

REGIONALISM AND ISLAND-WIDE ANALYSIS: SOME OBSERVATIONS REGARDING WHITE PAINTED V AND VI WARES FROM MIDDLE CYPRIOT III/LATE CYPRIOT I TOMBS FROM THE NORTH WEST REGION OF CYPRUS*

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As has been recognized for decades by David Frankel and Louise Maguire,¹ the later White Painted series provides an excellent case study of the issue of regionalism versus island-wide analysis of the ceramics of the Middle/Late Bronze Age.

For the last three years, I have been working on a Project for SCIEM 2000 focusing primarily on the WP V and WP VI wares. The major analytical and conceptual question I have had to face relates directly to the issue of regionalism. The question is: can we pro-

vide island-wide, chronologically based categories for the White Painted series (as Paul Åström maintains),² or should we focus our analysis on specific geographical and/or cultural groups (as emphasised by Frankel).

This debate is relevant to the question of the importance of regionalism for the White Painted series; it has implications for regionalism in general as a significant factor in the archaeological analysis of the Middle/Late Bronze Age. In the case of this

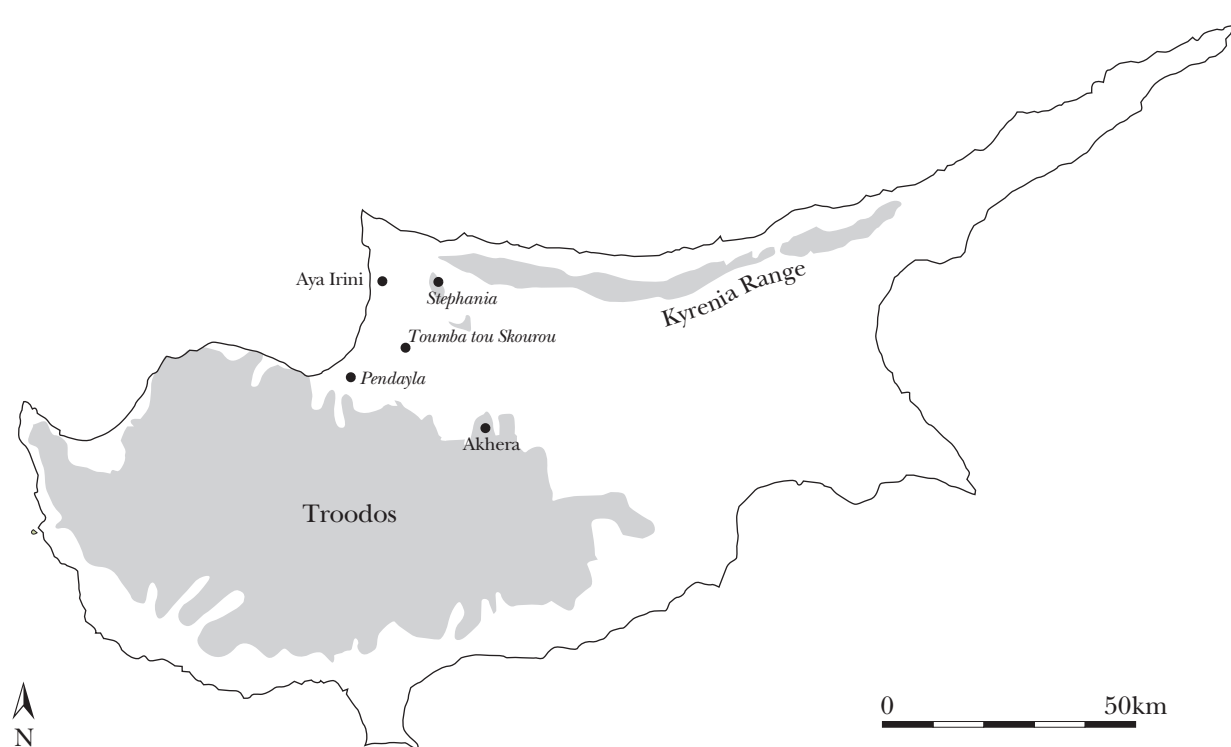


Fig. 1 Map of Cyprus showing mentioned sites

* This is a modified version of the paper I presented at the *Regionalism in Cyprus during the MC and LC Periods* workshop held on May 2, 2008, during the Fourth International Cypriological Congress - Nicosia - Cyprus. I would like to thank Irmgard Hein for inviting me to attend.

¹ Much of this paper is based on extensive reference to the early work of FRANKEL (1974) and the work of MAGUIRE (1991) and (1992).

