

A Study of the Circulation of Ceramics in Cyprus from the 3rd Century BC to the 3rd Century AD

John Lund



GÖSTA ENBOM MONOGRAPHS

Volume 5

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John Lund

**A STUDY OF THE
CIRCULATION OF CERAMICS
IN CYPRUS FROM THE 3RD
CENTURY BC TO THE 3RD
CENTURY AD**

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**GÖSTA ENBOM
MONOGRAPHS**

General editor:
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Published with support
from The Foundation of
Consul General Gösta Enbom

Graphic design:
Nina Grut, MDD

E-book production by Narayana Press

Typeset with Stone Serif
and Stone Sans

ISBN 978 87 7124 394 9
ISSN 1904-6219

Aarhus University Press
Langelandsgade 177
DK-8200 Aarhus N

White Cross Mills
Lancaster LA1 4XS, England

70 Enterprise Drive, suite 2
Bristol, CT 06010, USA

www.unipress.dk

Front cover:
A head vase allegedly from
Cyprus in the National Museum
of Denmark, Collection of
Classical and Near Eastern
Antiquities, i.n. 1035.
Photo: John Lee



*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.*

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Preface

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

Gösta Enbom figures prominently in the title of this monograph series, but his is hardly a household name, so it seems appropriate to begin with a brief sketch of the life of this remarkable man. Born in Sweden in 1895, Enbom went as a delegate of the Swedish Red Cross to Athens during World War II, where his humanitarian efforts helped alleviate the cruel famine of 1942. Enbom stayed in Greece after the end of the War and eventually made his fortune as agent in Piraeus of the Danish firm Burmeister & Wain which was renowned at the time for its highly effective ships engines that were widely used in Greece. He was appointed Royal Danish Consul in 1952 – serving from 1967-1975 as Consul General – and began in the 1970's to support the Swedish excavations at Asine in the Argolid financially. He later established his Danish Foundation to fund archaeological research carried out in the Mediterranean by the National Museum of Denmark. Since Enbom's death in 1986, his foundation has been instrumental in sponsoring Danish archaeological field-projects in Greece and Danish classical archaeological research in general.

In 2008, the National Museum of Denmark launched a research programme entitled “Pots, Potters and Society in Ancient Greece” thanks to generous support by the Foundation of Consul General Gösta Enbom. The results of this initiative have been published annually since 2011 in the new series entitled Gösta Enbom Monographs, of which this is number five. The first four volumes were anthologies with contributions by specialists from a wide range of nations. The present publication, which focuses on the ceramics of the Island of Cyprus between c. 300 BC and AD 300, was written by a single author, John Lund, who deserves much appreciation for his work. It is the first monograph to appear which has been devoted solely to the pottery of Cyprus during these centuries, when the island



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

was unified politically, albeit under foreign rule – first as a part of the Ptolemaic Kingdom of Egypt and later as a province in the Roman Empire.

This volume marks the conclusion of “Pots, Potters and Society in Ancient Greece”, and I take the opportunity to extend my warmest thanks to the Foundation of Consul General Gösta Enbom and indeed to all who have participated in this research programme and have contributed to its success. The National Museum will continue its archaeological research of ancient Greece, which plays a prominent part in our museum's exhibition galleries devoted to the ancient cultures of the Mediterranean.

THE AUTHOR'S ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to begin by expressing my sincere gratitude to those responsible for my involvement in Cypriot archaeology in the first place. Vassos Karegeorghis introduced me to the subject in June 1974, when I came to Larnaka with a group of students from the University of Copenhagen to take part in his excavations at Kition.¹ I am no less grateful to Lone Wriedt Sørensen and David W. Rupp, who directed the Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project (CPSP) in the area of Kouklia in Western Cyprus and invited me to publish the ceramic fine wares from this project in 1984. Then, in 1993, Lone asked me to do the same for her excavations at Panagia Emathousa-Aradippou, and two years later Jane Fejfer entrusted me with the publication of the pottery from the Danish survey and excavations on the Akamas peninsula in Western Cyprus.

This monograph was written within the framework of the research programme 'Pots, Potters and Society in Ancient Greece', hosted by the Museum of Denmark, thanks to a substantial grant from the Foundation of Consul General Gösta Enbom.² I wish to express my warmest thanks and appreciation to the Foundation for having funded my research in Cyprus, Greece and Turkey and for providing the generous financial support that made this publication possible. I benefitted from the hospitality of The Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute in Nicosia (CAARI) and from the assistance of Vathoulla Moustoukki. The librarians at the Nordic Library at Athens, Vibeke Espholm Kourtovik and Evi Charitoudi, were also most helpful.

