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# Archaeometric approaches to ceramics production and imports in Medieval Cyprus

S.Y. Waksman

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# CYPRIOT MEDIEVAL CERAMICS

Reconsiderations and New Perspectives

Edited by  
Demetra Papanikola-Bakirtzi  
and  
Nicholas Coureas



A. G. Leventis Foundation



Cyprus Research Centre  
Nicosia

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## ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO CERAMICS PRODUCTION AND IMPORTS IN MEDIEVAL CYPRUS

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Although pottery found on Cyprus has been the subject of many laboratory investigations using chemical analysis (e.g. Jones 1986 for a review until 1983, Rautman *et al.* 1993, Gomez *et al.* 2002, Picon and Blondé 2002, Hatcher 2007), very few were devoted to the medieval period. The pioneer work of Megaw and Jones (1983, Jones 1986) led the way, followed by Megaw, Armstrong and Hatcher (2003, Armstrong and Hatcher 1997) and only a few others, including the author (Waksman 2002, Waksman *et al.* 2003, 2005, Waksman and François 2004-2005, Waksman and von Wartburg 2006, von Wartburg *et al.* 2010, Charalambous *et al.* 2010, 2012). From the early to the post-Medieval periods, research carried out at the "Laboratoire de Céramologie" in Lyon concerned sites in different parts of Cyprus (including the northern part of the island), various categories of ceramics (common and cooking wares, table wares, industrial ceramics), and may refer to data included in the large Lyon database of chemical analyses (e.g. Cypriot late Roman amphorae LRA1, Empeur and Picon 1989) (Fig. 1). In this paper, we would like to both summarize some of the results of

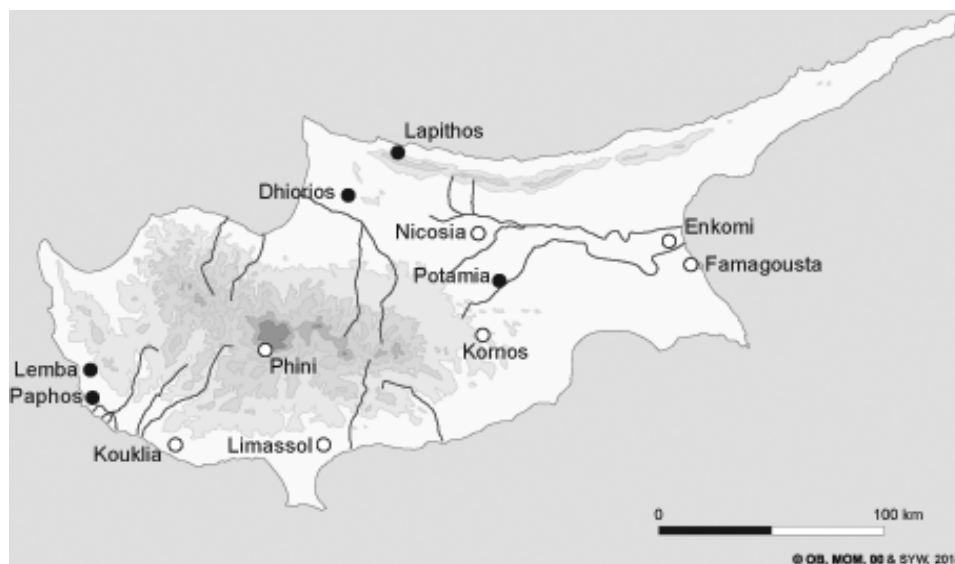


Fig. 1: Pottery production sites on Cyprus presented (black dots) or mentioned (white dots) in the text





this research and present as yet unpublished data, concerning local production and imports on Cyprus.

*The circulation of cooking wares in the early Byzantine period* (Figs 2-3, Table 1)<sup>1</sup>

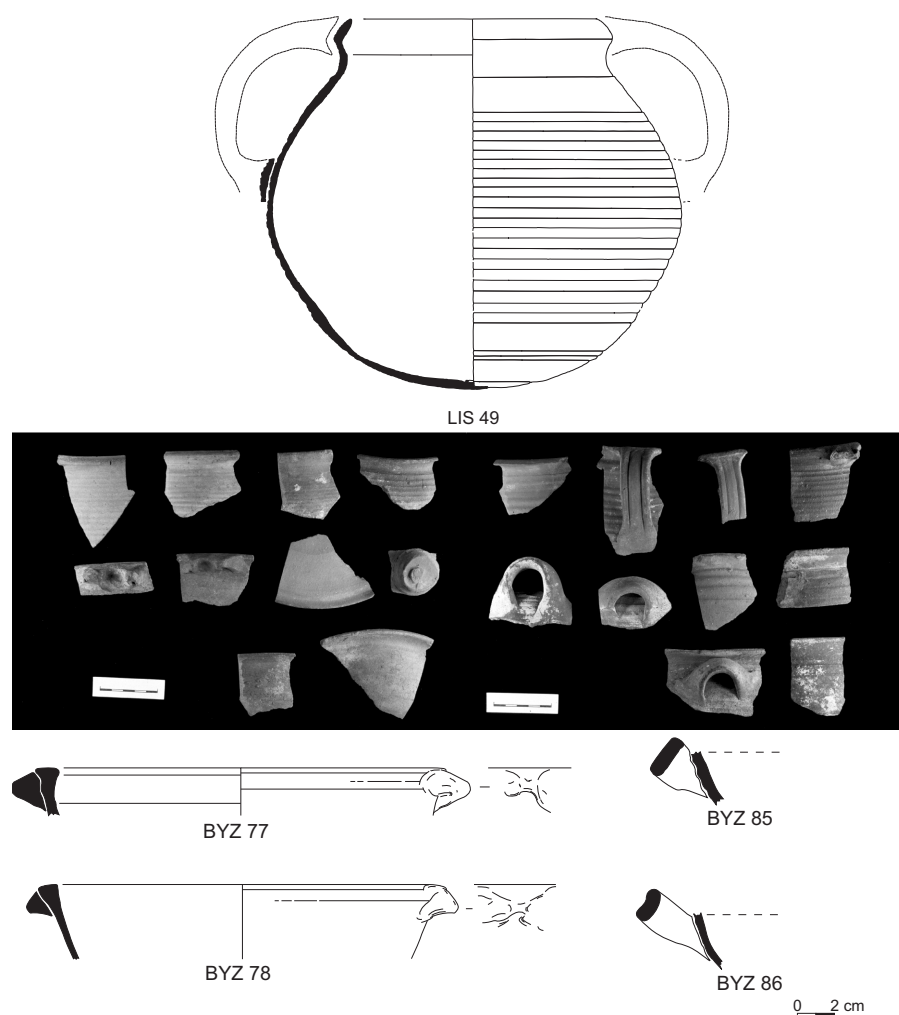


Fig. 2/Colour Pl. XVIIIa: CATHMA 11 type and Dhiorios reference group. Top: example of CATHMA 11 type from Saint-Blaise (J.-C. Trégliat). Middle: samples analyzed from Dhiorios workshop; left (from left to right, top to bottom): BYZ 73, 74, 87, 88, 77, 78, 84, 83, 81, 82; right (from left to right, top to bottom): BYZ 79, 80, 90, 89, 86, 85, 75, 76, 92, 91 (photos Y. Montmessin). Bottom: samples analyzed from Dhiorios workshop (S. Elaigne, C. Brun, S.Y. Waksman). Chemical data are detailed in Waksman *et al.* 2003

