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VOLUME 2

ARCHAEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES ON THE TRANSMISSION AND TRANSFORMATION OF CULTURE IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

Edited by Joanne Clarke

OXBOW BOOKS

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Joanne Clarke

Foreword

In our rapidly changing world, I think it is fair to say that the notion of culture, and the way it is transmitted and transformed, is at the core of current research in both the humanities and social sciences. It is surprising then, that a volume that concerns itself with the archaeological implementation of research themes current in other disciplines, is so long in coming. This topic is of great interest to the post-Soviet world where old political borders have been rapidly disintegrating and spaceship earth is increasingly being networked through the World Wide Web and via new developments in digital technologies. Ethnicity, rather than nationalism, seems to have resurfaced as one of the most important ingredients for creating more complex social formations. Consequently, disciplines across the board, including archaeology, are focused on ethnicity as a social force.

For archaeologists, social anthropology serves as a wellspring from which we can draw theoretical grist for our interpretations of the past. However, I am not alone in contending that social anthropology is in danger of disappearing as a separate field of inquiry in the 21st century if it does not integrate a number of key issues that are linked to research on transmission and transformation of culture. This is due, in large part, to anthropology's general loss of interest in, or focus on, small-scale societies – the indigenous people of the world. The study of social interaction, as a catalyst for social evolution and change, is at the heart of how culture is transmitted and transformed.

I would like to begin with a quote from Mariano Lopez, a Tzotzil Indian from Chamula Chiapas, Mexico, which has direct bearing on the notion of culture, both past and present, and the direction of archaeology in the 21st century.

> "Culture is like a tree. If the green branches – a people's language, legends, and customs – are carelessly chopped off, then the roots that bind people to their place on the earth and to each other begin to wither. The wind and rain and the elements carry the topsoil away; the land becomes desert." (Lopez 1990.)

Lopez's characterisation of the fragility of human culture is a general theme that runs through this volume and in the way we think about archaeology today. Many of the papers touch on issues such as ethnicity, diversity, environmental change, subsistence, and social complexity, and these may serve as models which have implications for our shared future as Levantine archaeologists, as residents of the Levant, and as citizens of the global village.

Unlike other social science disciplines, archaeology is unique in that it is the only field that provides us with the tools necessary to examine culture change over the vast sweep of prehistoric and historic time – over 4 million years. As such, we are the one academic discipline that seeks to understand human behaviour through material remains. The archaeological record throughout the world is ripe with the material evidence for the major transitions in the social evolution of human beings, from simple hunting and foraging societies to the rise of the earliest states. We are fortunate in the Levant to have the longest archaeological sequence outside Africa. It is our job, as archaeologists, to study this record, to make our results known to the academic and public communities, through publication and the media, and to curate these remains in museums, libraries, the Web and other repositories for the future. It is also our responsibility (whether we are local or foreign researchers) to involve the local populations wherever we work – whether it is Israel, Palestine, Jordan, Turkey, or anywhere in the Middle East. These populations are entitled to a voice in how the history of their culture is transmitted, curated and interpreted. As we make strides to flesh out the processes responsible for the processes of cultural transmission and transformation we must factor these issues into our research if we are to continue to develop into a vibrant, meaningful discipline in tune with the future.

There are three major cultural issues facing the Middle East where we, as archaeologists, may be able to contribute significant answers and solutions in the context of studying cultural transmissions and transformations. These issues include the disappearance of indigenous peoples, the development of community-based conservation programs to help preserve important natural habitats in conjunction with indigenous peoples, and finally, the construction and conservation of local histories.

Major human problems like military conflict, public health, social disorder, economic collapse, and environmental deterioration are deeply linked to the way in which culture is transmitted and transformed and are best

examined as 'socio-cultural phenomena' rather than as technological issues. Archaeology, by drawing on the research methods of related disciplines, offers creative ways of thinking about these problems. There is a real need to understand and respect diverse 'non-industrial' cultures that operate on local, regional and global scales. In many cases it is the groups that possess these cultures that safeguard our increasingly fragile biosphere upon which all of us depend and share. To help understand and monitor culture, archaeology draws upon related methods and uses these to reconstruct the full range of human systems including ideology, social organisation, subsistence, technology, trade and exchange, paying special attention to how these cultural systems interacted with their natural and social environment through time.

This holistic approach to culture forces archaeologists to take an interdisciplinary approach to their subject as we rely on the social models espoused in ethnographic studies by cultural anthropologists and we count on historical records in order to understand ancient belief and thought systems. The reconstruction of subsistence practices demands collaboration with zoologists, botanists and other specialists. To trace patterns of trade it is necessary to collaborate with material scientists. Unlike cultural anthropologists, who usually work alone, archaeology's reliance on interdisciplinary collaboration means that archaeologists are 'pre-adapted' to explore a wide range of new methods and social theories. Seen in this light, the most successful interpretations of the archaeological record are those that are not wed to a specific theoretical framework.

In the United States, however, the fact that indigenous peoples still lived as they had done many hundreds of years enabled archaeology to become an integral part of anthropology from its beginning around 1840. It may seem ironic that anthropology and archaeology were so slow in linking up here in the Middle East, where nomadic and peasant societies have been such a central part of the past and recent social landscape. The simplest explanation is that the 'tyranny' of Near Eastern historical data, such as the Bible, drew and continues to draw scholars away from the general explanatory models of anthropology. After all, the Holy Land is perceived as special unlike any other land. Roger Moorey (1991) in *A Century of Biblical Archaeology* showed how a more synthetic view of archaeology in the Levant was produced from the 1920s to early 1950s by the Orientalist W. P. Albright. However his students – G. E. Wright and Nelson Glueck –made the discipline more insular by deeply linking archaeology to biblical studies.

In the US, cultural anthropologists such as the noted early 20th century University of California scholar, A. L. Kroeber (Rouse *et al.* 1964) consistently viewed archaeology as an essential tool for studying the history, evolution and adaptation of contemporary indigenous peoples. Here in the Levant, it is only recently that cultural anthropologists have been integrated into archaeological research projects and into programs such as the CBRL-sponsored conference that this volume represents.

One of Kroeber's contemporaries was the University of London anthropologist, Grafton Elliot Smith, who early in his career taught anatomy at the University of Cairo before moving to London. Fascinated by mummification, Smith believed that this practice and all other significant cultural traits had their origin in Egypt and were diffused to other regions in the world. In many ways, Smith was characteristic of his generation, which used the concept of diffusion – the process by which cultural traits, ways, complexes, and institutions are transferred from one cultural group to another – to explain all cultural developments. As Bruce Trigger (1989, 152) points out, Smith theorised that all early cultural development had occurred in Egypt and that, prior to 4000 BC, there had been no agriculture, architecture, religion, or government anywhere in the world. Although Smith was a hyper-diffusionist, the diffusion model was popular on the world archaeology scene until the emergence of the New Archaeology in the mid-1960s. Hyper-diffusionism did a disservice to the understanding of local socio-economic change, and as Renfrew (1973) points out, the advent of radiocarbon dating shattered most of the tenets of diffusion as an explanatory model. Unfortunately, this, and other related developments, tended to remove the notion of 'interaction' from archaeological discourse for a considerable time.

In trying to study the emergence of increasing levels of social power, the processual archaeologists of the 1960s and 1970s reacted against diffusionism and tended to view culture change in isolation within bounded geographic regions. One of the positive contributions of the so-called post-processual critique was the insistence on examining cultural evolution in the context of social interaction. To track social interaction, which is at the core of the transmission and transformation of culture in the context of the changing dimensions of social power, I would suggest that craft manufacture is of key importance for Middle Eastern archaeologists. Craft manufacture (or the study of technological process) provides a crucial lens with which to identify human cultural behaviour. As manufactured products of flint or other stone, metal, pottery, and other materials form the bulk of the archaeological record, these provide us with the necessary material link between archaeological fact and theory. By studying technological processes rather than types or styles we are better able to identify imported or adopted traits and hence mechanisms of transmission and transformation become clearer.

In general terms, anthropology can be defined as the study of humanity – our physical characteristics as animals and our unique non-biological characteristics that we call culture. As archaeologists who are concerned with cultural issues, we are interested in exploring the development, maintenance and change of humankind's culture-bearing capacity. However, it is remarkable that the concept of

'culture', the bread and butter of every card-carrying anthropologist the world over, has no universal definition in anthropology. In the context of these proceedings I would define culture as: socially transmitted, often symbolic information that shapes human behaviour and that regulates human society, so that people can successfully maintain themselves and reproduce. Culture has mental, behavioural, and material aspects. It is patterned and provides a model for what a given society views as proper behaviour.

One of the unique contributions of both archaeology and cultural anthropology during the 20th century has been in the study of the cultural evolution that applies to all humankind. Based on studies of social power in different societies, using data from ethnographic observations of contemporary societies and archaeological data, it has been possible to identify a series of different scales of culture – both in the past and present. These include 'domestic scale cultures', also known as bands and tribes, where production and distribution systems are domestically managed and kinship networks provide systems of social support. These are followed by 'political scale cultures' that are often called chiefdoms. These are relatively large-scale, autonomous societies with centrally managed, relatively energy-intensive production systems that are geared to the needs of the ruling elite. Chiefdoms represent the first evidence of the institutionalisation of social inequality. 'Commercial scale cultures' are at the peak of social complexity and are often called state level societies. They are identified by impersonal market exchanges and trans-national commercial enterprises. In monitoring how culture is transmitted and transformed it is essential to identify the scale of the various cultural entities involved in the interaction.

All people have the same potential to create culture and all cultures have many universal features. The most important cultural differences concern the three distinctive ways people can organise social power, l) domestically by households, 2) politically by ruler, or 3) commercially by trade, exchange and business enterprises.

One thing that we should remember, whether we are talking about contemporary or past cultures – culture is never static and is constantly changing. This is why we rely on anthropological, biological, cultural and archaeological perspectives to flesh out how human societies operate and change. This is why the most successful archaeological research in the Levant is committed to interdisciplinary perspectives in the study of social change through time.

Archaeology is an innovative and highly vibrant field of inquiry, which thrives on interdisciplinary research and which can ultimately be linked to the conservation of humankind's past. To some extent, archaeology achieves this by being a part of anthropology, history and science all at the same time.

Thomas E. Levy

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INTRODUCTION

1. Cultural transmissions and transformations

Joanne Clarke

Introduction

The idea for this volume originated in Jerusalem five years ago while I was working for the Council for British Research in the Levant. In March 2000 Jerusalem was relatively peaceful. The present intafada was eighteen months away and although tensions simmered under the surface the outbreak of hostilities remained unpredicted by political analysts. The Oslo Peace Accords had facilitated a brief flowering of interaction between Palestinians and Israelis. The West Bank was open and travel to and from Israel was time-consuming but straightforward. Palestinians were relatively free to work in Israel and Israelis too travelled to the larger Palestinian towns often spending evenings in Ramalla and Bethlehem drinking Arabic coffee in western style cafés. For non-nationals freedom of movement was even greater and day trips to Gaza were both possible and pleasurable. At this time I was jointly directing excavations at the Bronze Age site of al-Moghraqa, five miles south of Gaza, and this guaranteed that I travelled between Israel and Gaza on a regular basis interspersed with longer field seasons during much of the summer months. Outside of the archaeological community co-operation between Palestinians and Israelis was common if not particularly advertised. Institutions like the World Bank and UNESCO were funding Palestinian initiatives (often with significant Israeli help and input) in most areas of business, government, health, environment and heritage. The outlook was promising.

In this climate of relative calm and optimism the idea for a conference in Jerusalem that dealt with the transmission and transformation of culture seemed highly appropriate. The city of Jerusalem, probably more than any other in the world, embodies everything good and bad about cultural diversity. There is tolerance and interaction between religions but also racial and religious prejudice and persecution. More importantly, this pattern has remained unchanged for thousands of years. People in Jerusalem have transmitted and appropriated, assimilated, transformed and rejected cultural traits from different cultural groups over millennia.

The conference was originally entitled *The Transmission and Assimilation of Culture*. In hindsight this title was misleading as the word assimilation somewhat clouded the underlying themes of the conference. These were to examine, in archaeological terms, how aspects of culture are transmitted from one group of people to another, the impetuses that lead one group to actively seek out cultural aspects of another, and how cultural traits are transformed once they leave their place of origin. The focus was on the role of human agency in the movement of cultural traits and the word assimilation was altogether too passive to reflect this focus. Since then the title has been simplified to just *Archaeological Perspectives on the Transmission and Transformation of Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean.* This new title adequately reflects the themes of the conference and the contents of this volume.

That was five years ago and it seems fitting now to reflect upon the changes in circumstances that have occurred since the conference took place. Aside from the very depressing state of affairs in Israel and the Palestinian Territories, issues of cultural transmission and transformation are more relevant now than they have ever been.

Cultural transmission and transformation in a personal context

As a lecturer in material culture studies with a background in archaeology I teach in what is first and foremost an art history department. I share with my colleagues an interest in culture in general and material and visual culture in particular but our methodologies and theoretical positions are diverse. Within our department we teach the concepts, theory and methodology that underpin the study of material and visual culture. However, we come at the same topics from three vastly different positions. If I were to try to characterise all three in three short sentences I would say that my art history colleagues concern themselves primarily with the way in which art impacts upon culture over time and how culture in turn transforms art. My anthropology colleagues concern themselves with all

manifestations of culture in the present, whether material or non-material, and their social meaning. Archaeologists like myself are restricted by the limits of the discipline to the study of materials and the patterns they form in the archaeological record which help us to speculate about the "full range of human experience" (Renfrew and Bahn 2000, 17) as practised in the past. What brings us together is a desire to understand how material and visual culture changes our perceptions and how we in turn change the material world around us to suit our personal and collective preferences.

Oddly, there are similarities between my experiences in Jerusalem and my experiences in an English university that impinge significantly upon this volume and the way it has been shaped. In Jerusalem I was surrounded by cultural diversity. There is a real sense that what exists around you is the material and immaterial manifestations of many cultures and that those cultural traits have been transmitted and transformed over millennia. The city is an eclectic mix of Jewish, Christian, and Muslim historical, racial and religious traditions overlain by modern Israeli and Arab personal and political trends. There is a blend of the religious and the secular, where buildings once constructed as religious monuments in which more than one religion has been practised, are now market places or schools or the houses of the rich.

Personal styles reflect the same mixing of religious and secular, traditional and new. Orthodox Christians, Jews and Arabs, bedecked in the dress of their religions, walk side by side with more secular jeans and T-shirt-wearing members of society. Older Palestinian and Jewish men can be seen in the trappings of their culture while their children wear the latest western fashions, in some instances underneath more traditional dress. Language is perhaps the greatest oddity of all. Israelis will say in informal circles that Hebrew is their second language. In some instances this is true. Israelis can be more fluent in a language other than Hebrew, particularly if they have migrated to Israel. In order to be understood they may use English as the language of communication. In other instances Arabic may be the language of communication. It is, of course, the first language of Palestinians, but it is also the first language of Israeli Arabs, Yemeni Jews, Moroccan Jews and other immigrant populations.

There is a sense that cultural mixing is so pervasive that it has spawned an unconscious inclination to accentuate current collective identities. Palestinians are Palestinians first and foremost, although the religious and racial constituents that make them Palestinians are diverse. The basis of their being Palestinian is primarily political and is represented by their relationship to, and their longevity in the landscape (Abu-Lughod, Heacock and Nashef 1999). Israelis on the other hand have a collective identity based first and foremost upon religion, even though racial diversity is considerable. Again, the sense of relationship and connection with the landscape has primacy but is based upon a religious history rather than a continuous presence (Silberman 1990, 1991; Whitelam 1996). Notions of being Israeli or Palestinian are relatively modern constructions and do not reflect identities that may have existed in the past. However, the reinforcement of history and long surviving cultural traits often form the basis for these identities. Collective identities are adaptive, scalar and culturally constituted over time. Palestinians for example can be Muslims or Christian Arabs, Israeli Arabs, Gazans or Halilis. Israelis can be Hesidic or Falashas Jews, Russians or Yemenis. What is more, the excesses of cultural diversity can lead to new alliances, new sets of values and new sets of beliefs. Amongst social groups the formation of alliances, and the collective identities that constitute them, take on substance when a commonality of cultural traits is identified and exploited (Rutherford 1990, 19). In instances where diversity and inter-mixing of cultural traits are pronounced the consequence can be a greater sense of group identity, minimising social risk, whether real or perceived (Cohen 1987, 11–19; Cohen 2000; Woodward 1997, 30–31).

At the other end of the scale collective identities also exist amongst much smaller groups, but where diversity and inter-mixing of cultural traits are less pronounced there is less need to emphasise differences and a greater desire for cultural interaction. In the School of World Art Studies where staff members come from a variety of learning backgrounds and represent a number of different academic disciplines one might expect to observe the same tendency to form alliances along academic lines. Although the boundaries that demarcate groups are more fluid, alliances, and the collective identities that constitute them, can still be created for professional survival. Moreover, this diversity of knowledge and experience can create both a climate of sharing and an undercurrent of tension as individuals and groups try to negotiate their academic and professional space. My training as an archaeologist, for instance, is in some respects fundamental to who I am and amongst other archaeologists I feel a unity and common identity based on shared experience that I do not feel amongst art historians and anthropologists. Our different backgrounds, ways of teaching, different methodologies and theoretical positions do not instil in me the same sense of unity. What is so inspiring however is that this sense of difference creates positive personal and professional interactions rather than negative ones. The tendency to form alliances is outweighed by the desire to impart knowledge. Knowledge, as a form of culture, is actively transmitted and transformed through a dynamic, constantly evolving process of social interaction. The result has the effect of strengthening the collective identity of all.

For these reasons more than any other I feel that this volume comes from an empathy with and an understanding of how cultural traits are transmitted and transformed in time and space. Ultimately this volume is about similarity and difference but its focus is very much on how people negotiate aspects of similarity and difference and how

these are materialised in the archaeological record. The volume is arranged into three parts which deal with these issues. The first examines some of the methods archaeologists employ to examine complex questions, such as how and why culture is transmitted and transformed. Culture is not always represented materially in the archaeological record and when it is it can mislead rather than lead us toward understanding the past. We try to get around this problem by employing techniques of analysis that will lessen the risk of our misunderstanding the evidence. The seven papers in part one illustrate some of the methods archaeologists might use to explore materially the concepts of cultural transmission and transformation. Part two examines the ways in which culture is transformed through time, a phenomenon that has links with the study of cultural evolution. In this volume however, the focus is very much on how human beings actively contribute to cultural change in preference to passive change, such as random error or cultural selection. Finally, part three explores the ways in which cultural traits are transmitted and transformed in space. In the fifties variation in the material record was thought to represent migrations, invasions and diffusions. In the sixties variation represented environmentally and ecologically determined changes in behaviour and in the eighties variation represented human agency. Now in the 21st century we are comfortable with a combination of all three but the focus has shifted from a concern with variation itself, to what variation represents. The concepts that form the basis of part two and part three are not, however, mutually exclusive but as I mention in my introduction to part two, time often engenders a resistance to change, whereas the movement of materials and ideas through space appears to enhance or promote change. Again, in this volume the focus is very much on human agency.

One of the greatest problems of archaeology is how to 'see' cultural transmissions and transformations in the archaeological record particularly when most of culture is intangible, such as identity, ideology and cosmology. One approach taken in this volume is to examine long-term changes in material culture traits that might reflect intangible aspects of culture, for example, the study of personal and group space, figurative art and elite objects.

Culture and material culture, what relationship?

The Oxford dictionary defines culture as the total of the inherited ideas, beliefs, values and knowledge that constitute the shared bases of social action. Material culture might then be thought of as the output of the activity of culture, the part that is formed when human beings interact and engage with their material world. Without a material world in which to carry out the activity of 'culture forming' human beings would not create material culture – it would be impossible. So the material world and material culture are inexorably linked.

As a result of changes in the approach of anthropologists and archaeologists to culture theory the static quality of material culture has been replaced by a new dynamism. Culture has come to be viewed not as something you have, but as something that is continuously created (Chilton 1999, 1). Even so, material culture is often thought of as a subset of culture, which I believe, simplifies what is, in fact, a much more complex relationship.

Culture is created by experience, and everything that is experienced by human beings comes through interactions with the world around us. The creation of culture, therefore, takes place within our material world and is the product of our experiences. Culture exists because human beings strive to understand and make sense of these experiences and then pass on the knowledge of these experiences to others. Culture cannot exist outside of or beyond materiality. There is a distinction, of course, between materiality and material culture, but any small alteration or adaptation that human beings make to their material world is a cultural phenomenon and therefore may be defined as material culture. Material culture is therefore much more than just a subset of culture or a component of a cultural system – it is the fabric of everything cultural.

The study of material culture theory has far greater importance than is usually credited to it by anthropologists as it is inherently tied into the study of culture in general. If we return to the purpose of this volume, to discuss and examine in archaeological terms how aspects of culture are transmitted and transformed, we could take the position that material remains are the incomplete reflection of cultural processes that happened in the past. But if the creation of culture and of material culture is a parallel phenomenon arising from continuous experience of the material world then material remains of a society are the surviving remnants of all culture whether material or non-material. This concept has rather interesting implications for those of us who have tended to use material culture simply to interpret the past. The relationship between material culture and culture in general is no longer a binary one with material culture reflecting behaviour, which in turn is changed by material culture. It becomes something far more fundamental. Material culture must be thought of as constituting not only everything that makes us human but also everything that makes up our past, present and future, for it is through the materiality of our world that we experience, learn and create.

Let me explain by example. Watkins (this volume) and Mithen (1996, 159; 1999) agree that the ability for human beings to conceive of a symbolic world was the product of a so-called 'cognitive' shift, the mind finally gaining 'cognitive fluidity'. Although they disagree as to when this event took place they both assume it was the result of changes in the way human beings perceived things. This thesis presumes that cognition, or the mental act by which knowledge is acquired is the thing that

changes, albeit through external influences. An alternative thesis based upon the concept that culture is created through experience of the material world, would be that the ancient mind does not undergo any particular cognitive shift. Rather, experience of the material world changes in such a way that communication of experience requires greater abstraction of thought. For example, the actions involved in the hunting of bison are much simpler to conceive of than the planting of a crop (Boyd, this volume). It does not require the mind to do more than perceive of a series of actions and their possible outcomes. The experience of hunting bison can be easily communicated because it is a simple cause and effect event. But what happens when experience of the material world becomes significantly more complex? Planting a seed in the ground requires that the mind not only conceives of the actions and outcomes but also conceives of the material world in abstractions. These abstract experiences will then be communicated to others. The process of communicating the experience of planting a seed and that seed becoming barley that can be eaten is the process of communicating abstract ideas, a much more complex form of communication that requires symbolic representation.

