

PUBLICATIONS OF THE
INSTITUTE OF ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

Series Editor: Ruth Whitehouse
Director of the Institute: Sue Hamilton
Founding Series Editor: Peter J. Ucko

The Institute of Archaeology of University College London is one of the oldest, largest and most prestigious archaeology research facilities in the world. Its extensive publications programme includes the best theory, research, pedagogy and reference materials in archaeology and cognate disciplines, through publishing exemplary work of scholars worldwide. Through its publications, the Institute brings together key areas of theoretical and substantive knowledge, improves archaeological practice and brings archaeological findings to the general public, researchers and practitioners. It also publishes staff research projects, site and survey reports and conference proceedings. The publications programme, formerly developed in-house or in conjunction with UCL Press, is now produced in partnership with Left Coast Press, Inc. The Institute can be accessed online at <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology>.

Recent Titles

- Claudia Glatz (ed.), *Plain Pottery Traditions of the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East*
Hilary Orange (ed.), *Reanimating Industrial Spaces*
François G. Richard and Kevin C. MacDonald (eds.), *Ethnic Ambiguity and the African Past*
Susanna Harris and Laurence Douny (eds.), *Wrapping and Unwrapping Material Culture*
Helen Dawson, *Mediterranean Voyages*
Sue Colledge, James Conolly, Keith Dobney, Katie Manning, Stephen Shennan (eds.), *The Origins and Spread of Domestic Animals in Southwest Asia and Europe*
Julia Shaw, *Buddhist Landscapes of Central India*
Ralph Haeussler, *Becoming Roman?*
Ethan E. Cochrane and Andrew Gardner, *Evolutionary and Interpretive Archaeologies*
Andrew Bevan and David Wengrow (eds.), *Cultures of Commodity Branding*
Peter Jordan (ed.), *Landscape and Culture in Northern Eurasia*
Peter Jordan and Marek Zvelebil (eds.), *Ceramics Before Farming*
Marcos Martínón-Torres and Thilo Rehren (eds.), *Archaeology, History, and Science*
Miriam Davis, *Dame Kathleen Kenyon*
Elizabeth Pye (ed.), *The Power of Touch*
Russell McDougall and Iain Davidson (eds.), *The Roth Family, Anthropology, and Colonial Administration*
Eleni Asouti and Dorian Q. Fuller, *Trees and Woodlands of South India*
Tony Waldron, *Paleoepidemiology*
Janet Picton, Stephen Quirke, and Paul C. Roberts (eds.), *Living Images*
Timothy Clack and Marcus Brittain (eds.), *Archaeology and the Media*
Sue Colledge and James Conolly (eds.), *The Origins and Spread of Domestic Plants in Southwest Asia and Europe*
Gustavo Politis, *Nukak*
Sue Hamilton, Ruth Whitehouse, and Katherine I. Wright (eds.), *Archaeology and Women*
Critical Cultural Heritage Series, Beverley Butler (ed.)
Charlotte Joy, *The Politics of Heritage Management in Mali*
Layla Renshaw, *Exhuming Loss*
Katharina Schramm, *African Homecoming*
Mingming Wang, *Empire and Local Worlds*

Information on older titles in this series can be obtained from the Left Coast Press, Inc. website
<http://www.LCoastPress.com>

PLAIN POTTERY TRADITIONS OF THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN AND NEAR EAST

Production, Use, and Social Significance



Edited by
Claudia Glatz



Walnut Creek, California



5 Plain Wares and Urban Identities in Late Bronze Age Cyprus

Lindy Crewe

The first appearance of plain pottery styles on Cyprus took place at a later date than elsewhere in the Levantine region – during the Middle Cypriot III period, around 1700 BC (table 5.1). Plain wares were, as in many neighbouring areas, first locally produced when the social context of the innovation was appropriate and occurred alongside a swathe of other material and social transformations associated with changes in the nature of social interaction and community organisation. On Cyprus, these include settlement patterns shifting to the coast to reflect a new outwards-looking attitude and first steps towards urbanism, the integration of the island into wider Levantine trading spheres, the appearance of writing and seals and differentiation in distribution of 'luxury' goods and scales of architecture. Whilst often considered a typical case of secondary state formation, the trajectory of Cypriot developments is not the same as elsewhere, and this is reflected in the patterns of adoption, modes of production and use contexts of plain pottery styles.

Defining the Cypriot Plain Wares

Plain pottery is known as *Plain White* ware (PW) on Cyprus, and it occurs in two subtypes: *Plain White Handmade* ware (PWHM) and *Plain White Wheelmade* ware (PWWM). Despite the name, the surface of PW is not necessarily white, and approximately equal quantities of PW pottery were produced with and without a white slip. Surface colour may vary from

Plain Pottery Traditions of the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East: Production, Use, and Social Significance, edited by Claudia Glatz, 115–134. © 2015 Left Coast Press, Inc. All rights reserved.

Table 5.1 Relative chronological phases and approximate dates of the later prehistoric and protohistoric Cypriot Bronze Age

Phase	Approximate Date (BC)
Middle Cypriot (MC) III	1750–1650
Late Cypriot (LC) IA	1650–1550
LC IB	1550–1450
LC IIA–B	1450–1340
LC IIC	1340–1200
LC III	1200–1050

pale cream to pink or buff. The surface may also be wet-smoothed, lightly burnished, or completely unfinished. Gjerstad (1926: 179–81) first coined the terminology and described and illustrated a number of vessels. Later, Åström (1966: 71–76, 1972a: 126–29, 1972b: 225–64, 1972c) refined and canonised the categories when he completed the work of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition.

The material excavated by the Swedish Cyprus Expedition still comprises the largest and most chronologically comprehensive corpus of whole vessels published, and it forms the basis of any discussion of Cypriot plain pottery styles. There are, however, problems with the classificatory system and the data set which, along with a dearth of plain pottery studies in favour of the finer Cypriot Late Bronze Age styles, have hampered full understanding of the development and use context of the plain wares on Cyprus. First, the earliest production is associated primarily with the eastern third of Cyprus (fig. 5.1), and therefore all relevant material derives from excavations carried out prior to 1974. These sites are in the inaccessible northern part of the island. Second, plain ware typologies were developed based on material derived from multiperiod tomb assemblages at eastern sites, such as Enkomi, or from poorly excavated or mixed settlement strata at Kalopsidha and Nitovkia, a problem that precludes fine-grained chronological understanding. Third, the well-known 'regionalism' of Cypriot pottery fabrics and forms also applies to the PW styles. Regional variability is a product of multiple production centres and localised interaction spheres around the island, and traits found in the eastern fabrics and forms are not necessarily applicable to the material found elsewhere.

