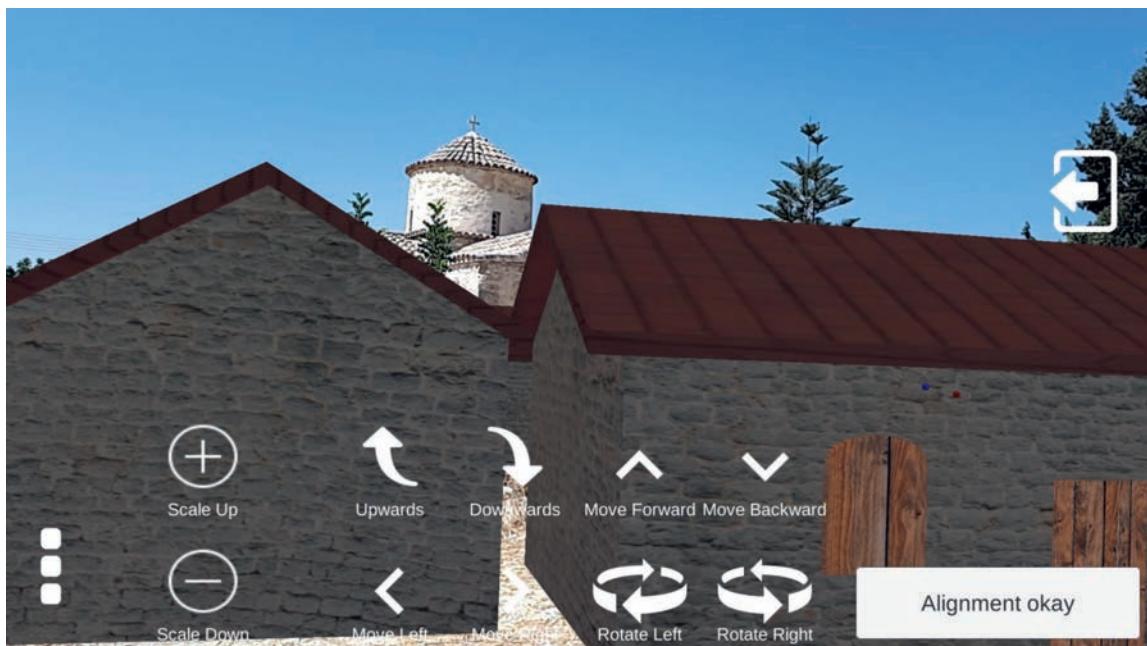


Figure 13. Placement of the 3D of the Byzantine village of Kophinou (UnSaLa-CY app 2020).

from surface potsherd density/concentrations, archaeological parallels, and literary sources. These visualizations were achieved using AR and with the use of the device's geographical location.

An additional layer of photographs and a short interpretive text for each place complements the tour. The interpretive text was developed based on information collected on the history of each place. Bibliographical research and research in the archives of the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Cyprus were the main sources for collating this information, supplemented by oral history interviews with selected community members from the villages of Alaminos, Kophinou, and Agios Theodoros. These proved invaluable in getting a clearer idea on the history of use of some of these buildings, such as the church of Panagia Astathkiotissa. Historical and more recent visual documentation of monuments' condition, particularly for the Turkish-Cypriot places of



Figure 14. Children taking part in the surface survey educational activity during the Archaeology Day at Alaminos (UnSaLa-CY 2020).

interest, was particularly helpful in understanding any change of condition and its causes, i.e., as a result of destruction or natural decay.

Archaeology Days

The two pilot Archaeology Days at the villages of Kophinou and Alaminos were an opportunity to engage directly with the local communities of the valley, particularly those of Kophinou and Alaminos, and with the wider public. The two activities were also an opportunity to receive feedback on the outreach activities, including the mobile app, and insights on who participated in the engagement events in order to inform future work in public engagement in the valley.

The events included a guided tour to selected religious and secular heritage places in the region, and an educational activity on surveying methods for children aged 5-12 (Figure 14). Both events were organized in collaboration with the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Cyprus and the local councils of the area's three main villages. To promote the two events, the research team designed posters/invitations in Greek and English, disseminated to the municipalities of Kophinou, Alaminos and Agios Theodoros, and to the primary schools in the region, the Department of Antiquities, the University of Cyprus, and to the Association of Cypriot Archaeologists. The invitations were also posted on the social media of the institutions and other involved bodies.

