

Transport Amphorae and Trade in the Eastern Mediterranean

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Fundamental Links in the Economic Chain: Local Ports and International Trade in Roman and Early Christian Cyprus¹

John R. Leonard & Stella Demesticha

Introduction

Background

Although past archaeological studies in Cyprus both on land and in the sea have provided an abundance of ceramic, especially amphora, evidence that has greatly contributed to our understanding of the island's regional trade connections during the Roman and Early Christian (or Late Roman) periods (mid first century BC to seventh century AD), we have only just begun to grasp the workings of the Roman province's local economy. The Cyprus Coastal Survey, however, the primary author's doctoral study,² has in recent years recorded coastal maritime sites representative of the chain of local ports that played a fundamental economic role in Roman Cyprus and the trade of domestic and foreign goods along the Cypriot south coast. Presented here are the sites of "Dreamer's Bay" (*Akrotiri-Vounari tou Kambiou*) on the southern littoral of the Akrotiri Peninsula and Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik c. 13 km west of Cape Kiti (Fig. 1).³

Dreamer's Bay has previously been identified as the site of a settlement that flourished in the fifth and sixth centuries AD,⁴ while Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik was recorded by H. Catling in 1959 as a Cypro-Geometric cemetery and Hellenistic-Roman settlement (Cyprus Survey Archives, Cypriot Department of Antiquities). Both sites contain extensive surface scatters of broken pottery consisting primarily of transport amphorae. The amphora remains at Dreamer's Bay represent various types and origins, but a predominant type there are Late Roman 1 (LR1) amphorae. At Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik the situation is somewhat different, as virtu-

ally all the ceramic material to be seen in the scatter of surface pottery along the site's seaboard belongs to LR1 amphorae.

Since 1999, the present authors have combined their efforts to begin re-examining the surface pottery at Dreamer's Bay and Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik primarily for the purposes of reassessing the date of the Dreamer's Bay site and determining the nature and relatedness (or lack thereof) of the two sites' respective LR1 assemblages. In addition, a ceramic waster from Dreamer's Bay⁵ and the markedly homogeneous character of the LR1 scatter at Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik have led us to question

¹ The authors would like to thank certain individuals for their encouraging, collegial support of our research, including especially in the Cypriot Department of Antiquities Director S. Hadjisavvas, D. Pilides, and G. Georghiou. We also express our deep appreciation to G. Hennings and F. and A. Garrod, who through the years have greatly facilitated our access to Dreamer's Bay and provided invaluable other assistance. We owe a particular debt of gratitude to F. Haggerty for his kind permission to disseminate results of his Akrotiri and Dreamer's Bay surveys, as well as for sharing his excellent aerial photographs. Other old and new friends also came through, with A. Sacorafos once again providing essential logistical support, A. Hooton finding time to prepare superb illustrations, and S. Fox acting as anchorwoman, as usual, during the final throes of manuscript prep. Lastly, we offer our sincere thanks to the organizers of the Danish Institute's memorable amphora colloquium, J. Lund and J. Eiring, for their kind invitation to contribute to the proceedings.

² Leonard 2004 forthcoming.

³ The Akrotiri site's official toponym, Vounari tou Kambiou, is superseded here by the more familiar "Dreamer's Bay", a local name which is almost universally employed and under which the site was first published (Heywood 1982).

⁴ Heywood 1982, 169-171.

⁵ This waster comprises part of the comparative collections of the Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute (CAARI) in Nicosia.

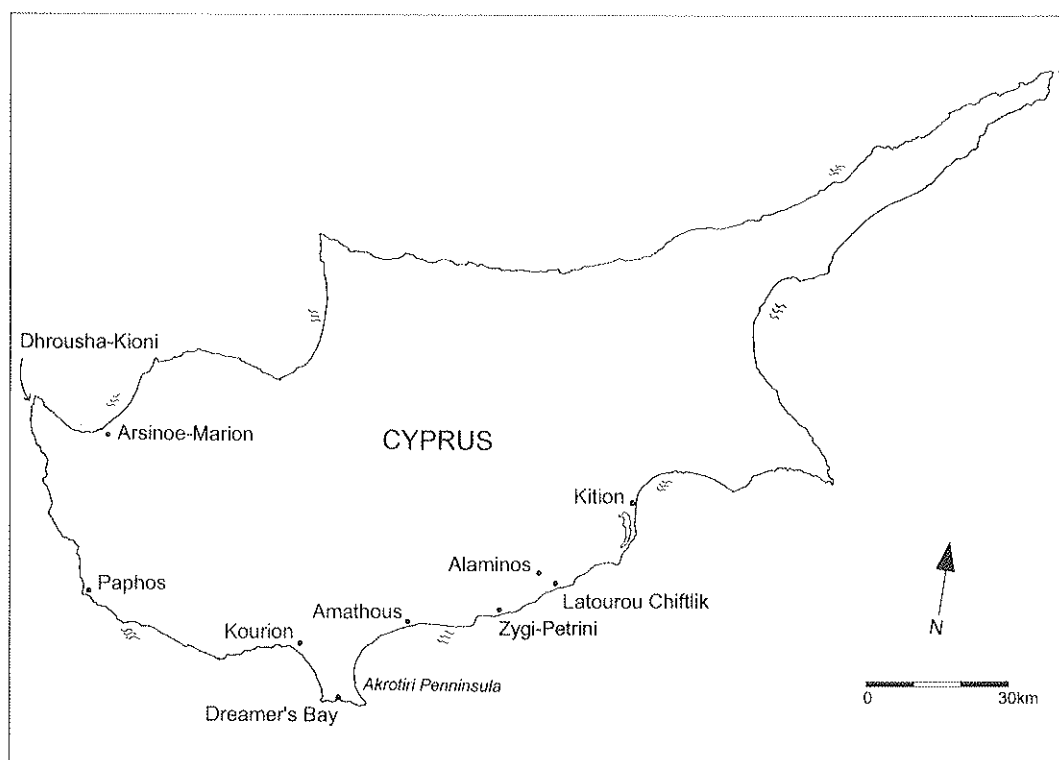


Fig. 1. Cyprus: ancient port sites mentioned in the text (A. Hooton).

whether these two sites were centers for the local production of LR1 amphorae.

Although the results of our surface investigations at Dreamer's Bay in 1999 and 2003 and Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik in 2002 and 2003 should be considered preliminary, and petrographic analyses on ceramic samples collected at the two sites are ongoing, several points are already noteworthy. At Dreamer's Bay, our confirmation of ceramic material from Late Hellenistic and Early to Mid-Roman times, including examples of the distinctive "pinched-handle" amphorae of the first to fourth century AD,⁶ now suggests that the supposedly late, single-period site was instead an active Hellenistic, Roman and Late Roman commercial port with local as well as foreign connections. Dreamer's Bay, which may also have been an amphora production center, was probably the port of the long-obscure "Kourias" or "Kargaii", mentioned by the Augustan geographer Strabo and the anonymous author of the *Stadiasmus sive Periplus Maris Magni* respectively, in their Roman-period descriptions of Cypriot coastal places.⁷ Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik, on

the other hand, was a small rural settlement or *villa rustica*, not included in textual accounts of ancient Cyprus, whose inhabitants appear to have participated – at least during Late Roman times – in the *cabotage* of local agricultural products shipped in LR1 amphorae. Small and medium-sized coastal sites like these are increasingly being recognized as essential primary evidence for the study of ancient Mediterranean economic practices.⁸

⁶ The designation "pinched-handle" was first attributed in print to these amphorae by Leonard (1995a), following the survey of a western Cypriot anchorage at Dhrousha-Kioni where the type was found represented in great number. For subsequent use of the term, cf. Lund 1999, 10, n.40; 2000b, esp. 565, n.1; Rauh & Slane 2000, 325–328. Recently, the origin of the designation has become confused: cf. Rauh & Will 2002, 49, n.6. Although Leonard should probably apologize for taking liberties with the traditional nomenclature (e.g. Zemer 41, Mid Roman 4, Mau XXVII/XXVIII), he, like others, finds the descriptive term "pinched-handle" useful as it emphasizes the jars' most distinctive feature.

