The Power of Porcelain: Authority and Landscape in Early Modern Cyprus

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The purpose of this study was to analyze the distribution of porcelain within rural Cypriot settlements. The source data used for this project are derived from the Troodos Archaeological and Environmental Survey Project (TAESP), which was conducted between 2002-2007 by Dr. M. Given, Dr. V. Kassianidou, Prof. A.B. Knapp, and Prof. J. Noller. The porcelain in the TAESP survey universe dated from the Cypriot Ottoman (1571-1878) and Modern (1878-ca. 1960) periods. To investigate if this porcelain material from TAESP reflected the presence of a rural elite habitation, the porcelain related data were organized by settlement type (i.e. Greek, Turkish, mixed, or ecclesiastical) and a proportion-based comparison with the quantity of other Ottoman-Modern tableware was carried out. In doing so, this thesis research attempted to demonstrate that a high proportion of porcelain-to-other-tableware in a particular settlement was an archaeological signature of a rural elite context within the TAESP survey universe. The results strongly suggested that monasteries and industry-rooted villages anchored coexisting realms of authority inhabited by separate classes of local elites, one municipal and one rural, on the social landscape of rural Cyprus. In addition, the results highlighted the economic presence of these locations, as the ritualization of coffee engendered great expense on behalf of the Early Modern consumer and played an important role in the demonstration of authority and status.

The Power of Porcelain: Authority and Landscape in Early Modern Cyprus

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"Cut your pen fine and your words short, and make do with what papyrus you have…"

—

Caliph Umar II

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Chapter One: Introduction

Project Overview

This study aimed to understand manifestations of local authority and power in rural Cyprus through the archaeological remains of porcelain coffee paraphernalia. The data employed for this project were derived from the Troodos Archaeological and Environmental Survey Project (TAESP), which was co-directed by Dr. M. Given, Dr. V. Kassianidou, Prof. A.B. Knapp, and Prof. J. Noller between 2002-2007 (Given et al., 2013a: vols. 1 & 2). The survey universe was located in rural north-central Cyprus between the modern villages of Phlasou and Xyliatou, and abutting the U.N. buffer zone separating Northern Cyprus from the Republic of Cyprus. This study focused on those artifacts used to consume coffee, such as European-made porcelain sherds, which dated to the emergence and popularization of coffee drinking in the Ottoman-Modern periods (1571-ca. 1960). However, porcelain artifacts in archaeological contexts dating to the Ottoman-Modern have largely gone unstudied. This thesis attempted to correct the absence of a systematic approach to the study of porcelain found on archaeological sites by applying spatial and analytical techniques to the porcelain assemblage found during the course of TAESP. The spatial study of TAESP's luxury coffee drinking paraphernalia presented itself as an opportunity to shed light on authority and power on the rural Cypriot landscape.

In order for this research to interpret how artifacts of coffee consumption demonstrated authority and power, the coffee cup related data were organized by settlement type (i.e. Greek, Turkish, mixed, or ecclesiastical) and a comparison with the quantity of other contemporaneous tableware was carried out. In doing so, the author attempted to prove that ecclesiastical settlements (e.g. monasteries and churches) maintained a similar archaeological signature to the industrial centers of the local landed elite. In other words, the higher the proportional observance of porcelain by this study in ecclesiastical and industry-rooted settlements would not only highlight the authority of these

locations in social matters, as porcelain represents a well-known commodity of symbolic status, but also underscore the elite's economic importance as the ritualization of coffee engendered great expense on behalf of the Early Modern consumer.

Government entities also played a deciding role in the consumption and movement of commodities. Especially in the case of high-value products, state policy often dictated many aspects of the sale, shipping, and consumption of expensive commodities and led to the strong European ambition to circumvent the Near East in their quest to secure valuable trade-links with the Far East (particularly driven by the spice trade). As new commodities such as coffee and sugar began to increase in demand, states across the Mediterranean basin looked for ways to control and benefit from their trade. In many cases, cultural or ethnic identity became entangled with these high-value goods, with social class and authority often displayed through these consumables and commodities. Moreover, Cyprus once again forms an ideal case study for this research endeavor.

First, the term Ottoman period requires definition as the 15th-20th centuries can be named in multiple ways. In archaeological nomenclature, the terms Islamic period and Ottoman period are both used to describe Anatolia and the Near East from the 14th century onwards, and both covered under the umbrella term of 'the Early Modern Period' (ca. 1500-1800) (cf. Walker et al., 2009). The Islamic often has the connotations of dealing with an "older" timeframe (i.e. the 7th century), and the Ottoman confined to the 15th-early 20th centuries. However, the periods designated Late Islamic and Ottoman often refer to the same sequence of time. As Cyprus was not fully integrated into the Ottoman world until 1571, the term 'Islamic period' was not used in this analysis; rather, only 'Ottoman period' (1571-1878) was used, which is largely in keeping with the chronology used by the TAESP survey.[1] In terms of Whitcomb's Islamic chronology (1978; 1992; 1997; cf. Milwright, 2010),

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[1] This is a condensed version of the TAESP chronology. The full TAESP chronology is available in Given et al., 2013a, vol.1: 31.

Cyprus's Ottoman period begins at the end of the Late Islamic I (1400-1600) and continues into the Late Islamic II (1600-1900). On the island of Cyprus, the Ottoman period is succeeded by the British Mandate and Colonial period (1878-1960), which is in turn followed by the Modern period (1960-present).

There is a great deal of continuity between the utility ware and cooking ware ceramic assemblages of pre- and post-Ottoman Cyprus (Gabriele 2004; 2006; 2008; 2009; Gabriele et al, 2001; 2007). This continuity in ceramic styles and forms makes it difficult to date sherds of utility and cooking wares to a specific period difficult (Gabriele, 2008). However, tableware sherds can often be dated to more exact timeframes. This is because tablewares, unlike utility and cooking wares, frequently changed designs, origin, material, and function throughout the Ottoman to Modern periods on Cyprus.

Ottoman-era tableware in the TAESP survey universe can be roughly divided into two groups: imported and local (Vroom, 2013: 77-80). Among the imported wares was Italian Marble ware (a polychrome painted ware with a marble looking interior), Italian Majolica ware (a polychrome painted ware), Italian and Corfu Grottaglie ware (a polychrome painted ware), Kütahya ware (a polychrome painted ware from northwestern Turkey associated with coffee drinking; cf. Crowe, 2011), Çanakkale ware (a glazed ware imported from the Dardanelles in western Turkey; cf. Tekkök, 2011), and Didymoteicho ware (a slip painted ware from northern Greece and/or Çanakkale; cf. Vionis, 2012). Locally made tablewares consisted of Monochrome Painted Wares from workshops such as Lapithos on the northern coast of Cyprus (primarily in Green, Brown, or Ochre colors). These tablewares took the form of bowls, dishes, jugs, and cups. The TAESP survey made no mention of its porcelain finds in its discussion of the tableware assemblage. Nonetheless, porcelain would fall into the category of an imported tableware likely originating from factories in Europe, or perhaps (in rare instances) from China.

This thesis research used the published survey data from the Troodos Archaeological Environmental Survey Project (TAESP) to focus attention on the quantity and distribution of porcelain ceramic sherds, roughly dating from the 18th-20th centuries. It is assumed within this thesis research that the majority, if not the entirety, of the pre-British assemblage is of European origin and not Chinese. This assumption is based on the fact that TAESP listed all porcelain as "Ottoman-Modern" or "Modern" in date, although this dating appears to be used as a blanket term and it is likely that pre-1878 European porcelain is highly represented in the assemblage. It must be noted that there were few references to maker's marks nor illustrations of the porcelain assemblage by TAESP to verify this dating assumption. Nevertheless, porcelain is found within settlements abandoned before 1878, indicating at least some of the porcelain assemblage predates the start of the British period in 1878.

The decision to focus this study on the distribution and social context of porcelain in rural Cyprus stemmed from four factors. First, porcelain represents a securely dated and abundant ceramic dataset. Second, porcelain is historically known to be an expensive material possession, often seen on the tables of the wealthy (Carroll, 1999). Third, porcelain is among the least studied artifacts in the TAESP publications. Fourth, imported porcelain cups provide a means to identify coffee consumption in the rural Troodos landscape. With these four factors in mind, the location and concentration of porcelain artifacts formed a potential tool for locating rural centers of authority and power on the Troodos landscape.

Therefore, this analysis argues for the use of porcelain as a key archaeological indicator in identifying authority and social status on the rural landscape of Early Modern Cyprus. The overarching goal of this study is to test the important role that authority and power play in ordering the social landscape, and how archaeology can function to illuminate this relationship through the study of material culture.

Summary of the TAESP Survey

The TAESP project was the continuation and extension of Given and Knapp's Sydney Cyprus Survey Project (SCSP), that was carried out from 1992-1997 in an adjacent region of northwestern Cyprus (Given and Knapp 2003). The methodology in both the SCSP and the TAESP surveys was similar. For example, both surveys employed the same collection strategies and shared a "site-less" methodological focus aimed at answering questions of human-environmental interaction on a regional level. This regional focus represented a new generation of theoretically minded large-scale survey projects which have been conducted throughout the eastern Mediterranean world (Given, 2013: 5; Given and Knapp 2003; Tartaron et al., 2006; Bintliff, Howard, and Snodgrass, 2007; Watrous, et al. 2004; Carraher et al., 2014; Toumazou, Kardulias, and Counts, 2010).

The theoretical framework of TAESP drew from Ian Hodder's (1999; 2000) concept of "the site," wherein a site is a collection of meanings or associations to a past or present human occupation (Given et al., 2013b, vol.1: 10). Within this context, the site was not only a geographically bounded collection of artifacts, but also a physical area of human interaction with shifting contexts that the archaeologist must interpret. This theoretical perspective meshed well with Given's ideas concerning *commotion, collaboration,* and *conviviality* (2013a). These terms referred to the constant movement of human and natural agents within the landscape (*commotion*), how these agents combined to change the landscape (*collaboration*), and how connections formed between agents on the landscape (*conviviality*) (Given, 2013a; Mann 2015: 90). From this perspective, the data were not objective remains that reflected a particular behavior but were the byproduct of human motion across, and interaction with, the landscape (Mann 2015: 91). In broader theoretical terms, "we [archaeologists] can never confront theory and data as two clearly independent and opposable categories; instead, we see data through a cloud of theory" (Johnson, 2010: 106). *Commotion, collaboration,* and *conviviality* were the cloud through which the TAESP team saw their data collection.

The TAESP survey encompassed four basic geographic zones: the plains, the Karkotis Valley, the Lagoudhera Valley, and the Troodos Mountains. The plains were composed of the Atsas, Mandres, and Koutraphas Intensive Survey Zones (see below). These geographic distinctions were used by the TAESP researchers to present the diachronically changing "relationship between people and their landscape" (Given, 2013b, vol.2: 2).

The TAESP team carried out a stratified sampling strategy of the survey universe (Given and Noller, 2013, vol.1: 18-20). Field crews covered an area of 164 km^2 by conducting pedestrian transects across the landscape. The stratified sampling method divided the survey universe into Intensive Survey Zones (ISZs) and extensive zones. Areas of high archaeological potential were identified as ISZs, and hence, they were more frequently surveyed than the extensive zones. TAESP addressed extensive zones by placing long and distantly spaced survey transects across the portions of the survey universe not covered by an ISZ.
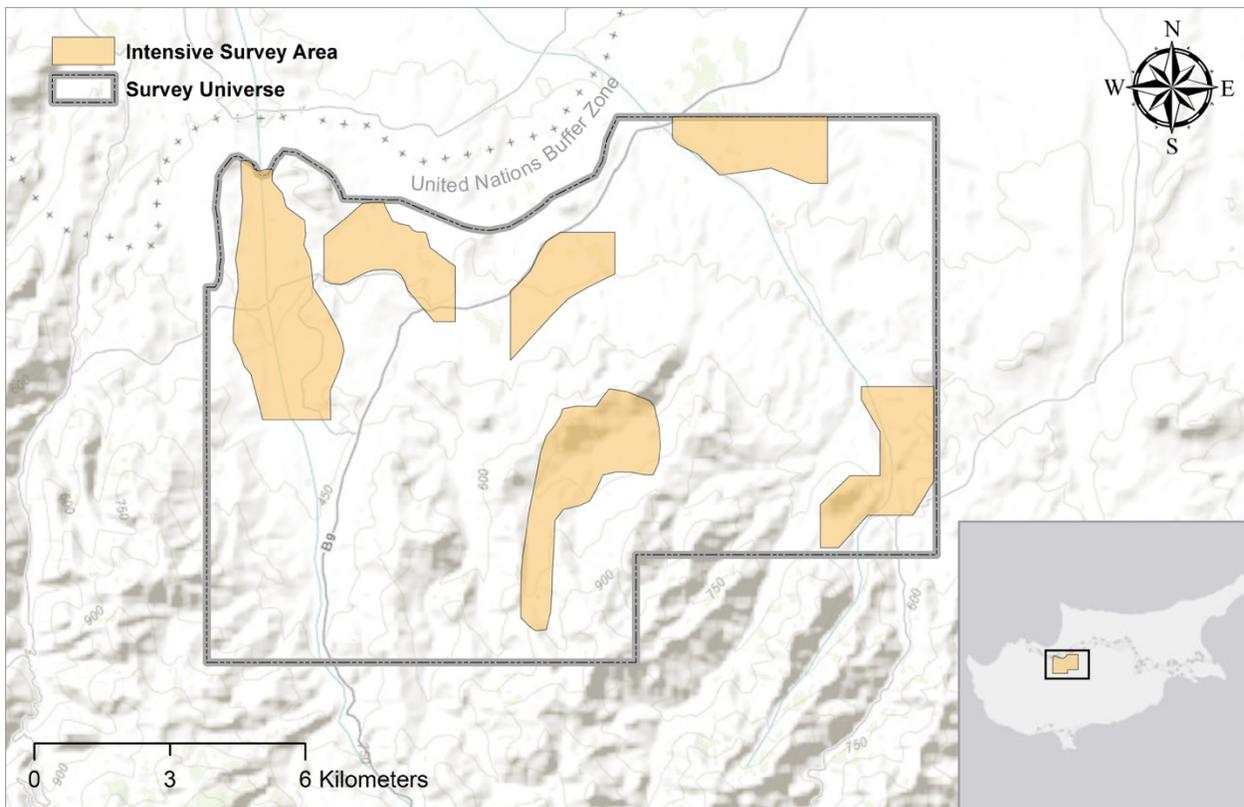
Figure 1. Overview of the TAESP survey universe with Intensive Survey Zones (ISZs) highlighted.

Within the survey universe, Special Interest Areas (TSs) were used to denote areas of block survey that signaled the presence of an important or significant feature (e.g. a village). Instead of the term 'site,' Given and associates used the term Places of Special Interest (POSIs). A POSI, which in many ways resembles the traditional archaeological site, was "any location where there was good reason, whether cultural or natural, for carrying out more detailed recording" (Given et al., 2013c, vol.1: 26). Places of Special Interest differed from the traditional archaeological site in that POSIs were not bounded or (generally) described in relation to other POSIs. The following were often listed as POSIs: architectural remains, imposing geologic features, artifact scatters, and modifications to the landscape (Given et al., 2013c, vol.1: 26-27; Given et al., 2013a, vol.2: 249-256).

In total, 30,721 ceramic sherds were collected and/or analyzed during the course of TAESP (Given et al., 2013c, vol.1: 25). In the field, TAESP conducted a brief analysis of ceramics observed, which included an identification of chronological period, function, type, and decoration. From these field observations a representative sample was collected and marked for further analysis. This collection method comprised the "Chronotype" system, in which a maximum five samples of the same material (e.g. porcelain), form (e.g. handle type 2), time-period (e.g. modern), and fragment type (e.g. body sherd) were marked for further analysis and collected (Meyer et al., 2003a; 2003b). The study of ceramics beyond the initial classification functioned to refine the field observations and to identify unique ceramic characteristics, such as type, date, and function. Type refers to the surface treatment (e.g. monochrome glazed) or distinctive form (e.g. Rim Type 2).[2] The types most commonly found included monochrome and polychrome glazed-wares, slip painted-wares, handmade course-wares, porcelain wares, and sgraffito wares.

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[2] A full Chronotype listing is as follows: MP01-OTTMODII-TW. MP01 = Monochrome Painted Type 1; OTTMODII = Ottoman-Modern II period; TW = Tableware.

TAESP used seven functional categories for the ceramic finds: architectural, tableware, cooking-ware, utility-ware, heavy utility-ware, light utility-ware, and personal objects. Tablewares comprised all ceramics used in the consumption of food and dining activities. Tablewares therefore included cups, bowls, plates, dishes and other forms of ceramics; porcelain was included within the tableware category. These tablewares were often manufactured with a great deal of craftsmanship and quality, making them both expensive and distinguishable from other types of ceramics. Porcelain is one of the most recognizable fabrics of tableware, and due to its high visibility[3] during pedestrian survey it comprised a significant proportion of the TAESP Ottoman-Modern ceramic collection. Consequently, the visibility of porcelain could introduce a bias regarding its collection by TAESP's survey teams making it more frequently collected than other tablewares. However, this study operates under the assumption that porcelain collection was not biased by this visibility, as other types of tableware (i.e. glazed wares) were also collected in large numbers. Utility-wares (utility, heavy, and light categories) included ceramics whose functions were primarily domestic or industrial storage and general use (Winther-Jacobsen, 2013: 29-30). Cooking ware was used in the preparation or consumption of food. Ceramics whose functions were strictly related to the construction and maintenance of buildings formed the architectural functional category (e.g. roof tiles). Tobacco pipes represented the only sample of personal objects within the ceramic collection. Artifacts deemed to display a unique or dateable quality were drawn and published. In the TAESP publications, however, no porcelain finds were among those illustrated or published (Given et al., 2013a, vols. 1 & 2).

TAESP constructed the following chronological framework for the pottery found during the course of the survey: those most pertinent to this thesis research included the Medieval-Ottoman (1191-1878), Medieval Utility periods I-III (late 12th century-20th century), Ottoman period (1571-

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[3] In the case of porcelain, its morphology of pure-white kaolin and glazed surface make it more easily distinguishable from "ground confusion" (e.g. overgrowth and grass).

1878), and the Ottoman-Modern periods (1571-ca. 1960). The porcelain found by TAESP was wholly attributed to the Ottoman-Modern period and the Modern period (1878-ca. 1960).

At its core, the TAESP survey maintained a site-less methodological approach, and therein, the project did not seek to identify "sites" in the traditional sense but to establish artifact densities across the landscape. In keeping with the theoretical nature of the survey, artifact analysis was not centered on sites, but rather, focused on artifact densities yielded through pedestrian survey which enabled the TAESP authors to offer their conclusions about the changing landscape of this rural Cypriot region (Given et al., 2013c, vol.1: 20). Porcelain, which formed the basis for this thesis research, was largely overlooked in the collection of data during the TAESP survey. Nonetheless, porcelain's presence was noted in POSIs, TSs, and ISZs throughout the survey universe. To fully understand porcelain's importance in a rural context, it is first necessary to establish porcelain as an object that functionally and visually displayed authority and power.

Porcelain as a Prestige Good

The study of objects has long been at the center of anthropological inquiry. Beyond strictly chronological constructions of use and decline, archaeologists have also focused on the manufacture and acquisition of prestige goods as a means of acquiring status in past societies. Mills (2004: 238) finds that prestige goods models have several common parameters including an assumption that the economy is the basis for power, that the exchange of prestige goods takes place within centralized, hierarchically organized societies, and that this exchange most often takes place among elites who control the production and distribution of such goods. These models, however, do not take into account the ways that social complexity and status emerge without centralization. Nor do they explore the full range of socially valued materials including those that are used in ritual contexts or that confer prestige in noneconomic ways (Mills, 2004: 239).

Drawing upon the work of Marcel Mauss (1966), cultural anthropologist Annette Weiner (1985, 1992) used data from her research in the Trobriand Islands to argue that inalienable wealth or possessions are those whose value derives from the maker and the social context. These objects are not exchanged as commodities, but are circulated in limited conditions under special circumstances such that status accrues to those who can pass objects along until these eventually return to the creators of them. Such inalienable possessions may include objects like Kula arm bands or shell necklaces, land use rights or ritual knowledge. These inalienable objects, moreover, often serve as symbols for the social order and can convey the history of a group. Weiner's work spurred economic anthropologists and archaeologists to think more about how the histories of people and of objects inform one another and to analyze the role of objects in directing or constituting the form of social relations (Godsen and Marshall, 1999). This approach to the cultural biography of objects traces back to the work of Igor Kopytoff (1986) and calls for "a new perspective on the circulation of commodities in social life" (Appadurai, 1986: 3). Kopytoff's method is particularly appropriate to the analysis of the role of porcelain in the construction of social relations and in the constitution of power in rural Cypress. In particular, the parallel values of church relics and porcelain will be assessed, insofar as the former acts as an outward display of socio-religious authority and the latter of economic vitality in a commodity-driven market system. Comparisons between oriental rugs and porcelain vessels, and the purchase and display of relics and the purchase and investment in porcelain help to illuminate the study of authority and power as all of these objects are intended to project specified and legitimatizing messages. The presence of porcelain on the rural Cypriot landscape, therefore, denotes a symbol of outward wealth and a desire for membership to the 'elite' who upheld porcelain as a luxurious necessity to coffee for centuries.

Igor Kopytoff provides the following set of questions when discussing what forms the parameters for an object biography:

In doing the biography of a thing, one would ask questions similar to those one asks about people: What, sociologically, are the biographical possibilities inherent in its "status" and in the period and culture, and how are these possibilities realized? Where does the thing come from and who made it? … What are the recognized ages or periods in the thing's "life," and what are the cultural markers for them? How does the thing's use change with its age, and what happens to it when it reaches the end of its usefulness? (Kopytoff, 1986: 67).

With these questions in hand, the biography of objects can provide the anthropology-minded archaeologist a wealth of data. For example, how was the object acquired? How much did the object cost? How was the object used? How did its value change through its "lifespan"? For this approach to be effective in the case of Cypriot porcelain, a culturally informed biography must be constructed, in which the object, in this case porcelain, is looked upon as a "culturally constructed entity, endowed with culturally specific meanings…" (Kopytoff, 1986: 68). To take aim at this goal, it is crucial to identify porcelain's status (i.e. culturally constructed value) within the framework Kopytoff's model.

Two primary elements are at the core of the discussion regarding the social life of things: the singular and the commoditized (Kopytoff, 1986). These two concepts form the polar ends of a spectrum on which objects are valued, individualized, and classified within the human mind. While the commodity is an object of economic value (Appadurai, 1986: 3; Kopytoff, 1986: 64), the singular object is one to which no value, in both the sense of pricelessness and worthlessness, is attributed. Singularizing can have a decommoditizing effect, that is to devalue it (Kopytoff, 1986: 74-75), or a sacralizing effect; however, to sacralize does not automatically imbue monetary value (Kopytoff, 1986: 73). In short, a commoditized object has a universally recognized value; a value that allows it to be traded in a barter economy or sold in a monetary exchange economy. Meanwhile, the singular object contains no value. Its value is unique to the owner "in the full possible sense of the term, ranging from the uniquely valuable to the uniquely worthless" (Kopytoff, 1986: 75). An object's status as commodity or singular is fluid over time, however, as the undercurrent of forces dictating

an object's classification in the human mind shift, so can its status as commoditized or singularized (Myers, 2001: 8).

Underpinning the opposition of the commodity versus the singular, the potential surge to commoditization is checked by culture. In this sense, a second continuum is formed with commoditization on the one hand, and culture on the other. Again, Kopytoff explains these opposing forces as follows:

> Commoditization, then, is best looked upon as a process of becoming rather than as an all-or-none state of being. Its expansion takes place in two ways: (a) with respect to each thing, by making it exchangeable for more and more other things, and (b) with respect to the system as a whole, by making more and more different things more widely exchangeable. The counterdrive to this potential onrush of commoditization is culture. In the sense that commoditization homogenizes value, while the essence of culture is discrimination, excessive commoditization is anti-cultural…Culture ensures that some things remain unambiguously singular, it resists the commoditization of others; and it sometimes resingularizies what has been commoditized (Kopytoff, 1986: 73).

In short, culture provides a balance to the mass commoditization of objects. Some objects, like the commonly recognized commodities of tobacco, coffee, sugar, and textiles are meant to be sold; while other objects, such as heirlooms, public land, and "sacred" items, are precluded from sale (and thus commoditization). Culture opposes the commoditization of some items and allows the process to occur with others. However, culture and individual opposition to the homogenizing drive of commoditization can produce results "in inconsistent and even contradictory ways" (Kopytoff, 1986: 77).

The question must then be asked: where does Early Modern porcelain fit into this opposition of culture and commodity and the singular and the commoditized? The body of literature dealing with this theory is largely focused on the cultures typically studied by anthropologists, those non-western cultures found often in remote or distance corners of the world. Daniel Miller (2001) rightly directs criticism at this tradition which makes "comparisons between the Occident and the Pacific, [where] the duality of gift and commodity can be retained as a basic opposition in which the

term 'gift' evokes a sense of the inalienable wealth while 'commodity' is taken as the essence of the alienable…the gift is primarily [domestic]" (93). Recently, some anthropologists have shifted focus to study modern objects in the west and their biographies (Keane, 2001; Lomnitz, 2001; Miller, 1987; 1998). However, material analyses of the more recent (i.e. post-Medieval) past are mostly absent from these works, with the exception being Pierson's study of Ming Porcelain (2013). With this absence in Early Modern material studies, Kopytoff (1986) and Spooner (1986) instead have provided the valuable analogy of the oriental carpet when trying to place Early Modern porcelain into this theoretical framework. The premise of this analogy rests on Kopytoff's idea of "terminal commoditization" (1986: 75). The terminal commodity is an item which may be sold at an established value (i.e. as a commodity), but further sale is precluded in a given society. However, high priced or durable goods may be sold onwards, although being terminal commodities:

> There is an area of our economy in which the selling strategy rests on stressing that the commoditization of goods bought for consumption need not be terminal: thus, the promise that oriental carpets, though bought for use, are a "good investment" … (Kopytoff, 1986: 75).

In many ways, porcelain fits this description of a terminal commodity not necessarily precluded from further sale by the owner. In short, porcelain as a terminal commodity is an object produced for the market (i.e. a commodity), but once sold, was intended to be taken off the market (i.e. singularized). Porcelain was an expensive commodity that when bought was taken off the market, and indeed decommoditized. Yet, cultural forces leave the item open to recommodification, those being that porcelain, like the oriental carpet, is "a good value," or it has "high resale value." Spooner's discussion of terminal commodities helps to make this analogy between the oriental carpet and porcelain clearer. He writes:

> Objectively, [oriental rugs] may be new or old (not "second-hand"), large or small. There is a wide range of price, durability, materials, designs, colors…They may be purchased as floor covering, for décor, or as a collector's item…Like other objects of conspicuous consumption, carpets first became luxury furnishings for the elite, and have now gone the

way of so many luxuries in recent times and become available throughout the middle class. But they have not lost their elitist appeal in the process" (1986: 195).

Therefore, although porcelain became mass-produced in the 18th century, mass-production did not necessarily equate to loss of status. Porcelain largely mirrored the trajectory of the oriental rug as it refers to a history of elite exclusivity, later mass-production, and continued status-value. Both have functional, utilitarian uses; one covers the floor and makes a room more appealing, while the other effectively disperses heat in a lightweight and high durability design. Therefore, it is possible to argue that porcelain occupied a space as both a material symbol of status and as a terminal commodity, not meant to be sold but retained a potential for high resale. As contemporary sources have demonstrated (cf. Palmer, 1976; McClean, 2004), status was often displayed through what the meal was served on, not the composition of the food itself.

If porcelain played such a pivotal role in demonstrating economic wealth, the question then arises: what role did porcelain items play in the Orthodox Church where overt shows of wealth were not necessarily an end-goal? It is within this ecclesiastical setting that this thesis proposes two parallel realms of material display exist to demonstrate authority and power. One category of items, such as relics, functioned to establish the religious legitimacy of a specific church and its clergy; the second category, in this case porcelain, functioned as symbols of economic wealth demonstrating viability as an elite class of commodity consumers.

The first of these categories concerns the realm of religious legitimacy. Patrick Geary (1986) examined the circulation of medieval relics during the Carolingian period in western Europe (ca. 750-1150) and argued that although relics are undoubtedly a prime example of Kopytoff's singular objects, "they were bought and sold, stolen or divided, much as any other commodity was" (1986: 169). Relics were an essential, singular commodity to the individual church and wider ecclesiastical establishment, as relics were supposed to be present at every church altar (Geary, 1986: 176). The fact that these supposedly singular objects were exchanged like commodities is the salient point

because the church and its officials bought, sold, and traded them even knowing that their utilitarian value was nil since relics only served to legitimize the religious authority of the Church. These relics, moreover, encompassed more items than just saint's bones as described by Geary. Indeed, golden crosses, gilded bibles, elaborate art (as seen in Asinou church), and other implements were found within churches but had no value outside the ecclesiastical context apart from that of the materials sometimes used to fashion them (i.e. gold). The acquisition and display of these items was intended specifically to project religious authority, which subsequently removed them, at least temporarily, from circulation and enhanced the perception of their singularity and symbolic value.