Each event lasted for about three hours. It commenced with an introduction to the SeSaLaC and UnSaLa-CY projects, and the history and archaeology of the area by the projects Directors (A. Vionis and G. Papantoniou), followed by the educational activity and guided tour. To support the educational activity, the team created an A4 pamphlet with visual and textual information on the monuments of the guided tours for each day and a table where kids or their parents could mark the number of pottery sherds counted within their walking line. The pamphlet was also disseminated to the primary schools of the area to be used as a tool for discovering the archaeology of the Xeros valley.

The tour was similar but shorter to the route suggested by the app. The tour at Kophinou started at the church of Panagia Kophinou and included the Byzantine village around the church, the Turkish-Cypriot quarter of Kophinou and Panagia Astathkotissa. At Alaminos, the tour started



Figure 15. Participants using the AR function of the app at the location of the church of Panagia Kophinou to visualize the Byzantine settlement in the adjacent field (UnSaLa-CY, October 2020).

at the medieval tower and continued to the Ottoman watermill and to Panagia Astathkiotissa. As mentioned earlier, participants had the opportunity to use the mobile app during the tour, primarily the VR function to visualize past settlements in the landscape near the church of Panagia Kophinou and Panagia Astathkiotissa (Figure 15).

Participants' feedback on the outreach activities

Our initial aim was to carry out semi-structured interviews with the participants. The choice of the research methods was ultimately determined by the practical limitations of the project: lack of time and people in carrying out the interviews after the end of the tours. Furthermore, the potential high risk of having a very low turnout of participation due to COVID-19 was another factor that we considered. It was due to the aforementioned reasons that we decided that a self-completion questionnaire as a preliminary method of enquiry⁵⁸ in combination with observations and informal interviews would allow us obtain a reliable dataset for the evaluation.

The disseminated questionnaire was anonymous and consisted of mainly close-ended and some open-ended questions. Along with demographics, questions addressed themes linked to the participants' experience of the landscape and the effectiveness of the app. The questionnaires were distributed to the participants upon their arrival and prior to the commencement of the tour, and they were collected at the end. A total of 24 and 46 questionnaires were collected at Kophinou and Alaminos respectively. Responses to open-ended questions were read through to identify themes. Close-ended questions were coded and used to derive descriptive statistics using SPSS.

In the following section, we present the findings from the survey in terms of how people experienced different aspects of the landscape, the effectiveness of the app and the overall success of the project in raising awareness about the historicity of the Xeros valley and its cultural heritage. Due to the relatively small number of participants attending the two events and the similarity of the structure and content of both events, we present the findings from the data analysis and interpretation together instead of each locale separately.

Archaeology Days for whom? The visitors' profile

Due to certain restrictions because of COVID-19 in Cyprus when those activities were organized, we were not in a position to foresee whether participation would be satisfactory. The seasonal olive-picking activities by the neighboring villages was another factor that could keep part of the local communities away from our activities, which was largely true. However, the turn-up of a large

⁵⁸ Bryman 2016.

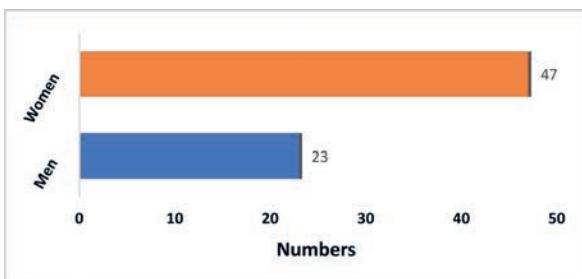


Figure 16. Number of male and female participants at the outreach events (n=70).

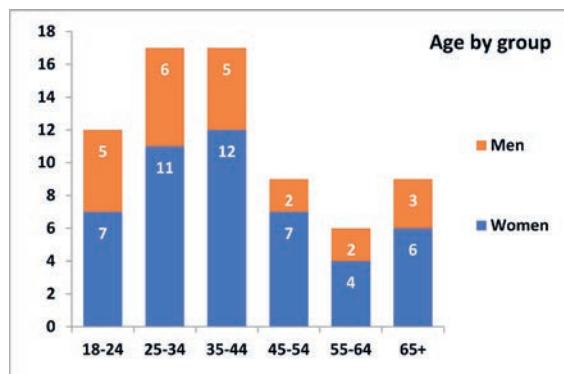


Figure 17. Age of participants by gender (n=70).

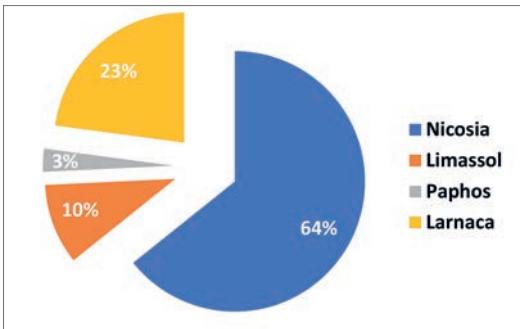


Figure 18. Provenance of participants to the two Archaeology Days (n=70).