More recent studies have addressed plain wares from other areas of the island, such as the southern settlements of Kalavassos-Ayios Dimitrios, Alassa-Pano Mandiari and the south-western site of Maa-Palaeokastro (Kesswani 1991, 1996, 2009; Jacobs 2009; Jung 2011), but material from these sites dates largely to the later phases of the Late Cypriot. On a more positive note, a great deal of material from earlier excavations is held in museum collections, enabling reassessment of the material (e.g. Kesswani 1991). Table 5.2 shows the range of fabrics, forms, surface treatments and technologies of PW ware

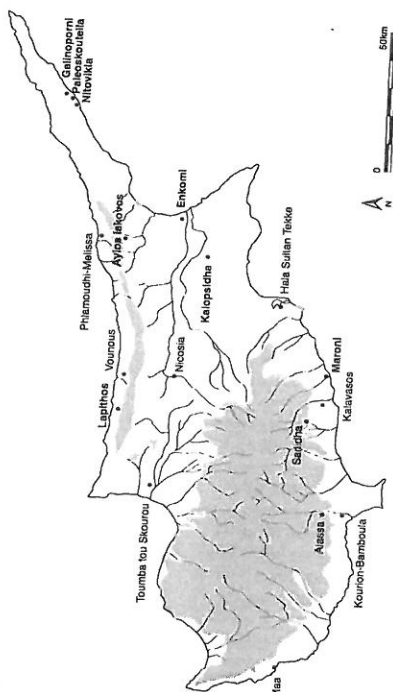


Figure 5.1 Bronze Age Cypriot sites mentioned in the text. Those shown in bold type are locations where PWHM first appeared or first became common, around MC III to LC I.

through time from the most comprehensive stratigraphic sequence on the island, Dikaios's 1948–1958 settlement excavations at Enkomi (Dikaios 1969–1971). This material has been studied in detail (Crewe 2007a, 2007b) and, along with collections from other sites, illuminates the introduction, development, and possible differences in household and mortuary use of the PW wares.

Gjerstad's (1926) and Åström's (1972b, 1972c) categorisation of PW into 'handmade' and 'wheelmade' is also problematic. Classification was carried out on the basis of superficial surface treatments, such as horizontal striations caused by wet-smoothing the finished vessel. More recent research in the Mediterranean and Near East suggests that it is unlikely that the 'throwing' of pottery was developed prior to the Iron Age and that we should be using the terminology cautiously. It has become clear that there are a number of technological options between slow/fast wheel and primary/secondary forming techniques. These techniques result in vessels of similar appearance, and therefore traditional methods of identifying mode of production based on surface features is not diagnostic (see Courty and Roux 1995; Roux and Courty 1998; Roux, this volume). Briefly, wheel-throwing utilises *rotative kinetic energy* (RKE) to raise the walls and form the roughout of the vessel, as well as to carry out later modifications to shape. Wheel-shaping uses coil-building to create the roughout and may use slow rotation or RKE to thin the walls and create the final form. It is also possible to use RKE initially to join the coils and create the roughout (Roux and Courty 1998: 748; Knappett 2004: 259). In this case, wheel-shaping should be considered a primary forming

Table 5.2 Plain White wares in the Enkomi assemblage

Group	Subgroup	Vessel Types	Surface	Fabric	Manufacturing Technique
PWHM	Fine (LC I)	Small bowls/cups and jars, large PWHM pithoi and occasional jugs and lamps.	Slip, if present, is thin (or may be thick on pithoi), matt, very pale brown (10YR 7/3) to cream (10YR 8/3). Small vessels may be roughly burnished.	Fine, hard, pink (5YR 7/4) with few-medium small and medium black, white and brown inclusions (occasionally red and brown inclusions (occasional gold mica or quartz and elongated voids). A buff or grey core may be present. Occasionally coarser with grey core to vessel walls on pithoi.	Coil built. Slab bases used for PWHM pithoi. Handles of closed vessels secured through pierced hole in shoulder/neck.
Standard	(LC I-IIA)	Large jugs and jars, large bowls/kraters, small bowls/cups and occasional jugs and lamps.	Slip, if present, is almost invariably matt, medium to thick and white (5Y 8/1), cream (2.5Y 8/2-8/3) or pale pink (7.5YR 7/3).	Fine-medium, hard-very hard, light brown (7.5YR 6/4)-yellowish red (5YR 5/6) calcareous marts (greenish when overfired). There are generally many sub-angular to rounded inclusions of black, white, red and brown with occasional mica or quartz (alluvial sand) but occasional examples have only a few black and white inclusions. Occasional undissolved clay lumps. A buff, light red or grey core may be present.	Coil built. Occasional use of rotational device for smoothing of rims or ring bases. Handles of closed vessels secured through pierced hole in shoulder/neck.
Standard	(LC IIB-III)	Large jugs, storage jars, pithoi, bowls/kraters, small bowls and occasional lamps.	Slip, if present, is almost invariably matt, medium to brown (7.5YR 6/4)-yellowish red (5YR 5/6) calcareous marts (greenish when overfired). There are generally many sub-angular to rounded inclusions of black, white, red and brown with occasional mica or quartz (alluvial sand) but occasional examples have only a few black and white inclusions. Occasional undissolved clay lumps. A buff, light red or grey core may be present.	Fine-medium, occasionally soft but usually hard, light yellowish brown (10YR 6/4)-light red (2.5YR 6/6) calcareous marts (greenish when overfired) with a few small black, white, red and brown inclusions. Occasional undissolved clay lumps. A light buff, red or grey core may be present.	Coil built and shaped on a tournette. Evidence for use of RKE. Handles affixed to exterior of vessel.
PWHM	PWHM I	Limited repertoire of small bowls/cups, jars, jugs, occasional lamps.	Slip, if present, is usually matt, although examples with a slight lustre or visible burnish marks occur, cream (10YR 8/3), pink (7.5YR 7/4) or pale yellow (5Y 8/2).	Slip, if present, is matt (occasional examples with a slight lustre or visible burnish marks occur), cream (10YR 8/3), pink (7.5YR 7/4) or pale yellow (5Y 8/2).	Coil built and shaped on a tournette. Evidence for use of RKE. Handles affixed to exterior of vessel.
PWHM	PWHM I standard	Wider typological repertoire: small-large bowls, kraters, jugs, jars, occasional tankards, jugs and lamps.	Slip, if present, is matt (occasional examples with a slight lustre or visible burnish marks occur), cream (10YR 8/3), pink (7.5YR 7/4) or pale yellow (5Y 8/2).	Slip, if present, is matt (occasional examples with a slight lustre or visible burnish marks occur), cream (10YR 8/3), pink (7.5YR 7/4) or pale yellow (5Y 8/2).	Coil built and shaped on a tournette. Evidence for use of RKE. Handles affixed to exterior of vessel.
PWHM	PWHM II (LC I-IIA)	More limited repertoire: small bowls, large jugs, kraters, basins, large pithoi and 'Canaanite jar' imitations.	Slip, if present, is matt (occasional examples with a slight lustre or visible burnish marks occur), cream (10YR 8/3), pink (7.5YR 7/4) or pale yellow (5Y 8/2).	Slip, if present, is matt (occasional examples with a slight lustre or visible burnish marks occur), cream (10YR 8/3), pink (7.5YR 7/4) or pale yellow (5Y 8/2).	Coil built and shaped on a tournette. Evidence for use of RKE. Handles affixed to exterior of vessel.
PWHM	PWHM II (LC IIB-III)	More limited repertoire: small bowls, large jugs, kraters, basins, large pithoi and 'Canaanite jar' imitations.	Slip, if present, is matt (occasional examples with a slight lustre or visible burnish marks occur), cream (10YR 8/3), pink (7.5YR 7/4) or pale yellow (5Y 8/2).	Slip, if present, is matt (occasional examples with a slight lustre or visible burnish marks occur), cream (10YR 8/3), pink (7.5YR 7/4) or pale yellow (5Y 8/2).	Coil built and shaped on a tournette. Evidence for use of RKE. Handles affixed to exterior of vessel.