Material culture theory and archaeology

Archaeology is limited by its reliance on an incomplete material record. This is not to say that archaeologists are unable to interpret the material record in terms of cultural behaviour but they are ultimately hostages to the quality of the data. It is easy for readers to forget that those who write papers dealing with the emergence of humanity for example (Watkins, this volume) or Cyprus and Cypriot identity under British rule (Seretis, this volume) formulate their theories and arguments upon rigorous and careful observation of material-culture patterning. No matter what definitions we apply to archaeology it is important to remind ourselves that it is the study of material culture, and cultural meaning is, by extension, only accessible through the careful examination, collection, recording, analyses and interpretation of data. Archaeologists have no sense of culture, nor can they trace or record cultural transmissions or transformations if they are not represented materially. Every contributor to this volume has used material culture patterning to construct their argument, whether or not those arguments concern a material manifestation of culture or an ideological, social or religious manifestation of culture.

Anthropologists can record changes in non-material cultural phenomena because they are able to talk with the individuals concerned. They can also form hypotheses that explain why certain relationships exist. Sökefeld (1999) for example, has undertaken a study of the inhabitants of Gilgit, a town in the northern area of Pakistan, where complex dimensions of identity difference are based upon clan, kinship and religion. These complex relationships undergo quite significant transformations through various social interactions with neighbouring villages. Such cultural transmissions and transformations are invisible to archaeologists because they are not represented materially.

Amongst anthropologists material culture studies has had a rather poor reputation as a topic of research. It does seem odd therefore that anthropology appears to have had the authoritative word on material culture theory when anthropologists themselves readily admit that the study of material culture took a back seat for many years to other forms of cultural studies. Miller (1998, 3) suggests that one reason why material culture was avoided as the primary focus of academic debate (amongst anthropologists) was that it invited the accusation of fetishism. In his words "…the ideals of social analysis would be usurped by the means of artefact analysis and that this would prevent rather than enhance the study of cultural life" (Miller 1998, 3). Archaeologists have little choice. How can it be a case of fetishism when we have nothing else but the material culture record? In fact it is the rigour behind the study of material culture in archaeological enquiry that makes it academically very robust.

In the last twenty years material culture theory has experienced a slow resurgence in anthropological circles, and there is now a plethora of publications dealing with the topic (Appadurai 1986; Baudrillard 1988; Buchli 2002; Dant 1999; Douglas and Isherwood 1979; Harris 1979; Hodder 1987, 1989; Jarman 1997; Miller 1987, 1998; Thomas 1991). Archaeologists have also contributed to this new interest (Chilton 1999; Dobres and Hoffman 1999; Hodder and Hutson 2003; LaMotta and Schiffer 2001; Shennan 2002; Stark 1998; Tilley 1991) to name only a few. Perhaps the most significant advance for archaeology is that new (reflexive) methodological approaches to the study of material culture have allowed greater profundity in the interpretative process. "The emphasis is on the social and technical context in which materials are produced and the interpretation of materials by researchers in the present" (Chilton 1999, 1). Material data, therefore, have become more than just the objects: they are the raw materials, technology, tools and techniques as well as the finished products. The papers in this volume all reflect this new approach. The focus is on processes in context rather than objects in context and what these processes can tell us about the way in which human beings negotiated their cultural relations in the past and what sorts of interactions and changes were taking place.

The importance of context in interpretation

Archaeologists have returned to the importance of context relatively recently, with a burgeoning interest in reflexive interpretation (Hodder 1999, 2000) borrowed from anthropology (Bowman 1997; Clifford 1986, 1988) and carefully applied to archaeological fieldwork. Hodder, for example, continually updates and adapts his interpretations of the material record as contextual data

changes and as different experts input their observations into the interpretative process (Hodder 2000). In this way it has been argued that archaeologists are able to interpret meaning in material culture data by understanding "the routinised practices occurring within the same contextual spaces and which will reflect their past interpretations and embodied experience" (Last 1998, 355).

What is difficult to understand is that context was for some time secondary to such things as analogy. We all now think of contextualising our interpretations as fundamental to the study of archaeology but it wasn't always so. In the 1960s and 1970s the importance of ethnoarchaeology and ethnology was such that prehistorians spent much of their time looking for comparative data in modern hunter/gatherer societies. The return to context driven interpretation was accompanied by a switch in focus, away from things, toward people.

The importance of context has been highlighted in many of the papers in this volume, particularly those that examine intra-mural deposition patterns (Antoniadou), discard patterns (Boyd; Frankel; Goring-Morris; Webb) or house biographies (Papaconstantinou; Thomas). Even accounting for the limitations of published material, papers such as Antoniadou's and Papaconstantinou's have successfully applied new methods of contextual analysis to arrive at fuller interpretations of the material record.

One point I would like to mention briefly is the geographical and chronological scope of this volume. A quick peruse of the papers by the reader will demonstrate that topics range from the distant prehistoric to the near-present day, from Crete to Cyprus to the southern Levant but there is a particular weighting toward topics related to Cyprus. I had not reflected on this skewing until it was brought to my attention by the reviewer. I returned to Iacovou's paper, which discusses some of the many periods during which Cypriot culture has been influenced and changed by foreign interaction, and on reflection I find it apt that the topical range of the volume not only reflects our current archaeological interest in particular regions or themes but also an academic and historical reality. For many years archaeologists working on Cyprus have concerned themselves with the causes and effects of cultural interaction and integration. Historically, Cyprus was at the centre of trading networks in the Bronze and Iron Ages with Egyptians, Minoans, Mycenaeans, Phoenicians and Philistines, to name a few. Cyprus had been colonised, some say repeatedly, and has been acculturated by, and in turn enculturated, a wide array of different cultural traits and cultural groups. It is not surprising then that archaeologists working on Cyprus have a lot to say about the transmission and transformation of culture. This might be because Cyprus is an island bounded by the sea and it is often presumed that it is easier to observe the causes and effects of cultural interactions on a culturally and geographically remote place. Lately though there has been much debate about how 'islandlike' islands really are. For example, Rainbird (1999) and Gosden and Pavlides (1994) would argue that islands can exist in many different geographical, cultural and ecological settings and that it is a modern construction that leads us to view sea-bounded islands as somehow special. I think that this is particularly important for the eastern Mediterranean, which actually exhibits incredible diversity and also some interesting periods of cultural retardation and insularity. However, because the Levant littoral is not an 'island' no one has ever examined degrees of cultural interaction or insularity in any systematic way. It has always just been assumed that Cyprus as an island had periods of cultural insularity often punctuated with periods of greater interaction. Overall I think the volume aptly reflects the geographical focus on cultural transmission and transformation in the eastern Mediterranean. Without doubt similar issues and debates have been conducted farther a field in Mesopotamia, Anatolia and inland Syria for example, but these are beyond the remit of this volume. Having said this, cultural relationships that existed between some of these areas and the eastern Mediterranean should not be ignored in the long term and there is scope for further studies of this nature.

All of the papers in this volume are concerned with how cultural transmissions and transformations can be studied through the archaeological record. In some papers the focus is on material culture change, in others the focus is on material manifestations of other sorts of culture change, such as transformations in religion, ethnicity and ideology. The binding force in all is the desire to read the archaeological record in new and exciting ways, and ways that give us a glimpse of the dynamics of human relationships.

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PART ONE:
METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO THE TRANSMISSION AND TRANSFORMATION OF CULTURE

2. Understanding the importance of methodology in complex archaeological interpretation

Joanne Clarke

> We need a *method* that will make sense of the data that we have. Methodology, the study of method, is the crucial issue. (Lewis-Williams 2002, 8.)

Archaeologists frequently confuse method and methodology, not because they are unaware of the difference but because the difference is never made explicit. This is one reason why method in archaeological practice has lost some of its importance in recent years and why it needs to be re-presented as the cornerstone of good archaeological enquiry. One way to address this, as the statement above makes clear, is to focus again on methodology, or the study of method in archaeology. There are many different methods in archaeology. There are the methods we use to collect and record data. There are the methods we use to frame research questions, which are then applied to the ways in which we collect and record data. There are the methods we use arrive at our conclusions and there are the methods we use to frame our interpretations.

Archaeological method is no longer a simple matter of the way in which we conduct our business. Because of the increasing complexity in the sorts of questions archaeologists wish to ask of their data, archaeological method has had to become multi-scalar, multi-disciplinary and multi-vocal. The concept of the transmission and transformation of culture is one of these complex questions in archaeology. Culture is not always represented materially and yet archaeologists often speak about cultural change as read in the archaeological record. Such questions require first an over-arching methodology and then clearly defined methods of data collection, presentation and interpretation. I have brought together seven papers in this section that adopt different methods of analysis and interpretation, whether it be a simple strategy for analysing data (Antoniadou; Huckle), or a more complex methodological theory that is explored through the manipulation of data (Frankel; Phillips). The papers below are key to the success of this volume. They illustrate that there is no right or wrong way of arriving at interpretations of the archaeological record, only that we must be explicit in how we got there.

The importance of methodology

The period before the New Archaeology of the 1960s has been referred to as a theoretical 'black hole'. Culture-historical interpretations dominated archaeology, particularly in the Mediterranean world and the Near East. In interpretation there existed a degree of simplicity; pots equalled people, things changed because of diffusion, migration or invasion, and archaeological remains were identified as belonging to a cultural region (the Halafian, the Khirokitian) or a cultural group (the Canaanites, the Phoenicians). How archaeologists concluded that certain cultural traits were Canaanite or Phoenician was rarely critically examined. In the 1960s the 'New Archaeologists' advocated methodological rigour in both data collection and data interpretation. Methodology, or the "mode of argument that a researcher uses to reach explanatory statements" (Lewis-Williams 2002, 8) was now second only to scientific data collection. Archaeology diversified into other disciplines applying methods of data collection and analysis that had been previously the reserve of the hard sciences. Although some of these new techniques became central to archaeological enquiry, many others were either too detailed or too general to be of any relevance in the context of archaeology, while the process of data collection became an end in itself. The shift away from enquiry to a preoccupation with data led to new criticisms.

Dissatisfied with the positivist approaches of the new archaeologists, post-processualist/interpretative archaeology steered a new path through the complexities of material culture theory advocating that we read the archaeological record as we read histories, that material culture was in fact another form of language, one that communicated non-verbally (Hodder 1986). In effect what occurred was a paradigm shift from archaeology based on deductive reasoning to archaeology based on inductive reasoning. In the early years of post-processualism method was often left out of the archaeological process altogether. When it was included it was often ill defined. Against this backdrop of relativism in archaeology there remained

some strong proponents of method. *Archaeology: Theories, Methods and Practic*e (Renfrew and Bahn, first edition 1991) became a standard textbook in some archaeology departments and did include substantial sections on method. Renfew and Zubrow argued more decisively for a return to method in archaeological enquiry in their book *The Ancient Mind* (1994) with the inclusion of papers such as 'Interpretation and testability in theories about prehistoric thinking' (Bell 1994). In a backlash against this criticism of post-processualist thought, Hodder (1999) published *The Archaeological Process*, which helped to assuage those critics who felt that the theoretical underpinning of post-processualism could not be reconciled with real dirt archaeology.

Even so, as archaeologists began to tackle more complex problems – in prehistory I can think of topics like creativity in human evolution, the origins of art and language, the archaeology of religion – the need for methodological rigour increased. Lewis-Williams complains of a "lack of methodology in Upper Palaeolithic art research" (2002, 9) but a lack of methodology cannot be confined to the Upper Palaeolithic, or to the prehistoric, it is a problem all archaeologists face.

Methodology has therefore become central to this volume because the ways in which culture is transmitted and transformed in time and space cannot be critically discussed without first examining the methods that archaeologists use to explore these themes using the material culture record. The principal question must become: how do archaeologists go about identifying and quantifying phenomena such as the transmission and transformation of culture in the archaeological record when its material manifestation may be incidental? This is the key issue that archaeology has to deal with. We cannot explore themes such as origins of art and language, the archaeology of religion etc. without exploring first how archaeologists marry the material record with thoughts, ideas and concepts that may only sometimes have been represented materially. Without a clear methodology, interpretation of the archaeological evidence becomes a house of cards.

The relevance of method

In order to address this very relevant and problematic issue, this section includes seven papers that all examine different methods of approaching the problem of how culture is transmitted and transformed and how we can identify these changes in the archaeological record. Method, like data collection and analysis, can be manipulated for the benefit of a conclusion. If a method places emphasis on one aspect of the analytical process over another then the results and subsequent interpretation of a problem can be weighted unequally. This problem is not the reserve of archaeology: it can apply to almost any discipline that deals in evidence. Take an example from my own university department, the history of Europe from 1680 to 1830. This period has been called the 'long 18th century', which in itself is a constructed reality. A methodological problem bothering many of my colleagues is the histories that currently exist on this period emphasise major political, military, or royal events and this has led to a modern (and partly false) view of what was important at that time. According to a colleague, the same period seen through the eyes of a peasant would produce a very different history indeed, where political and military events go unnoticed but local events bring about cultural change. The key point is that our interpretations of the past are intrinsically tied to the methods we set up to examine the past.

The seven papers included below take very different methodological approaches to the concept of the transmission and transformation of culture. Although the material they deal with range from the prehistoric period to the Iron Age, they have been included because the methods employed to back up their argument are key to the conclusions they reach. The first paper by Papaconstantinou is effectively a post-structuralist approach to the examination of form and function in architecture as a material representation of cultural identities in prehistory. Papaconstantinou concludes that architecture "has its own pace of development in relation to other aspects of culture change" and that as "it is the environment where culture is daily performed" it must be considered apart from general culture change. Frankel's paper examines cultural transformations in the proto-historic period in Cyprus from a sociological perspective drawing upon the theories of Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1979). Frankel explores the concept of social reproduction as a process impacting upon continuities and discontinuities in cultural traditions. At the advent of the Bronze Age in Cyprus there were two very clear material culture traditions existing side by side in the archaeological record. Frankel argues that these actually represent two "ancient cultural ethnic groups" which he suggests can be identified materially in this context by applying a form of Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* where ethnicity can be thought of as residing in everyday practice. The process by which these separate ethnic groups 'become Bronze Age' is the focus of the remainder of his paper where he argues that the core of this process of change is bound up in cultural learning, transmission and interaction in which individuals were the active participants.

Sherratt's paper also examines ethnicity but this time it is very much a critique of the culture-historical tradition, which still dominates Near Eastern archaeology today. Sherratt examines the historical and linguistic origins of some of the most embedded misappropriations of ethnic identifications in Near Eastern archaeological usage. She concludes that these archaeological 'labels' have not only misinformed but misrepresented the archaeological evidence to such an extent that we are left wondering whose ideologies and whose identities we are actually looking for.

Phillips and Rupp's papers explore different modes of transmission and transformation. Both papers essentially deal with processes or systems of cultural change. Where Phillips focuses on the degree of receptivity of a culture to adopt or reject cultural traits, Rupp examines the life cycles of objects. The 'Question of Reception', is a methodological question that has bothered other writers, for example Moorey (this volume). It is a key approach in material culture studies and forms part of the wider study into agency in art and archaeology (Dobres and Robb 2000; Gell 1998). Rupp takes an approach first espoused by Appadurai (1986) and picked up by archaeologists such as Chilton (1999), Dobres (1999) and La Motta and Schiffer (2001). This approach considers objects as active participants in everyday events, having the ability to change and be changed by the social *milieu* in which they reside. Objects (non-living things) have life biographies that are intrinsically tied up with the life cycles of living things. This is a systems approach to archaeological research – albeit one far more complex and intricately structured than any put forward by the new archaeologists of the 1960s.

Huckle's paper applies a 'bottom-up' method in the examination of Late Bronze Age material culture patterning in the southern Levant. His approach is to deconstruct some of the existing interpretations of the period, which were arrived at by relying heavily upon textual data and replacing them with an approach that favours the material evidence. In order to do this Huckle advocates a return to the importance of context in the interpretation of data: a theme picked up by Antoniadou in the following paper. In contrast to the papers by Phillips and Rupp, which explore archaeological systems, these papers use post-processualist inductive methodologies which are context specific.

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3. Constructing identities in the Neolithic Eastern Mediterranean: cultural difference and the role of architecture

Demetra Papaconstantinou

Abstract

In the search for cultural traits, archaeology often relies on architectural forms as the most 'secure' evidence for the identification of discrete groups or cultural differences. Architecture, however, apart from being a product of culture, also constitutes the environment in which culture is daily performed. As such, the way it is used is equally as important as its morphological characteristics. Using evidence from Neolithic sites in the Eastern Mediterranean, this paper investigates the relationship between form and function in architecture and discusses its role in the construction of cultural identities.

Introduction

> The circular arrangement of the huts around the men's house is so important a factor in their social and religious life that the Salesian missionaries … were quick to realise that the surest way to convert the Bororo was to make them abandon their village in favour of one with the houses set out in parallel rows. (Lévi-Strauss [1955] 1973, 220–221.)

Anthropological studies on cultural transmission and assimilation can provide archaeologists with information about the way societies operate and how they change and use material culture. Despite the fact that anthropology has its own separate agenda and that it approaches culture from a different perspective, extracts such as the one quoted above provide a useful insight into how cultures interact and into the process of cultural change.

Archaeological use of ethnographic records is usually limited to observing changes in material culture. Archaeologists have tended to consider other aspects of ethnographic data to be somehow irrelevant to the specific problems of the discipline. As a result, in passages such as the one above, what usually captures the attention of archaeologists are details about changes in the spatial arrangement of the community and the fact that cultural assimilation leaves 'clear footprints' on the ground. It is apparent, however, that the cultural information alluded to in the example above, goes far beyond specific spatial arrangements. It shows the fundamental role that architecture plays in the social life and cultural identity of a community, stressing that cultural assimilation is a matter of communication, even under the most unequal circumstances.

The present paper examines cultural change through the medium of architecture, and it attempts to bring together these two different perspectives by investigating the relationship between the built environment and cultural identity.

The relation between form and function

The way we approach and study the built environment in archaeology is directly related to the way we perceive and approach culture. From an insider's point of view, culture is the experience of being part of a whole, of sharing a code (Kent 1987; Watson 1995). As an analytical tool, the concept of culture has a methodological value and consists of the display of discrete cultural sets, which may or may not exist at a certain time and in a certain region (Wolf 1984).

The limitations of the archaeological approach, though inevitable due to the nature of its record, lead to the 'objectification' of culture by placing emphasis on morphology and neglecting the active role that materials play in the construction of culture (Flannery 1967; Osgood 1951; Shanks and Tilley 1987, 117–118; Taylor 1948, 113). Even though archaeologists have tried to break out of the form/function circular argument, approaches have

been slow to change. In their analysis of the construction of archaeological typologies, Adams and Adams describe a characteristic form of artefact studies, where categories such as scraper, chopper, and graver have been given names indicative of a presumed function. In reality, these categories are differentiated on the basis of form attributes, and not on the basis of any secure knowledge of their use (Adams and Adams 1991, 285).

Studies on architecture have also been slow to change, with the emphasis traditionally placed upon differences in spatial arrangements and architectural forms rather than details in the way the built environment was used by a community or how it was organically associated to other forms of material culture. This traditional approach perceives culture as a static set of traits, and although it produces distribution maps of distinct cultural sets, it does not say much about cultural identity.

In order to re-establish architecture's relation to culture in archaeological studies, one can turn to Umberto Eco's discussion about the functionality of architecture and its importance as an object of communication (Eco 1980), and use Koenig's definition of architecture as a system of "sign vehicles that promote certain kinds of behavior" (Koenig 1970, 28 n.6). According to such an approach, "form denotes function only on the basis of a system of established habits and expectations and thus on the basis of a code" (Eco 1980, 22).

In the attempt to understand the relation between culture and architecture, therefore, it is important to examine the way people relate to one another through the use of forms (Wolf 1984, 396). We have to look for associations between architecture and the rest of the record of material culture in order to investigate the way architecture was used and perceived by human communities.

This communicative interaction between architecture, as one aspect of the material record, and the rest of material culture is one of the most significant characteristics of architecture and is directly related to the construction of cultural identities, since it gives shape to the way in which people experience culture.

Cultural difference and the role of architecture in the Neolithic Eastern Mediterranean

The Neolithic period in the Eastern Mediterranean started around 10,000 BC and lasted for more than 5,000 years. During this period, there is evidence for a variety of settlement types: campsites, semi-subterranean settlements, settlements with round structures organised into loose arrangements and settlements with rectangular multi-cellular architecture elaborately constructed. These different types have been used by archaeologists as diacritical markers for the identification of distinct cultural groups and for the construction of diffusion theories (Childe 1957; see also Cauvin 1997).

The transition from round to rectangular structures, a change that took place in the beginning of the 9th millennium BC and is linked to the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B culture (hereafter PPNB), has been considered to be one of the most significant characteristics of the Neolithic period in the area, and has also often been interpreted as an indicator of the transition from polygamous to nuclear families, with all the social and economic connotations this transition might have entailed (Flannery 1972, 2002; but see Banning 1996).

Even more striking than the appearance of rectangular architecture, however, are the homogeneous plans of the Neolithic villages, which, following a variety of architectural forms and local developments, are evident in a huge geographical region that extends from central Anatolia to the southern Levant, and from northern Mesopotamia and southeast Anatolia to Cyprus (Byrd and Banning 1988; Cauvin 1997; Özdoğan and Başgelen 1999; Swiny 2001). The following discussion will review the architectural traditions of some of the key sites in the Neolithic Eastern Mediterranean with specific reference to the relationships between architecture and other material remains. Focus will be on architectural homogeneity and spatial arrangements, which can be observed in the archaeological record and which, when examined in relation to architectural forms, can be found to have had a significant impact on the construction of cultural identities. The aim here is to show that the use of gross classifications based on form alone cannot account for the various processes that take place as a community internalises change.

In central Anatolia there is a strong local architectural tradition, which is different from that of the rest of the Eastern Mediterranean and has its own unique character. Both the sites of Aşikli Höyük and Çatal Höyük – which are the key sites in the area, representing respectively the earliest and later phases of Early Central Anatolian Neolithic – despite differences in other aspects of their material culture, display remarkable homogeneity in their habitation patterns (Gérard and Thissen 2002). The pattern consists of a dense, agglutinative layout, with rectangular structures built on top of one another through centuries of occupation. The consistency in the construction, layout, use, and abandonment of these structures has often been characterised by researchers as demonstrating a specific code of practice, which is related to the importance of lineages and cultural egalitarianism (Matthews 2002).

In the southern Levant, the site of Beidha provides a good example of how a society can change its architectural tradition without dramatically changing its material culture. Beginning with a loose plan both in terms of forms and functions, it grows into a well-organised settlement, where private activities are separated from public activities and domestic spaces from working spaces (Byrd 1994). The site of Beidha falls within the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B interaction sphere and is characterised by three phases of occupation (Byrd 1994; Cauvin 1997, 137).