² See ÅSTRÖM (1957; 1966; 1972). However, it should be noted

that ÅSTRÖM (1957, 11) certainly acknowledges and defines particular regional styles (eg., Eastern Cypriot sequences) and styles typical of particular sites (eg., Latticed Diamond from Yeri). The island wide thesis has been developed in numerous publications and has been contrasted to the work of other archaeologists such as MANNING (1999), who speak of an intra-island barrier. Manning based his views on the earlier work of MERRILLEES (1971). For a broader discussion of this issue, see ERIKSSON (2007, 55–59).

paper, I look at a clearly defined region - North West Cyprus; there are five sites in the North West which I shall be dealing with (Fig. 1). They are:

- i) Morphou-*Toumba tou Skourou* (VERMEULE & WOLSKY 1990)
- ii) Ayia Irini-*Paleokastro* (PECORELLA 1977)
- iii) Myrtou-*Stephania* (HENNESSY 1963)
- iv) Pendaria-*Mandres* (KARAGEORGHIS 1965)
- v) Akhera-*Paradisi* (KARAGEORGHIS 1965)

Whilst the White Painted material from *Stephania* has figured in the overall interpretation of the ware's development, this is not so for the White Painted wares from the other four sites.³ The question then is: in the case of this general region and these sites, which is the best form of White Painted analysis to pursue? That of Åström or that of Frankel?

I shall return to this, but let me first briefly survey the general debate itself. This debate became of critical importance from 1974 following the publication of Frankel's PhD thesis, *Middle Cypriot White Painted Pottery: An Analytical Study of the Decoration*. In this book, he presents a number of trenchant criticisms of Åström on this issue. In essence, Frankel believes that chronological periods have often been imposed on the WP material, whereas the correct approach

should be to focus on cultural and geographical similarities and differences. He says:⁴

"The basic divisions which derive from the 3 × 3 system are in general treated as periods (or units of time or contemporaneity) whereas in fact they should be seen rather as stages or units of cultural similarity. When material comes from one particular locality, stages are often equivalent to periods, but where correlations between different areas are undertaken, this does not necessarily apply. *A further danger in dealing with stages is the common assumption of a universal overall pattern of cultural evolution, where the same sequence is represented in all areas.*"⁵

The original chronological approach of Åström followed on from the work of Einar Gjerstad⁶ who divided the White Painted wares into five categories - White Painted I-V. ÅSTRÖM's PhD studies on the Middle Cypriot Bronze Age allowed him to disentangle some distinct styles from the standard White Painted II-V.⁷ Following on from this work which saw the definition of WP IV-VI Cross Line Style and White Painted V-VI, Åström⁸ went on to introduce the White Painted VI ware category which he dated to the Late Cypriot I period. In this paper, the categories of White Painted I-VI, or the Substantive categories are outlined in the following Table 1.⁹

White Painted I	Relates to the Early Cypriot period.
White Painted II	Relates primarily to the MC I period; there are some dated to the MC II and MC II-III periods (ÅSTRÖM 1957, 199).
White Painted III	The majority of vases are dated by ÅSTRÖM (1957, 199) to the MC II-III period; however, a considerable number were ascribed to the MC II period.
White Painted IV	This WP group is a large percentage of the total Middle Cypriot vases identified by ÅSTRÖM in 1957 (8% = 104 items). The majority of these (76 items) are MC II-III; only 15 items are MC III. However, later discoveries determined that there are many more of the WP IV dateable to the MC III period.
White Painted V	This is the major MC III period category in the early work of ÅSTRÖM (1957, 199); of the 41 vases listed by Åström, 34 are MC III and only 7 are MC II-III. However, in the 1972 work, the White Painted V is clearly seen as having a major presence in the LC IA:1 period. Indeed, this substantive category covers both MC III down to possibly LC IA:2 in Åström's own chronological system.
White Painted VI	The objects from this diverse grouping are attributed in various publications to the LC IA:1, LC IA:2 and the LC IB:1 periods.

Table 1 The Substantive [or Standard] White Painted Categories¹⁰

³ ÅSTRÖM (1957, 190, no. 6) was able to study the *Stephania* material in Sydney and Melbourne prior to its publication when he was visiting Stewart in the mid-1950's. However, the important finds from the early 1970's excavation at Morphou-*Toumba tou Skourou* were only fully published by VERMEULE and WOLSKY in 1990.

⁴ FRANKEL 1974, 3.

⁵ My italics.

⁶ GJERSTAD 1926.

⁷ ÅSTRÖM 1957, 11.

⁸ ÅSTRÖM 1966, 1972.

⁹ Compiled from ÅSTRÖM (1957, 199; 1966 and 1972). See also ERIKSSON (2007, 43ff) for a discussion of Åström's chronological periods and their development.

¹⁰ See GJERSTAD 1926, 148-177; ÅSTRÖM (1957, 11ff); ÅSTRÖM 1972, 700-701.

Part of the criticism of Åström by Frankel is that Åström's revised classification system is based on circular reasoning. The chronological periods are, on this view, presupposed in developing the WP categories II to VI. Frankel's critique of Åström is a complex one, but the gist can be summed up in the following two key points:

Firstly Frankel believes that Åström's approach has simply assumed that the similarities [and differences] in style and decoration must mean that they are of similar [or different] chronological periods. For Frankel, this is an unproven assumption:

"Most of the Cypriot dating has been carried out by fairly simple calculation of relative frequencies of different wares, the wares themselves originally being seen as developing within an evolutionary seriation sequence....