1. BYZ, LIS, LEV., numbers refer to Lyon laboratory ids.





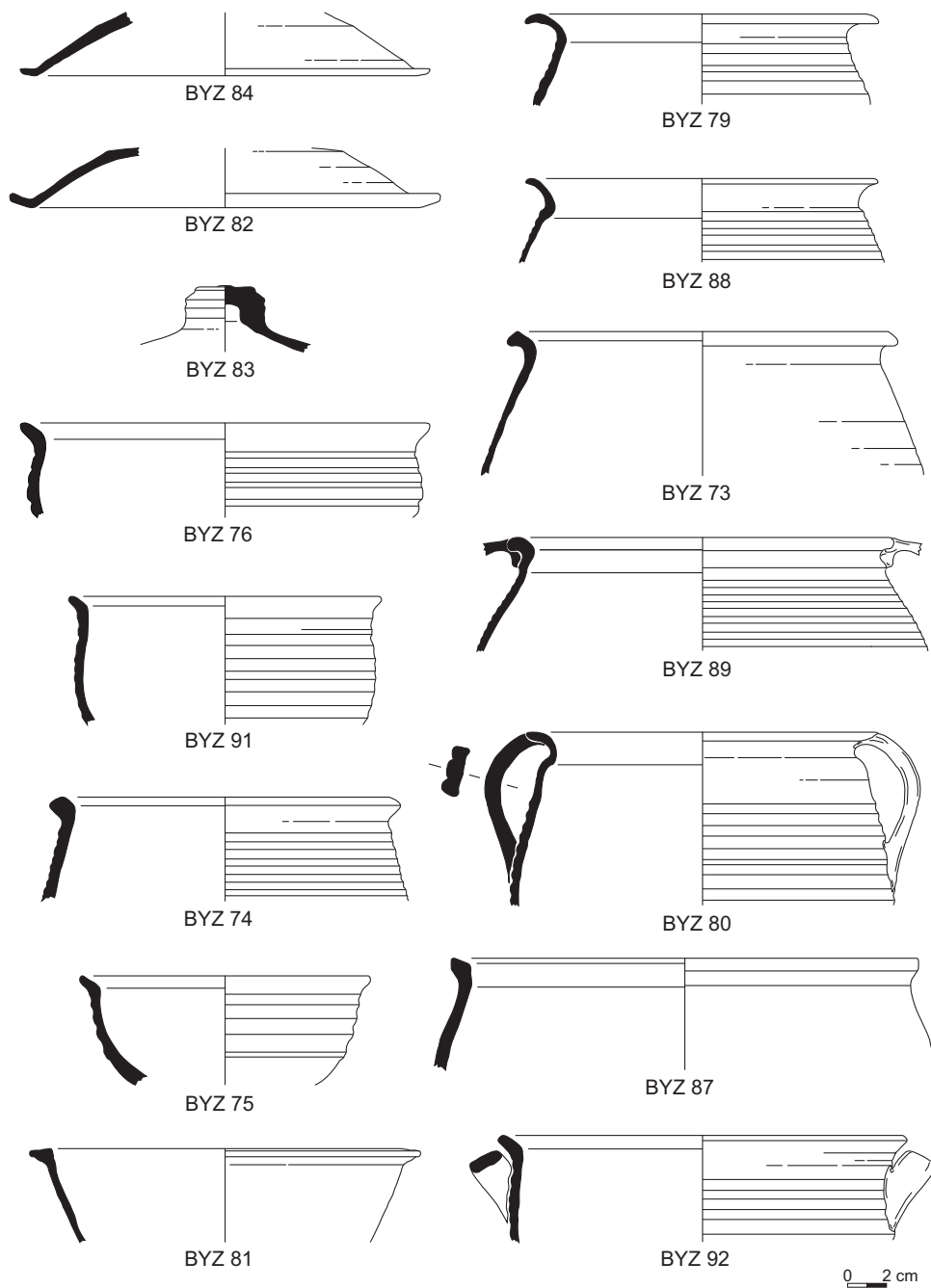


Fig. 3: Dhiorios reference group

Samples analyzed from Dhiorios workshop (S. Elaigne, C. Brun, S.Y. Waksman)  
 Chemical data are detailed in Waksman *et al.* 2003



Name	CaO	Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	TiO <sub>2</sub>	K <sub>2</sub> O	SiO <sub>2</sub>	Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	MgO	MnO	(Na <sub>2</sub> O)	(P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub> )	Zr	Sr	Rb	Zn	Cr	Ni	(La)	Ba	V	Ce
<b>Dhiorios workshop (n=20, Waksman et al. 2003)</b>																				
m	1.74	10.88	1.031	2.34	60.54	21.13	1.44	0.1357	0.46	0.09	209	123	120	107	708	176	57	348	193	95
σ	0.57	0.63	0.060	0.21	1.79	1.23	0.12	0.0206	0.09	0.01	13	27	11	47	186	10	7	28	18	8
<b>Crusader Beirut workshops table and cooking wares, red bodies (Waksman 2002)</b>																				
B1 (n=17)																				
m	11.26	9.92	1.777	0.92	61.23	12.97	1.16	0.1053	0.27	0.21	463	195	37	85	144	93	41	225	132	80
σ	3.36	0.80	0.158	0.21	4.16	0.99	0.23	0.0179	0.08	0.11	43	43	7	20	13	10	7	44	9	5
B2 (n=8)																				
m	1.66	9.92	1.790	0.81	69.89	14.65	0.77	0.1153	0.36	0.16	477	95	42	90	144	98	51	229	142	95
σ	0.55	0.97	0.193	0.23	2.51	1.31	0.07	0.0127	0.19	0.07	36	30	5	14	14	11	8	28	20	7
B3 (n=19)																				
m	2.09	8.26	1.790	0.43	73.60	12.66	0.67	0.0528	0.24	0.11	506	76	33	67	129	69	36	143	121	78
σ	1.82	0.97	0.178	0.08	3.25	1.02	0.14	0.0094	0.10	0.07	32	25	5	19	15	10	6	61	16	10
B4 (n=6)																				
m	11.93	7.98	1.476	0.58	65.42	11.07	0.96	0.0685	0.26	0.16	429	169	29	62	114	62	34	169	112	75
σ	2.46	0.51	0.157	0.10	1.62	0.65	0.15	0.0156	0.02	0.07	32	18	5	8	8	8	5	55	10	4
B5 (n=8)																				
m	1.19	11.46	2.319	0.66	66.34	16.67	0.79	0.0636	0.23	0.15	515	81	38	90	176	111	52	154	128	90
σ	0.26	0.87	0.184	0.08	1.57	1.05	0.08	0.0106	0.05	0.12	24	7	4	15	19	17	4	49	20	10
<b>table wares, buff bodies (n=26, Waksman 2011)</b>																				
m																				
m	32.14	6.82	1.012	0.68	47.04	9.12	2.05	0.0769	0.47	0.24	292	389	18	63	95	49	24	255	93	58
σ	4.96	0.57	0.105	0.23	4.24	0.77	0.86	0.0148	0.23	0.22	30	60	11	7	12	10	4	126	16	10

Table 1: Chemical compositions of samples from Dhiorios and from Beirut workshops (groups and sub-groups of red and buff wares in the latter case)

Major and minor elements are given in oxides weight %, trace elements in parts per million (ppm); m: mean, σ.: standard deviation, n: number of samples, ld: detection limit. Elements between brackets are indicative

A first case study focused on types of cooking wares which met with a large diffusion in the whole Mediterranean in the late Roman / early Byzantine period, and were thought to originate from its Eastern part (CATHMA<sup>2</sup> 1991, Waksman *et al.* 2003, 2005). One of this type, characterized by a concave rim (CATHMA type 11, Fig. 2), had previously been attributed to the Cypriot workshop of Dhiorios (Catling 1972). The publication of the excavations at Dhiorios was of major interest, as an example of workshop specializing in cooking wares, and unfortunately still remains too isolated a case.

The production of Dhiorios had been characterized chemically at the Fitch Laboratory in Athens (Megaw and Jones 1983) and in Lyon (Figs 2-3, Waksman *et al.* 2003). Chemical analyses of examples of CATHMA type 11 as well as of “Levantine” types (CATHMA types 4, 16, 29) found in various sites including Marseille and Beirut, showed that they all originated from the same production site (“Workshop X”), unlikely to be Dhiorios and probably located on the Levantine coast, possibly in the area of Tell Keisan (Waksman *et al.* 2003, 2005, Reynolds and Waksman 2007).<sup>3</sup> The result did not disagree with Catling’s publication, as CATHMA type 11 is in fact rare in Dhiorios itself, and may have been present there in a context of consumption and redistribution (warehouses) rather than in pottery dumps (Catling 1972, Waksman *et al.* 2005). Further work showed that CATHMA type 11 was in fact produced in many more workshops, including Cypriot ones (Gabrieli pers. comm.,<sup>4</sup> Reynolds and Waksman 2007),<sup>5</sup> but the long distance exports were only attributed to “Workshop X” products so far. It is noticeable that the latter do not seem to include any other category of pottery (fine wares, amphorae).

These results suggested the existence of more workshops specializing, like Dhiorios, in cooking wares, a feature which may be related to the specific technical requirements implied by their function (especially resistance to thermal stress, e.g. Picon 1995, Tite *et al.* 2001). Until recently, specialization occurred in traditional Cypriot workshops such as Kornos and Phini, famous for their common and cooking wares (Ionas 2000). Our study also pointed out the still under-estimated circulation of cooking wares in ancient times, as shown by our next case study as well.

2. The CATHMA association gathers ceramologists interested in the study of late Roman and early Medieval wares (cathma.ass.free.fr).