⁷ Strabo 14.6.3; *Stadiasmus* 303.

⁸ Cf. Horden & Purcell 2000.

Dreamer's Bay

The ancient site at Dreamer's Bay lies within the confines of the British RAF Akrotiri Base on the southern littoral of the Akrotiri Peninsula, west of modern Limassol (Figs. 2-3). Akrotiri's environmental setting has been markedly dynamic and changeable through the ages, especially during the last two or three millennia. The southern area of the now squarish peninsula was originally a roughly triangular islet separated from the mainland by a wide navigable channel. By Late Hellenistic or Early Roman times, however, alluvial silt flowing from the mouths of the flanking Kouris and Garryllis rivers, in combination with sediments deposited through eastward-flowing longshore currents, had created a tombolo joining the islet to the mainland with massive sand bars. Whether these sand bars had already accumulated to the point of projecting above sea level by Early Roman times, or constituted flooded reefs that only emerged to form dry land later in the Roman period, remains undetermined, but by the Late Roman era ships were probably no longer able to navigate unobstructed through the former strait.⁹

During a geological study of Akrotiri's low western terrain in the late 1950s, Late Roman pottery was unearthed at a depth of c. 10 m below the present ground level, which generally stands less than one meter above sea level.¹⁰ Furthermore,

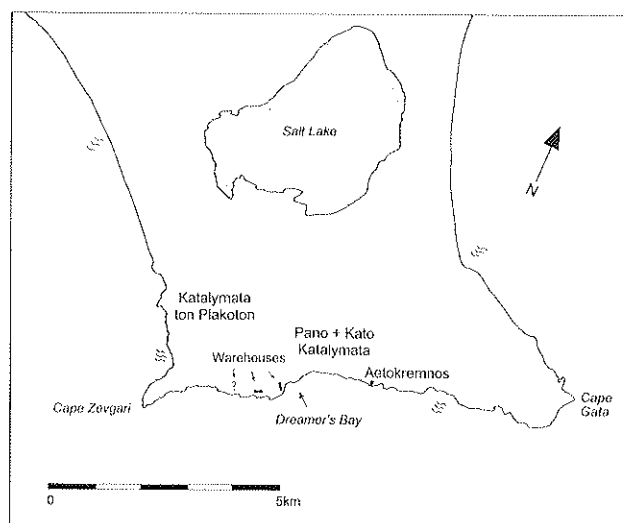


Fig. 2. Akrotiri Peninsula, Cyprus (A. Hooton).

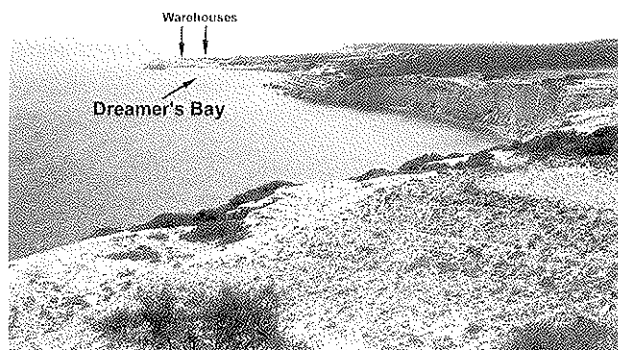


Fig. 3. Dreamer's Bay, Cyprus (J.R. Leonard).

commercial gravel quarrying on western Akrotiri in the 1970s struck the possible remains of a Hellenistic or Roman shipwreck, consisting of stamped amphora handles of supposed Pergamene origin and the headless marble statuette of a draped Aphrodite.¹¹ Depending on how one reconstructs the palaeoenvironmental setting, the ship carrying these items may (for whatever reason) have sunk in the strait's increasingly choked waters or run aground on a nascent sandy shoreline.

The eastern side of the Akrotiri Peninsula did not form as quickly as the western and remained at least partially open to the sea until some time in the Middle Ages. Following the closure of the peninsula's interior to the open sea, a salt lake, still visible today, formed in the center of the low-lying tombolo.

It is important to consider the environmental setting of the settlement at Dreamer's Bay in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as it may have had great impact on the site's relations with other settlements along the Cypriot south coast. At present we cannot be certain whether or not there was a road connecting the southern tip of the incipient Akrotiri Peninsula to the mainland, since no traces have been discovered. Nevertheless, the western

⁹ For Akrotiri's palaeomorphology and archaeology, including bibliography, cf. Leonard 2004 forthcoming.

¹⁰ Bear & Morel 1960, 55.

¹¹ Karageorghis 1978, 884, figs. 19a-b. No actual ship's timbers are mentioned in the report as having been recovered during the quarrying operations.

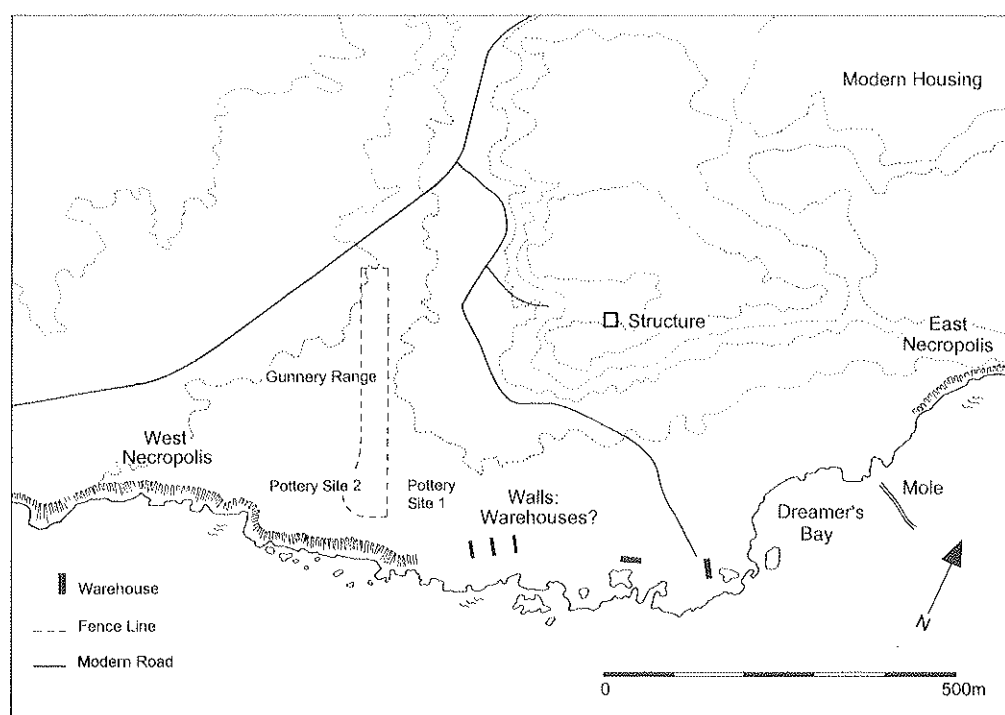


Fig. 4 Dreamer's Bay, site plan (A. Hooton).

central portion of the peninsula was in all likelihood still, at least occasionally, washed by the sea. Ships or coasting craft would therefore have been essential to the residents of the Dreamer's Bay site and neighboring inland settlements on the former Akrotiri islet to maintain reliable commercial or other contact with the outside world.