The underlying assumption in the seriations is that the more similar an object or group of objects is to another object or group, the closer they are in time. It assumes synchrony on the basis of a homotaxial relationship."¹¹

Secondly Frankel argues that the attempt to bring the various seriations from different parts of the island under one chronological system is very dubious:

"It is unfortunate that while most of the stratigraphic evidence for the earlier periods comes from the eastern areas of the island, about half of the tomb material is from the North Coast, and about a third from the western and central areas. The correlation of this master sequence with the

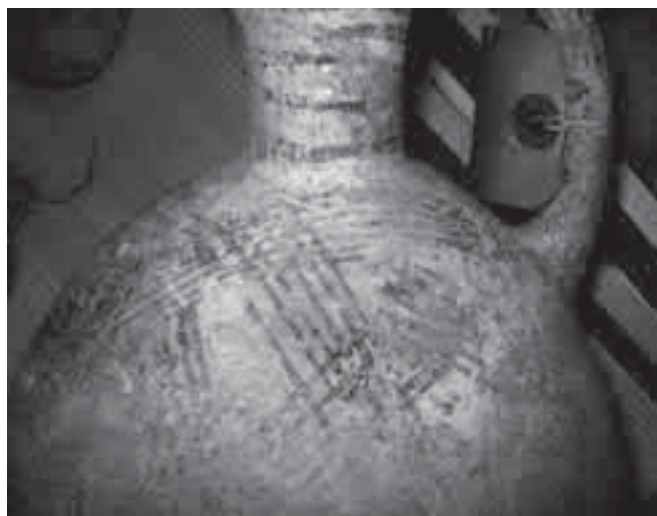


Fig. 2 White Painted IV–V Cross Line Style jug from Pendaria Tomb 1 64 (see also KARAGEORGHIS 1965, 35, pl. III 9)

¹¹ FRANKEL 1974, 3.

¹² *Ibid.*

tomb seriations must therefore be somewhat suspect."¹²

However, this general argument is mistaken. In fact, Åström, in his work, identifies the Roman numeral WP classification *on the basis of technique, shape and decoration*. Indeed, in his 1957 and 1972 books, Åström gives detailed definitions of these categories and highlights the difference between them. His association of them with specific chronological periods is therefore empirical – it is based on observations, not assumptions.

Thus, on the basis of technique, fabric, shape and decoration Åström is able to clearly differentiate, for example, the WP V category from the White Painted VI category.¹³ This supports the Chronological Thesis I (see below) which emphasizes the difference between these substantive categories.

The Problem of the Transitional/Indeterminate Categories

On the other hand, however, even before the criticism of Frankel and Maguire, there was a serious



Fig. 3 White Painted III–IV Pendent Line Style juglet from Pendaria Tomb 1 30 (see also KARAGEORGHIS 1965, 27, fig. 9 30)

¹³ See for example ÅSTRÖM's (1957, 77–78) definition of White Painted V and White Painted VI (1972, 65–67).



Fig. 4 Collection of White Painted V vessels thought to be from a common workshop or individual from *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb V Chambers 1 (23, 35) and 2 (61, 77, 106, 109) (see VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 296, 301, 304)

problem detected in Åström's analysis. His revised classification system for the White Painted series became problematical, when he had to introduce a number of what I call Transitional/Indeterminate categories. These were primarily based on the fact that some specific decorative schemes or styles covered more than one WP Roman period – for example, the WP IV–VI Cross Line Style (CLS) (Fig. 2) and the WP III–IV Pendent Line Style (PLS) (Fig. 3). Both these Transitional categories occur extensively

at Kalopsidha, Enkomi and less frequently in other parts of the island. Note, however, that the two examples given here are from the North West, where they are otherwise quite rare. As we shall see, this is a point of some significance.

The substantive or standard division of WP I to WP VI, was thus rendered into a much more complicated system by the addition of these other categories. Thus, in addition to the Substantive categories, we have the following classification (Table 2):

White Painted II–III Framed Cadeucus Style	Thought to be a precursor of the Pendent Line Style (ÅSTRÖM 1957, 18).
White Painted III–IV Pendent Line Style (PLS)	Attributed primarily to the MC III period.
White Painted III–IV Wavy Line Style (WLS)	The vast majority attributed to the MC III period; some were considered to be of MC I–II date.
White Painted III–IV Latticed Diamond Style	There is only one dated vessel of this type in Åström's early work which is dated to the MC II–III period.
White Painted III–V String-hole Style	The majority are ascribed to the MC II–III period; although, there are a three dated to the MC III period. In Åström's 1972 work, we have this group extending into the LC IA:1 period.
White Painted IV–VI Cross Line Style (CLS)	In the 1957 work, there are only 5 items in this category; all are MC III. However, later discoveries showed that there were thousands of CLS sherds at Kalopshida and at Enkomi. The CLS style extended at least into the LC IA:1 period.
White Painted V–VI	One vessel dated to MC III, however the vast majority of the wares in this category, as identified by Åström in various works, are from the LC IA:1 period - but some extend into the LC IA:2 period.