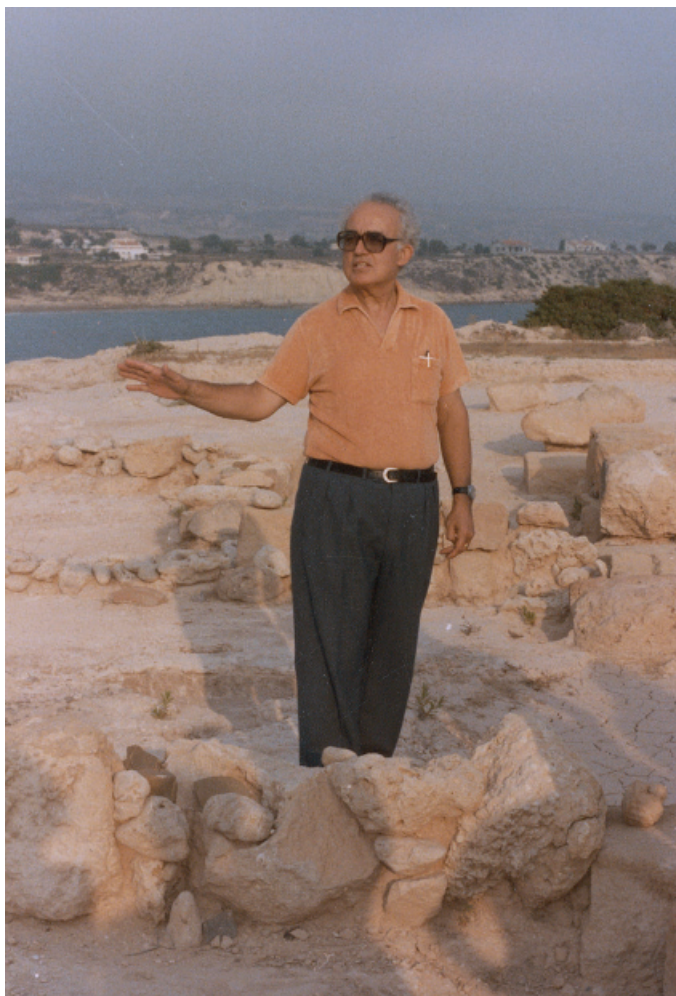
I owe a huge debt of gratitude to many colleagues and friends outside Denmark, who were always willing to answer my queries, discuss common interests, send off-prints, allow me to reproduce figures from their publications and supply me with illustrations. Thanks are especially due to Jeroen Poblome and Daniele Malfitana, whose personal friendship and professional capabilities are highly appreciated. Everyone I have been in touch with has been extraordinarily helpful, but I am particularly indebted to Thomas Kiely for patiently answering my seemingly never-ending questions about objects in the British Museum – and for helping me obtain photos of many of them. Thanks also to Allison Akbay, Catherine Abadie-Reynal, Françoise Alabe, Pascal Arnaud, Craig Barker, Martin Benz, Philip Bes, Andrea M. Berlin, Sylvia Brehme, Ben Costello IV, John K. Davies, Stella Demesticha,

Anne Destrooper-Georgiades, Agata Dobosz, Arnold H. Enklaar, Rune Frederiksen, Jörg Gebauer, the late Wilfred Geominy, Richard Green, Joseph A. Greene, Alix Hänsel, Sophokles Hadjissavas, Eleni Hasaki, John W. Hayes, John H. Humphrey, Alan Johnston Anthi Kaldeli, Ove Kaneberg, Mark L. Lawall, Justin Leitwanger, John R. Leonard, Franz G. Maier, Sandrine Marquié, Harmut Matthäus, Joan R. Mertens, Henryk Meyza, Jolanta Młynarczyk, Anne Marie Nielsen, Ewdoxia Papuci-Władyka, Nicholas K. Rauh, Paul Reynolds, Cristine Rogl, Renate Rosenthal-Heginbottom, Susan I. Rotroff, Jean-François Salles, Ann-Louise Schallin, Walter Scheidel, Kaan Şenol, Peter J. Stone, Roberta Tomber, Anja Ulbrich, Yona Waksman, Jennifer Webb, Rinse Willet, David F. Williams and Lina Ålenius.

I owe a vote of thanks, also, to Danish friends and colleagues. To Lise Hannestad, who originally encouraged me to embark on the present monograph, and to my "ceramic fellow travellers": Kristina Winther-Jacobsen, Søren Handberg, Jakob Munk Højte, and Leif Erik Vaag, with whom I have had many fruitful discussions. I am no less thankful to Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen for his readiness in offering expert advice on the geography and roads of Cyprus, and to Vincent Gabrielsen for setting me straight on some issues related to ancient history.

Closer to home, I am most grateful for the trust in me shown by the current Director of the National Museum, Per Kristian Madsen, and his predecessor, Carsten U. Larsen. However, the volume would not have seen the light of day without the constant support and encouragement of Bodil Bundgaard Rasmussen, Head of Research and Collections, Ancient Cultures of Denmark and the Mediterranean. My daily interaction with my colleagues in the National Museum, in particular Anne Haslund Hansen, Sanne Hoffmann, Stine Schierup, Peter Pentz, Flemming Kaul and Peter Vang Petersen, made the process of writing enjoyable, even if I am sure that they often wondered what all the fuss was about. Stephen Lumsden, who undertook to correct my English, provided much sound advice and saved me from innumerable mistakes. The remaining errors and other shortcomings are of course entirely of my own doing.

The graphic designer Nina Grut was responsible for the excellent lay-out of the present publication – as with the other volumes in the Gösta Enbom Monograph Series. Martin Bassett meticulously prepared the maps, and Freerk Oldenburger redrew the figures, cleaned up the photos, and made sure that all objects illustrated are to the scale



Vassos Karageorghis leading a guided tour of the Late Bronze Age site of Maa-Paleokastro in the summer of 1986. Photo: Mette Korsholm.

of 1:3 (unless otherwise indicated). I have, incidentally, included as many illustrations of antiquities in the Collection of Classical and Near Eastern Antiquity in the National Museum as possible. The photographs of Cypriot landscapes and sites heading each chapter were taken by Henning Henningsen in April 1972, except for a few taken by myself in April and June 1974 or later.