Textual references to the Akrotiri Peninsula first appear in the Roman period. Strabo describes a place called Κουριάς that lies west of Amathous and is "peninsula-like" (χερρονησώδης).¹² Pliny provides only the Latinized name *Curias* in his first-century AD enumeration of coastal places,¹³ while the geographer Ptolemaios in the second century writes Κουριάς ἄκρα (i.e. Cape Kourias).¹⁴ The *Stadiasmos*, however, an anonymous text probably dating to about the mid-fourth century AD, calls the place Καρυαία and records it as being a cape or promontory (ἀκρωτήριον) with a harbor (λιμὴν), an anchorage (ὑπόρμος), and a supply of fresh water.¹⁵

The *Stadiasmos* passage is perhaps the most intriguing, because its description of a harbor appears to reflect the actual topography of Dreamer's Bay. The site at Dreamer's Bay is one of four Roman or Late Roman settlements on Akrotiri Peninsula,

including Pano and Kato Katalymata north of the bay and Katalymata ton Plakaton to the northwest (Fig. 2).¹⁶ Dreamer's Bay, however, seems to be the only ancient site on Akrotiri Peninsula that contains the architectural remains of a harbor.

The Dreamer's Bay site covers an area of at least ten ha surrounding the small bay and includes an eastern necropolis, traces of an adjacent rock-cut roadbed, long rectangular foundations that probably represent seaside warehouses, at least one building on the summit of the ridge overlooking the bay, a western necropolis, the aforementioned surface scatter of pottery that interconnects all these areas, and within the bay itself the submerged remains of an ashlar-built breakwater (Figs. 4,5).

H. Heywood described the antiquities at Dreamer's Bay.¹⁷ F. Haggerty, however, also a British ama-

¹² Strabo 14.6.3.

¹³ *NH* 5.129-131.

¹⁴ *Ptol.* 5.14.1-7.

¹⁵ *Stadiasmos* 303; Müller 1855; On harbor terminology used in the historical sources, cf. Leonard 1997. On the date of the *Stadiasmos*, cf. Leonard 2004 forthcoming.

¹⁶ Heywood 1982, 162 [map], 174.

¹⁷ Heywood 1982, 169-71; cf. McGarr 1995.

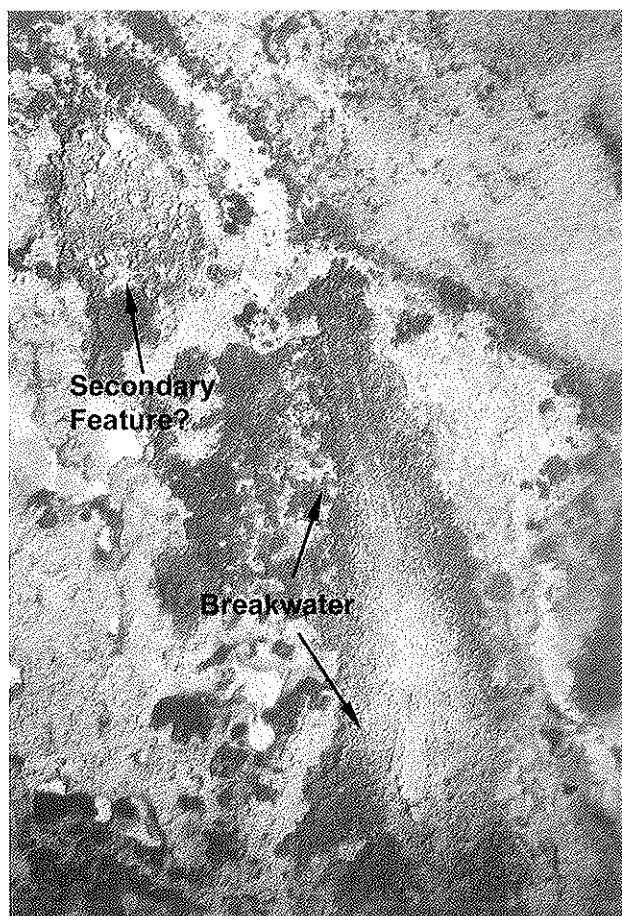


Fig. 5. Aerial photograph of ancient breakwater, Dreamer's Bay (F. Haggerty).

teur archaeologist, offers further significant details in his own unpublished, undated report. Haggerty examined various ancient sites on Akrotiri Peninsula but especially that at Dreamer's Bay, where he cleaned and recorded the submerged breakwater during the period from 1984 to 1989 (Fig. 6).

The protective harbor wall follows a NW-SE orientation with its northern preserved end *c.* 40 m offshore.¹⁸ The alignment of the wall is not straight, but exhibits a slight SE-S-SE-S zig-zag in its seaward end. The masonry that comprises this man-made structure consists of alternating thick and thin courses of ashlar blocks,¹⁹ which may have been laid on an existing natural reef.

The breakwater's preserved length is *c.* 165 m, while its width increases seawardly from *c.* 5 m near the shore to *c.* 10 m at its southern end.²⁰ The ashlar masonry underwater at Dreamer's Bay invokes