Table 2 Åström's Transitional/Indeterminate White Painted Categories¹⁴

¹⁴ See ÅSTRÖM 1957, 199–200.

The Transitional/Indeterminate categories are numbered in the way that they are by Åström because he could not give these Styles a determinative historical location. Åström therefore was put into a position where he could only indicate the rough chronological spectrum in which these Transitional categories/styles can be placed into. In an ideal situation, Åström says that he would prefer to be able to be more definitive about placing each particular item into a category with a specific Roman numeral grouping. But he believes that such an enterprise is not viable. I raised this problem in an email to Åström in January 2007. One major problem was essentially that the various items [for example, in WP IV–VI CLS] were not found in provenanced contexts and therefore could not be reliably attributed to a given period. He stated:

“The problem is that Trench 9 was a rubbish dump. The only good stratigraphy was found at the very bottom. That means that I was not able to place for instance WP Cross Line stratigraphically within the MC phases.

I would say that the least degenerate group was probably WP VI stylistically. If that ware will be found in stratified layers, it will be possible to attribute them to the various phases of MC and WP III, IV and VI. Certain wares were, however, long-lived like RP gourd juglets.

So WP IV–VI Cross Line means that it was difficult to ascribe the pots individually to any of the III–VI wares. *If I find a WP Cross Line Style in a clear LC IA context I would call it WP VI.*

I agree with you that one should use III, IV or V when it is possible, but I think at the present state with so few stratigraphical fix points it would be tentative in many cases.”

Here Åström recognizes the problem with the Transitional/Indeterminate categories as a real one.

Åström’s introduction of Transitional/Indeterminate categories in his system has led to significant criticisms of his revised classification for the WP series in general. Thus Maguire accepts the common criticism that Åström has difficulty fitting in the so-called Transitional/Indeterminate WP wares into his chronological system. However, she sees this as virtually inevitable given the nature of the materials:¹⁵

“A major contribution to the study of the White Painted Wares, therefore, was *the identification of indi-*

vidual styles from the standard types, and the isolation of these styles into the discrete classes of White Painted III–IV Pendent Line Style, IV–VI Cross Line Style and similarly WP V Framed Broad Band Style and WP VI Soft Triglyphic Style (ÅSTRÖM 1966, 90, 92–93).”

Maguire¹⁶ goes on to express the firm view that these Transitional/Indeterminate categories (or Styles) have developed virtually independently of the substantive White Painted categories and can be viewed as having a ‘chronology’ of their own. The key claim is:

It is recognized that these styles have their own temporal and spatial distributions (SCE IV Pt. 1 B, 11; MERRILLEES 1978, 20–21). These Styles can be studied virtually independently of the White Painted II–V type series, especially since the type series has proved incapable of satisfactorily absorbing new material from excavations within Cyprus as well as exported Cypriot pottery.

However, from the fact that there is a problem with the Transitional/Indeterminate categories of the WP series, it does not follow that Åström is wrong in attributing a chronological dimension to his substantive categories. As I indicated above, Frankel in 1974 disagreed with this. He believed that Åström has an excessive reliance on his own chronological presuppositions, even in the case of the WP substantive categories. This led Frankel to propose an alternative approach to the analysis of the WP wares, one which emphasized other factors such as functional and structural relationships in geographical locations. In so doing, he virtually did away with the chronological dimension altogether. Frankel¹⁷ explains his alternative approach so:

“This study is an attempt to distinguish between areas on the basis of stylistic variables, and by assessing the relationship between these areas to reach some conclusions regarding the social articulation between them. *Similarity is taken to be a reflection of social rather than temporal or simple geographical relationships*, the material being amenable to the application of the idea of interaction spheres, albeit of a social rather than economic nature.”¹⁸

Frankel thus sees the differences in pottery to be explainable primarily in terms of the functional interactions between a number of separate, but interacting, cultural and geographical groupings in Cyprus.

Thus it appears that we have two strongly oppos-

¹⁵ MAGUIRE 1991, 59.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ FRANKEL 1974, 6.

¹⁸ My italics.

ing and irreconcilable views.¹⁹ I now wish to propose three Provisional Theses which I believe can assist us in achieving a balance and a compromise on this issue and bring us closer to being able to examine the WP material from North West Cyprus in a profitable, scientific manner.

Provisional Thesis I

Provisional Thesis I is based on the fact that, even if we accept that the substantive categories of Åström have validity, there is a need to clarify some of the chronological issues and confusion surrounding them. Provisional Thesis I thus seeks to revise and enhance Åström's substantive categories by reference to his own chronological periods for Cyprus, as developed in his 1972 book. In my discussion here, I shall concentrate entirely on the WP V and WP VI Substantive categories, because this has been the focus of my own research.

Provisional Thesis I therefore states:

- That Substantive categories WP V and WP VI each extend over at least two of Åström's chronological periods. Each has a determinate time span and is directly linked to the following chronological periods, so:
- WP V begins at the MC III Period
- WP V extends throughout the LC IA:1 Period²⁰
- WP VI begins at the LC IA:1 Period
- WP VI extends throughout the LC IA and LC IB Periods

We need to test this Provisional Thesis I, by seeking to classify individual items or sets of wares firstly on the basis of decoration, [they can be defined as substantive WP V or WP VI wares], and then seeking to identify through provenance and other methods to which of Åström's specific chronological period they belong.