The first two phases (phases A and B) are characterised by clusters of round huts that, although initially interrelated, gradually assumed a more private character and accommodated a great variety of domestic activities that had previously taken place outdoors (Byrd 1994, 649–652). In the last phase (phase C), the character of the settlement changed again with the appearance of rectangular buildings of a very specific and standardised form (the pier-houses). Activities during this phase seem to have become even more compartmentalised, and reconstructions show that each building appeared to consist of a partly subterranean 'basement' used as a workshop or for storage, with the house above used for living (Banning 1996; Byrd 1994, 656; Byrd and Banning 1988). The presence of non-domestic architecture is evident already in the earliest periods of the settlement (Kirkbride 1968, 96), but during phase C this architecture assumes a more monumental character, in the form of a huge, square, single-roomed building. Non-domestic architecture at this site, as at others, has been interpreted as some kind of a communal regulatory mechanism (Byrd 1994, 650).

The Neolithic site of Çayönü in southeast Anatolia has been culturally defined, along with a number of other sites in the same region, as representing the Pre-Pottery Neolithic period of the Taurus (Braidwood and Braidwood 1982; Cauvin 1997; Özdoğan and Özdoğan 1989; Özdoğan 1995; Özdoğan and Başgelen 1999). The most distinctive characteristic in the architectural tradition of the site is the fact that different but unusually homogeneous architectural forms typify each occupational layer for the period.

According to Asli Özdoğan's (1995, 1999) reconstruction of the site, the settlement of Çayönü is characterised by five occupational layers, with several transitional phases, named according to their distinctive type of architecture: round buildings (huts of wattle and daub), grill buildings, channelled and cobble-paved buildings, cell buildings, and large-room buildings.

In the first (round-building) level, daily activities took place outside and the deceased were buried either between the huts or below the floor. The second (grill-plan) level is characterised by long rectangular structures, which were free-standing and were rebuilt on the same site and with the same orientation as the previous structures. During this phase, all kinds of activities, even flint knapping, took place within the buildings or just in front of them, while open areas were used for the deposition of refuse. There seems to have been a specific abandonment process of structures, evidenced by a layer of small pebbles that appears after every five or six superimposed, consecutive building layers. Here also for the first time is evidence for the construction of non-domestic architecture, 'the flagstone building'.

The sub-phase of the channelled and cobble-paved buildings is not very well-preserved, but structures do change character again, being built on stone walls which form 'channels' at regular intervals. The presence of non-domestic architecture continues, with the 'skull-building', but is now even more elaborate.

The cell-building sub-phase is characterised by free-standing rectangular structures divided into individual chambers of very small dimensions. With the appearance of cell buildings, the settlement pattern changes again. The size of the settlement seems to have been restricted, and open areas between structures reduced. Related to this is probably the construction, for the first time, of a 'plaza', along with yet another non-domestic structure, 'the terrazzo building'. At the end of this sub-phase, the long tradition of intentionally burying the structures after a certain period of their use-life is abandoned and buildings are now in 'continuous use'.

The last phase, that of the large-room buildings, is characterised by heterogeneity in architectural forms. The 'plaza' has become a refuse area and according to the excavator's assessment, the break in homogeneity in this level probably indicated a break in 'common values' and a transition from communal to personal ownership. (Özdoğan 1995, 88; 1999, 53)

It is significant to note that, unlike assessment of architecture alone, the assessment of the artefactual assemblages from the site results in three phases of development, each related to a different cultural tradition. The first phase covers the round-building sub-phase and a major part of the grill-building sub-phase and is related to the PPNA tradition. The second phase covers the last quarter of the grill-building sub-phase and the first half of the cell-building sub-phase and is related to the PPNB tradition. The third phase, which is related to PPNC tradition, covers the second half of the cell-building sub-phase and extends until the end of the large-room sub-phase (Özdoğan 1995). The above assessment depends on artefactual assemblages excluding lithic industry, but subsequent detailed studies on the lithic assemblage, though suggesting more refined divisions in the evolutionary stages, do not significantly change the pattern and the phases of development still do not coincide precisely with the architectural phases (Özdoğan 1999, 42). Consequently, the evidence from Çayönü seems to indicate that:

1. The three main cultural phases of development on the site coincide with behavioural patterns related to depositional and abandonment processes but not related to changes in architecture.
2. Each one of the three cultural phases comprises more than one architectural type.
3. Change in artefact assemblages does not coincide with change in architectural forms.

These patterns suggest that there are good arguments for considering archaeological evidence from a contextual perspective and for examining architecture in relation to artefact assemblages.

Special mention should be made of the site of Khirokitia. Khirokitia flourished on the island of Cyprus during

the 7th millennium BC and its origins have always been considered problematic because apart from its economy (agriculture and herding) it has nothing else in common with the surrounding mainland (see Le Brun, in this volume). This, and the fact that the Khirokitia culture is characterised by structures with circular ground plans of a rather unique and monumental type, suggests a rather special set of circumstances marked by very distinctive characteristics. Despite evidence for a new cultural phase recently discovered on the island (Guilaine *et al.* 1995, 2000; Guilaine and Briois 2001; Peltenburg *et al.* 2000, 2001), which preceded that of the Khirokitia culture and which exhibits links to the mainland, it is still very difficult to understand why the Khirokitia culture persisted in using circular architecture long after its neighbours in the mainland had adopted rectangular architecture. There is something, therefore, which seems to escape current analysis and assessment. If one ignores form and instead focuses on the treatment of the structures and the layout of the settlement at Khirokitia (lime-plastered floors, painted walls, upper floors, set forms of domestic features, and standardised spatial arrangements within and among structures), it becomes clear that the use of space at the site has much more in common with the use of space in rectangular structures on the mainland than with that in circular architecture. This conclusion might or might not support a link between the Khirokitia culture and the mainland, but it draws attention to the fact that form alone might not always be a safe indicator of the real character and role of architecture in society.

What the above review has attempted to show is that architecture has its own pace of development in relation to other aspects of cultural change. Although it is a product of culture, it also forms the environment in which culture is daily performed. As such, it develops its own set of dynamics in relation to cultural change. Moreover, the process by which changes in material culture, behaviour, or ideas materialise into specific architectural forms can differ from site to site and can take completely different routes. This is a difficult process to pinpoint, but it brings one closer to the way cultures operate and interact with each other.

The role of architecture in the construction of cultural identities

Before the appearance of architecture, when the distinction between the built and un-built environment is less clear, landscape constituted the principal sign vehicle for cultural conformity (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994; Wilson 1988). It was in the Neolithic period, with the widespread use of architecture, that for the first time this conformity was related to an artificial environment. This process and the ability to create and change the surrounding environment according to need were very new experiences for human beings. What we witness in the Neolithic record, therefore, is the way that this experience was gradually internalised by communities and crystallised into specific architectural forms. In this respect, the long history of the Neolithic tradition in the Near East constitutes a unique opportunity to study the way people related with and used the built environment and the way variable architectural forms were incorporated into each culture, becoming a part of its communicative code.

Architecture, being a suggestive and mnemonic device of social actions, constitutes a significant component in the construction of cultural identity. Despite the fact that culture as a system of signs is continuously constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed under the impact of multiple processes (Wolf 1984), architectural forms by their very nature resist change and can provide the means of establishing cultural coherence. The highly standardised architectural and behavioural patterns which can be observed in the domestic architecture of the Neolithic Eastern Mediterranean might therefore document the effort of prehistoric societies to resist change and to confirm their cultural identity.

The passage from a Neolithic to an urban way of life could also be related to the passage from collectivist to individualistic societies. As described by Duncan in his discussion about houses as symbols of social status, in collectivist, small scale, 'headless' societies the self and the whole may be inseparable. In these situations residential houses rarely become objects of cultural display (Duncan 1981; see also Turan 1990) because there is no sense of ownership. Architecture in this case seems to be one of the most significant means a society possesses in order to maintain cultural conformity. In individualistic/complex societies, on the other hand, the individual distinguishes him- or herself from the community as a whole and will aim to differentiate at all levels of social life. In this case, standardisation in architectural forms may be used to highlight differences, which may be apparent in public structures and burial practices, or, in some cases manifested in domestic architecture, which can be used to affirm personal status. Cohesion in these communities, that is, conformity to a particular cultural code, is difficult to maintain, and as a result, culture and cultural identity are appropriated through political and social institutions. Seen in the light of the collectivist/individualistic model, the pattern of the homogeneous plans of the Neolithic villages in the Eastern Mediterranean can be interpreted as the means to maintain cultural coherence at a time when cultural identity was still part of a collective psychology and not yet institutionalised (see also Cauvin 1997; Matthews 2002; but see Bar-Yosef 2001; see also discussion in Duru 2002, 175–176).

It is has been said that ideology-making "involves overcoding, an insistent imposition of connotations or metaphors upon denotations" (Eco 1976, 133–135); according to Wolf, it involves "the institutionalisation of codes, channels, messages, senders, audiences, and interpretations" (Wolf 1984, 396). Having in mind these definitions, researchers are always very careful not to

attribute such characteristics to Neolithic sites (Cauvin 1997, 159–164; see discussion in Matthews 2002, 99). It is evident, however, that architectural homogeneity in the above-mentioned Neolithic sites could be easily interpreted as the over-coding of the coherence of a community and therefore as ideology in the making.

Finally, the concept of 'resistance to change', which is usually related to the reluctance of egalitarian groups to accept political hierarchy and social inequality (Peltenburg 1993; Upham 1990), should also be reconsidered and examined in a wider context and in relation to cultural identity. If culture "persists through tradition" (Redfield, cited in Watson 1995, 683), while at the same time being constantly constructed and deconstructed (Wolf 1984) then the assimilation of new distinct cultural and morphological traits may have to do with the degree of a society's coherence and its willingness to receive and absorb new cultural markers. After all, the concept of 'tradition', as we identify it in modern times, is related more to cultural identity than to social inequality, and tradition is nothing other than the institutionalised version of the concept of the 'resistance to change' as we identify it in prehistoric societies.

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4. Becoming Bronze Age: acculturation and enculturation in third millennium BC Cyprus

David Frankel

Abstract

Culture change may be considered at the broader scale of the group and at the finer scale of the individual. Soon after 2500 BC we can identify two contemporary distinct archaeological cultures in Cyprus. These can be regarded as marking separate ethnic groups, one of which maintained older, Chalcolithic traditions, while the other had newer, Bronze Age behaviours. Within two or three centuries there is no longer any material trace of characteristic features of the Chalcolithic. Enculturation of individuals is considered a key element in the general process of technology transfer and acculturation.

Introduction

Within a few centuries the older Chalcolithic way of life in Cyprus was first transformed and later replaced by that of an evolving Early Bronze Age. In this paper I would like to explore the way in which prehistoric Cypriots became 'Bronze Age'. This involves consideration of processes of social reproduction which underlie continuities and discontinuities in cultural traditions. This in turn involves processes at the microanalytical scale of the individual as well as at the macroanalytical scale of the group. The latter is, of course, where archaeology is most comfortable, although the former is the key locale in social action within schemata of social theorists such as Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1979).

Societies replicate themselves through the enculturation of each new generation, using both formal and, especially in non-literate societies, informal modes of learning (Pelissier 1991). It is through observation and everyday practice that social norms, attitudes, modes of behaviour and technologies are absorbed, acted out and transmitted by successive generations. There is a constant interplay between continuity of fundamental structures and minor variations or subtle shifts in attitudes and fashions. This leads to slow, sometimes cumulative, change. At times, however, the rate and scale of change is exceptionally rapid and drastic. Such historically contingent discontinuities require specific explanation. One circumstance involves the impact of foreign neighbours, who provide a source of innovation through processes of acculturation (cf. Bartel 1989, 174).

A classic definition of acculturation "comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural pattern of either or both groups" (Herskovitz 1938, 10; Redfield *et al.* 1936). Archaeologically, this may be most obvious with the adoption of aspects of material culture and technologies. It is, of course, less clear whether these borrowings carry with them the acceptance of other, non-material attitudes, beliefs and modes of behaviour. Following Broom *et al.* (1954), a study of acculturation requires a characterisation of:

> The nature of each of the societies in contact.
> The nature of the contact situation.
> The relationships established upon contact.
> The cultural processes involved.

Although they correctly recognise the difficulties involved in applying their anthropological or sociological approach to archaeological data – difficulties more clearly understood but by no means overcome in the fifty years since their exploratory framework – the analytical programme outlined by Broom *et al.* (1954, 995) can still provide a useful framework for exploring the process of acculturation in prehistory (cf. Farnsworth 1989). Crucial problems, of course, include the very different scales of observation in anthropological and archaeological observation; those inherent in linking static archaeological entities into dynamic historical processes; and an underlying circularity inherent in some aspects of archaeological analysis, where characterisation of assemblages may pre-empt explanation. These should, however, not deter us from attempting to

examine cultural developments of this sort where the archaeological, geographical and historical context is appropriate. The 3rd millennium BC in Cyprus provides one valuable opportunity for investigating these cultural processes as they operated over a relatively short term within a closed, island context. In doing so we must, as always, re-consider our methodology at the same time as we construct the resulting models.

Archaeological context

During the latter half of the 3rd millennium BC profound changes can be seen in the archaeological record in Cyprus. Material culture, technology, economy, and many aspects of daily life at the start of the 3rd millennium were vastly different from those toward the end. Although some of these have been recognised for many years, excavations over the last two decades at Kissonerga *Mosphilia* (hereafter Kissonerga) and Marki *Alonia* (hereafter Marki) provide new evidence for re-assessing the timing, range and source of innovations and patterns of behaviour that distinguish the 'Bronze Age' from the earlier 'Chalcolithic' cultural tradition (Frankel 2000; Frankel *et al.* 1996; Peltenburg 1993, 1996, 1998, 256; Webb and Frankel 1999). Although absolute dating is still inadequate, the evidence from Kissonerga and Marki suggests that there was a considerable degree of overlap between the latest Chalcolithic and the earliest manifestations of the Bronze Age. For some generations, if not centuries, these two archaeological entities co-existed in Cyprus.

Explaining Bronze Age origins

There are two main approaches to explaining the initial introduction of new, Bronze Age, technologies and behaviours, which have major implications for further discussion of processes of acculturation. Each is based on a different way of perceiving the archaeological record and involves very different ways of understanding social interactions and change. In each case the primary characterisation of material carries implications for the mode of explanation.

Knapp and Manning, for example, follow a basic model of social evolution from lesser to greater complexity. They emphasise internal processes of development (Knapp 1993; Manning 1993). Although accepting that many innovations must have an Anatolian origin, they see their introduction to Cyprus as initiated or promoted by an emergent Cypriot elite, adopting foreign elements (e.g. cattle, new forms of pottery) as one mechanism for asserting and maintaining their status. The distinction between the Cypriot Chalcolithic and Bronze Age therefore represents primarily a chronological separation, essentially stages within a continuous, cumulative development. Cypriot society became Bronze Age because of inherent tendencies toward greater social complexity involving the assertion of power and status by individuals coupled with an equally 'natural' adoption of new technologies, including those agricultural practices which characterise the Secondary Products Revolution (Sherratt 1981).

A different way of understanding this archaeological record underlies the basic model that will be followed in this paper. Here the archaeological entities – 'Chalcolithic' and 'Bronze Age' – are not regarded simply as current conveniences, as chronological periods, or stages within an evolutionary path, but represent real, ancient cultural (indeed ethnic) groups (Frankel 2000; Frankel and Webb 1998). Ethnicity in this context is seen to reside in everyday practice (Bourdieu's *habitus*) including particular artefact types, motor skills, style, technology, settlement structure, social interaction, and ritual. The wide array of new behaviours of every type, and at every level, can be explained by the migration of people to Cyprus, bringing a Bronze Age cultural package to the island, initially distinct from the indigenous Chalcolithic communities. This understanding of the material record in terms of ethnicity and migration allows (perhaps forces) further explanations of the ways in which the settler and indigenous societies were transformed, in part through contact with one another. On the one had we can suggest a sequence of exploration, settlement, adaptation and development by Bronze Age settlers (cf. Schwartz 1970). On the other hand we may see the acculturation and eventual assimilation of the indigenous Chalcolithic people (Frankel 2000; Webb and Frankel 1999).

A social and historical narrative

As suggested above, the earliest Bronze Age material – the Philia facies – in Cyprus signals the arrival of settlers from southwestern Anatolia. We have no neat correlation of Cypriot and Anatolian items, but these are more than sufficient generic similarities to identify the general place of origin of the settlers. While Cyprus' rich sources of copper may have been a major incentive for the 'focal' migration (see Anthony 1990), this need not have been the only one, as some settlements were established well away from mineral zones.

We have no evidence of an initial colonisation phase. During this (perhaps relatively short) phase there must have been a rapid divergence in the precise forms and overall array of artefacts from those of the source area. Colonisation required flexibility and adaptability as settlers adjusted to the specific conditions of their new environments. They would have needed, for example, to adjust farming techniques to local patterns of rainfall and soil quality, pottery techniques to the properties of local clays, mining and smelting techniques to Cypriot ores, and patterns of regional interaction to a different geography and scale of settlement and population. This process of adaptation may have been enhanced not only by the needs of survival, but by the unusual demographic structures that perhaps characterised the migrating groups.

The putative phase of exploration and initial settlement was followed by one of consolidation and stabilisation, seen, archaeologically, as the Philia facies of the Cypriot Early Bronze Age (Webb and Frankel 1999). This is recognised as a uniform, homogeneous archaeological entity, with characteristic pottery and other diacritical markers. Its overall unity across much of central and western Cyprus shows that close connections must have been maintained between settlements in different regions. While the distribution of copper may account for some of these relationships, it obviously does not account for all of them (as, for example, those between copper-producing sites).

At the same time, the indigenous Chalcolithic communities began, albeit slowly, to be affected by these new circumstances. Innovations and transformations can be attributed to the gradual intrusion of Bronze Age material, with occasional trinkets or small tools of copper, the adoption of new ways of decorating pottery and the occasional use of items such as spindle whorls. While small items or elements such as these crossed the permeable boundary between the two groups at an earlier stage, Chalcolithic people took longer to modify some other aspects of their basic *habitus* to accommodate new attitudes and technologies introduced by their Philia Bronze Age neighbours. Late Chalcolithic people retained their architectural system, with all that this implies in terms of a different way of ordering space and social interaction, well after other elements were introduced. Only, for example, in the final (Philia) Phase 5 at Kissonerga do we find evidence of newly introduced animal species such as cattle (and by extension, the adoption of new agricultural practices).

However, within a few hundred years of the arrival of Bronze Age migrants, there are no archaeological traces of a separate Chalcolithic way of life. Chalcolithic settlements were abandoned while the more recently established Bronze Age settlements continued in use. A single *habitus* characterises all of Cyprus, and the process of acculturation was complete. While we may describe the general developments in terms such as these, looking at overall patterns of development, it is also necessary to explore the specific mechanisms involved.

Exploring four facets of acculturation

1. Characterising the cultures involved

Characterising archaeological entities confronts major methodological problems, especially in situations where the process of change is of primary interest. Even where we know, as in this case, that neither of the two groups in question were static we need to provide a simple characterisation, which tends to suppress internal variation, especially temporal variation. In a manner somewhat akin to that in sub-atomic physics, we can see the position or nature of a particle, or we can plot its trajectory, but we cannot do both. In order to examine the extent to which, and the ways in which, societies influence one another, it becomes necessary to construct idealised representations of each, seen as entirely independent. In this case we may present a picture of the Middle Chalcolithic – before the advent of any Bronze Age incursion. An idealised Early Bronze Age, seen in its classic form after the period of major change, represents to some extent the end-product of acculturation, assimilation or fusion of the two groups. Some of these idealised differences in technology and material culture between the two traditions in form are summarised in Table 4.1.

Between these two classic characterisations, are the less static, or less easily characterised systems that are the prime focus of attention here, and form the basis for further discussion of circumstance and process. Peltenburg's (1998) analysis of Late Chalcolithic Periods 4a, 4b and 5 at Kissonerga shows a far less clear-cut situation than seen in Fig. 1, with the gradual introduction of new elements. Late Chalcolithic people at Kissonerga adopted new behavioural and cultural elements, at different times and to different degrees during Periods 4a and 4b. It is only in Period 5 that – so far as we can tell – a more complete (Philia) Bronze Age archaeological (behavioural?) system was fully in evidence. The partly contemporary Philia facies of the Early Bronze Age (the earliest known form of the Cypriot Bronze Age) cannot, at present, be seen outside the timeframe of culture contact.

Despite the specific differences between them, the two groups had much in common. Both can be characterised as having relatively small-scale, self-sufficient settlements of agro-pastoralists with a relatively low level of structured hierarchy. There is no necessity for one to be seen as dominant.

2. The circumstances of contact

Initial contact: Before the Bronze Age package was introduced to Cyprus, there is some evidence of connections between Cyprus and Anatolia. These may well represent individual, small scale, casual or occasional contacts during a phase of general exploration and prospecting which may have provided the basic knowledge necessary for a later successful migration. For Middle to Late Chalcolithic Cypriots it also represents a minor awareness of other peoples, and some willingness to take up introduced items.

Intensive contact: Following the larger scale movement of people to the island, contact would have been quite differently based. While the distribution of Philia Bronze Age settlement was probably more restricted than that of Chalcolithic groups, and sites were positioned in different locales, there was no clear-cut regional separation between them. Their proximity would have provided opportunities for developing regular interaction between neighbouring villages in different parts of the island over several generations.

3. The relationships between the two groups

As discussed further below, it might be suggested that

Table 4.1 A summary of differences between the Cypriot Middle Chalcolithic and Prehistoric Bronze Age.

	Middle Chalcolithic	**Early Bronze Age**
Agriculture	Hoe-based agriculture	Plough-based agriculture
	Sheep, goat, pig, deer used for primary products	Cattle, donkeys, sheep, goat, pig, deer, with greater use of their secondary products.
Architecture	Single-roomed circular houses	Multi-roomed rectilinear architecture
	Central hearths	Hearths against side walls
	Limited rebuilding and reuse	Constant renovation and rebuilding
	Mud-wall construction	Mould-made mud-brick
Burial	Common placement of graves within the settlement area	Primarily burial in cemeteries well outside settlements
	Limited quantity of grave-goods	Large quantity of grave-goods
Textiles techniques	No evidence available	Specially made terracotta whorls for low-whorl spindles
		Clay weights for warp-weighted looms
Anthropomorphic representation	Cruciform figurines and figures predominantly associated with child-birth	Abstract 'plank-shaped' female figures, and complex genre scenes showing a wide array of activities
Ceramics	No direct-fire boiling pots	Specifically made cooking pots
	Vessels without handles	Vessels with handles attached by tenons
	Painted decoration	Incised decoration
Metallurgy	No significant use of copper	Wide array of copper tools and other items
Food preparation	No boiling or stewing in pots	Cooking pots for boiling, stewing
Settlement distribution	Concentration on richer, better watered coastal regions	Increased occupation of inland areas of lower rainfall especially in proximity to copper sources
Raw material distribution	Limited distribution of small quantities of prized stone (picrolite)	Significant distribution of copper from source areas
Social organisation	Fluctuating scales of social complexity and hierarchies of power and status	Stable, perhaps relatively egalitarian system

over several generations the scale and extent of interaction increased, especially as their behavioural and economic structures converged. The relationship between the groups cannot, therefore, be simply categorised. Like the societies themselves, their relationships were continually changing, and may well have varied from place to place.

