

The Transport Amphorae and Trade of Cyprus

Edited by Mark L. Lawall
& John Lund



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& John Lund

**THE TRANSPORT AMPHORAE
AND TRADE OF CYPRUS**

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A White Painted IV jug.
London, British Museum
i.n. 1926.6-28.9. Courtesy
the British Museum.

Back cover:
Amphora in the National
Museum of Denmark, Collection
of Classical and Near Eastern
Antiquities, i.n. 9707 from Tomb
80 at Marion; Late Roman 1
amphora in situ from a wreck
at Cape Zevgari. Photo by courtesy
of Justin Leidwanger.



*Amphora attributed to the painter
Syriskos, Athens 500-470 BC,
Collection of Classical and Near
Eastern Antiquities, The National
Museum of Denmark, i.n. Chr.
VIII 320.*



NATIONALMUSEET

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Preface

BY PER KRISTIAN MADSEN
 DIRECTOR GENERAL
 THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF DENMARK
 MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF THE FOUNDATION
 OF CONSUL GENERAL GÖSTA ENBOM

Transport amphorae, the more or less standardized ancient ceramic containers primarily used for the shipping of agricultural products, offer a great potential for elucidating important aspects of the economic history of the Mediterranean in Classical antiquity. This is probably the main reason why they have been the focus of many studies in recent years, a situation reflected by this volume. Earlier versions of some of the chapters were read at a workshop on *The Transport Amphorae and Trade of Cyprus* held at the Danish and Canadian Institutes at Athens in 2007.

The contributions gathered here are also symptomatic of a growing awareness of the societal and economic aspects of ancient pottery. The latter constituted one of the main themes of the research programme “Pots, Potters and Society in Ancient Greece”, which the Danish National Museum launched in 2008 thanks to a substantial grant from the Foundation of Consul General Gösta Enbom.

The focus on Cyprus in this volume may be perceived as a natural consequence of the special place of pride Ancient Cyprus holds in the Danish National Museum, where a new gallery of Cypriot antiquities was inaugurated in 2002, thanks to a large donation by the A.G. Leventis Foundation in Nicosia. Moreover, in the early 1970s, Dr. Vassos Karageorghis, then Director of Antiquities in Cyprus, had invited Danish students of classical archaeology to participate in his excavations at Kition, and this led to a Danish involvement in a Canadian landscape survey around the city of Palaepaphos (modern Kouklia) in the 1980s. Between 1989 and 1992, the University of Aarhus organised a landscape survey and excavations in the Akamas peninsula, and the University of Copenhagen investigated from 1992 to 1999 a rural settlement at Aradippou in the Larnaka area. After the turn of the millennium, Danish archaeologists returned to the island to participate in the Troodos Archaeological and Environmental Survey Project organized by the University of Glasgow.



*Consul General Gösta Enbom
(1895-1986).*

The Transport Amphorae and Trade of Cyprus thus bears witness to former and present Danish engagement in the archaeology of Cyprus as well as the international collaboration in the archaeological exploration of the island, which the Department of Antiquities in Cyprus has promoted for several decades.

I wish to conclude by expressing my gratitude to of the contributors to this volume and to all other individuals who have helped in one way or the other, in particular the anonymous reviewers and the editors Mark L. Lawall and John Lund. Last but not least I thank the Foundation of Consul General Gösta Enbom, which made it all possible by its generous support.

Introduction

BY MARK L. LAWALL & JOHN LUND

Placed as a stepping stone on the sea route between Europe and the Near East, Cyprus has always been a meeting place of many cultures. Though rarely united politically through many millennia of history – and for extended periods subject to foreign rule – the island nonetheless managed to maintain specific and unique identities.¹ This publication focusses on aspects of the economy of Cyprus between c. 700 BC and AD 700, a crucial millennium and a half of her history. True, several generations of scholars have elucidated many aspects of the Cypriot economy and trade in these centuries,² not least the important role played by the copper mines throughout history.³ But gaps remain in our knowledge of the role played by the island's export and import of agricultural products at the regional and interregional level.