3. For a detailed typo-chronology of “Workshop X” production: Waksman *et al.* 2005, Reynolds and Waksman 2007.

4. According to petrographic analyses carried out by J. Gordon-Smith. Forthcoming information by R. S. Gabrieli and J. Gordon-Smith on the Levantine Ceramics Project website: <http://www.levantineceramics.org>.

5. To which extent the diffusion of cooking wares models, which finds another good example at the same period in the so-called sliced-rim casseroles (Waksman *et al.* 2005), also implied the diffusion of specific recipes and/or ways of cooking is under question; see also *infra*, POMEDOR project.

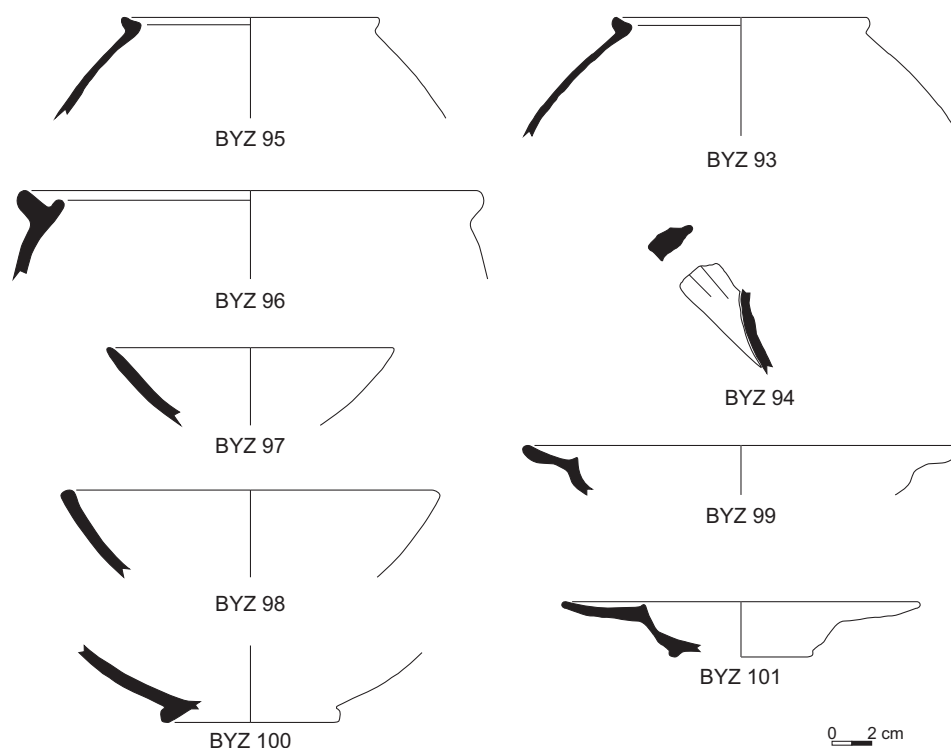


Fig. 4/Colour Pl. XVIIIb: Levantine imports on Cyprus

Top: samples analyzed from Saranda Kolones, Levantine imports from Beirut (S. Elaigne, C. Brun, S.Y. Waksman)

Bottom right: samples analyzed from Saranda Kolones, Levantine imports from Beirut (from left to right, top to bottom): LEV 93, 96, 98, 95, 94, 100 (photo Y. Montmessin, not to scale).

Chemical data are detailed in Waksman 2002

Bottom left: example of Beirut ware (LEV356) of "Islamic" type found in Tell Arqa (Lebanon), similar to ceramics found in Nicosia (von Wartburg and Violaris 2009) (photo S.Y. Waksman, not to scale)



### *Levantine imports in Cyprus at the Crusader period (Fig. 4, Table 1)*

That cooking wares continued to circulate on a fairly large scale in subsequent periods was shown by the diffusion of Beirut products. Both table and cooking wares attributed to the Levantine area were found on Cyprus in significant quantities, especially in the region of Paphos (Megaw 1972, Megaw and Jones 1983, von Wartburg 1997, 1998, Gabrieli 2006, 2007, 2008, von Wartburg and Violaris 2009). Most of them, including sgraffito and reserved-slip table wares, cooking pots and baking dishes (Fig. 4), were shown to originate from the workshops of Beirut (Waksman 2002). Beirut products were very popular at the time in the whole Levantine area (Pringle 1986, Waksman 2002, Stern and Waksman 2003) and beyond (François *et al.* 2003, Waksman *et al.* 2009). Although quantitative data are still rare (Gabrieli 2006, Stern 1997, 2012, Stern and Waksman 2003), cooking wares appear as the dominant category in this diffusion. Other wares (especially slip-painted wares, Fig. 4: BYZ 97 to 100), sharing some common chemical features but seen as the output of distinct, not as yet located, workshop(s), are found associated in the same consumption contexts and probably followed the same trade networks (Waksman 2002, Waksman *et al.* 2008). Information provided by Cypriot sites (e.g. Megaw 1971, 1972, Gabrieli 2006, 2007, 2008, von Wartburg 1998, 2007, von Wartburg and Violaris 2009), together with other consumption contexts in the Levantine area (Stern 1997, 2012, Avissar and Stern 2005), are precious in understanding both these connections and the typo-chronologies of the different wares with greater precision.

“Crusader” Beirut also manufactured table wares of a different technological tradition, more specifically related to the “Islamic” world (Fig. 4, François *et al.* 2003, Waksman forthcoming a). Similar examples were found in Nicosia in twelfth century contexts (von Wartburg and Violaris 2009, von Wartburg *et al.* 2010), together with other possible Beirut products (cooking wares, sgraffito).<sup>6</sup> Ceramics of “Islamic” type however seem to be rare on Cyprus (von Wartburg *et al.* 2010) when compared to “Levantine” types from Beirut, and especially to imports of Byzantine types.

### *The Byzantine table wares koine (Figs 5-9, Tables 2-3)*

When looking more specifically at table wares, the dominant picture in both local production and imports is that of a territory belonging to the *koine* of Byzantine ceramics (e.g. Papanikola-Bakirtzis 2012). Further connections are seen with some areas of the Levant, especially the region around the gulf of Iskenderun (Alexandretta) and its productions related to the Port Saint Symeon