¹ Karageorghis 2007a; Lund 2002a.

² Bigaard *et al.* 2011.

Introduction

CHAPTER 1

“History is ancient and avaricious. In one hand she holds millions of nameless destinies, migrations of peoples, the dread of slaves and the defeat of kings. With the other hand she passes us a potsherd” THORKILD HANSEN, DEN ARABISKE REJSE, 1962

AIM

This is a study of the circulation of ceramics in Cyprus from the 3rd century BC to the 3rd century AD, focusing on pottery produced in the island. Its prime purpose is to throw light on the people who made, exchanged and used the vessels in question. A second aim is to gauge the degree to which ceramics are capable of contributing to our knowledge of the history of ancient Cyprus – economic and otherwise. To this end some attention is given also to the export of Cypriot pottery.

Historians have for more than a century debated the nature of the ancient economy (or economies), and archaeologists have increasingly contributed to this discussion. But it remains to be seen how far the interpretation of ceramic finds may be pushed in this respect. It is true that a study of material culture rarely – if ever – provides definite answers, but the interpretation of most other ancient sources including the written ones is hardly less ambiguous.

Clay vessels as well as some plastic vases and clay rattles produced in Cyprus take centre stage in this investigation, but imported pottery and objects of other materials are also touched on in order to provide a more rounded picture of exchange and consumption in Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus. As in other studies, the “idea of perspective inevitably involves that of exclusion. From whatever angle we choose to view an object, certain features will always be obscured”.¹ So the reader should not expect this to be an all-inclusive survey of the pottery of Cyprus during the centuries in question. My approach is regional, and the emphasis is squarely on the find categories that seem capable of throwing light on the overarching issues.

PRIMARY AND SECONDARY MATERIAL

The present study is to a certain degree based on primary ceramic evidence from three archaeological projects in the



Fig. 1. Danish involvement in the archaeology of Cyprus began in 1971, when a first group of students took part in Vassos Karageorghis' excavations at Kition. Among the participants in the 1972 campaign were Lone Wriedt Sørensen (second from left) and Mette Moltesen (the photographer).

island in which I have been personally involved: 1) The Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project (CPSP) in the area of the modern village of Kouklia in Western Cyprus, which was carried out under the leadership of David W. Rupp and Lone Wriedt Sørensen.² 2) The survey and excavations in the Akamas peninsula of Western Cyprus directed by Jane Fejfer and Hans Erik Mathiesen for the University of Aarhus, with Peter Hayes as survey director.³ 3) The excavations at Pangia Emathousa-Aradippou, 6.5 km north of Larnaka and 2.5 km north-west of the village of Aradippou, carried out under the direction of Lone Wriedt Sørensen of the University of Copenhagen.⁴

Ceramic finds made by these and other archaeological projects together with pottery kept in museums in and outside Cyprus, constitute the primary material of this investigation. The individual items and their bibliographical details are listed in the Catalogue, which

1 Beaton 1999, 16-17.

2 Wriedt Sørensen 1983; Wriedt Sørensen *et al.* 1987; Rupp *et al.* 1987; Wriedt Sørensen & Rupp (eds.) 1993; Rupp 2004.

3 Fejfer & Mathiesen 1991; Fejfer *et al.* 1991; Fejfer & Mathiesen 1992a-b; Fejfer (ed.) 1995; Fejfer & Hayes 1995.

4 Wriedt Sørensen & Grønne 1992; Wriedt Sørensen 1996; 1998; Wriedt Sørensen & Winther Jacobsen (eds.) 2006a.



Fig. 2. Map of Cyprus with the sites mentioned in the text.

- | | | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|---|---|
| 1 - Agia Napa | 25 - Famagousta | 51 - Kyra | 75 - Panagia Emathousa-
Aradippou |
| 2 - Agios Epiktetos | 26 - Gastria | 52 - Kyrenia (Keryneia) | 76 - Pegeia |
| 3 - Agios Georgios | 27 - Geronisos | 53 - Lakia | 77 - Petrofani |
| 4 - Agios Philon (Karpasia) | 18 - Golgoi, <i>see</i> Athienou | 54 - Lambousa | 78 - Phlamoudhi |
| 5 - Agios Phokas | 28 - Hala Sultan Tekké | 55 - Lapethos | 79 - Polis (Marion, Arsinoe) |
| 6 - Agios Theodoros (in the
Karpas peninsula) | 29 - Idalion | 56 - Larnaka (Kition) | 79 - Polis Ambeli tou Englezou,
<i>see</i> Polis |
| 7 - Agios Theodoros
(in the Troodos) | 30 - Kafizin | 57 - Lefkoniko | 80 - Politiko |
| 8 - Akanthou | 31 - Kapouti | 58 - Limassol | 81 - Pyla-Koutsopetria |
| 9 - Alassa | 4 - Karpasia, <i>see</i> Agios Philon | 59 - Louroujina | 82 - Pyrga Tremethousa |
| 10 - Alonia | 32 - Karpasha | 60 - Lysi | 83 - Pyrgos |
| 11 - Amathous | 33 - Kastroulla | 61 - Lythrangomi | 84 - Rhizokarpaso |
| 12 - Anagia | 34 - Katydhata | 62 - Mağara Tepeşi, <i>see</i> Malloura | 85 - Salamis |
| 13 - Angaremenos | 35 - Kazafani | 1 - Makronisos, <i>see</i> Agia Napa | 86 - Skouriotissa |
| 14 - Apendrika | 52 - Keryneia, <i>see</i> Kyrenia | 62 - Malloura | 87 - Soloi |
| 75 - Aradippou, <i>see</i> Panagia
Emathousa-Aradippou | 36 - Kharkha | 79 - Marion, <i>see</i> Polis | 88 - Sotira |
| 15 - Arkhangelos | 37 - Kharisa Chiftlik | 63 - Maroni | 89 - Sphagion |
| 16 - Arkhimandrita | 38 - Khlorakas | 63 - Maroni-Petrera, <i>see</i> Maroni | 90 - Stylos |
| 79 - Arsinoe, <i>see</i> Polis | 39 - Khytri | 74 - Melabron, <i>see</i> Paleokastro | 91 - Tamassos |
| 17 - Arsos | 40 - Kioni | 64 - Melissa | 92 - Tremethousa |
| 18 - Athienou (Golgoi) | 41 - Kipolistra | 65 - Meneou | 93 - Thronoi |
| 19 - Daphni (?) | 42 - Kiti | 66 - Meniko | 94 - Trikomo, Agios Sinos |
| 20 - Dekeleia | 56 - Kition, <i>see</i> Larnaka | 67 - Monarga | 95 - Tsambres |
| 21 - Deneia | 43 - Komi Kebir | 68 - Myrtou-Pigadhes | 96 - Vasa "Kambi" |
| 22 - Diorios | 44 - Kophinou | 69 - Nea Paphos | 97 - Vasiliko |
| 23 - Eftagonia | 45 - Kormakitis | 70 - Nea Paphos-Ellinospilioi | 98 - Vigla |
| 85 - Enkomi <i>see</i> Salamis | 46 - Kornos | 71 - Nicosia (Ledri) | 78 - Vounari, <i>see</i> Phlamoudi |
| 24 - Evrykhou | 47 - Kosi (Goshi) | 72 - Ormidia | 99 - Xylotymbou |
| | 48 - Kouklia (Palaipaphos) | 73 - Ovgoros | 100 - Ypsonas |
| | 49 - Kountoura Trachonia | 48 - Palaipaphos, <i>see</i> Kouklia | 101 - Zygi-Petrini |
| | 50 - Kourion | 74 - Paleokastro (Melabron) | |
| | 69 - Ktima, <i>see</i> Nea Paphos | | |