The procedure would be as follows: as with Åström, WP V and WP VI can be differentiated on the basis of fabric/technique and aspects of the decoration. To the extent that we can determine context and

associated wares (and other information), each item (having been identified as either WP V or WP VI) can then be ascribed to a specific Cypriot chronological period. We then can determine whether the totality of the evidence fits within the assumptions of Provisional Thesis I. Putting it another way, given that the substantive categories of WP V and WP VI are generally island-wide, one would expect to find a significant number of these substantive wares in provenanced contexts for Provisional Thesis I to be established.

Provisional Thesis II

Provisional Thesis II arises because of the following considerations: As we have seen, the Transitional/Indeterminate categories in Åström's analysis are problematic.

It can be seen that, in describing these categories as transitional [in that they include more than one Roman symbol], it becomes much more difficult to provide a specific chronological context for them. Placing individual items in these categories does not illuminate us at all in determining the chronological location of that individual item. Items in these Transitional/Indeterminate categories are therefore much harder to place chronologically than individual items falling under the substantive categories. Therefore the fact that Transitional/Indeterminate categories are given Roman numerals such as WP V–VI should be seen as only an extremely rough guide. It is not a determinant of chronological location.

Maguire in her 1990²¹ PhD thesis recognizes this problem and makes the following statement:

“...if the sequence is to be consistent, White Painted III–IV Pendent Line Style and IV–IV Cross Line style should have been given “new” [Roman] numbers to denote different types. Åström has restricted the Pendent Line Style to III–IV, but there are examples which would warrant the extension into White Painted V category... Therefore, it would seem appropriate *in the case of these styles to drop the numerical [Roman] divisions*.”²²

While we shall not follow Maguire in the idea of

¹⁹ It should be noted that during the discussion after this paper in the Regionalism Seminar, Frankel conceded that his position on this issue has substantially mellowed over the years. He supported the idea of finding a balance between Åström's chronological approach and his emphasis on a regional and functional approach. However the problem of the Transitional/Indeterminate categories remains.

²⁰ In his 1972 work, ÅSTRÖM suggested that the substantive WP V might extend into LC IA:2; this is a matter that requires further examination.

²¹ MAGUIRE 1966, 26–27.

²² My italics.

dropping the Roman numerical symbolism altogether, we need to accept that the Transitional/Indeterminate categories are very difficult to classify chronologically and therefore we need to proceed with a different mode of analysis. This leads us to the essence of Provisional Thesis II, which addresses this problem. It states:

In the case of the Transitional/Indeterminate categories, such as WP IV – VI CLS and WP III – V PLS, we adopt the methodology of Frankel, that is, to seek to place each item of the given Transitional/Indeterminate category or style into specific geographical locations, or at least regions and then to divide the material into functional groups, on the basis of decorative similarities and differences.

There are three major reasons why we believe that this Thesis II is valid. Firstly, Frankel's approach presents an interesting picture of Middle Cypriot [and by implication LC IA:1) Cyprus as a society with a number of different cultural groups and dynamic interaction. Secondly, his approach emphasizes some important functional factors such as trade; and social structures such as intermarriage. Thirdly, Frankel adopts a methodology that allows us to reach specific conclusions about interrelationships in Cyprus without reliance on the problematic chronological dimension of the Transitional/Indeterminate categories. This allows us to reach key conclusions with regard to the Transitional/Indeterminate categories themselves – for example, whether CLS wares found in the one region are the product of an individual artist or workshop.

We can now test these two Provisional Theses by examining the WP material from North West.

Key Points in the Material from the North West of Cyprus

In November 2007, with the kind permission of the Director of Antiquities in Cyprus, Pavlos Flourentzos,

I examined over 150 different WP vessels in the Cyprus Museum. Of these, 76 were from the five sites in the North West mentioned above. There are some very significant conclusions that can be drawn from my observations here, which support our two Provisional Theses.

1. There were only a very small number of wares from the Transitional/Indeterminate categories found in the North West. Some of these were referred to earlier in the paper as follows: one example of CLS at Pendayia (Fig. 2); and PLS from Pendayia (Fig. 3) and *Toumba tou Skourou* (Fig. 4:109). The fact that there is such a small number of CLS and PLS in the North West is in stark contrast with the huge number of transitional categories found in Kalopsidha. The functional/regional analysis of the CLS – in accordance with Provisional Thesis II – is therefore supported by these findings.

Consider the matter in more detail. Åström's results at Kalopsidha were published in his 1966 book *Excavations at Kalopsidha and Ayios Iakovos in Cyprus*. These results produced large quantities of White Painted wares. The most important of these excavations were at Trench 9: These results for WP ware in selected layers were as shown in Table 3.