There is no evidence for violent conflict during this period. The small size of the initial settler population together with the very different economic base of the two communities may account for the lack of immediate competition for resources, and for the choice of different locations for settlements. The copper-rich zones around the foothills of the Troodos mountains were irrelevant to a Chalcolithic perception of landscape and its values. In addition, Bronze Age communities could use poorer lands, in areas of lower rainfall, for their cattle and an agricultural system based a broader acreage worked by ox-drawn ploughs rather than the hoe. This was not, therefore, a circumstance in any way parallel to the frontier models of cultural interaction seen in core–periphery analyses which emphasise power differentials between indigenous and settler groups.

The occurrences of copper artefacts in Late Chalcolithic sites may, in some cases at least, have come from Bronze Age people. These then, show the occasional exchange of material goods. The acquisition of picrolite, a fine soft stone used for pendants and ornaments by Chalcolithic people and adopted by settler Bronze Age communities may also indicate a relationship based on the distribution of a valued raw material.

The adoption of other elements by one community from the other, must, however, have required different relationships, especially where these involved the acquisition of complex technology or significantly different material. These will be explored more fully in the next section.

4. The processes of interaction and mutual influence

This aspect of acculturation is the most important, and to some extent subsumes elements of the others. Broom *et al.* (1954, 984–988) suggest a number of recurring sequences of events in acculturation: intercultural transmission (diffusion); cultural creativity; cultural disintegration; and reactive adaptations as well as the more pervasive and significant outcomes, such as fusion and assimilation. From our archaeological perspective we can, of course, only identify those processes with material consequences. This may exaggerate technological above other aspects of acculturation.

Table 4.2 Possible explanatory implications of the transfer or adoption of a variety of cultural elements.

Material adopted	**Possible implications**
Minor trinkets	Casual interaction
Picrolite, copper	More structured exchange
Annular pendants	Cultural borrowing
Ceramic technology Textiles techniques Cooking practices	Movement of women in virilocal marriage pattern
Cattle (and plough)	Interaction / movement of men in uxorilocal
Metallurgy	marriage pattern
Burial customs	Movement of people
Architecture	Overall social transformation

Here the main emphasis will be on the context of learning as a key component in technology transfer and mechanisms. Technologies (as with other aspects of culture) are embedded in a complex web mutually reinforcing beliefs and behaviours. Especially in non-literate societies, knowledge and skills are learned informally, if not casually, by children observing, assisting and carrying out tasks in their everyday context, and absorbing the appropriate ways to do things as part of an overall process of enculturation. Acquisition of new skills therefore requires an appropriate social context, and the close association between expert and novice. This suggests that for new technologies to be adopted it is necessary to have the active participation of skilled practitioners. In other words, intercultural transmission of technology can carry with it the implication of movement of people.

Pottery provides one example of this, where a similar understanding of the movement of people as a primary mechanism for the spread of ceramic technology and aesthetic ideals has previously been suggested in Cypriot archaeology, for both Bronze Age and earlier traditions. It is currently generally accepted that most pottery was locally made, and only rarely were items transported from one part of the island to another. Each potter developed her skill within a social context, which dictated the primary functional shapes, their specific proportions and the final appearance of the vessels. These were achieved through the application of particular complex sets of techniques of manufacture (involving the selection and preparation of clays, techniques of forming, decorating and firing). In each settlement, if not in each household, the techniques of manufacture must have been passed on from one generation of potters to the next by informal learning, through observation and practice. Significant similarities or transfer of new technology from one community to another must therefore be seen as reflecting the movement of potters, bringing with them the skills and styles which they learnt in childhood (see, for example, Barber 1991, 299).

Speculative though it may be, it is also necessary to see this process in terms of gender. This requires some simple, if not simplistically essentialist, assumptions about gender roles and relationships. While these cannot be fully justified, they are not inherently unlikely. For the sake of this argument I will therefore assume, for example, that women were potters, weavers and cooks. Some implications of this are suggested in Table 4.2.

The differential timing of adoption of innovations at Kissonerga – many, although not all – derived from Bronze Age sources, suggests that we can see several stages in an evolving process of interaction and acculturation (Figure 4.1, based on Peltenburg 1998, Figure 14.7).

It is, of course, important to recognise that this diagram gives an appearance of continuous change, which belies the episodic nature of the excavated sequence. What we really have is a series of snapshots, and not a continuous moving picture of the site. It is not clear if, for example, Period 5 represents the local re-occupation of an area of the site temporarily abandoned at the end of Period 4b, or if there was a more severe discontinuity between the two (even to the extent of a replacement of the population as a whole). The latter model may reflect the pattern at other Chalcolithic sites, such as Lemba *Lakkous*, which were not reused in later times. Here, however, a model of continuity, rather than cultural or population discontinuity will be followed.

At different stages in the 'continuous' development different process were at work, including the possibility of the movement of individuals of different cultural background into this settlement. At some times at least we may suggest women, and at other times men, moved, as inter-marriage between Chalcolithic and Bronze Age settlements played its part as a key element of boundary arbitration between these foreign neighbours (Ericson and Meighan 1984, 145; Lightfoot and Martinez 1995, 482). In their new homes they may, themselves, have maintained techniques, and also introduced these to their new neighbours and kin. More significant, however, was the enculturation of their children, exposed to these techniques and ideas as they grew up – adopting and carrying out these practices in a changing social context.

Despite the adoption of some technologies, skills, styles and other cultural practices, other aspects of Chalcolithic behaviour were slower to change. It was not until Kissonerga Period 5 that it is possible to say that the

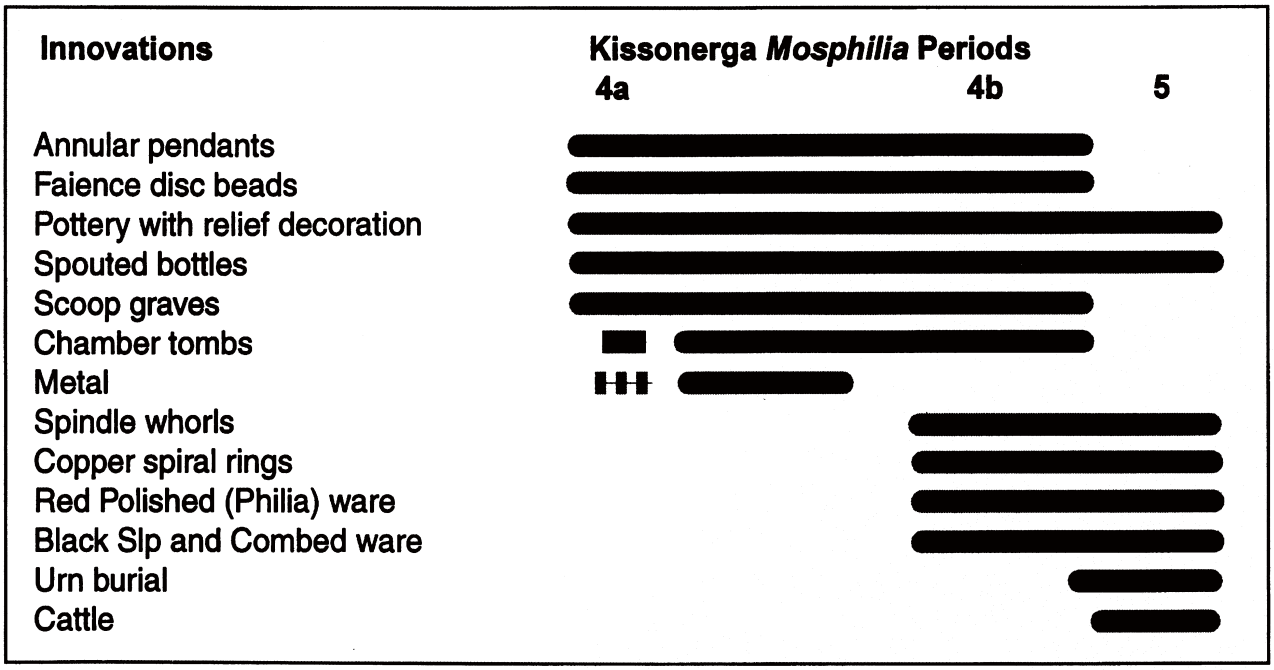


Fig. 4.1 Innovations during the later periods at Kissonerga Mosphilia (after Peltenburg 1998, Fig. 17.7).

community was 'Bronze Age'. Earlier, elements of Bronze Age behaviour were introduced, but organisational changes involving some more fundamental aspects of economic and social life (the latter represented by the different architectural systems seen at other Bronze Age settlements) were not accepted until this later time. Was this at a time when an uxorilocal, as well as a virilocal pattern was adopted, and men as well as women moved between communities? Or was it that the scale of convergent developments reached a critical point where the spread of different concepts and approaches through enculturation allowed the transformation of the more deeply entrenched, more fundamental aspects of social structure and organisation?

In more general terms, this Chalcolithic conservatism may be explained in a number of ways apart from the fundamental tendency of societies toward continuity in the transmission of cultural systems (Shennan 1989). It may be seen symbolically, as a 'deliberate' resistance to change, where older traditional practices were retained as representing core components of an instrumental *habitus*. It may also be considered in terms of some other inhibitions associated with technology transfer.

To some extent the problem of explaining such technological conservatism (the failure to adopt the 'obviously more efficient' cattle/plough agricultural complex) reflects our own pre-occupation with change and efficiency. There is a common tendency to focus on technical solutions with less concern for the way in which they may be embedded in broader social practice and patterns of behaviour, or transformed and re-integrated into different social contexts (Pfaffenberger 1992). Although based on observations at the short (anthropological) scale of analysis, it is clear that it is difficult for people to adopt new technologies, even when they are more efficient in productivity and production than old ones (Laudan 1984; Lemonnier 1993; Rogers 1983). This is especially so where costs of related change in other aspects of society and relationships may be too great. In this particular prehistoric Cypriot case a more drastic restructuring of work-practices and social relationships involved in new agricultural techniques and house-form may be compared with the less significant impact of adopting new techniques of pottery or textile production. Acceptance and adoption of different technological and concomitant behaviour must be seen to take place at different rates and in different ways. There is no simple single line of progression, but a complex of varied processes operating at different rates.

Group and individual

The transmission of technical skills normally includes much of tacit or implicit knowledge learnt from observation and association with expert practitioners, rather than more formal training and explicit instruction. In traditional societies children's informal acquisition of skills is closely bound up with other aspects of social enculturation and transmission of attitudes and behaviour as components of the broader inter-generational processes of social reproduction. Where novel technology is involved the normal, informal opportunities for learning are not available, and a broader community acceptance of innovation may be difficult to obtain. Even then, the process of acculturation at the level of the group must still be understood in terms of the enculturation of individuals.

This is not a question of isolating individuals, for they can rarely, if ever, be identified in prehistoric Cyprus. Although all the material we deal with was made, used and discarded by individual people, we see them only as part of a collective, often a time-transgressive collective of considerable duration. As archaeologists we can more easily isolate emblemic features which we use to characterise types, wares and styles which reflect regional and chronological patterning of similarity and difference. Nevertheless, at the core of these patterns are the processes of cultural learning, transmission and interaction in which individuals were the active participants. Each generation – each individual – had to learn to become a Bronze Age person, socialised into patterns of behaviour and social relationships and trained in many specific technical skills.

Although here the focus in this discussion has been on the mechanisms by which Chalcolithic people 'became Bronze Age' and the way in which individuals were enculturated to 'become Bronze Age', there was, of course, a broader parallel series of transformations and processes operating within the original Bronze Age system. We do not have evidence of the earliest 3rd millennium settlers, and only see them once they had already 'become Bronze Age' and had developed the cohesive, homogeneous Philia cultural system. Although for some time uniform, the Philia facies developed into the regionally diverse later forms of the Bronze Age, which may be identified stylistically if in no other significant ways. Here too, although in a different way, patterns of interaction, of interchange of stylistic and technological attitudes and ideas, were predicted on social relationships between communities and the enculturation of each generation, during the continual process of becoming.

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5. 'Ethnicities', 'ethnonyms' and archaeological labels. Whose ideologies and whose identities?

Susan Sherratt

Abstract

'Ethnicity' is not only a currently fashionable topic of discussion in archaeology, but also one of its traditional concerns, going back to the very beginnings of archaeological inquiry. This, itself, had much to do with the Romantic concern for the roots and origins of European cultures. Ethnic affinity is a subject of particular interest in the Eastern Mediterranean, where archaeology has been called in to adjudicate between various stories concerning the peoples mentioned for instance in the Bible or in Homer. Indeed, archaeology has moved from being simply an illustration of the habits of peoples described in the texts to a primary source of evidence about them. This has come about without any clear criteria for recognising 'ethnic groups', or indeed without much discussion of what these latter might mean in social and cultural terms. The topic therefore illustrates the difficulty of reconciling the rather different characteristics of textual and artefactual evidence, especially where these concern groups who may be considered to be in one way or another ancestral to some of the present-day inhabitants of these regions. The question is pursued in relation to the history of discussion of two well-known groups of antiquity: the Philistines and the Phoenicians.

Archaeology and history

The question of identifying and demonstrating 'ethnic' identities through the archaeological record has long been (and continues to be) a particular preoccupation in the eastern half of the Mediterranean, for reasons which arguably have as much – if not more – to do with the history of archaeology itself as with any contemporary political concerns. In areas such as the Aegean and the East Mediterranean, which in the last few millennia BC lay either in or on the fringes of historical civilisations, much of archaeology's claim to respectability initially centred on its ability either to demonstrate the veracity of the written word or to supplement it. Thus, Aegean prehistoric archaeology owed a large part of at least the more spectacular aspects of its 19th century birth to the quest to prove that remote Greek 'history', as represented by the Homeric epics and other cycles of legends, was based in a concrete reality whose actors and locations could be uncovered in the ground. Similarly (and rather earlier), the archaeology of the Holy Land had its being in the determination to prove the literal truth of the Old and New Testaments – a quest which goes at least as far back as the story of St Helena's supposedly successful search for the remains of the true cross, an archaeological legend not so very different in kind from Heinrich Schliemann's undeniably glamourised account of his own lifelong mission to uncover the ruins of Homer's Troy (Schliemann 1880, 1–66). From the early 19th century onwards the growth of Egyptology and the ability to read Egyptian and, subsequently, other ancient records added a new dimension, particularly to the archaeology of the Levant which now had to be fitted in not only with Biblical history but also with the history of neighbouring areas of the historical Near East.

This kind of historical archaeology, which is inevitably concerned above all with the personalities and events of narrative political history, had to come to terms with the problems of identifying specific places (and, if possible, even specific individuals) usually from nameless walls, tombs, pieces of clay pot, other mundane artefacts, and the occasional anonymous representation, as well as in the face of a wide variety of conflicting views. For this purpose, the main resort was the game of totting up the matching points between archaeological observations and what were perforce believed to be literal documentary or literary accounts. It also had to come to terms with constructing an historical chronology, and, for this, indications of destructions of palaces or cities (sometimes represented by a single building or part of a building) were habitually correlated with invasions or conquests told of, or hinted at, in the literary or documentary sources. In the Levant, in particular, this resulted in what A.

Leonard (1988, 330) has characterised as the 'find-a-Pharaoh' system, the effect of which was that no archaeological evidence of destruction could be left without a recorded historical event to go with it, while conversely there was a perpetual search for archaeological correlates of every conquest or destruction mentioned in the literature or in the ancient records. This kind of historical archaeology also had to come to terms with the archaeological identification of apparently distinct groups of people who figured as such in the traditional literature or contemporary records: Israelites, Philistines, Midianites, Achaeans, Carians, Dorians, Peleset, Shardana, Shekelesh, Tjeker and so on. This was relatively easy when you knew where (and roughly when) they were. By digging them up in the right place and at the right time you had automatically identified them. It became more difficult, however, when (as often) such groups seemed to appear and disappear from the written record at various times. In those cases, they must have come from, or gone to, somewhere else; and, if one wanted to pinpoint whence they came or whither they went, when they did, and the routes they followed, one had to have some regular means of identifying them. The only hope of doing this through archaeology was to assume that they would leave certain distinct material traces, the relics of aspects of material culture inherently peculiar to them over the long term and archaeologically identifiable as such, be it architectural forms, burial customs, forms of religious observance, modes of dress, artistic styles, diet or whatever. Given that the most ubiquitous and imperishable feature of the archaeological record is invariably pottery, what more could one hope than that pottery, with its great potential for variations in fabric treatment, form and decoration, would prove the answer to these problems of group identification? A corollary of this notion – which was both convenient and essential to a direct historical approach to archaeology – was that, following the introduction of the geologically-derived principles of stratigraphy and typological classification in the late 19th century, major chronological changes evident in pottery wares and styles inevitably came to be seen as the replacement of one distinct population group by another, whether or not such replacement had any known literary or documentary correlate. In such fashion, archaeology came into its own through its apparent ability to provide 'history' about which the texts themselves were silent.

Before I go any further, there are two points which I do not wish – and certainly do not need – to elaborate here, since it is unlikely that they will now encounter serious dissent. One is that pots do not equal peoples – or at least not in any simple manner, and certainly not automatically. The other is that the idea of group identity – what, at a relatively macro-level, is often called ethnicity – is not a constant absolute, existing independently from the dawn of time forever, and passed down relentlessly as a passive and largely unconscious genetic inheritance, like the colour of one's eyes or the shape of one's nose. Instead, it is situational and quite conscious, in the sense that it is created and defined in relation to the simultaneous definition of other groups, its edges hardened in proportion to the regularity and closeness of contact as well as in relation to the particular circumstances which give rise to it, and often conditioned by some underlying tension such as economic, social or political competition. If this is the case with group identity itself, then still less passive and unconscious are those aspects of human diversity which groups choose to emphasise as the symbolic rallying points of their identities. For some, on a small scale, it may be the actuality or notion of kinship or social or economic class or status based on income or occupation. For others, at a much larger scale, it may be physical characteristics which have their basis in genetic (what are commonly called racial) traits (black consciousness movements in America, for example); for others (like the historical Greeks) it may be language; for yet others (as with different group identities in the Balkans, for instance) it may be religion; or it may be a combination of several of these. In addition, these primary focuses of identity may be supplemented or reinforced in varying ways and to varying degrees by a wide variety of facets of material culture which create the everyday visibility of this identity, and which become particularly important in situations (such as close proximity in urban conditions) where the need for definition increases: the clothes worn, for instance, the scripts used, the styles of houses lived in, the way the dead are buried, the food eaten and the way in which it is cooked or served. The point is that the degree to which aspects of everyday material culture are involved in this way, as well as the aspects chosen, are dependent on context and circumstances, rather than part of some unchanging and largely unconscious package. No one manifestation of group identity is ever quite like another, since each is defined in different circumstances and according to a different referent. It is also a two-way process, in that group self-definition needs the 'other' against which to define itself, and the creation of 'other' group stereotypes is as much a part of self-definition as the definition of one's own group identity. These stereotypes need, moreover, to combine the potentially contradictory aspects of obvious difference with a degree of recognisable comprehensibility, which will allow 'other' groups an ordered place in one's own group-centred concepts of how the world works. This has particularly important implications for the way, as archaeologists or historians, we approach the question of what are commonly called ethnonyms in ancient records or literary history, the latter additionally often transmitted over many centuries and through changing cultural and politico-economic circumstances.

History and 'ethnicity'

While the idea of group identity in general seems relatively unproblematic, more problematic, I believe, is

the concept and use of the term 'ethnicity', which tends to be applied at a certain, often somewhat vaguely defined (or 'intuitive') level of group identity, both in general and archaeological usage. My uneasiness about it stems partly from this vagueness, partly from the semantic history of the terms 'ethnic' and 'ethnicity', and also partly from the slipperiness with which, when modern archaeologists or anthropologists do attempt to define ethnicity, these definitions slide irretrievably into the essentially political concepts and preoccupations of comparatively recent history. (For a recent discussion of the difficulties of finding an adequate definition of ethnicity, particularly in relation to archaeology, see Jones 1997, especially 56–83, which deals with it mainly from the point of view of the history of debates within anthropology and the social sciences, rather than from a more general historical perspective.)

One may take as a starting point a couple of relatively recent definitions of ethnicity by anthropologists or social scientists. One, which describes it as the condition "wherein certain members of a society in a given social context choose to emphasise as their most meaningful basis of primary extra-familial identity certain assumed cultural, national or somatic traits" (Patterson 1975, 308), seems to me a reasonable (if vague) catch-all definition of group identity in general, but not necessarily of what is normally meant by the term 'ethnicity' in common or usual archaeological parlance. Another, quoted by the Soviet ethnologist T. Dragadze (1980, 162), and taken up and endorsed by C. Renfrew as "a very convenient definition" (Renfrew 1987, 216; cf. Renfrew and Bahn 1991, 169) defines ethnicity as "a firm aggregate of people, historically established on a given territory, possessing in common relatively stable peculiarities of language and culture, and also recognising their unity and difference from other similar formations (self-awareness) and expressing this in a self-appointed name (ethnonym)". This seems to me nearer the mark of what most people (including most archaeologists) mean by 'ethnicity', with its implications of a certain scale, basis and time-scale of identity, and indeed of a strict limit to the number of such groups with which any single individual can, under normal circumstances, identify at any one time. Unlike the definition of the more neutral term 'group identity', however, it is politically charged and, in that sense, far from value-free. It is precisely those inherently political and value-laden connotations of the concept of 'ethnicity' that suggest that, as archaeologists or ancient historians, we should be particularly cautious about how we deploy it in relation to the physical or textual record.