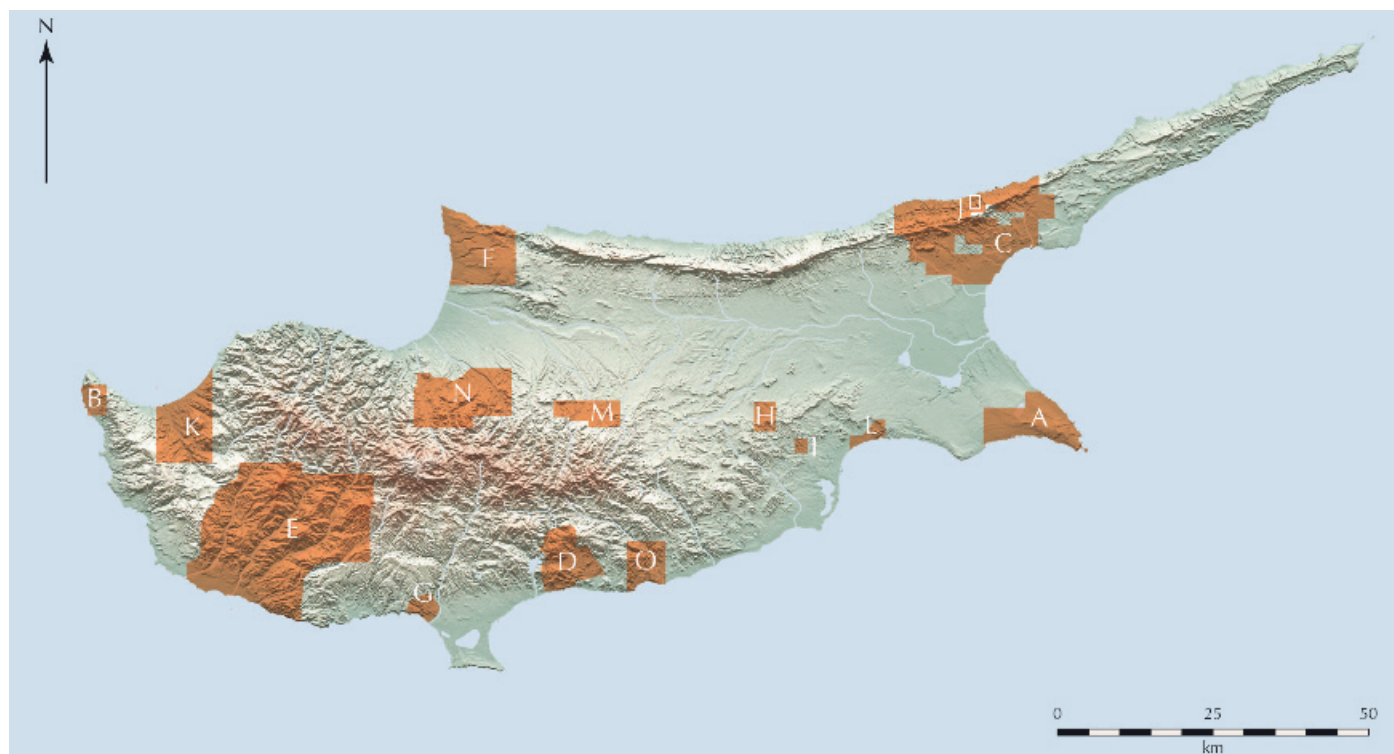


Fig. 3. Map of Cyprus with the surveys referred to in the text.

A - Agia Napa Survey
 B - Akamas Survey
 C - Akanthou to Komi Kebir Survey
 D - Amathous Survey
 E - Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project (CPSP)
 F - Kormakiti Survey
 G - Kourion Survey
 H - Malloura Valley Survey
 I - Panagia Emathousa-Aradippou
 J - Phlamoudi Survey

K - Polis-Pyrgos Archaeological Project
 L - Pyla-Koutsopetria Archaeological Project
 M - Sydney Cyprus Survey Project (SCSP)

N - Troodos Archaeological and Environmental Survey Project (TAESP)
 O - Vasilikos Valley Project

has 1703 entries.⁵ 1468 (86.2%) of these come from precisely known – or in 11 instances alleged – find spots in the island.⁶ In addition, 106 finds (6.2%) have Cyprus as a certain – or in 13 cases alleged – provenance.⁷ 70 (4.1%) are kept in public museums or private collections in Cyprus, and a Cypriot source is also virtually assured for these. 16 (0.9%) were found (or allegedly found) outside the island: in Serbia [1622], Greece [1621], Turkey [184-187, 1625], Syria [67-69, 232, 235, 1624], Egypt [1179 and presumably also 1620 (Fig. 209)] and the Cyrenaica [121]. The remaining 44 (2.6%) are un-provenanced.

Vessels originating from archaeological excavations or surveys have certain provenances whereas those acquired from dealers in antiquities do not.⁸ I therefore qualify the stated provenances of the latter by the word “allegedly”.

5 Numbers in bold refer to entries in the catalogue.

6 Nos. **7, 10, 36, 72, 97, 108, 111, 118, 125, 744** and **1680**.

7 The provenances seem assured for artefacts deriving from collections formed in the island. In the case of 13 examples, the provenance is alleged: nos. **70, 75, 94, 147, 156, 298, 1160, 1202-1203, 1208, 1617, 1648** (Fig. 221) and **1653** (Fig. 223).

8 David W. J. Gill (1995) has called for a close investigation into the origin of finds with an alleged provenance: “Who said it came from Cyprus? How reliable is the source?”. The answer to the first question is of course that the information usually comes from the seller or donor of the objects in question. Who else? But it is hard to conceive of a realistic way of tackling the second question in the cases where all the involved individuals are presumably long dead. I believe that it is more practicable to admit to a measure of uncertainty with regard to the source of all finds with an alleged provenance.

Still, it may be assumed that the vast majority of the vessels that are today kept in public museums and private collections in Cyprus have been found in the island.⁹ This applies also to those formerly in collections originating in the island, which are now scattered over at least three continents.¹⁰ Prime examples of this are the collections gathered and later scattered by the Cesnola brothers. True, some of the specific find spots quoted by them may be mistaken, but it can hardly be doubted that the finds originate in Cyprus.¹¹

I have previously published and dealt with ceramic material from Cyprus.¹² This is a much expanded investigation of some of the same issues as those discussed in those contributions, enhanced by the addition of archaeological and historical material, that reflects the current state of our knowledge of the archaeology and history of Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus.

Material evidence has top priority in an archaeological study like the present one. I subscribe to an opinion expressed by James Whitley: "Archaeology is surrounded by misconceptions. One is that archaeology exists to confirm or deny the narratives of historians; another, that the material record exists to fill in 'gaps' in the literary. My argument here is that the archaeological record has first to be explained in its own terms before it can be used for any purpose related to narrative history".¹³ Still, the historian Léopold Migeotte was surely also right in stating that only a "combination of many types of sources does make it possible to arrive at satisfactory generalizations".¹⁴ I endeavour therefore to draw on non-archaeological sources when they are available and seem relevant.

THE PRESENTATION OF THE EVIDENCE

The present chapter sets the scene by defining the aims of the enquiry, presenting the primary and secondary material on which it is based, and clarifying its geographical and chronological framework. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the history and archaeology of Cyprus from the 3rd century BC to the 3rd century AD. Chapter 3 sets forth the ceramic prolegomena and provides a "Stand der Forschung" of the pottery of Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus. Chapter 4 describes the methodology used by the author. The evidence for pottery production in Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus is dealt with in Chapter 5, and the scientific clay analyses of pottery from the island form the subject of Chapter 6. Chapter 7 is the core of the volume. It consists

of a series of case studies of Cypriot-made pottery, defining their chronology and distribution in the island. Chapter 8 discusses how the distribution patterns may be interpreted and their possible relationship to the pottery producing centres. Chapter 9 deals with the ceramic evidence for the relationship between Cyprus and her nearest neighbours: Cilicia and North-western Syria, and Chapter 10 is devoted to the long-distance exchanges involving the island. Chapter 11 discusses the findings in relation to some current theories concerning the ancient economy (or economies). Chapter 12 tackles the means by which pottery could have reached the consumers from the production centres, and Chapter 13 explores evidence other than that of ceramics for regionality in Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus. Chapter 14, finally, summarizes the conclusions of this volume.