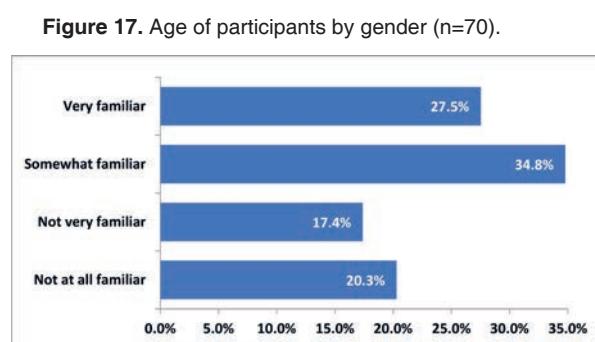


Figure 19. Degree of familiarity of participants with the Xeros valley (n=70).

number of non-local participants pleasantly surprised us. In fact, due to the COVID regulations, and several requests for participation by different groups, we eventually had to organize two separate tours, one for a primary school from Larnaca, and another for a group of adults from the UK community of the Episkopi garrison.

More than half of the participants were female (Figure 16), while about half were between 25 and 44 years of age (Figure 17). Nearly half of the participants (48%) were professionals (as classified using the International Standard Classification of Occupations classification)⁵⁹ and more than half (74%) had acquired a university degree. It should be mentioned that 20% of the participants were archaeologists, of which, 16.7% university students. This is acknowledged as a bias in the sample, as their background may have influenced their experience of the activities organized.

More than half of the participants (64%) came from Nicosia (i.e., the capital) followed by smaller numbers from Larnaca (23%), Limassol (10%), and Paphos (3%) districts (Figure 18). The high number of university students (from the University of Cyprus, based in Nicosia) contributed to the higher number of participants from the island's capital.

Taking part in the Archaeology Days was a social activity for most of the participants who joined our activities with friends (34%) or family (49%). In fact, 4 children participated in the Kophinou Day and 13 in the Alaminos educational activities. These findings reflect results from research and other heritage sites, when people tend to visit museums or heritage places as part of a social activity.⁶⁰ Furthermore, more than half (62%) of the participants were already familiar with the region in varying degrees (Figure 19). This includes those with an archaeological background (students and archaeologists).

⁵⁹ International Standard Classification of Occupations ISCO-08. Structure, group definitions and correspondence tables. International Labour Office: Geneva, Switzerland, 2012; Volume 1 [www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/@dgreports/@dcomm/@publ/documents/publication/wcms_172572.pdf] (last accessed 26.9.2021).

⁶⁰ Merriman 2000; Smith 2006.

Experiencing the Xeros valley and its cultural heritage

Participants gained a different view of the Xeros valley following their participation in the tours, as indicated by mostly positive responses (65%) to the question on whether their participation to the guided tour changed their view of the region and if so, how. It is noteworthy that more than half of the archaeologists who participated in the tour did not feel that the event changed their perception of the area, although they acknowledged that they gained new insights into the long-term history of the area and its cultural heritage.

Most people appear to have learned more about the area, as indicated by verbatim responses, such as 'new information', 'deeper knowledge', 'I learned more'. The event was successful in communicating effectively the archaeological and historical values of the valley, considering that people's perception of the area changed, as they learned more about its history and archaeology. Some of their characteristic responses include: 'I got to know things that I never knew about, such as the region's history'; 'I was not sure what the area really preserved here, thus, this event was insightful'; 'this was my first time in the area and I admit that I initially thought this place had no history'; 'I learned a lot about the history of this place.'

It is interesting, however not surprising, that learning about the archaeological past through the material remains in the natural landscape, and visualizing the medieval settlements in the vicinity of the churches of Panagia Kophinou and Panagia Astathkiotissa, helped participants to appreciate the history of the area and change their perception about it, as primarily a landscape of conflict and violence. This was clearly expressed by responses, such as 'I never realized how important the area was during Antiquity and the Middle Ages; I was only aware of the intercommunal violence in Kophinou 60 years ago.' One of the participants told us that she knew of Kophinou as a primarily Turkish-Cypriot village, while now it is more than that for her. Knowing about the long-term history of the region also helped the participants to appreciate it more than what it appears to be today: 'what today seems to be a small and abandoned place carries a heavy cultural value since the 3rd Millennium BC.'