Porcelain, on the other hand, belonged to a category of authoritative objects that projected economic power and viability. For example, ecclesiastical estates like the Kykkos Monastery (Roudometof and Michael, 2010; Aymes, 2014), dealt extensively in commercial enterprise. For this reason, it is necessary to consider the Church as both a socio-religious authority and an economically elite social class. Friedl's 1965 description of the Greek village of Vasilika illustrated this concept as the church priest was not only the supreme religious authority, but he was also one of the largest individual landholders in the village (1965: 33), having extensive personal holdings in addition to the lands controlled by the Church itself (Friedl, 1965: 99). In this sense, Hadjianastasis is right to state that the rural clergy "was as distant from [the high clergy] as the peasantry was," (2004: 210). However, it does not necessarily mean that the rural clergy comprised an elite class defined as being over and above the peasantry. While Friedl describes the village priest as wealthy, she points out that, "if there is an unexpected need for extra labor, he tucks up his flowing robes and pitches in" (1965: 33). Therefore, in a rural context where authority was not vested in an established class hierarchy, it had to be constantly demonstrated and reinforced. The acquisition or relics helped to undergird religious authority. Porcelain, on the other hand, in part because of its use in hospitality rituals and business dealings, functioned to help demonstrate claims to higher economic status by

the clergy and the Church. Additionally, when considering Hadjianastasis's (2004) distinction between the rural clergy and the urban clergy, a similar pattern emerges regarding the use of certain items (e.g. porcelain) within the clerical structure itself that mirrors what Friedl describes as an admiration and emulation by the rural peasantry of "standards of living and of taste as they perceive them to exist in the towns and cities" (1965: 38). It becomes plausible to infer that porcelain served as not only as a vessel for coffee consumption but also as a vessel for the display of status and power in the economic realm. The desire for porcelain derived from the emulation of perceived elite standards in the cities of Cyprus by both the rural landed elite and the rural clergy (who were often one in the same), thus explaining its prevalence and distribution on the TAESP rural landscape.

In short, this section has functioned as a theoretical explanation to highlight the symbolic importance of porcelain. The circumstances surrounding the consumption of porcelain by the civil elite classes of Cyprus appear clear, as the item represented an expensive and luxurious accompaniment to coffee, which in itself was an expensive commodity. The circumstances surrounding the Orthodox Church's consumption of porcelain is less straightforward. To aid in this discussion of the TAESP porcelain distribution, this research has presented the hypothesis that two distinct realms of material display existed within the Church. The first category, to establish and reproduce socio-religious authority; the second, to demonstrate and legitimize the Church as an economically elite institution. Porcelain was used to underscore the latter, acquired in order to demonstrate the power of the local parish and the prosperity of the local priest, thus helping to reaffirm the overall authority of the Orthodox superstructure. Accordingly, not only does the circulation of porcelain merit further analysis, but it is argued here that porcelain (and by extension Kütahya ware) forms one of the primary identifiers of a socio-economic elite class on the Early Modern rural landscape. The TAESP porcelain assemblage provides data which can be used to test this hypothesis with archaeology in varying temporal and societal contexts.

Porcelain in rural Cyprus therefore offers an alternative to the classic prestige goods model. In this case it is not a matter of elites controlling the production of goods and monopolizing their distribution; rather, it demonstrates non-centralized consumption of rural goods that would otherwise be commodities to demonstrate membership to an 'elite' class. In short, porcelain, while not only being functional, was primarily bought, sold, and displayed to demonstrate the power and status of a specific individual or group. Religious relics additionally demonstrate this alternative model of prestige goods. Normally associated with the Wiener's inalienable, religious relics are nonetheless sold in a limited sphere in order to shore up and re-legitimize the status and power. This theoretical discussion advances the notion of prestige and power goods beyond models previously employed in archaeology in hopes of generating a clearer picture of the social dynamics present on archaeological landscapes.

Introduction to Project Methods

This thesis research assumes that the TAESP porcelain assemblage is primarily composed of coffee cups. This assumption that coffee cups make up the bulk of the porcelain assemblage is based on the following lines of reasoning. First, porcelain is an expensive commodity in the Early Modern Ottoman world, and it seems unlikely that large porcelain vessels would be common in a location deemed economically poor (cf. historical sources: von Löher, 1878: 183-184; Lewis, 1887: 120; Steward, 1908: v). Second, porcelain cups are found in other areas where agriculture and pastoralism were prevalent modes of subsistence (Walker, 2009: 48-49). Agricultural and pastoralist modes of subsistence are representative of the TAESP survey universe. Third, historical records demonstrate a mass importation of European-made porcelain from the Meissen factory in Germany during the 18th and 19th centuries (Artan, 2010: 118-119; Avissar, 2009: 8; cf. Inalcik, 1973: 138). Together these points do not guarantee that all porcelain found in the TAESP survey universe functioned for coffee

consumption, although it appears highly likely that coffee cups were the dominant porcelain vessels present in rural homes and churches. Conversely, even if cups are not the dominant morphology, pre-20th century porcelain in any form is still indicative of a rural elite due to its inherent cost. The recognition of porcelain as a high status item make it the ideal material subject for identifying centers of rural authority and power. Moreover, porcelain's characteristic as a high-status item is attestable through historical sources throughout Europe and the Ottoman Empire (cf. Carroll, 1999; Artan, 2010).

Geographic Information Systems (GIS) were the primary tool used to allow for more fine-grained analysis of the TAESP porcelain assemblage. Two essential tools within the GIS software system were used: Nearest Neighbor (distribution analysis) and Anselin Local Moran I (cluster analysis). Nearest Neighbor analysis function to determine the degree to which porcelain was randomly placed throughout the survey universe. An Anselin Local Moran I cluster analysis then followed, to define the location of significant clusters on the landscape. The information gained from these processes was compared with the social and geographic contexts present in TAESP's study zone.

With the results of these analytical processes in mind, the consumption of this expensive commodity, imported porcelain, and its commoditized accompaniment, coffee, can be traced in the rural Troodos landscape, and in the process, aid in identifying centers of rural authority. In sum, this project determined that a high proportional presence of porcelain in rural Cypriot villages and ecclesiastical settlements can function as an identifier for rural centers of authority on the Troodos landscape. Historical documents are used to supplement the archaeological data and lend further context to the landscape. What follows is a brief overview of the methods used within this thesis research.

Methods of Analysis

The TAESP porcelain sample totaled 301 sherds. To systematically examine this sample, the porcelain data were first organized within this thesis research according to settlement type, for example, by ethnicity of inhabitants of a village site, or by ecclesiastical settlement. Secondly, the porcelain sample was organized to reflect the ratio of porcelain to other Ottoman-era tableware to determine porcelain's overall prevalence within a particular group of settlements. Because of the large amount of ceramics recorded by TAESP, it became necessary to create a tableware dataset with which to analyze the porcelain finds from the survey universe. The development of an Ottoman-Modern tableware dataset focused on narrowing the types and functions of ceramics for study to exclude all pre-Ottoman and non-tableware ceramics. The ensuing master list (all Ottoman-Modern tablewares in the TAESP survey universe) formed the reference for all other datasets in this study. Two primary subsets were constructed from the master list: porcelain and non-porcelain across the survey universe. The final product of this sorting procedure was a manageable and informative dataset of all Ottoman-Modern tableware in the TAESP survey universe (Figure 2).

Once the Ottoman-Modern tableware dataset was established, the objective shifted to recognizing key archaeological patterns in differing social, ethnic, and geographical contexts within the TAESP survey universe. These archaeological patterns formed the principal element in developing hypotheses concerning what information ceramics, specifically porcelain, could reveal in relation to the rural Cypriot social landscape during the Ottoman, British, and Modern periods, 1571-ca. 1960.

Patterns in the distribution of porcelain across the TAESP survey universe were identified through the use of ArcMap 10.3, Microsoft Excel, and Google Earth software. Geographical

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Information Systems (GIS) and ceramic data from the TAESP survey were publically available[4] and

these data formed the source of this thesis research. Once patterns in ceramic distribution were

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	L	M	N	O	P	Q	R	S
1	AUNo	BatchNo	Box	BUNo	ChroTPer	ChroTType	Clay	Comm	CTNo	Decor	EntBy	EntDate	FlagCh	FragBase	FragBody	FragHand	FragLid	FragRim	Func
2		P06	1		MEDOTT	G01	M				KWJ	26/7/2001	0		1				TW
3		P04	1		MEDOTT	G01	M				KWJ	26/7/2001	0		1				TW
4		P08	1		MEDOTT	G01	F				KWJ	30/7/2001	0		1				TW
5		P09	1		MEDOTT	G01	M				KWJ	30/7/2001	0		1				TW
6		P23	1		MEDOTT	G01	F				EAS	########	0		1				TW
7		P03	2		MEDOTT	G02	M				LAM	17/7/2001	0		1	1			TW
8		P17	1		MEDOTT	G04	M				KWJ	29/7/2001	0		1				TW
9		P20	2		MEDOTT	G05	M	Probably MEDVOTT			KWJ	29/7/2001	0		2				TW
10		P28	1		MEDOTT	G06	M				KWJ	########	0	1					TW
11		P08	2		MEDOTT	MP01	C			painted	MTH	25/7/2002	0		2				TW
12		P03	1		MM	BGW	F				CSA	23/7/2003	0	1					TW
13		P06	2		MM	BGW	F	BGWHU on form but	Incised		LHS	23/7/2001	0		1			1	TW
14		P32	1		MM	BGW	M			brown	SMJ	########	0					1	TW
15		P05	1		MM	BGW	F				AJG	########	0	1					TW
16		P04	2		MM	BGW	M			WHITISH	CSA	22/7/2003	0		2				TW
17		P04	1		MM	G	M	?			CAS	17/7/2001	0		1				TW
18		P07	1		MM	G	M				AJG	20/7/2004	0		1				TW
19		P20	1		MM	G	M			Yellowish	AJG	18/7/2002	0		1				TW
20		P06	1		MM	G	F				CJA	28/6/2001	1		1				TW
21		P07	1		MM	G	M				CJA	28/6/2001	1		1				TW
22		P10	1		MM	G	F				EAS	########	0		1				TW
23		P03	1		MM	G	F				AJG	18/7/2002	0		1				TW

Figure 2. An example of the finished master list with Chronotypes and quantities listed.

identified, historical sources were then used to supplement the analysis of their spatial dispersion

across the landscape.

Due to TAESP's site-less methods, associating material culture with specific villages was a

challenge in the course of this study. Where material was not directly associated with a settlement, an

arbitrary 250-meter radius around the settlement was established and all material therein was

considered as associated with said settlement. This practice was most commonly used for associating

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[4] See online data publication:
http://archaeologydataservice.ac.uk/archives/view/taesp_ahrc_2007/downloads.cfm.

material remains with churches and monasteries, with TAESP usually listing very little as being in direct association with these structures unless designated as a TS (Place of Special Interest).

This research established the ratio of porcelain to other Ottoman-Modern tablewares for each settlement where ceramics were collected in the survey universe. These settlements were additionally grouped into five ethnic categories where possible based on Given and Hadjianastasis's review of the 1833 Ottoman census of the area (2010). These ethnic groups were Greek, Turkish, mixed, ecclesiastical settlements, and fields (non-settlement related survey units).

The density of porcelain and other Ottoman-Modern tablewares were calculated to determine if there was a relationship between settlement size and ceramic consumption. Since site size was not recorded by TAESP, the number of households functioned as a proxy for settlement size. Density was calculated only for settlements that were positive for porcelain, and was measured in sherds per home. Results for this calculation were expressed as porcelain sherds per home (P/H, where P = number of porcelain sherds and H = number of homes), and other Ottoman-Modern tableware per home (T/H, where T = number of non-porcelain tableware and H = number of homes). The number of homes was based on analysis of the Ottoman 1833 census of Cyprus.

With the aid of ArcMap 10.3 software, a Nearest Neighbor Analysis was carried out to determine the nature of porcelain's distribution amongst the survey universe. In the context of this study, a Nearest Neighbor Analysis demonstrated whether porcelain was spaced uniformly, randomly, or clustered within the survey universe (cf. Bevan and Conolly, 2006; Pinder et al., 1979). If clustering was confirmed, it enabled further statistical analysis on the spatial distribution of porcelain to continue.

A Cluster and Outlier Analysis (Anselin Local Morans I) was performed if clustering was confirmed by the Nearest Neighbor Analysis. This analysis, likewise conducted in ArcMap 10.3, was undertaken to identify the specific locations of statistically significant assemblages (clusters) of

porcelain. The results of the Cluster and Outlier Analysis were mapped onto settlement locations. The locations of the clusters were then compared with settlement locations to identify if statistically significant porcelain assemblages manifested in the vicinity of any settlements inside the TAESP survey universe.

The purpose of these analyses was to identify patterns in the porcelain and Ottoman-Modern tableware distributions across the TAESP survey universe so that multiple lines of evidence could be employed in the development of hypotheses and conclusions. Cluster and Nearest Neighbor analyses determined if the porcelain patterning was statistically relevant, while proportional and density analyses of the porcelain and tableware assemblage determined the scope of village (or ecclesiastical settlement) authority and power as represented by the archaeological record. Historical sources were then used to supplement the data.

Historical Sources

Historical sources that document the ritualized consumption of coffee and use of porcelain acted to supplement the archaeological data collected by TAESP. The historical evidence of other types of trade running via Cypriot ports were additionally used to demonstrate how porcelain and coffee entered Cyprus on already existing lines of trade that were the result of the cotton, sugar, spice, and textile markets. The historical sources used in this thesis research can be divided into two basic categories: Ottoman *defterleri* and tax or trade records (Özmucur and Pamuk 2002; Pamuk, 2004; Jennings 1993), and travel accounts of 16th-20th century European visitors to Cyprus (von Löher, 1878; Smith, 1887; Steward, 1908; Baker, 1879). These sources provided a more detailed and complete context of the ceramic survey data. The historical contextualization of the TAESP survey universe underscored the role of porcelain and coffee in the visual display of authority, and therefore, in identifying centers of rural power as seen by contemporary travelers. Of particular

importance in these tax and travel accounts was the relative wealth of villages (Given and Hadjianastasis, 2010), and the social context of coffee consumption on the island. Within this thesis, special note was taken if traveler accounts detailed the social context of coffee consumption in porcelain vessels, and additionally if there was an ecclesiastical component to coffee drinking.

The determination of ethnic composition for a particular village was based on the previous research of Given (2000; 2002), Given et al. (2013a, vols. 1 & 2), and the 1833 Ottoman census as analyzed by Given and Hadjianastasis (2010). This project has not deviated from the ethnic determinations put forward by these research endeavors; rather, their results were used to establish an ethnic-based ratio for the presence of porcelain in the TAESP survey universe. In general, following Given's, Hadjianastasis's, and the TAESP team's analysis, a village with greater than 65% of a single ethnic make-up (e.g. Greek or Turkish) was classified as such. A village falling under a 65% majority was classified as 'mixed.' Villages where the ethnicity cannot be reasonably determined were labelled as 'unknown.' Churches and monastic settlements were listed as "ecclesiastical."

Research Questions

Using the results from the analyses described above, this thesis research posed broad questions regarding the porcelain data to develop hypotheses regarding the distribution of the porcelain assemblage. These questions were as follows:

1. Is porcelain uniformly found in the survey universe?
2. Is porcelain found at all non-ecclesiastical sites or is it restricted to agricultural villages?
3. Can porcelain be found at all ecclesiastical sites?
4. Is there a relationship between settlement ethnicity and number of porcelain sherds?
5. Is porcelain an indicator of elite status?

The formulation of this study's conclusions stemmed from the proposed answers to these research questions. The detailed results to these research questions are presented in a later chapter; however, brief answers will be provided here.

Porcelain was not uniformly found within the survey universe. A Nearest Neighbor Analysis confirmed this observation, and thus an Anselin Local Morans I analysis was conducted. The results further confirmed the presence of multiple porcelain clusters and outlier assemblages.

Porcelain was not found at all village sites; however, Ottoman-Modern tableware was found within the vicinity of nearly all settlements. In general, non-porcelain tablewares from the Ottoman-Modern period outnumbered porcelain nearly 4-to-1 across the survey universe.

The presence of porcelain was nearly omnipresent at ecclesiastical structures, churches or monasteries. Those that were determined to be porcelain negative, for example the church of Ayia Paraskevi (Gibson, 2013aa, vol.2: 241), dated to before the mass production of European-made porcelain in the mid-18th century.

There does not seem to be a clear connection between settlement ethnicity and porcelain sherd density or volume. However, porcelain does appear to cluster near elements of industry (e.g. watermills), which crosscuts ethnic boundaries. The density analysis nonetheless reveals that porcelain remained relatively uncommon throughout all chronological periods of Ottoman-Modern Cypriot history for all inhabitants of the TAESP survey universe.

Lastly, a high proportion of porcelain at a given site type may indicate the presence of an elite class. Porcelain appeared in the archaeological record of the TAESP survey universe in areas likely to contain an elite presence (i.e. populated areas with elements of industry and the monasteries of high-ranking clergy). The historical record's classification of porcelain as a visual authority displaying object reaffirmed this link of porcelain and power.

Conclusions

With the answers to these research questions in mind, three general conclusions were formulated regarding the Ottoman-Modern ceramic survey data.

1. Porcelain can be used as a marker of a rural elite class. Especially in the case of the Orthodox Church, porcelain finds and historical records specify an influential and commercially-minded community.

2. Dual domains of authority were extant in rural western Cyprus. First, a local landed elite maintained broad economic and political control in urban areas, largely drawn from industrial capabilities. The Orthodox Church and its monastic settlements functioned as authoritative and economic centers within the rural Cypriot landscape, drawing authority from spiritual and taxation duties. Often these ecclesiastical centers rivalled their secular counterparts in scale and in terms of day-to-day authority, playing a major role in ordering the social landscape.

3. The rise of porcelain consumption in rural Cyprus can be traced through the various settlements on the TAESP landscape. In turn, as demonstrated by historical records, drinking coffee with elites through porcelain vessels formed an important ritual acknowledging local authority. Therefore, crosscutting ethnic divisions, the rural population of Cyprus facilitated the rise of coffee and porcelain consumption through the desire to participate in an "elite" activity.

The Current State of Peripheral Ottoman Archaeology

In recent archaeological undertakings, regionally focused investigations regarding the Ottoman period have begun to appear with a focus on the Ottoman Empire's peripheral territories, that is outside of Anatolia, including Cyprus. Bethany Walker's edited volume, *Reflections of Empire:*

Archaeological and Ethnographic Studies on the Pottery of the Ottoman Levant (2009), stands as a prime

example of current research aimed at improving the compendium of Ottoman archaeology by

refining the ceramic chronology of the Ottoman (or Late Islamic) period. Rebecca Robinson (1983;

1985), Uzi Baram (1999) and St. John Simpson (2009) have offered valuable insights into the

archaeology of an item used exclusively for commodity consumption: the clay tobacco pipe. These

studies not only focused on history (Simpson, 2009) and typology (Robinson, 1983; 1985), but also

home in on how these small personal objects became entangled with identity and politics (Baram,

1999). In addition, Joanita Vroom has dedicated much research to Ottoman tablewares and how

these reflected food consumption habits (1996; 1998; 2003; 2007). Further archaeological work has

delved into trying to expand knowledge of the Ottoman built environment and domestic material

(Vionis, 2012), while architectural historians have also sought the cultural meanings and symbolic

nature in Ottoman domestic constructions (Ireland and Bechhoefer, 1998). However, these

beneficial studies have often been the exception, not the rule.

> From the fourteenth century, until its demise in the early twentieth century, the Ottoman
> Empire was one of the world's great empires…Yet, based on the narratives archaeologists
> tell about this region, one would hardly notice that the Ottoman Empire ever existed. While
> archaeologists tell grand and glorious stories of this region's past, few have taken the
> opportunity to explore the Ottoman period (Baram and Carroll 2000: 3).

The archaeology of the Ottoman period within the Porte's[5] peripheral territories is

characterized by a sparse corpus of research, separated across the disciplines of anthropology,

archaeology, and history. Baram and Carroll (2000) address many of the issues underpinning this

lack of research. Particularly, the authors pointed to "the ideological blinders" archaeologists

maintain towards the Ottoman period; according to Baram and Carroll, archaeological research of

the more recent past does not hold the same romantic sentiments as the ancient world (Baram and

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[5] The Porte or Sublime Porte is a moniker for the central Ottoman government deriving from the gate that
gave access to the central administrative buildings in Istanbul.

Carroll, 2000: 3-4). Nonetheless, there has been significant research conducted within the heart of the Ottoman Empire, especially in regards to the profitable Ottoman ceramic industry (see: Harrison and Hill, 1986; Hayes, 1992 for Saraçhane in Istanbul; Aslanapa et al., 1989 for the Inzik excavations; Robinson, 1985 for work on Chibouk clay pipes).

The modern sub-discipline of landscape archaeology has greatly influenced Ottoman archaeology on Cyprus. Two substantial landscape-based archaeological survey projects have been conducted that, while not exclusively Ottoman, did extensively document Ottoman and later settlements, artifacts, and landscape modifications. These surveys were the Sydney Cyprus Survey Project (SCSP) (Given and Knapp, 2003) and the aforementioned Troodos Archaeological Environmental Survey Project (TAESP) (Given et al., 2013a, vols. 1 & 2). Other surveys with a similar diachronic, landscape-oriented framework have also taken place in the southern Pyla region (Carraher et al., 2014) and in the Malloura Valley (Yerkes and Kardulias, 2010). In addition to the survey projects, scholars have begun to investigate how social organization manifested in the archaeological record of rural Ottoman Cyprus (Given and Hadjianastasis, 2010), and likewise, the relationship between agriculture, settlement, and landscape (Given, 2000). Lastly, Marc Aymes has sought to "provincialize" the history, and thus the landscape, of the Ottoman Empire with a concerted focus on Cyprus (2014: xi). This work has brought to light the inter-relationship between local and regional Cypriot power dynamics during the 19th century of Ottoman rule, and how landscapes and social memory were constructed through various local processes of entanglement and social structure. In short, Aymes dealt with both "Ottomans-turning-Cypriot and Cypriots-turning-Ottoman" (2014: x).

Michael Given describes the overall situation of the archaeology of the Ottoman Empire as a paradox, wherein, the more material and documentation available, the less the archaeology of Cyprus is known and understood (2000: 215). This state is slowly being reversed; still, the Ottoman

period is often looked at by many archaeologists as adversely "modern" (Baram, 1995: 126; Robinson, 1985: 157). In many cases, the Ottoman period still lacks the attention given to more traditional fields of Cypriot archaeology (Given, 2000: 215). Continuing archaeological research, however, demonstrates that the historical periods have much to offer the discipline of archaeology, both in its field and theoretical practices.

While the research questions of commodity consumption and authoritative landscapes[6] generate a great deal of academic interest, Cyprus's location as a crossroads between east and west and its unique history as a "periphery's periphery" (Doumani, 1995: 3, quoted in Aymes, 2014: 37) make it an ideal location for a more focused study of these subjects.[7] It is within the framework of commodity consumption and authoritative landscapes that the spread of coffee and porcelain use are placed for the purposes of this research. Cyprus, therefore, offers a representative case study to trace the historical developments that occurred contemporaneously within the subjects of economics, social class identity, and elite interaction on an island that boasts strong historical connections to both the east and west.

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[6] The term authoritative landscape is taken here as how socio-culture authority, control, and power manifests into specific loci on the archaeological landscape, and therein, how these loci order the archaeological landscape. See M.H. Johnson (2010: 196-197; 2012: 275) for a further explanation of landscape archaeology and its critiques. Additionally, see A.T. Smith (2003) for a discussion on political landscapes and archaeology.
[7] For political and authoritative landscapes see: A.T. Smith (2003), M.L. Smith (2014); For the archaeology of commodities see: Baram (1999; 2000), Mullins (2011).

Chapter Two: Cyprus History & Trade

Introduction

Trade in high-value goods was an object of imperial or state-level interest well before the introduction of coffee to the European consciousness and marketplace. This chapter frames the movement of commodities such as cotton, spices, sugar, and textiles on Cyprus during the Venetian, Ottoman, and British periods using previous historical and archaeological research. In order to demonstrate that the arrival of coffee to Cyprus in the 16th century followed existing lines of trade, the characteristics of the Cypriot cotton, spice and sugar trade are offered as context to coffee's arrival. First, however, a brief history of Cyprus is presented to enable a more in-depth view of the political and social landscape into which coffee was introduced.

A Brief History of Cyprus: Venice to Britain

Cyprus was subjugated under western European rule with the arrival of King Richard I in 1191 (Edbury, 1991). The island was subsequently sold to Frankish lord Guy de Lusignan after Richard rescinded the rights to the island of Cyprus from the Knights Templar which had been previously purchased from Richard (Edubury, 1991: 9). In short, Richard had sold the island twice, first to the Templars and then to Guy de Lusginan. Guy's lineage would rule Cyprus for the next three centuries until the encroachment of Italian interests in the 15th century, primarily from the Venetians and their seaborne empire. The period of western European rule would have a profound effect on Cyprus as the growing power of the Ottoman Empire in the east also began to turn its sights to the eastern Mediterranean's largest island.

The Venetians completed their acquisition of Cyprus by way of the abdication of the last Lusignan (Frankish) ruler, Queen Caterina, in 1489, who was coerced to bequeath to the Venetians direct governance over Cyprus (Edbury 1991: 211). Outright Venetian rule lasted on Cyprus from

1489 to 1571. As Metcalf notes, the Venetians had a long-standing commercial interest on Cyprus dating back to the 12th century (2009: 528). Under Venetian control, Cyprus's population rose and its economic fortunes improved steadily (Edbury 1999: 64). Cypriot piracy, however, continued to be a problem for both the Venetians and their Ottoman neighbors throughout the 15th and 16th centuries. The pirate problem was exacerbated by the actions of Catalan brigands, who often used Cyprus as a base of operations (Coureas, 2007). The brazenness of eastern Mediterranean piracy is exemplified by the attack on the convoy of Byzantine Emperor John VIII Palaiologos in 1437 (Kondyli, 2014: 148).

Throughout the 14th and 15th centuries, Cyprus was a key trade link between the west and the east (Strathern 2013: 140-141). Cyprus's connection with the expanding Venetian and Ottoman empires aided, in part, to an upturn in economic fortunes. Both the Venetian and the later Ottoman administrations retained a slave labor force on the sugar plantations of Cyprus (Greenfield, 1979: 92-94; Galloway, 1977: 190). Slaves labor was drawn from numerous sources for work on Cyprus. Many of these slaves came from locations around the Black Sea, Russia, or the Caucasus region, but a large portion of the slave labor force was made up of slaves who came from sub-Saharan Africa, and Africans were especially coveted during the Ottoman reign on Cyprus for work in the agrarian economy and the households of the elite (Jennings, 1987). It is interesting to note that Cyprus, however, never developed plantation slavery for its cotton industry such as it did for its sugar production (Riello, 2013: 189). Even through numerous wars, economic transactions between the Venetians and the Sublime Porte (the Ottoman Empire), including the buying and selling of slaves, were not uncommon (Faroqui, 2006: 141). This commercial sugar and slave connection was not to last, though, as direct conflict over Cyprus with the Ottomans was soon to come.

The Ottoman Empire invaded Cyprus in 1570, and established full control over the island between 1571 and 1573 (Jennings 1993: 5-6; Faroqui, 2006: 78; Imber, 2009: 55). Cyprus's main

function within the Ottoman sphere was an economic one, particularly centered on agricultural products (Jennings 1993: 297-344). The new Ottoman governors and the established landholders continued to exploit Cyprus's main export commodities of cotton, sugar, linen, and grain (Jennings 1993; Roudometof and Michael, 2010: 67; Faroqui, 2006: 141; cf. Aymes, 2014: 100-101). The Ottomans granted religious freedom to Cypriots, and in fact, it has long been suggested that the Orthodox community benefited from this religious toleration under the *millet* system more so than under the previous centuries of Latin rule (Luke 1921: 15). The Ottoman *millet* system allowed religious minorities (e.g. Christian and Jewish communities) to retain semi-autonomous control over their own legal affairs. People were bound to their *millet* through religious affiliation, and not ethnic origin. For example, Muslim Greek converts would no longer be part of the Christian-Greek *millet* (Barkey and Gavrilis, 2016). The various ethnic communities, therefore, enjoyed a more or less mutually peaceful relationship throughout much of the Ottoman period (Jennings 1993: 398).

By the 1820's, however, nationalist and independence movements on the Greek mainland were on the rise; in addition, the national consciousness of other Ottoman minority groups, namely the Bulgarians, began to rise concurrently with the decline of Ottoman authority (Quataert, 2000: 68-70; Borowiec 2000: 18-19). Coupled with this internal strife, the loss of territory around the Black Sea and the Crimea to a resurgent Russian Empire pushed the Ottomans into a series of debilitating treaties that slowly began to erode the empire's peripheral territories (Quataert, 2000: 58; Borowiec 2000: 19). The British, more than willing to acquire territory at the time, signed the Cyprus Convention in 1878, changing the status of the island to a British protectorate (mandate province) in exchange for a pledge to help defend the Ottoman Empire from the Russians. This treaty effectively ended Ottoman rule on Cyprus (Camden Fifth Series 2009: 305; Mallinson 2005: 10).