Throughout the volume the archaeological evidence from Cyprus is discussed in accordance with the civic districts of Roman Cyprus defined by Danielle A. Parks in her Gazetteer of Cypriot sites with funerary evidence (Fig. 3).¹⁵ Finds from the Nea Paphos district are presented first, followed by those of the districts of Arsinoe, Soloi, Lapethos, Keryneia, Karpasia, Salamis, Kition, Amathous, Kourion, and those of Tamassos and Khytri in the interior of the island.¹⁶ Aspects of this scheme are open to question,¹⁷ and it may not be appropriate to project it backwards into the Hellenistic Period. But it is employed merely as a practical means of organizing and presenting the evidence in a consistent manner.

THE GEOGRAPHICAL FRAMEWORK

There is no need to dwell at length on the geography and rural land use patterns of Cyprus, since other scholars have previously dealt comprehensively with these matters.¹⁸ But it may be useful to remind the reader that the Troodos mountain massif divides the island into two entities: Western Cyprus and the rest of the island (Fig. 2). The Keryneia massif, which hugs a part of the northern coastline of Cyprus, constitutes another barrier.¹⁹ The fertile Mesaoria plain dominates much of Central and Eastern Cyprus. It is watered by the Pedaios and Yialias rivers, which spring from the Troodos mountain range, transverse the Mesaoria plain and empty into the Famagusta bay.²⁰ Three important rivers in South-western Cyprus, the Ezousa, the Xeros and the Diarizos, reach the sea between Palaipaphos and Nea Paphos. The rivers are now rather

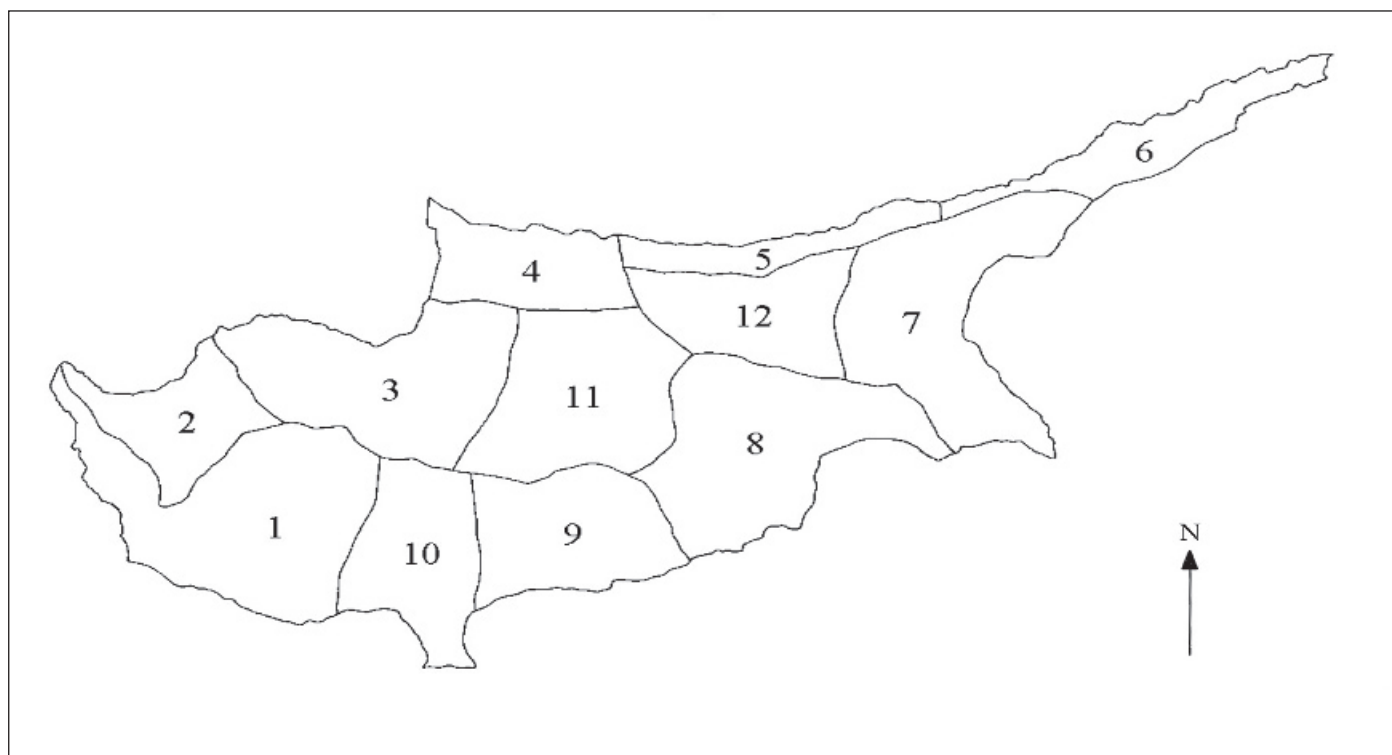


Fig. 4. The districts of Roman Cyprus according to Parks 1999, based on Mitford 1980a.