For the last 200 years the idea of 'ethnicity' has been closely entangled with the idea of the nation state, to such an extent that, even if 'ethnicity' is no longer used virtually interchangeably with 'nationality', 'ethnic' identity is still used for the kind of scale and nature of grouping that qualifies under Woodrow Wilson's doctrine of self-determination, propounded with a mixture of genuinely good intentions and political short-sightedness in the wake of the 1914–1918 war. In this sense it is an explicitly political concept, which demands the fiction that we are dealing with something along the lines of Platonic forms – entities which have an independent, stable and more or less permanent existence, requiring only self-recognition and essentially unaffected by the awareness of others. As it is, it is not difficult to see how the idea of 'ethnic' identity as a more or less constant absolute with firm historical and spatial dimensions, and with an accompaniment of unchanging and largely unconscious cultural signatures, arose from the intellectual Romantic soup which accompanied the birth of the European concept of the modern nation state out of the breakdown of earlier kingdoms and empires in the early 19th century. The nation state, with its ideology of one people, ideally united by one language, one state-endorsed religion and one culture, with an inherited right, either by birth or conquest, to a well-defined territorial 'homeland' (for which the question of 'origins' was crucial), needed the legitimation of deep history. Archaeology, originally part of that same Romantic soup, gradually came to supply that history in an increasingly 'scientific' manner, through the convenient notion of neatly classified material assemblages as the tangible remains of distinct genetically, linguistically, culturally and geographically defined early 'peoples', a notion which was further aided by the Romantic idea of the timelessness of (particularly peasant) society and culture. It was helped in this by the very high degree of visible group definition characteristic of certain parts of Europe in the 19th and early 20th centuries, especially in the areas of the moribund and historically heterogeneous Austro-Hungarian and Ottoman empires with their crowded cosmopolitan cities. So pervasive and multifarious was this sense of definition that, in east-central Europe and the Balkans particularly, a great deal of emphasis was concentrated on some of the most immediately visible symbols of all – the 'uniforms' worn by people to mark an infinite multiplicity of religious, linguistic, occupational or other social identities. As late as the 1930s, Patrick Leigh Fermor vividly described the highly developed and complex social language of clothes as he travelled through Hungary and Transylvania:

> Across the Hungarian plain and in Transylvania, the women's clothes had been varying all the time. Each village and valley enjoined a different assembly of colours and styles: … a whole array of details announced whether they were betrothed, brides, married, spinsters or widows … Populations were inclined to remain aloof; but the more they overlapped and mingled … the more striking they looked … Clothes were still emblematic, and not only among peasants: an expert in Rumanian and Hungarian symbols, looking at the passers-by in the market-place – a couple of soldiers, a captain in the Roşiori, an Ursuline prioress, a sister of St Vincent de Paul, a Poor Clare, an Hasidic rabbi, an Armenian deacon, an Orthodox nun, a Uniat



Fig. 5.1 "Hungarian woman in national dress" (Johnston et al. *n.d., 551).*



Fig. 5.2 "A Greek girl of the finer Aryan type" (Johnston et al. *n.d., 525).*

> archimandrite, a Calvinist pastor, an Augustinian canon, a Benedictine, a Minorite friar, a Magyar nobleman, an ostrich-feathered coachman, a shrill-voiced Russian cab-driver, a bear-leading Gypsy with his spoon-carving fellow-tribesmen, a wool-carder, a blacksmith, a drover, a chimney-sweep, a woodman or a waggoner, and above all, women from a dozen villages and ploughmen and shepherds from widely scattered valleys and highlands – would have been able to reel off their provenances as swiftly as a herald glancing along the flags and surcoats of a 14th century battle. (Leigh Fermor 1986, 148–149; quoted with the author's permission)

While this pervasive emphasis on clothes as emblems may have tempted some to believe that 19th–20th century Balkan costumes formed the direct continuations of those which distinguished 'Indo-European groups' in this area several millennia earlier (Barber 1991, 294–298), the truth is that their origins lay at least as much in the policies of 16th–17th century Ottoman rulers who found it convenient to use sumptuary laws to demarcate various subject groups in this highly visible way – for instance, by specifying the shoe colours that the adherents of particular religions were permitted to wear (Jirousek 2000, 225–228). Throughout much of continental Europe in the 19th and early 20th centuries, dress codes as markers of national and aspiring national identity, as well as of a host of other regional or



Fig. 5.3 "A Greek woman of the old Classic type", notable for "the very slight depression at the nasal root" (Johnston et al*. n.d., 523).*



Fig. 5.4 "A Greek lady" (Johnston et al*. n.d., 526).*

social groupings, reached something of a height as new consciously national entities struggled to concoct hierarchies of identity within their boundaries which would satisfactorily weld once-separate regions and classes together into an over-arching whole, and as others strove to be born out of the break-up of old empires. So prominent was this use of dress codes in contemporary European consciousness that dress is the almost exclusive theme used to illustrate *The Living Races of Mankind*, a book intended as a popular account of the customs, habits, pursuits, feasts and ceremonies of the races of mankind throughout the world, published in London in 1900 (Johnston *et al.* 1900). The natives of central and southeast Europe are represented by, among others, a "Hungarian woman in national dress" (Figure 5.1), a "Greek girl of the finer Aryan type" (Figure 5.2), who is apparently distinguished by her dress, as well as by the absence of a "very slight depression at the nasal root", from a "Greek woman of the old Classic type" (Figure 5.3), and a "Greek lady" (Figure 5.4), whose dress is yet again different.

It is interesting, however, that, when it comes to the chapter on England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland, the chief illustrations offered for England are head-and-shoulders portraits of society women, under the rubrics of a "type of English beauty" (Figure 5.5) and an "English girl" (Figure 5.6). Partly this reflects the lack of a role for national or regional costume in English, *sc.* British (cf. Johnston *et al.* 1900, 586–587), national identity, which



Fig. 5.5 "A type of English beauty" (Johnston et al*. n.d., 585).*



Fig. 5.6 "An English girl" (Johnston et al*. n.d., 587).*

had been comparatively well established since the early 18th century. Partly it should also probably be seen as reflecting the subliminal assumptions of the book's authors and readers: "No fancy dress is needed here. That provides the stereotypes by which others are identified". Equally interesting are the illustrations provided, some 70 years later, by *The Living Races of Mankind's* latter-day counterpart, *Atlas of Man* (Gaisford 1978), which show how much the nature of such stereotypes has changed. Conceived in the spirit of post-1960s internationalism (though apparently pre-feminism), it sets out to "provide an understanding of the family of man … how they control their environment and how individual peoples fit into the pattern of human life". In place of the physical features, clothing, ornaments, food, dwellings, weapons, habits, customs and modes of thought and mental characteristics of the races and their subdivisions that are given prominence in the previous book (Johnston *et al.* 1900, i), we are here presented with details of each society's main characteristics, its size, and its social and economic circumstances. The nature of the illustrations, in which the emphasis is overwhelmingly economic or political, fully reflect this. Bulgarian society, for instance, is represented by a Sofia street scene dominated by army conscripts on their Sunday off (Gaisford 1978, 101); Greek society by a rural shepherd and his wife, who is making a bag of the traditional sort, versions of which were sold by the thousands to tourists in the late 1960s and 1970s (Figure 5.7); Czechoslovak society by the interior of a large beer hall (Gaisford 1978, 98–99). Though the themes have changed, these images, chosen with 'typicality' in mind, are just as much stereotypes, and reveal much about the ways in which we create and propagate our images of other groups from the vantage point of changing views of the bases of our own relative group identities within a wider world.

'Ethnicity' and the 'other'

This brings me neatly to another, in some ways contradictory, element in the series of complex strands which have undoubtedly contributed at some level, along with the relatively recent preoccupations surrounding the emergence of the nation state, to our difficulties with the concept of 'ethnicity' in both modern and archaeological contexts, despite the well-meaning attempts of anthropologists and social scientists to define it objectively in neutral, value-free terms. The semantic history of the Greek words 'ethnos' and 'ethnikos' and their direct derivatives reveals the kinds of earlier contexts in which



Fig. 5.7 Villagers in Thessaly, Greece (Gaisford 1978, 108–109).

successive Greek and later European notions of 'ethnic' definition and distinction were formed, and brings out the gradual crystallisation of the essentially political principle of 'otherness' which still informs much of their modern usage.

We first meet the word 'ethnos' and its plural 'ethnea' in Homeric epic, where it simply means 'a large number', 'a swarm', 'a herd', 'a crowd' or 'a rabble' and is applied as much to insects, birds and animals as to undifferentiated masses of human beings. It is used for swarms of insects or men (Iliad ii.87,91,469), flocks of birds (Iliad ii.459; xv.691), herds of swine (Odyssey xiv.73), piles of dead bodies (Odyssey x.526; xi.34,632), massed hordes of soldiers (Iliad xi.723; xii.330; xv.552) or packs of warrior-companions (Iliad iii.32; vii.115; xi.594; xiii.165,533; xvii.581,680). It is thus not even particularly anthropocentric in concept, and indeed the nature of the references suggests that its primary application may well have been to the animal world, and only secondarily (and metaphorically) to humans. It is not until the 5th century BC and later that we meet the word 'ethnos' in something that we might recognise as more akin to modern use. Herodotus, for instance, uses it of various Thracian and Macedonian tribes, of groups of people living to the north of the Black Sea (including the cannibal Anthropophagoi), of the Arcadians, Cynurians and Achaeans who inhabit the Peloponnese, and of the various contingents of the Greek force which faced the Persians at Plataea as well as of certain (generally unspecified) components of the Persian army (IV 17–18; VI 43; VII 81; VII 110; VIII 73; IX 25); and, indeed, it is this aspect of its use in Classical literature (where it is often translated as 'tribe' or 'nation') which seems to have been picked up in the 18th–19th centuries when it undoubtedly played an important part in helping to formulate contemporary concepts of ethnicity (see Simpson and Weiner 1989, 424). However, closer inspection reveals that it is used relatively infrequently in this sense, and is applied haphazardly and inconsistently to groups of people in a manner that seems both general and interchangeable with a range of other collective words. This suggests that is not used in any very technical or specific sense in such contexts, but rather that it still retains much of its simple primary sense of a loosely organised 'crowd' or 'mass'. Moreover, insofar as any element of political description is implied, there seems to be a suggestion of something regarded as comparatively primitive. A contrast is often drawn between 'ethnos' and 'polis' (city), implying an absence of the sophisticated organisation and 'civilised' life which characterises Aristotle's ideal form of political structure (Aristotle, Politics 1326b, cf. 1284a, 1261a; also Herodotus V 2; VII 8; VIII 108). Elsewhere, the intent seems selectively disparaging: for example, 'Mēdikon ethnos' as a collective term for the anarchic Medes united under Deioces (Herodotus I 101), or reference to the quisling groups of East Greek Persian-collaborators as "the Medising ethnea of the Greeks" (IX 106). When used by Greeks to refer to other Greeks it also often includes explicit contrast, sometimes with derogatory connotations: for example by Plato of Thessalian serfs (Laws 776d), or by Athenians of the athletic clubs of non-Athenians (Inscriptiones Graecae II.1, 444 a, 13). At the same time, it is also used for more tightly defined groupings based on sex or occupation, in a way that we might translate as class or caste, sometimes too in an explicitly or implicitly disparaging context. It is used, for instance, by Plato of the 'craftsman class' ('dēmiourgikon ethnos') (Gorgias 455b) and the 'guild of heralds' (Politicus 290b), by Xenophon of the 'idle class of rhapsodes' ('ethnos ēlithiōteron rhapsōdōn') and the female or male sex (Symposium III 6; Oeconomicus VII 26). From the Hellenistic period on, it is used increasingly to refer to non-Greek foreigners, and when the adjective 'ethnikos' makes its belated appearance in the same period one of its most common applications is specifically to non-Greeks. Later, it is the word used in Greek for the Roman provinces, and in the Septuagint and the Greek New Testament for non-Jews – the word which via a specialised sense of its Latin translation gives us 'gentiles'. By

extension of this, its most common usage in the early Christian era was for non-Christians, in other words the 'heathen' [itself sometimes suggested to be an early Germanic derivative of 'ethnos' (Frisk 1960, 448–449)]. This general sense continued, in the English language at least, well into the Early Modern period, in the use of 'ethnic' specifically to denote peoples who were neither Jews nor Christians and of 'ethnicity' as an occasional synonym for pagan superstition (Simpson and Weiner 1989, 423–425). It persists today in many of its more colloquial and journalistic uses, as in terms like 'ethnic minorities' ('the foreigners among us') or the equally revealing phrase 'ethnic and other disadvantaged groups' (Cohen 1985, 60), and in the popular use of 'ethnic' to describe items of clothing or musical sounds of self-consciously exotic (particularly Third World) origin, or handmade craft goods sold in charity shops. Reviewing this additional, still robust and much longer-term strand of their history, one can only wonder how the words 'ethnic' and 'ethnicity' have managed in the last decade or two to escape consignment to some politically incorrect rubbish bin.

Archaeological labels

To return to the later 19th century, one effect of the kind of cultural historical approach which led to the classification of archaeological 'cultures' (usually heavily dominated by ceramic wares and styles) and their identification in terms of 'peoples' or 'proto-peoples' is that these 'cultures' – whether or not matched with group names found in ancient records or literature – have tended to take on a life of their own, arguably far removed from any imaginable ancient reality. Take the terms 'Mycenaean' and 'Minoan', for instance. The former was coined, from the site of Mycenae, originally to describe the kinds of pottery and other material cultural remains found by Schliemann at Mycenae, and was rapidly elevated into a widespread 'civilisation' covering most of the area of historical Greece (Schuchhardt 1891, 315; cf. Leaf 1891 xxix–xxx). The term 'Minoan' was introduced by Arthur Evans, for his own rather complex ideological reasons, for the Bronze Age culture (and inhabitants) of Crete. Since then, we have blithely gone on talking about Minoans (in Crete) and Mycenaeans (elsewhere in the Aegean area, where we speak in terms of them 'colonising' outwards from their Peloponnesian 'homeland' in the later 2nd millennium) without ever really stopping to think what on earth we mean by these labels. We have no idea what any of these people called themselves, apart from the fact that they quite certainly did not call themselves 'Mycenaeans' (except possibly in the case of the inhabitants of Mycenae itself) or 'Minoans'. More important than that, we have no idea how people that we conveniently lump under these terms, because they use similar decorated pottery and (to a lesser extent) similar varieties of burials, actually related to each other. Did all the 2nd millennium inhabitants of Crete or mainland Greece respectively each think of themselves under the umbrella of some distinct and overarching identity of the sort represented by historical panhellenism, whose much later 1st millennium genesis we can actually trace? Was each of these 'groups', from top to bottom of its social strata and throughout the geographical area to which it has been assigned (sometimes contentiously) by archaeologists, characterised and defined by the use of a single, separate language? On the face of it, it seems inherently unlikely. At the very least we have to admit that, on both counts, we have absolutely no idea. Yet we continue to talk, unthinkingly, in terms of Minoan/Mycenaean oppositions, mesmerised by the two classificatory blocks, which archaeologists themselves have created. The subliminal effect of these block labels has played a not altogether helpful part in the long-running saga of attempts to identify and pin down the Ahhiyawa of the Hittite documents, tempting many to go a long way beyond the limited information that may legitimately be extracted from the Hittite records themselves and to forget that what we are actually concerned with is what late 2nd millennium Hattusas meant by Ahhiyawa, regardless of whether or not this corresponded to what anyone else might have meant by it, or indeed whether it even recognised its own existence (cf. Manning 1992, 137–138 esp. n.96). To argue (e.g. Cline 1994, 69) that it seems reasonable to equate an important Late Bronze Age culture (Mycenaean) with an important textually-attested state without archaeological remains (Ahhiyawa), and that it is logical that the latter should refer to the Mycenaean homeland (whatever that is supposed to be), seems to me to be to succumb to just this sort of subliminal effect.

I want to end by briefly presenting two case studies, each of a quite different sort, which touch on the questions raised by ancient group names, archaeological labels and the creation of 'ethnic' identities in the original Greek and Greek-derived sense of the word. One, concerning the Philistines, is an essentially archaeological tale, and illustrates the difficulties that a literal approach to archaeological labels associated with a culture-historical paradigm can sometimes get us into, particularly when it involves accommodating an interpretative inheritance (including a literal reading of historical texts) accumulated over at least a century. The other, concerning the Phoenicians, is a literary story, and traces the history of 'ethnic' definition of the 'other' as part and parcel of group self-definition. As such, it is intended as an illustration of why we should hesitate before taking the testimony of literary traditions or ancient documents too much at face value, without first subjecting them to their own contextual source criticism.

The Philistines – an archaeological story

I begin with the Philistines, whom we know from the Bible most memorably as the inhabitants of the Pentapolis

of Gaza, Ashkelon, Ashdod, Ekron and Gath at the time of Joshua and the Judges (Joshua 13.3; Judges 3.3), and as more or less constantly in conflict with the Children of Israel from then until the reign of David (Samuel 21.15–22). An early step, in the mid-19th century, was to identify these with Ramses III's Peleset – first mentioned at Medinet Habu among the enemies defeated by his forces in year 8 of his reign (Dothan and Dothan 1992, 23), and which were found listed later on the Harris Papyrus as possibly subsequently employed by Ramses, along with Shardana, Weshesh, Denyen and Tjeker – as mercenary garrison forces (Sandars 1978, 133, 165). This itself was embedded in a nexus of late 19th century legends which created the 'Sea Peoples' out of a mass displacement of Aegean refugees into the East Mediterranean, itself the consequence of a mass southward movement of blue-eyed European blondes out of the Balkans (Breasted 1935; Maspero 1896; Myres 1930; Petrie 1890, 276; 311–318; cf. Silberman 1998, 270). The Egyptian records and 19th century Classical legends between them thus seemed not only to provide a precise date for the initial appearance of Peleset (and therefore Philistines) on the East Mediterranean scene, but also to give a reason for their arrival in the right historical area. However, they also entailed conveniently ignoring or dismissing a Biblical difficulty, since, although a couple of extremely obscure references in Jeremiah (47.4) and Amos (9.7) associated the Philistines with Caphtor (confidently identified by many with Crete: Evans 1909, 78; but contrast Genesis 10.14; 1 Chronicles 1.12, where Philistim and Caphtorim are quite clearly distinguished, the former associated rather with Casluhim), the compilers of the Pentateuch, at least, appeared to have had no problem with the idea of Philistines living in this general area well before the exodus (Genesis 21.32–34; 26.8–18; Exodus 13.17). Nor was there any hint whatsoever in the Biblical tradition of them having been newcomers to the area at the time of the Judges. In this instance at least, a combination of Egyptian texts and Classics, with their subsidiary archaeologies, had begun to take precedence over the Bible as the primary 'scientific' sources for Levantine 'history'.

Excavations at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries at Tell al-Safi (believed to be the site of Gath) and Gezer, revealed a distinctive type of bichrome pottery whose relative chronology and apparently Aegean-related forms suggested that it was perfectly reasonable to label 'Philistine', since it was found in the right area and at arguably the right time to coincide with the aftermath of Ramses' year 8 and with the Israelites' first hostile encounters with them (Albright 1954, 114; Macalister 1913, 121–122; Thiersch 1908, 378–382). The fact that Philistine pottery subsequently turned up associated with an Egyptian residency in Petrie's excavations at Tell al Far'ah (Petrie 1930) seemed, moreover, to give credence to the reading of the Harris Papyrus (Albright 1975, 509–511; cf. Dothan and Dothan 1992, 65–70). So far, so good. What was called Philistine pottery had a reasonable claim to being used and made by those that the Bible called Philistines (at least in the period of Joshua and the Judges) and those that Egyptian rulers called Peleset. To the extent that anyone was worried about where the pottery of the Shardana, Weshesh, Denyen and Tjeker might be or what it might look like, this was neatly sidestepped, in the absence of archaeological identification, by subsuming these under the Philistines, either as tribes or intimate allies of them (cf. Evans 1909, 79).

All was well until the end of the 1960s, when Stratum XIII at Ashdod, immediately below the levels characterised by Philistine bichrome pottery, turned up a monochrome ware which proved to be locally made and was virtually indistinguishable in style from what Porphyrios Dikaios was calling 'Mycenaean IIIC:1b' on Cyprus, and associating with the arrival there of Mycenaean (Achaean) settlers – refugees from contemporary destructions in their homeland – who destroyed and then rebuilt the site of Enkomi sometime around the turn of the 12th century (Dikaios 1969; Asaro and Perlman 1973, 223–224; Dothan 1971). Here was a new and rather curious dilemma. Although prevailing orthodoxy maintained an intimate connection between the 'Mycenaean IIIC:1b' pottery of Cyprus and Philistine settlement in Palestine, it also held that the Philistines, on moving on from Cyprus to their final home, translated their pottery into Philistine pottery (Albright 1954, 115). This was not Philistine pottery, so could it really be associated with the arrival of Philistines, somewhat earlier than originally thought (too early, indeed, according to Dikaios's dating, for the events of Ramses III's year 8) and using something other than Philistine pottery? Was it evidence, in fact, for the arrival of two successive and distinct groups of people of whom only the second were the Peleset/Philistines? (Dothan 1982, 293–295; cf. Kling 1989, 53). It took some time, and a fair amount of debate, to decide that the easiest way of coping with this was to fudge the existing chronological problems, associate the monochrome pottery with the arrival of Philistines in Ramses' year 8 and conclude that they only started making Philistine pottery sometime after their arrival in the Pentapolis region (Mazar 1985; Singer 1985; cf. Kling 1989, 54). However, not only did this necessitate partially breaking the coterminous boundaries between Philistines and what by now was irrevocably established as Philistine pottery, but it also failed to tackle the question of the increasing appearance of undeniably similar monochrome pottery in coastal areas considerably further north, in which there was no question of the historical settlement of Philistines (Bounni 1991; Kling 1989, 54; Sherratt and Crouwel 1987, 340–346).

Meanwhile, there were new problems closer to home, since, not only was there none of this monochrome 'Mycenaean IIIC:1b' pottery at Tell al Far'ah, but exploration of other Egyptian garrisons in or very much closer to the Pentapolis region revealed a comparable absence of monochrome pottery, and in some cases a

disturbing shortage of bichrome pottery as well (cf. Finkelstein 1995, 218–219). This posed a problem. If Ramses III really had used Philistines to man his Canaanite garrisons, why was there no sign of them here? And if he had not, and the Philistines had actually arrived in the Pentapolis region as hostile invaders who progressively drove the Egyptians out (Bietak 1993; Stager 1995, 341–342), then the traditional reading of the Harris Papyrus had to be seen as a *post hoc* face-saving device, which allowed Ramses III the posthumous claim of having actively settled them in the region. In that case, one might wonder how much credence to put in Egyptian records altogether (cf. Finkelstein 1995, 220). Archaeology was now beginning to take precedence over even contemporary historical texts as the primary source of political 'history'.