6. These attributions still need to be confirmed.

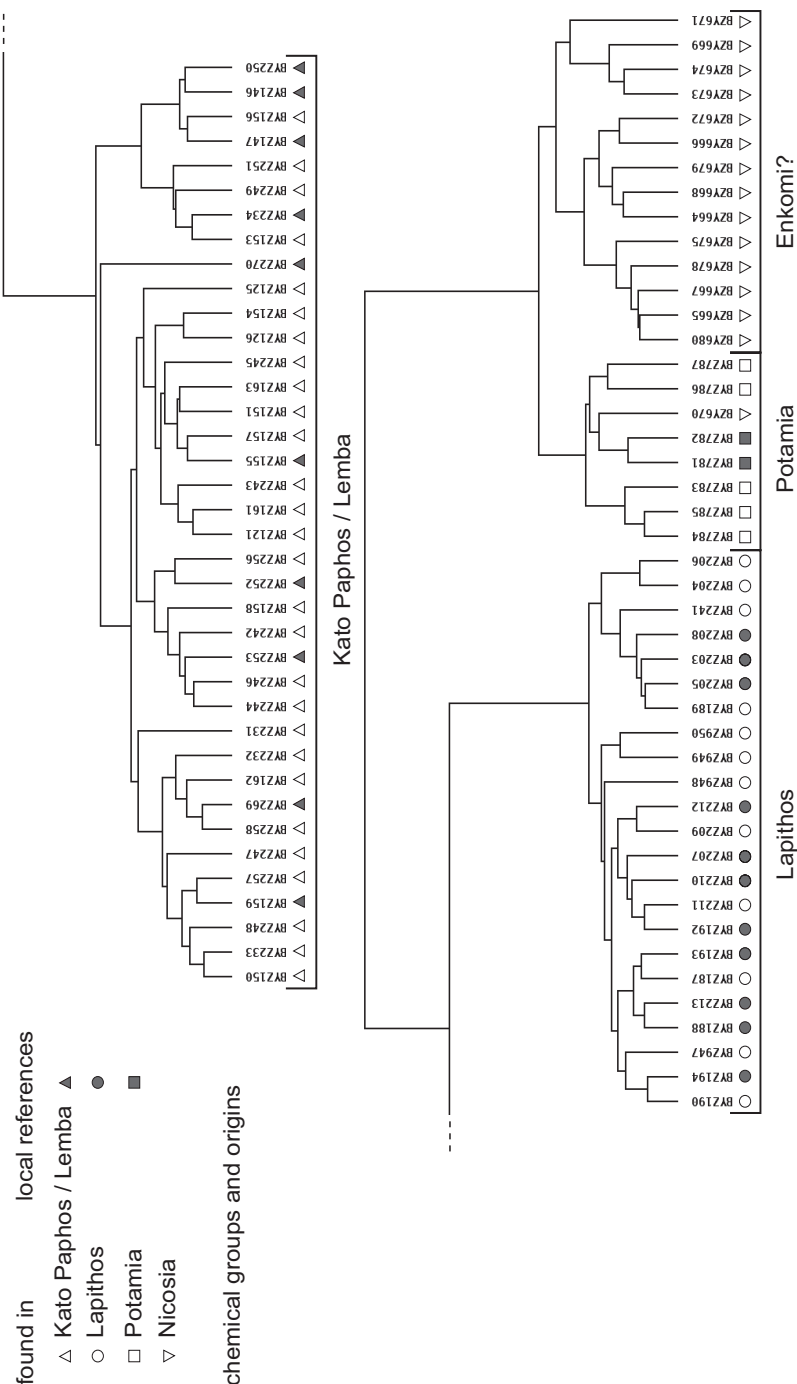


Fig. 5: Classification according to chemical compositions of samples (cf. Figs 6-9 and Table 2) from production contexts in Kato Paphos/Lemba, Lapithos, Potamia and from consumption contexts in the monastery of Saint Theodoros in Nicosia. Samples are identified by their laboratory number. Symbols indicate the site they come from, reference samples for local production (tripod stilt and pottery wasters) are pointed out (black symbols). The main compositional groups are underlined, the corresponding origin (Kato Paphos/Lemba, Lapithos and Potamia) or hypothesis of origin (Enkomi?) is indicated

Ware (von Wartburg 2003, 2007, Redford 2004, this volume, Blackman and Redford 2005). The relationships between Cypriot, Byzantine and Levantine wares are complex, and the role of the Cypriot material in the study of the “Byzantine table wares *koine*” *largo sensu* has been fundamental.

Chemical analyses contributed to this study, by re-defining productions on the basis of the composition of the clay material used by the potters. They provided tools for research both on archaeologically attested workshops, and on wares manufactured in workshops not located so far. In the middle, late and post-Byzantine periods, workshops of glazed table wares, decorated with the sgraffito or slip-painting technique, are archaeologically known in or around Paphos, Lapithos, Fama-gusta and Nicosia<sup>7</sup> (Megaw and Jones 1983, Papanikola Bakirtzis 1989, 1993,

<b>Potamia, common wares</b>		
BZY781	François and Vallauri 2001	// p. 542 fig. 9 n° 1
BZY782	François and Vallauri 2001	// p. 542 fig. 9 n° 1
BZY783	Vallauri 2004	// p. 232 fig. 1
BZY784	Vallauri 2004	// p. 232 fig. 3
BZY785	Vallauri 2004	// p. 232 fig. 1
	François and Vallauri 2001	// p. 529 fig. 1
BZY787	Vallauri 2004	// p. 234 fig. 4
<b>Lemba, table wares</b>		
BYZ121	von Wartburg 1997	p. 334 fig. 8 CLBF 1.43
BYZ126	von Wartburg 1997	p. 330 fig. 3 CLBF 1.44 ; pl. LXVIII fig. 1 n°1
BYZ151	von Wartburg 1997	p. 330 fig. 7 CLBF 4.2
BYZ153	von Wartburg 1997	p. 330 fig. 3 CLBF 2.27
BYZ158	von Wartburg 1997	p. 330 fig. 7 CLBF 2.20
BYZ159	von Wartburg 1997	p. 330 fig. 7 CLBF 2.21
BYZ161	von Wartburg 1997	p. 334 fig. 6 CLBF 4.3
BYZ163	von Wartburg 1997	p. 330 fig. 4 CLBF 2.32
BYZ231	von Wartburg 1997	p. 332 fig. 5 CLBF 2.25
BYZ233	von Wartburg 1997	p. 334 fig. 8 CLBF 1.28
BYZ234	von Wartburg 1997	p. 330 fig. 4 CLBF 1.1
<b>Kouklia, sugar moulds and molasse jar</b>		
BYZ262	von Wartburg this volume	TST 373.Z1
BYZ263	von Wartburg this volume	// CH 5.Z495
BYZ267	Maier and von Wartburg 1986	// p. 58, pl. XV:2
BYZ291	von Wartburg this volume	TST 277.Z1
BYZ292	von Wartburg this volume	// CH 10.Z1

Table 2: Samples illustrated in other papers

7. Other workshops were mentioned, for instance in Soloi and Limassol, but we do not know about the associated material (Papanikola-Bakirtzi 1996, Violaris pers. comm.).



1996, von Wartburg 1997, Cook and Green 2002, Violaris 2004, François and Valauri 2010, Green *et al.* forthcoming, Cook this volume). An example of chemical definition and differentiation of Cypriot productions is given by the classification shown in Fig. 5 (see Figs 6-9, Table 2 and annex for information on the samples considered, and on chemical analysis and classification techniques). Samples taken from production contexts in Kato Paphos - Lemba and Lapithos (Figs 6-7, Megaw and Jones 1983, Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1996, von Wartburg 1997, Waksman and

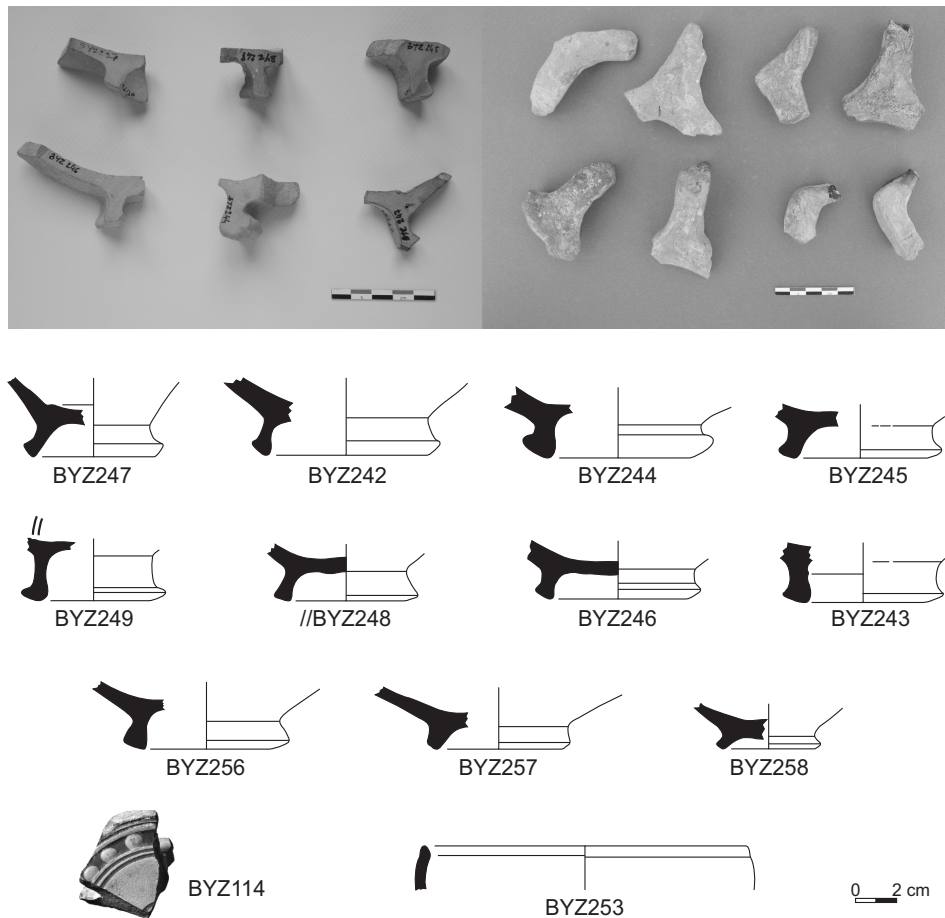


Fig. 6/Colour Pl. XVIIIc: Examples of samples analyzed from Kato Paphos/Lemba workshop.