Åström has this to say about this Trench 9 as a whole:²³

“Only in the area of trench 9 did life continue in Late Cypriote at Kalopsidha. Or is this area a new settlement, contemporary with the foundation of Enkomi at the end of Middle Cypriote III?... The pottery from trench 9 has been classified and analysed above. Some general remarks may be given here. Three main fabrics are conspicuous by their frequency, Plain White Handmade Ware (30,040 sherds), Monochrome Ware (23,202 sherds), and *White Painted Cross Line Style*

LAYER	72	71	67B	67A	69	60
WP Bowls	29	322	13	127	66	13
WP various	83	284	129			
WP PLS	45	168	8	60	27	13
WP CLS	47	884	27	769	1368	1492
Alternating straight and wavy lines	7	1	3			
Transitional PL/CL			1	2		

Table 3 White Painted wares at Kalopsidha Trench 9 (Selected Layers), after ÅSTRÖM 1966, 49–57

²³ ÅSTRÖM 1966, 140–141.

LAYER	72	71	67B	67A	69	60
V Tangent Line Style		21		17	4	
V Framed Broad Bands				6		
WP V		1				
WP VI						
WP VI Soft Triglyphic Style					1	1
Uncertain					1	
Total	211/60.7%	1681/54.77%	180/43.27%	981/47.51%	1467/60.64%	1519/78.53%
DATE	MC III	MC III-LC IB?	LC IA	LC IA:2	LC IA:2	LC IB

Table 3 continued

(21,021 sherds). These wares were no doubt made at Kalopsidha, but it is also very likely that they were manufactured elsewhere as well. *The Cross Line Style undergoes several changes*, most notable is the framing of the crossing lines by vertical lines.”²⁴

In terms of the whole of Trench 9, the biggest group at Kalopsidha was the White Painted CLS (an astounding 21,021 sherds and bowls). Thus at Kalopsidha, we have this Transitional/Indeterminate category as by far the biggest group of WP. This is in stark contrast with the rare appearance of the CLS in the North West. This intense concentration of the CLS in the area around Kalopsidha supports the view that it is not an island-wide ware and is indirect evidence for Provisional Thesis II.

In conclusion, the fact that the vast majority of the wares in the Transitional/Indeterminate categories are not found in the North West, but primarily in Kalopsidha and Enkomi supports our Provisional Thesis II. This means that the most appropriate way to analyze the Transitional/Indeterminate wares at Kalopsidha is by treating them as a discrete geographical area and applying primarily a Frankel type functional analysis. Such an analysis would not be applicable to the Transitional/Indeterminate examples in the North West, where the numbers of examples falling in the Transitional/Indeterminate categories are very rare.

2. In addition to the CLS, we find at Kalopsidha that there are also around 900 bowls and sherds of the substantive WP categories – mostly WP V. This pattern was also found at Enkomi. This means that the island-wide Provisional Thesis I is especially rele-

vant here, since wares of these substantive categories of WP V and WP VI are found in *both* the North West and in Kalopsidha and Enkomi; and in other regions of the island as well.

The Åström position for WP V and WP VI is further strengthened when we look at three [of the four) sites in the North West, which consist primarily of substantive WP V and WP VI wares. Although there were some differences between them, there were also many examples where the designs within the WP V and WP VI category had a strong similarity to each other here. Indeed there was such a very close similarity between the fabric and decoration of the WP V at both Pendayia and Akhera that this could lead one to believe that they came from a common workshop area (Figs. 5–6).

Furthermore, a general stylistic similarity could be made between the WP VI at Akhera with that of *Toumba tou Skourou* (eg., compare Fig. 7 with Fig. 8). Once again, the similarity of the WP wares is so strong at these sites that, in some cases, it is possible to argue that they are the work of a common workshop. Compare for example the WP VI bottle from Akhera Tomb 1:11 (Fig. 9) with the WP VI bottle from *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I: 245 (Fig. 10).

Certainly, as expected, there are common workshop groups or individuals workmanship that can be detected amongst the White Painted material examined here. For example the designs work on a group of White Painted vessels from Tomb V at *Toumba tou Skourou* (Fig. 4); and a number of White Painted vessels from Tomb I (Fig. 11) suggest they can be linked to a specific individual artist in each case.

3. Provisional Thesis I and Åström’s Chronological

²⁴ My emphasis in italics.



Fig. 5 White Painted V bowl from Pendayia Tomb 1 20 (see also KARAGEORGHIS 1965, 25, pl. III 7)



Fig. 6 White Painted V bowl from Akhera Tomb 1 19 (see also KARAGEORGHIS 1965, 84f, fig. 25 19)



Fig. 7 White Painted VI bowl from Akhera Tomb 1 15 (see also KARAGEORGHIS 1965, 84, fig. 25 15)



Fig. 8 White Painted VI bowl from *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I Chamber 1 (see also VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 209)

approach is further supported by Pecorella's observations in relation to the WP wares in the North West.