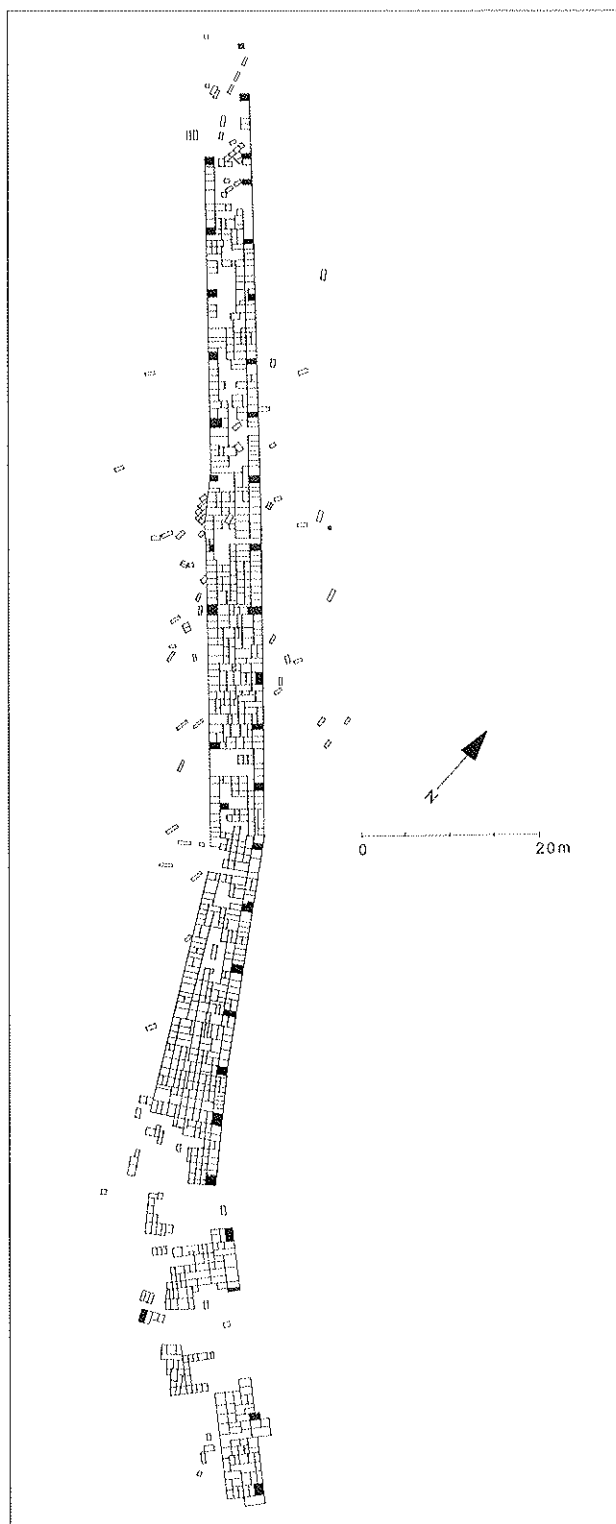


Fig. 6. Ancient breakwater, Dreamer's Bay, top plan (F. Haggerty, A. Hooton).

¹⁸ Haggerty, 5, 27-28, and Appendix A, p. A-4.

¹⁹ Haggerty, 28, 31.

²⁰ Haggerty, 27.

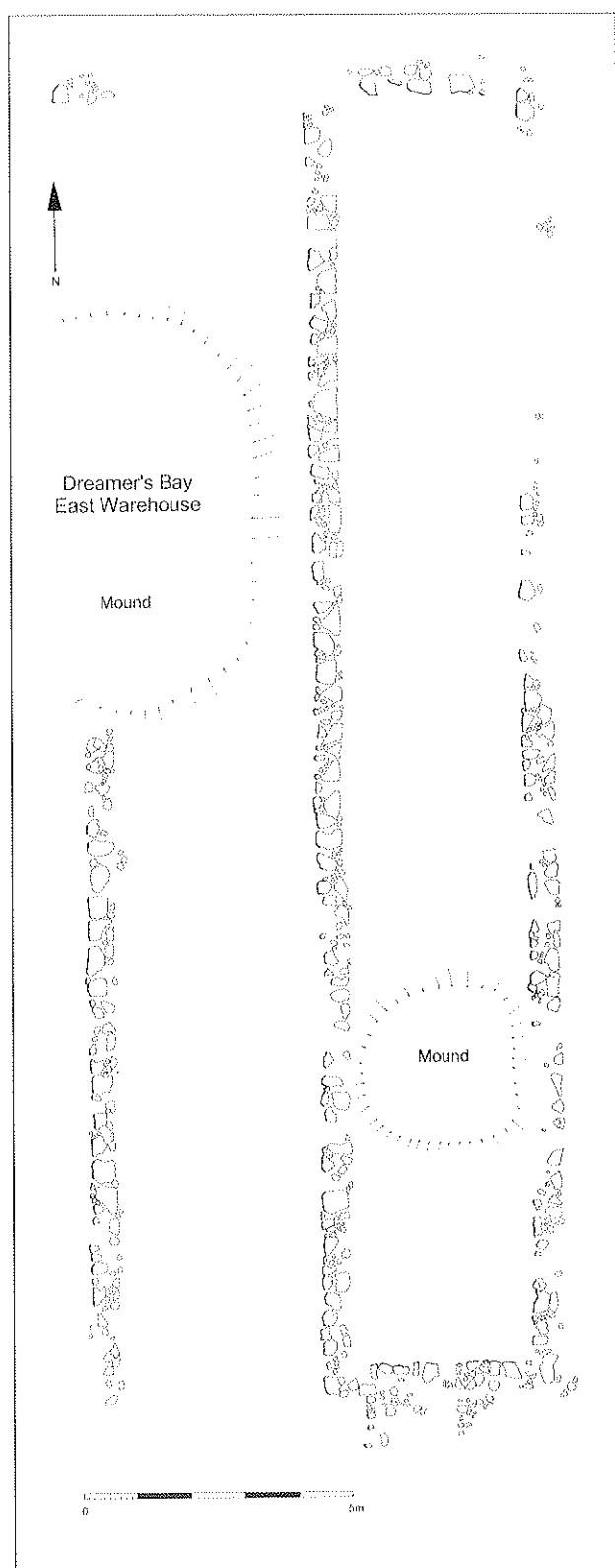


Fig. 7. East Warehouse, Dreamer's Bay, top plan (J.R. Leonard, A. Hooton).

the construction of the breakwaters at Nea Paphos, where header and stretcher blocks were originally employed by Hellenistic engineers during that port's foundation in the late fourth or early third century BC.²¹ Haggerty also reports the existence of at least two column drums lying among the architectural debris around the delapidated breakwater at Dreamer's Bay,²² which may indicate that the Dreamer's Bay harborworks, again like the breakwaters at Nea Paphos, were later adorned during Roman times with a colonnade. To the southwest of the breakwater, Haggerty recorded a cluster of fragmentary "Rhodian" amphorae that may attest to a shipwreck in the area, or at least to use of the bay during the Hellenistic era.²³

On the western shore of Dreamer's Bay lie the low foundations of two long rectangular buildings, probably Roman *horrea*. These buildings, similar in size, are internally divided into a pair of narrow rooms by a central, longitudinal wall. The easternmost structure (Fig. 7), which is oriented generally N-S, extends 24.4 m long by 8.8 m wide, with walls c. 0.5 m thick.²⁴ The internal eastern and western rooms are 3.3 m and 3.7 m wide respectively. No doors or windows are evident in the remaining foundations, which are comprised of rough, lightly dressed stones. At least three other similarly constructed walls located further west on the shore may belong to additional seaside warehouses.²⁵

²¹ Leonard & Hohlfelder 1993; Hohlfelder & Leonard 1994; Hohlfelder 1995. Although the Dreamer's Bay breakwater beneath its thick coat of vegetation does appear to be comprised of ashlar blocks, the exact nature of its construction remains to be confirmed.

²² Haggerty, 27-28.

²³ Haggerty (p. 19) is probably referring to the typical third-second centuries BC Rhodian amphora whose remains are so commonly encountered in Cypriot coastal waters. Haggerty related to Leonard that he also once observed "stacks of Roman plates" on the seabed near the ancient breakwater (Personal Communication, 1991), although JRL has since been unable to locate or confirm this remarkable find.

²⁴ The top plan included here as Figure 7 was originally drawn by JRL for the purposes of the Cyprus Coastal Survey with the assistance of G. Hennings & S. Demesticha.

²⁵ For Roman warehouses, especially two Hadrianic examples on the southern Anatolian coast that are roughly similar in their dimensions to the otherwise more humble Dreamer's Bay *horrea*, cf. Rickman 1971, 138-9, figs. 30-1.