Top: tripod stilts (right) and sherds showing various fabrics and feet profiles (left)  
(photo S.Y. Waksman)

Bottom: examples of profiles (S. Elaigne, C. Brun, S.Y. Waksman) and sample BYZ114 previously related to the “Zeuxippus Ware” *stricto sensu* and shown to belong to the production of Kato Paphos - Lemba (photo not to scale, after Waksman and François 2004-2005 and von Wartburg 1997)







Fig. 7/Colour Pl. XIXa: Samples analyzed from Lapithos workshop, including tripod stilts and unfinished (biscuit-fired) wares (from left to right, top to bottom): BYZ208, 205, 206, 207, 204, 203, 213, 212, 211, 210, 209 (photo Y. Montmessin)

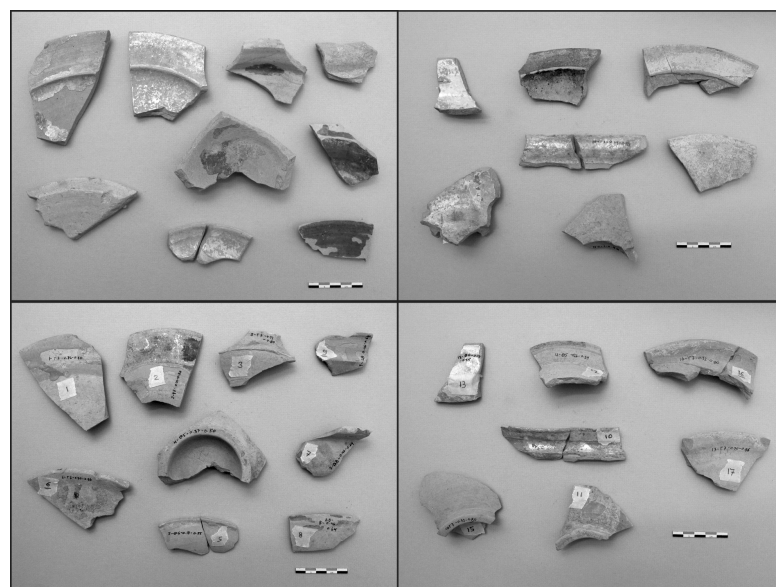


Fig. 8/Colour Pl. XIXb: Samples analyzed from the monastery of Saint Theodoros in Nicosia, front (top) and reverse (bottom) sides (photos S. Y. Waksman)

Left (from left to right, top to bottom): BZY664, 665, 666, 672, 669, 667, 670, 668, 671

Right (from left to right, top to bottom): BZY676, 675, 679, 673, 680, 678, 674

Except for one (BZY670, closer chemically to the production of Potamia), all samples belong to a single chemical group. Their origin is as yet unknown; typological details relate them to ceramics tentatively attributed to Enkomi (Papanikola-Bakirtzis 1989)



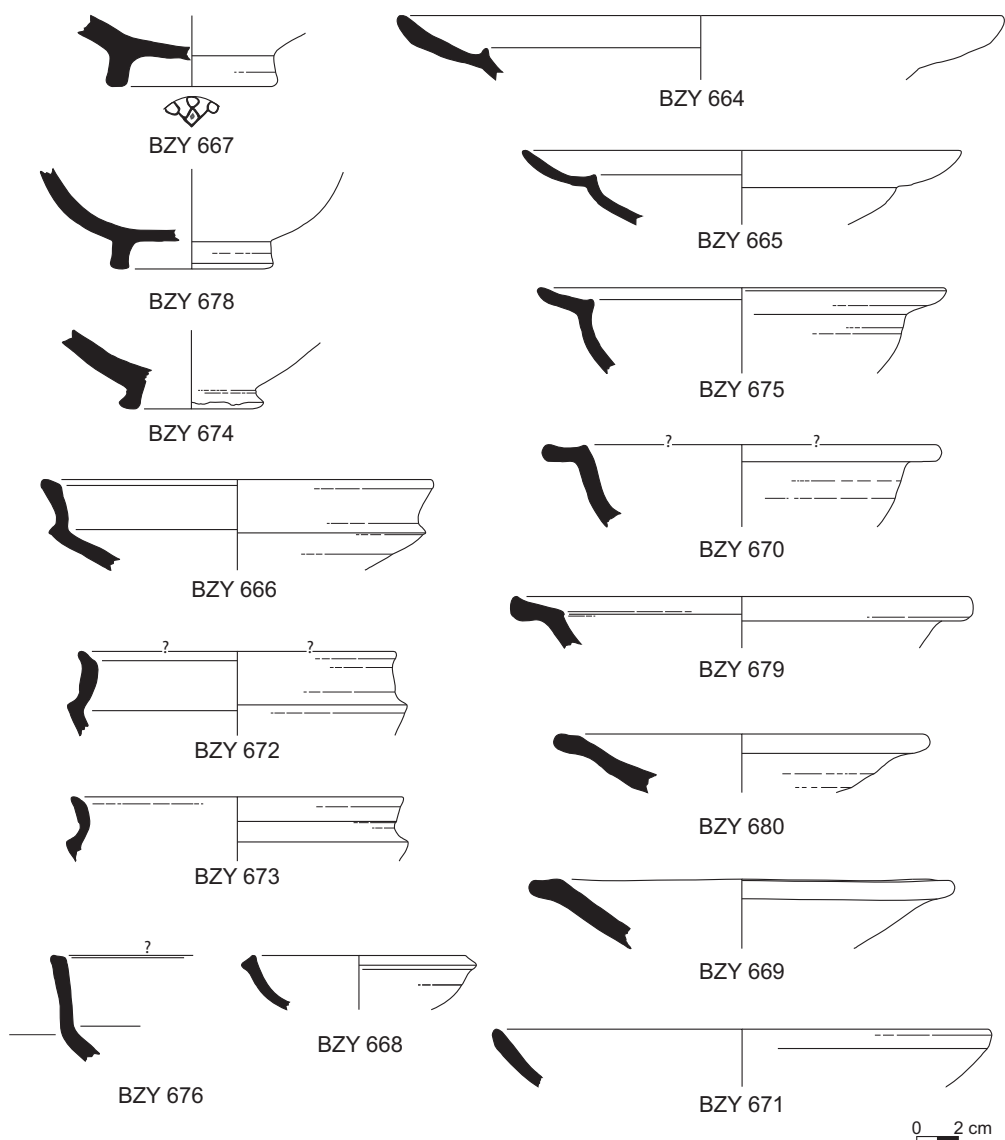


Fig. 9: Samples analyzed from the monastery of Saint Theodoros in Nicosia  
(C. Brun, J. Burlot, S.Y. Waksman)



François 2004-2005, Waksman and von Wartburg 2006) may easily be differentiated from a group of samples coming from consumption contexts in the Cistercian monastery of Saint Theodoros in Nicosia (Figs 8-9, Flourentzos 2004-2005).<sup>8</sup> The latter are characterized by the frequent use of a red slip over a buff body (Fig. 8), similar to examples tentatively associated by Papanikola-Bakirtzis (1989) with workshops in Enkomi.<sup>9</sup> They are closer chemically to common wares manufactured in Potamia<sup>10</sup> (François and Vallauri 2001, Vallauri 2004, Table 2), a feature which would be explained by the location of both Enkomi and Potamia in the alluvial plain of the Gialias river (Devillers *et al.* 2006). The identification of this new chemical group to the production of Enkomi needs to be confirmed by further research. But the attribution to this production of different wares, such as the so-called “wedding bowls” for instance, may already be tested.

The constitution of chemical reference groups previously gave us the opportunity to address various hypotheses concerning Cypriot workshops. Wares initially integrated by A.H.S. Megaw in his definition of the type “Zeuxippus Ware” (Megaw 1968) were separated by chemical analyses from the “Zeuxippus Ware *stricto sensu*” and attributed to the area of Paphos (e.g. Fig. 6 BYZ114, Waksman and François 2004-2005). Conversely, the tentative attribution to Cyprus of several Byzantine types widespread in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (Boas 1994, Blackman and Redford 2005), such as the “Zeuxippus Ware” and the main “Middle Byzantine Production”, including “Fine Sgraffito Ware”, “Aegean Ware” and others, was reconsidered and other hypotheses of origin tested or put forward (Waksman and François 2004-2005, Waksman and von Wartburg 2006, Waksman *et al.* forthcoming). In the case of the main “Middle Byzantine Production”, samples from Cypriot sites played an essential role in showing that different types, previously unrelated and treated as separate productions in reports and publications, originated in fact from the same workshop(s) (Waksman and von Wartburg 2006).

The diffusion of Cypriot wares is well attested in the Eastern Mediterranean and occasionally reached more distant areas such as the Western Mediterranean and the Black sea, as indicated for instance by examples found in Marseille and in the Novy Svet shipwreck (Vallauri and Démians d’Archimbaud 2003, Waksman *et al.* 2009). Next to the typical Cypriot types, wares found in large

8. Ceramics from these contexts, excavated by E. Zachariou-Kaila, were recently presented, together with material from other excavations in Nicosia, in the exhibition “Fragments: Ceramic finds from Byzantine and Medieval Nicosia” (Department of Antiquities of Cyprus and Leventis Municipal Museum of Nicosia). Ceramic material from Saint Theodoros will be published by R.S. Gabrieli (in preparation).