As the problem of the Egyptian garrisons rumbled on, and was exacerbated by mounting indications that strongholds in or close to the Philistine area had continued in Egyptian hands well down into the 20th dynasty, two possible approaches to dealing with this emerged. On the one hand, one camp continued to maintain that the Harris Papyrus had been misinterpreted or had economised with the truth, that there were no Philistines in the Egyptian garrisons, and that of course there was no Philistine pottery because the inhabitants of the garrisons did not and could not use a ceramic style which was part of the defining culture of the Philistines (e.g. Stager 1995, 342–343). Another camp, represented most vociferously by Israel Finkelstein, refusing to believe that mass-produced wheel-made pots were of such specific cultural or ideological importance that they could be so tidily correlated with consciously exclusive use by distinct groups of people, particularly over the kind of short distances involved, preferred – and continues to prefer – to see it as a matter of chronology (Finkelstein 1995; 1998). Since no Philistine monochrome appears in garrisons which can be shown, by Egyptian dating material, to have continued in use until after the reign of Ramses III (and possibly even later), then the solution is to postpone the appearance of this pottery to a substantially later date. The effect of this, of course (quite apart from what it does to the chronology of the entire eastern half of the Mediterranean), is that it completely breaks the link with Ramses' year 8 and means that, whoever they are, it is no longer possible to associate the makers of these pots with the Medinet Habu Peleset – or indeed with any of the other apparently distinct groups in the Egyptian records purporting to relate to the events of that year. It also gives us a stark choice: either we believe in the Peleset/Philistine equation, which supposedly gives us an account, through official Egyptian eyes, of the date and historical circumstances of their appearance in the area, or we believe that we can identify the presence and arrival of the Philistines through a certain type of pottery. We cannot, at least under Finkelstein's scheme, have both.

I am conscious that I have greatly oversimplified and probably somewhat caricatured the complicated ins and outs of this archaeological story, but I have tried to tell it as it appears to a relatively detached observer interested in tracking the underlying logic of its development. (For a much fuller account which brings out the complexity of later 19th and earlier 20th century disputes, and the wide-sweeping inventiveness of some of the early historical reconstructions, see Sharon 2001.) One thing that emerges quite clearly is that, at the point we have now reached, it seems increasingly difficult to reconcile literal application of either the Egyptian texts or Biblical literature (still less of both together) with literal application of the principle that we can recognise distinct groups of people by the pots they use. It might be easier if the Egyptian texts (or the Bible, for that matter) contained any suggestion that the Peleset/Philistines were ever distinguished or distinguishable by their specific ceramic proclivities. However, they do not – and yet, if there is one thing that can probably be relied on, it is that those responsible for creating both would have characterised them in terms of what seemed to them to be their most typical and visible distinguishing features, just as the creators of *The Living Races of Mankind* and the *Atlas of Man* did. As it is, the absence of mention of clay pots from ancient documents and literature as a whole (apart from utilitarian containers and metaphors based on potters) makes it clear that pottery in general was quite simply not important or valuable enough – except in a narrow economic sense – to bear this kind of ideological load, any more than plastic buckets or styrofoam cups are today (cf. e.g. Proverbs 26.23). Moreover, since so-called Philistine monochrome ('Mycenaean IIIC:1b') pottery, virtually identical to that at Pentapolis sites, and equally Cypriot in appearance (but apparently also locally made), is now turning up at an increasing number of coastal sites well north of the Pentapolis region and as far up as Syria and Cilicia, we have the serious question of the sense in which it can be seen as an innate characteristic of any distinct group or groups of people. Attempts to explain it in terms of the arrival of other groups mentioned in the Egyptian records, such as the Shardana or the Tjeker (Dothan 1989; cf. Stern 1994, 87–98), merely run up against a problem of the logic inherent in the belief that one can identify such groups by means of pottery at all. If pottery is so central to the self-identification of these apparently already quite distinct groups (with distinct names) that we can use it as proof of their arrival in the East Mediterranean, why on earth is it all so similar? And why does it all relate so closely (but with a generally more limited repertoire) to pottery produced in Cyprus? Moving even further beyond the somewhat limited horizons of Philistine archaeology, we are faced with the analogous phenomena of locally produced versions of Aegean-type pottery in places as far apart as Troy and southern Italy, in the former from the 14th century (or perhaps even earlier) and the latter from no later than the early 13th century (Blegen, Caskey and Rawson 1953, 14, 16, 38; Mountjoy 1997; Vagnetti

1999). In terms of analogous interpretations, these would imply a truly massive diaspora of Aegean invaders or mass migrants (complete with an incredible ratio of potters) over a considerably prolonged period. This is Aegeo- (and ceramo-) centricism run wild.

I shall leave that particular story there, even though I believe that we can find approaches which integrate the Egyptian and Biblical texts more satisfactorily with the archaeology, while at the same time ditching our century-old obsession with pottery as a reliable indicator of ethnic groups in the sense in which this was understood in the late 19th century. Instead, I turn now to a rather more purely literary story: the double genesis of Phoenicians and Greeks.

Greeks and Phoenicians – a literary tale

It is well known that the name 'Phoenician' is an entirely Greek invention, which we first meet clearly in the Homeric epics which emerged, in more or less their extant form, sometime around 700 BC. The people that the historical Greeks called Phoenicians did not call themselves Phoenicians, and very probably did not identify themselves collectively at all. They identified themselves as the inhabitants of individual cities – of Sidon, Tyre, Arvad etc. – which is how the Bible predominantly sees them. Although the word po-ni-ki-jo (phoinikios) appears on the Linear B tablets of the later 2nd millennium, there is no reason to believe that it ever refers to people, or even any certainty that it has any particular geographical reference (cf. Ventris and Chadwick 1973, 136). This means that, whether or not the earlier word is related etymologically, the first use of Phoenician as a group designation probably dates to somewhere between 1200 and 700 BC.

In some respects we get a relatively clear picture of the people called Phoenicians in the Iliad and Odyssey. We see them as maritime trampers, away from home for a year or more at a time, carrying what are described as 'athurmata' (a word best translated as 'trinkets' – through, as befits its generally heroic nature, those carried in epic are of a comparatively exalted kind) (Odyssey xv.415–470). On arrival in one place, they sell their goods and then hang around until they have amassed a new cargo to take on and sell somewhere else. They are also not averse to the odd bit of kidnapping, theft and murder. We hear of them operating in the East Mediterranean, on the Levantine coast as well as in the Nile delta and as far west as Libya (Odyssey xiv.285–300); also on Crete (where it is quite easy to pick up a Phoenician ship when one needs one), up the west coast of the Peloponnese, and in the north Aegean (Odyssey xiii.272–285; xiv.300–301; Iliad xxiii.744–745).

In other respects, however, the picture seems contradictory. In some passages, they are clearly regarded as the same as Sidonians (Odyssey xiii.273–286; xv.417–425); in other passages, they are clearly differentiated from them (Odyssey iv.83–84; Iliad xxiii.743–744). Attitudes to them, particularly in the Odyssey, also seem contradictory. While the Phoenicians who seduce the baby Eumaios' Phoenician nurse and successfully bribe her to help them kidnap him are portrayed as a thoroughly unpleasant lot (Odyssey xv.415–484), in other instances (particularly through the eyes of Odysseus disguised as a Cretan) they are seen as admirable ('agauos', Odyssey xiii.272), at times well-meaning and honest (Odyssey xiii.277, 283–284), and – even if not entirely to be trusted – useful and profitable to know (cf. Sherratt 1996, 91). It also seems that these Phoenicians are among those singled out as 'allothrooi' – that is, speaking some other, non-Greek language (or rather 'making other unintelligible noises', since 'allothroos' has virtually the same meaning as the Greek word 'barbarian', with almost identical connotations of a language-based distinction between Greeks and everyone else (Sherratt 1996, 90 with n.8).

One thing seems clear, and that is that the Greek invention of their own idiosyncratic name 'Phoenician', like their earlier, 2nd millennium invention of the name 'Cypriot' (cf. e.g. Palaima 1991, 280–281, 290–295), almost certainly means that they first encountered these people primarily and probably exclusively in Aegean waters, which helps to cast further doubt on the belief that the earliest Greek Iron Age encounters with the east were brought about by enterprising Euboeans or others forging a trail to the East Mediterranean (Papadopoulos 1997) – a belief originally, at least partly, based on the general shortage of Phoenician pottery in the Aegean (Boardman 1982, 758). Furthermore, the contradictions in the Homeric epics suggest that what we have is a composite picture of Phoenicians, incorporating different Greek perceptions of, and attitudes to, the characters so designated, which accumulated in popular consciousness over a fairly long period and which were determined as much by their own developing view of their own collective identity as by any objective reality in the East Mediterranean. Their characterisation in the Iliad (xxiii.741–745) as the carriers and traders of Sidonian craft goods suggests that, at one end of the chronological spectrum, the name was probably first applied on the basis of the maritime activities of easterners in Aegean waters, rather than any real or precise knowledge of (or interest in) where these people might have come from or who precisely they regarded themselves as being, and it could as well have applied to any East Mediterranean mariners as to those whom they later recognised as Phoenicians (Baurain 1986, 26–27). At the same time, the complete absence of any mention of Tyre or Tyrians (unlike Sidonians) is puzzling, and suggests that at some point – probably quite early in its use – the name 'Phoenicians' may have come to be applied chiefly to these. If so, it is likely to have been at the point when Tyrian maritime activity began to take off in the Aegean – probably from around the end of the 10th century, when by far the majority of the earliest Euboean metallic-looking drinking cups brought back to the East

Mediterranean by eastern maritime traders appear to head straight for Tyre (Coldstream and Bikai 1988), and are matched by eastern bric-a-brac of a decidedly trinkety nature deposited in the most self-consciously elite graves at Lefkandi and other Aegean sites (Popham 1987; Popham, Sackett and Themelis 1980).

The identification of Phoenicians with Sidonians seems to me to suggest a still later stage, probably in the later 8th century, when the name was beginning to take on the meaning that it has in later Greek literature: that is, a single undifferentiated Phoenician 'people', inhabiting a considerable chunk of the coastal Levant (cf. Herodotus I 105; III 91; VII 89). Even more interesting, and probably part of the same process, is the introduction of the fictional concept of a territorial entity of Phoenicia as a discrete homeland for these Phoenicians, which appears a couple of times in the Odyssey (iv.83; xiv.291). It is particularly significant in view of the role of the epics, as they emerged in their Homeric form towards the end of the 8th century, in helping to shape the nascent ideology of early pan-hellenism, an ideology which appears more fully-fledged in the works of Hesiod and can also be detected in a number of aspects of the archaeological record in the later part of the century (Nagy 1979, 1–11; Snodgrass 1971, 416–436). The central focus of this ideology was the definition of a single Hellenic people united by a single Hellenic language and occupying a single Hellas, all of which can already be detected, in explicit or more implicit symbolic form, in the Homeric epics (Sherratt 1996, 92). Since there is good reason to believe that this panhellenic identity was created and defined in direct relation to a Phoenician 'other', and born, ultimately, out of increasing commercial and political competition between Greeks and easterners both in the Aegean and the central Mediterranean, particularly in the second half of the 8th century (Sherratt 1994, 81–82; 1996, 93–94; Sherratt and Sherratt 1998, 333–336; Winter 1995), the simultaneous creation of a territorially based pan-Phoenicianism could be argued to form a necessary symmetrical counterpart in the definition of a territorially based panhellenism.

'Ethnonyms' and archaeological labels – whose 'ethnicities'?

The moral of this second story (if I can put it that way) is that we have to read textually-derived 'ethnonyms' or group names through the eyes of the people who created the texts and set against the context or successive contexts in which these texts were created, with the purposes behind their creation firmly in mind. If we were to take the Phoenicians of Homeric epic at face value, as evidence for some sort of objective geo-political or 'ethnic' reality, or of Phoenician self-identity, we would soon founder on an accumulation of internal and external contradictions and inconsistencies. We would have difficulties even if we were to assume that the attitudes to these Phoenicians, which emerge from the epics, represented a single unchanging perception, either over an extended period or at a single point in time. As it is, we cannot even be certain that they are talking about the same concept of Phoenicians, let alone the same group of people, in every passage in which they are mentioned. Phoenicians in Homer are in part an entirely Greek creation, created in the process of defining Greek identity; the rest is a series of perceptions formed by encounters primarily in Aegean (and later central Mediterranean) waters, and determined not so much by the territory these 'Phoenicians' came from, but by the activities they were perceived to be engaged in.

The moral of the first story is something similar, at least as regards how we approach both the Peleset of the Egyptian texts and the Philistines of the Bible. Both have to be seen through the particular eyes of the creators (or successive creators) of these texts, and read against the contexts in which they were created, before we can start (as I believe we can and should do) to consider both textual and archaeological material together. In the first story, however, we also have another moral. We should be equally circumspect in the way we use the labels assigned by ourselves as archaeologists to material cultural remains such as pottery, with their subliminal powers to transmogrify themselves into distinct, coherent and essentially fixed groups of people who can be thought of as moving around like chequers on a board. We should also be aware of the nature and history of the particular concepts of 'ethnicity' that we are attempting to incorporate into our interpretations, and perhaps even question whether 'ethnicity' – as opposed to the less politically charged 'group identity' – is an appropriate term to use at all. Neither texts nor the remains uncovered by archaeologists are ever going to be simple to interpret. Both need their own forms of contextual source criticism, as do the successive interpretations of archaeologists and ancient historians which have contributed to our present cumulative 'knowledge'. In approaching the complex – and to some extent contradictory – strands which contribute to the slipperiness of what we mean by the word 'ethnicity' through slippery 'ethnonyms' and equally slippery archaeological labels, we should perhaps ask ourselves whose identities and whose ideologies we are looking for, and whose we are finding in the classifications of material remains we are lifting from the ground.

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6. A question of reception

Jacke Phillips

Abstract

Consideration is given to two aspects of receptivity to cross-cultural transmission between ancient cultures. Firstly, factors in modern scholarly proposal and acceptance of such transmissions and examination of some long-'recognised' but incorrect or highly doubtful 'transmissions'. Secondly, some possible factors in the acceptance – and rejection – of the limited range of foreign ideas, types and images to which the recipient culture was exposed and variations in the indigenous development of those transmissions which they did assimilate.

Introduction

Cross-cultural transmission and assimilation – whether direct copying ('imitation'), adoption, adaptation, incorporation, interpretation, or even imposition of an external trait beyond its normal cultural sphere – is dependent on several major factors. The most directly relevant are the nature of the material or iconographic image being transmitted, the actual means of its transmission, and the receptivity to its transmission by the recipient culture itself. A wide range of transmissions and assimilations resulted from cross-cultural contact throughout the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East during the Bronze Age. Many have been the subject of considerable scholarly discussion and investigation chiefly considering the first two factors and their impact(s) – the 'what', 'when', 'how', 'where' and even 'who' of these transmissions. Attention has been rarely given to the 'why' and, even more rarely, to the 'why not'.

What was already in place within the recipient culture that provided a forum for the transmission and assimilation of this foreign material from one culture to another? Why are certain 'things' absorbed wholeheartedly, some only partially, and others entirely rejected? The recipient culture must have been exposed to far more potential influences than it actually embraced. Whether or not similar iconography or manifestation retains similar associations for the donor and recipient culture and whether or not it is fully understood, re-interpreted or even 'mis'-interpreted by the latter, the transmitted or assimilated trait must have filled, in however small a way, a previously existing need within the recipient culture – or at least some segment(s) of it – for the permeation process to have begun at all. This paper presents some preliminary thoughts on continuing research, discussing first the need to reflect on our own scholarly criteria for accepting what constitutes ancient transmission and assimilation, before investigating some examples of ancient receptivity to foreign influence in the archaeological record.

My research into these questions has focused on Egyptian cultural material on Minoan Crete, and so discussion here employs case studies taken from this sphere. As both Cyprus and the Levant (the main foci of this conference) are median cultures and also receivers of both Egyptian and Aegean cultural transmission, the situations described also are relevant (although not necessarily parallel) for them. It is accepted that, although Egyptian influence on the Levant in its wider sense goes back to Predynastic times, Cypriot reception or other interaction with Egypt is virtually non-existent prior to the late Middle Bronze Age. This parallels the situation on Crete relative to the Greek mainland: Egyptian imports on Crete are found in context as early as Early Minoan IIA (roughly 2800/2650–2500/2350 BC), but on the Greek mainland not until many centuries later, near the end of the Middle Helladic period (*c*.2100–1600 BC).

The underlying need behind any transmission and assimilation of foreign cultural influence may have been conscious or unconscious and the process direct or indirect, or even result in parallel but unrelated indigenous developments. Reasons for this need can range from the esoteric to the practical. The material may appear (almost) simultaneously in both cultures or be found in the recipient culture long after it had developed in its original homeland, and need not even be characteristic of the donor culture at the time (e.g. Phillips 1998). A good modern

example of the latter is the fluctuating 'Egyptomania' and Classical Revival influences (amongst others) in our own art and architecture over the past few centuries. Transmission and assimilation of cultural traits (whether material, ideological or functional) from donor to recipient must be considered on an individual basis in order to build a comprehensive picture of the situation(s) involved, as different traits may (and often do) reflect entirely different underlying situations.

'Misinterpretation' implies misunderstanding, and presumes that the recipient culture intended (but failed) to interpret the original intention of the assimilated trait. It is far more likely that not all its aspects within the donor culture were necessary, and only those aspects perceived or understood as relevant to those within the recipient culture actually were assimilated, and these to varying degrees of 'correctness'. The old truism that, 'if we can't explain it, it must be religious', whilst to a certain extent a professional joke, does take into account the point that much recovered material is imbued with inherent meaning understandable only within the culture and circumstances that produced it originally. It then continued to develop over time with varying degrees of added or reduced interpretation (or eventual 'mis'-interpretation) of its original inference(s) within that culture, as well as by any recipient culture(s) that also may have appropriated the material to whatever degree. Some of these inherent meanings we can comprehend, others we only *think* we can, but what we *do* think develops as much out of our own time and circumstance as our research into theirs. It is *our* reception of the material at hand, as much as theirs that we need to consider in order to gain a more realistic picture of the circumstances involved.

Our reception of transmission

During the formative years of Minoan (and other Aegean) archaeology and with no other reliable method of obtaining absolute dates for their material and stratigraphy, the artefacts and images viewed as 'imported' or 'imitative' were seized upon and elevated beyond their true intrinsic cultural importance as the best means of providing a chronological framework for Crete (and the Aegean) relative to the wider world, and especially to Egypt. This attitude and methodology was understandable at the time, as the Egyptian civilisation was the most chronologically sensitive and firmly grounded, and any connection served to integrate the Aegean material into a relative chronological framework that was historically based. Flinders Petrie (1891), for example, found considerable Egyptian cultural influence in the Mycenaean tombs and their funeral furniture on the Greek mainland, and Sir Arthur Evans (1925), some 35 years later, still saw Egyptian parallels and prototypes for much of his material at Knossos and elsewhere. Other eminent contemporary (and later) archaeologists, working both in Egypt and in the Aegean, also saw direct substantial Egyptian relations with Crete. Some of their initial attributions and associations have continued to filter down into even the most recent literature in a circle of reinforcing entrenched pseudo-relationships although, to be fair, many of their ideas and connections were reasonably correct.

However, as individual features of early Minoan culture were studied more closely and its character more definitively recognised, it became clear to later generations of increasingly critical scholars able to harness the results of new research and investigations, that many 'imports' were in fact indigenous and many 'influences' superficial or erroneous. Over the years, the supposed Egyptian 'imports' and prototypes for certain individual early architectural features, burial *tholoi*, figurines, weaponry, ceramic forms and decoration, amulets, seals, stone vessels and technological innovations have been shown to be indigenous or to originate from elsewhere than Egypt. This progress continues and, whilst we may now ponder why some of the early 'connections' originally had been made, we have not yet rid ourselves of questionable 'influences' and we still need to continue stepping back even further to view the ever more complex picture in its entirety. Increasingly, also, questions beyond the mere chronological have begun to be asked which, when and if answered, will provide further insights (and yet more questions) into other aspects of the theme of this conference.

Several years ago, in a brilliant summation of investigations up to that time, Peter Warren (1995, 12–13) included a list with short discussion of four basic scenaria for transmission of cultural material. These may conveniently be labelled 'trade', 'gift exchange', 'ideology' and 'personal memorabilia'. A fifth, 'war booty', recently also has been raised by Olga Krzyszkowka (1999). These scenaria merge and overlap, they are not mutually exclusive, nor are they chronologically sequential. Each implicitly infers a different basic range of circumstances for reception of the material transmitted, yet even within these categories a wide variety of different receptions can be postulated, again dependent on the evidence for, and the observed results of, transmission in the archaeological record. Furthermore as much is indicated by what is *not* assimilated as by what *is* assimilated. Research has, however, tended to emphasise the visible minority of transmitted material, ignoring the 'invisible' majority that was available for assimilation but was not transmitted into the potentially recipient culture. The minority should be viewed in relation to this majority.

A wide range of potential scenaria for acceptance can be (and have been) inferred from the incomplete archaeological record that has survived. These must be seen as points along a sliding scale, not as 'boxes' within which we can limit our options. Our first consideration in attempting to trace or comprehend any transmission we perceive between cultures should be our own perspective and scholarly assumptions. Is it really a transmission, and

not two separate and independent developments? The onus should rest on evidence for, rather than assumption of, transmission and reception. If there is sufficient evidence for, or reasonable assumption of, a local development without external influence, then presumption of local development should take precedence over the suggestion of possible foreign inspiration. We can assume the former, but must demonstrate the latter before asserting its primacy.

Without a real understanding of the intangible, without (and often even with) direct written evidence for the outlook and comprehension of the recipient culture, we still can do little more than speculate, unless the archaeological record is sufficiently precise to give us a real insight. Louise Steel's (1998) detailed analysis of specific Mycenaean vessel types assimilated into Late Cypriot funerary ritual and Judith Weingarten's (1991) laudable investigation into the origins of the Minoan 'genius' figure are cases in point, and there are other less concentrated studies. The trick is to work backwards from the known to the unknown, looking at both positive and negative evidence for any insight, and giving equal emphasis to both cultures concerned. (This last rarely is evident in publication, as the author inevitably has a greater expertise in one culture than the other, although sometimes colleagues are consulted on specific points in the discussion.) To this must be added some logical but unproveable speculation and the balance of probabilities before drawing any conclusions. Additionally, each image or artefact type must be considered independently of all others, and transmission (and reception) should not be assumed in any one case simply because it appears superficially similar or visually related.