The architectural remains on the crest of the northern ridge overlooking the bay constitute a square room whose rubble walls are preserved to a height of c. 1 m. Whether the structure represents a single construction or was once part of a complex of rooms, now obscured, remains unknown. Fragmentary ceramic roof tiles and Late Roman coarse-ware pottery litter the ground within and around the walls, which may belong to the "Late Roman villa or farmstead" with "marble floors" previously noted in the area.²⁶

Poorly preserved rubble walls *in situ* along the southern cliffs opposite the breakwater indicate that this area was once home to seaside structures, possibly maritime villas, whose inhabitants gained access to the harbor below via a set of rock-cut steps still partly preserved on the steep cliff face. Of particular note are Haggerty's reported finds along the top of the cliff: Roman tableware, "fused glass", "pottery... showing evidence of great heat", and a rock-cut aqueduct channel running parallel to the cliff edge that contained the remains of a terra-cotta pipe.²⁷

The eastern necropolis at Dreamer's Bay, which is more extensive than the western necropolis, extends eastward along the cliffs from the harbor area to a point beyond the collapsed late Palaeolithic or early Neolithic rock-shelter at Akrotiri-Aetokremnos ("Site E").²⁸ The graves within the eastern necropolis consist of rock-cut cists or *fossae* located along the top of the cliffs and similarly carved chamber tombs arranged in two tiers along the cliffs' vertical face.²⁹ Later quarrying of the eastern tomb area is evident, as are traces of a roadbed cut into the cliff-top east of Aetokremnos.³⁰ Further west, a distinct set of cart tracks also remain visible in the rock along the cliff-top northeast of the harbor breakwater.³¹

The western necropolis is located on rising ground west of the bay, beyond the British gunnery range. The necropolis contains more than 120 tombs, according to Heywood, which consist of an indiscriminate mix of rock-cut chamber tombs and *fossa* graves.³²

D. Parks, in her doctoral dissertation on Roman Cypriot burial customs, has suggested that the necropoleis at Dreamer's Bay date to the Hellenistic and Roman periods, but adds that use of the site

may have begun earlier.³³ The traditional published date of the Dreamer's Bay site, however, reflects the long-standing conclusion, apparently based on the examination of surface pottery, that the settlement belongs solely to the Late Roman period (especially the fifth and sixth centuries AD).³⁴ In contrast, our renewed study of the pottery discussed below confirms that the Dreamer's Bay site was also occupied prior to the Late Roman period and that its chronology must now be revised.

Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik

The site of Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik lies almost due south of Alaminos village (Fig. 1). The site is smaller than that at Dreamer's Bay, encompassing a maximum core area of perhaps three or four ha, and represents a small rural settlement or *villa rustica*. The topography of the site consists of an open, now-cultivated field beside the sea, in the midst of which rises a low mound c. 150 m from the shoreline (Fig. 8). The mound contains the architectural remains of ancient structures, as evidenced by the appearance of walls atop the mound's eroding summit. Roman coarse-ware pottery is also visible on the surface of the summit, although less so in the surrounding cultivated field.

The site of Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik was, as mentioned above, first surveyed in 1959 by Catling, who also recorded a Cypro-Geometric necropolis just north of the mound and Hellenistic-Roman settlement.³⁵ No trace of the necropolis is evident

²⁶ Haggerty, 34.

²⁷ Haggerty, 11, 17, 19, 34.

²⁸ Simmons *et al.* 1999.

²⁹ Parks 1999, 55.

³⁰ Cf. Heywood 1982, 169-70; McGarr 1995, 11.

³¹ Heywood 1982, 169; McGarr 1995, 17-18.

³² Heywood 1982, 169; Parks 1999, 54-5; cf. also Haggerty, 13, sketch.

³³ Parks 1999, 55.

³⁴ Heywood 1982, 169-71.

³⁵ Catling called this site *Latourou*, a toponym that is consistent with the local designation on the governmental 1:50,000 topographical map. The official 1:5,000 cadastral map, however, includes two toponyms for the area of the site: *Latourou Chiftlik* and *Latoura Chiftlik*, the latter appearing in a position →

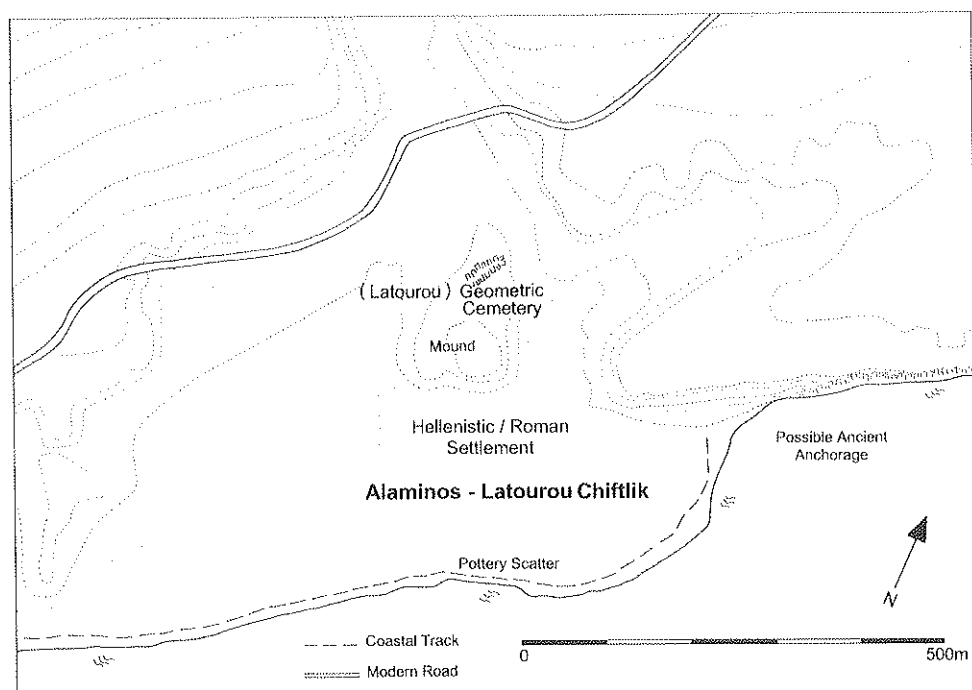


Fig. 8. Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik, Cyprus, site plan (A. Hooton).

today north of the mound, although this area has recently undergone radical changes in its topography due to the construction of a paved, extensively embanked coastal highway.