9. This association was based on visual similarity with reference material from Enkomi.

10. A detailed presentation of the Potamia results is forthcoming.



quantities in Crusader Acre, initially related to Paphos wares and to the “Zeuxippus family”, were shown to differ chemically from them (Stern and Waksman 2003, Waksman *et al.* 2008) and attributed to the workshop of Anaia/Kadikalesi in Western Asia Minor (Waksman 2013).

*Different ceramic products, different clay materials: examples from the Paphos area (Figs 6, 10-11, Tables 2-4)*

Pottery manufacture took place in different locations in the area of Paphos. For the “late” periods, evidence of production was found for late Roman amphorae LRA1 in Kato Paphos (Fig. 10, Karagheorgis 1989, Demesticha and Michaelides 2001); for medieval glazed wares at the site of Fabrika in Paphos (Green and Cook 2002, Green *et al.* forthcoming, Cook this volume), in the nearby village of Lemba (Papanikola Bakirtzis 1993, 1996, von Wartburg 1997) and possibly in Palaipaphos/Kouklia (von Wartburg 1997); for sugar pots at the cane sugar refinery of the latter site (Maier 1978, von Wartburg 2010) and possibly in Lemba. For these three categories of pottery - table wares, amphorae, industrial ceramics -, different clayey materials were used, and probably at least to some extent chosen according to the function of the wares. For instance sugar moulds, for which porosity plays an important role in the sugar production

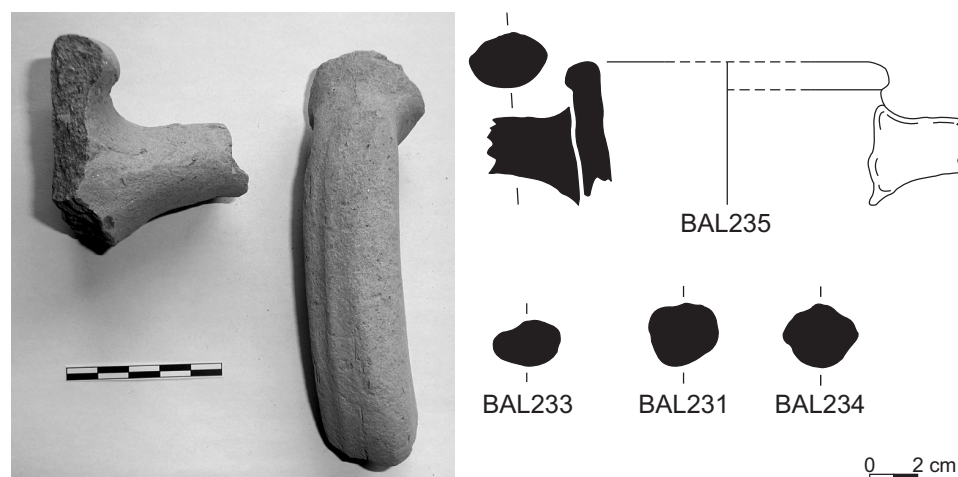


Fig. 10: Samples analyzed from Paphos LRA1 amphorae workshop (Lyon database, Empeur and Picon prospectings)  
 Left: samples BAL236 (left), BAL231 (right) (photo S.Y. Waksman, courtesy M. Picon and J.-Y. Empeur).  
 Right: rim and handle profiles (C. Brun)







Name	CaO	Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	TiO <sub>2</sub>	K <sub>2</sub> O	SiO <sub>2</sub>	Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	MgO	MnO (Na <sub>2</sub> O) (P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub> )	Zr	Sr	Rb	Zn	Cr	Ni	(La)	Ba	V	Ce		
<b>Potamia workshop</b>																				
BYZ784	19.18	8.38	0.792	2.05	47.35	14.19	5.79	0.1255	1.79	0.17	114	605	59	85	235	171	<ldd	252	170	52
BYZ785	18.97	8.58	0.798	1.70	47.27	14.19	5.95	0.1235	2.07	0.17	112	569	58	84	245	169	<ldd	313	173	55
BYZ783	18.97	8.25	0.777	2.27	47.97	13.98	5.50	0.1188	1.79	0.18	111	735	67	94	227	162	<ldd	252	180	54
BYZ781	20.16	7.85	0.734	1.85	47.86	13.18	6.19	0.1247	1.72	0.17	115	420	65	85	280	181	<ldd	205	167	56
BYZ782	21.54	7.82	0.725	1.73	47.50	12.52	6.09	0.1296	1.62	0.16	104	491	51	86	256	149	<ldd	236	173	50
BZY670	22.18	7.80	0.750	2.30	46.63	13.34	5.06	0.1390	1.26	0.26	122	588	68	103	256	169	<ldd	322	191	48
BYZ786	19.90	7.61	0.778	1.28	48.21	13.55	5.95	0.1224	2.22	0.19	126	562	49	77	322	180	<ldd	256	160	59
BYZ787	17.02	7.94	0.760	1.63	50.94	13.62	5.80	0.1442	1.82	0.13	103	471	46	84	353	160	<ldd	259	174	52
<b>m</b>	<b>19.74</b>	<b>8.03</b>	<b>0.764</b>	<b>1.85</b>	<b>47.97</b>	<b>13.57</b>	<b>5.79</b>	<b>0.1285</b>	<b>1.79</b>	<b>0.18</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>555</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>87</b>	<b>272</b>	<b>168</b>	<b>nd</b>	<b>262</b>	<b>174</b>	<b>53</b>
<b>σ</b>	<b>1.62</b>	<b>0.34</b>	<b>0.027</b>	<b>0.34</b>	<b>1.30</b>	<b>0.57</b>	<b>0.36</b>	<b>0.0088</b>	<b>0.29</b>	<b>0.04</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>nd</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>Enkomi ?</b>																				
BZY680	23.51	7.31	0.735	1.95	47.02	12.64	4.46	0.1480	1.72	0.19	118	558	58	97	249	149	<ldd	330	152	68
BZY665	22.13	7.53	0.754	2.04	47.54	13.13	4.54	0.1519	1.60	0.24	118	557	60	104	246	143	<ldd	339	160	77
BZY667	24.52	7.57	0.742	1.73	45.84	12.97	4.45	0.1510	1.46	0.19	125	589	52	94	252	156	<ldd	297	150	79
BZY678	21.25	7.54	0.751	2.15	48.61	12.97	4.66	0.1482	1.46	0.21	125	555	67	101	258	158	<ldd	241	150	83
BZY675	24.27	7.11	0.726	2.11	46.95	12.55	4.38	0.1450	1.33	0.18	126	678	68	91	286	165	<ldd	340	146	67
BZY664	28.84	6.44	0.663	1.86	43.76	11.87	4.20	0.1513	1.36	0.23	131	591	49	87	262	168	<ldd	367	144	68
BZY668	26.58	6.43	0.663	2.29	45.94	11.78	4.23	0.1406	1.19	0.24	131	707	58	91	266	165	<ldd	374	164	62
BZY679	25.94	6.87	0.693	1.93	45.94	12.03	4.59	0.1512	1.43	0.22	115	546	59	92	241	152	<ldd	279	152	61
BZY666	25.25	6.80	0.699	1.77	45.49	12.49	4.97	0.1514	1.45	0.39	125	665	55	86	261	156	<ldd	440	166	69
BZY672	25.15	6.96	0.721	2.11	45.16	12.90	4.83	0.1353	1.33	0.34	123	640	59	99	236	151	<ldd	412	187	58
BZY673	28.94	6.16	0.676	1.99	43.49	12.15	4.83	0.1287	1.12	0.22	120	659	50	92	217	159	<ldd	347	153	51
BZY674	29.46	6.33	0.680	1.93	43.00	12.06	4.77	0.1301	1.15	0.17	123	811	56	89	220	148	<ldd	271	163	40
BZY669	29.91	7.02	0.664	1.77	41.25	11.71	5.73	0.1402	1.28	0.18	111	839	55	93	201	135	<ldd	254	148	46
BZY671	25.13	7.06	0.716	2.15	45.74	12.63	4.30	0.1472	1.49	0.31	129	645	64	96	261	159	<ldd	377	136	28
<b>m</b>	<b>25.78</b>	<b>6.94</b>	<b>0.706</b>	<b>1.98</b>	<b>45.41</b>	<b>12.42</b>	<b>4.64</b>	<b>0.1443</b>	<b>1.38</b>	<b>0.24</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>646</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>247</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>nd</b>	<b>333</b>	<b>155</b>	<b>61</b>
<b>σ</b>	<b>2.70</b>	<b>0.46</b>	<b>0.033</b>	<b>0.17</b>	<b>1.96</b>	<b>0.48</b>	<b>0.39</b>	<b>0.0081</b>	<b>0.17</b>	<b>0.07</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>92</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>nd</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>16</b>

Table 3: Chemical compositions of samples from Kato Paphos - Lemba, Lapithos, Potamia and Nicosia, samples are ranked as in the classification (Fig. 5).