technique, but secondary shaping or finishing is still required. If RKE has been employed in finishing, then the vessel exhibits features traditionally considered diagnostic of thrown pottery, such as rilling and compression ridges.

The reason that this distinction is important is that traditional perceptions of the potter's wheel as a time-saving device, correlated with mass production by full-time specialists in highly complex societies, is no longer valid as wheel-shaping technologies do not significantly speed up the manufacturing process (also Knappett and Hilditch, Chapter 4). Whilst wheel shaping still requires a substantial apprenticeship and interaction between specialist potters to transfer the technique (Roux 2003), reasons other than 'efficiency' must be sought for its adoption, although the technology should certainly be viewed as deliberately acquired (Courty and Roux 1995: 48). My examination of the Enkomi assemblage to identify the specific technologies employed revealed a complex set of techniques involving coiling, base patching, manufacture of the vessels in stages, and some use of RKE in vessel forming (fig. 5.2 G; and Crewe 2007a, 2007b for further discussion). Therefore, reference here to 'wheelmade' pottery should be taken to signify wheel-shaping with some use of RKE in creating the final vessel form.

Plain White Wheelmade wares have also been further subdivided: an earlier type, occurring during LC I–IIA (c. 1650–1375 BC), is classified as PWWM I; and the later variant, occurring during LC IIB–III (c. 1375–1050 BC), as PWWM II (Åström 1972b: 688; Keswani 1991: 103–104). These categories are distinguished on the basis of fairly minor typological changes and refined firing techniques producing harder-fired vessels (see table 5.2). Generally, PWWM I is more variable in fabric and form and PWWM II more uniform, but there are also regional variations in fabric and types that these broad categories fail to take into account. Canonical PWWM II appears to be only one of several plain groups manufactured during Late Cypriot II–III (Jacobs 2009: 99): this indicates that production remains decentralised throughout the Late Cypriot.

The Social Context of Plain Pottery Adoption on Cyprus

The earliest examples of PW exhibit a wide range of forms and fabrics united by a pale buff-cream surface, which may be slipped or unslipped (Åström 1972a: 126; discussed in detail in Crewe 2009). This forms a marked contrast to other contemporary wares, such as the Red Polished, White Painted, Red Slip, Black Slip and the Red-on-Red and Red-on-Black wares. All of these were given a decorative surface treatment of either an all-over colour finish and/or painted, relief or incised linear designs and often further embellished with multiple handles, string holes or anthropomorphic/zoomorphic features (see figures in Åström 1972a). The only examples of PW that we can date with certainty to the MC III period are unpainted or white-slipped vessel

types with decorated parallels, such as amphorae from Lapithos and Ayios Iakovos, known in Red Slip versions (one is shown on fig. 5.2 B), and bowls and jugs from Paleoskoutella, Kalopsidha and Ayios Iakovos in unpainted Red-on-Black fabric (similar to the example on fig. 5.2 F). This suggests that initial experimentation with new techniques of surface finish was undertaken

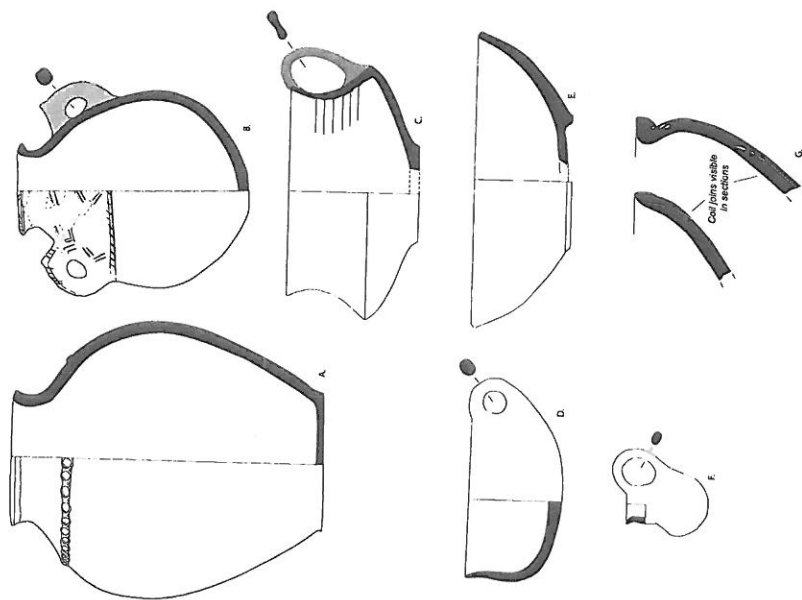


Figure 5.2 Examples of PW vessels from MC III to LC I contexts: A. PWWM pithos, Galinopomi Tomb 1 (1956)/42; B. MC III amphora, Lapithos Tomb 108/7; C. LC I cup, Enkomi Inv. 4519; D. LC I juglet, Enkomi Inv. 2279; E. LC I bowl, Enkomi Inv. 2380/3; F. LC I juglet, Enkomi Inv. 2276; G. LC I large bowl, Enkomi Inv. 2456/5, and krater rim, Enkomi Inv. 2492/1, showing evidence of coil joins in section (A and B are 1:5, illustrations by M. Dalton, all others 1:3, illustrations by L. Crewe).

by potters working within the traditional Cypriot repertoire. As discussed further below, these early adopters may have been imitating foreign imports that began to occur in number at this time.