Consider two aspects of this matter:

Firstly, we should note that all the WP material from Ayia Irini was classified by Pecorella as WP VI (see e.g., Fig. 12). This is of great interest because these WP VI wares are very similar in shape and decoration with the WP ware at *Toumba tou Skourou* (see

e.g., Fig. 13) and also with the WP of *Stephania* and Akhera.

From this evidence, it appears that while the WP VI wares in Ayia Irini have some similarity in shape with the earlier WP VI at Akhera and *Toumba tou Skourou*, yet they have very distinct differences in fabric and firing, which link in with the finer fabrics and higher temperatures used for Base-ring I and White



Fig. 9 White Painted VI bottle from Akhera Tomb 1 11 (see also KARAGEORGHIS 1965, 82, fig. 25 11, pl. VII 4)



Fig. 10 White Painted VI bottle from *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb I Chamber 1 245 (see also VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 192)

Slip I. I wrote to Åström about the classification of the Ayia Irini White Painted vessels and his reply was:²⁵

“I discussed with Pecorella – who died a year or so ago – all his attributions. He spent a week in Göteborg when he prepared his publication of the Ayia Irini material. I have the feeling that it is primarily the decoration and the flat bases which are decisive when determining whether a pot is V or VI.”

Thus, in my observations of this material, I concluded that WP VI at Akhera and Pendaia and WP VI at *Toumba tou Skourou* are all three chronologically close to WP VI at Ayia Irini. The difference is that the fabric differed from the fabric and firing of the WP VI of Ayia Irini.

Secondly, I noted that the fabric of the WP VI at Ayia Irini is the same as that which was used for the Bichrome Handmade vessels that I looked at from the same site (see Fig. 14). This was again the same as that which was used for WP VI Bichrome at Ayia Irini, 21:62 (see Fig. 15). This seems to support the view that the first WP VI wares at Ayia Irini were contemporary with Bichrome WP VI vessels using the same new fabric.

If this is correct, then the evidence from the North West Region not only supports the general Provisional Thesis I. It gives us additional chronological information about the development of the series.

We submit therefore that, using the information from the North West region, the island-wide or uni-

²⁵ 10 January 2008.



Fig. 11 White Painted VI vessels decorated by same individual from *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb IV 10, 12 (see also VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 278, 279)



Fig. 12 White Painted VI tankard from Ayia Irini Tomb 3 72 (see also PECORELLA 1977, 32–33, figs. 74, 115 72)



Fig. 13 White Painted VI tankard from *Toumba tou Skourou* Tomb IV (see also VERMEULE and WOLSKY 1990, 278, fig. 44)



Fig. 14 Bichrome Hand-made ware bottles from Ayia Irini Tomb 21 90, 74
(see also PECORELLA 1977, 157, figs. 395, 411, 470 74, 90)

versal thesis of Åström is strongly supported. On the other hand, at Kalopsida, Enkomi and other sites where there are large numbers of White Painted wares of the Transitional/Indeterminate category, the Frankel approach would be very important for those Transitional/Indeterminate categories.

Thus, our conclusion to this point is that what is required is to accept Åström's system for the substantive categories, especially WP V and WP VI (that is, Provisional Thesis I), while at the same time applying the approaches of Frankel and Maguire to the Tran-

sitional/Indeterminate categories, that is, Provisional Thesis II.

Our conclusions here are consistent with Maguire's observation made after her consideration of Åström's classification system *vis-a-vis* the analytical approach of Frankel, when she stated:²⁶

"The ultimate concern of this paper is to acknowledge that while discrepancies exist within the current classification sequence of Middle Bronze Age pottery, there is scope for review and refinement *without totally demolishing that classification.*"

²⁶ MAGUIRE 1991, 59, my italics.



Fig. 15 White Painted VI Bichrome bottle from Ayia Irini Tomb 21 62 (see also PECORELLA 1977, 153, figs. 384, 470 62)

Provisional Thesis III

There is an important additional issue that arises from Provisional Thesis II: Although we accept that the Transitional/Indeterminate WP categories cannot be ascribed to the general chronological system of the WP substantive categories, there may nevertheless be a visible temporal evolution within each geographical and cultural sub-grouping of the Transitional/Indeterminate category themselves. One specific decoration may

be seen to give rise to another in a temporal sequence [within that style and within that region).

As quoted earlier, Maguire²⁷ believes that this is the case with a number of the Transitional/Indeterminate categories. As we have indicated, she believes the Transitional/Indeterminate categories can be seen as having developed virtually independently of the substantive White Painted categories. She now adds that they can be considered to have a chronology of their own.

This leads us into the development of our Provisional Thesis III, which is as follows:

When dealing with a Transitional/Indeterminate category or style, we should look at the individual items and the material in general to seek out temporal sequences [once specific cultural groupings and at specific geographical locations in relation to these items have been determined]. For example, in dealing with the WP CLS category, we should first identify cultural groupings and geographical locations of that category. For each such sub-grouping, a relative chronological dimension can then be sought, using the contextual data.