The arrival of the British enacted great change in the semi-autonomous *millet* system employed on Cyprus by the Ottomans. After the Cyprus Convention of 1878, the result of which

was British administration of Cyprus, the island's divisions began to crystallize along religious lines and took on "modern" nationalistic overtones as a result of British colonial practices (Bouleti, 2015: 73). Before this crystallization, functional divisions of social standing and class outweighed those of ethnicity and religion, although religion played a large role in the formation of social standing (Clarke and Varnava, 2013: 297). The British attempted to establish a secular administration, something that had not been present on Cyprus previously (Bouleti, 2015: 78). The installing of a civil authority, rather than religious demarcations, at the heart of government eroded traditional structures of authority as the British reassessed the political-economic role of the Church and the mufti (Dietzel and Makrides, 2009: 76).

At the time of the British arrival, Cyprus was approximately 80% Christian and 20% Muslim (Dietzel and Makrides, 2009: 74). The Orthodox Church of Cyprus held great sway over a large portion of the population; however, as Bouleti points out, this does not mean the Church was the "natural" head of the Christian *millet's* affairs (2015: 71). The urban elite stood as an additional counterbalancing force (see: Bouleti, 2015; Hadjianastasis, 2004).

Cyprus remained a British mandate territory until it was formally annexed as a crown colony in 1914, but the period was not without disorder. By the 1930's nationalism in the Turkish community had risen to match that of the Greek nationalist movement (Dietzel and Makrides, 2009: 74). Inter-ethnic tensions were heightened, and anti-British sentiment was commonplace. In 1931 the British Government House was burnt and the 1950s saw numerous ethnically driven riots (Mallinson, 2005; Dietzel and Makrides, 2009: 77-78). The colonial period ended in 1960 as Cyprus gained its independence from the British Empire. However, many of the same tensions that the British oversaw continued into Cyprus's independence period, ultimately paving the way for the Turkish invasion and *de facto* partition in 1974.

Cypriot Commodities: 12th-19th centuries

Cyprus has long been at the heart of an interconnected, wide-ranging network of exchange and production. The island's most prized ancient commodity was its rich copper-ore deposits, which have been the subject of extensive archaeological and historical investigation (Davies, 1929; Gale and Stos-Gale., 1982; Gale, 1991; Knapp and Cherry, 1994; Knapp et al., 1994; Stos-Gale et al., 1997; Hauptman et al., 2002; Given, 2005; Given and Knapp, 2003; Given et al., 2013a, vols. 1 & 2). The trade networks that linked Cyprus and its copper deposits to the wider Mediterranean world were flexible and dynamic, with the ability to supply demand from Assyrian Babylon in the east to Sardinia in the west (Knapp and Cherry, 1994: 165; Reyes, 1994: 53-54). Toumazou, Kardulias, and Counts eloquently stated Cyprus's centrality to eastern Mediterranean culture and economy in the following statement:

> As the mythical birthplace of Aphrodite, the main source of copper in the ancient eastern Mediterranean, the home of Zeno, who founded the Stoic school of philosophy, the location of Saint Paul's first mission, the setting for Shakespeare's *Othello*…Cyprus has played an important role at the interface between Europe, Asia, and Africa" (2010: xvii).

The Latin (Frankish) dynasty established in 1191 did not effect immediate change in the functioning of Cypriot society or the economy. In the late 12th and early 13th centuries, trade continued simultaneously with the Seljuk Turks of Anatolia and the Crusader states that began to expand on the Levantine coast (Edbury, 1991: 46). During the three hundred years of Lusignan rule, a feudalistic monarchy was maintained that was subject to increasing Italian influence from both the Genoese and the Venetian trading empires (Edbury 1991: 180-181). It is important to note that during this period the Venetian state had already begun to acquire and colonize land in the Aegean Sea, putting Italian mercantile interest in Cyprus in the context of an economic struggle between rising European powers because of its strategic location in east-west Mediterranean trade (Vionis, 2012: 35-36).

While subsistence and local agriculture still formed a major part of the Cypriot economy, under Latin rule the sugar industry boomed as a cash crop and export good (Braudel, 1973: 156-157; von Wartburg, 1983: 298; Abulafia, 2008). Marie-Louise von Wartenburg's archaeological work at Kouklia-Stavros has demonstrated the massive transformations that an agricultural landscape must undergo to support large-scale sugar cultivation: water supply systems, preparation and milling installations, roads and market routes, and an adjacent ceramic industry for processing, transportation, and sale (1983; 2001). The ultimate goal of this vast investment of time and labor was to produce the highly marketable and valuable product of *polvere di Cipro*, the "powder of Cyprus" (von Wartenburg, 2001: 229).

Throughout the 13th to 15th centuries, European traders maintained an ever-increasing interest in Cyprus and its strategic location in the eastern Mediterranean. Merchants from across Europe imported goods such as textiles, saffron, and ceramics into Cyprus and returned to western Europe with commodities like sugar, pepper, cotton, and paper (Coureas, 1996; 1997; 2006). For Europeans, pepper and sugar were the most sought after imports from Cyprus, "while spices in general were constantly in demand as an export from the eastern lands" (Coureas, 1997: 38). This accumulating trade wealth, however, garnered the imperial attentions of Italy's two largest trading empires, the Genoese and the Venetians. In particular, these Italian powers wished to acquire Cyprus as a mercantile holding because of its status as a transit point in Mediterranean commerce and its rich trade in sugar (Edbury, 1999: 61; Strathern, 2013: 140). The ensuing hostilities in the 1370s between these two powers, Genoa and Venice, effectively halted the movement of Cypriot commodities for a time (Edbury, 1991: 210; 1999: 62). With Genoese decline in the late 14th century, however, Venice was alone in excellent position to exploit Cyprus's commercial potential.

With Cyprus formally under Venetian control in 1489, the island's population and economic fortunes saw a marked upturn (Arbel, 1995: 331; Edbury 1999: 64). During the late 15th and 16th

centuries, however, New World commodities had begun to take their toll on Cyprus's commodity-driven economy. Most notably were the Portuguese, English, and Spanish holdings in the West Indies, which eroded demand for Cypriot sugar by flooding the market with cheaper colonial alternatives. Nevertheless, sugar remained an important commodity for trade during the Venetian period, and in addition, plantation-cultivated cotton began to appear as a major export from Cypriot lands in response (Lane, 1968: 38; Jennings, 1993: 6). As Riello states, "The island's [Cyprus] economy was geared towards the needs of the metropolis [Venice]," and by the 1540s Cyprus was producing over 6,000 tons of cotton per annum (2013: 49). Because of the lucrative trade in sugar and cotton, the Venetians were intent on retaining Cyprus as a colonial holding, and built up the defenses of Famagusta, Nicosia, and Kyrenia to ward off the looming Ottoman threat. These improvements only delayed what seemed inevitable, however, and by 1571, the Ottomans effectively took control of the island.[8]

Cyprus's early plantation style agricultural activities had made the Latin-Venetian aristocracy a fortune in the European market, but this also created an overdependence on international markets and put Cyprus in direct competition with New World goods (Jennings, 1993: 6-7). As classed by Brambilla, the primary industrial products in Ottoman Cyprus remained cotton and sugar (2012: 133); although, it appears that the former generally came to replace the latter as the market for Cypriot cotton began to expand due to imperial and market need (Hadjianastasis, 2004: 165). Jennings has suggested that under Ottoman rule the exploitative class that administered the plantation system was eliminated due to Ottoman law being unable to force inhabitants onto land they did not wish to cultivate (Jennings, 1993: 307-308). Therefore, of the two industrial products,

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[8] The year 1571 marks the fall of Venetian Famagusta to Ottoman forces. The fall of Famagusta was a major turning point in the Venetian-Turkish war, although the conflict would officially continue to 1573. After 1571, however, Cyprus was essentially under Ottoman rule as the Venetians were unable to achieve any major gains or stem the tide of Ottoman influence on the island.

cotton and sugar, the latter fell the sharpest as a direct result of this legislation, although cotton continued to exceed "that of all other noncomestibles, both by volume and in cash value" (Jennings, 1993: 325). Galloway (1977: 193) places the exact fall of the Cypriot sugar industry between 1570-1600, and cites the arrival of Brazilian sugar in European markets for the shift towards cotton production on Cyprus.

Agriculture formed the primary source of capital accumulation and the economic base for state finances during the Ottoman period (Inalcik, 1991: 17; Imber, 2009: 2). Privately held Porte lands in the 18th century were often organized into *ciftliks*, agricultural settlements usually comprised of a manor, tower, and peasant housing, which, in the mold of a western plantation, directed the agricultural activities of large landholdings (Inalcik, 1991: 24-25; Brumfield, 1999: 38). This was in opposition to the older, Turkish model of the *timar* system in which all land was officially owned by the state, and landlords, usually civil elite from the military or clergy, collected state tax from the tenant farmer (Inalcik, 1991: 17-19). As both Veinstein and Inalcik point out though, Ottoman plantations (*ciftliks*) developed not from an erosion of the older *timar* system, but arose separately through Sultanic decrees, and likewise, through the corruption in the tenant-farmer *timar* organization of Porte lands (Veinstein, 1991: 38-40). The 18th century plantation-styled *ciftliks* were often entangled in the trade of high-value commodities such as sugar or cotton in response to western demand for such products. Because the development of *ciftlik*-style agriculture was rather late in Ottoman history in the 18th century, the *ciftlik* emergence on Cyprus and elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire was largely attributed to the consolidation of disused peasant land in the face of the growing demand generated by European markets for Ottoman agricultural products (Inalcik, 1991: 25; Given and Hadjianastasis, 2010: 50-52). As Stoianovich stated, the *ciftlik* "marks the transition from a social and economic structure founded upon a system of moderate land rent and few labor services to one of excessive land rent and exaggerated service" and develops into a form

of "internal colonialism" (1953: 401-402). These estates also functioned as an identifier of a Cypriot-Ottoman elite, where, visual authority, in this case in the form of architecture, could be projected onto local residents or workers (Given and Hadjianastasis, 2010: 51). Yet, it was not essential for estates to be Ottoman, or even Muslim, owned. As Aymes points, European merchants, particularly the Mattei family on Cyprus, owned vast amounts of land in the commercialized countryside (Aymes, 2014: 98-103).

Not surprisingly, long distance trade at this time oriented itself towards the Ottoman realm. Cyprus's new political situation placing it under the authority of the Ottoman sultan did not preclude Cypriot merchants from trading with European powers (Jennings, 1993: 334). As previously stated, cotton was the most important export from Cyprus in the Ottoman era. Cotton was not the sole product being exported, as sugar, although in decline, as well as saltpeter and foodstuffs, still made their way to market. The latter of these were so affordable that transiting vessels of both Christian and Muslim origin often used Cyprus as a resupply stop (Jennings, 1993: 340).

Local trade also flourished on the island during the Ottoman period. No location on Cyprus is more than 75 miles from Nicosia, which allowed the rural populace to travel to buy and sell goods at local market towns or in urban centers throughout the island such as at Nicosia (Lefkosia) or Famagusta (Magosa) (Jennings, 1993: 339). Villagers used small caravans, footpaths, and a limited road system to bring agricultural and ceramic goods to these mercantile centers. Agricultural goods consisted of honey, haloumi, livestock, grain, or fruit, all of which were plentiful (Jennings, 1993: 339; Gibson, 2013b, vol.1: 289). A productive ceramic industry that produced fine and coarse ware ceramics centered on artisanal centers such as Paphos or Lemnos. These ceramics have been found throughout Cyprus, from urban Nicosia to the rural Troodos, and demonstrate the mobility of the

local ceramics trade in day-to-day commerce (cf. Given and Knapp, 2003; Given et al., 2013a, vols. 1 & 2).

Because Cyprus had been politically separated from the eastern world from 1191-1571 under Lusignan and Venetian rule, its trade-links and economic development took on a decidedly western tone before the Ottoman conquest; yet, this was not an exclusive relationship. Islamic states (here used as a reference to Islamic empires pre-dating the Ottomans; e.g. the Mamluks of Egypt) had long been invested in the commodities trade that transited through Cyprus. Therefore, commerce occurring in Cyprus did not happen exclusive of the policies of eastern, Islamic states. In sum, under Islamic rule cane sugar cultivation gained significantly in popularity throughout the Levant and its production in the eastern Mediterranean, including Cyprus, was largely a result of Islamic economic expansion within the region (von Wartenburg, 2001: 305).

The spice trade has long played a vital role in the economy of the Near East. This commodity constituted perhaps the most in demand product of contemporary European and Ottoman markets. The word 'spice' generally refers to goods such as cinnamon, cardamom, ginger, turmeric, but most importantly, pepper, whose origins lie southeast Asia, India, and the Yemen (Wright, 2007: 35-36). Islamic states often went to great lengths to monopolize the spice trade; for example, the Mamelukes made controlling the pepper and spice trade transiting through the Red Sea a priority in the 15th and 16th centuries (Meloy, 2003). The reason for this state-level interest in the spice trade was straight forward, profit. The spice trade was hugely profitable and demand had been surging in Europe for some time (Wright, 2007). On their way from India or Java, these aromatic goods passed through ports from Egypt to Britain.

The lucrative nature of the spice trade was not lost on the emerging European powers of the 15th century. Arguably the most successful in penetrating the spice trade, the Portuguese conquered the spice producing regions of India (modern day Goa and Calicut) under the command of Vasco da

Gama in 1498 (Dale, 1980: 24-38). The "pepper monopoly" set up by Portuguese domination of seaborne trade routes inadvertently forced other states, most notably the Ottoman Empire, to revive the ancient overland spice routes (Hanna, 1998). In this way, the Ottoman Empire, like the Mamluks before them, were heavily invested in the movement of commodities and the revenues they generated. Giancarlo Casale demonstrates the potential impact of spice-driven revenue by stating, "as for the continuing importance of trade for state finances…in 1599-1600 the total customs revenues for all the ports of the Yemen amounted to nearly five million *pares*, and that they accounted for just under thirty percent of all provincial revenues for that year" (2006: 197). That Cyprus formed an important transit point in this essential spice-driven trade network demonstrates its economic importance to both the east and west.

Textiles formed a significant commodity in the global trade arena alongside spices (Peck, 2013). These goods often travelled on the existing trade routes used by the spice trade and textile goods went in both directions; that is, Europe-to-Asia and Asia-to-Europe. In the Islamic world, the textile industry produced a wide-ranging catalogue of goods (Serjeant, 1946). Silken garments, elaborate rugs, and linen clothing were produced in textile centers throughout the east, and often displayed a mix of regional influences. For example, Chinese and Portuguese textiles share numerous stylistic influences resulting from trade between the two regions (Ferreira, 2013: 50-52). The importance of these objects can be seen in the present day, where they often become entangled objects (cf. Baram, 1999; 2000) that represent a national or ethnic identity, for example, the Turkish rug (Spooner, 1986).

The British period saw a continued focus on agricultural and mineral exports (Orr, 1918). However, the effects of armed European conflicts and the need (as a colony) to support British endeavors worked to drag down the Cypriot economy. In particular, Clarke and Varnava point to Italy's entrance into World War Two as a major detraction from the Cypriot economy as it closed

off one of Cyprus's largest export markets and shipping destinations (2013: 303-304). During the entirety of the British period, imports greatly outweighed exports as British colonial politics encouraged the growth of the agricultural sector while imposing high import duties on crown colonies (Frankema, 2010: 465).

Using Cyprus as an economic case study for the movement of commodities demonstrates the evolving networks of Mediterranean commerce. Although European discoveries in the New World changed the island's economic importance on a global scale, Cyprus's natural geographic position still made it an important transit point for Far and Near Eastern goods coming overland and by sea towards Europe and Anatolia. Cyprus's station as a transit center for trade goods played a major role in Cypriot economic history. Concurrently, it was during the early years of Ottoman rule on Cyprus that coffee was carried beyond Abyssinia and the Yemen in the late 15th or early 16th century. In this capacity, Cyprus formed a major trade link between Cairo (the coffee capital of the east) and Constantinople (the socio-political capital of the Ottoman Empire).

<center>**Chapter Three: Coffee, Cups, and The Clergy**</center>

The Rise of Coffee and the Coffeehouse

One of the Early Modern period commodities most associated and entangled with social status and identity was coffee (Hattox 1985: 3). This chapter provides an overview of the interaction between coffee, porcelain cups, and the Orthodox clergy. In particular, this section outlines the history of coffee consumption and its rise in popularity in the Ottoman Empire from the 15th century onwards. Coffee's role in the elite activity of the hospitality ritual, specifically in conjunction with porcelain cups, is reviewed. Last, the Greek Orthodox Church's impact on the economy and political organization of Cyprus is also summarized as it relates to the use of both of these commodities, coffee and porcelain.

The origins of *qahwa*, as coffee was first called, lay in the regions of southwestern Abyssinia (modern day Ethiopia). Most likely coffee in beverage form entered Arabia (modern Yemen and eastern Saudi Arabia) via Sufi mystics in the 15th century who had travelled back from Abyssinia (Hattox, 1985: 12-22; Aziz, 2011: 190). Prior to the 15th century, however, evidence for coffee culture in Arabia is scarce, and the possibility of coffee entering the Yemen before this time is unlikely.

Coffee became the established and popular beverage known today amongst Sufi mystics in Arabia and Yemen at the dawn of the 16th century. They most often consumed coffee during the *dhikr*[9] ceremony that was known to last throughout a given night (Hattox, 1985: 27). The caffeine related properties of coffee that allowed for the user to induce sleeplessness made it a natural accompaniment to the all-night *dhikr*, and to the Sufi commitment to an experiential religion within

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[9] The *dhikr* was a major part of Sufi religious practice where members gathered for the recitation of God's names. Often these gatherings involved intense emotional trances and other experiential practices (Aziz, 2011: 110-115; 184). Hattox defines the *dhikr* as "the communal worship services usually held at night…often marked by various practices designed to encourage a trancelike concentration on God" (Hattox, 1985: 24).

which often hypnotic-like states of consciousness were used to experience the connection with God. Within this context, the passing of a coffee cup became a sign of brotherhood among the Sufi mystics (Hathaway 2008: 140).

The Sufi attachment to coffee played a significant role in the Islamic jurist debate regarding the legality of the beverage because of its "intoxicating" properties, much in the same way alcohol was discussed by contemporary Arab society (Hattox, 1985: 53-57). Coffee itself was at the heart of debates between the socially conservative who saw the beverage and the institution of the coffeehouse where it was consumed as un-Islamic, and likewise, those who sought to promote its benefits. This jurist-led debate fermented opposition against both the Sufis and coffee. However, Sufis were not reclusive holy men in the mold of Christian monks; rather, they lived in and amongst the urban population and this facilitated the spread of coffee consumption (Hattox, 1985: 27). By the first decade of the 16th century Sufis had carried coffee culture to Mecca and Cairo, and by the middle of the century coffee was consumed in the Ottoman capital, Istanbul (Hattox, 1985: 28; Lewis, 1995: 162). In a 1615 account, Italian Pietro della Valle describes how coffee was entrenched in popular culture by the early 17th century in Istanbul (quoted in Braudel, 1981: 256; also cited in Vroom, 1996: 13):

> One hardly sees a gathering where it is not drunk. A large fire is kept going for this purpose and little porcelain bowls are kept by it ready-filled with the mixture; when it is hot enough there are men entrusted with the office who do nothing else but carry these little bowls to all the company...and [with] this beverage, which they call *kafoue*, they amuse themselves while conversing...sometimes for a period of seven or eight hours.

His observation represents one of the first European accounts describing coffee and the porcelain cups that were used to consume this beverage. Turkish tax records for the 17th century also demonstrate that this beverage was sold and consumed in Cyprus and in parts of the Aegean (Jennings, 1993: 331-332; Greene, 2000: 127).

Concomitant with the rise in popularity of coffee was the physical and social construction of the coffeehouse which became a focal point of Early Modern social life, a concept that was uniquely Arab in origin (Beely, 1970: 475-476; Hattox, 1985: 73). In Istanbul, two Syrians established the city's first coffee house in 1555 (Hattox, 1985: 72-77). In the first half of the 16th century Islamic jurists opposed existing coffee houses in Cairo, Mecca, and Medina culminating in a short term prohibition of coffee (Hattox, 1985: 29-40). The physical construction of the coffee-house, however, did not rely on an elaborate building itself. As a late 18th century European traveler points out:

> In the 18th century a Mokeya became the name for coffee-houses situated in the open country of Yemen. They are mere huts, and are scarcely furnished…nor do they afford any refreshment but Kischer, a hot infusion of coffee-beans. This drink is served out in coarse earthenware cups; but persons of distinction carry always porcelain cups in their baggage (Niebuhr, 1792, vol.1: 265-66, cited in Hattox, 1985: 159).

These remote coffee houses functioned much like inns and provided accommodation for travelers.

Over time, the coffeehouse became linked with two developments: the rise of consumer culture and as a place that functioned as an outlet for public dissention, which was why the coffeehouse as an institution went through several cycles of legality and illegality beginning as early as 1511 (Karababa and Ger, 2011: 737). This early association with less scrupulous social activity brought coffee-culture into conflict with already established authoritative institutions, such as the religious courts; for example, in the early 16th century coffeehouses became associated with taverns and thus forbidden activities (Hattox, 1985: 76-78). These "taverns without wine" frequently became hotbeds of political and cultural discussion, and were often the podium from which to voice discontent against the state (Hattox, 1985: 72).

While coffeehouses were certainly present on Cyprus by the 17th century (the first one opened in 1601 in Famagusta), it is unclear to whom these establishments catered on a day-to-day

basis (Jennings, 1993: 331-332). Whether or not Greek and Turkish (i.e. Christian and Muslim)[10] clientele also frequented the same coffeehouses is not entirely known. Hattox's affirmation is that both Christians and Muslims frequenting the same coffeehouses is unlikely given the tendency of Islam to segregate religious communities in social and political settings (1985: 98). Hattox, however, was usually referring to majority Muslim regions. It is unclear if the same segregation standards hold true in Cyprus where upwards of 75% of the population was *zimmi* (non-Muslim), and likewise, the elite segments of the population were an integrated mix of Christian and Muslim (Hadjianastasis, 2004: 161). If Cypriot coffeehouses were mixed, it would constitute a major difference from Hattox's coffeehouse, one that was so ingrained into Muslim society that the presence of non-Muslims could, in certain circumstances, offend the Muslim patronage (Hattox, 1985: 98). Although a specific study concerning Cypriot coffeehouses fell beyond the scope of this research, the example of Cyprus in the discussion of Early Modern coffeehouse clientele demonstrates the malleability of coffeehouse culture to regional norms.

The coffee trade revitalized mercantile fortunes in the Near East that had been lost due to Europeans circumventing the ancient overland spice routes that passed through the Near East. Hattox states "Cairene merchants made up for much of what they had lost through European short-circuiting of the Indian spice trade by dealing in coffee" (Hattox, 1985: 72).[11] Cyprus's position in the eastern Mediterranean meant that it would play a significant role in the shipment of coffee. By the early 17th century, coffee was a widely traded commodity in Cyprus, and from the 18th century onwards, the island functioned as a transshipment point for supplying coffee to the Balkans and

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[10] Religion was intertwined with ethnic identity in Ottoman Cyprus. If a Greek converted from Christianity to Islam, the convert was no longer registered as 'Greek,' but as 'Turkish or Muslim.' Therefore, Greek is synonymous with Christian and Turkish with Muslim in historical records and this thesis research.
[11] In the mid-1600s, coffee and coffeehouses gained popularity in Europe, and soon they began to spread rapidly to Venice, Vienna, Paris, and London. While coffee remained most accessible in Ottoman lands, increasing European demand ensured coffee had a continued rise in popularity and production.

regions beyond (Quataert, 2000: 42). This booming commodity accounted for over 9 million *akçe*[12]

in revenue for the Ottoman government by 1699, and the city of Cairo occupied a central position

in this trade (Greene, 2000: 127-128). However, coffee was not a cheap, everyday purchase. The

consumer price per *okka*, roughly 1.2 kilograms, remained considerably high throughout the 17th-19th

centuries. The price per *okka* reached as high as 1,380 *akçe* in the early 19th century. For comparison,

in 1826, to a resident of Istanbul an *okka* of sugar cost 600 *akçe*, while an *okka* of coffee cost 1288

akçe[13] (Özmucur and Pamuk, 2002). It can be inferred through the contemporary price of coffee (cf.

Pamuk and Ozucur, 2002) and porcelain coffee cups (cf. Vroom, 2003) that coffee culture was an

activity that was often associated with affluent members of society.

Porcelain and its Alternatives

Hand-in-hand with the economic boom of the coffee trade was the demand for Chinese and

later German, French, and British porcelain items that were symbols of wealth and power for the

elite throughout the European and Ottoman spheres (Guyon in: Phillips, 1956: 42).[14] The functional

preference for porcelain as a coffee drinking vessel came largely from its ability to withstand heat

and its low weight. Chinese porcelain was made from two kinds of earth: *kaolin* (a very pure, white

clay) and *petuntse* (a feldspathic stone) (Palmer, 1976: 13). Prior to the 18th century Chinese porcelain

cups were used by the elite to consume coffee and tea as the knowledge needed to produce these

vessels was not available outside of China. These materials were meticulously processed into a

refined mass, shipped to production centers in China, and then shaped at the potter's wheel. The

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[12] An *akçe* was an Ottoman coin struck in silver and the Empire's primary monetary unit.
[13] Prices relate to buying power in Istanbul, but can be used as a reliable measure of contemporary value. These data are published online at: http://www.pierre-marteau.com/currency/indices/ottm-02.html.
[14] Many elite and royal households were in the habit of establishing their own private porcelain collections. In Istanbul, for instance, the Sultan's household had a large collection of Chinese and European-made porcelains (Artan, 2010: 116; Roxburgh, 2005).

Figure 3. Kütahya ware coffee cup ca. 1725. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

most common type of Chinese export porcelain in the Early Modern period was the cobalt blue-and-white porcelain, although *blanc de chine* (Chinese white) wares were also popular export wares (Palmer, 1976: 15).

Porcelain cups served not only a functional purpose because of their high resistivity to heat, but also a symbolic purpose in formal interactions between members of the social elite. The small size of porcelain coffee cups meant it was easy for individuals to travel with these containers (Walker, 2009: 49). For instance, the 17th century traveler de La Boullaye-Le Gouz notes that porcelain cups were included in the typical Levantine caravaner's kit (1653: 60-61, as cited in Walker, 2009: 61 and Francois, 2001: 187; cf. Niebuhr, 1792, vol.1: 265-66, cited in Hattox, 1985: 159).

Due to their geographic positioning, the Ottoman Empire had continuous access to Chinese porcelain from the state's inception (Artan, 2010: 116-117). Chinese designs and motifs had a major impact on the development of Ottoman ceramic styles (Bagci and Tanindi, 2005: 262-271). The two styles of Ottoman ceramics most influenced by Chinese porcelain, Iznik ware and Kütahya ware, support the idea of porcelain as an item representative of social authority and status. Archaeologically, all three of these wares (porcelain, Iznik, and Kütahya) appear in contexts synonymous with economic, political, and social authority.

Kütahya ware's symbolism of social status appears less obvious than other ceramics that had a direct link with the sultanic royal family, such as Iznik ware or Chinese porcelain (cf. Artan, 2010). While Carroll (1999: 188) and Lane (1957: 65) have referred to Kütahya ware as "peasant pottery," this term is outdated. Vroom (2003: 354) notes that Kütahya ware was often listed on estate registers in the same class as Chinese porcelain and Iznik ware, a position not readily applicable to a peasant's purchasing power. Likewise, Kütahya ware was not a low-cost purchase, and in fact, the price of Kütahya sometimes overtook that of Chinese porcelain and Iznik ware (Altun, Carswell and Oney, 1991: 53, as cited in Vroom, 2003: 354). The expense of this coffee cup is confirmed by its paucity in

recent archaeological surveys in the eastern Mediterranean (little to no Kütahya was found by: Given and Knapp, 2003; Vroom, 1996; Vroom, 2003; Bintliff et al., 2007; Given et al., 2013a, vols. 1 & 2; Carraher et al., 2014). Like porcelain, Kütahya ware is an artifact indicative of elite consumption based on its price and connection to coffee culture (Vroom, 1996: 17; 2007: 82). Historical sources further illustrate this elite connection for Kütahya ware. For example, western traveler Ami Boué describes the Kütahya vessels used to consume coffee by the rich in an 1839 visit to the Ottoman Empire: "The coffee is served in very small, white cups...which are often decorated with a fine golden rim, but only very rich people have them with painted decoration" (Vroom, 2003: 354, as cited in Ursinus, 1985: 157). By the 19th century, however, Kütahya ware's popularity declined dramatically, with mass-produced European porcelains satisfying the demand for coffee vessels in the Ottoman market.