Through the Middle Cypriot evidence for foreign contact with Cyprus increases. It is primarily attested in the archaeological record through imports of distinctive Egyptian Tell el-Yahudiyyeh and Syrian Red Burnished and Black Burnished juglets, as well as occasional Canaanite jars deposited in tombs and exports of Cypriot pottery found in the surrounding region. Aside from the easily recognised whole Canaanite jar (discussed further below and in Crewe 2012), we have very little evidence for imported Middle Bronze plain pottery on Cyprus. There are many problems with trying to establish presence or absence, let alone use context or phase of deposition, of plain wares at Cypriot Bronze Age sites due to a low identification rate by earlier excavators, particularly when dealing with nondiagnostic sherd material. Until provenance studies were undertaken during the 1970s (e.g. Artzy *et al.* 1976) it was assumed that the first wheelmade wares appearing on the island were *all* Levantine imports (e.g. Gjerstad 1926: 208–209; Dikaios 1969–1971), although Sjöqvist (1940: 87–91) expressed reservations with this scenario due to the large quantities of some styles occurring in settlement and mortuary deposits. Occasional known early examples of imported plain pottery include a plain Syro-Cilician jug from Tomb 805 at Lapithos-Vrysi tou Barba (Herscher 1978: 160, 172) and two Syrian early Middle Bronze storage jars from Bellapais-Vounous Tombs 164 and 168 (Dunn-Vaturi 2003: 83, 116, Pls. LXIX and XLVII). Åström (1972a: fig. IIB.19) illustrates the ring base of a juglet from Gjerstad's settlement excavations at Kalopsidha, which was also an import. Recent rescue excavations at the important central inland cemetery of Nicosia-Ayia Paraskevi have also revealed a tomb (Tomb 36) containing a plain imported, small jar in association with imported Black Burnished juglets and MC III local painted pottery (Georghiou 2009: fig. 3).

Alongside the increasing amounts of imported goods, Levantine and Egyptian juglets were imitated by Cypriot potters in local Black Slip and White Painted wares at locations around the island (Åström 1972a): the presence of these imitations demonstrates a willingness for pottery innovation at this time. There was also an apparent increase in the movement of people within Cyprus during the later Middle Cypriot (Herscher 1972: 29; Frankel 1988: 31), signalled by stylistic borrowings between the regions often making it difficult to assign a vessel to a specific 'ware'. This culminated in an explosion of new regional wares and manufacturing technologies at the beginning of the Late Cypriot (c. 1650 BC) when we see the establishment of the coastal towns, and led researchers (Merrillees 1971: 50; Åström 1972a: 275) to postulate a broad east-west regional divide in terms of group affiliation centred on preference for certain common pottery styles. Debates are ongoing

regarding the degree of social complexity on Cyprus at this time. Some researchers see the establishment of Enkomi and the other coastal centres as indicative of the establishment of the first 'state' on the island, whether under Enkomi's control (e.g. Knapp 1996; Peltenburg 1996) or a more heterarchical arrangement centred on a series of regional polities (Keswani 1996). External demand for Cypriot copper is held to be the impetus for foreign interest in the island, but it is probable that a wider range of organic goods were also traded at this time (Crewe 2012). The view preferred here is that the coastal centres were established as gateway communities and represent the beginnings of wealth inequalities, rather than institutionalised power inequalities. We have little understanding of the specific mechanisms through which Late Cypriot society transformed, resulting in the appearance of towns and centres with evidence for a high degree of sociopolitical, administrative and religious organisation by LC IIC some 300 years later. In sum, the beginning of Cypriot plain pottery production is closely connected with transformations in the way that individuals and communities interacted with each other and with the wider Levant.

Despite the problems with the dataset noted above, it is likely that the first locally produced vessel type to exhibit the new plain finish *and* a new typological form is the Plain White Handmade pithos (fig. 5.2 A) developed in the Karpas Peninsula and inland, eastern Cyprus, probably at the end of Middle Cypriot III and manufactured through Late Cypriot IA (c. 1750–1550 BC) (Crewe 2009). The development of the PWHM pithos, with its characteristic flat base and relief shoulder band (Pilides 2000), may be linked to the imitation of earlier imported Middle Bronze transport amphora, although we lack the evidence for the initial stages of this process aside from the two Bellapais-Vounous jars noted above. Jars with comparatively thick walls, flaring necks and no handles appear from Middle Bronze IIA at Tel Aphek and at other Levantine sites (Beck 2000: 178–80). By the time we see the appearance of true imported 'Canaanite jars' in quantity on Cyprus, the PWHM pithos form is an archaism in comparison to mainland forms but is able to fulfil a role within eastern Mediterranean trading systems. Plain White Handmade pithoi have been identified as exports in Late Hyksos contexts at Tell el-Dab'a (Maguire 2009: 40, 157–61) and Ugarit (noted in Pilides 2000: 51). I have also identified additional examples in the Tell el-'Ajul collection at UCL along with a number of similar local Levantine variants, and it is likely that further examples have remained unrecognised at mainland sites.

Imported Canaanite jars and exported PWHM pithoi indicate that bulk trade in commodities between Cyprus and the Levant was flourishing by around 1650 BC. All secure early appearances of Canaanite jars in settlements are confined to the southern and eastern coast with the exception of Kalopsidha, located in the eastern Mesaoria Plain. Examining material held in the Medelhavsmuseet,

Stockholm, I have identified a minimum of 26 Canaanite jars in securely MC III strata in the structure beneath Gjerstad's house and in the MC III-LC IA deposits of Gjerstad's house and Åström's trenches (Gjerstad 1926: 269; Åström 1966: 9, 76). Kalopsidha had exceptional storage capacity for the later Middle Cypriot and into early LC IA, both incorporating local and imported vessels, and on current evidence, the site exhibits privileged access to imported goods and trade relations (Crewe 2010). Excavated houses at Kalopsidha were abandoned at the threshold of the Late Cypriot, although occupation in the area continued into LC IIA-B, and it is likely that the waning fortunes of the site were connected to the foundation of nearby Enkomi at the beginning of LC I. Significant quantities of Canaanite jar sherds also occur in LC IA levels from Enkomi and the coastal fortress at Nitovikla (Crewe 2012).

The major impetus for the first plain pottery production on Cyprus seems to be the desire of Cypriot populations to participate in bulk commodity exchanges. Clearly the commodities contained within the jars are key to understanding this process. We lack information from the Cypriot vessels but residue analysis and evidence from inscriptions on the jars from Egypt has shown that the contents were *Pistacia* spp. resin, honey, wine and oil and that certain fabric groups may be linked with specific contents (McGovern 2000: 37; Smith *et al.* 2000). In order to participate fully in these systems, Cypriot populations adopted mainland urban, visual shorthand for the measurement and packaging of products (Crewe 2012). Given the next stage of development in PW pottery production discussed in the following sections, it seems likely that the commodity most valued was wine.

Plain White Handmade ware began as a north coast/eastern regional phenomenon around MC III but was produced island-wide by LC I. Production increases from LC I, when the ware first appears in handmade and wheelmade forms at sites across the island, and it is particularly associated with the establishment of the new coastal centres at sites, such as Enkomi, Toumba tou Skourou, Maroni and the fortress at Nitovikla (Crewe 2007b [see fig. 5.1]). The early diversity of Middle Cypriot PWHM may indicate multiple production centres and either simultaneous developments or imitations of vessels with the new plain, pale surface by potters at different sites. Importantly, based on the little information we possess from early mid-20th-century excavations and mixed tomb groups, it appears that stylistic developments preceded the technological innovation of wheel-shaping attested in the plain versions of more traditional wares in MC III tombs noted above and in the PWHM pitheoi. Again, it should be stressed how alien plain wares are to Cypriot templates of the visual and sensory attributes of earlier pottery types. There is no doubt that the introduction of plain wares to Cyprus is a Levantine borrowing, but pinning down the exact mechanisms, specific site or regional contacts through which the innovation occurred requires further excavation and publication of assemblages from Cyprus and the mainland.