1 - Nea Paphos district
2 - Arsinoe district
3 - Soloi district

4 - Lapethos district
5 - Keryneia district
6 - Karpasia district

7 - Salamis district
8 - Kition district
9 - Amathous district

10 - Kourion district
11 - Tamassos district
12 - Khytri district

small, having been “reduced to ephemeral streams, largely due to modern upstream damming”, but some of them were important waterways in ancient times, as recently emphasized by Michael Brown for the 2nd Millennium BC.²¹

It is expedient, also, to make the geographical labels used in this volume explicit: “Western Cyprus” denotes the coastal zone from a point to the west of Kourion in

10 For the fate of the antiquities collected by Luigi and Allesandro Palma di Cesnola in Cyprus, see Masson 1996a and b. Hermary & Mertens 2014, 13-19.

11 See for instance Karageorghis & Kiely 2010 [2012], 499.

12 Lund 1987; 1993a; 1996a; 1997; 1998; 1999a; 2000a; 2002b-c; 2005a; 2006a-c; 2007a; 2009a; 2011c; 2013a-b; 2013 [2014].

13 Whitley 2009, 732-733. Cf. also Hurst 2010, 92 and Hall 2014, 212-215 on the distinction between history and archaeology, and Fejfer 2013, 171-172 for Cyprus in particular.

14 Migeotte 2009, 13.

15 Parks 1999, 32-119 and 413-437, based on Mitford 1980a, 1337-1341.

16 Parks 1999, 533-544 pl. 2.2-13.

17 Leonard 2005, 803.

18 Hill 1972, 1-14; Christodoulou 1959, 9-18 fig. 2; Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 46-48; Ionas 2005; Leonard 2005, 321-333 and *passim*; Coureas 2005, 105; Bekker-Nielsen 2010; Gordon 2012b, 33-36; Iacovou 2013, 19-24.

19 Cf. Leonard 2005, 323 note 5; Ionas 2005, 287-292 and 297-300.

20 Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 46-48; Leonard 2005, 323-324; Coureas 2005, 105; Ionas 2005, 300-304; Destrooper-Georgiades 2008, 83.

21 Brown 2013, 122. See also Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 46.

9 However, cf. Karageorghis 2010, 121: “it must be said that it is not certain that all glass objects in this collection were found in Cyprus. Late nineteenth and early twentieth century collectors used to buy glass from Syria and this is the case of the large collection of antiquities now in the Pierides Foundation Museum in Larnaca”.

the south to the plain of Marion to the north.²² The area comprises Nea Paphos and its hinterland, which will also be called “South-western Cyprus”. The extended Morphou Bay area and its hinterland is labelled as “North-western Cyprus”, whereas “Northern Cyprus” designates the Keryneia Mountain Range and the coastal zone to its north.²³ By “North-eastern Cyprus” is meant the Karpas peninsula,²⁴ and by “Eastern Cyprus” the Bay of Salamis from Cape Eleia to Cape Greco and the adjoining Mesaoria.²⁵ “South-eastern Cyprus” stands for the coastal zone on either side of Larnaka, and “Southern Cyprus” for the landscape between Larnaka and Kourion with its hinterland. “Central Cyprus” designates the Nicosia area and the surrounding Mesaoria, extending towards the Morphou Bay area to the north-west, and delimited to the south by the Troodos massif and to the south-east by the foothills between Kosi and Louroujina.²⁶

Cyprus cannot, of course, be studied in isolation from the surrounding Mediterranean world. The Levant and Northern Egypt constitute the closest sphere of interest to the present work, and Southern Asia Minor, as well as the Aegean, delineate a wider perimeter. Reference will also be made to the Black Sea, as well as to the Western Mediterranean.

THE CHRONOLOGICAL RANGE

The 3rd century BC and the 3rd century AD were both turning-points in the ceramic tradition of Cyprus. True, there is some continuity between the pottery of the 3rd century BC and that of the Classical Period.²⁷ But Jean-François Salles rather stressed the emergence of purely Cypriot products “region par region, isolées les unes des autres” in the 3rd century BC. He commented also on the surprisingly small quantity of pottery imported from the Aegean as well as from Phoenicia in comparison with the preceding period.²⁸ The 3rd century AD was another transitional period in the ceramic tradition of Cyprus, and indeed the Levant as a whole.²⁹

The chronological brackets make sense also from a historical point of view. The Ptolemies united Cyprus politically in the early 3rd century BC, and the 3rd century AD marked the transition to Late Antiquity – heralding the transition from Paganism to Christianity, which is well documented archaeologically on the island from the 4th century AD onwards.³⁰ The six centuries under consideration comprise most of the Hellenistic Age (often

placed between the death of Alexander the Great in 323 BC and Octavian’s victory at Actium in 31 BC),³¹ and the Roman Imperial Period (conventionally dated from the ascent of Augustus to the reign of Constantine the Great, AD 306/324-337).³² Cyprus was annexed by Rome in 58 BC, but Julius Caesar returned the island to Ptolemaic control in 48 BC, and it so remained until Rome re-annexed Cyprus in 30 BC.³³ It makes sense to maintain the latter date as the approximate start date of the Roman Period in Cyprus, and a case can be made for regarding AD 293 as its end, because by then Cyprus was “no more governed by her own *proconsul*, but by a *consularis*, who acted under the Praetorian Prefect of the Orient based in Antioch” following Diocletian’s division of the Roman Empire into East and West.³⁴