Peaking in production in the 18th century, Kütahya ware's primary purpose was to serve as a coffee cup (Vroom, 1996: 9). In general, Turkish pottery, and specifically Kütahya ware, was influenced by Chinese porcelain or European imitations, and Persian designs from the east (Vroom, 2003: 353; 2007: 84; Crowe, 2011). These cups were small in size, thin in profile, and finely decorated in polychrome styles (usually consisting of red, blue, green, and black hues) (Vroom, 1996: 9). The physical attributes of Kütahya ware coffee cups suggest "they were probably made for intimate gatherings of the Ottoman elite, rather than for robust public use in coffee houses and bazaars" (Vroom, 2003: 355). This is because Kütahya ware coffee cups were very thin-walled vessels, not suited for frequent and robust use in a commercial environment. The thin-walled construction suggests a use pattern more in line with porcelain vessels, that being in social situations within the home by those who could afford it.

Roughly contemporary with Kütahya ware, European porcelains entered into production in the early 18th century after the discovery of porcelain's kaolin-based formula (Schönfeld, 1998).

Figure 4. Coffee cup from the Meissen factory (Germany) ca. 1765-1775. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Quickly following this manufacturing discovery, numerous factories appeared in Germany (Meissen), Vienna, France, and England. Hereafter, industrial European porcelain played a major role in the global marketplace. By the 1730s, the Meissen factory began to produce coffee cups specifically for the Ottoman market. During this period, production at Meissen reached levels in excess of 36,000 coffee cups on an annual basis specifically designed for Oriental tastes (Artan, 2010: 118). In fact, demand reached such heights that the Meissen workshop established a separate factory in 1774 dedicated solely to the production of porcelains for the Ottoman market (Artan, 2010: 119). The mass production of European porcelain made it much more accessible than its Chinese counterpart, and from the 18th century onwards, European porcelain flooded into the Ottoman (that is to say eastern) market.

Consuming Coffee with Porcelain Coffee Cups: An Elite Activity

By 1634 in the eastern Mediterranean, consuming coffee from porcelain cups ostensibly

constituted an elite activity of consumption:

> But that which to mee seemed more Magnificent then all this, was my
> entertainment: entring one of these Roomes, I saw at the upper end, amongst
> others sitting crosse-leggd the Lord of the Palace, who beckoning me to come, I
> first put off my Shooes as the rest had done...there attended ten or twelve
> handsome young Pages all clad in Scarlet...one brought a Porcelane dish of
> Cauphe, which when I had dranke, another served up a draught of excellent
> Sherbert: then began discourse... (Sir Henry Blount, 1634: 42, quoted in MacLean,
> 2004: 162).

Throughout the Early Modern period, it appears that coffee consumption using porcelain

cups is an entrenched activity among the upper classes. In the 18th century, European traveler

Carsten Niebuhr states that the combined use of coffee and porcelain cups is common in the course

of consumption activities by "people of distinction" (Niebuhr, 1792, vol.1: 265-266, as cited in

Hattox, 1985: 159). During his travels in Yemen, Niebuhr also observes that on their own, porcelain

cups function as a certain differentiator of social status (Niebuhr, 1792, vol.1). In the context of

hospitality, coffee and porcelain cups are also prominently on display when the British traveler J.

Lewis Farley met with Bedouin leaders near the village of Abilin in Ottoman Palestine: "... Coffee

was then brought to us in china and silver filigree cups, the same ceremony being observed as with

the nargilehs...coffee was afterwards handed to the officers..." (Farley, 1878: 69-70).

Many late nineteenth century travelogues demonstrate that coffee and porcelain were

mainstays of the Ottoman upper class. For instance, while travelling through Greece, Edward

Dodwell observed in 1819 that after dinner in wealthy Ottoman households, the diners would drink

a cup of coffee in order to aid in the digestion of the meal (Dodwell, 1819: 157, as cited in Vroom,

2003: 341). These sources also demonstrate that in the Ottoman Empire, and therefore Cyprus, the

consumption of this beverage, combined with tobacco smoking, represented the most basic means

of hospitality that one could offer a stranger or guest at all levels of society (e.g., von Löher, 1878;

Figure 5. Engraving of a meeting between Turkish Cypriot leaders and newly arrived British administrators. In the back left a servant holds what are presumably porcelain cups for coffee or tea based on their color and size (Engraving by Wolsely, 1878 in Severis, 2000: 152).

Farley, 1878: 61; Smith 1887: 251). The vessels in which these consumables were taken played the

defining role in the visual representation of status and wealth.

The Clergy

The clergy of the Greek Orthodox Church in Cyprus made extensive use of coffee in

various social contexts, such as the hosting of other 'elite' guests. On one level, coffee drinking

within the context of hospitality rituals contained an obligation for the guest to attend, as noted by

von Löher, which were hard to ignore:

> …a young priest…brought me a friendly invitation to take a cup of coffee with the Lord Archbishop. I had so much still to see that I felt compelled to decline this courtesy. The young priest modestly urged that it was the custom of all strangers to pay their respects to his Grace, and that I should not willingly be the first to decline (1878: 28).

A review of von Löher's 1877 publication indicates that he consumed coffee no less than four times with various members of the Greek Orthodox clergy (1878: 47, 120, 180, 212). These social interactions occurred with, apparently, lowly monks and with elite individuals such as the Lord Archbishop of Cyprus (1878: 47, 120). Unfortunately, von Löher does not describe the containers that held the coffee. Nevertheless, his observations provide valuable insight into the importance that coffee played in the hospitality and greeting rituals of the Greek Orthodox clergy of Cyprus. Travelers such as Baker, Farley, and Smith also provide descriptions of similar interactions with the Orthodox clergy that span different ranks and regions (e.g. Baker 1879: 362; Smith, 1887: 186-187; Farley, 1878: 61).

The Ottoman Empire afforded the Greek Orthodox Church a preferred status as a religious institution which gave the Church the opportunity to purchase and administer landholdings (Given, 2000: 4).[15] Under Ottoman law, the Greek Orthodox clergy were given partially tax-exempt status and often partook in business transactions with both Christian and Muslim merchants alike (Jennings, 1993: 150-151). Because of these business endeavors, frequently in the form of loans or patron-client relationships, the economic means of the Church were often intertwined with the political and mercantile elite segments of Ottoman society. In fact, state and aristocratic interest in the Church's financial dealings reached such levels that some 19th and early 20th century nationalist movements in Christian regions of the Ottoman Empire began to see the Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul as an institution of "greed and corruption" (Stamatopoulos, 2016: 94). This negative viewpoint of the Church's economic activity was in no small part due to the fee schedule on

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[15] The Greek Orthodox Church is structured as a top-down hierarchy in Eastern Orthodox communion. Unlike the Catholic Church, however, the Greek creed is not headed by a single authority figure; rather, the church holds that Christ is the head of the Church and in his place a council of bishops, called the Holy Synod, leads the Church (although the Patriarch of Constantinople is the formal head of the Church, or "first among equals"). With the seat of the bishop on the highest rung, below are the abbots, priests, monks, and lay people of the Church. Nevertheless, while the bishop is the highest seat, the autocephaly of the Orthodox Church structure means much power can be granted to local parishes.

religious duties (i.e. the payment due to a priest for performing a service such as a wedding) and the

heavy taxes levied on the local parishioners (Hadjianastasis, 2004; Stamatopoulos, 2016).

Figure 6. Sketch of an Orthodox monk or priest in conversation with a (presumably) Turkish Cypriot merchant (Sketch by Edmond Duthoit, 1862 in Severis, 2000: 132).

The Cypriot Orthodox clergy as a social class displayed many qualities normally associated

with an 'elite.' These elite qualities included acquiring ownership or renting of landed properties, the

direction of economic activities, and staffing posts in the civil government. In fact, Hadjianastasis

points out that members of the "high church," which consisted of bishops and archbishops, are

often identified in the same social strata as the urban, Ottoman elite (2004: 161-197). While the rural,

"lower" church clergy did not command such political power as their urban counterparts, and the

lower clergy's daily routine was more similar to a peasant, they indeed exercised a great deal of

influence within their parishes. For, "Where the Church [of Cyprus] was very prominently involved was tax collection. Taxation was the single most important reason for the contact between the Church and the Ottoman authorities" (Hadjianastasis, 2004: 139). The priest and the bishop had the means and the obligation to support the economic structure of the Church in Cyprus through monastic earnings and tax collection, which were the principal means by which the Orthodox Patriarchate financed itself (cf. Stamatopoulos, 2016; Kondyli, 2010; Roudomentof and Michael, 2010). These above outlined concepts are illustrated clearly in the British reaction to Ecumenical financial influence. Upon taking control of Cyprus in 1878, the British moved to hinder the ability of the Church to retain land and eliminated its tax-exempt status, thus limiting monastic expansion, as British governors sought to incorporate Cyprus as a mandate territory (Roudomentof and Michael, 2010: 68).

Historian Marios Hadjianastasis provides the following statement from the 17th century deacon Konstantinos when considering the power of the Orthodox clergy during the Ottoman period, "If the Turks decimated our land of Cyprus, it is nobody's fault but the bishops" (cited in, Hadjianastasis, 2004: 210). These words spoken by Konstantinos clearly demonstrate the power that the Orthodox clergy, specifically the "high clergy" or bishopric, held in ordering the social landscape of Cyprus. Due to the clergy's imbued socio-economic power, the clergy within the TAESP survey universe were able to afford such luxuries as porcelain, and its connected commodity, coffee. Porcelain played a key role in displaying wealth and establishing authority over the rural population. Von Löher's experience with the Church was clearly not a one-off occasion.

The archaeological record of ritualized coffee and porcelain consumption is an ideal way to study the rural Early Modern social landscape of Cyprus, especially in the case of the Greek Orthodox Cypriot clergy. Historians have been reluctant to place the Church in a position of administrative or authoritative primacy (Hadjianastasis, 2004; Bouleti, 2015). Yet, the Church's role

as tax collector, privileged status under Ottoman law, and authority in religious affairs placed it in a significantly unique, and economically advantaged role. Not only was the expense of coffee great, but the process in which to consume it was a long and drawn out process involving many steps in preparation, meaning that a cup of coffee's production would not have been an event taken lightly (Brosh, 2002: 17). If the Orthodox clergy, from the bishop to the village priest, had the capacity to buy and prepare coffee, and furthermore serve it in porcelain cups, then its economic capacity clearly differed from the peasantry even if the day-to-day activities of its rural clerics did not. This is not to say peasants did not have access to coffee. It is likely that non-elite segments of Cypriot society also readily consumed coffee beverages; the differing factor being the vessels used to consume coffee by peasants and lower-status Cypriots. Porcelain was preferred by both the clerical elite and the local landed elite. The latter included both Turkish-Muslim and Greek-Christian. In apposition, earthenware vessels predominated among the peasantry.
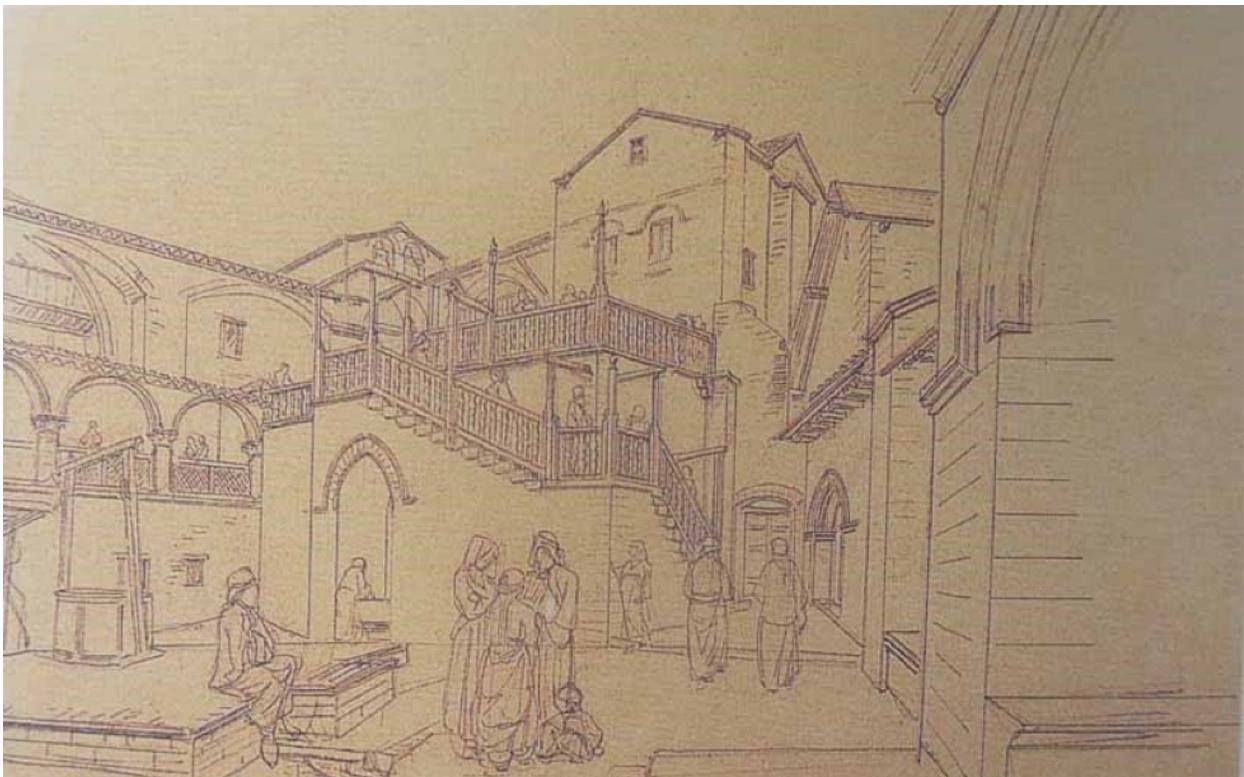
Figure 7. Sketch depicting a monk or priest and a Turkish Cypriot merchant in the lower right hand corner (Sketch by Edmond Duthoit, 1862 in Severis, 2000: 128).

The presence of coffee and porcelain in ecclesiastical records, travel diaries, and on archaeological sites presented within this thesis research demonstrated a clearly divided society within Cyprus's Greek Christian community. Because of the rural clergy's presumed lower economic status in comparison to their urban counterparts, social stratification was perhaps less vertical than in cities such as Nicosia. Consequently, while historical studies have evidenced the power of religious institutions in rural Cypriot social life, archaeological remains (i.e. porcelain) can also be used to demonstrate authority and power on the rural economic landscape.

Conclusions

The examples presented in this section highlight the importance that coffee played in the rituals of hospitality and business in Cyprus. Within a century and half, coffee goes from a novelty item seen only by religious mystics and adventurers to Abyssinia, to a staple of the well-to-do aristocrat. In addition, historical sources bear out porcelain as the preferred vessel for the consumption of coffee, especially in the homes of the elite. Earthenware vessels were often employed as a cheaper substitute by the poorer classes of society to consume the beverage when porcelain was either unavailable or unaffordable. Unfortunately, many of the Cypriot travelogues do not specifically note porcelain in their accounts; however, archaeological evidence, as this study has sought to demonstrate, strongly suggests porcelain was available to those who could afford it on Cyprus. These historical sources ultimately reinforced observations in the archaeological assemblage of the TAESP survey universe; namely, that porcelain was widely used by the rural elite as a means to both consume coffee and as a means to demonstrate status. As the archaeological and historical record has shown, the commodities of coffee and porcelain served the purpose of displaying authority through specific hospitality rituals and form the hallmarks of a rural Early Modern elite; a classification that can be aptly applied to the rural Orthodox clergy.

Chapter Four: Analysis of the TAESP Porcelain Assemblage

Introduction

This study operates on the assumption that the TAESP porcelain assemblage is primarily

composed of coffee cups based on the following lines of evidence: porcelain was an expensive

commodity in the Early Modern Ottoman world, and it appears unlikely that larger porcelain vessels

would be a common container among the poorer strata of society who depended on subsistence

agriculture and pastoralism and lacked the means to purchase such expense-laden porcelain items.[16]

In addition, coffee cups are often found in urban and rural contexts throughout the Near East, as

"there was no 'cheap' option to fine coffee cups" (Walker, 2009: 48-49). While this evidence does

not assure all porcelain found in the TAESP survey universe functioned for coffee consumption in

the form of cups, it appears highly likely that the coffee cup was the most prevalent porcelain form

in rural contexts. The same principal applies to the Kütahya ware sherds found within the TAESP

survey universe. TAESP identified the Kütahya ware sherds as coffee cup vessels; furthermore, the

cost involved in the purchase of Kütahya ware vessels make larger, more expensive forms less likely

in TAESP's rural context.

The stratified sampling framework of TAESP covered an area of 164 km^2 across selected

parts of the survey universe that were primarily within the described Intensive Survey Zones (ISZs).

Special Interest Areas (TSs) were used to demarcate areas of detailed survey, usually in relation to a

significant feature (e.g. a village). Places of Special Interest (POSIs) represent these significant

features on the TAESP landscape, and often they correlate with what would be a traditional

archaeological site, such as architectural remains or artifact scatters.

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[16] Direct access to the TAESP porcelain assemblage was not possible during the course of this thesis research, nor was the morphology of the porcelain recorded in the TAESP online data; however, TAESP recorded sherd-type, thickness, and weight of porcelain artifacts. This research therefore operated under the assumption that most of the porcelain sample reflected coffee cups based on historical evidence and TAESP's measurements.

TAESP is by definition a survey project. Therefore, it cannot be assumed by archaeologists that the data collected are all-encompassing of artifacts present within the survey universe. However, tableware is a highly visible and recognizable artifact which helps to counterbalance the subjectivity that is introduced into survey work, wherein much of what is and is not recorded is in the hands of field-members of various experience levels. Porcelain in particular is extremely recognizable as compared to earthenwares due to its pure-white color and manufacture style (see Chapter One for a detailed discussion of TAESP methods). The recognizable fabric of porcelain possibly introduces a statistical bias in its collection, however, as it is being compared to other porcelain assemblages and to other tablewares, this thesis research assumes that this potential bias is minimized. In total, the TAESP assemblage contains 301 sherds of porcelain recovered by field teams during five seasons of survey.

Time period designations for ceramics followed a general set of periods and sub-periods as established by the TAESP project. The most applicable of which were the Medieval-Ottoman (1191-1878), Medieval Utility periods I-III (late 12th century-20th century), Ottoman period (1571-1878), and the Ottoman-Modern periods (1571-ca. 1960). Porcelain was almost exclusively listed as Modern (1878-ca. 1960)[17], although some pieces were attributed to the Ottoman-Modern. Kütahya ware was solely listed as Ottoman in date.

In sum, the analyses were limited by the availability of data as they were collected by TAESP in the field. For this reason, the dating and identification of ceramics was kept consistent by this thesis research with that of TAESP, except in the case of porcelain where it was reasonable to assume an earlier date for some of the porcelain assemblage based on location recovered and the

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[17] These time periods are arbitrarily attached to pottery in order to aid in the processing of the vast amounts of data collected during the course of TAESP. It is probable, and highly likely, that much of the porcelain pre-dates the British takeover of Cyprus in 1878.

history of porcelain manufacturing. What follows is a detailed discussion of the data collection methods and their ensuing results.

Data Collection

The entirety of the TAESP ceramic finds data were published online and were available for download in pipe-delimited format. This information in .txt format was then imported into Microsoft Excel where it could be further paired down to meet the goals of this study. Once imported into Excel, a master list of all ceramic finds dating to the Ottoman-Modern periods was established by eliminating all ceramics from periods dating to the Medieval-Venetian and earlier. Time periods overlapping between both the Medieval and Ottoman, for example the Medieval-Modern (1191-ca. 1960) and Medieval-Ottoman (1191-1878), were not eliminated. As long as a ceramic find could be reasonably dated to the Ottoman-Modern period (1571-ca. 1960) it was not excluded from analysis. The master list was further refined by eliminating all functional categories that did not include porcelain. This step left only tablewares as a functional category for analysis. Once refined, the data were then sortable by type, period, and location. This refinement process aided in the organization of ceramic data for the purpose of carrying out subsequent analysis in an efficient manner.

The master list (all Ottoman-Modern tablewares in the TAESP survey universe) formed the reference point from which other datasets were constructed. Two primary subsets stemmed from the master list: one, all porcelain across the survey universe, and two, all non-porcelain tableware across the survey universe. These two subsets enabled spatial and ethnic comparisons to investigate if porcelain differed from other tablewares in its distribution across the landscape.

The same process as outlined above was also employed for the identification of Kütahya ware; a ceramic known for use in coffee consumption. Only three sherds were identified in the

TAESP universe.[18] These Kütahya sherds, however, offer an insight into ritualized coffee consumption prior to the introduction of mass-produced European porcelain (cf. Vroom, 1996).[19]

The reduced porcelain and Ottoman-Modern tableware data were further refined to social and geographic contexts. This was done with the aid of historical documents and modern research regarding rural Cyprus (Given and Hadjianastasis, 2010; Given et al., 2013a vols. 1 & 2). The datasets were organized ethnically into Greek villages, Turkish villages, mixed villages, and ecclesiastical dwellings. Whether or not a settlement was inhabited seasonally or year-round was also taken into consideration but not given its own category as even seasonal settlements may have had a year-round component in the form of semi-nomadic pastorlists (Given and Sollars, 2013, vol.2: 24). The geographic zones established by the TAESP team were retained. The ceramic finds were divided between those found in the mountains, plains, and valleys. This was done to see if any one geographical zone constituted a center for the consumption of porcelain and Kütahya ware.

Ceramics found outside the context of a settlement (i.e. those found in survey units unassociated with a specific village) constituted the "fields" category in the ensuing analyses. The fields category represents all ceramic finds that could not be associated with a village, seasonal settlement, church, or monastery due to the distance from the nearest settlement. Both agricultural and non-agricultural land may be included in the fields, but land use type was not highlighted in this study. It is possible that these field ceramics were associated with specific settlements at some point and became deposited outside these locations due to dumping or other natural processes, but this determination fell beyond the scope of this research.

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[18] Two errors were found in the TAESP downloadable data: one sherd of Kütahya ware (TCP102) was mislabeled as PP (polychrome painted) rather than PP07 (polychrome painted-Kütahya ware); a second sherd (TCP325) was mislabeled as PP06 (polychrome painted-Grottaglie) rather than PP07. The third sherd (located in TS08) was not assigned a TCP number.
[19] See Appendix B.
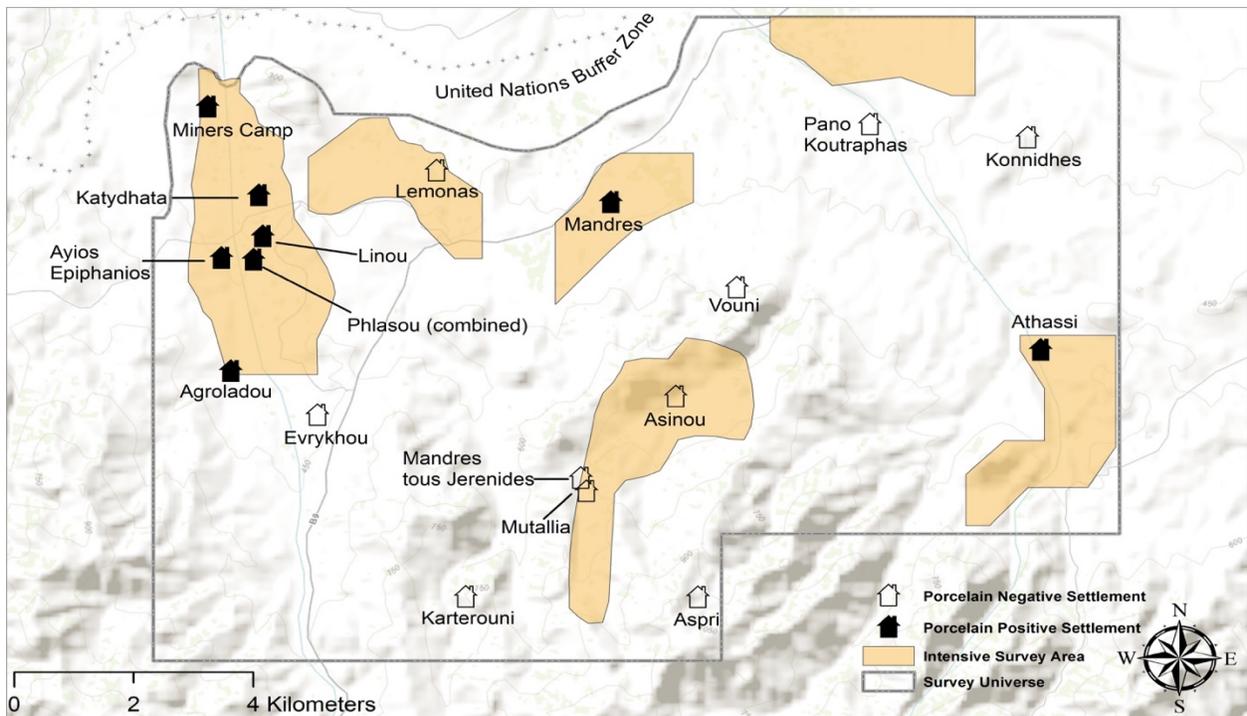
Figure 8. Overview of all Ottoman-Modern settlements where TAESP recorded pottery. Settlements are labelled according to the presence or absence of porcelain artifacts.
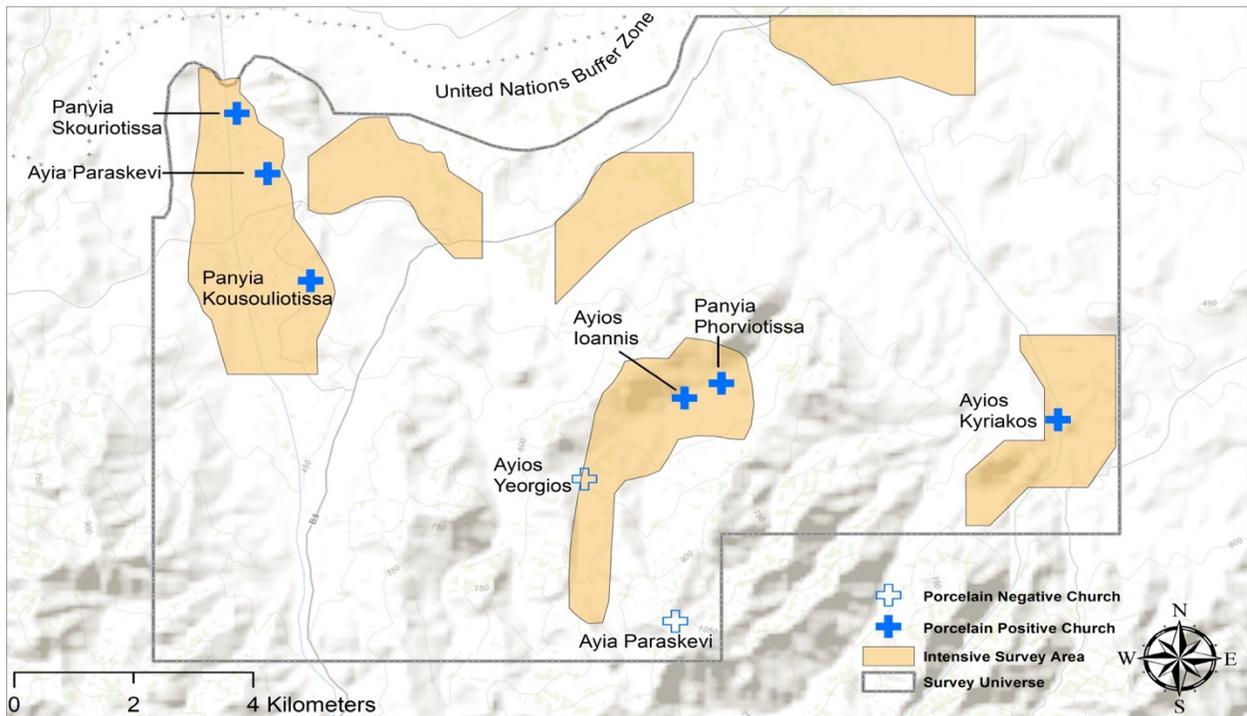

Figure 9. Overview of all Ottoman-Modern ecclesiastical settlements where TAESP recorded pottery. Settlements are labelled according to the presence or absence of porcelain artifacts.

These procedures enabled the identification of a manageable and informative dataset. Porcelain and other Ottoman-Modern tablewares (specifically, Kütahya ware), when organized by geographic and ethnic context, can be used to identify loci of authority and power on the rural Troodos landscape.

Spatial Distribution of Porcelain

The use of Geographic Information Systems (GIS) enabled a fine-grained distribution study of the TAESP porcelain assemblage. A Nearest Neighbor analysis was used to determine if porcelain was or was not randomly distributed throughout the survey universe. Following the results of the Nearest Neighbor analysis, an Anselin Local Moran I cluster analysis was carried out to determine the location of clusters and statistical outliers in the porcelain assemblage. This information was then compared to the locations of settlements and ecclesiastical structures to determine if the ceramic clusters were statistically prevalent in village or ecclesiastical contexts and to aid in the identification of clusters not initially recognized by visual inspection of locations containing porcelain artifacts.