Late Cypriot Plain Pottery Production: Location and Organisation

Plain White ware is not just a radical stylistic departure on Cyprus, it is also associated with technological innovation: the first production of vessels manufactured using wheel-forming techniques. The specific wheel-shaping technologies employed have been noted above (see also Crewe 2007a, 2007b; Crewe and Knappett 2012), but an important point to reiterate is that Cypriot potters are simultaneously utilising a range of forming techniques, none of which can be classified as 'throwing' of the vessels (see also Jeffra 2011) but many of which require learning radical new motor habits and interaction between potters to facilitate the learning process. The second key point is that handmade and wheelmade production continue through the Late Cypriot in fairly equal proportions until around 1225 BC, when wheel forming first became the more common mode. This is at least partially to be attributed to the continuing popularity, for local use and export, of handmade fine wares, such as the White Slip and Base Ring. Storage jars, cooking pots and the majority of coarse wares continued to be handmade throughout the Late Cypriot period. Other 4th–2nd millennium BC Mediterranean societies also employed a range of manufacturing techniques for different vessel forms, such as the early manufacture of wheelmade plates alongside a largely handmade assemblage in Early Bronze II–III Anatolia (e.g. Şahoğlu 2005; Kouka 2011). On Minoan Crete, wheelmade vessel size increased through time as skills were refined (Knappett 1999, 2004; Crewe and Knappett 2012). It appears to be only on Cyprus that the manufacture of wheelmade and handmade forms of identical types and wares occurred simultaneously for such a long time period, around 400 years, and that the full range of vessel sizes was produced from the first introduction of the technology.

Cypriot pottery styles at the transition to the Late Bronze Age are therefore characterised by the mixture of novel and traditional attributes and an increase in the number of ware-specific forms. Even within the handmade tradition, innovation is attested in vessel forms and in the use of a turntable for aspects of Base Ring production (Vaughan 1991: 122). The PW wares exhibit not only a novel surface treatment but also a range of new shapes and vessel attributes, such as kraters with ring bases and hook rims and carinated bowls. It has long been recognised that these owe some inspiration to mainland Levantine forms (Catling 1957: 59; Åström 1972a: 232). Whilst broad comparisons may be drawn with mainland coastal sites that also have Middle Cypriot painted pottery imports, such as shallow bowls and kraters from Tell Arqa Phases M and N (Thalmann *et al.* 2006: Pls. 80–83, 93, 95–97, some with similarities particularly to fig. 5.2 E), the seeming rapidity with which mainland-inspired forms were given a particular Cypriot twist precludes pinning down specific connections. For example, certain forms, such as 'cups' with vertical handles

(fig. 5.2 C and D), were only manufactured for a short time in LC IA. Whilst the carinated shape of some of the cups seems to indicate mainland influence, the addition of a handle appears to be Cypriot-inspired. Innovative features also occur in combination with more traditional Cypriot forms, such as round-based juglets with high vertical handles – still using the Cypriot handle attachment technique of inserting the lower end of the handle through the body wall (see fig. 5.2 for examples of these styles).

Pottery production workshops have been excavated in LC I settlement contexts at Toumba tou Skourou (Vermeule and Wolsky 1990), Phlamoudhi-Melissa (Smith 2008) and at the isolated LC II production site of Sanidha (Todd *et al.* 1993), but no plain or wheelmade varieties were produced at these localities. Wasters found in quantity at Kalopsidha (Åström 1966: 8) and Kourion-Bamboula (Daniel 1938: 266) have been held to indicate that pottery production was carried out at these sites as well. Local production of many wares at Enkomi has also been asserted, based upon the presence of over-fired vessels (Keswani 1991: 112). None of the Enkomi examples, however, were wasters, and all were functional, if misshapen, vessels. The similarity in fabrics of the bulk of the assemblage (see table 5.2) also suggests specialised manufacture in dedicated workshops within the vicinity of the local area, but there is no evidence for production within the site of Enkomi itself.

The main local Enkomi fabric used for handmade and wheelmade vessels is cream-buff-pink (greenish when over-fired) calcareous marl containing varying quantities of alluvial sand (see table 5.2). Handmade and wheelmade fabrics are visually indistinguishable and distinctive from the earlier handmade fabrics from the site of Kalopsidha and the Karpas Peninsula. In addition to the use of this distinctive local fabric for the bulk of the PW varieties, the Red Slip, Black Slip, some White Painted handmade styles and White Painted Wheelmade II wares were also produced in typologically identical forms, primarily large jugs with trefoil mouths, such as the example in fig. 5.3. This suggests that the same potters were making the plain and decorated styles. The uniformity of fabrics probably occurred due to a combination of factors: 1) the exploitation of new clay and/or temper sources resulting from the move to the coast; and 2) the imitation of tempering techniques by potters attempting to create vessels as close to the appearance of new styles and techniques as possible. The variability of surface finishes may indicate that potters continued production of more traditional styles to ensure a market for their products. There was no standardisation that would suggest mass production (Keswani 1991), but the use of visually identical fabrics and types for the handmade and wheelmade versions probably reflects attempts to achieve a superficial uniformity of the vessels. This suggests that pottery of plain, wheelmade appearance held a symbolic value contained within the uses to which these vessels were put.

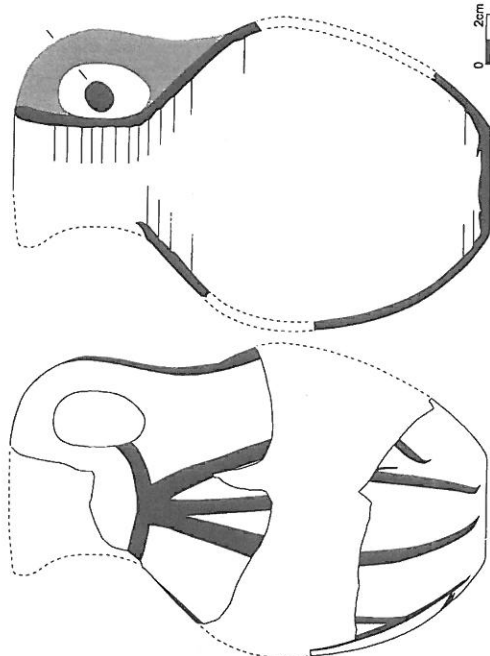


Figure 5.3 White Painted Wheelmade II ware large jug from Enkomi, typologically identical to Plain White Handmade and Plain White Wheelmade examples (Inv. no. 2336/5). Illustration L. Crewe.