The aim of this volume, *The Transport Amphorae and Trade of Cyprus*, is to throw new light on these questions. The title was chosen so as not only to cover the transport amphorae produced in the island but also the imported amphorae manufactured in other parts of the ancient world. Both categories need to be taken into consideration if the potential of amphorae as a source for the economic history of Cyprus is to be fulfilled. While the shipping containers, the transport amphorae, are our focus, it is important to recognize that amphorae (like any other type of archaeological and historical evidence) can only further our understanding of parts of the picture. Indeed, all relevant classes of material need to be taken into account in our quest to arrive at a better understanding of the ancient economy. Still, the amphorae remain a prime source for the ancient trade in agricultural products and other foodstuffs, even if other types of containers were also used – in particular for overland shipments – for this purpose.⁴

A good deal of new information has emerged in recent years about transport amphorae manufactured in and shipped around the Levant in general. But we are far from having a comprehensive understanding of Cypriot amphorae, and in fact the present volume is the first monograph devoted to this subject. Scholarly interest in the amphorae of Cyprus may be traced back at least

to the final decades of the 19th century, when Luigi Palma di Cesnola and his brother Alessandro Palma di Cesnola conducted extensive excavations in the island.⁵ They shipped many of their finds to Great Britain and America, where they subsequently became scattered between public museums and private owners. Some of the transport amphorae – in particular the Rhodian ones – were published,⁶ but there was little understanding of the pottery of Cyprus until Einar Gjerstad and his collaborators in the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (1927–1931) imposed an archaeological methodology developed in Sweden on the Cypriot material.⁷ They established an overall chronological framework of the island, subdividing the centuries of concern here into the (Cypro-)Archaic, Classical, Hellenistic, Roman and Late Antique periods – a division which is still often used.⁸ Yet, as far as transport amphorae were concerned the results were somewhat inconclusive. In many cases, no distinction was made between amphorae produced in Cyprus and imported ones, and the classification of fabrics was notably generic. Virginia R. Grace, in a series of trips to Cyprus, did make a detailed study of finds from the Swedish Expedition, and her notes, now in the archives of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, include suggestions of which jars are imported and which are local Cypriot.

Jean Deshayes' study from 1963 of the Late Classical and early Hellenistic amphorae found at Ktima, the predecessor of Nea Paphos,⁹ remains the most comprehensive treatment

1 See for instance Mikrakis 2012.

2 Karageorghis & Michaelides (eds.) 1995; Mehl 1995; Papacostas 2001; Leonard 2005; Coureas 2005.

3 Kassianidou 2000; Kassianidou 2004 and forthcoming; Given *et al.* (eds.) forthcoming.

4 See the contribution by Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen to the present volume.

5 For the activities of Luigi Palma di Cesnola, see Marangou 2000.

6 Cesnola (A.P. di) 1881; 1882, and Cesnola (L.P. di) 1903; Hall 1885.

7 Houby-Nielsen 2003. For critical assessments of the legacy of Gjerstad and his associates, see Nys 2008 and Smith 2009, 220–233.

8 Gjerstad 1948, 427: Archaic I from 700 to 600 BC, Archaic II from 600 to 475 BC, Classical I from 475 to 400 BC, Classical II from 400 to 325 BC; Westholm 1956, 71: Hellenistic I, 325 to 150 BC, Hellenistic II, 150 BC to 50 BC, Roman I, 50 BC to AD 150, Roman II, AD 150 to AD 250, and Roman III, from AD 250 onwards.

These dates are retained by Karageorghis 1982a, 9, except for the beginning of Archaic I which is dated to 750 BC.