Through our organized public outreach activities, people were able to acknowledge and appreciate different aspects of the landscape. History and archaeology comprised important elements for the participants, while almost all of them commented on their appreciation of the natural landscape's beauty. In fact, one of the local inhabitants of Kophinou, a refugee from the village of Vatili, explicitly commented on the landscape's beauty. Despite her longing to return to her home-village, she acknowledged the prettiness and serenity of the natural landscape, and how it made her appreciate it gradually as her 'new home'.

One way of evaluating people's experience of the tour was through the expression of their emotions. The role of emotion has been increasingly acknowledged as an essential aspect of the way people experience and make meaning of a place, including heritage.⁶¹ Although the exploration of affect in human experience is better suited for qualitative methods, we included an open-ended question in the questionnaire, asking participants to describe how they felt during the tour, as a preliminary enquiry into their emotional reactions to their overall experience. The response rate was 60%, while the responses suggest that people were more cognitively involved and somewhat emotionally engaged with variations in the degree of engagement. About half of the responses, such as 'curious', 'interested', 'educational', suggest that curiosity and the desire to learn more about the area was prevalent in how participants engaged with the area and its heritage sites. In the absence of robust data in terms of quantity, or additional qualitative data, we can only make anecdotal and limited inferences from the participants' responses on their

⁶¹ Tuan 1977; Smith and Waterton 2009: 49.

emotional engagement. At the most basic level, people had positive emotional responses: they felt 'excitement', 'calmness', 'relaxed', and 'joy'. A few were more emotionally involved as they felt 'touched' or 'wonder'. Some participants felt 'blessed', 'proud of Cyprus', and 'proud of their history and cultural heritage'. The encounter with these heritage sites and their history helped those participants to establish a sense of pride and affirm their national identity.

However, not everyone expressed positive feelings during the tour. A minority reported dissonant feelings, like 'duty', 'reminder' and 'vigilance', 'sadness' and 'shame'. Unfortunately, we are not able at this point to dive further into these feelings, but we can speculatively offer an explanation. The visit to the Turkish-Cypriot quarter of the village of Kophinou and the graffiti on the wall paintings of Panagia Astathkiotissa may have contributed to this dissonance. This was communicated clearly in the following verbatim response: 'I felt very emotional at the Turkish-Cypriot sector and in Panagia Astathkiotissa, as the monuments bear the memory of the refugees and the tragic events of Cyprus'; 'I feel injustice and sadness for the loss of the wall paintings.' These places are reminders of the dark period in the island's early modern and contemporary history: the intercommunal conflict of 1963-1974, the Turkish military invasion, and the ongoing, unresolved political situation, which is very much an integral part of people's present, particularly for the refugees. One participant commented that 'the church of Panagia Astathkiotissa reminds us very profoundly the tragic events of the period 1963-1974'. We need to stress here that we were particularly cautious during the guided tour at Panagia Astathkiotissa in order to avoid evoking negative emotions and reactions about the Turkish-Cypriot graffiti in the interior of the church amongst the group attending. As happens with graffiti of the Middle Ages and later in other churches on the island,⁶² the graffiti in Astathkiotissa should be seen as part of the 'heritage' and history of the monument in modern times, reflecting appropriation and property, identity, belonging and communication.

The church of Panagia Astathkiotissa appears to have been the most interesting and most emotionally engaging of the sites visited, as indicated by the participants' choice of the 'most interesting' (64%) and 'most emotional' (62%) place. As not all monuments and sites of the Xeros valley were included in both tours, except for Panagia Astathkiotissa, we ranked the rest with respect to the total sample of visitors to each place to get an idea of people's experience of each site. The church of Panagia Kophinou was the second most popular, followed by the medieval tower and the Ottoman watermill. The Turkish-Cypriot quarter was the least interesting for the participants, and the one that elicited the least affective reactions (3 out of 24 responses).

The participants' preference for the churches as the most interesting but most affective places in the region may reflect what most Greek-Cypriots feel about ecclesiastical monuments and religious/sacred sites, as they 'represent the Greek-Cypriot collective identity more than anything else on Cyprus'.⁶³ Christianity comprises a big part of this collective identity, and so are churches for the Greek-Cypriots, as evidenced by verbatim responses, such as 'in both places I felt how religion survives', 'religious monuments are very important for me'. Furthermore, the church of Panagia Astathkiotissa was unknown to the public, even to some of the archaeologists who participated in the tour. The location of the church on a hill overlooking the Xeros valley in two directions (inland and towards the coast), with breathtaking views, was another factor that surfaced as significant in people's experience of the site: 'the landscape was beautiful'. Finally, the artistic value of the wall paintings and the presence and scale of the graffiti over the wall frescoes were striking and contradictory features of the building.