The Use Context of Plain Pottery Styles on Cyprus

Apart from tomb deposition, there is very little information available on the specific use contexts of plain wares at the beginning of the Late Cypriot period, and the majority of the available evidence comes from redeposited sherds from stratified contexts at Enkomi (Crewe 2007a). Whether or not it was also the case at the other sites, certain wares at Enkomi during LC I were manufactured only in very specific forms. The Red Slip, Black Slip and White Painted Wheelmade II wares were used almost exclusively to manufacture the large jugs (such as the example shown in fig. 5.3). In contrast, PW (and also some of the painted wheelmade) was initially introduced as a multipurpose ware, and during Late Cypriot I, it included the full complement of storage and serving vessels.

Some of the larger open vessels include basins, but a significant number are kraters (fig. 5.2 G; and Åström 1972b: figs. LXII–LXXI for examples). The krater, typologically similar to Middle Bronze II Levantine examples (Amiran 1970: 99–101; Thalmann *et al.* 2006: Pl. 100), is a significant addition to the Cypriot repertoire and was manufactured in a range of handmade and wheelmade wares by Late Cypriot II. The earliest examples occur only in wheelmade wares, and there seems to have been a strong and deliberate

association with this type of vessel and the new technology. The overwhelming majority of all Late Cypriot IA wheelmade types are communal (kraters and large jugs) and individual (small cups and bowls) serving vessels. Considered as a group, these types may comprise a 'drinking set'. By the beginning of the Late Cypriot, it is likely that a more formalised etiquette, at least as enacted by eastern Cypriot groups, had developed around wine consumption. This is signalled by the introduction of a new range of plain wheelmade serving vessels of Levantine inspiration (including kraters), almost certainly emulating mainland consumption behaviours (Crewe 2007b: 229). It is here that the co-occurrence of quantities of imported Canaanite jars (probably containing wine) and the manufacture and use of the plain ware vessel types in feasting events support the thesis that the adoption of new practices around communal consumption is key to understanding the introduction of plain wares. Recognisably 'standardised' containers are likely to have impacted, transformed and reflected Cypriot ways of ordering the world and were connected to the production and manipulation of surplus goods and the process of commodification of materials and people as Cypriot populations became increasingly familiar with the urban societies of the eastern Mediterranean.

The introduction of wheelmade pottery, and particularly the PW ware, almost certainly occurred as a by-product of the emulation of Levantine feasting/drinking practices. Throughout the Late Cypriot period, the communal, and possibly more formal, feasting components of the drinking set – the kraters and jugs – continued to be manufactured in PW, but the vessels used by individual participants were replaced during Late Cypriot IIA–B by the more traditional styles of Base Ring and White Slip, along with the later introduction of the painted Mycenaean wares. By LC IIA–B the repertoire of PW vessels used in the settlement was almost entirely restricted to large food/liquid closed vessels or large open types. It would appear that tastes at Enkomi were momentarily overruled by the novelty of 'urban' Levantine styles, but the Cypriot preference for fine, burnished or decorated thin-walled drinking vessels, and vessels with round bases, reasserted itself through time as an island-wide Cypriot identity and as a greater sense of confidence in their new role developed. During Late Cypriot II, the new *practices* associated with the plain wares were retained but the styles themselves seem to lose some of their cachet, certainly in tombs by LC IIC (Keswani 1991: 113–14), and probably in settlement contexts during LC IIA–B. The one context at Enkomi that may illuminate changing fashions in the use of plain wares by elites is the ceramic repertoire of LC IIA2–B Room 142 in Area I. The deposit consisted primarily of small bowls manufactured in White Slip and Base Ring wares and imported Mycenaean kraters, cups and small closed vessels along with imported Canaanite and local storage vessels (Crewe 2007a: 128, table 17.23). This suggests that plain styles had been relegated to a largely domestic or storage function by this phase.

Conclusions

The appearance and development of PW on Cyprus is associated with a number of innovations, not only in pottery styles but also transformations in the scale and nature of Cypriot community interactions on Cyprus and with the wider eastern Mediterranean. The introduction and production of plain pottery was a deliberate choice, probably intimately associated with the adoption of Levantine consumption practices centred on creating cohesion in new coastal communities, which included people transplanted from their traditional, village-based kin groups. This may be particularly relevant to Enkomi as it appears that the settlement was founded by different groups from the inland Mesaoria and the Karpas Peninsula with no pre-existing ties, which may have created a greater necessity for a new expression of group affiliation. Whether plain wares were initially adopted as an attempt by aggrandisers to signal access to imported produce and sophisticated 'urban' life ways at the expense of the general population or whether the entire community participated is uncertain. In any case, as pottery production was not restricted to urban centres it would not have been possible to control the esoteric knowledge of the new styles and techniques. This led to a situation where handmade and wheelmade versions of the same styles coexisted at sites throughout the island. Any attempts to control the new styles or technologies were ultimately unsuccessful. It may have been this that led to the later elite strategy of restricting the circulation of imported Mycenaean drinking sets to within the coastal centres during LC II (Steel 1998: 291–92).

It is likely that pottery with the *appearance* of being plain and/or mass produced was linked to communal consumption behaviour, and therefore to manifestations of group identity (Pollock 1983: 360), intentionally acquired and impacting on all sectors of society. By the beginning of the Late Cypriot, it is likely that a more formalised etiquette, at least as enacted by eastern Cypriot groups, had developed around wine consumption, signalled by the introduction of a new range of plain wheelmade serving vessels of Levantine inspiration (including kraters), almost certainly emulating mainland consumption behaviours (Crewe 2007b: 229). Initially, the style and technology were wholeheartedly embraced at Enkomi and probably at the other new coastal centres. Inland sites, such as Kalopsidha, maintained their earlier local handmade painted traditions until the greater island-wide unity of the LC II period (c. 1450 BC). A *decrease* in quantity and diversity of wheelmade wares by LC IIA would appear to indicate a decrease in status-related applications associated with the first true built urban environments on Cyprus. This was concurrent with an *increase* in production of fine and decorated handmade wares for individual use, possibly reflecting resistance to the wholesale importation of a foreign aesthetic and a greater sense of self-assurance in Cypriot society. It was not until the late 13th century BC (LC II),

that the handmade and earlier wheelmade forms began to be replaced by a complex of painted and plain wheelmade wares (some imitating Mycenaean styles), which may be considered to represent the first truly standardised and mass produced pottery repertoire on the island (Sherratt 1991: 193).

As with many of the material choices made by prehistoric Cypriot populations, the introduction, manufacture and use of plain wares take an unexpected trajectory. Cyprus may be unique in the region in introducing wheelmade pottery in the absence of an urban environment with bureaucratic administrative features and entrenched social inequality, but it is also exceptional in remaining for so long out of the mainstream eastern Mediterranean interaction sphere given its geographical proximity to Egypt and the Levant. The integration of the island is sudden, and this perhaps explains the selective adoptions and rejections over time of various facets of complex societies. To then devalue the plain wares at the beginning of LC II, when we do see institutionalised hierarchies and incipient urban centres, in favour of increased use of more 'traditional' handmade forms of pottery is also unusual. Finally, it was through the interaction of potters that these technological exchanges were affected, whether foreign potters on Cyprus, Cypriot potters abroad, elite gift exchange or a combination of all these scenarios. Whilst impossible to detect in the archaeological record, movements of people probably increased through the period, culminating in the 13th-century cultural *koïnè* when we do see Cyprus adopt a range of Aegean-inspired plain and painted urban wheelmade styles.