9 Deshayes 1963, 210–212; Salles 1993b, 270–271.

of the unstamped Cypriote amphorae of those periods, but their stamped counterparts have been studied in some detail by Grace, Yves Calvet and Henryk Meyza.¹⁰ Moreover, Zosia Sztetyło, Calvet and Ino Nicolaou have investigated the imported stamped Hellenistic amphorae found in the island even more extensively.¹¹ The unstamped transport amphorae of the later Hellenistic and Roman periods have received less scholarly attention, but John W. Hayes' publication of the pottery from the House of Dionysos retains its fundamental value,¹² together with the indispensable communications to be found on the pages of the Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus. In the last decades, our knowledge of the Late Antique amphora production of Cyprus was significantly advanced by the publications of evidence from amphora kiln sites by Stella Demesticha and Demitrios Michaelides.¹³ There has nevertheless been little collation, interpretation, or synthesis of the data until recently. But this situation is rapidly changing, thanks in no small part to the contributors to the present volume, who are actively engaged in new studies of transport amphorae from shipwrecks, surveys and excavations. Moreover, the Hellenistic transport amphorae of Cyprus are the focal point of an ongoing Ph.D. project by Agata Dobosz at the Instytut Archeologii Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków, and Anthi Kaldeli initiated a major new research programme in 2010 on the "Roman amphorae from Cyprus: interpreting Production, Trade and Exchange in the eastern Mediterranean".¹⁴

The time seems appropriate, therefore, for the present volume, which has the following goals: 1) to gain a first overall view of both the Cypriot production of transport amphorae and their distribution around Cyprus and beyond, 2) to gain a better understanding of the trends and patterns in imports to Cyprus and 3) to begin coordinating the amphora material with evidence of the trade routes, harbour facilities, and, within the island itself, the overland routes that made this trade possible. We have deliberately chosen a long time frame with the expectation that trends, models, or interpretive ideas from one period may prove useful for others. These goals, however, may ultimately lay the foundation for achieving the wider aim: to start a discussion about what the evidence of amphorae can tell us about the fluctuations in the economy of Cyprus from the Archaic period through to Late Antiquity.

The starting point for the chronological range of this

volume roughly coincides with the capture of Cyprus in 709 BC by the Assyrian empire.¹⁵ This is seen as a period of considerable autonomy as well as fragmented political structure with ten kingdoms attested in Esarhaddon's list of 673 BC.¹⁶ This period sees considerable prosperity with both Greek and Levantine influences being seen at many sites and plenty of imported goods from both sides. Even if such influences, likely via trade contacts to at least some degree, were engendered by the need to provide tribute to the Assyrians, Cyprus shows no lack of foreign contact in this period.¹⁷ Perhaps the best illustration of this dynamic period is illustrated on the cover of this volume: the Bichrome IV jug from Karpas showing a merchant ship with two, possibly Phoenician, amphoras perched on the deck. The recent studies of Archaic shipwrecks with mixtures of Cypriot and Greek cargoes off the southwestern coast of Turkey, reported here by Elizabeth Greene, Justin Leidwanger and Harun Özdaş, both provide vivid examples of Cyprus' connections to the Aegean world and begin to explore the institutional frameworks underlying this exchange. K. Levent Zoroğlu's paper highlights the intensity of activity in the area between the Cilician coast and Cyprus already in the 7th century and continuing into the early Hellenistic period.

Cyprus' contacts and trade with the broader Mediterranean world show little negative impact from the collapse of the Assyrian empire in 612 BC. The brief period of control by Egypt c. 560-545 BC (Hdts. 11.182) is seen as a time of increased Egyptianizing elements in Cypriot material culture, but contact with the Aegean world continues.¹⁸ It is difficult to specify illustrative details of the amphora record for such a relatively narrow chronological window, but various Chian white-slipped, bobbin-shaped amphorae from Cypriot tombs might well date to this period of Egyptian control.