Major and minor elements are given in oxides weight %, trace elements in parts per million (ppm); m: mean,  $\sigma$ : standard deviation, n: number of samples, ld: detection limit, nd: not determined. Elements between brackets are indicative.

Data for Paphos and Lapithos were previously published in Waksman and François (2004-2005) and Waksman and von Wartburg (2006)

process, seem to be preferably made out of calcareous clays (Fig. 11, Table 4).<sup>11</sup> Amphorae are made out of even more calcareous materials, and are further characterized by variable but usually high concentrations in strontium, which differentiate them from Cilician LRA1 (Waksman *et al.* 2014), and in chromium, probably due to minerals brought by streams from the nearby Troodos mountains (Table 4). In contrast, table wares do not have any ultra-basic features and are less calcareous, whether made in Kato Paphos - Lemba, in Nea Paphos - Fabrika or coming from Palaipaphos - Kouklia. The clayey material used for table wares is fairly variable (also in fabric, see Fig. 6 top left), especially in its contents of calcium and related elements, as may be seen within our sampling from Paphos/Lemba only (Fig. 5, Table 3). However, samples from the three sites are all included in the same range of compositions: they do not seem to

11. Further archaeometric research on Cypriot and Levantine sugar pots will be carried out in the framework of the POMEDOR project, see *infra*.





Name	CaO	Fe <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	TiO <sub>2</sub>	K <sub>2</sub> O	SiO <sub>2</sub>	Al <sub>2</sub> O <sub>3</sub>	MgO	MnO (Na <sub>2</sub> O) (P <sub>2</sub> O <sub>5</sub> )	Zr	Sr	Rb	Zn	Cr	Ni	(La)	Ba	V	Ce		
<b>Kouklia and Lemba sugar pots</b>																				
BYZ259	29.43	6.57	0.580	1.91	44.90	11.72	3.80	0.1568	0.52	0.18	109	763	40	85	121	102	28	614	127	57
BYZ260	19.62	6.13	0.560	1.78	55.98	11.47	3.20	0.2162	0.72	0.16	113	496	47	79	154	98	20	369	124	59
BYZ261	22.85	8.73	0.683	1.26	45.53	13.76	5.43	0.1300	1.29	0.14	89	732	38	102	188	86	22	319	182	48
BYZ262	17.42	6.66	0.634	2.07	55.76	13.08	3.15	0.1391	0.71	0.19	115	671	57	89	109	93	28	481	137	60
BYZ263	5.77	8.96	0.786	2.52	59.13	17.35	3.53	0.0882	1.61	0.12	97	292	57	86	141	77	22	177	206	51
BYZ264	18.32	8.86	0.670	1.78	50.54	13.97	4.10	0.1111	1.30	0.17	92	683	44	86	159	85	19	268	193	42
BYZ265	16.30	8.56	0.734	1.91	51.65	14.69	4.52	0.1138	1.19	0.13	108	678	53	99	177	88	22	411	181	44
BYZ266	25.28	8.11	0.638	1.54	45.48	12.66	4.64	0.1205	1.16	0.19	85	780	41	93	148	77	16	273	168	43
BYZ267	12.98	9.07	0.721	1.97	54.32	15.40	3.81	0.1159	1.28	0.16	105	551	49	71	154	92	18	164	207	59
BYZ268	11.48	10.14	0.751	1.54	53.49	17.06	3.86	0.1318	1.24	0.13	96	466	47	93	144	97	27	347	206	52
BYZ290	14.11	8.86	0.509	2.05	50.90	15.48	6.45	0.1147	1.28	0.08	55	650	42	121	142	82	13	246	186	38
BYZ291	11.54	8.42	0.805	1.76	56.62	15.15	3.96	0.1112	1.26	0.14	117	484	54	95	191	89	27	713	188	43
BYZ292	16.02	8.85	0.695	1.29	53.08	14.39	4.02	0.1236	1.19	0.13	101	722	44	79	149	92	15	431	177	40
BYZ293	15.88	9.36	0.719	1.55	51.33	14.98	4.56	0.1258	1.21	0.11	110	626	53	94	153	92	25	144	203	53
<b>Paphos LRA1 workshop</b>																				
BAL222	29.03	5.51	0.488	1.24	47.87	10.11	3.73	0.2930	1.25	0.28	98	648	59	75	405	104	<ldd	260	107	40
BAL223	25.01	7.27	0.661	1.18	48.61	11.33	3.92	0.1648	1.51	0.16	108	781	34	73	246	95	<ldd	277	137	51
BAL224	22.53	6.16	0.540	1.14	50.90	11.12	5.79	0.2876	1.16	0.21	95	671	33	76	202	110	<ldd	262	110	46
BAL225	26.88	6.44	0.527	1.23	48.64	10.97	3.22	0.2155	1.47	0.23	96	748	44	78	247	92	<ldd	246	131	49
BAL226	24.08	6.72	0.547	1.21	50.48	11.42	3.41	0.2296	1.44	0.26	102	690	47	69	634	103	<ldd	223	135	41
BAL227	26.30	6.14	0.537	1.29	49.51	10.96	3.36	0.2637	1.24	0.23	98	693	50	68	273	107	<ldd	266	115	51
BAL228	24.58	6.57	0.536	1.21	50.19	11.40	3.56	0.2483	1.31	0.21	91	718	40	79	343	116	<ldd	270	133	52
BAL229	25.44	6.66	0.545	1.20	49.06	11.37	3.57	0.2451	1.48	0.24	92	661	40	79	477	108	<ldd	298	135	48
BAL230	24.93	6.94	0.582	1.11	48.91	11.29	4.21	0.2373	1.31	0.23	97	691	36	77	999	107	<ldd	257	123	54
BAL231	27.13	6.59	0.548	1.24	47.52	11.31	3.58	0.2353	1.40	0.26	94	746	52	76	339	97	<ldd	292	110	44
BAL233	24.97	6.33	0.551	1.23	50.38	11.23	3.45	0.2517	1.21	0.24	101	654	34	81	186	112	<ldd	209	122	45
BAL234	24.80	6.34	0.559	1.33	50.14	11.31	3.61	0.2674	1.21	0.26	103	703	43	81	223	109	<ldd	239	124	45
BAL235	26.78	6.70	0.539	1.15	47.94	11.24	3.56	0.2288	1.38	0.29	82	688	50	69	605	101	<ldd	257	120	52
m	<b>25.57</b>	<b>6.49</b>	<b>0.551</b>	<b>1.21</b>	<b>49.24</b>	<b>11.16</b>	<b>3.77</b>	<b>0.2437</b>	<b>1.34</b>	<b>0.24</b>	<b>97</b>	<b>699</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>398</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>nd</b>	<b>258</b>	<b>123</b>	<b>48</b>
σ	<b>1.64</b>	<b>0.43</b>	<b>0.039</b>	<b>0.06</b>	<b>1.11</b>	<b>0.35</b>	<b>0.66</b>	<b>0.0329</b>	<b>0.12</b>	<b>0.03</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>232</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>nd</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>4</b>

Table 4: Chemical compositions of samples from Paphos LRA1 workshop and of sugar pots and jars from Kouklia and Lemba. Major and minor elements are given in oxides weight %, trace elements in parts per million (ppm); m: mean, σ: standard deviation, n: number of samples, ld: detection limit, nd: not determined. Elements between brackets are indicative