Acknowledgements

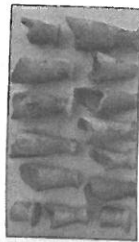
I would like to thank Claudia Glatz for the organisation of a most interesting workshop and the invitation to participate in this volume. Thanks also to Karen Slej and staff at the Medelhavsmuseet for permission to examine material from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition collections and to Rachael Sparks, Keeper of the UCL Institute of Archaeology collections, for allowing me to examine the Tell el-'Ajul material from Petrie's excavations.

References

- Amiran, R., 1970. *Ancient Pottery of the Holy Land, from its Beginnings in the Neolithic Period to the End of the Iron Age*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Artzy, M., I. Perlman and F. Asaro, 1976. 'Wheel-made Pottery of the M.C.III and L.C.I Periods in Cyprus Identified by Neutron Activation Analysis'. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 20–28.
- Åström, P., 1966. *Excavations at Kalopsidha and Ayios Iakovos in Cyprus*. Lund: Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology II.
- 1972a. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition Vol. IV, Part 1B: The Middle Cypriot Bronze Age*. Lund: Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
- 1972b. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition Vol. IV, Part 1C: The Late Cypriot Bronze Age. Architecture and Pottery*. Lund: Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
- 1972c. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition Vol. IV, Part 1D: The Late Cypriot Bronze Age: Relative and Absolute Chronology, Foreign Relations, Historical Conclusions*. Lund: Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
- Beck, P., 2000. 'Chapter 10. Area A: Middle Bronze Age IIA Pottery'. In *Aphek-Antipatris I: Excavation of Areas A and B. The 1972–1976 Seasons*, edited by M. Kochavi, P. Beck and E. Yadin, 173–238. Tel Aviv: Emery and Claire Yass Publications in Archaeology of the Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.
- Catling, H. W., 1957. 'The Bronze Age Pottery'. In *A Late Bronze Age Sanctuary in Cyprus*, edited by J. Du Plat Taylor and M. Pigadhes, 26–59. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum.
- Courty, M.-A., and V. Roux, 1995. 'Identification of Wheel Throwing on the Basis of Ceramic Surface Features and Microfabrics'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 22: 17–50.
- Crewe, L., 2007a. *Early Enkomi: Regionalism, Trade and Society at the Beginning of the Late Bronze Age on Cyprus*. Oxford: BAR International Series 1706.
- 2007b. 'Sophistication in Simplicity: The First Production of Wheelmade Pottery on Late Bronze Age Cyprus'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 20(2): 209–38.
- 2009. 'Regionalism and the First Appearance of Plain White Handmade Ware in the Middle Cypriot Bronze Age'. In *The Formation of Cyprus in the 2nd Millennium B.C. Studies in Regionalism during the Middle and Late Bronze Age. Proceedings of a Workshop, Held at the 4th Cypriological Congress, May 2nd 2008, Nicosia*, edited by I. Hein, 79–90. Vienna: Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 20, Austrian Academy of Sciences.
- 2010. 'Rethinking Kalopsidha: From Specialisation to State Marginalization'. In *The Development of Pre-state Communities in the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honour of Edgar Peltenburg*, edited by D. Bolger and L. Maguire, 63–71. Oxford: Oxbow.
- 2012. 'Beyond Copper: Commodities and Values in Middle Bronze Cypriot Levantine Exchanges'. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 31(3): 225–43.
- Crewe, L., and C. Knappett, 2012. 'Technological Innovation and Island Societies: Wheelmade Pottery on Bronze and Iron Age Crete and Cyprus'. In *Parallel Lives: Ancient Island Societies in Crete and Cyprus*, edited by G. Cadogan, M. Iacovou, K. Kapota and J. Whitley, 175–85. London: British School at Athens Studies series.
- Daniel, J. F., 1938. 'Excavations at Kourion. The Late Bronze Age Settlement – Provisional Report'. *American Journal of Archaeology* 42(2): 261–75.
- Dikaïos, P., 1969–1971. *Enkomi. Excavations 1948–1958. Volumes I–III*. Mainz: von Zabern.
- Dunn-Vaturi, A.-E., 2003. *Vounous. C. F. A. Schaeffer's Excavations in 1933. Tombs 49–79*. Jonsered: Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 130. Paul Åströms Förlag.
- Frankel, D., 1988. 'Pottery Production in Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus: Assessing the Problem'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 1(2): 27–55.
- Georgiou, G., 2009. 'The Dynamism of Central Cyprus during Middle Cypriot III: Funerary Evidence from Nicosia Agia Paraskevi'. In *The Formation of Cyprus*