There is reason to suppose that Frankel would accept Provisional Thesis III. In his 1974 book, although Frankel objects to a general chronological system such as that of Åström, he nevertheless accepts that an evolutionary sequence can be detected, when dealing with specific styles, such as the Transitional/Indeterminate categories. Indeed, Frankel draws a number of conclusions, which are ‘evolutionary’ in character; that is, cases in which one style is seen to give rise *over time* to another. For example:²⁸

“Another evolutionary sequence, again beginning from the assumed North Coast origins of the White Painted Wares may be drawn up for the Karpas Style. The unconnected and broken nature of some Red Polished and the normal White Painted I decoration may be seen as the source for the character of the Wavy Line Styles, and some of the open lattice motifs found at Vounous provide the motifs for the range of triangles and lozenges on the Karpas pottery.

The Pendent Line Style, fairly characteristic of the Eastern sites, can also be derived from White Painted I decoration, perhaps by way of the Framed Caduceus Style.

Åström has also suggested the evolution of the Cross Line Style from the Pendent Line Style. This evolution is suggested on the basis of the jug CM A798 and other material.”²⁹

²⁷ MAGUIRE 1991, 59.

²⁸ FRANKEL 1974, 2223.

²⁹ My italics.

What these evolutionary observations demonstrate is the importance of having a chronological dimension of some kind, even when we are dealing with items falling under the Transitional/Indeterminate categories. The difficulty in the case of the Transitional categories is that we cannot establish a universal or island-wide system for them. Thus, according to Provisional Thesis III, individual Transitional/Indeterminate wares [once they have been classified independently of the main WP V or WP VI categories] can [if the information and context is available] be given a separate, relative chronological location or temporal sequence of their own. This would be distinct from the main substantive categories of the WP series. This is the approach that should be taken in the analysis of the Transitional categories at Kalopsidha, Enkomi and other locations in Cyprus, when seeking a chronological dimension for these wares.

Provisional Thesis III has important implications for specific cases of chronological analysis which use the WP wares. An example is given when we consider Merrillees³⁰ discussion concerning the WP PLS in Egypt. He claims as a novel thesis the idea that WP PLS spans from MC III into LC IA. Specifically he argues that, because this Transitional WP ware is recorded at Tell el-Dab^a from just before Stratum F and ceases after the middle of Stratum D/3,³¹ it must follow that MC III–LC IA must equate with Tell el-Dab^a mid Stratum G–mid Stratum D/3.³² All this is fine to this point: however, Merrillees wishes to use this analysis from the one Transitional/Indeterminate category to draw a universal conclusion, namely, that the start of Late Cypriot IA must therefore move back to at least before Stratum D/3.

This conclusion contradicts our Provisional Thesis III. It also ignores the message from Maguire - that chronological divisions within a particular WP Transitional category or style cannot be universalised. Thus, we submit that Merrillees' argument is erroneous. The false conclusion here is that the latest survival of WP PLS in Cyprus must be equivalent with the latest appearance of WP wares in general at Tell el-Dab^a. On the contrary, as independent evidence shows, WP VI appears at Tell el-Dab^a during LC IA:2, that is, the New Kingdom period.

Thus, even if we agree with Merrillees³³ that WP

PLS does not postdate the beginning of the New Kingdom, we believe that his conclusion that "...it may be safely argued that Late Cypriot IA not only started well before the opening of the 18th Dynasty, but largely if not entirely overlapped with the Second Intermediate Period" does not follow at all. Merrillees' analysis here not only contradicts our Provisional Chronological Thesis III, it also fails to take into account the fact that the LC IA period has two parts, LC IA:1 and LC IA:2. Clearly the LC IA:2 extends well beyond the Second Intermediate Period into the New Kingdom period. In conclusion, while WP CLS may not extend beyond LC IA:1 [itself a dubious position], other forms of White Painted, such as the substantive WP VI, certainly do so.

The general conclusion from this survey [and from other surveys of WP material, which I am completing for SCIEM 2000], is that the three Provisional Theses are valid. Our conclusions can therefore be summed up as follows:

- i) while Frankel's socio cultural approach clearly has some validity, it seems to us that he goes too far in abandoning Åström's White Painted chronological classifications altogether. We maintain that, contrary to Frankel's original approach, Åström's chronological dimension is fundamental and also necessary for the understanding of the cultural/economic dynamic itself. This is especially the case for the Substantive categories such as WP V and WP VI. (Provisional Thesis I)
- ii) On the other hand, we believe that Frankel's approach has considerable value when it is applied for the analysis of wares which fall within Åström's Transitional/Indeterminate categories, such as the Cross Line Style and the Pendent Line Style. In these cases, geographical and functional group analysis is of great importance. (Provisional Thesis II)
- iii) Once the individual items in the Transitional/Indeterminate categories are analyzed according to (ii) above, they can [in certain cases where appropriate] be given a separate, relative chronological location or temporal sequence of their own, distinct from the main substantive categories of the WP series. (Provisional Thesis III).

³⁰ MERRILLEES 2002, 2.

³¹ MAGUIRE 1992, 117, fig. 4; BIETAK 2003, 24.

³² *Ibid.*, 3.

³³ MERRILLEES 2002, 6.

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