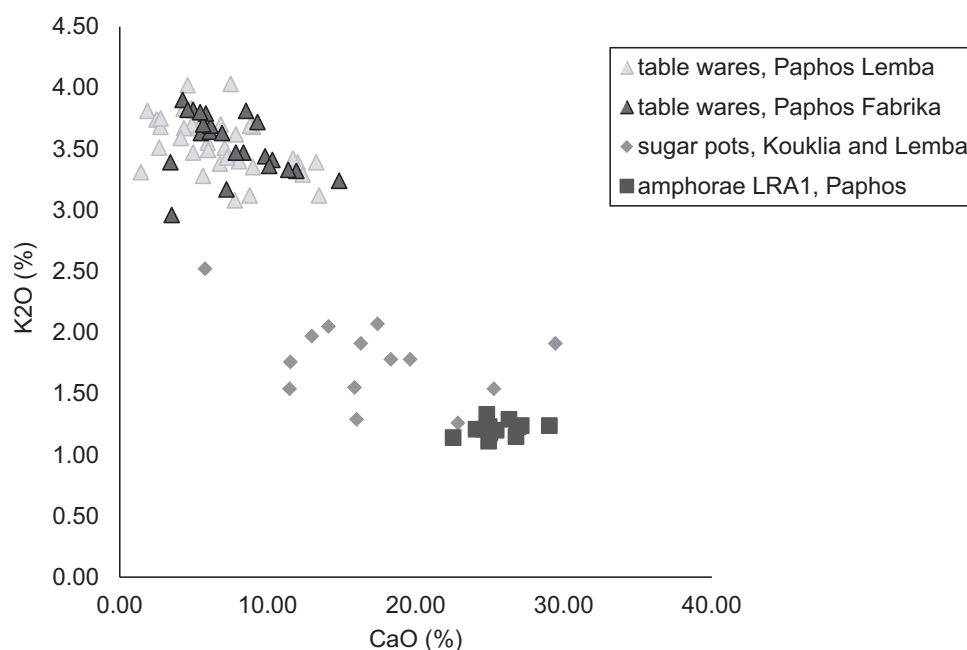


Fig. 11: Productions of the region of Paphos, binary plot calcium - potassium. The diagram shows that different clayey materials were used to manufacture table wares, amphorae, and sugar pots and jars. The latter request further study, as they are very heterogeneous and only a few of them correspond to wasters. Other chemical elements further differentiate them from amphorae, but do not enable us to distinguish between table wares produced in the workshops of Lemba and Fabrika. The variability of calcium contents in table wares is noticeable (see also Fig. 5 and Table 3)

differ chemically in a significant way within this range (Fig. 11).<sup>12</sup> We thus refer to them as “production of the Paphos region” or “Paphos Ware”.

To sum up, in different locations in or around the present city of Paphos similar clayey materials were used to manufacture table wares; on the other hand, materials showing very different chemical features were taken in Paphos to produce different categories of pottery. The latter point, well known for cooking wares, may have been under-estimated for other categories. This example of a rather complex situation reminds one that a single location may have several geochemical “signatures”. It calls for more caution when using chemical reference groups, especially when they do not directly correspond to the wares under study.

12. A detailed presentation of the Fabrika and Kouklia results is forthcoming.





*Concluding remarks and further perspectives*

Research carried out on ceramics found on Cyprus have been essential in building up our knowledge on medieval ceramics, whether table wares, cooking wares, amphorae or others. Even though many questions still remain open, it has contributed to establishing several results regarding pottery production and diffusion, trade networks, cross influences, some of which have been summarized here. Chemical analyses contributed to this study, by re-defining productions on the basis of the composition of the clay material used by the potters. They helped in distinguishing Cypriot products from imports, identifying typological repertoires and in ascertaining more precisely which types were associated within a same production. In addition, they provided information regarding organization of production, and diffusion of wares, models and techniques. Studies carried out on Cypriot samples contributed for instance in re-defining the main “Middle Byzantine production” and “Zeuxippus related wares”. Chemical reference groups for workshops in the region of Paphos, in Lapithos, Potamia, Dhiorios and elsewhere<sup>13</sup> have been used and are available to test further hypotheses, as well as groups corresponding to workshops whose location still has to be identified or confirmed (e.g. “Enkomi?” group).

Much of our research has focused so far on proposing new criteria to consider medieval pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean, in terms of productions rather than in terms of types. The two approaches are complementary, but the former seems more adapted if one is to reason on production (associations of types, choice of materials, organization of workshops ...) and diffusion (areas, fluxes, modalities of commercialization ...). Further research may consider not only the circulation of goods, but also those of techniques and practices, especially those connected to food. Pottery as an approach to food and food-ways has still seldom been used in the medieval Eastern Mediterranean, with some noticeable exceptions (e.g. Papanikola Bakirtzis 2005, Gabrieli 2006, 2007, this volume, Vroom 2003, 2009). Food procurement as seen through products carried in transport amphorae, ways of preparing, cooking and consuming food as illustrated by common, cooking and table wares will be further explored in the framework of the POMEDOR project involving several contributors to this volume.<sup>14</sup> Cypriot material will be of particular interest, especially through the detailed analysis of forms, functions and origins in their relationships to food and food-ways of Cypriot and imported cooking wares from closed contexts such as Odos Ikarou in Paphos (Raptou 2006, Gabrieli 2008). Another line of research addresses the introduction of new styles and technological features in locally produced medieval table wares, which may reflect on new tastes and

13. Data on Cypriot pottery in the database of the “Laboratoire de Céramologie” in Lyon.

14. More information is available on [www.pomedor.mom.fr](http://www.pomedor.mom.fr).



dining habits (Waksman forthcoming b). This approach could engender for instance new perspectives on the influence on Cypriot productions of “Port Saint Symeon Ware”, with its stylistic (von Wartburg 2003, 2007, Redford 2004, this volume) and technological (Capelli *et al.* 2005, 2006) “mix” of Eastern and Western features.

### Acknowledgements

My research in Cyprus would not have been possible without the help of many archaeologists and ceramologists, to whom I would like to pay tribute to and to thank warmly for fruitful collaboration: the late A.H.S. Megaw and H. Catling, D. and Ch. Bakirtzis, M.-L. von Wartburg and F. Maier, S. Gabrieli, H. Cook, E. Zachariou-Kaila, E. Raptou, V. François, L. Vallauri. Many thanks are due to the Department of Antiquities of Cyprus, and to the staff of the “Laboratoire de Céramologie” in Lyon. This research was partly funded by the French National Research Agency (ANR) through the POMEDOR project, and we acknowledge the support of the ANR under reference ANR-12-CULT-0008.

### Annex: chemical analysis and classification of samples according to chemical composition

Chemical analysis was carried out by Wavelength Dispersive - X Ray Fluorescence (WD-XRF) in the “Laboratoire de Céramologie” in Lyon. Samples are cut out with a diamond-coated saw, in a way which alters neither the profile nor the decoration of the sherd. Glaze and slip, when present, and an external layer, whose chemical composition is more liable to be altered during burial, are removed. After heating at 950°C (removal of water, volatiles, organics), cooling and grinding, 800 mg of ceramic powder is mixed with 3200 mg of flux (lithium metaborate and tetraborate). The mix is heated to liquid state in a gold and platinum crucible and is then cast into a bead. Analyses are carried out on these homogeneous beads, of fixed geometry, which correspond to a mean chemical composition representative of the initial material. Twenty-four elements are quantified, after calibration of the set-up using forty geological standards (CRPG, USGS, NIST, British Chemical Standards...). The calibration is frequently checked using three in-house pottery standards.

Seventeen elements are usually taken as active variables in multivariate statistical treatments used to classify ceramics into groups of similar chemical composition. These include major and minor elements in ceramics (MgO, Al<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub>, SiO<sub>2</sub>, K<sub>2</sub>O, CaO, TiO<sub>2</sub>, MnO, Fe<sub>2</sub>O<sub>3</sub>) and trace elements having various geo-



chemical behaviour (V, Cr, Ni, Zn, Rb, Sr, Zr, Ba, Ce). Classifications enable us to constitute groups of samples having similar chemical compositions, which under certain conditions on the geological context may correspond to the production of the same workshop (Picon 1993). They are obtained in our case by hierarchical clustering analysis applied to standardized data, using euclidian distance and average linkage (e.g. Picon 1984). The corresponding diagram, called a dendrogram, initially represents each sample as a vertical bar at the base of the figure (Fig. 5). The two samples closest in composition are joined by a horizontal link, links closer to the base indicating closer similarity of the samples. They are then fused into a “pseudo sample” of average composition. Each pair of samples and “pseudo-samples” are then compared again, and fused by the same procedure. As samples become less similar, the level of linkage moves up the diagram until all the samples are connected. This constitutes the dendrogram, which shows clusters of samples which are similar connected towards the base, while clusters connected high up the dendrogram are less closely related. This representation is convenient, as it takes all the elements considered into account, but is not sufficient in itself to define compositional groups. Accurate interpretation still requires examination by the archaeological scientist of the individual data and of elemental differences between clusters.



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