Persian domination, starting c. 545 BC (Hdts. 3.19) under Cyrus and continuing with substantial administrative reforms under Darius, brought with it both developments of economic practice (e.g., the emergence of coinage c. 520 BC) and an apparent intensification of Aegean-Cypriot interaction.¹⁹ Some of the Cypriot kingdoms (though not Salamis or Amathous) joined the Greek cities of Asia Minor in the Ionian Revolt albeit briefly (Hdts. 5.116), but Cypriot ships are then attested on the Persian side at both the battles of Lade and Salamis.²⁰ Persian control of the island began to fragment after 480 culminating in the expanding

power of Salamis under Evagoras I starting in 411 BC.²¹ Persian control was re-established with the King's Peace of 386 and further strengthened throughout subsequent decades.²² In 332 BC, the Cypriot fleet shifted its allegiance to Alexander the Great during the siege of Tyre.²³ Despite the volatile political history of the island with respect to both the Aegean and its nearer neighbours in the Levant, Cyprus remained a significant crossroads in the later Archaic and Classical amphora trade. Mark Lawall's chapter in this volume offers a preliminary attempt to characterize this trade with consideration of the Aegean amphora forms imitated locally on Cyprus as well as the regional variation in imported amphoras.

After Alexander's death, the island's cities were variously aligned with Ptolemy I and Antigonos Monophthalmos with Ptolemy gaining the upper hand in 312.²⁴ This state of affairs reversed when Demetrios Poliorketes captured Cyprus in 306. In 294, however, Ptolemy regained control of Cyprus, and the island remained a fundamental part of Ptolemaic maritime power with only brief interruptions all the way down to the period of Rome's intervention in Ptolemaic affairs in the early 1st century BC culminating in Octavian's victory at Actium in 31 BC. The connection between Cyprus and Ptolemaic Egypt plays a significant role in a number of papers in this volume. Kristian Göransson reports on rare fragments of Cypriot basket-handle amphorae, from an early 3rd century BC context, found in excavations at Euesperides in Cyrenaica. The marine 'landscape' shaped by prevailing winds and currents, together with prevailing Ptolemaic political alliances, must have significantly shaped the dominant presence of Rhodian amphorae in Hellenistic Cyprus already at the very beginning of the 3rd century. The papers by Craig Barker and Agata Dobosz provide various perspectives on the Rhodian record on Cyprus. The same Rhodes-to-Alexandria trade corridor, with Cyprus as a key nodal point, may also be indicated by the frequent discovery of Cypriot amphorae amongst the otherwise Rhodian-dominated amphora record of Alexandria as is documented here by the work of Gonca Cankardeş-Şenol and Ahmet Kaan Şenol. The further circulation of Cypriot amphorae of the Hellenistic period is also attested extensively at sites in Israel, and these finds are presented here by Gérald Finkielsztejn.

Once Cyprus became part of the Roman Empire,²⁵ the connections evidenced by the amphora record multiply considerably, yet the regional importance of the island

remains clear. Anthi Kaldeli's paper on the amphora records of Nea Paphos and Amathous the 1st century BC to early 3rd century AD highlights the increased geographical range of Cyprus' imports, now with direct imports from the Western Mediterranean at Nea Paphos while Amathous shows a continued dependence on circulation and re-circulation of goods within the Eastern Mediterranean. Complementing Kaldeli's paper, Henryk Meyza and Dobiesława Bagińska's paper on the amphorae from the Polish excavations at Nea Paphos illustrates this mixture of Mediterranean types present at the site and continues the account into the late Roman period. While sites such as Nea Paphos and Amathous show various imports from the Aegean basin, the ceramic evidence for shipping from Cyprus towards the Aegean can be surprisingly sparse as Tamás Bezeczky's paper notes for the case of Roman Ephesus. Amphora production on Cyprus and nearby coastal regions is discussed in papers by David Williams and John Lund (the "pinched handle" amphorae, predominantly from Rough Cilicia, 1st - 4th centuries AD) and Stella Demesticha (Late Roman 1 amphorae, 4th - 7th centuries AD, with production appearing to spread from Cilicia to Cyprus and, only in the latest periods, up into the Aegean). Demesticha's paper also tracks the changing

10 For the Cypriot-produced stamped amphorae see Grace 1979; Calvet 1986, 509; Meyza 2004.

11 Sztetyło 1976; 1984; 1985; 1991 and 2010; Barker 2002a; 2002b; 2004; Nicolaou 2005.

12 Hayes 1991; see also Papuci-Władyka 1995.

13 Demesticha 2000; 2003; 2005; Demesticha & Michaelides 2001.

14 This project continues and expands Kaldeli's Ph.D. thesis (2007).

15 Karageorghis 1982b, 57-64; Grayson 1991a, 90 and 1991b, 107; Reyes 1994 focuses on the 8th through 6th centuries; see too, Iacovou 2008; Cannavò 2011.