⁶² Trentin 2010; Demesticha *et al.* 2017.

⁶³ Harmanşah 2014: 77.

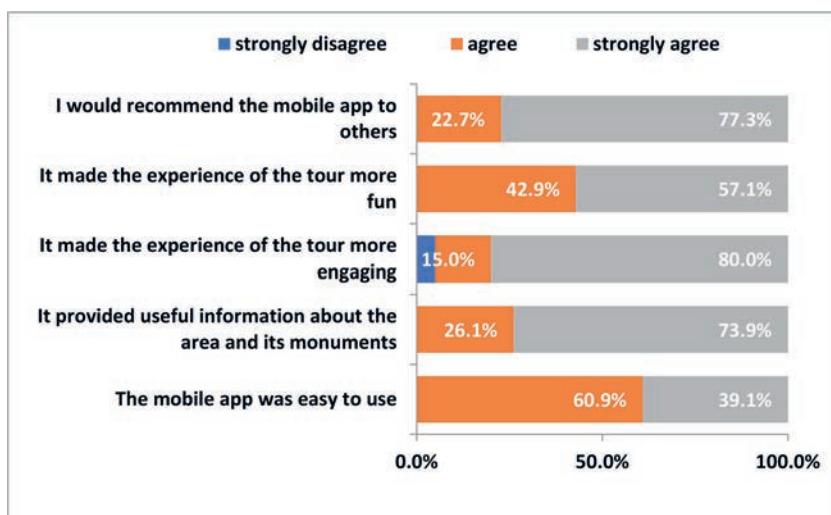


Figure 20. Responses to the evaluation of the mobile app during the two Archaeology Days.

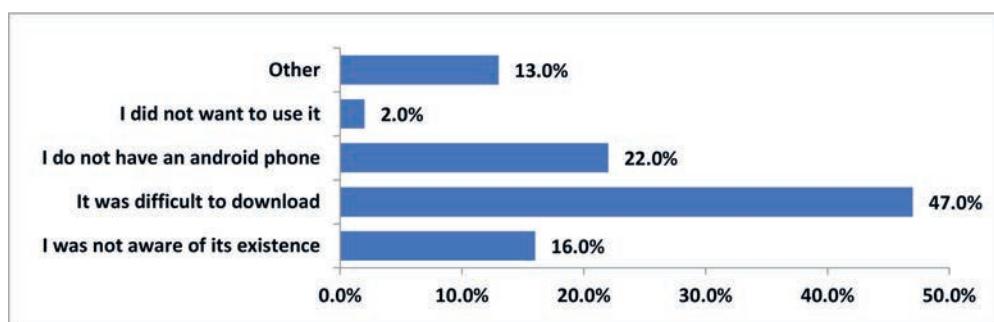


Figure 21. Responses to the question 'why did you not use the app today?' (n=45).

Evaluation of the mobile app

The mobile app was particularly welcomed during the tours, according to the feedback received from 38% of the participants that used it (Figure 20). The positive response was confirmed by their feedback. Nearly all of them (95%) agreed that it provided useful information about the area and its monuments, and that it was very easy to use (92%). Most of them (88%) agreed that the use of the mobile app made the experience of the tour more engaging and fun. All participants who used the app would recommend it to others.

To better understand the use of the mobile app, another question was included in the questionnaire (for the non-users) to identify why they did not use it. Almost half of them found it difficult to download (47%), followed by those who did not have an android phone (22%) or were not aware of its existence (16%) (Figure 21). The category 'other' included responses, such as 'I forgot'. The feedback suggests that the difficulty in downloading the app and the fact that the app was not available for iPhones during the Archaeology Days are significant accessibility issues that need to be addressed.

To inform our future activities in public engagement we asked participants to rank their preferred method of interpretation about the area and its heritage sites. Although there is little difference in the ranking scores for each option, organized tours were the most preferred option, followed by the provision of information onsite through interpretation panels. The latter is the conventional approach used for communicating with audiences at heritage places, at least in Cyprus. Surprisingly, perhaps, when considering the very positive response of the users during the tours on the Archaeology Days, the mobile app was ranked slightly lower than the three other alternatives and, consequently, comprised the least preferred option (Figure 22).