Egyptian material influence on Crete actually is quite negligible, limited only to a certain small range of recognisably derived iconography (e.g. the crouching ape and standing hippopotamus deity images) and artefact types (e.g. scarab seals and a certain limited number of stone vessel forms) for which there is no evidence of indigenous Minoan origin. Most of this transmitted range of material, as we understand it, also is of limited importance in Egypt itself at the time of its transmission, and it is noticeable that the culturally important and definitively 'Egyptian' symbols were not transferred to Crete (although some were transferred to the Levant, which was physically conquered and administered by Egypt at various points in its history, and their origin in Egypt is demonstrable). We do not find in the Minoan repertoire such absolutely Egyptian images as the wadjet eye, the ankh sign, the uraeus cobra, the djed pillar or the smiting king, to name but a few examples. Nor, in fact, do we find virtually every amuletic symbol known in Egypt (Andrews 1994 gives an indication of the wide range of types). Some of those Minoan images that we still generally accept as having an Egyptian origin in fact do not, as can be demonstrated by basic observation of the archaeological record in both cultures.

Let me illustrate with a few examples. In some cases, transmission is a chronological impossibility, despite visual impressions and entrenched scholarly assumption. The Egyptian stone vessel generally called a *gravidenflasche* is limited in date to mid-Dynasty XVIII (probably within the reigns of Thutmose III–Amenhotep III, *c*.1479–1350 BC), and its ceramic 'cousin' the *muttermilchkrüglein* dates only to these reigns (Bourriau 1987; Brunner-Traut 1969–1970; 1970; 1970–1971). These stone *gravidenflaschen* are consistently cited as the direct inspiration for an indigenous Proto-Palatial Minoan figurine and appliqués in generally similar pose (Detournay, Poursat and Vandenabeele 1980, no. 170; Levi 1976–1981, I.2, Pl. LXIX, a, b, d, e). One *gravidenflasche* was actually found on Crete, but without context (Evans 1921–1935, II.1, Fig. 150; Warren 1969, Type 43:J) and this seems to have given credence to its direction from, and supposed origin in, Egypt. These perceived 'derivations', however, are limited in date to MM II (roughly 1800–1675/1650 BC), *at least* two centuries earlier than the Egyptian *gravidenflaschen*. There are no Egyptian parallels contemporary with the Minoan figurine and appliqués, nor are vessel appliqués found in late Middle Kingdom Egypt that is contemporary with the Minoan figures. Apart from the obvious chronological disparity, differences in material, scale, treatment, presentation and even function are profound. The Minoan image fits comfortably within the general development and repertoire of Middle Minoan figural art, with some evidence for earlier prototypes, although the image itself does not appear Minoan and does not survive beyond Middle Minoan II. The specifics of why this particular image emerged on Crete are unknown, but undoubtedly they lie within Minoan culture itself. The possibility of an Egypt-to-Crete transmission should not even be considered, but this 'pseudo-fact' continues to be reiterated even in the most recent Aegeanist literature (e.g. Kanta 1998, 35).

Even when chronologically possible, other factors should be considered before assuming transmission from a foreign source, especially the question of whether an indigenous origin need be dismissed as a viable option. Keith Branigan (1970) some thirty years ago, and as usual ahead of his time, investigated the long-accepted relationship of Minoan and Egyptian 'foot-amulets', and demonstrated that they had no connection or common origin, despite long-perceived basic similarities in material, depicted body part, ideological concept, and presentation. They are, in fact, quite different in all these respects.

Let us consider an image still accepted as of Egyptian origin. The seated cat figure first appeared on Crete in the Proto-Palatial period, again as clay figurines and vessel appliqués (Phillips 1995). Here, general scholarly assumption (correctly) assigns this image as originating in Egypt where, indeed, much earlier figures exist. The seated cat hieroglyph sign is known as early as the Old

Kingdom and then in a limited range of Middle Kingdom artefact types, before gaining real popularity in the New Kingdom long after its appearance on Crete. However, the assumption that it therefore must have been transmitted *from* Egypt *to* Crete should be treated with extreme caution.

Differences in material, treatment, presentation and function between the generally contemporary Middle Kingdom and Middle Minoan images again are profound. Specific details in the pose and presentation of the earliest known Minoan cat images, at Malia and Monastiraki, are virtually unknown in Egypt where the type *in general* has multiple examples and a lengthy history. The only direct typological parallel to the Minoan image is dated to (probably early) Dynasty XIII (D'Auria, Lacovara and Roehrig 1988, no. 59), either contemporary with or slightly later than the Minoan figures. It is far more likely, although not fully demonstrable, that this figure again is an indigenous development on Crete as part of the general popularity of figural art in the Middle Minoan period, and is another example of parallel but independent developments of a visually similar image. There is no evidence against an independent indigenous origin for the image on Crete.

Most recently, in a move that should be encouraged and repeated more often, the collaborative expertise and in-depth analysis of Egyptologist Stephen Quirke and Aegeanist Lesley Fitton (1997) has demonstrated that the spiral design on seals could only have been transferred from the Aegean to Egypt, rather than the reverse. It appears, on chronological grounds, first in the Aegean and only later in Egypt, contrary to general assumption. Such an investigation and conclusion could not have been made without a balance of expertise in both cultural spheres. It is only through such a balance that the intricacies of detail beyond the superficial (now accessible through detailed examination and specialised expertise) can be investigated. Superficial visual comparison simply is no longer sufficient, and serves only to cloud the issue.

Their reception of transmission

What happens when transmission *is* demonstrable, or at least the more likely option? The permutations, and the results, vary widely. In the formative Pre- and early Proto-Palatial stage other images and object types appeared, which demonstrably must have come from Egypt or at least originated in that culture, and were mostly transmitted late in the Old Kingdom to early Middle Kingdom, which was *not* a period of stable dynastic politics.

In fact, most of the indigenous Minoan images and objects deriving from Egyptian sources appear at this time. Only a few appear subsequently in what might be called a 'second wave' of influence, interestingly enough during the Second Intermediate Period (late Dynasty XIII-XVII, *c*.1717–1540/1523 BC) of Egyptian history, which was also a time of political instability. Each transmission was accepted and developed independently of the others on Crete. At the same time, there is a veritable host of other culturally definitive Egyptian objects and images, which *were* transmitted into the Levantine repertoire and so, presumably, also available to Crete, but which made no impact whatsoever on the island. Why not? The obvious answer is that these potentially transmittable features and traits held no interest for the Minoans, and so they were ignored.

Can we begin to comprehend the reasons underlying cultural transmission and (more importantly) acceptance of a single object type or iconographical image in Bronze Age Crete? Our evidence is limited only to the surviving material record but, following some indirect lines of enquiry, it is possible to suggest some possible (but unproveable) and logical underlying reasons why some particular features were assimilated. Again, they must be considered on an individual basis to gain some insights. Even when two types may have been assimilated for similar reasons, each nonetheless appears to have developed independently on the island.

Two Early Minoan stone vessel forms are cited by Warren (1969, Types 28 and 30.D) as 'imitations' of Egyptian vessel types, and are found in contexts as early as Early Minoan IIA, the earliest period for which Aegypto-Minoan contact can be demonstrated by imported finds on Crete and when Minoan stone vessel manufacture began. Earlier development of both forms is well traced in Egypt, but have no predecessors on Crete, where the elaborations seen on these vessel types are also atypical of the other earliest indigenous stone vessels (Warren 1969, Types 23A, 31A, 33A, B and F, 37A). Imported Egyptian examples of only one of these forms are found on Crete, the nearly cylindrical vessel with both rim and base everted.

The other, a shouldered jar form, has a variety of Egyptian prototypes, to judge from different specific features on the Minoan vessels, although all have a flat base and the high shoulder with a more restricted rim that characterise the type as Warren's 'miniature amphora'. A few other imported Egyptian stone vessels also are known but have no indigenous derivations on Crete at this time, just these two. The vast majority of the indigenous derivations are found in burials, the same type of context as those in Egypt itself. Is this coincidence, or a telling statement of cultural transmission of associated ideas as well as forms? In this case it is probably not the latter, as burials are by far the most common context type excavated in both cultures for this period, and the Minoans buried their dead in communal tombs and the Egyptians, in contrast, individually.

But, on the other hand, *why* would these, and only these, two stone vessel forms be assimilated into the burgeoning Minoan vessel repertoire at this early date, when Minoan stone vase manufacture had only just begun? A foreign inspiration has never been suggested for any other early Minoan stone vessel form, so the fact

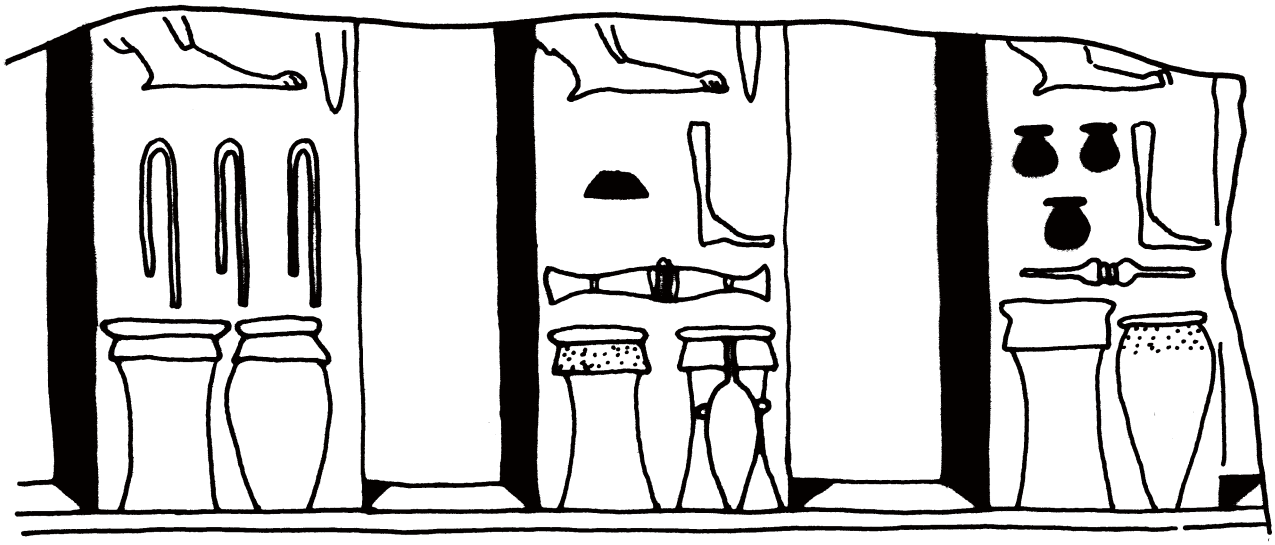


*Fig. 6.1 Detail from the tomb of Hesi-re (*c.*2672–2653 BC), showing pairs of incense containers for three of the seven oils depicted for his 'oil magazine'. Note all but one of the containers are sealed (author, after Quibell 1913, Pl. XXI, no scale given).*

that these have been assimilated is important. The details of both are too distinctive *not* to have some connection with the Egyptian forms, but distinctive differences also can be cited. Both Egyptian vessel types could accommodate and often were provided with lids, but the accompanying lid is ignored on Crete, even though indigenous lids of different form were already being produced and used on at least one other vessel type, the *pyxis* (Warren 1969, Types 33B and F), as early as Early Minoan IIA. The 'miniature amphora' often was provided with two or more lug handles or incised surface decoration, neither of which the Egyptian original possessed. These then are not direct copies (although some are fairly close), but from the beginning have been altered to fit Minoan requirements and were influenced by contemporary Minoan forms. The Minoans clearly adapted these vessels for their own purposes, or at least to fit within their own aesthetics.

Unfortunately, our knowledge of early Cretan funerary customs, and the communal nature of the tombs themselves, allow us only to speculate on the possibilities, although the Minoan derivations themselves *might* provide some insight into their appropriation. The Egyptian vessels are oil and unguent container forms related to the 'seven sacred oils' set; they are often found together, such as the oil 'magazine' in the early Dynasty III tomb of Hesi-re (reign of Djoser, *c.*2672–2653 BC) (Figure 6.1; see also Quibbell 1913, Pl. X; Schoske 1990, 12, Fig. 9).

Perhaps the Minoan vessels either were intended to represent, or actually contained a small quantity of, a funerary oil or unguent, either for the use of the dead or deposited by the living during the funeral rites. If so, whether the Minoans were following, or even were aware of, the Egyptian practice of pouring a small quantity of different oils during the funerary ritual is highly questionable and probably impossible to answer. Their derivative forms might even indicate importation of this commodity, or at least were intended to imply this to the mourners or in the Afterlife. It should be emphasised that these Minoan 'derivations' are very uncommon: the most populous context contained only two miniature amphorae and two cylinder jars amongst an estimated two hundred burials in Tholos A at Haghia Triadha. Most are found as a single example in their communal tomb, in use for centuries.

Both forms appear only in miniature, less than 6cm in height, and the earliest dateable examples seem to be only token 'dummy' vessels with small cavities, fashioned specifically for the tomb. This is a situation common in Egypt, although large-scale vessels also are found in quantity there. Use of the cylindrical vessel form essentially died out on Crete by the Middle Minoan IB period (roughly 1900–1800 BC), when communal burial practice had declined in popularity, even though the Egyptian form continued, and continued to develop, in Egypt even well into the New Kingdom. For unknown reasons, the Minoans had no more use for it, and no Minoan vessel form presents itself as its replacement except, perhaps, Warren's Type 20A ("jar with incurved or flaring sides, tumbler with height about equal to diameter"), which developed in Early Minoan III (roughly 2300/2250–2100/2000 BC) and apparently continued beyond Middle Minoan IB.

The 'miniature amphora' form further developed separately on Crete, it seems, into what can only be called a 'miniature pithos' with multiple handles, 'rope' decoration and a probable ritual function, as it is found in Middle Minoan II and later cultic contexts, but *not* in

tombs of this date range (Poursat 1966, Figs 41, 45; Warren 1969, Type 28 [Malia]). Development from funerary to cultic use is plausible, considering their implied function as oil/unguent containers. It *is* all speculation, but there must have been some specific reason for the Minoans to limit their choice to assimilate only these two forms, out of the multitude produced in Egypt – and, it might be added, the other early East Mediterranean cultures (except the Cycladic islands) with which they were in contact.

The ubiquitous Egyptian scarab seal appears as an import on Crete much later in the Pre-Palatial period, but again is found only in communal tomb contexts at this time. Whilst indigenous stamp seals in a wide variety of shapes including zoomorphic figures are known on Crete at least from Early Minoan IIA, imported scarabs appear much later, not before sometime in Middle Minoan IA (roughly 2100/2050–1950/1900 BC), after its introduction in Egypt during in the later First Intermediate Period (*c*.2136–2023 BC) (Quirke and Fitton 1997, 434. The earliest dateable imports in context are *CMS* II.1, no. 180, 201, 204, Figure 6.2a; Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, Figs 328 lower, 751 lower right.). The earliest derivative Minoan scarabs do not seem to appear in context before sometime in Middle Minoan IA (*CMS* II.1 no. 332, Figure 6.2b, 402). Thus the scarab seal was adopted by the Minoans into an already existing repertoire of zoomorphic seals, at a time when zoomorphic shapes enjoyed increasing popularity and variation on Crete, and its appearance therefore fits quite comfortably into indigenous iconographic development. Why was the *scarab* seal form adopted into the Minoan repertoire? Mere exposure to the Egyptian scarab seal is an insufficient explanation, as very few of the potentially available transmissions actually were assimilated. Other zoomorphic (and even non-zoomorphic) seal shapes are known in First Intermediate Period Egypt, when stamp seal typology was in its formative stages and the next most popular shape was the frog, but none of these other shapes are found as Minoan seals, only the scarab.

One possible factor may have been its shape. The scarab appears at a time when Minoan seal forms in general develop from tall relatively narrow forms to short and wide. The scarab is an ideal short, flattish shape, unlike other Egyptian seal types. This logical development allows for less object bulk together with a larger surface on which to carve the face design, and also may have been the reason why the scarab became the most common form in Egypt. This may also have had something to do with transport and general breakage problems on Crete as well as Egypt. Unlike other Egyptian seal forms, the scarab is little if at all undercut. There are few possible breakage points, a consideration when the material is soft and can therefore be damaged easily. Pre-Palatial scarabs are in 'white piece' material, a heated steatite. The frog, on the other hand, is wedge-shaped and awkward to grip and the head, undercut below the neck, could easily break off.

Another possible consideration is likely to have been the iconography. Apart from the obvious potential prestige value of a 'foreign' symbolism or imported exotic object, perhaps the adoption of the scarab beetle was a manifestation of a religious significance for the beetle on Crete. Costis Davaras (1988) some years ago postulated a tentative but plausible ideological connection between Proto-Palatial beetle votive figurines and original Egyptian connotations of the scarab beetle. This is supported by the subsequent indigenous development of the scarab seal on Crete independent of Egyptian developments, which was not discussed by Davaras.

At least in Eastern Crete, during the Proto-Palatial and later periods and possibly earlier, appliqués, *rhyta* and especially figurines in beetle form are found as votives in peak sanctuaries and sacred enclosures. The scarab beetle (*Scarabaeus sacer*), however, was *not* the focus of this cultic role; this role was taken by the indigenous Cretan horned beetle (*Copris hispanus*), as is evidenced by the prominent horn on the votives. The Minoans in fact appear to have differentiated very carefully between the *hispanus* and the Egyptian *sacer* in the Proto-Palatial period. Minoan scarab seals are never horned, following the imported seals. Nonetheless, there may have been some underlying amuletic reason for the initial adoption of the scarab seal on Crete that later was made manifest in the votive figures.

Some Proto-Palatial scarabs found in Eastern Crete, but without defined context, are wider at the back and taper in towards the head (*CMS* II.2, no. 84, Figure 6.2c; *CMS* XII, no. 75; also see *CMS* VIII, no. 27; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1958 no. 184 ['Crete']; Dimopoulou 2000, Fig. 1.6). Although lacking the horn, this shape mirrors the *hispanus* beetle and its Proto-Palatial votives, but is distinctly not the characteristic elliptical ovoid of the Egyptian *sacer* and earlier Minoan scarab seals. The string hole of each is also unusual, being through the width. Thus, whilst the seal has been influenced by the indigenous cult insect in eastern Crete, it nonetheless continues to be distinguished from it (see Figure 6.2).

Imported scarabs in later periods rarely are found in context but they, and an extremely limited selection of other semi-amuletic forms, can illustrate a few other possible scenaria for acceptance (Phillips 1992). A few scarabs, like that worn by the man(?) interred in an Late Minoan IIIA2 grave (no. 99) at Zaphor Papoura (*c*.1350–1300 BC), were individual elements of reconstructable necklaces incorporating beads in a variety of forms and expensive materials in apparently random order. The probability is that their components and even their arrangement had some meaning to the dead man or his mourners (Evans 1905, Pl. XC/Fig. 101). Any inherent meaning is lost to us, but it may have been specifically amuletic (in the case of the scarab, perhaps related to a lingering respect for the *copris* at this much later date) or simply a convenient collection of wealth. The apparently casually informal stringing of this necklace stands in

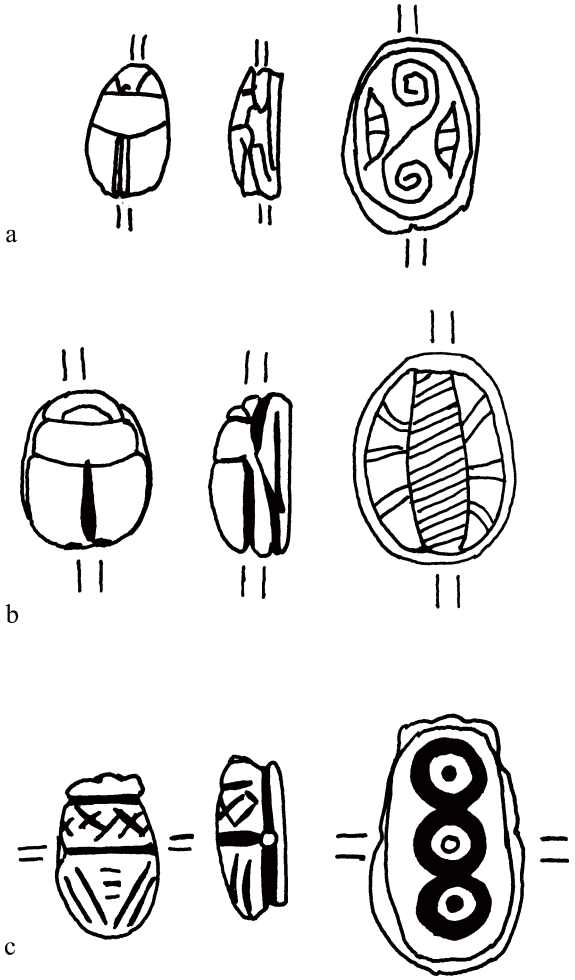


Fig. 6.2 Scarabs: a) CMS *II.1:#204, Egyptian, late First Intermediate Period–Dynasty XI, from Lebena Tholos IIA, upper (MM IA) layer, length 12 mm; b)* CMS *II.1:#332, Minoan, MM IA, from Platanos Tholos B, EM III-MM IB/ IIA(-?), length 14.5 mm; c)* CMS *II.2:#84, Minoan, MM IB-III, from Malia, surface find, length: 15.4 mm (author).*

contrast to the vast majority of formal arrangements, both found *in situ* and reconstructable (e.g. Sakellarakis and Sapouna-Sakellaraki 1997, 616, Figs 642, 643, 645, 646, 648, 650, 655–658, 660–665) and depicted being worn in the frescoes (e.g. Hood 1978, Fig. 57; Immerwahr 1990, Fig. 26, Pl. XX).

To end on a lighter note, let us consider another basic circumstance for the acceptance of a foreign idea, or at least we may interpret the result this way. This is acceptance as the result of verbal transmission. Such a circumstance could probably be suggested for a fair number of 'one-off' products, and it is surprising just how many of these there are in the archaeological record. Whilst such a claim is difficult, if not impossible, to prove, for me it is the most logical explanation for one particular fresco fragment detail.

The fragment is not from Crete but Akrotiri on the island of Thera (Figure 6.3; see also Doumas 1992, 186, no. 147), but is quite Minoan in its details. It depicts at least two squatting ape figures in front of a very Minoan-style shrine or altar, complete with its characteristic 'horns of consecration' above. The ape figure is another assimilation from Egypt but by Late Minoan IA, the date of this fresco, it has been fully integrated into Minoan culture and its artistic repertoire, and is not the point of citing this fresco here. Notice the pillar supporting the roof, which tapers in (not out as Minoan columns) towards the top, its capital being two blossoming papyrus plants (compare with Doumas 1992, 36–37). Every time I see this particular image I can almost hear a seaman/trader relating tales of his travels to his friend the artist, describing what he had seen in the far-away land of Egypt, with its marshy delta and wide river full of water-plants, and its cities with their large mud-brick palaces and huge stone temples, their roofs supported by pillars having papyriform capitals – and then the artist developing the image formed in his mind when he painted this fresco.