The distribution analysis was hindered by TAESP's site-less methodology; hence, it was necessary for the author to delimit the size of settlements. The approximate GPS locations of settlements were used as center points for the association of survey material with a particular settlement. Artifacts and specific survey units that were explicitly associated by TAESP with a settlement were retained; where no material was explicitly associated with a settlement, especially in the case of churches and monasteries, an arbitrary 250-meter radius was established using the noted TAESP village location as a center point and all material lying within was attributed to the settlement. This zone of influence was only broken when material was definitively stated to be a part of a settlement's context (e.g. if survey units were linked to a specific TS-Area of Special Interest). As TAESP recorded artifacts down to only the level of which survey unit they derived from, Nearest

Neighbor and Cluster analyses assumed all artifacts had an origin in the approximate center of their respective survey units.

A Nearest Neighbor analysis with the aid of ArcMap 10.3 was carried out in order to determine if porcelain was uniformly, randomly, or clustered within the survey universe (see: Bevan and Conolly, 2006; Pinder et al., 1979). In order to run an effective Nearest Neighbor test, survey units containing porcelain required identification within TAESP's GIS dataset (henceforth called porcelain-positive survey units). This task was accomplished by constructing a new 'porcelain' attribute field in the survey unit attribute table. Once completed, the construction of the attribute field enabled the isolation of porcelain-positive survey units within the survey universe. The visual product of this step illustrated that the majority of porcelain-positive survey units were located in the Karkotis Valley and the Upper Lagoudhera Valley (Figure 13, top). Conversely, little porcelain can be observed in the survey units located in the agricultural districts of the survey universe (e.g. Koutraphas), or in the survey units near seasonal settlements and settlements abandoned before the 18th century.

Nearest Neighbor analysis confirmed what visual inspection suggested, that the distribution of porcelain-positive survey units was indeed clustered (Figure 10). The final Z score was -13.608563, indicating a high level of clustering. The Nearest Neighbor analysis was carried out using Euclidian distance as the distance measuring method. With the spatial dispersal of porcelain-positive survey units confirmed to be not random throughout the survey universe, the next step was to identify the geographic location of significant clusters using the Cluster and Outlier Analysis tool in ESRI ArcMap.

The clustering analysis carried out was an Anselin Local Morans I, using the ArcMap 10.3 toolbox. The locations of porcelain-positive survey units were inputted using inverse-distance as the conceptualization of spatial relationships and Euclidean distance as the distance method. False

Nearest Neighbor Ratio: 0.371252
z-score: -13.608563
p-value: 0.000000

Significance Level (p-value) | Critical Value (z-score)
0.01 — < -2.58
0.05 — -2.58 – -1.96
0.10 — -1.96 – -1.65
--- — -1.65 – 1.65
0.10 — 1.65 – 1.96
0.05 — 1.96 – 2.58
0.01 — > 2.58

(Random)

Significant   Significant

Clustered   Random   Dispersed

Given the z-score of -13.6085632826, there is a less than 1% likelihood that this clustered pattern could be the result of random chance.

Figure 10. Results of the Nearest Neighbor Analysis.

Discovery Rate (FDR) correction was turned off in this analysis. The Anselin Local Morans I analysis revealed three primary clusters of porcelain within the TAESP survey universe (Figure 11). The largest of the clusters was unsurprisingly located in the Karkotis Valley, and encompassed the major settlements of the region: Linou, Katydhata, and Phlasou. A second clustering was detected in the northwestern zone of the Karkotis ISZ near the Skouriotissa mining camp and monastery. The third cluster was identified immediately north of the Ayios Kyriakos church in the Xyliatou ISZ. As no other settlements were located in this region of the survey universe, the cluster is presented here as in association with the Ayios Kyriakos church (TP47).

In addition to the three locations marked for high clustering, two areas were identified by the Anselin Local Moran analysis as "High Outlier"[20] clusters (Figure 11). As would be expected, outliers occur in areas where porcelain is statistically unexpected. One of these outliers was located in Mandres (TS07), far distant from the next nearest porcelain cluster in the Karkotis ISZ. The porcelain present in Mandres was the only assemblage located within both the Mandres and Atsas ISZs. The porcelain artifacts recorded in the vicinity of the Panayia Phorviotissa church and monastery (TS08) were additionally classed as an area of "High Outlier" status. The location pinpointed by the cluster analysis was the survey transect approximately 160 meters northwest of the church (survey units 1361-62, 1365), marking the only porcelain cluster within the Asinou ISZ.

The results of the Nearest Neighbor and Anselin Local Morans I tests reinforced conclusions drawn from a visual inspection of the TAESP porcelain assemblage. Porcelain was not randomly dispersed throughout the landscape, and instead, was clustered in the villages of the Karkotis Valley and the Ayios Kyriakos church. Outliers were identified in the Nikitari valley near Asinou Church (Panayia Phorviotissa) and the seasonal satellite settlement of Mandres. As a

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[20] A high outlier is a cluster with a statistically high amount that falls beyond the normally expected range. The obverse is a low outlier that has an amount below what is statistically expected.
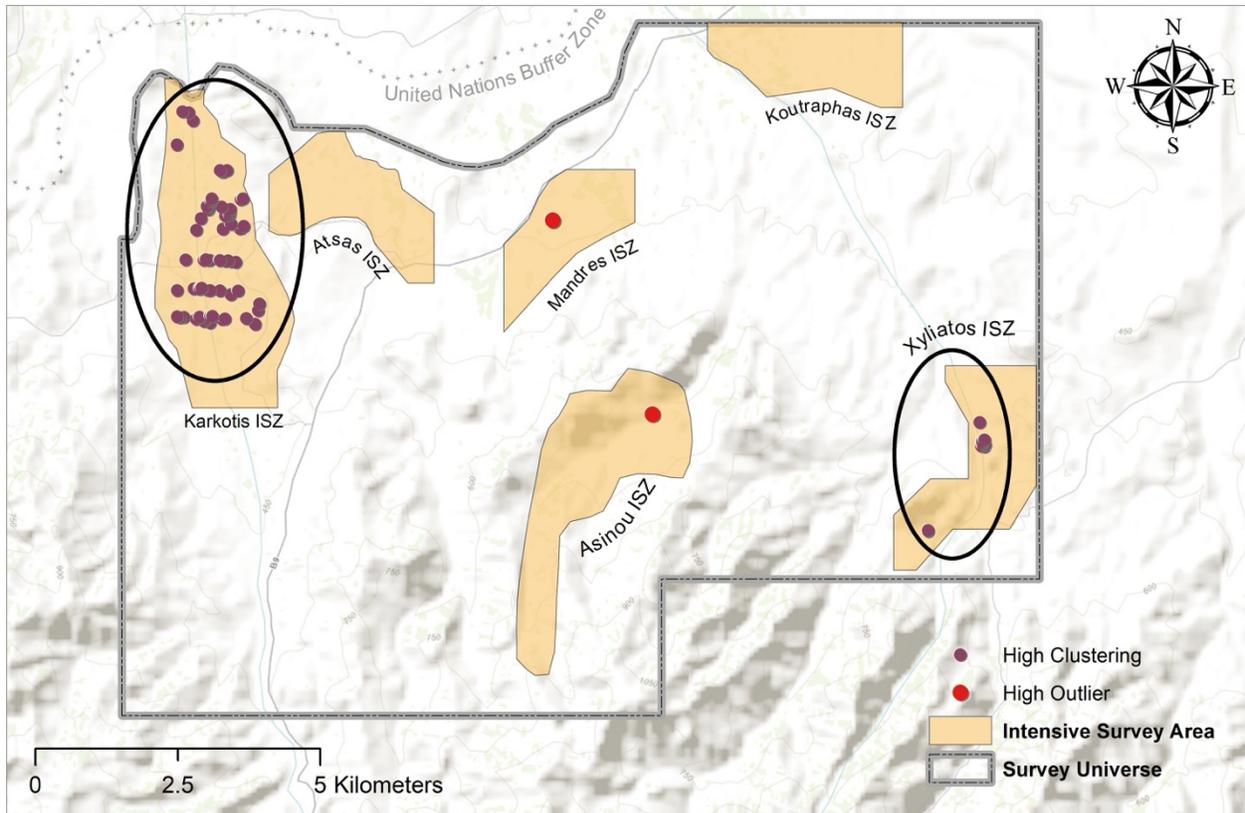
Figure 11. The results of the cluster analysis overlaid on the TAESP survey universe. The two highlighted regions (demarcated by black ovals) represent the main areas of porcelain artifact clustering. The red dots represent areas of unexpectedly high outlier amounts of porcelain artifacts. Purple dots represent areas of high clustering.

result, the dispersal and clustering analyses justified a further study of the porcelain assemblage as it was clear that the artifacts were present at specific sites throughout the survey universe. Therefore, further analysis was carried out to understand the possible social-economic factors underpinning the spatial relationship of porcelain-positive locations on the TAESP landscape. The primary goal then became to elucidate the relationship between the presence of porcelain and its social and geographical contexts; that is to say, to identify areas with a high proportion of porcelain and to test the hypothesis that this high representational value is indicative of an elite habitation and as an archaeological marker for rural centers of authority and power.

66

Porcelain Distribution by Site Type[21]

A key piece of the data that needed to be explored in the course of this project was the site type distribution of porcelain within the total assemblage (Figure 14). Overall, 301 pieces of porcelain were recorded in the TAESP survey universe. Porcelain comprised a significant portion of Ottoman-Modern ceramics, accounting for ~26% of all Ottoman-Modern tableware collected within the survey universe. Over half of the 301 sherds were of a diagnostic nature (Figure 12).

The single largest category was the "fields" (e.g. survey units not readily attributable to a settlement or ecclesiastical structure). The fields constituted 39% (n=118) of the overall porcelain assemblage. While a detailed analysis of the non-settlement tableware assemblage fell beyond the scope of this research, the vast majority of this field porcelain was located near the Karkotis

PORCELAIN BY SHERD TYPE

Rim 32% (97)

Body 49% (148)

Base 19% (56)

■ Rim ■ Base ■ Body
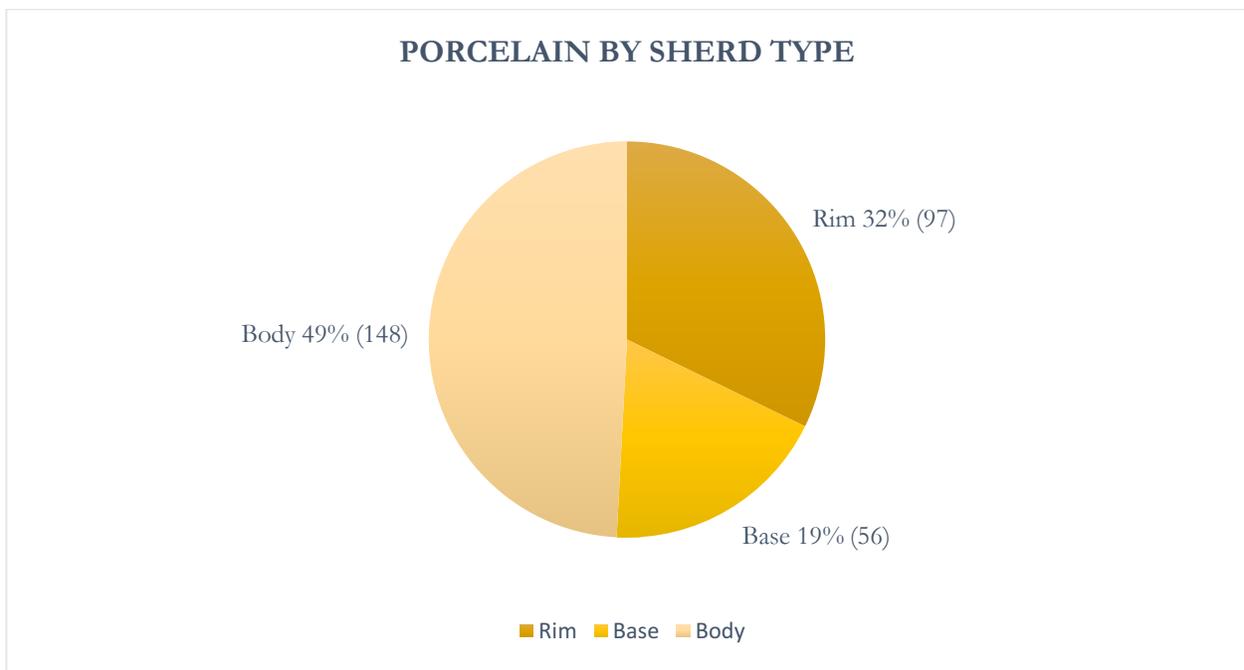
Figure 12. A breakdown of the TAESP porcelain assemblage by sherd type.

Valley, and therefore in the general vicinity of the majority of villages within the TAESP survey universe. Greek villages formed the second largest category of TAESP's porcelain assemblage. The

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[21] See Appendix A for details on all villages with a recovered ceramic assemblage.

Greek villages contained 20% (n=61) of the total porcelain assemblage. The villages of Linou and

Katydhata contained the bulk of Greek village associated porcelain. At 19% (n=58), ecclesiastical

structures (churches or monasteries) had a similar share of the porcelain assemblage. The

ecclesiastical assemblage was characterized by a high proportion in both the Karkotis Valley and

near the Ayios Kyriakos church in the Xyliatou ISZ, and smaller amounts in the Nikitari valley. The

mixed settlements of Phlasou and the Skouriotissa mining camp constituted 15% (n=45) of all

porcelain recorded. Last, Turkish villages formed the smallest share with 7% (n=19 sherds). The

paucity of data from Turkish villages can largely be attributed to the lack of survey units around

these villages and the historically low levels of Turkish population in this region (cf. Given and

Hadjianastasis, 2010).

The volume of porcelain found within individual villages was as follows (Table 3). Phlasou,

the primary mixed village of this study, yielded 37 sherds of porcelain. However, the volume can be

split between northern and southern sectors. Coincidentally, nearly two-thirds (n=22/37) of the

Phlasou assemblage was found in the southern zone closest to the village's watermills. The early 20th

century mixed-ethnicity Skouriotissa mining camp contained eight sherds of porcelain. The

Skouriotissa camp formed a reliable *terminus ante quem* for comparison with other, older villages

because of the village's narrow date range, 1923-1974 (Boutin and Given, 2013, vol.2: 136-137).

The Greek settlements (Linou, Katydhata, Mandres, Athassi) encompassed the largest

amount of functional diversity, ranging from villages to seasonal dwellings (Figure 14). The village of

Linou contained 29 sherds of porcelain, and additionally five watermills were counted in the 1833

census (Given and Hadjianastasis, 2010: 53); although, none of these watermills were demarcated by

TAESP. Katydhata represented the other significant permanent Greek village in the TAESP survey

universe. Twenty-three sherds of porcelain were recorded in the context of the village. In addition,

one watermill was recorded by the 1833 census, with another three noted by TAESP on the eastern

outskirts of Katydhata. The estate of Athassi established a secure set of dates from which to study the Greek porcelain assemblage. Athassi was abandoned sometime before 1825 (Graham, 2013, vol.2: 194), and therefore, the eight sherds of porcelain demonstrate the infiltration of porcelain into the rural landscape prior to the 1878 British takeover of Cyprus. A further case study of Athassi is offered in Chapter Five. Lastly, Mandres represents the most significant seasonal settlement in the TAESP survey universe. Two sherds of porcelain were recovered from the Mandres site. There appears to be a clear definition between the assemblages of the permanent villages in the TAESP survey universe and that of the seasonal settlements, such as Mandres. Therefore, the Mandres seasonal ceramic dataset is additionally presented as a crucial comparative element to further analyze the permanent village and ecclesiastical assemblages.

Turkish villages were represented in the sample by Ayios Epiphanios and Agroladou, each of which were permanent villages. The former yielded 17 sherds of porcelain, and the latter two sherds of porcelain. It was expected that Ayios Epiphanios would contain the larger share of porcelain sherds, as Ayios Epiphanios (29 households) was approximately five times larger than Agroladou (six households) (Given and Hadjianastasis, 2010: 53). However, one sherd of Kütahya ware was found in the context of Agroladou. One watermill (BU99) was present approximately 350 meters southeast of Agroladou.

For all villages, this thesis research finds an initial division in the distribution of porcelain appears along two lines. First, the highest volumes of porcelain are found in villages with an industrial capacity, in this case, the presence of watermills (Table 3). Second, porcelain is found almost exclusively in 'urban' areas, and represents a rare find in the more rural settlements of the TAESP survey universe. When analyzing the volume of porcelain by village ethnicity, it appears that
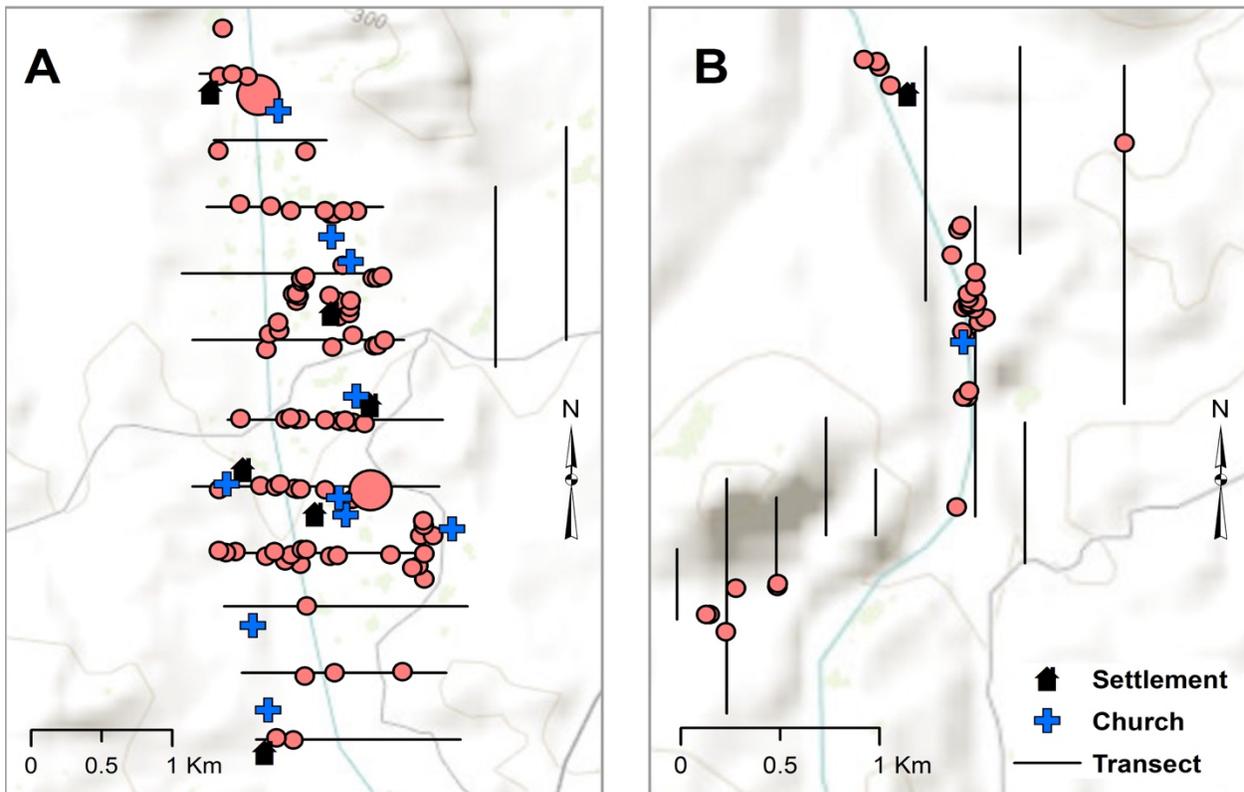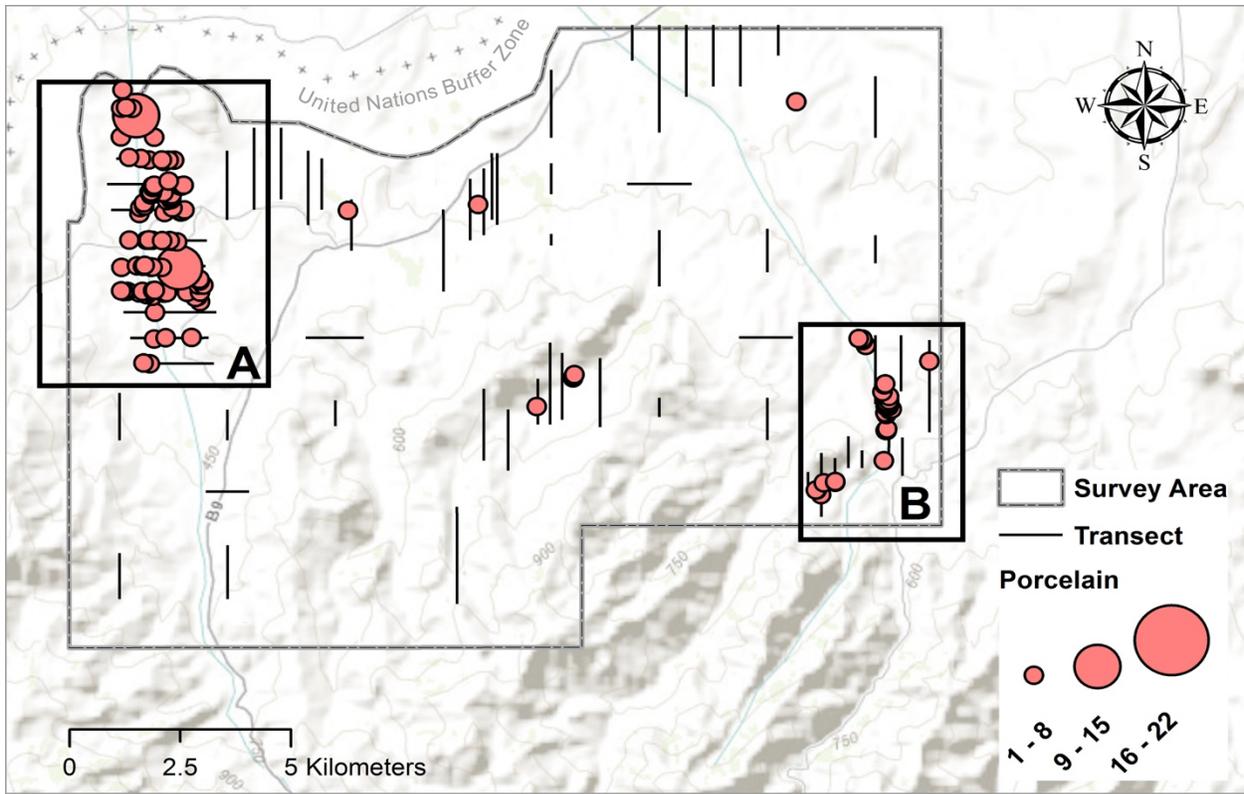
Figure 13. Graduated symbol map of the entire TAESP porcelain distribution. Section A is the Karkotis Valley; section B is the area around the Ayios Kyriakos church.

VOLUME OF PORCELAIN PER SITE TYPE

Greek Village 21% (61)

Turkish Village 6% (19)

Mixed Village 15% (45)

Church/Monastery 19% (58)

Fields 39% (118)
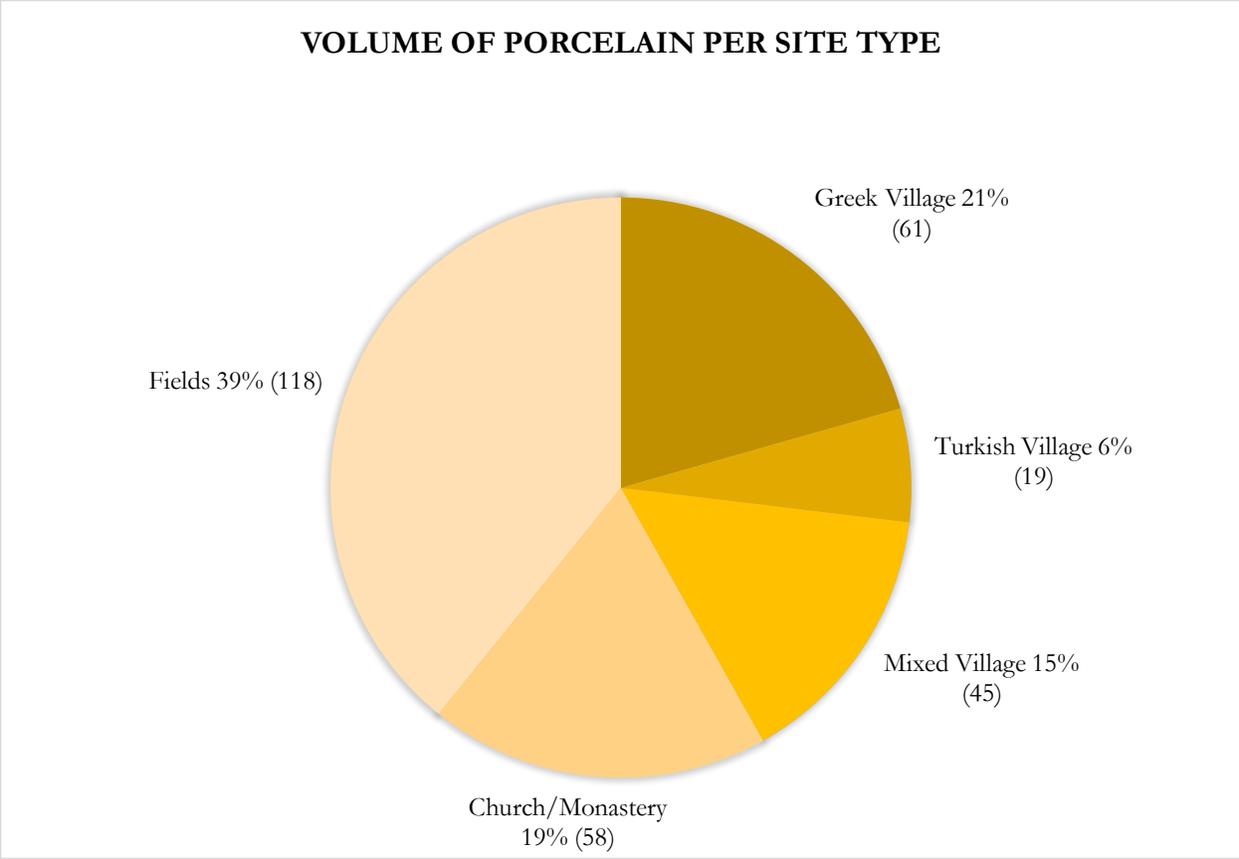
Figure 14. Volume of porcelain per site type.

no ethnic boundary exists in the distribution of porcelain artifacts as high volumes are found in

Greek, Turkish, and mixed contexts.

The ecclesiastical structures (churches and monasteries) yielded a similar volume of porcelain

as compared to Greek villages (Table 3). The bulk of this assemblage was found in Panayia

Kousouliotissa (TS11), Panayia Skouriotissa, Ayios Kyriakos, and Panayia Phorviotissa (TS08) (Table

3). The church of Ayios Kyriakos contained one of the largest concentrations of Ottoman-Modern

tableware in the eastern portion of the TAESP survey universe, including 23 sherds of porcelain.

This artifact cluster was particularly interesting due to the lack of settlements in the area. The

monastery of Panayia Skouriotissa (the modern U.N. San Martin Base) had the second highest

volume of porcelain in an ecclesiastical context, totaling 14 sherds of porcelain. The monastery of

Skouriotissa was the residence of the local bishop (Boutin and Given, 2013, vol.2: 78), perhaps

giving the site a degree of authority over other church settlements in the surrounding area. Panayia

Kousouliotissa (TS11) contained 13 sherds of porcelain. Also significant, however, was the presence

of Kütahya ware at Kousouliotissa. The Panayia Phorviotissa[22] church and monastery (TS08/

TP117) yielded five sherds of porcelain in association with the complex. One sherd of Kütahya ware

Village	Porcelain	Kütahya ware	Settlement Type	Dates
Mining Camp	Positive	Negative	Workers Camp	1923-1974
Phlasou	Positive	Negative	Permanent Village	Ottoman-Modern
Mandres	Positive	Negative	Seasonal Settlement	16th-early 20th c.
Ayios Epiphanios	Positive	Negative	Permanent Village	Medieval-1975
Agroladou	Positive	Positive	Permanent Village	Ottoman-1974
Katydhata	Positive	Negative	Permanent Village	Medieval-Modern
Athassi	Positive	Negative	Estate	Medieval-1825
Asinou	Negative	Negative	Permanent Village	18th-early 20th c.
Aspri	Negative	Negative	Seasonal Settlement	15th-17th or 18th c.
Pera Yitonia	Negative	Negative	Seasonal Settlement	16th-20th c.
Karterouni	Negative	Negative	Seasonal Settlement	17th c.-1970
Nikitari Mutallia	Negative	Negative	Seasonal Settlement	Ottoman Period
Mandres tous Jerenides	Negative	Negative	Seasonal Settlement	Ottoman-early 20th c.
Lemonas	Negative	Negative	Seasonal Settlement	Late Ottoman-20th c.
Vouni	Negative	Negative	Seasonal Settlement	16th-19th c.

Table 1. List of villages surveyed by TAESP, presence/absence of porcelain and Kütahya ware, settlement type, and dates of occupation.