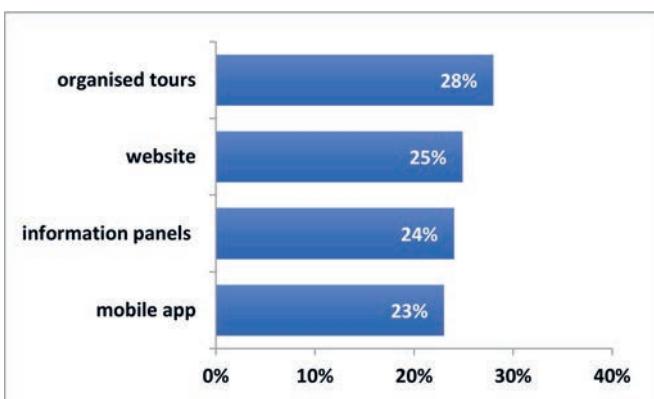


Figure 22. Preference of interpretative method according to participants in the tours (n=46).

Discussion

The feedback collected from the outreach activities in the Xeros valley provided useful information both on the public itself that participated in the events as well as on the success of the two outreach initiatives (the Archaeology Days and the mobile app) in engaging and raising awareness and understanding of the significance of the area and its cultural heritage. Overall, the two Archaeology Days were a success in getting the public engaged and in communicating the valley's significance.

The influx of participants from towns outside the Larnaca district, and especially from Nicosia (40 minutes' drive from the Xeros valley), affirms the participants' genuine interest in learning about this neglected area and its cultural heritage. Excluding the archaeology students that visited from Nicosia, the rest of the participants in this group must have done so due to their particular interest in the valley and its heritage. Taking part in the outreach activities was a social event for them, and a good way to spend time with their friends or families.

On the other hand, the very limited number of community members to both events highlights the need of the project, as it develops its public and community archaeology programs, to work more intensively on building a closer relationship with these communities. The participation of some municipality members from Kophinou and Alaminos in the two Archaeology Days was instrumental in this respect. We plan to organize similar events in collaboration with the municipality of Kophinou, following an invitation by the latter to raise awareness about the project, the heritage of Kophinou, and the broader Xeros valley to its community.

In addition, our photographer Adamos Papantoniou captured through his lens the experience of archaeologists in the landscape. His work illustrates how monuments and places from the recent past in the valley demarcate (positively or negatively) collective memories today. The photographic exhibition 'Surveying Memories' was accompanied by a public lecture by Athanasios Vionis (University of Cyprus) and the screening of the documentary 'Settled and Sacred Landscapes in Cyprus: The Xeros River Valley (Larnaca District)', directed by Stavros Papageorgiou (Tetrakty Films) (Figure 23).

The documentary narrates the story of settlement evolution, and explores religious and other monuments in the valley from antiquity to the present, through the principles of landscape archaeology, as followed by the SeSaLaC field project. The screening of the documentary during the 4th Cyprus Archaeological, Ethnographic and Historical Film Festival in Nicosia in July 2021 attracted the interest of the various local communities in the Xeros, as well as the Bishopric of Trimythous, based in the region. The same event was hosted a few weeks later for the communities currently living in the Xeros valley. Thus, the documentary has become an additional avenue for expanding audiences for SeSaLaC and archaeology, and for cultural heritage in the area under study. The collaboration with the Bishopric of Trimythous in organizing the local community event was instrumental in attracting local inhabitants, particularly as religion plays a significant role for these communities.



Figure 23. UnSaLa-CY photographic exhibition at the Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation in the framework of the 4th Cyprus Archaeological, Ethnographic and Historical Documentary Film Festival (UnSaLa-CY, July 2021).

The Archaeology Days succeeded in communicating the historical and archaeological significance of the Xeros valley to the public. It has added a time depth to people's perception of the place, and raised awareness for the significance of this rural region from antiquity to the present. Furthermore, beyond the educational value of the various engagement events, people's experience suggests that such activities were potentially more than that. Although this insight deserves further exploration, it is potentially significant both in understanding the role of emotion in the experience of heritage sites, but also in assessing the emotional effects of public outreach activities. This highlights the importance of emotion in the experience of a place, including heritage, and can contribute to research carried out in other regions on the island and beyond.⁶⁴ As Shanks argues,⁶⁵ the experience of archaeological sites is not primarily a cognitive experience but an affective one. A heritage place that elicits emotions to the visitors will be more memorable; ultimately the experience of visitors at this heritage place, and the emotions and memories that are produced, help facilitate a sense of belonging and identity amongst visitors.⁶⁶ Identity becomes defined and/or redefined, as the meanings and understandings about the past and present are negotiated and transformed, along with social and cultural values, during the encounter and experience of people with heritage places. The affective response in people through their experience with heritage places is crucial, as it creates a connection between people and heritage/archaeology, which, in the long-term, can be translated into support for archaeology. If people cannot perceive how archaeology can relate to their lives, they will show no interest or support.⁶⁷

Conclusions and further directions

The two public outreach initiatives presented in this article were an invaluable opportunity to test the waters in public outreach and engagement in the Xeros valley in the framework of the SeSaLaC and UnSaLa-CY projects. The outcomes from both public outreach activities were particularly useful in planning future outreach events and research in the area under study. In terms of public outreach in the Xeros, we plan to organize more Archaeology Days with the local communities but

⁶⁴ Ripanti and Mariotti 2018.