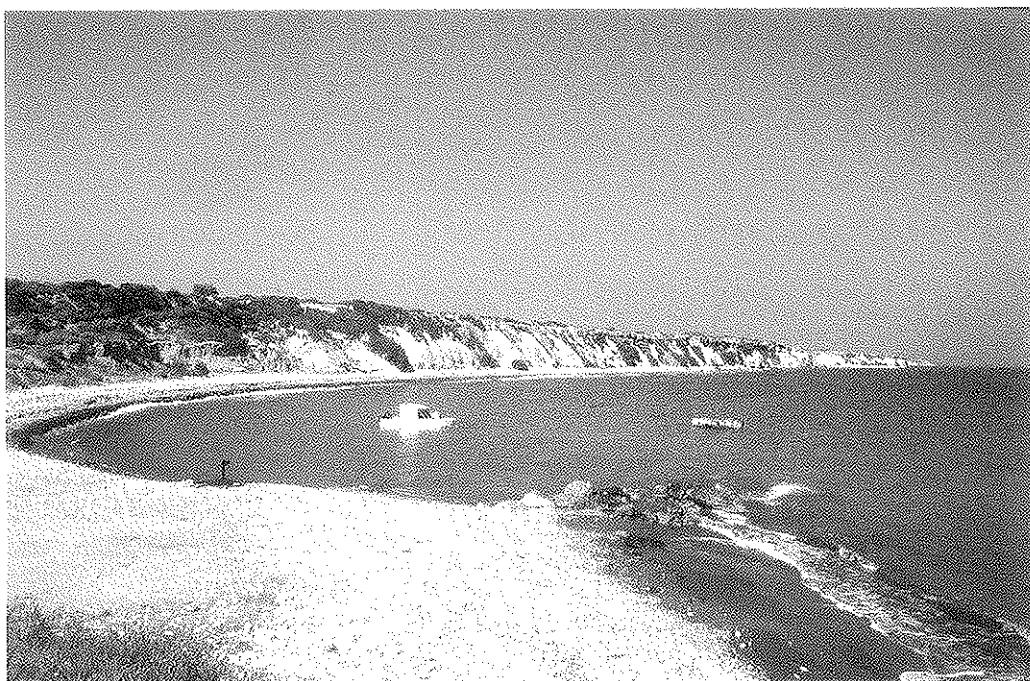
Immediately along the shore, on the seaward side of a coastal dirt track and eroding from the scarp at the back of the beach, is a surface scatter of fragmentary LR1 transport amphorae homogeneous in fabric that includes rims, handles, body sherds, and bases. Unfortunately, this important, once-dense scatter of amphorae, which indicates that the shore was used in Late Antiquity for the loading and/or unloading of cargo ships, has been greatly disturbed and reduced in its visible extent over the past three or four years as a result of the modern commercial development of the site by the landowner. The development has included the construction of a small marina with massive enclosing harbor works and several long offshore breakwaters parallel to the coast.³⁶ The new marina has been built around a slight natural cove protected to the west by a small point of land (Fig. 9). This diminutive cove may also have served in Antiquity as a port or anchorage for the *villa rustica* at Latourou Chiftlik. The poorly preserved stump of a simple rubble jetty or breakwater extending from the small protective point attests to use of the cove

in pre-modern times, probably for the purposes of local commerce.

→ closer to the shoreline. Goodwin 1985, 968 locates the feudal estate of "Latourou" (see below; clearly the origin of the local toponym) as being 3/4 of a mile inland. The existence on the cadastral plan of two adjacent, nearly identical toponyms only distinct from each other in their endings may be explained as a simple cartographic mistake or perhaps as a conscious attempt by the cartographers to distinguish between two areas of the site that were for some reason distinct. The official name of the site has recently been confirmed by the Cypriot Department of Antiquities as Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik. N.B.: The Cypro-Geometric cemetery and Hellenistic-Roman settlement at Catling's "Latourou" are enumerated in the Department of Antiquities' survey book as sites 1066, 1067, respectively, while on the DOA's cadastral map they are designated by the numbers 1283, 1284, respectively.

³⁶ The Cypriot Department of Antiquities has recently (1999) taken action to prevent further destruction of the site's cores areas, especially the low mound where a bulldozer had cut an access road up one side and scraped its summit. Nevertheless, since commercial construction commenced five years ago, more than two meters of shoreline has been lost to erosion along a coast that previously had been relatively stable for at least 1500 years. The primary cause of the erosion appears to be the installation of offshore breakwaters running parallel to the coast, whose adverse affects on natural coastal processes have previously been demonstrated and decried in neighboring Limassol.

Fig. 9. The cove at Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik, Cyprus (J.R. Leonard).



Although the site's Hellenistic component originally identified by Catling remains to be confirmed, the LR1 amphorae scattered along the shore at Latourou Chiftlik – first recorded by the Cyprus Coastal Survey³⁷ – clearly attest to an active phase of occupation in the Late Roman era. Whether or not the site was occupied during the intervening Early and Mid-Roman periods is presently unknown. The onset of the Arab raids in the mid seventh century AD was probably the impetus behind the decline of the exposed coastal settlement, since its residents almost certainly were inclined to flee inland, seeking greater security from sea attacks. J. Goodwin, however, notes that later during the Middle Ages, the site became part of a feudal estate "...owned by the Templars and given to the Hospitallers in 1313 AD".³⁸ He further relates that the area was probably once again abandoned around 1840, but until recent years continued to have at least one working well, citrus groves, and two sheepfolds.

The Ceramic Evidence

The rich surface scatters of pottery at Dreamer's Bay and Latourou Chiftlik represent important bodies of

evidence, the analysis of which, although still underway, is already beginning to increase our understanding of these two coastal settlements and their respective economic roles in Hellenistic and Roman Cyprus. In the following section we will offer preliminary observations on the amphora samples collected at Dreamer's Bay and Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik. Although our catalogue of finds remains to be completed and new finds surely will be added, we will for the moment present the main amphora types that we have so far recorded.

Dreamer's Bay

The occupation of the Dreamer's Bay settlement, as previously mentioned, has long been held to be Late Roman in date. It is therefore no surprise that the predominant amphora types found on the surface belong to that period. Before discussing the late amphorae, however, we should mention three earlier types, which, although so far few in number, are significant for the chronology of the site.

³⁷ Leonard 2004 forthcoming.

³⁸ Goodwin 1985, 968.

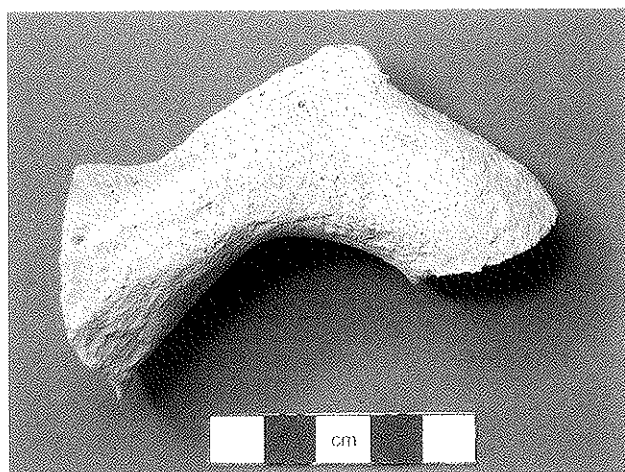


Fig. 10. Cretan amphora handle (Marangou-Lerat Type AC4, 1st–3rd centuries AD); Dreamer's Bay, Site 1 (J.R. Leonard).



Fig. 11. Pinched-handle amphorae (1st–4th centuries AD); Dreamer's Bay, Site 2 (J.R. Leonard).



Fig. 12. Pinched-handle amphorae (1st–4th centuries AD); Dreamer's Bay, Site 2 (J.R. Leonard).

- 1) Amphora toe, probably belonging to a Thasian amphora or an imitation thereof, datable to the fourth century BC.³⁹
- 2) Two partial amphora handles, belonging to Marangou-Lerat's Cretan type AC4, dated in the first to third century AD. The fabrics of these two handles are different from each other and do not appear similar to what Marangou-Lerat describes as the typical Cretan fabric of AC4 amphorae.⁴⁰ One handle is coarse, porous, and yellowish in color, while the other, perhaps a Cypriot imitation, is coarse and pinkish brown, and contains large volcanic inclusions and smaller light brown and white grits (Fig. 10).
- 3) Three partial amphora handles (Figs. 11–13), belonging to pinched-handle amphorae, dated from the first to the fourth century AD.⁴¹ The fabrics consist of two main types: A) a fine, red-brown fabric (represented by two handles) containing fine silver mica; one of the handles contains visible lime inclusions and occasional brownish grits that are absent from the other fabrics; B) a second fabric (represented by one handle) that is completely different in character: coarse, beige, containing large and medium-sized red-brown grits, scarce lime inclusions, and very occasional fine, silver mica. These two main fabrics seem to correspond to the known areas of production for pinched-handle amphorae: Anemurium on the southern Anatolian coast for the micaceous fabrics;⁴² and Cyprus for the coarse fabrics.⁴³

The amphora types of Late Roman date so far identified at Dreamer's Bay are greater in number and variety. The LR1 amphorae constitute the most predominant form, represented on the site by an LR1 subtype of at least two different fabrics.⁴⁴ It should be noted that, since a paper on the types and fabrics of LR1 amphorae found in Cyprus has

³⁹ Cf. Garland 1988, 13, figs. 12–13.