Ecclesiastical Settlement	Porcelain	Kütahya ware	Settlement Type	Dates
Panayia Phorviotissa	Positive	Positive	Church & Monastery	1105-Modern
Panayia Kousouliotissa	Positive	Positive	Church & Monastery	18th c.-Modern
Panayia Skouriotissa	Positive	Negative	Church & Monastery	1716-1912
Ayios Kyriakos	Positive	Negative	Church	Medieval-Ottoman
Ayios Ioannis	Positive	Negative	Church	Medieval-Ottoman
Ayia Paraskevi (BU137)	Positive	Negative	Church	Ottoman
Ayia Paraskevi (TP249)	Negative	Negative	Church	15th-17th or 18th c.
Ayios Yeorgios	Negative	Negative	Church	Ottoman

Table 2. List of ecclesiastical settlements surveyed by TAESP, presence/absence of porcelain and Kütahya ware, settlement type, and dates of occupation.

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[22] Also known as the 'Asinou Church.'

was also recovered near Phorviotissa. The small churches of Ayios Ioannis and Ayia Paraskevi additionally yielded one sherd of porcelain each.

The results from the analysis of porcelain per site type form the foundation from which to conduct further research into the inter-settlement distribution of the TAESP porcelain assemblage. While Greek villages and ecclesiastical structures form the largest porcelain by volume categories (excluding the "fields"), this outcome required further testing by other modes of analysis because of a potential bias due to village size. The results of the ratio of porcelain-to-total-tableware test, and of the porcelain and other tableware per home analysis, formed the necessary comparisons to achieve a clearer picture of the TAESP social landscape.

Site Name	Number of Porcelain Sherds	Village (Greek, Turkish, Mixed)	Church/ Monastery	Number of Watermills
Phlasou	37	Mixed		4
Mining Camp	8	Mixed		0
Linou	29	Greek		5
Katydhata	23	Greek		4
Athassi	7	Greek		0
Mandres	2	Greek		0
Ayios Epiphanios	17	Turkish		0
Agroladou	2	Turkish		0
Panayia Kousouliotissa	13		Monastery and Church	0
Panayia Skouriotissa	14		Monastery and Church	0
Panayia Phorviotissa	5		Church and Monastery	0
Ayios Kyriakos	23		Church	0
Ayia Paraskevi	1		Church	0
Ayios Ioannis	1		Church	0

Table 3. Villages and ecclesiastical settlements with number of porcelain artifacts recovered and associated watermills.

Ratio of Porcelain-to-Total-Tableware by Site Type

The ratio of porcelain-to-total-tableware served as the key component in the study of the TAESP porcelain assemblage. In accordance with the volume of porcelain per site type analysis, the distinctions of Greek, Turkish, mixed, and ecclesiastical were retained. The results however differed significantly from the volume-based analysis (Figure 15). Turkish settlements contained the highest

percentage of porcelain. Forty-two pieces of total tableware were recorded from Turkish village contexts, of which 19 pieces were porcelain. This constituted 45.24% (n=19/42). Churches and monasteries yielded the second highest ratio of porcelain-to-other-tableware. Survey units in ecclesiastical contexts contained 154 total pieces of tableware. Porcelain, totaling 58 sherds, had a percentage of 37.66% (n=58/154) within these structures. A large drop-off occurred in the porcelain percentages of Greek and Mixed villages. Greek Villages, yielding a percentage of 23.31% (n=61/263), formed the third highest ethnic category containing porcelain in the TAESP survey universe. Mixed villages had the lowest overall porcelain percentage of 21.23% (n=45/212). Lastly, the "fields" contained a porcelain percentage of 24.23% (n=118/487).

On the level of the individual village, porcelain had high proportional representation at Linou, Ayios Epiphanios, and Athassi. Interestingly, two of these villages (Linou and Athassi) were Greek, deviating from the low percentiles of porcelain-to-total-tableware in other Greek villages. Linou's porcelain percentage was 63% (n=29/46), the single highest for any village in the TAESP survey universe. Likewise, the Athassi estate yielded a percentage of 44% (7/16), although its sample size was limited. Katydhata had a total porcelain ratio of 23% (n=23/99). Ayios Epiphanios yielded the richest porcelain dataset within a Turkish village context. This was because only eight sherds of tableware (two porcelain, and six non-porcelain) were found at TAESP's other Turkish village, Agroladou (Pano Koutraphas was not surveyed in the course of TAESP's fieldwork). At Ayios Epiphanios the 17 sherds of porcelain recovered yielded an overall porcelain ratio of 52% (n=17/33). The mixed village of Phlasou was represented by a porcelain percentage of 18% (n=37/204); Skouriotissa mining camp was represented by a porcelain percentage of 26% (n=8/31). Overall, with the exception of Linou and Athassi, villages did not deviate greatly from the average porcelain ratios formed when villages were grouped by ethnicity.

Ecclesiastical structures within TAESP varied greatly from the survey's villages. The porcelain percentages did not correlate to the presence or absence of a monastery, or to the presence of a nearby settlement. The Ayios Kyriakos church had the most significant porcelain percentage of 46% (n=23/50). This was followed by the Kousouliotissa and Skouriotissa monasteries with respective porcelain percentages of 56% (n=14/25) and 29% (n=13/45). Phorviotissa (and its adjoining Kapsalia Monastery) yielded a low porcelain percentage of 17% (n=5/29). The churches of Ayios Ioannis and Ayia Paraskevi contained too small of a ceramic assemblage to be deemed significant. It can therefore be initially concluded that perhaps date played a greater role in the ratio of porcelain present in ecclesiastical structures than seen in village assemblages.

It is interesting to note that although villages with a significant Greek population constituted the lowest percentiles of porcelain-to-total-tableware, these villages did contain a wide variation of other locally made tableware. In addition, Greek and mixed villages had an overall total of 369 pieces of tableware (excluding porcelain), forming ~32% (n=369/1158 sherds) of all Ottoman or later tableware found during the course of the TAESP survey (Table 4). Meanwhile, ecclesiastical contexts contained only 96 pieces (~8%) of other tableware, and Turkish villages 23 pieces (~2%). This demonstrated that porcelain was the dominant form of tableware present at churches and monasteries, and meanwhile, local and less expensive tablewares met the needs of the rural, village-based populace. However, Turkish villages have largely been destroyed in the wake of the 1974 invasion, and in addition, they were subjected to far fewer survey units in TAESP's methodology, which could account for the low number of other tableware. These porcelain-to-other-tableware findings were significant when considering the role of porcelain in the identification of rural elite classes, and the archaeological manifestation of these classes on the Cypriot landscape.

PERCENTAGE OF PORCELAIN TO OTTOMON TABLEWARES BY SITE TYPE	Greek Villages	Turkish Villages	Mixed Villages	Ecclesiastical Settlements	Fields
% Porcelain	23.31%	45.24%	21.23%	37.66%	24.23%
% Other Tablewares	76.81%	54.76%	78.77%	62.34%	75.77%
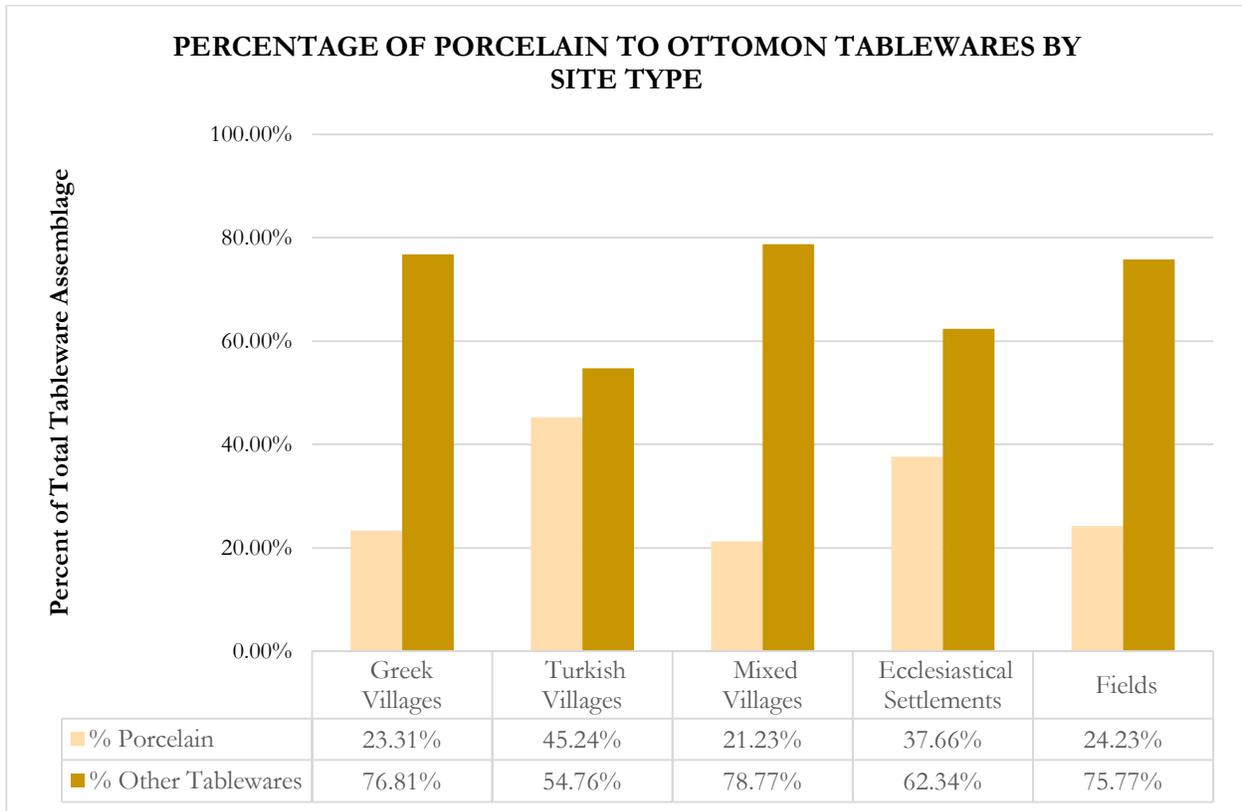
Figure 15. Total percentage of porcelain-to-other-tableware organized by site type.

Settlement Ethnic/Social Grouping	Porcelain Ratio per Site Type	Non-Porcelain Tableware per Site Type
Greek Villages	23.31% (61/263)	76.81% (202/263)
Turkish Villages	45.24% (19/42)	54.76% (23/42)
Mixed Villages	21.23% (45/212)	78.77% (167/212)
Ecclesiastical Settlements	37.66% (58/154)	62.34% (96/154)
The Fields (non-settlement survey units)	24.23% (118/487)	75.77% (369/487)

Table 4. Overall porcelain-to-total-tableware and non-porcelain-to-total-tableware ratios by settlement type.

Porcelain and Other Tableware per House

Both the porcelain and non-porcelain tableware assemblages were subjected to a sherd per home analysis (Table 5). This method used the 1833 Ottoman census and archaeological data from the TAESP survey to determine ratios of porcelain and other tableware per home within each village in the TAESP survey universe containing porcelain (Given, 2002; Given and Hadjianastasis, 2010; Given et al., 2013a, vols.1 & 2). Unlike the volume per site analysis, and the ethnically grouped

porcelain-to-other-tableware ratio analysis, the per home method sheds ethnic categories, and instead used a village-by-village approach to study each settlement individually where possible (i.e. where number of homes can be identified). Ecclesiastical structures were not noted in this method because of a lack of data pertaining to the number of contemporary structures and resident clergy. Additionally, villages that were not extensively surveyed (e.g. the village of Evrychou) were not tested using this method.

Village	# Homes	Porcelain	P/H	Other Tableware	T/H
Linou	42	29	.69/home	17	.4/home
Agroladou	6	2	.33/home	6	1/home
Ayios Epiphanios	29	17	.59/home	16	.55/home
Mining Camp	36	8	.22/home	23	.64/home
Phlasou	40	37	.93/home	167	4.2/home
Phlasou w/o Mills	40	15	.38/home	146	3.65/home
Katydhata	24	23	.96/home	76	3.2/home
Mandres	38	2	.05/home	74	1.95/home

Table 5. Porcelain and other Ottoman-Modern tableware per home.

Linou village was the largest settlement examined using the per home analysis (P/H, where P = number of porcelain sherds and H = number of homes). The village yielded a porcelain-per-home ratio of .69 sherds of porcelain per home (n=29/42). Non-porcelain tableware (T/H, where T = number of tableware sherds) measured at .4 sherds per home within Linou village (n=17/42). Linou contained the largest volume of porcelain in the Greek village ethnic category which produced its high per home ratio. The settlement most statistically comparable to Linou was Ayios Epiphanios. The porcelain-per-home ratio of Epiphanios was calculated at .59 sherds per home (n=17/29), while other tableware was calculated at .55 sherds per home (n=16/29). A plausible explanation for the relationship between Linou and Ayios Epiphanios appears to be that both contained a significant industrial capacity. In the case of Linou, five watermills were present; while in Ayios Epiphanios, a large olive growing operation was present (Given and Hadjianastasis, 2010: 53).

Katydhata village contained the single highest ratio of porcelain to number of homes. The village was listed in the 1833 census as having 24 homes and TAESP noted 23 sherds of porcelain in its vicinity, equating to a porcelain-per-home ratio of .96 sherds per home (n=23/24). Other tableware in Katydhata village equated to a 3.2 sherds per home ratio (n=76/24). Statistically, the most comparable village to Katydhata was the mixed village of Phlasou. With a porcelain-per-home ratio of .93 sherds (n=37/40), Phlasou had the second highest overall ratio of porcelain to number of homes. Likewise, other tableware accounted for the highest ratio per home, with 4.2 sherds for each home recorded (n=167/40).

Porcelain's Diachronic Social Movement

The TAESP survey universe contained a wide range of settlements that were continually occupied, abandoned, and reoccupied throughout the Ottoman-Modern period. In most instances, these events were well recorded in history. However, the changing availability of status signifying material culture for rural Cypriots inhabiting these villages is less understood. Given the varying distribution of porcelain in villages with secure chronological dating, this section seeks to trace the diachronic availability of porcelain by contrasting the rural Cypriot elite and poor social strata as European imports become accessible to Cyprus in the mid-18th century. As no porcelain fragments in the TAESP assemblage were explicitly noted as pre-European or Chinese-made, this proposed chronology extends from the 18th century (the formation of the European porcelain industry) to the early 20th century. Combining research conducted in other sections of this project, defining a social chronology of porcelain availability has the potential to illuminate further how, as Friedl describes, the lower strata of society practiced emulation of the higher, urban strata (1965: 38), and thus fueling porcelain demand.

The first portion of the chronology proposed in this analysis regards porcelain in settlements with elite contexts. As demonstrated by the preceding chapters, both the elite among the villages and the Orthodox clergy were members of the same realm of economic power. All of the major settlements with a presumed elite context (Phlasou, Linou, Katydhata) yielded significant amounts of porcelain artifacts and dated to occupations that extended throughout the Ottoman-Modern period. Consequently, the most significant 'elite' porcelain for dating purposes was present at the Athassi agricultural estate (TP14), which itself had a secure *terminus ante quem* of the year 1825. Athassi was identified as an elite settlement based on its architectural remains (a two-story home, uncommon in the region), and its status as an agricultural estate. In light of this, it is plausible to conclude that elite settlements had access to new mass produced porcelains from their earliest introduction in the mid-18th century, and at the latest by the first quarter of the 19th century (Figure 17).

Ecclesiastical settlements demonstrated a similar dating range for porcelain in elite contexts (Figure 16). Initially, it appears that pre-European porcelain was uncommon in ecclesiastical settings as Ayia Paraskevi (TP249), located in the Troodos Mountains and dating from the 15th to the 17th or 18th century, yielded no porcelain artifacts (Gibson, 2013a, vol.2: 241). Additionally, the Ottoman-era church of Ayios Yeorgios (TP124) yielded no porcelain. If the clergy and the aristocrat are considered as one socio-economic stratum, then these dates refine the chronology of European-produced porcelain in elite contexts. These dates tentatively fall in line with the date of the Athassi estate and point to European-made porcelain being immediately incorporated into elite contexts as soon as it became available by virtue of its ubiquitous presence in all post-1750 occupied sites. However, the monasteries of Phorviotissa and Kousouliotissa can further illustrate this suggestion.

The Panayia Phorviotissa monastery and church, although containing porcelain, yielded a far smaller sample than other monasteries in the TAESP survey universe (five sherds). Following the dissolution of the Phorviotissa holdings (cf. Gibson, 2013a, vol.2: 215), only Asinou Church

remained as the monastery had been abandoned since at least the time of Basil Bars'kyj, a Ukrainian monk who visited Phorviotissa in 1735 (cf. Bars'kyj, 1996). Such a small porcelain sample can be explained by the fact that only the church, and not the monastery, was in operation when European porcelain became available in the mid-18th century. On the other hand, the Kousouliotissa monastery was still under construction at the time of Bars'kyj's visit. The thirteen samples of porcelain collected by TAESP suggest that while the Kousouliotissa monastery was not overtly wealthy, porcelain was used widely in elite contexts during its operation from the mid-18th century and forward into the 19th century.

However available as porcelain was to the elite strata of rural Cypriot society, it was equally unavailable to the rural poor and working classes. The villages and settlements of the region provided a much clearer picture of porcelain's availability to these lower strata inhabitants of the TAESP survey universe. First, settlements that did not exhibit signs of encompassing an elite context (e.g. those without watermills, lack prominent architecture, and seasonal settlements) yielded a distinct lack of porcelain artifacts. As demonstrated by settlements with an elite context, Chinese or European porcelains were most likely present on the TAESP landscape by the mid-18th century or early 19th century. Only two non-elite settlements yielded a porcelain assemblage of any volume, both of which have occupational phases that dated well into the 20th century.

Concerning 'non-elite' porcelain, settlements that were abandoned before the 18th century yielded no porcelain artifacts during the course of TAESP's investigations. The primary villages in this category were Aspri (TP66) and Vouni (TP31). The only porcelain that would have been available for purchase at this time was highly prized Chinese varieties-often only seen in the wealthiest of contexts. Non-elite settlements that were in use during the introduction of European-produced porcelain exhibited similarly low porcelain counts; the settlements of Pera Yitonia (TP61), Karterouni (TS14), Nikitari Mutallia (TP125), and Mandres tous Jerenides (TP38), were all found to

ECCLESASTICAL SETTLEMENTS POSITIVE FOR PORCELAIN SORTED BY *TERMINUS ANTE QUEM*

	Medieval (1191-1571)	Ottoman (1571-1878)	Modern (1878 - 1974)
■ Total	0	3	3
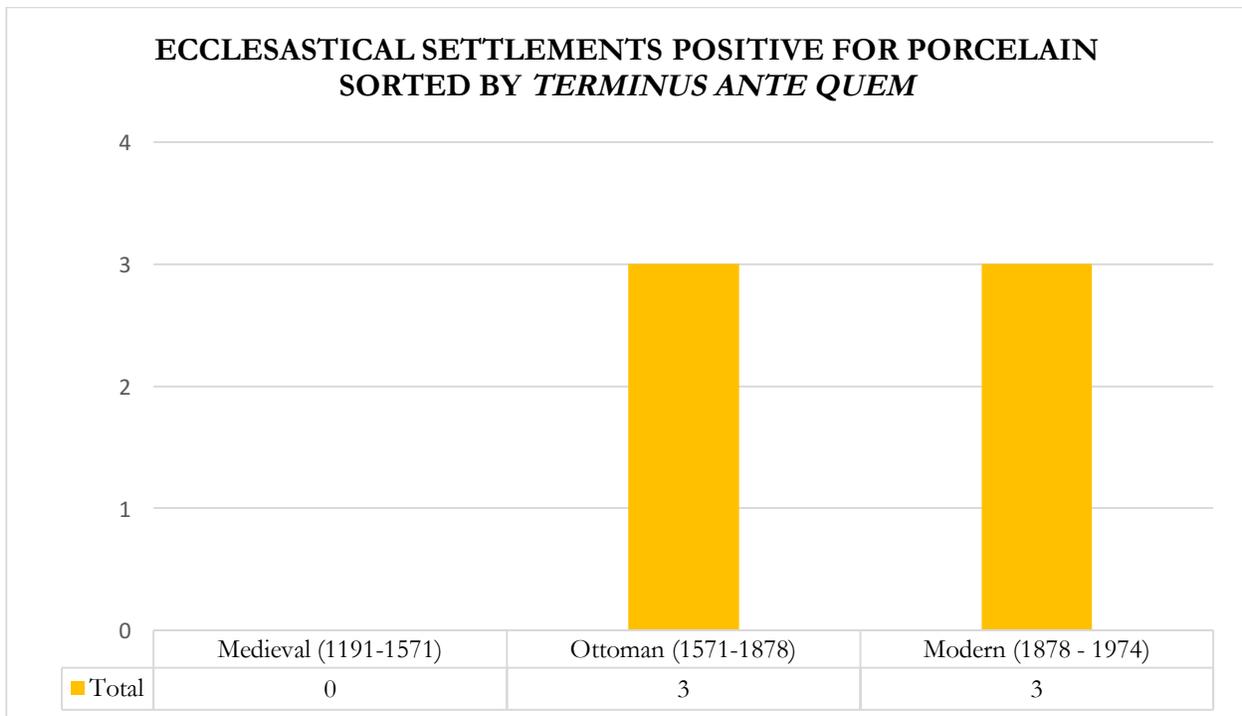
Figure 16. TAESP ecclesiastical settlements sorted to reflect latest possible date for porcelain artifacts.

be devoid of porcelain (Gibson, 2013a, vol.2: 226-238). Most interesting, the village of Asinou

(TS03), directly west of the Phorviotissa ecclesiastical complex, had no porcelain. Asinou village was

occupied from the 18th century to the early 20th century (Gibson, 2013a, vol.2: 221-226). The

conclusion that can be drawn from this analysis is that porcelain was at the very least a rare object

for the non-elite rural inhabitant of the TAESP region. The question remains then: when did

porcelain become economically available to lower strata of Cypriot society in the Troodos region?

The mining camp at Skouriotissa and the Mandres seasonal settlement offered clues regarding the

answer to this question of chronology.

Chronologically, the mining camp at Skouriotissa had the narrowest and most specific

operational timeframe, 1923-1974 (Boutin and Given, 2013, vol.2: 136-137). The fact that porcelain

was found, and in some abundance, near this site suggested the conclusion that by the middle of the

20th century porcelain had become available to the working and lower class strata of rural Cypriot

society in the TAESP survey universe. Likewise, the small porcelain assemblage at the Mandres

seasonal settlement, which was occupied on-and-off until the 20th century by local wheat farmers

and herders, corroborates this conclusion regarding porcelain's non-elite availability. Mandres's

significance laid in the fact that the two sherds of porcelain found on the site were the only porcelain

artifacts recovered from TAESP's seasonal settlements, and the only sherds found in a village with

no presumed elite habitation. The latter half of Mandres's dating overlaps with the Skouriotissa

mining camp, and Mandres's low porcelain volume alludes to a much later access to porcelain
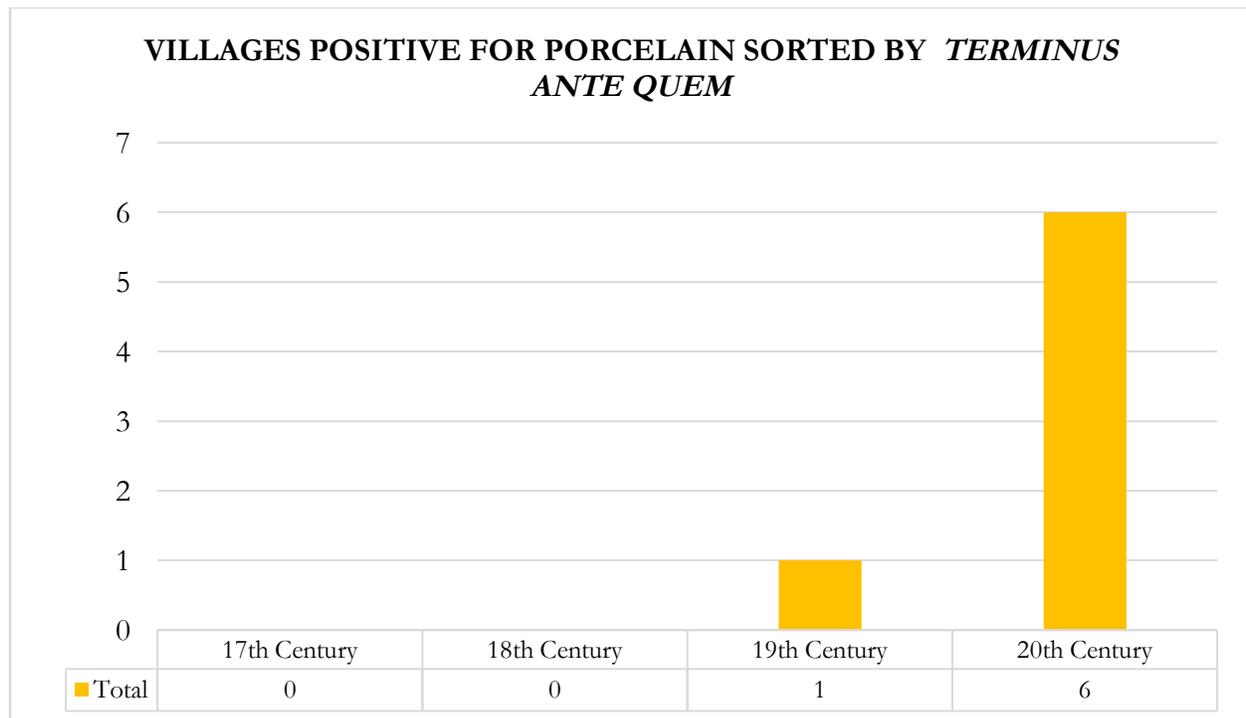
Figure 17. TAESP villages sorted to reflect the latest possible date for porcelain artifacts.

vessels than sites such as Athassi. Nonetheless, porcelain remained a somewhat rare commodity in

these communities. This idea is demonstrated by the paucity of porcelain at other sites that date into

the 20th century, namely, Mandres tous Jerenides, Asinou Village, and Karterouni. Thus, although

porcelain was accessible to non-elites in the 20th century, it likely remained a symbol of economic

power, status, and wealth.

In summary, European porcelain was not widely available to all classes of rural Cypriot

society until nearly two centuries after its introduction. The proposed 'elite' and 'non-elite'

chronologies of porcelain access were based solely on the presence, absence, and volume of porcelain finds at villages and ecclesiastical settlements on the TAESP landscape. Using these data, the elite component of rural Cypriot society (e.g. the clergy and village elite) had access to European porcelains, and conceivably Chinese, from the beginnings of their introduction onto the social landscape. This chronology dated elite access to porcelain to the first quarter of the 19th century at the latest, although, access was likely much earlier, perhaps dating to the mid-18th century. Meanwhile, archaeological finds in non-elite settlements demonstrated a much later access to mass-produced porcelain for the TAESP region's poor and working class strata. Wide access to European-made porcelains for these lower strata was unlikely before the early 20th century, when a "modern" political organization, fostered by the British, began to take root (Roudometof and Michael, 2010: 68-70). These proposed chronologies illuminated porcelain's availability to separate social strata on the rural Cypriot landscape. In doing so, they further demonstrated that porcelain, mass-produced or otherwise, remained an important material symbol for authority, power, and wealth throughout Ottoman and Modern periods.

Chapter Five: Conclusions

Distribution of Porcelain in the TAESP Survey Universe

There are five primary research questions structuring this research: first, is porcelain uniformly found in the TAESP survey universe? Second, is porcelain present at all site types? Third, is porcelain only found at villages inhabited by a specific ethnic-religious group? Fourth, is porcelain present at all ecclesiastical settlements? And fifth, is porcelain an indicator of elite status?

First, porcelain is not uniformly present throughout the entire survey universe (Figure 13, Top). The majority of porcelain was located within the settled Karkotis Valley on the western side of the survey universe. Subsequent Nearest Neighbor and clustering analysis verifies that these finds were not randomly dispersed and were clustered in specific regions. In short, porcelain is clustered near both villages and churches in locations with permanent settlement and industrial capacity. In rural areas, where settlement was seasonal and sparse, porcelain is clustered near ecclesiastical structures.

Second, porcelain is not present at all village types. The TAESP porcelain distribution is largely restricted to the settled Karkotis region and its permanent settlements, with a distinct paucity in the agricultural and rural zones; although it appears that porcelain eventually filtered down to the poorer strata of rural Cypriot society by the 20th century.

Third, the TAESP porcelain distribution crosscut ethnic divisions within the survey universe. This premise is best exemplified by the porcelain-to-household ratio grounded in the preceding archaeological and historical research presented in this thesis. For example, four villages of varied ethnicities yield ratios above .59 sherds of porcelain per home: The Greek villages of Linou and Katydhata, the Turkish village of Ayios Epiphanios, and the mixed village of Phlasou. A lack of industry, as well as a degree of isolation from settled areas, appear as the prime attributes at all of the low density settlements that postdate 1750. As the majority of non-ecclesiastical settlements outside

of the Karkotis Valley made a livelihood in subsistence agriculture or the collection of raw resources, and therefore were inhabited by non-elite segments of Cypriot society, it is unsurprising that their porcelain volume and density was found to be low.