⁶⁵ Shanks 1992: 106.

⁶⁶ Shanks 1992: 83.

⁶⁷ Schadla-Hall 1999.



Figure 24. The medieval church of Panagia Astathkotissa (stop no. 5 in the mobile app route) with its QR code and related information printed on a metal plate installed at the site (UnSaLa-CY, August 2022).

also other audiences, such as Turkish-Cypriots, tourists, and local/regional schools. As a response to the feedback received on the mobile app from the participants during the two Archaeology Days, we have started improving the downloading process of the app, to make it compatible with iPhones. Further evaluations of the app are currently planned, hopefully improving its functionality further. In the meantime, QR codes have been permanently installed (on metal plates and stands) at all the heritage sites included in the guided tour (Figure 24).

One of the 'lessons' learned during the COVID-19 crisis for the heritage sector was the realization of the importance of virtual/off-site access to heritage sites, museums, galleries and their collections. Public digital access and outreach are vital for the development and successful realization of public archaeology projects. Based on the feedback received on providing virtual access to cultural heritage in the post-COVID era, we have also developed an off-site version of the digital tour offered on the mobile app, accessible on a dedicated website of the project (www.unsala.com). School students and the public are now able to access the website and take an off-site tour from their computer screens, as well as leave comments, suggestions and other information, which we later publicize on the website itself.

Finally, as the pilot activities have revealed a special public interest for the medieval church of Astathkotissa (Figure 24), a new research project has been initiated at Trinity College Dublin, Department of Classics. This new project embarks on an in-depth qualitative/ethnographic research into the social biography of the monument, and explores the various aspects of the history of this church to unpack the discourses related to it: heritage destruction and conflict, management practices, etc. Meanwhile, through anthropological, ethnographic, neuroscientific and cultural heritage research (still ongoing, in collaboration with CYENS Centre of Excellence and the Department of Psychology of the University of Cyprus), we seek to engage people in experimental cognitive work for the exploration of memory, experience, and perception of the church of Astathkotissa and its history. We hope that the research around this religious place will

give rise to new forms of negotiations, strengthening the development of social resilience, and contributing to resilient societies.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the Department of Antiquities of the Republic of Cyprus for their collaboration and for granting us the permits to conduct our field and archival research, as well as for supporting our public outreach activities (Archaeology Days and development of mobile app). We are also grateful to the Bishopric of Trimythous, the Municipalities and communities of Kophinou, Alaminos and Agios Theodoros for their continuous support. The CYENS Centre of Excellence and Silversky 3D VRT Ltd undertook the materialization of the AR application, via the provision of technical equipment and expertise related to the 3D reconstructions and 360 viewers. The development of the mobile app was a collaborative work between the Cyprus University of Technology and the Archaeological Research Unit of the University of Cyprus. We are also grateful to Dr Thorsten Kruse for providing information on the damage of the Turkish-Cypriot religious buildings in Kophinou and bibliographic and visual material on the 20th-century history of Kophinou. Finally, we would like to thank Stavros Papageorgiou (Tetrakty Film) for voluntarily working with us on the production of the documentary, and eagerly supporting our pilot public and community archaeology projects.

Funding

This research was co-financed by the European Regional Development Fund and the Republic of Cyprus through the Cyprus Research and Innovation Foundation, EXCELLENCE/1216/0362 (Unlocking the Sacred Landscapes of Cyprus – UnSaLa-CY).