POINT OF DEPARTURE

The present study owes a great debt to the fundamental typo-chronological framework of the ceramics of Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus, which was developed by Alfred Westholm of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition in the 1930s and reached a definitive form in 1956. The chronology was based “principally on a series of closed find groups from tombs or elsewhere, and on stratigraphical excavations ...”.³⁵ It quickly gained widespread acceptance, and Veronica Tatton-Brown wrote as late as in 1985: “The acceptance, and the periods defined by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition continues to be followed”.³⁶ Indeed, the periods defined by the Swedish scholars still often serve as an overall frame of reference for archaeologists working in Cyprus: 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.³⁷

Nevertheless, some archaeological projects in Cyprus have developed their own chronological periodization schemes, which are at times at odds with both the system of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition and those favoured by other projects. To name but a few, in the chronological scheme of the Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project (CPSP), the Early Hellenistic Period was dated from c. 323 to 200 BC, the Late Hellenistic Period from c. 200 to 50 BC, Early Roman 1 from c. 50 BC to AD 50, Early Roman 2 from c. AD 50 to AD 250 and Late Roman 1 from c. AD 250 to AD 400.³⁸ And in the final publication of the Troodos Archaeological and Environmental Survey Project (TAESP), the “pottery periods” are as follows: Hellenistic: 312-31

BC, Late Hellenistic: 150-31 BC, Early Roman: 31 BC-AD 200, Mid-Roman: between c. AD 200 and 400.³⁹ It is easy to understand the rationale behind such idiosyncratic chronological schemes, but they make it hard to compare the results of the projects in question – as Susan E. Alcock noted in 1993 with regard to surveys of Roman Greece.⁴⁰ The problem could be overcome by a meticulous study and publication of the ceramic finds, because many of the wares in question can now be dated more precisely than by such broad periodizations.⁴¹

So much new knowledge has accrued in recent years about the pottery of Cyprus that it might be preferable from an archaeological point of view to abandon the current periodization schemes and instead opt for a division by centuries or even half-centuries. However, such a radical change cannot be made overnight.

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- 22 See Rupp (ed.) 1987, 1 and Map 1.
 23 Cf. Leonard 2005, 323 note 5; Ionas 2005, 287-292 and 297-300.
 24 I am grateful to Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen for informing me that he considers Komi Kebir to be part of the Karpas peninsula.
 25 Corresponding largely to the “Salamis District” as defined by Danielle A. Parks (1999, fig. 2-6). Cf. also Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 169 and 187.
 26 Tønnes Bekker-Nielsen has kindly informed me that he considers the area of Panagia Emathousa-Aradippou to belong to the Mesaoria. See Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 192-193.
 27 Westholm 1956, 73.
 28 Salles 1993a, 177-179. Cf. also Salles & Rey 1993, 235. For an up-to-date appraisal of the Cypro-Classical Period, see Vassos Karageorghis, in: Georgiou & Karageorghis 2013, 55-57.
 29 See, for instance, Lund 2006c, 217-218, 221.
 30 Cf. Michaelides 1998b; Rautman 2002.
 31 For an overview of the development of the modern concept “Hellenismus”, see Hatto H. Schmitt, in: Schmitt & Vogt (eds.) 2005, 1-2 s.v. Hellenismus. Cf. further Shipley 2000; Archibald 2001a, 1; Erskine 2003, 2; Bugh 2006, 2; Errington 2008; Ager & Faber 2013, 10-12.
 32 Cf. Potter 2006. The argument over where to place the beginning of Late Antiquity is never ending, cf. Marcone 2008; Ando 2008, and Rousseau (ed.) 2009, where Late Antiquity begins with the accession of Diocletian in AD 284. Ando 2010, 690-691 criticizes the use of the establishment of the Tetrarchy as a turning-point. Still, Simon Swain (2004, 2) rightly observed that the “difference between the Roman Empire in 200 and 400 is huge – if one cares to see it that way”. Ando 2012 views the time between AD 193 and AD 284 as the critical century for Imperial Rome.
 33 Michaelidou-Nicolaou 1976, 20-23; Bekker-Nielsen 2004, 55 notes 42-43.
 34 Michaelides 1997b, 17.
 35 Westholm 1956, 71. For the scholarly approach of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition, cf. Houby-Nielsen 2003. See also below, p. 36.
 36 Tatton-Brown 1985, 64.
 37 Westholm 1956, 71-81. Papantoniou 2012, XIII defines Hellenistic I as the phase between 310 BC and 217 BC, and Hellenistic II as the phase between 217 BC and 30 BC.
 38 Lund 1993a, 136-139.
 39 Winther-Jacobsen 2013a, 31.
 40 Alcock 1993, 49; see also Cherry 2004, 29; Rousset 2008, 310-312; Papantoniou 2012, 80-81.
 41 However, very few detailed publications of pottery found in surveys in Cyprus are available – in particular of Hellenistic and Roman date – apart from Quilici & Quilici Gigli 1972-1973 [1975]; Lund 1993a; Winther-Jacobsen 2013a-b; Winther-Jacobsen *et al.* 2013a.