- in the 2nd Millennium B.C. *Studies in Regionalism during the Middle and Late Bronze Age. Proceedings of a Workshop, Held at the 4th Cypriological Congress, May 2nd 2008, Nicosia*, edited by I. Hein, 65–78. Vienna: Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 20, Austrian Academy of Sciences.
- Gjerstad, E., 1926. *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*. Uppsala: Lundequistska.
- Herscher, E., 1972. 'A Potter's Error: Aspects of Middle Cypriote III'. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 22–33.
- 1978. 'The Bronze Age Cemetery at Lapithos, Vrysi tou Barba, Cyprus: Results of the University of Pennsylvania Museum Excavation, 1931'. Unpublished PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.
- Jacobs, A., 2009. 'Considering Ceramic Variability on Late Bronze Age Cyprus: A Case-study: The Plain Vessels of Alassa Pano-Mandilaris'. In *The Formation of Cyprus in the 2nd Millennium B.C. Studies in Regionalism during the Middle and Late Bronze Age. Proceedings of a Workshop, Held at the 4th Cypriological Congress, May 2nd 2008, Nicosia*, edited by I. Hein, 91–106. Vienna: Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 20, Austrian Academy of Sciences.
- Jeffra, C., 2011. 'An Examination of Emic Possibilities: Experimental Archaeology and Cypriot Ceramic Typology'. In *Archaeological Ceramics: A Review of Current Research*, edited by S. Scarcella, 103–16. Oxford: BAR International Series 2193.
- Jung, R., 2011. 'Changes in the Cypriot Pottery Repertoire of the 13th and 12th Centuries BCE and their Historical Interpretation'. In *On Cooking Pots, Drinking Cups, Loomweights and Ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and Neighbouring Regions. An International Archaeological Symposium Held at Nicosia, November 6th–7th 2010*, edited by V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka, 57–86. Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation.
- Keswani, P. S., 1991. 'A Preliminary Investigation of Systems of Ceramic Production and Distribution in Cyprus During the Late Bronze Age'. In *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record*, edited by J. A. Barlow, D. L. Bolger and B. Kling, 97–118. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- 1996. 'Hierarchies, Heterarchies and Urbanisation Processes: The View from Bronze Age Cyprus'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 9: 211–50.
- 2009. 'Exploring Regional Variation in Late Cypriot II–III Pithoi: Perspectives from Alassa and Kalavassos'. In *The Formation of Cyprus in the 2nd Millennium B.C. Studies in Regionalism during the Middle and Late Bronze Age. Proceedings of a Workshop, Held at the 4th Cypriological Congress, May 2nd 2008, Nicosia*, edited by I. Hein, 107–26. Vienna: Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 20, Austrian Academy of Sciences.
- Knapp, A. B., 1996. 'Settlement and Society on Late Bronze Age Cyprus: Dynamics and Development'. In *Late Bronze Age Settlement in Cyprus: Function and Relationship*, edited by P. Åström and E. Herscher, 54–80. Lund: Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology Pocket-Book CXXVI.
- Knappett, C., 1999. 'Tradition and Innovation in Pottery Forming Technology: Wheel Throwing at Middle Minoan Knossos'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 94: 101–29.
- 2004. 'Technological Innovation and Social Diversity at Middle Minoan Knossos'. In *Knossos: Palace, City, State*, edited by G. Cadogan, E. Hatziaki and A. Vasilakis, 257–65. Athens: British School at Athens Studies 12.
- Kouka, O., 2011. 'Symbolism, Ritual Feasting and Ethnicity in Early Bronze Age Cyprus and Anatolia'. In *On Cooking Pots, Drinking Cups, Loomweights and Ethnicity in Bronze Age Cyprus and Neighbouring Regions. An International Archaeological Symposium Held at Nicosia, November 6th–7th 2010*, edited by V. Karageorghis and O. Kouka, 43–56. Nicosia: A. G. Leventis Foundation.
- McGovern, P. E., 2000. *The Foreign Relations of the 'Hyksos'. A Neutron Activation Study of Middle Bronze Age Pottery from the Eastern Mediterranean*. Oxford: BAR International Series 888.
- Maguire, L. C., 2009. *Tell el-Daba XXI. The Cypriot Pottery and its Circulation in the Levant. Ausgrabungen in Tell el-Daba*, edited by M. Bietak. Untersuchungen der Zweigstelle Kairo des österreichischen Archäologischen Instituts 33. Wien: Verlag der österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Merrillees, R. S., 1971. 'The Early History of LC I'. *Levant* 3: 56–79.
- Peltenburg, E. J., 1996. 'From Isolation to State Formation in Cyprus, c. 3500–1500 BC'. In *The Development of the Cypriot Economy from the Prehistoric Period to the Present*, edited by V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides, 17–43. Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation.
- Pilides, D., 2000. *Pithoi of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus: Types from the Major Sites of the Period*. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- Pollock, S., 1983. 'Style and Information: An Analysis of Susiana Ceramics'. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 2: 354–90.
- Roux, V., 2003. 'Ceramic Standardization and Intensity of Production: Quantifying Degrees of Specialization'. *American Antiquity*, 68(4): 768–82.
- Roux, V., and M.-A. Courty, 1998. 'Identification of Wheel-fashioning Methods: Technological Analysis of 4th–3rd Millennium BC Oriental Ceramics'. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 25: 747–63.
- Şaioğlu, V., 2005. *The Anatolian Trade Network and the Izmir Region During the Early Bronze Age*. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 24(4): 339–61.
- Sherratt, E. S., 1991. 'Cypriot Pottery of Aegean Type in LC II–III: Problems of Classification, Chronology and Interpretation'. In *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record*, edited by J. A. Barlow, D. L. Bolger and B. Kling, 185–98. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Sjöqvist, E., 1940. *Reports on Excavations in Cyprus. Revised Reprint from the Swedish Cyprus Expedition. Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus 1927–1931. Volume I. Text and Plates*. Stockholm: Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
- Smith, J. S., 2008. 'Settlement to Sanctuary at Phlamoudhi-Melissa'. In *Views from Phlamoudhi, Cyprus*, edited by J. S. Smith, 45–68. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Volume 63. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Smith, L. M. V., J. D. Bourriau and M. Serpico, 2000. 'The Provenance of Late Bronze Age Transport Amphorae found in Egypt'. *Internet Archaeology* 9. <http://intarch.ac.uk/issue9/bourriau/>
- Steel, L., 1998. 'The Social Impact of Mycenaean Imported Pottery in Cyprus'. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 93: 285–96.
- Thalman, J.-P. with contributions by H. Charaf-Mullins, E. Coqueugnot and G. Gernez, 2006. *Tell Arqa I. Le niveau de l'âge du bronze*. Beyrouth: Institut français du Proche-Orient.

- Todd, I. A., and D. Pilides (with Hadjicosti, M.), 1993. 'Excavations at Sanidha 1992'. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 97–146.
- Vaughan, S. J., 1991. 'Material and Technical Classification of Base Ring Ware: A New Fabric Typology'. In *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record*, edited by J. A. Barlow, D. L. Bolger and B. Kling, 119–30. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Vermeule, E. D. T., and F. Z. Wolsky, 1990. *Tombha tou Skourou. A Bronze Age Pottery Quarter on Morphou Bay in Cyprus*. The Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts Boston Cyprus Expedition. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.



6 Conspicuous Consumption of Inconspicuous Pottery: The Case of the Late Bronze Age Southern Levant

Sharon Zuckerman

The Late Bronze Age (1550–1150 BC) was a period of intensive political and social interaction in the eastern Mediterranean and the southern Levant. Polities organised around the palatial centres of empires (the Hittite, Egyptian, Assyrian and Babylonian), and the petty kingdoms of Cyprus, the Levantine coast and the southern Levant were involved in an intricate web of international relations in which they exchanged letters, diplomatic gifts, ideas and mutual influences (Bunimovitz 1995; Liverani 2008). The rulers of these polities held communal feasts and public rituals as a means of legitimising their rule and conspicuously showing their political and social power. Such feasts are depicted in iconographic works and described in written documents (Yasur-Landau 2005; Zuckerman 2007b). Residues of such communal feasts are represented in the archaeological record through the assemblages of excavated structures, which served as loci for such events. The material residues of feasts include archaeozoological and archaeobotanical remains, as well as luxury objects made of precious materials and vessels used for the storage, preparation and consumption of food and drink (Hayden 2001; Dabney *et al.* 2004). An important place, at least in terms of their relative quantities, is held by ceramic vessels. These form the majority of every assemblage connected to feasting activities, and their sheer quantity is often the main reason for the interpretation of public rituals or feasting for an assemblage.

Plain Pottery Traditions of the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East: Production, Use, and Social Significance, edited by Claudia Glatz, 135–152. © 2015 Left Coast Press, Inc. All rights reserved.