Fourth, three monastic complexes and five churches within the TAESP survey universe contained ceramic artifacts. To explicate this significance further, porcelain was collected at all ecclesiastical settlements dated from the mid-18th century onwards (Table 2). In addition, the presence of porcelain at ecclesiastical site types was not impacted by geographical location, nor was the porcelain assemblage constrained by the proximity of industry in the form of watermills. For example, significant assemblages of porcelain were recovered from Panayia Skouriotissa, situated at the head of the Karkotis Valley, and Ayios Kyriakos, located in a remote area near the small village of Xyliatou, neither of which were found in association with watermills (Figure 9). Hence, this demonstrated that porcelain had a consistent presence at all Ottoman-Modern churches and monasteries that postdated the mid-18th century and the introduction of European-made porcelains.

The conclusions presented at the start of this thesis are structured from the results of these research questions. The TAESP survey universe contains porcelain artifacts in distinct locations, primarily, locations in connection with the industry of a local elite and the holdings of the Orthodox Church of Cyprus. With the culmination of these first four research questions in mind, it is possible for this thesis to address the final research question: is porcelain an indicator of elite status? It is plausible to conclude that porcelain, due to its historical status-signifying properties in hospitality rituals and its archaeological locations on the TAESP landscape, can be used as an effective marker for the identification of a rural elite class. This conclusion will be expanded upon below.

Industry, Porcelain and the Local Elite

Using two case studies from Phlasou village and the Athassi estate, this thesis argues that the distribution of porcelain in the TAESP survey universe was associated primarily with site location and industry, not ethnicity. It is proposed above that industry provided segments of the rural population with the means necessary to acquire porcelain that was in turn used to symbolize the owner's elite status. The highlighted examples below aid in further elucidating this hypothesis.

Phlasou is located in the center of the Karkotis Valley and in 1833 was comprised of 20 Greek and 20 Turkish-Muslim households (Given and Hadjianastasis, 2010: 53). Surface survey of this area yielded a total of 37 porcelain sherds and 167 sherds of other tableware. To aid in the study of Phlasou's porcelain assemblage, it was split into two separate geographical zones: a northern and a southern zone (Figure 18). In the northern zone, surveyors collected 15 sherds of porcelain and 146 sherds of other tableware. In the southern zone field crews recovered 22 sherds of porcelain and 21 sherds of other tableware. Both parts of the village were oriented north-south along the Karkotis River, and these two areas were separated from each other by approximately 200 meters. The northern sector contained no watermills, while the southern sector of the village contained the remains of four watermills, three of which were Greek owned and one Turkish owned (Given and Hadjianastasis, 2012: 53). The results pointed to the presence of industry, in the form of watermills, being the key factor governing the intra-Phlasou porcelain distribution. It is suggested here that this industry allowed segments of the village population the economic means to acquire porcelain.

The location of the Athassi estate differed greatly from that of Phlasou village, as it is located in the remote southeastern extreme of the TAESP survey universe (the Xyliatou ISZ). No villages of substantial size were located in its vicinity and TAESP did not note any significant ecclesiastical presence in the immediate area. The nearest contemporary church was Ayios Kyriakos, approximately one and half kilometers to the south. The Athassi estate evolved from a Venetian

francomanni landholding into an Ottoman-era estate sometime after the Sublime Porte subjugated the island in 1571. This estate was finally abandoned by the first quarter of the 19th century (Graham, 2013, vol.2: 194).

Survey of Athassi retrieved seven porcelain sherds and nine other sherds that represented assorted Ottoman-era tablewares (Figure 19). Proportionally, porcelain comprised 43% of the total tableware assemblage. It is possible to conclude that this assemblage of porcelain is indicative of an elite presence at Athassi. It is further proposed by this thesis that the agricultural productivity of this estate provided its owners with the means necessary to purchase porcelain. This situation would not be unusual for the region, as local landholders in Greece and Cyprus often practiced cash-cropping to supplement subsistence farming (Friedl, 1965; Jennings, 1993; Given et al., 2013a, vol. 2). Athassi also contained the remains of a two-story home that set this site apart architecturally from the other residences of the region (Graham, 2013, vol.2: 194-198; cf. Mandres, Lemonas, Asinou settlements).

The Athassi estate and the southern zone of Phlasou provided more evidence of porcelain in association with industry as indicative of a rural elite presence. The porcelain found at these sites was most likely associated with hospitality rituals that centered on consuming coffee. These coffee-centric hospitality rituals were documented extensively by western travelers (cf. Baker, 1879; von Löher, 1878; Farley, 1878). Athassi additionally provided valuable chronological evidence that European-made porcelain was in the hands of the landed rural elite by at least the 1820s, as all other non-elite rural villages abandoned contemporaneously with Athassi were bereft of porcelain artifacts. Athassi, therefore, enabled the construction of a tentative timeline for the spread of porcelain to different social strata in the TAESP region. Moreover, Phlasou's status as an ethnically mixed village dispelled the notion of the porcelain distribution falling distinctly along ethnic lines. The results of the Phlasou case study instead oriented to show the importance of industry, rather than ethnicity, in demonstrating the archaeological presence of an elite context at rural Cypriot villages.
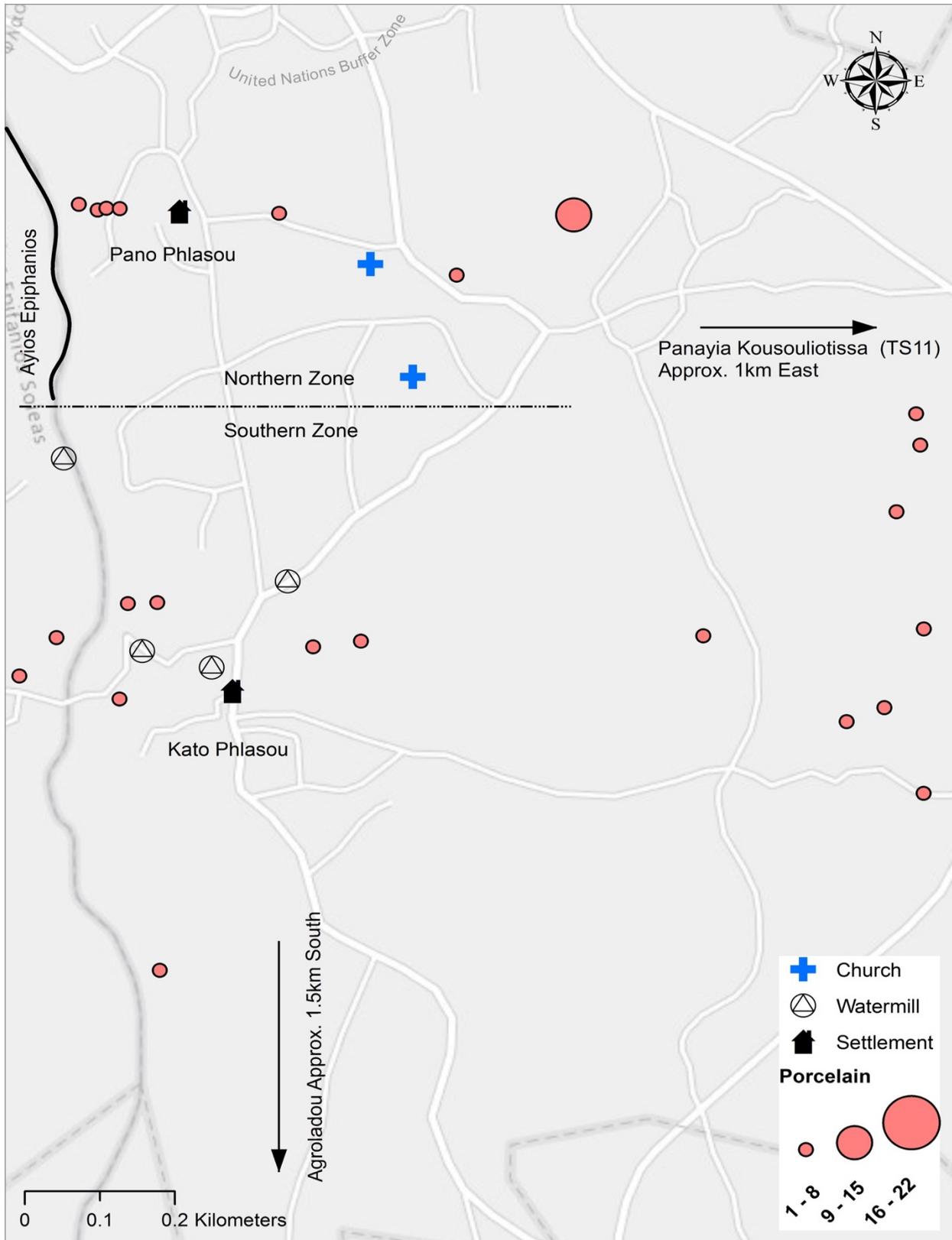
Figure 18. Phlasou village split into northern and southern zones, displaying watermills and porcelain finds in each.
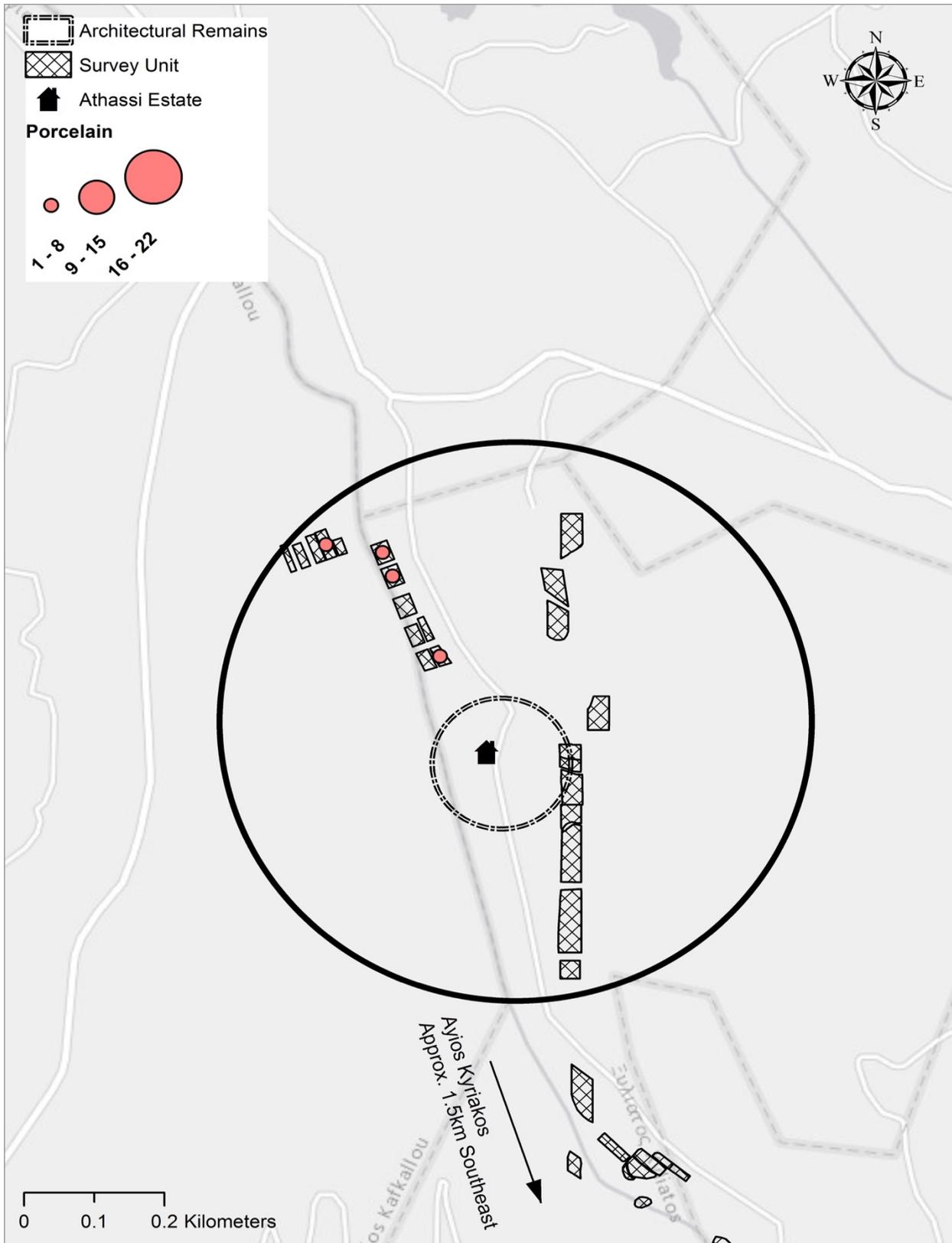
Figure 19. Map of the Athassi estate illustrating the location of porcelain finds and architectural remains.

Correspondingly, TAESP's rural and seasonal settlements were largely bereft of porcelain artifacts (Table 1). The primary exception was the two sherds of porcelain located in association with the seasonal settlement of Mandres. Therefore, it was proposed that the paucity of porcelain was due to the absence of an elite class. Ethnically, the seasonal and rural settlements in question were of principally Greek origin, and yet they contained little porcelain unlike the larger Greek villages within the Karkotis Valley with large volumes of porcelain (Table 3). An elite presence on the rural landscape was most likely in the Karkotis Valley villages where industry was prominent (i.e. in the form of watermills or cash-cropping), and not in keeping along ethnic lines. Additionally, Athassi fit this industrial criteria, and indeed, porcelain may indicate that a former elite presence once occupied the remote agricultural estate.

Dual Domains of Authority: Local & Ecclesiastical

The location of ecclesiastical settlements in either populated or remote regions did not play a defining role (as it did in villages) in predicting the presence of porcelain. Monasteries and churches were large landholders and agricultural producers in the region and often rented their land to sharecroppers and tenant farmers (cf. Roudometof and Michael, 2010; Aymes, 2014: 101-103; Stamatopoulos, 2016). Consequently, the clerical elite derived income primarily from agricultural production and land tenancy, not industrial activity. Thus, based on archaeological evidence from TAESP and historical research by Aymes (2014), this thesis proposes porcelain is present in high proportions at these ecclesiastical sites because the clergy itself wielded both great social and economic authority within the rural expanses of the TAESP survey universe.

This thesis research hypothesized that dual domains of authority were present on the TAESP landscape-one local municipal, one rural; each exploited by a separate class of elites. This hypothesis replaced the notion that the Ottoman government was omnipotent on a local scale, and

instead proposed that based on material evidence the rural clergy maintained a pseudo-governmental authority based on its roles as spiritual leader, landlord, and tax collector. In practice, porcelain provided the archaeological means of identifying the Church as an elite social class on the TAESP landscape within the rural realm of authority.

Throughout the Early Modern period, the markets of the Ottoman Empire remained vital to the trade economies of the western European powers (Quataert, 2000: 124). On Cyprus, numerous elite factions vied for a hand in this social and economic influence (cf. Hadjianastasis, 2004; Aymes, 2014; Stamatopoulos, 2016). The composition of these elite factions varied greatly as the Ottoman *millet* system allowed for semi-autonomy in minority communities (Quataert, 2000: 64). In the 16th and 17th centuries, the stratum of the socio-economic elite included Turkicized Greeks, imported Turkish-Ottoman elite, and to an extent, a revitalized Orthodox clergy headed by the abbots, bishops and archbishops (Hadjianastasis, 2004). By the 19th century, the composition of the elite classes had altered. Commercially minded European families were encroaching on the rural countryside of eastern Cyprus, while the Church-exampled by Marc Aymes in the form of the Kykkos Monastery (Figure 21)-controlled a vast territory of *metochia*[23] in the west of Cyprus (Aymes, 2014: 96-103).

The research here suggests that the appearance of European-made porcelain is an archaeological marker of elite social membership within the rural Cypriot landscape from the mid-18th to the early 20th century. This period coincided with the Ottoman government beginning to encourage the payment of *per annum* taxes in cash, rather than in goods, which in turn fueled the rise of commercialism, that is to say the production of goods (e.g. cash crops) specifically for market value (Quataert, 2000: 129-130). The political weakness that had befallen the Porte during the 19th

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[23] *Metochia* (μετόχια) are seasonal residences normally located near agricultural fields; the word can also refer to monastic agricultural estates (Kondyli, 2010; Brumfield, 1999).

century, however, often left *de facto* power to those on the local level. For example, Quataert provides the following commentary describing the difficulties that the Porte had enforcing its own land-purchase laws enacted in 1867:

> …foreign ownership of land remained quite uncommon, despite the political weakness of the Ottoman State. While legally permitted to acquire land after 1867, foreigners could not overcome the difficulties posed by the opposition segments of Ottoman society, including an intact notable group jealously guarding its privileges… (2000: 132).

Therefore, with a weak Ottoman state deferring practical power to local authority figures, these 'notables' moved to fill the void. Seemingly unhindered from the difficulties of acquiring land elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, a semi-autonomous 'nation' in the form of the Orthodox Church operated a vast network of dependent estates that funded their own operations in the west of the island (Figure 21) (Roudometof and Michael, 2010; Aymes, 2014: 101). In the east of Cyprus, a landed rural elite derived from aristocratic European families administered a sizeable domain of estates and plantations of their own (Figure 20). The economic prowess of the Church and its monastic estates, however, deterred landed European economic penetration of western Cyprus. Because of this, a remarkably stable border ran between these two economic domains, eastern and western Cyprus (Aymes, 2014: 102-103). Nonetheless, a local landed elite existed beside rural ecclesiastical authority in the TAESP survey universe. This local elite was centered in the Karkotis Valley, as evidenced by the porcelain distribution within the valley's villages. As a result, a majority of porcelain finds in the Karkotis Valley were concentrated within villages containing an industrial capacity, with industry as the source of economic wealth.

In the rural areas of the TAESP survey universe, porcelain finds were disproportionately skewed towards ecclesiastical contexts. The results of this study indicated that in rural areas the Church operated as the dominant socio-economic class, and indeed, the Church was documented to have held large landholdings in the western half of Cyprus (Aymes, 2014: 103; Figure 21). Porcelain finds that predated the 20th century outside of the Karkotis Valley and the Athassi estate were only

found in association with ecclesiastical settings. This statement assumes a 20th century date for the small porcelain assemblage at Mandres; this is in following with the 'non-elite' chronology presented in Chapter Four. Therefore, it can be asserted that the elite who inhabited the rural domain were chiefly attached to the Church in some respect; this is not to say, though, that either domain, in the
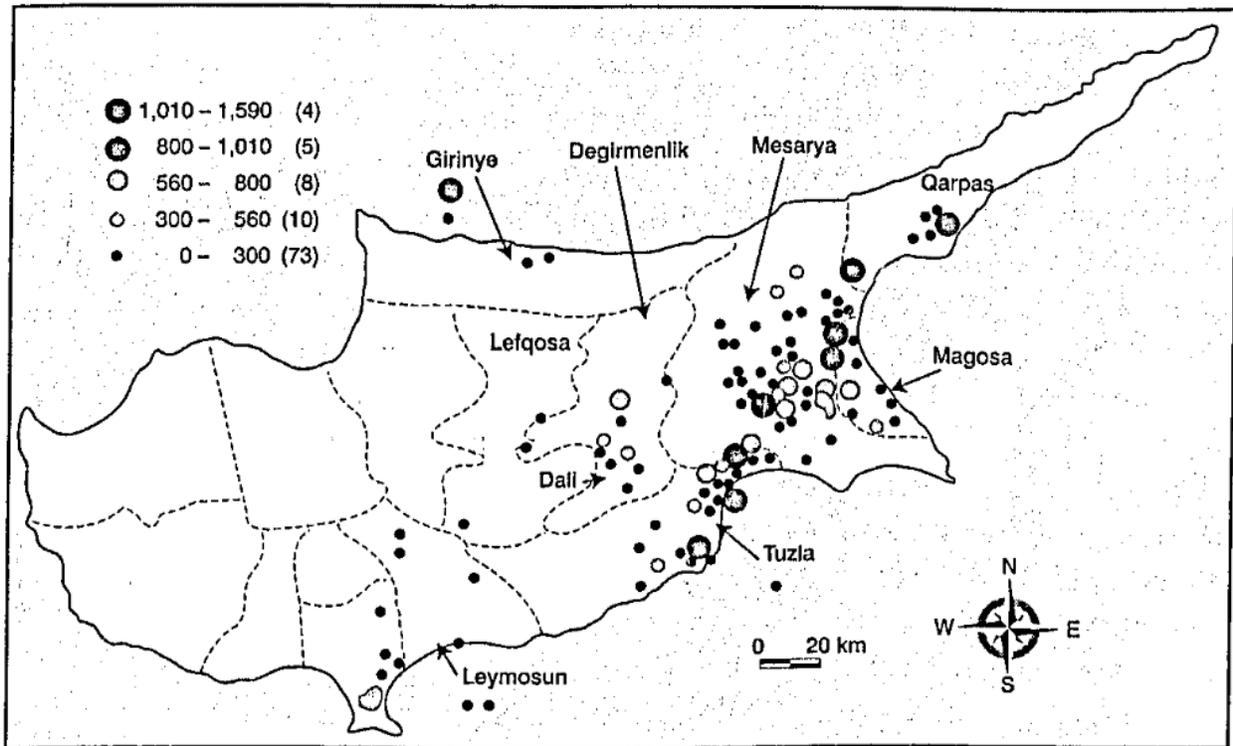
Figure 20. Surface areas of 19th century 'European' holdings in dönüms (map from Aymes, 2014: 99).

Troodos Mountains or the Karkotis Valley, was completely devoid of the economic activity of the other elite faction.

This dual authority hypothesis illustrates the coexisting nature of two socio-economic authorities actively operating on the TAESP landscape. The Karkotis Valley as the primary domain of the civic landed elite, while the rural domain was exploited principally by the Church's clerical elite. Therefore, what can be seen on the TAESP landscape fit well with the argument of a Church dominated western Cyprus put forward by Aymes (2014). However, it is unlikely that Church

authority had no presence in the 'nation of Europeans' described in eastern Cyprus (Aymes, 2014: 98-103), just as non-ecclesiastical interests were present in the rural realm of the TAESP survey
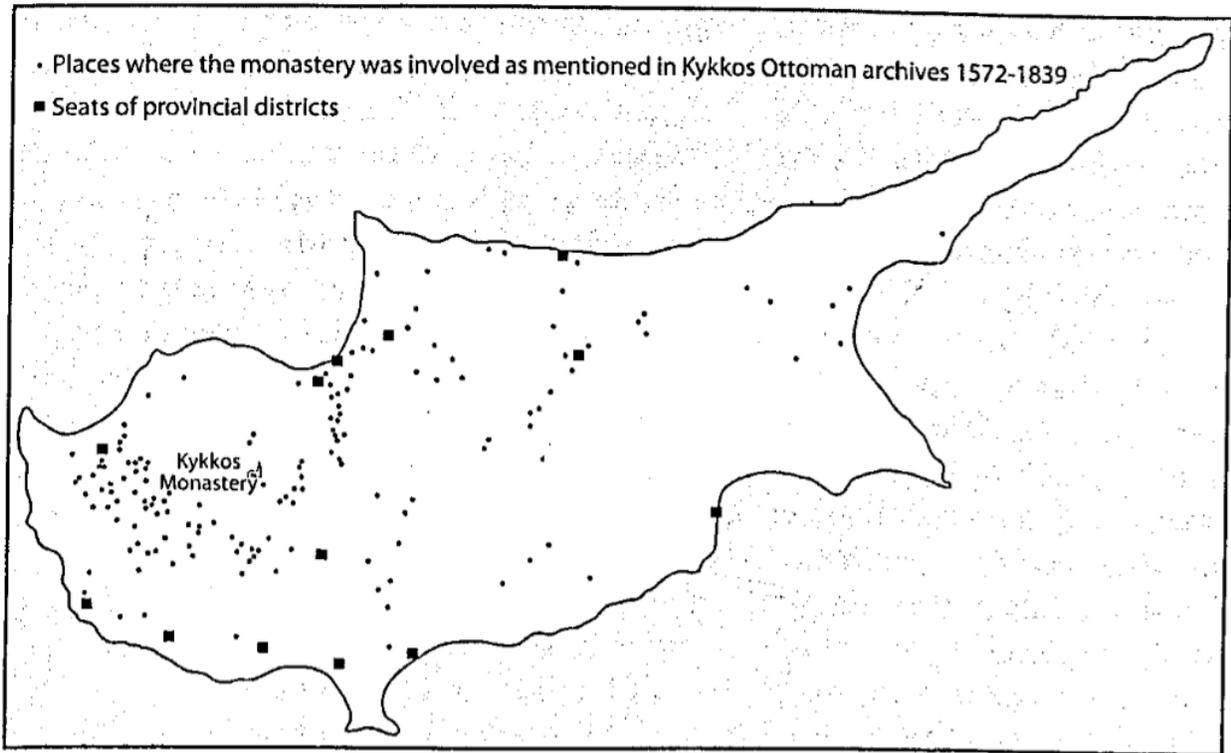
Figure 21. Kykkos Monastery: rural activities and dependencies (after Theochardies, 1993: 2205; map from Aymes, 2014: 103).

universe. Both the landed local and ecclesiastical elite in the TAESP region operated under the laws of the Ottoman authorities, although one was granted legitimization and status through religious standing and favorable tax status, while the other profited through commercial-industrial activity and familial heritage.

Conclusion

The presence of porcelain on the rural landscape of Cyprus demonstrated not only the consumption of coffee in the TAESP region, but also the role of porcelain in displaying authority and status. Although the dataset was flawed in its chronology and hampered by the site-less methodology of the TAESP survey, it nonetheless presented an opportunity to throw light on the

social production and maintenance of authority and wealth for rural Cypriots. Multiple methodological practices were carried out in order to better understand the porcelain and larger Ottoman-era tableware assemblage. Organizing the assemblage by village context, and then by ethnicity, enabled a workable picture to emerge from which to interpret the results. What was discovered, however, was that the porcelain distribution did not follow ethnic divisions; rather, porcelain appeared to coincide with industrial, ecclesiastical, and urban elements on the TAESP landscape.

Porcelain, therefore, was indicative of elite contexts. Separate models were employed to explain the volume and proportions of porcelain at villages and at ecclesiastical settlements. In villages, porcelain was preceded by local industry and advantageous location. In ecclesiastical settlements, porcelain was nearly omnipresent at post-1750 sites, indicating a central role in hospitality rituals that would have taken place in these locales. In both instances, porcelain reflected the presence of a rural elite class.

Lastly, following the work of Aymes (2014), it was proposed that dual spheres of authority were operating in the TAESP survey universe: (1) a local landed elite drew authority from their industrial capacity in the Karkotis Valley and cash producing agriculture at the Athassi estate; (2) a rural ecclesiastical elite that acquired authority through a network of agricultural dependencies and monastic estates. Neither operated exclusive from each other, but a clear distinction between the two can be detected based on the location of landholdings. Archaeologically, the porcelain distribution supported, on a local-level, the presence of these dual domains of authority in the TAESP survey universe.

The arrival of the British irreverently changed the economic relationship between local landed and rural ecclesiastical elite classes. The Orthodox Church had a long history of opposition to Latin-Venetian rule (Zacharidou, 2014); however, the Church prospered more so under the *laissez*

faire attitude of the Ottomans regime. When the British completed their takeover of Cyprus in 1878, they immediately recognized the Church's economic power (Roudometof and Michael, 2010: 68). Thereafter, the British colonial administration challenged the political and economic legitimacy of the Church, first by annulling economic privileges, then by instituting a law requiring proof of ownership for ecclesiastical land holdings (Roudometof and Michael, 2010: 68-69). In general, the economic freedom of the Church on Cyprus declined under British administration (Roudometof and Michael, 2010: 70).

The British colonial government targeted the economic foundations of the Church of Cyprus after recognizing that the Church's rural domain of authority posed a challenge to British supremacy. By stripping the Church of its economic legitimization (i.e. its access to land), the British were able to temper the Church of Cyprus's hegemony in its rural domain while supplanting it with their own. As noted by Given and Hadjianastasis (2010), it is perhaps the uptick in watermill construction on the post-1878 landscape that may indicate increased economic access to the rural TAESP landscape by non-ecclesiastical participants. Porcelain illuminated these dual domains of authority on the landscape of Early Modern Cyprus.

The systematic study of Early Modern and Ottoman archaeology provided a platform from which to collect beneficial insights into the complex histories of the eastern Mediterranean. While archaeologically these 'modern' data were often overlooked, this should no longer be the case as research progresses. Ultimately, what this thesis project has sought to demonstrate is that Ottoman and Early Modern archaeological study has a great deal to offer when discussing the evolving nature of authoritative and economic landscapes.

Future Research

Early Modern and Ottoman archaeology is currently in a nascent state, and therefore much research remains to refine and develop a fuller understanding of this historically rich period. Primary among these studies is to develop a refined chronology of Ottoman-era ceramics on Cyprus, particularly, local tableware and cooking ware. As this study has shown, ceramics have much to offer the archaeologist regarding the social and economic landscapes of remote regions of empire. As direct access to the TAESP porcelain assemblage was not possible during the course of this research project, a reassessment of porcelain sherds found during the course of the survey would immensely benefit the hypotheses presented herein. Identifying the date, form, and origin of porcelain artifacts found during the course of TAESP would help to alleviate the limitations that existed for this thesis research.