⁴⁰ Marangou-Lerat 1995, 84–89.

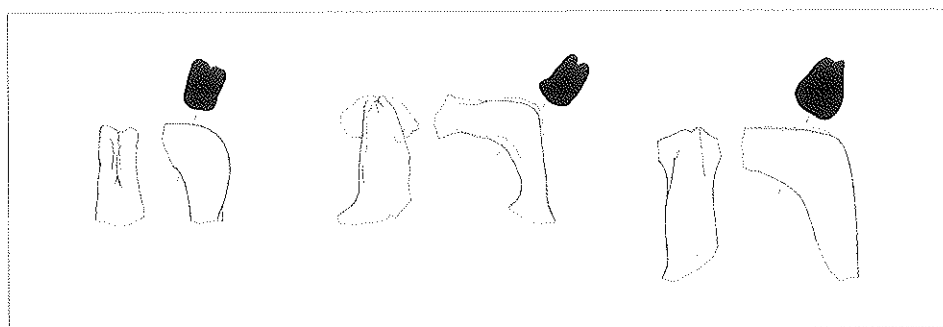
⁴¹ Cf. Leonard 1995a, 144–145; Lund 2000b.

⁴² Williams 1989, 91; Lund 2000b, 569.

⁴³ Hayes 1991, 91–92, no. 21.

⁴⁴ Cf. Riley 1979, 212–216.

Fig. 13. Pinched-handle amphorae (1st–4th centuries AD); Dreamer's Bay, Site 2. Left, Center: Fabric A. Right: Fabric B (A. Hooron).



recently been published,⁴⁵ we will refer in the following discussion to this recent typology without repeating the individual types' and fabrics' full, detailed descriptions.

The subtype into which all the LR1 amphorae at Dreamer's Bay so far appear to fall is Demesticha's LR1 Type 1, dated in the sixth century AD.⁴⁶ The typical characteristics of this LR1 subtype are the low quality of manufacture, the fact that the rim diameter is equal to or greater than the height of the neck, and the off-center, finger-made, double grooving along the handles. The LR1 Type 1 amphorae found at Dreamer's Bay exhibit two main fabrics: a) the "Workshop X" fabric, of probable Cypriot origin:⁴⁷ coarse, light brown, containing many small black inclusions and occasional lime particles. b) the "yellowish" fabric initially reported by Riley and since adopted by many other scholars.⁴⁸ The provenance of this fabric has not yet been securely identified, but probably lies among the known kilns of the Cilician coast.⁴⁹

It is also worth noting that we so far have found no trace at Dreamer's Bay of the LR1 fabrics previously identified on the Cypriot south coast, including that of Paphos,⁵⁰ Zygi,⁵¹ Amathous,⁵² and the so-called "Workshop ZA".⁵³ What we did discover, however, were over-fired body sherds most probably belonging to LR1 amphorae. These sherds, in conjunction with the ceramic waster cited above,⁵⁴ made us suspect the existence of a nearby kiln, which, despite our redoubled efforts to locate additional evidence on the site's surface for amphora production, cannot yet be confirmed.

Late Roman amphorae from the Levant, LR3 and LR4/5 of Riley's typology, are poorly represented

at Dreamer's Bay, whereas Egyptian LR6 amphorae appear to be more numerous.⁵⁵

In a distinct western area ("Site 2") of the Dreamer's Bay site, within the fenced area of the gunnery range, we have recorded a large concentration of body sherds that most probably belong to the so-called "carrot-shaped" amphora of Kuzmanov Type IX (third–fourth centuries AD).⁵⁶ This type has many similarities with the late Sinoean amphora series,⁵⁷ and occasionally some scholars have considered Sinoean and Seleucian carrot-shaped amphorae as one type.⁵⁸

The fabric of the Dreamer's Bay "carrot" amphorae is coarse, porous, red to brown in color, and contains small yellowish inclusions and occasional large brown grits. Since the Sinoean fabrics are completely different from that found at Dreamer's Bay, we can assume that the amphorae originate from the Seleucian area of production, although a fabric description of the amphorae produced in the Seleucian kilns has not yet been published.⁵⁹

⁴⁵ Demesticha 2003.

⁴⁶ Demesticha 2003, 471.

⁴⁷ Demesticha 2003, 471.

⁴⁸ Riley 1979, 215.

⁴⁹ Empereur & Picon 1989, 241.

⁵⁰ Demesticha & Michaelides 2001.

⁵¹ Manning *et al.* 2000.

⁵² Empereur & Picon 1989, 242.

⁵³ Demesticha 2003, 471.

⁵⁴ See note 5.

⁵⁵ Riley 1979, 219–225.

⁵⁶ Kuzmanov 1973, 14–23; also Empereur & Picon 1989, 232.

⁵⁷ Garlan & Kassab Tezgor 1996, 331, fig. 11.

⁵⁸ Opait 1996, 210; Sazanov 1997, 90.

⁵⁹ Cf. Empereur & Picon 1989, 232.



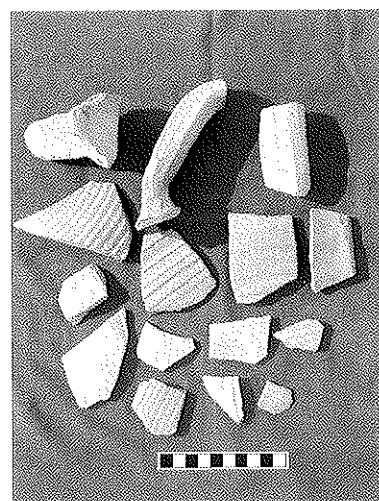
Fig. 14. "Carrot-shaped" amphorae, (Kuzmanov Type IX, 3rd-4th centuries AD) body sherds; Dreamer's Bay, Site 2 (J.R. Leonard).



Fig. 15. "Carrot-shaped" amphorae (Kuzmanov Type IX, 3rd-4th centuries AD), rim sherds; Dreamer's Bay, Site 2 (J.R. Leonard).

The body sherds of the Dreamer's Bay "carrot" amphorae carry horizontal grooves on their outer surfaces and oblique ridges on the inside (Fig. 14). The base or toe is most probably conical. We have found conical toes in the same fabric as the body sherds, as well as fragments of handles, oval in section, and flaring rims with vertical outer faces (Fig. 15). The rims do not exhibit the typical profile of the "carrot-shaped" Kuzmanov Type IX amphorae, but since their fabric is identical to that described above for the body sherds they may belong to a previously unknown subtype of the Type IX amphora series.

Fig. 16. LR1 amphorae (Demesticha Type 2, 6th-7th centuries AD); Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik (J.R. Leonard).



Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik

At Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik we have examined a large, previously unrecorded, surface concentration of LR1 amphorae sherds, which are homogeneous in fabric (Fig. 16). This fabric, pinkish in color, coarse, containing many small black and white inclusions, is not typical of LR1 fabrics already known from the southern Troodos area (including those of Paphos, Zygi, and Amathous), but, while different in color, it does resemble in composition the fabric of "Workshop X". Although it is tempting to conclude that Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik represents another, previously unknown LR1 production center on the Cypriot south coast, the apparent lack of wasters on the site so far prevents such a conclusion. All the LR1 amphorae sherds we have observed to-date at Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik belong to Demesticha's LR1 subtype Type 2, dated in the sixth and seventh centuries AD.⁶⁰

Conclusions

Although our investigations of the Dreamer's Bay and Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik sites and surface material are still in progress, we can offer some

⁶⁰ Demesticha 2003, 471, fig. 2.

preliminary concluding remarks based on the evidence, especially the amphorae, recorded to date. At Dreamer's Bay, the fourth-century BC Thasian amphora toe is much earlier in date than all the other surface finds so far recorded, yet it provides a significant clue to the site's early occupational history. Together, the Thasian toe and the Early to Mid-Roman Cretan and pinched-handle amphorae attest to, on the one hand, widespread trade connections with the Aegean, Crete and Cilicia, and, on the other, a life span for the Dreamer's Bay port that far exceeds the roughly three-and-a-half centuries of the Late Roman period, to which the site has previously been assigned.

The incidence of local amphorae at Dreamer's Bay appears very low, whereas abundant refuse of imported amphorae indicate a vital Late Roman regional trade with the Levant, Egypt, and Cilicia. The architectural remains of the long, seaside warehouses just west of the bay further attest to the site's regular involvement in maritime trade.

There is a small possibility, given the limited evidence of the waster and over-fired sherds, as well as the unconfirmed report by Haggerty of fused glass and heat-affected pottery sherds, that LR1 amphorae and other ceramic (and glass?) containers were manufactured at Dreamer's Bay. Yet, as mentioned above, indications of local amphorae are few. For the present, we can assert that the LR1 amphorae at Dreamer's Bay (Demesticha's Type 1) are different from those at Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik (Demesticha's Type 2). The LR1 fabrics so far recorded at Dreamer's Bay are indicative of two main manufacturing sources: 1) Cilicia and 2) Cyprus itself, where the (southwestern Cypriot) "Workshop X" LR1 amphorae from Dreamer's Bay, combined with those previously recorded in great number at Amathous,⁶¹ together suggest regular coastwise movement of trade goods.

At this early point in our analysis, then, we have good evidence for Cypriot coasting activity and should simply conclude that most of the trade goods moving through the Dreamer's Bay port were imports intended either for local consumption or further exchange, via *cabotage*, with other ports on the Cypriot south coast.

At Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik, there is a simi-

lar possibility that this small, rural settlement was also involved in the production of LR1 amphorae, given the strict homogeneity of the LR1 fabric found there. We can be more certain, however, considering the agricultural setting, the remains of an apparent rural villa complex, and the clear indications of use of the immediate seafront, that the Late Roman residents of Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik participated in local coasting trade by importing (and probably exporting) goods across their beach and perhaps through the diminutive cove on the eastern end of the strand.

If, as seems likely, Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik produced agricultural goods such as olive oil or wine, the scale of this production would have been small and intended primarily for local, on-site consumption, while any surpluses would probably have been shipped out to larger neighboring towns including Amathous and Kition. The archaeological sites at Dreamer's Bay and Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik offer unique, additional evidence to support the previously proposed Late Roman land use pattern, in which the island's population further expanded into the Cypriot countryside establishing numerous, small, rural settlements even in more marginal areas of the landscape.⁶² However, both Dreamer's Bay and Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik also appear to have had earlier phases of occupation, which would seem to indicate – at least from a coastal, maritime perspective – that remote, rural settlements of no great size already played significant, fundamental roles in the Cypriot economy long before the supposed Late Roman expansion. This conclusion is similarly supported by other coastal sites around Cyprus including the western anchorage at Dhrousha-Kioni, a small local port that also served a Late Roman settlement, Ayios Kononas, but which was exploited as well in the earlier Classical, Hellenistic, and Early to Mid-Roman periods.⁶³

By filling in gaps left by the incomplete coastal descriptions of ancient authors, the Cyprus Coastal Survey has in recent years been able to demonstrate

⁶¹ Also of Type 1; cf. Demesticha 2002.

⁶² Cf., *inter alia*, Fejfer *et al.* 1995; Rautman 2000 and 2003.

⁶³ Leonard 1995a.

that the ancient Cypriot economy, especially that of Roman Cyprus, involved an active coasting trade conducted through a range of ports that was much more diverse than previously portrayed in the historical sources. This complex chain of large and small, urban and rural, natural and man-made havens, in which the local ports constituted fundamental links, is distinctly represented by coastal sites such as Paphos, Kourion, Dhrousha-Kioni, Dreamer's Bay, and Alaminos-Latourou Chiftlik. Of the latter two sites, Dreamer's Bay in particular appears to have been a busy maritime emporium. The ceramic assemblage so far recorded at Dreamer's Bay is also significant because the ancient site lies near the center of the island's southern coast. Lund has previously argued that in their respective economic orientations Western Cyprus looked, at least during the Roman period, to Egypt, Syria, and Cilicia, while South-eastern Cyprus was closely linked to North-western Syria.⁶⁴ Yet the port at Dreamer's Bay appears from its surface pottery to have had economic ties with (at least) Cilicia and Crete during the Roman period, and with the whole of the Eastern Mediterranean region in the Late Roman period. Unlike the small Cypriot anchorage at Dhrousha-Kioni on the island's extreme south-western coast, however, no evidence has yet been recorded at Dreamer's Bay for Roman-period commercial links to the Aegean or other areas in the West.⁶⁵

Whether the port town at Dreamer's Bay was exporting (perhaps in locally produced LR1 amphorae) local agricultural products, which seems

unlikely given the severely limited area available for agriculture on Akrotiri Peninsula during the Roman period, or served as some sort of a transshipment port (perhaps subordinate to neighboring Kourion) through which local and regional trade goods (many contained in amphorae) passed bound for other destinations and markets, cannot yet be determined.⁶⁶ Nevertheless, our understanding of the Dreamer's Bay site has greatly increased, perhaps even to the point of knowing the port town's ancient name. Archaeology, it seems, has finally been able to provide an answer to the identity of the mysterious Kourias of early Roman texts. While previously dated solely to the Late Roman period, Dreamer's Bay was too late to have been linked with Kourias, but now renewed ceramic analyses and our redating of the Dreamer's Bay site reveal that Kourias and Dreamer's Bay may very well have been one and the same place.

⁶⁴ Lund 1999, 12.

⁶⁵ At Dhrousha-Kioni the rich ceramic assemblage, consisting primarily of amphorae, indicates commercial links during the Roman period with N. Africa and/or possibly southern Gaul, as well as perhaps Athens, Cilicia, other areas of the Eastern Mediterranean, and Cyprus itself: Leonard 1995a, 142-46.

⁶⁶ One intriguing possibility is that Dreamer's Bay became the primary port of Kourion following the catastrophic earthquake of ca. AD 365, when Kourion's own harbor facilities just below the acropolis must have been severely affected (like the rest of the city) perhaps even to the point of complete destruction: cf. Leonard 1995b, 239, figs. 9-10; *id.* 1997, 180, fig. 11.

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