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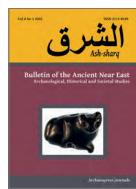


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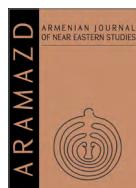


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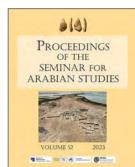


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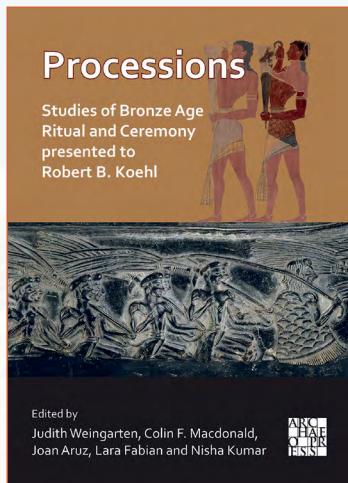
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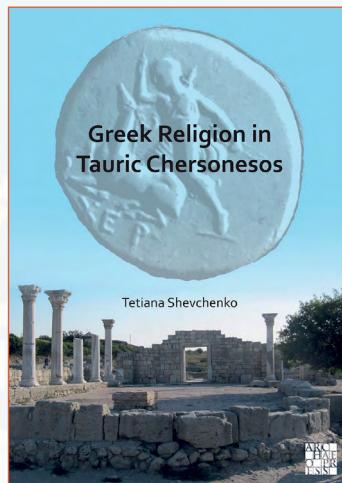
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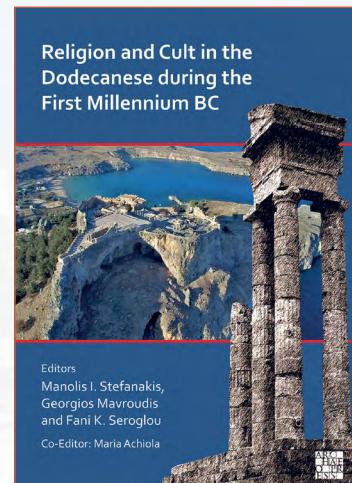
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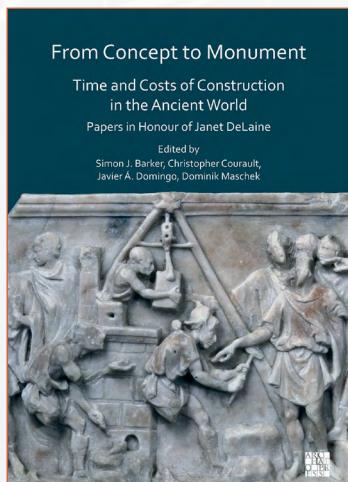
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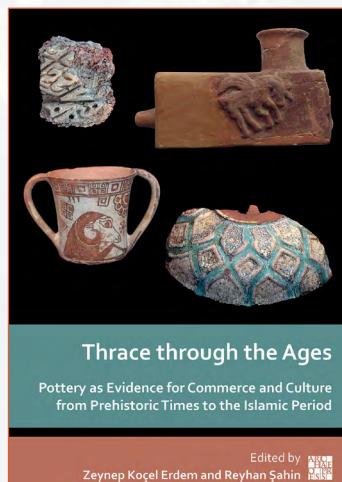


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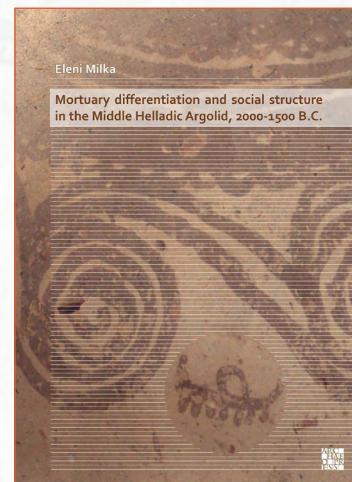
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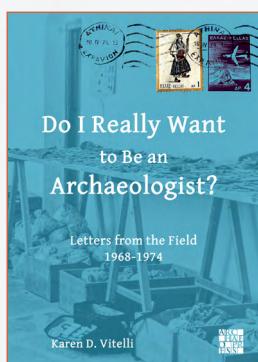
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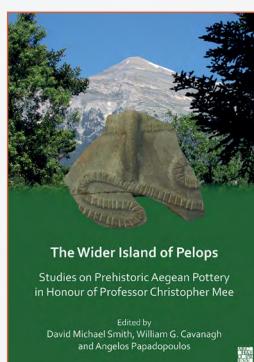
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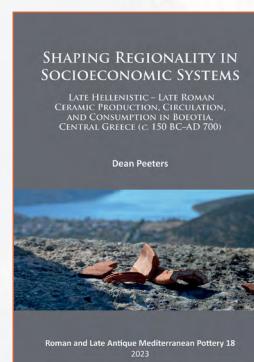
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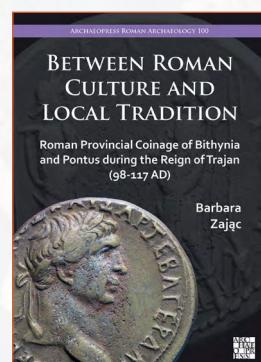


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