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Appendix A: Significant Villages by Geographical Location

The Karkotis Valley

Phlasou Village and Watermills

Phlasou village was classified as a village of mixed ethnicity, inhabited by both Greeks and Turks, and occupied a central location within the Karkotis Valley Intensive Survey Zone (ISZ). Historically, the village underwent numerous transformations. Initially Phlasou began as a medieval estate, or *casal*. During the Ottoman period, Phlasou was listed as a village by at least the early 19th century; later, in the Modern period, Phlasou was composed of two twin villages, Pano Phlasou to the north, and Kato Phlasou to the south (Boutin and Given, 2013, vol.2: 84-85). For the purposes of this study, however, Phlasou was treated as a single settlement. According to Given's and Hadjianastasis's analysis of the 1833 Ottoman Census (2010: 53), Phlasou contained a total of 40 households, 20 non-Muslim (presumably Greek) and 20 Muslim (Turk and/or Greek converts to Islam). The extent of Phlasou in this study included what TAESP deemed Special Interest Area (TS) 04, which included the village proper, and a collection of four watermills, three Greek owned and one Turkish owned, to the southwest (survey units 25-32; 392-395). Two churches (BUs 80, 84)[24] were noted within Phlasou village. Interestingly, the church of Ayios Yeoryios (BU84) was noted by TAESP to contain "some" pottery, including porcelain, but this note was not quantified within the survey publication or downloadable dataset. The bulk of the tableware found at Phlasou was made up of either porcelain, and glazed or slip painted wares.

Linou Village

Linou (survey units 49-58) was located within the center of the Karkotis Valley, approximately one kilometer north of Phlasou. The 1833 Ottoman census attributed Linou with 42

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[24] BU stands for 'Building Unit,' and was used by TAESP to catalogue architectural or structural remains.

registered households, 35 Greek and seven Muslim or Turk. Additionally, five watermills were associated with Linou, four Greek and one Turkish owned (Given and Hadjianastasis, 2010: 53). However, no structural remains of these watermills were in existence, and their exact locations were not noted by TAESP. One church (BU83) was located within the vicinity of Linou. As with Phlasou, the tableware assemblage was largely made up by slip painted, monochrome painted, and glazed wares. Imported Çanakkale ware (MP02) was also featured within the sample (two pieces noted).

Katydhata Village

Katydhata (TS09) was situated approximately 750 meters north of Linou, roughly in the northern third of the Karkotis Valley. The village was primarily Greek in ethnicity; with only four households attributed to Muslims, and a further 20 households listed as ethnically Greek in the 1833 census. In addition, the 1833 Ottoman census listed one watermill in association with Katydhata (Given and Hadjianastasis, 2010: 53), however, TAESP noted the locations of three more watermills flanking the village to the east (BUs 02, 03, 04). Boutin and Given note that Katydhata's "proximity to the regional administrative center of Lefka, as well as its position directly on the route between the mountains and the town along the Karkotis valley, meant that it was part of a trade route which brought products from the mountain to the lowlands, Lefka and Morphou, and vice versa" (2013, vol.2: 99). Architectural remains at Katydhata were cited by TAESP as evidence for a local elite residing within the village, as the village contained a privately built hammam that dated to the Ottoman period (BU132) (Boutin and Given, 2013, vol.2: 99-101). The Ottoman-Modern tableware was quite diverse. Among the 74 sherds of other porcelain-contemporary tableware were sherds of unguentarium vessels (3), glazed ware, slip painted ware, and monochrome glazed ware.

Ayios Epiphanios Village

The Turkish Cypriot village of Ayios Epiphanios (survey units 60-70; 79-80) laid directly to the west of Phlasou, and occupied a prominent spot atop a flat-topped ridge. The 1833 property census listed Ayios Epiphanios as having 19 Turkish households and 10 Greek households. However, Boutin and Given stated the following regarding the ethnic composition of Ayios Epiphanios:

> The 1831 census records Ayios Epiphanios as a mixed Turkish and Greek Cypriot village, like all the villages of this part of the valley, although by 1825 there were only five Christian poll-tax payers. The 1881 census shows 27 inhabited houses, with a population of 95…As is common with small Turkish Cypriot villages, there is no mosque…As happened frequently between the Late Medieval period and the 19th century, the settlement moved and changed its character substantially. This shift may have been the result of Anatolian Turks settling here after 1571…By the 20th century, it was entirely Turk Cypriot until its abandonment in 1975 (2013, vol.2: 82-84).

Therefore, for this project Ayios Epiphanios has been classified as a Turkish village, rather than a mixed village, as its Turkification began roughly around the time of porcelain's mass production (the 18th and 19th centuries) and its 1833 census composition was greater than 65% Turkish. Tableware within the Ayios Epiphanios collection included porcelain and slip painted ware. Additionally, one sherd of imported Grottaglie ware from Italy was noted (TCP66; survey unit 69).

Agroladou Village

Occupying a location in the southwestern most reaches of the Karkotis ISZ, Agroladou was situated in a region with a "complex network of fields, terraces, irrigation systems, tracks and settlements" (Boutin and Given, 2013: 57). No extant architectural traces of Agroladou remained, but 20th century cadastral plans provided some insight to the village's composition (Boutin and Given, 2013, vol.2: 56-59). One watermill (BU99) and one church (BU87), both named after St. Barbara (Αγία Βαρβάρα), were located 350 meters southeast and 200 meters north of Agroladou respectively. Tableware from Agroladou included both porcelain and Kütahya ware.

Agroladou existed in tax registers as a small mixed village, with six houses listed in the 1833 property census (Given and Hadjianastasis, 2010: p.53); however, Agroladou also represented a case of ethnic discrepancy within the historical record. The 1833 register credited four of Agroladou's houses to the Greeks and the other two to Turks. Yet, the village is today remembered as a former Turkish village, primarily inhabited by pastoralists (Boutin and Given, 2013, vol.2: 57). Therefore, due to the small numbers of homes and inhabitants, and ethnoarchaeological accounts of the Agroladou's ethnicity, this project has classified the village as Turkish for purposes of analysis.

Skouriotissa Mining Camp

The Skouriotissa mining camp (TP107) was chronologically the latest settlement examined within the scope of this project. Known locally as '*Exinda Spitia*' (the Sixty Houses), the mining settlement was established in 1923 and abandoned in 1974 after the Turkish invasion (Boutin and Given, 2013, vol.2: 136). The settlement laid approximately 1.5 kilometers northwest of Katydhata. The Cyprus Mines Corporation owned and operated the complex (Lavender 1962: 66), and the land on which the camp was constructed was leased from the local bishopric (Boutin and Given, 2013, vol.2: 136). Both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot workers and their families inhabited the mining settlement (Lavender, 1962: 230). Therefore, the mining camp was treated as an ethnically mixed village.

TAESP recorded 36 extant housing structures pertaining to the mining camp, although Boutin and Given speculate that these homes postdated the Second World War (2013, vol.2: 136). The survey units associated with the mining settlement were located on the northern periphery of the site (survey units 1007-1011; 1015-16. The ceramic assemblage contained 31 sherds of Ottoman-Modern tableware. This assemblage included both porcelain and non-porcelain, with the latter sherds were made up exclusively of monochrome painted (MP01) and glazed (G02-04) wares.

Panayia Kousouliotissa Church and Monastery

The church and monastery of Panayia Kousouliotissa (TS11) occupied a prominent locale on the social landscape of the TAESP survey universe. The church and its 18th century monastery hosted a visit from the Ukrainian monk Basil Bars'kyj in 1735 (Bars'kyj, 1996). His writings provided much context to the TAESP area, and at the time of the monk's visit, construction on the ecclesiastical complex was not finished. For the monk to visit at all demonstrated the importance of the site to the clergy and the valley's inhabitants. Further underscoring Panayia Kousouliotissa's local importance, Boutin and Given state that "local villagers believe that Panayia Kousouliotissa has the ability to cure sickness in babies and small children and, to this day, they tie pieces of their sick child's clothing to a large eucalyptus tree next to the church" (Boutin and Given, 2013, vol.2: 78; Paraskevopoulou, 1982: 119). While architectural remains of the church still stand, the monastery has been destroyed and its location was marked by a bulldozed area (Boutin and Given, 2013, vol.2: 78).

The area around the church and monastery of Panayia Kousouliotissa was extensively surveyed by TAESP. Block pedestrian survey around the standing church, and three additional transects to the north, south, and west were carried out to provide context for the surrounding area (Boutin and Given, 2013, vol.2: 78). This intensive survey uncovered 45 total sherds of tableware that dated to the Ottoman period or later. Porcelain and non-porceain were found in the Kousouliotissa assemblage. Primary among the non-porcelain was a single sherd of a Kütahya ware, and two 17th or 18th century bases from Tuscany (known as *spirali verdi* Majolica ware).

Panayia Skouriotissa Monastery at Modern United Nations San Martin Base

Located in the Karkotis valley southeast of the Skouriotissa mining settlement, the Panayia Skouriotissa monastery (survey units 2; 8; 1018-25) has its roots in a 15th century church, although

the monastery proper was not built until 1716 (Boutin and Given, 2013, vol.2: 135). The site of the monastery was abandoned in 1912, and subsequently redeveloped as the headquarters of the Cyprus Mines Corporation (Lavender, 1962: 66). Currently, the area of the Panayia Skouriotissa monastery is used as the U.N. San Martin Base, the headquarters of the Argentinian United Nations deployment. The tableware assemblage included porcelain, glazed ware, and slip painted wares. The artifacts were recorded on the northwestern and southern peripheries of the monastery/U.N. camp (TP91) as the monastery's current status as a military installation made survey within the camp impossible.

Church of Ayia Paraskevi

The TAESP survey offers little background on the history of Ayia Paraskevi. In the survey database the church (BU137) was noted as being located on a modern street within the village of Katydhata (TS09) and as "a very small plain church with blue doors and a blue cross above the western door. Built into a hill slope. Bell on concrete pole at SW corner" (as entered in the online database). The church was dated to sometime in the 20th century. The survey units associated with Ayia Paraskevi (units 71-75) yielded one sherd of porcelain and two sherds of glazed ware.

The Plains

Lemonas Village

Lemonas (TP209) was a recently abandoned seasonal village in the eastern half of the Atsas ISZ. The settlement dated from the Late Ottoman to Modern periods (Given and Sollars, 2013, vol.2: 19). The structure plan of Lemonas was similar to that of Mandres, another major seasonal settlement. Due to the similarities between Mandres and Lemonas, the settlement was presumed to be of Greek ethnicity. No estimate was given as to the number of structures within the village.

Survey units were placed on the western side of Lemonas (survey units 2171-2177). These units yielded three sherds of Ottoman or later tableware. None of the sherds recovered were porcelain. The three sherds of tableware found consisted of monochrome painted ware (2) and glazed ware (1). No imported tableware, such as Çanakkale or Kütahya ware, were recorded.

Mandres Seasonal Settlement

The Mandres settlement (TS07; Mandres ISZ) was located in the center of the TAESP survey universe, approximately six kilometers due east of Katydhata. Like Lemonas, Mandres was a seasonal agricultural settlement used by residents from the larger surrounding villages such as Tembria and Kalliana (Given and Sollars, 2013, vol.2: 24). Mandres played a key role in the growing and processing of cereals in the region until its abandonment in the mid-20th century (Given and Sollars, 2013, vol.2: 21). Through interviewing local residents, TAESP reported that the village may have been occupied year-round by pastoral goat herders who visited in the summer months. The history of Mandres, however, was rooted in the 16th and 17th centuries as evidenced by ceramic data, although peak occupation occurred in the 18th and 19th centuries (Given and Sollars, 2013, vol.2: 33-35). The ethnic composition of Mandres was derived from the villages that used it as an agricultural satellite settlement (e.g. Tembria). The composition of these settlements were overwhelmingly Greek (cf. Given and Hadjianastasis, 2010: 56), and therefore, Mandres was classified as a Greek village for the purposes of this study.

TAESP reported architectural remains as abundant on the site of the Mandres settlement. Thirty-eight total houses and 20 threshing floors were recorded in the analysis of the site, as well as various satellite buildings and structures (Given and Sollars, 2013, vol.2: 28). The development of the village footprint was described as "nucleated," with a central core of houses and buildings forming the nucleus of the village as newer structures emerged around the periphery (Given and

Sollars, 2013, vol.2: 36). The core was primarily inhabited by farmers coming in from the surrounding villages, while pastoralists used the periphery of the settlement year-round. In addition, it is interesting to note a change in building materials used at Mandres. The oldest structures in the village appear to have been made completely of stone or masonry, while newer structures incorporated a mudbrick superstructure.

Given (2000) used Mandres as a prime example that demonstrated the intensification of agriculture and activity in the Troodos region, contrary to the commonly cited contraction of population and production. TAESP recorded a low amount of porcelain in Mandres; however, a large number of local monochrome painted, slip painted, and glazed ware sherds were located. Additionally, one sherd of polychrome painted marbled ware, one unguentarium sherd, and one sherd of Çanakkale ware were noted by TAESP. The only pipe recovered in the course of the TAESP survey was also recorded in association with Mandres (TCP 571).

The Upper Lagoudhera Valley

Athassi Estate

The rural agricultural estate of Athassi was located in the northwestern portion of the Xyliatou ISZ, approximately two kilometers from the modern day village of Xyliatou. Architectural remains of the estate included the ruins of a four-room, two-story manor house (TP14) and a threshing floor (TP15). The TAESP research team postulated that the estate was abandoned sometime before 1825 (Graham, 2013, vol.2: 194). Due to the Christian nature of other small villages in the area (Xyliatou, Potami, and Ayia Marina), the estate was presumed to be Greek, and was classified as such in this study (cf. Given and Hadjianastasis, 2010).

A rich pottery assemblage was collected from the survey surrounding the ruined house (survey units 1699-1710). This assemblage included both imported and local tableware that dated to

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the Ottoman or Modern periods. A high proportion of porcelain was also recovered. Besides the porcelain, imported wares included sherds from the Dardanelles (possibly Didymoteicho or Çanakkale ware) and a polychrome painted sherd of Grottaglie ware imported from Italy or Corfu. Since the presumed abandonment date was 1825 or earlier, Athassi gave the region a firm date for the circulation of these wares, and offered temporal contextualization for the rest of the TAESP survey universe.

Ayios Kyriakos Church

The church of Ayios Kyriakos (TS02-north; TP47) was located in the center of the Xyliatou ISZ, two kilometers southwest of modern Xyliatou. The church itself was encompassed within a Special Interest Area (TS02), and forms the only architectural or settlement evidence dating to the Medieval-Modern periods noted within TS02. The TAESP researchers did not associate any survey units with the church; therefore, due to TS02's large size (approximately 1 km), the unit was split by this thesis project into northern and southern zones. The northern zone (survey units 12, 614-625, 638-640, 659-661, 1620-22, 1646-47) was associated with the church, and the southern zone was grouped with the other non-settlement survey units (the Fields category). The church itself was constructed at some point in the Medieval period, although an absolute date was unclear (Graham, 2013, vol.2: 187; Given et al., 2002: 29). TAESP offered little other contextual information on the church, but judging from the ceramic assemblage it can be inferred that it functioned in some capacity until the Ottoman period (Graham, 2013, vol.2: 189). The Ottoman or later pottery assemblage from the church of Ayios Kyriakos contained examples of both porcelain and local tableware. Porcelain was the only imported ware to feature prominently in the Ayios Kyriakos assemblage, although, one piece of possible Çanakkale ware was noted.

The Troodos Mountains

Asinou Village

Asinou village (TS03) was a small settlement located approximately 300 meters southwest of the Asinou church, and four kilometers from the present-day village of Nikitari. Asinou was located on a highly visible spur and TAESP noted eight extant structural ruins (Gibson, 2013a, vol.2: 222). The village was abandoned by the 1940s, however, the TAESP researchers cite the British census of 1881 as already declaring Asinou as abandoned (Gibson, 2013a, vol.2: 226). Therefore, it is likely that Asinou village went through cycles of occupation and abandonment. Although Asinou was not listed in the 1833 census, TAESP recorded through local informants that previous residents of the village sold agricultural products in the towns of Petra and Kakopetria (Gibson, 2013a, vol.2: 224). In particular, Kakopetria was a large, majority Greek village. This evidence, in addition to the proximity and connection of the village to Panayia Phorviotissa (Gibson, 2013a, vol.2: 241), resulted in this project's classification of Asinou village as Greek in ethnicity in lieu of pre-British census data. The ceramic assemblage of Asinou village was limited, totaling 17 sherds of Ottoman or later tableware.

Aspri Village

The abandoned village of Aspri (TP66) was located within the Asinou ISZ, approximately four kilometers south of Panayia Phorviotissa. Aspri functioned as an estate settlement, controlled by the Orthodox Church at Phorviotissa, and its economy was based on exploiting forest resources (timber) and pastoralism (Gibson, 2013a, vol.2: 239-240). The estate does not predate the 15th century, and was abandoned sometime by the end of the 17th century. A church was identified within Aspri, most likely indicating a year-round occupation. Additionally, the contemporary church of

Ayia Paraskevi (TP249) overlooked the village on a prominent ridgeline. Little tableware was recorded from Aspri; only four sherds in total were yielded from the survey.

Vouni Village

Vouni (TP31) was located two kilometers southwest of modern-day Nikitari village in the foothills of the Troodos Mountains. TAESP noted that the settlement was "ideally situated for the exploitation of resources from both the plains and the forest" (Gibson, 2013a, vol.2: 207). Ten structures were identified in the course of the survey, including a village church. The exact date of the village's abandonment was not known. However, TAESP states that by 1920 the village was no longer in use, as it did not appear in the contemporary cadastral plans, although, the architectural remains suggested significant occupational periods in the 16th-18th centuries, and seasonal or temporary use in the 19th century (Gibson, 2013a, vol.2: 209). Very little tableware was recovered from Vouni. Only two sherds of monochrome painted ware were recorded in the TAESP database as being in association with the village.

Panayia Phorviotissa and the Kapsalia Monastery

The Panayia Phorviotissa church (also called 'Asinou Church'), and its nearby monastery of Asinou Kapsalia, formed one of the most striking sites in not only the Asinou ISZ, but in the TAESP survey universe as a whole. Asinou Church was constructed between the years of 1099-1106, making it one of the oldest intact structures in the region (Gibson, 2013a, vol.2: 214). Additionally, the church is listed with other contemporary churches in the region as an UNESCO World Heritage Site. This classification exists primarily because of the well-preserved Byzantine wall paintings, which themselves have been the focus of numerous academic studies (cf. Stylianou and Stylianou, 1985; Frigeriou-Zeniou, 1997). Asinou Church is a rectangular building with a steep roof

constructed upon a stone platform. The narthex, which includes a gothic arch, was constructed at a later period in the 12th century, and is representative of the multiple building phases that the church underwent between the 12th and 16th centuries (Gibson, 2013a, vol.2: 214-215).

Approximately 150 meters to the south of Asinou Church was the presumed location of the Kapsalia (also called Asinou) monastery. Constructed sometime in the 12th century, Kapsalia housed Asinou's monastic community, who were engaged primarily in agricultural activities such as olive milling, animal husbandry, and winemaking (Gibson, 2013a, vol.2: 214-215). The Asinou monastery was abandoned by the time of Basil Bars'kyj's visit in 1735, and its material holdings were acquired by the bishopric of Kyrenia after the estate's dissolution (Gibson, 2013a, vol.2: 215). TAESP recorded the remains of three structures and conducted a resistivity survey to reveal the extent of architectural remains at Kapsalia (Gibson, 2013a, vol.2: 215-217). Estates like Kapsalia would have functioned as income generating land for their monastic centers (Aymes, 2014: 103; Roudometof and Michael, 2010: 64; cf. Stamatopoulos, 2016: 100-101).

Ceramics near the site of Panayia Phorviotissa (TS08) and Kapsalia (TP117) were abundant. Extensive survey was carried out in areas north of the Panayia Phorviotissa church and north of the Kapsalia monastery (survey units 355-64, 1361-66, 1371, 2301-05). The assemblage of Ottoman-Modern tableware was varied, containing sherds of porcelain vessels, uguentarium, glazed ware, slip painted ware, and Cypriot sgraffito. A single sherd of Kütahya ware was also found nearest to Panayia Phorviotissa.

Ayios Ioannis Church

      The remains of the Ayios Ioannis church (TS12; TP39) were located approximately one kilometer southwest of Panayia Phorviotissa, and 300 meters west of Asinou Village. The architectural remains consisted of a well-built limestone wall that was four courses high (Gibson, 2013a, vol.2: 219). According to the TAESP researchers, it is possible that Ayios Ioannis is the only surviving remnant of what might have been a much larger settlement (Gibson, 2013a, vol.2: 220). The survey units placed around the church (300-02, 365-69, 382, 386, 1353-59, 1367-70) yielded only one fragment of tableware securely dated to the Ottoman period or later. The sherd consisted of a single porcelain rim. No other tableware from the Ottoman to Modern periods was recorded.

Appendix B: A Note on the Distribution of Kütahya ware

Porcelain was not the only expensive ceramic identified in the TAESP assemblage. As noted previously, Kütahya ware was an expensive 18th century alternative to porcelain most commonly associated with coffee consumption. In fact, as pointed out by Vroom (2003), Kütahya's price in the Ottoman marketplace had the potential to rival that of Chinese and European porcelain. The Kütahya ceramic industry borrowed many of its stylistic elements from Chinese wares, Persian designs, and Christian iconography (Vroom, 1996: 10; Crowe, 2011). The most distinctive craft of Kütahya's potters, the thin-walled coffee cup, was morphologically derived from the porcelain coffee cups of Vienna and Meissen (Vroom, 1996: 10; Vroom, 2007: 85). On the archaeological landscape of Greece and Cyprus, however, these cups remain a rare find for surveyors and excavators (Vroom, 1996: 9). Kütahya ware is indeed so uncommon that special attention is paid to it when located in the course of survey work (cf. Vroom, 1996; Vroom, 2013: 79). What research does exist on these finds is largely restricted to the realm of art history, leaving the societal qualities of Kütahya ware still in a nascent state.

Kütahya ware was contemporary with porcelain and most likely served to meet the demands of the same 'elite' consumer as porcelain. Joanita Vroom used the finding of a single sherd of Kütahya ware to suggest the presence of a small rural elite class at the site of Upper Archondiki in Boeotia (1996: 17). The extreme rarity of Kütahya ware was similarly observed in the TAESP landscape. Three sherds were identified in three separate settlement contexts within the TAESP survey universe. As Kütahya ware was economically comparable to porcelain, functionally identical (e.g. to drink coffee) to porcelain, and stylistically similar to porcelain, the same concepts regarding prestige goods and terminal commodities that applied to porcelain can also be applied to Kütahya ware coffee cups. TAESP's three Kütahya ware sherds lend support to the argument that expensive coffee-oriented ceramics demonstrate authority and power on the rural landscape of Cyprus.

Additionally, as Kütahya ware coffee cups had a limited peak in production of the mid to late 18th century, these ceramics offer a temporally narrow view of the 18th and early 19th century rural Cypriot social landscape.

Two of the three Kütahya sherds identified within the TAESP survey universe are located within the context of ecclesiastical settlements. Both Panayia Phorviotissa (TS08) and Panayia Kousouliotissa (TS11) each contain one sherd identifiable as Kütahya ware. The primary point of interest in the location of these coffee related artifacts is that both appear in churches that did not have particularly high proportional ratios of porcelain-to-total-tableware. Nonetheless, the presence of Kütahya ware in these locations demonstrates that a degree of wealth is evident in Phorviotissa and Kousouliotissa. The lack of porcelain could be explained by the chronology of the monasteries themselves; each was out of use before porcelain became widely affordable in the early 20th century and it is possible that the expense of porcelain made it a relatively rare purchase for the clergy residing at the monasteries. This assumption can be evidenced by the fact that porcelain is abundant at Panayia Skouriotissa, the seat of the local bishop, and it may be normal for subsidiary monastic estates to exhibit less wealth as a result.

The third and final sherd of Kütahya ware was discovered near the now destroyed village of Agroladou (survey units 2062-2065). Unfortunately, the sample size of Ottoman-Modern tableware at Agroladou is extremely limited (eight sherds total). Like Vroom's (1996) tentative connection of Kütahya ware to a small rural elite, this sherd could also indicate a small 18th century rural, Turkicized-Greek, or perhaps ethnically Turkish, elite presence located in the vicinity of Agroladou similar to that of Upper Archondiki in Boeotia.

Drawing significant conclusions from a sample of three sherds is a cautious endeavor at best. Still, assuming that Kütahya ware, like porcelain, is a significant symbolic indicator of wealth and status, its presence on the social landscape of the TAESP survey universe is significant. As Kütahya

Glazed white

Glazed black

Glazed blue

0   5   10 cm

Jean F. Humbert   02/2005

TASP 2004
TIP 0756
Sheet 092
Item 06
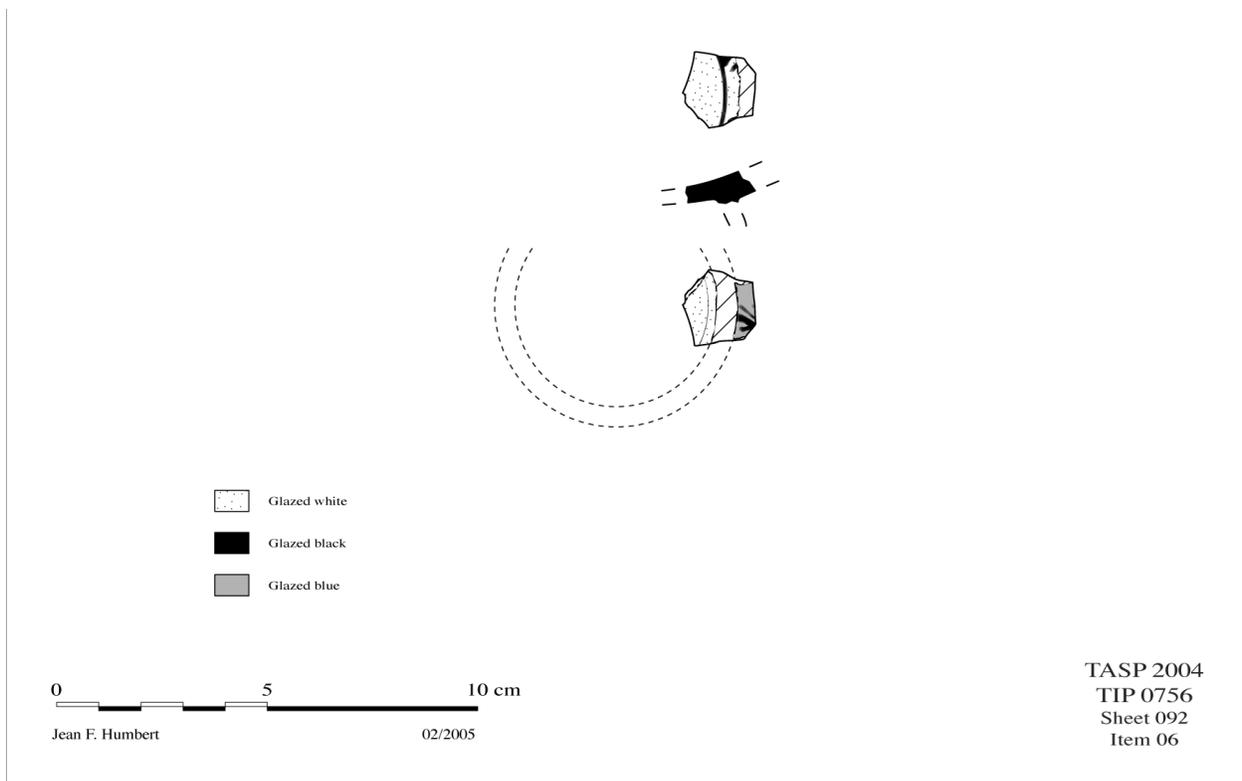
Figure 22. A drawing of a Kütahya ware sherd (TCP325) found in the Turkish village of Agroladou (Drawing by Jean F. Humbert; published in Given et al., 2013a).

ware fell out of fashion in the urban and royal elite, European porcelain became a new signifier of

authority and wealth – it also became widely available to the Ottoman elite as the 'secret' to

porcelain production was "discovered" in western Europe in the early 18th century. Thus, applying

the principles of prestige goods and terminal commodities (cf. Kopytoff, 1986; Weiner, 1985; 1992),

Kütahya ware no longer was seen as a "value" commodity and it no longer became equitable for

investment by the rural elite emulating the urban elite. Uzi Baram (1999: 151) attributes the decline

in popularity of Kütahya ware, Iznik ware, and tobacco pipes to these items falling out of fashion or

becoming "the vestiges of an old empire." In many respects, the hypotheses proposed, that these

objects no longer fit as a terminal commodity, agree with this view. Nevertheless, it remains difficult

for three sherds to reveal a great deal about the day-to-day production and maintenance of authority

and power given the small sample size; yet, they still offer the archaeologist a small window into the

18th century social life of rural Cyprus and the commodity consumption rituals of its inhabitants.

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