16 Karageorghis 1982b, 57-59; Grayson 1991b, 127; Iacovou 2008, 632-633; Reyes 1997, 308.

17 Karageorghis 1982b, 60-64.

18 Karageorghis 1982b, 64-68.

19 Karageorghis 1982b, 69-70; Maier 1985; 1994; Wiesehöfer 1990; Pouilloux 1989; Raptou 1999.

20 Maier 1994, 306-308; Georges 2000; Raptou 1999, 238-243.

21 Maier 1994, 308-312; Costa 1974; Raptou 1999, 250-261.

22 Maier 1994, 312-317; Ruzicka 1999.

23 On the period after the King's Peace down to the treaty of the Diadochoi in 311 BC, see Maier 1994, 326-336.

24 A recent overview of the Hellenistic history of Cyprus is found in Gordon 2012, 70-90; see too Will 1984a; 1984b; and Heinen 1984.

25 Gordon 2012, 279-302.

extent of distribution of LR 1 amphorae through successive typological developments. While the geographical extent of such production of Cypriot-related amphorae was expanding in the Late Roman period, however, Cypriot amphora commerce appears to have become more intensively regional in scope. Justin Leidwanger's survey of maritime sherd scatters along the south coast of Cyprus shows a dominance of amphora types from the Eastern Mediterranean; even the Aegean is more often represented by Hellenistic types instead of Late Roman pieces. On land, Marcus Rautman's report on patterns identified in the Vasilikos Valley likewise highlights the dominance of LR 1 amphorae with far lesser percentages of other Eastern Mediterranean types. Kristina Winther-Jacobsen's paper comparing finds from the Troodos mining region with surveys of other contemporary regions, Methana in Greece and the Eastern Desert mining regions in Egypt draws attention to the ways that amphora types (present and absent), alongside the record of non-amphora ceramics, can begin to fill in the historical developments of broader commercial practices, in this case the extraction of mineral resources.

Taken as a whole, then, the contributors throw new light on a variety of relevant issues and in particular on the emerging patterns of regionalism in Cyprus – islands being particularly well suited for regional studies of this kind.²⁶ They trace an outline of a pattern (or patterns) of exports from and imports to the island through time of amphora-borne agricultural products. It may well be that wine constituted the most important of these commodities, but scientific residue analyses are urgently needed to ascertain the contents of the amphorae.

It is easy to form the impression that Cyprus was largely self-sufficient in olive oil and wine – with the exception of years of crop failures – and that her considerable import of wine was mainly due to a thirst for more exotic vintages than those produced locally. But the verdict is still out on this and many other issues, because the evidence gathered here underlines more than anything the need for new research aimed at helping us distinguish more clearly the amphorae produced in Cyprus from the imported ones - new discoveries of kiln sites in the island will surely contribute to solving this quandary in the future. Also, more publications of quantified amphora material from Cyprus and the surrounding areas need to be made available. In the absence of such analyses it is well-nigh

impossible to determine the scope of the island's import and export trade in amphora-borne foodstuffs and hence their importance to the economy of the island. Therefore this volume cannot (and does not) claim to provide definite answers to the involved issues, but we hope that it may constitute a new point of departure for the future study of the transport amphorae and trade of Cyprus.

26 For recent discussions of "island archaeology" with reference to Cyprus see Knapp 2008, 13-30 and Kopaka & Cadogan 2012, 18-24 and 28-29.

Transport in Ancient Cyprus

BY TØNNES BEKKER-NIELSEN