There are many potential reasons for the acceptance of a foreign feature into a recipient culture. People, even in ancient times, are individuals within their own culture, each having a different range of perspectives within the limitations of their cultural boundaries and occasionally beyond. This is a point we often fail to remember, or at least fail to consider, in the midst of modern research and scholarship, which, of necessity, must emphasise a general blanket perspective. Not everyone was exposed to foreign influence first-hand, in fact the percentage of any given population in any given ancient culture who were exposed at all was extremely limited. The 'Egyptianising' stone vessels may have been the conceit of a very few individuals (or their families) who had some exposure to Egypt and this may have been the case with those who owned (or were interred with) the earliest derivative scarab seals. We ourselves are limited by our own research parameters and background, and we *are* the few who expose ourselves beyond the superficial to the ancient culture(s) we study. We are the descendants of the fresco painter, hearing second-hand from a source able to convey only the barest minimum veneer of the reality of where he had been. The pictures we paint of ancient cultures are often wildly divergent, using the very same limited evidence, because we project ourselves as much as we do our evidence into our interpretation. We must take into account the individuality of both feature *and* person, including ourselves, as well as the collective when considering the problem that is the theme of this conference.

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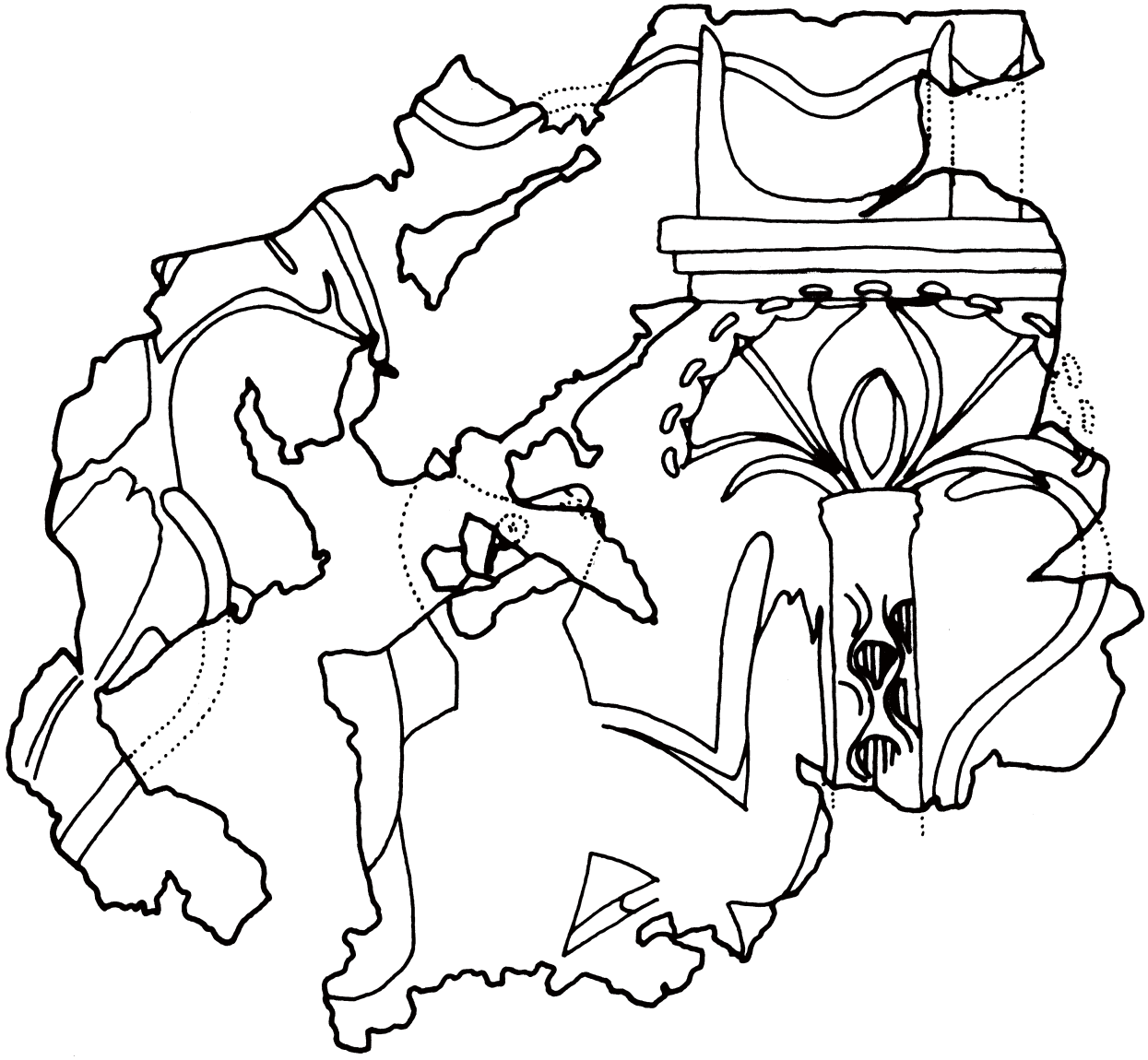


Fig. 6.3 Fresco fragment, Sector A, Akrotiri, Thera, LM IA (author, after Marinatos 1969, Fig. 43, no scale given).

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The Egyptian dates quoted are those calculated by K. A. Kitchen (1996), and the Minoan dates are general and wide-ranging approximations based on several quite differing sources, and here sometimes slightly constricted in the light of my own continuing research. I am well aware of academic fluidity in this matter, especially for the earlier periods of Minoan history and the controversy surrounding the date of the Thera eruption. Those quoted are used here merely as rough guides to a date range and should not be considered absolute. Egyptian dates have continued to descend ever lower as research progresses and, whilst their descent has not yet halted, they probably will not go much farther.

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7. Transmission and assimilation in context: an economic model for the selection and use of Greek and Phoenician ceramic imports in 8th century BC Cypriot society

David W. Rupp

Abstract

All artefacts have 'cultural biographies' or 'life-cycles'. These can vary greatly for the artefact type in question, depending upon many factors, including the export from its milieu of manufacture and its use in a distant, non-indigenous context. The goal of this article is to discuss the importation, distribution, manner of use(s) and potential meaning(s) in 8th century Cypriot society of fine and semi-fine ware ceramics imported from the Aegean basin and from Phoenicia. The perspective used is that of an 'inclusive' or 'total context' approach where both the production/supply-side in the Aegean and in the Levant and the consumption/demand-side in Cyprus are examined together. The aim here is to shed light on how the ceramics under consideration may have been transmitted (i.e. exported/imported), the different ways each was assimilated into Early Iron Age Cypriot society. The possible purposes of such consumption patterns are considered as well. A tentative economic model, based on K. Polanyi and R. Halperin's 'Generic Model of the Economy', is offered for Early Iron Age Cyprus in order to begin to explain the processes and mechanisms behind the selection and the use of these two different imported ceramics, that were in direct competition with similar indigenous shapes. Thus, the contrasting use of smaller quantities of Aegean and larger quantities of Levantine imports suggests that the value of 'the Other' as well as its malleability for the construction and elaboration of the social strategies of the nascent elites were crucial factors in their limited importation and selective manner of use in the 8th century when the territorial kingdoms were established.

Introduction

Until recently the typical analytical method used to investigate the economies of the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age cultures in the eastern Mediterranean area was based on a production or supply-side approach to what is termed 'Original Human Behaviour' (Figure 7.1). An expanding counter trend emerged in the last decade or so where a consumption or demand-side approach was adopted. This latter phenomenon coincided closely with post-processual/post-modernist interest in the polysemous meanings of cultural objects in a variety of contexts. Specifically, how individuals and/or groups within a society attempt to use these objects to communicate his/her/their particular social persona to other individuals and/or to other groups in a given social setting. Most of these studies have focused on the reproduction of socio-political status, gender or ethnicity in hierarchical societies. This conference's central themes reflect this current interest.

Although the reversal of the previous neglect of consumption practices in a culture and the renewed emphasis on finding and interpreting meaning in artefacts in context are both potentially robust analytical approaches, each contains a major drawback. Just as for the analysis of only the means of production in a culture, these newer approaches tend to be one-dimensional. In other words, each tends to exclude, to a greater extent or totally, all other aspects of the economic system. By doing so they 'decontextualise' their data set(s). The results of such analyses, therefore, do not achieve the full explanatory power which the researchers are seeking, as they 'float' with limited contextual anchors, in an incomplete construction of the culture or cultures under scrutiny.

This undesirable situation can be avoided if the

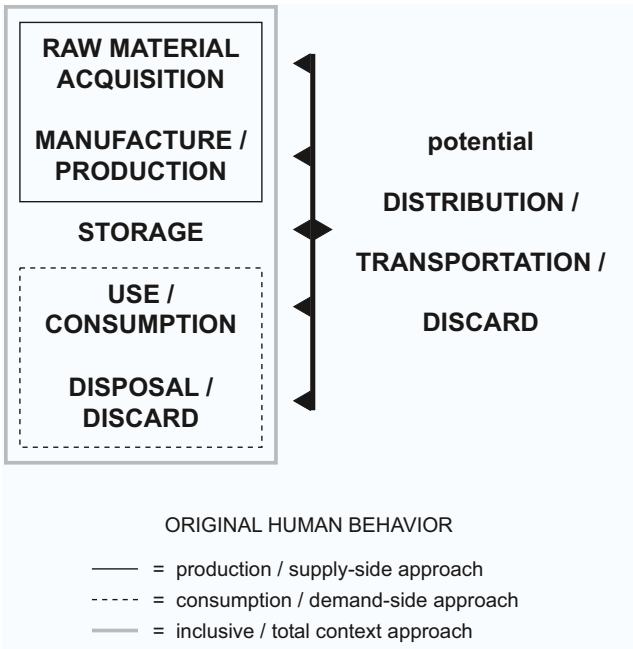


Fig. 7.1 Chart of original human behaviour (prepared by D. W. Rupp and L. Gasparotto).

complete cultural biography or life cycle of an object is constructed. Consumption is only one of the essential behaviours involved in the creation, storage, distribution, use and disposal of a cultural object. The meaning or meaning(s) of an object can only be suggested from the inferences gained from its context as well as from its relationships with other contemporaneous objects in circulation along with it. To achieve the true potential of either of these analytical approaches one must first construct a holistic model of the economic behaviours that produced the specific object in question and of those other objects with which it co-circulated and/or co-competed in the society's material culture. Only with such an 'inclusive' or 'total context' approach can one begin to understand the spatial and chronological patterning of consumption as well as the manner of use and the associated potential meaning(s) of an object in one context versus those it had in another context. This proposed approach has many similarities to Michael Shanks' (1999, Fig. 1.4) life cycle or 'general economy' of an object based on the ideas of Georges Bataille. My intent here, however, is to avoid post-processual linguistic jargon.

In terms of the themes of this conference, i.e. the transmission and transformation of culture, the inclusive or total context approach is *de rigueur* for the intelligent discussion of them. Transmission assumes not only the economic mechanisms involved in the transport of cultural objects and of commodities, but also the reasons for the initiator/donor culture to undertake this action and the acceptor/recipient culture to see them as desirable and/or valuable to accept. When and how objects circulate establishes the crucial components for their meaning as they move from one cultural context to another. Once across the boundary into the economic, social and political milieu of the recipient culture, the latter's socio-political system structures the manner in which the imported object circulates and how it function(s) within its material culture. In this fashion the object is given the value and meaning assigned to it. The manner and degree of assimilation or transformation of the imported object is determined by the indigenous politico-economic system as well as its relationships to the indigenous objects with which it competes functionally and symbolically. The use of an imported object to create and/or to support an ideology or to serve as an identity marker in the social reproduction strategies of an individual or a group takes place within the sphere of the existing indigenous material culture and its mechanisms of acquisition, storage, production, distribution and consumption.

Case Study

To illustrate the potential and the problems of this proposed total context approach for an imported object I will examine, by way of a case study, the presence of Greek decorated fine ware vessels and of Phoenician semi-fine ware vessels in 8th century BC Cyprus. This period (Rupp 1998, Fig. 22) corresponds in general terms to what some have termed Late Cypro-Geometric IIIB (*c*.800–760/750 BC) and early Cypro-Archaic I (*c*.760/750–700 BC). I have formulated a tentative economic model to describe the essential stages of the cultural biographies (Gosden and Marshall 1999) of three sets of objects:

1. Imported Greek decorated fine ware vessels for food and beverage consumption.
2. Imported Phoenician semi-fine ware vessels for food and beverage consumption.
3. Local Cypriot decorated fine ware vessels for food and beverage consumption.

My construction draws on various sources. First is the modelling of Colin Renfrew in charting the possible pathways and locations from the raw material acquisition and creation to the consumption or exchange of an object (Renfrew and Bahn 1996, 352). Second is Rhoda Halperin's (Figure 7.2) modelling of Karl Polanyi's 'Material-Means Provisioning Process' in his 'Generic Model' of an economy (Halperin 1994, Figs 2 and 3) as well as on her preliminary analysis of the components of production and storage (1994, Figs 4 and 5). And third is Kenneth Hirth's analysis of market-place exchange (1998, Fig. 1). The modes of ceramic production in the Early Iron Age Aegean, Cyprus and Phoenicia are synthesised (Figure 7.3) from the conceptualisations of C. L. Costin (1989), D. Frankel (1988, Fig. 3) and A. R. Underhill (1991).

The *chaîne opératoire* approach to lithic analysis (Sellet 1993) offers other possibilities for the construction of the processes and mechanisms involved. This current

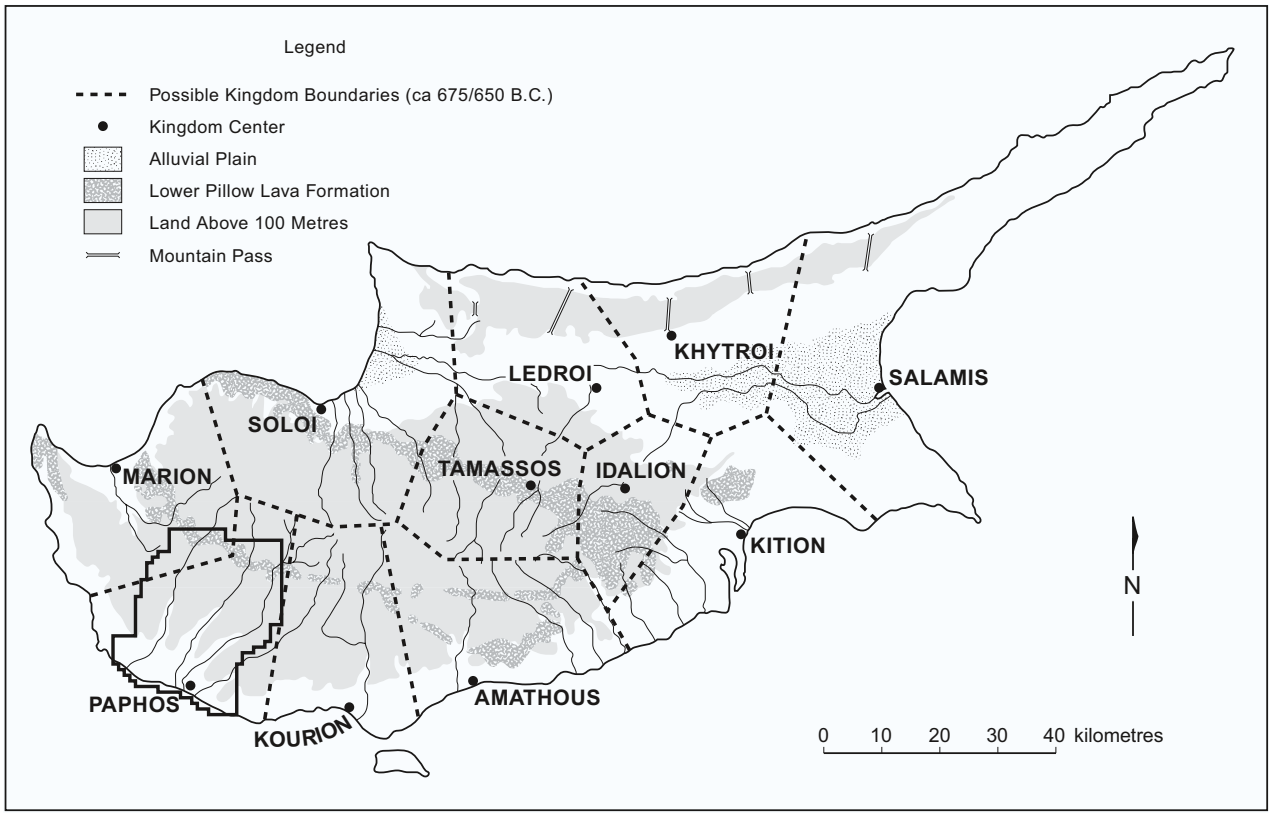


Fig. 7.2 Map of the hypothetical territories of the Cypriot kingdoms in the second quarter of the 7th century BC (prepared by D. W. Rupp and L. Gasparatto).

research draws directly on my earlier investigations into the spatial and the chronological patterns in the consumption of suites of prestige objects and their potential meanings during the evolving political systems of Early Iron Age Cyprus (Rupp 1988, 1989, 1998) (Figure 7.4). It also draws upon my recent attempt to establish a conceptual basis for how one might begin to construct a plausible model of the economy of the island during the major developmental stages of the island's Iron Age (Rupp 2001).

During the 8th century BC the spatial distribution of local decorated semi-fine and fine wares used for food and beverage consumption was widespread within each regional territory on the island (Figure 7.5). They occurred in a limited number of context types, many, but not all, burial assemblages, sanctuary deposits and domestic assemblages. The archaeological evidence does not suggest that all of these vessels were produced by craft specialist workshops attached to a dominant superordinate elite household located in the primate (kingdom) centre and, then, distributed to subordinate elites in the same settlement or further afield to subordinate elites resident in the secondary settlements within the territory. Rather, the existence of one or more attached craft specialist workshops can only account for a portion of the production. There must have also been independent craft specialist workshops in the kingdom centre and possibly in some, or all, of the secondary settlements. These independent craft specialist workshops may have exchanged their products in a marketplace, of some configuration, or directly with the elite households. The extent to which non-elite households could acquire these ceramic vessels is uncertain at this point but it would appear that they were not excluded *a priori* from obtaining and from using them. The resulting tentative and schematic impressions of the 'Material Means Provisioning Processes' for the ceramic semi-fine and the fine ware vessels, used in food and beverage consumption by elites in 8th century BC Cyprus, suggest the following observations. Such vessels were normally produced by independent craft specialist workshops in the primary settlement. They were exchanged, in some fashion, into the subordinate elite households and probably into the superordinate elite household. The latter household may well have had an attached craft specialist workshop producing value-added, special ceramic vessels. In each primary centre there was some form of regional marketplace where commodities and manufactured products were exchanged, by some mechanism such as barter or the equivalent (Halperin 1994). This marketplace was probably administered by the Central Authority Institution or 'palace' or possibly controlled directly by the superordinate elite household.

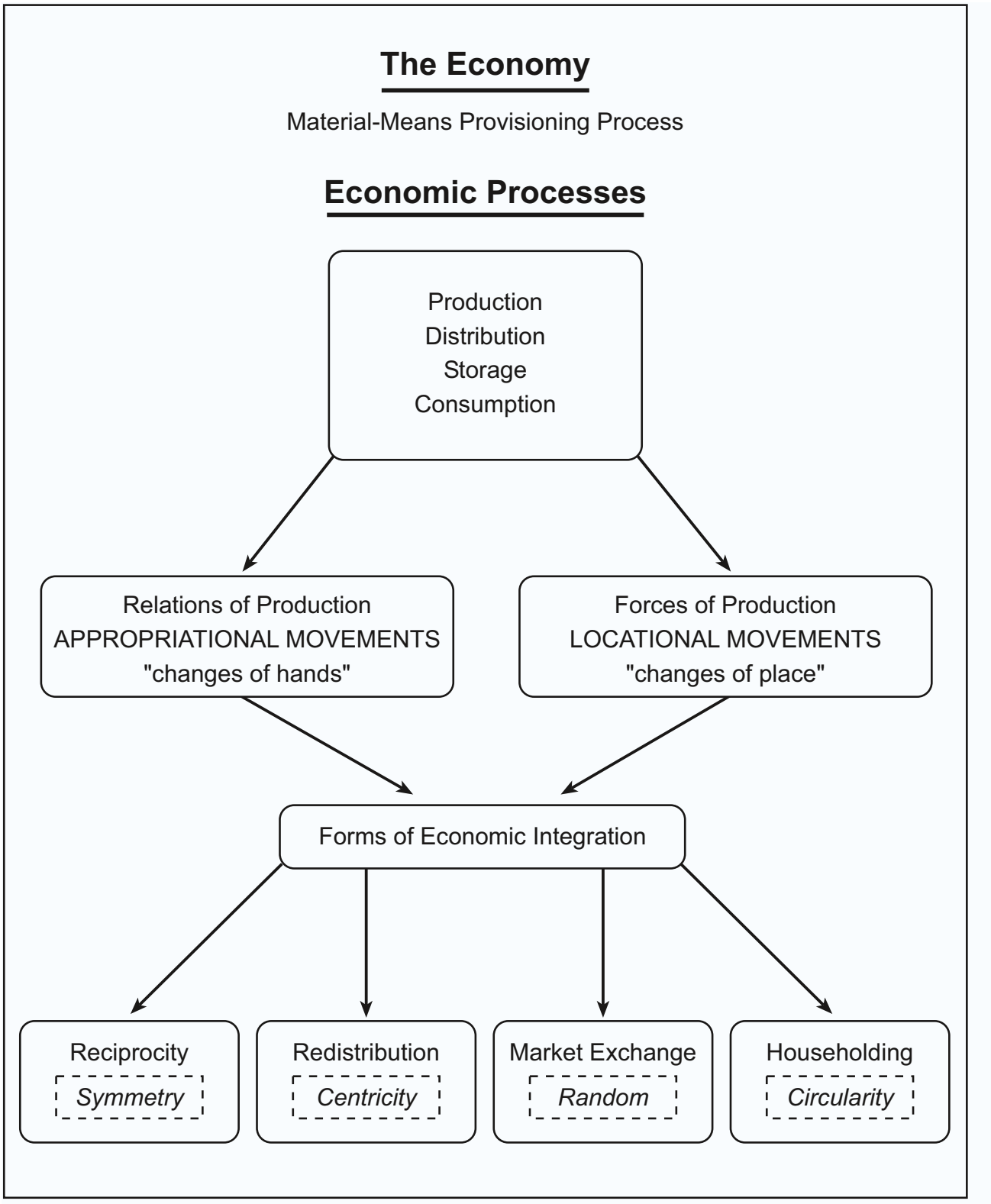
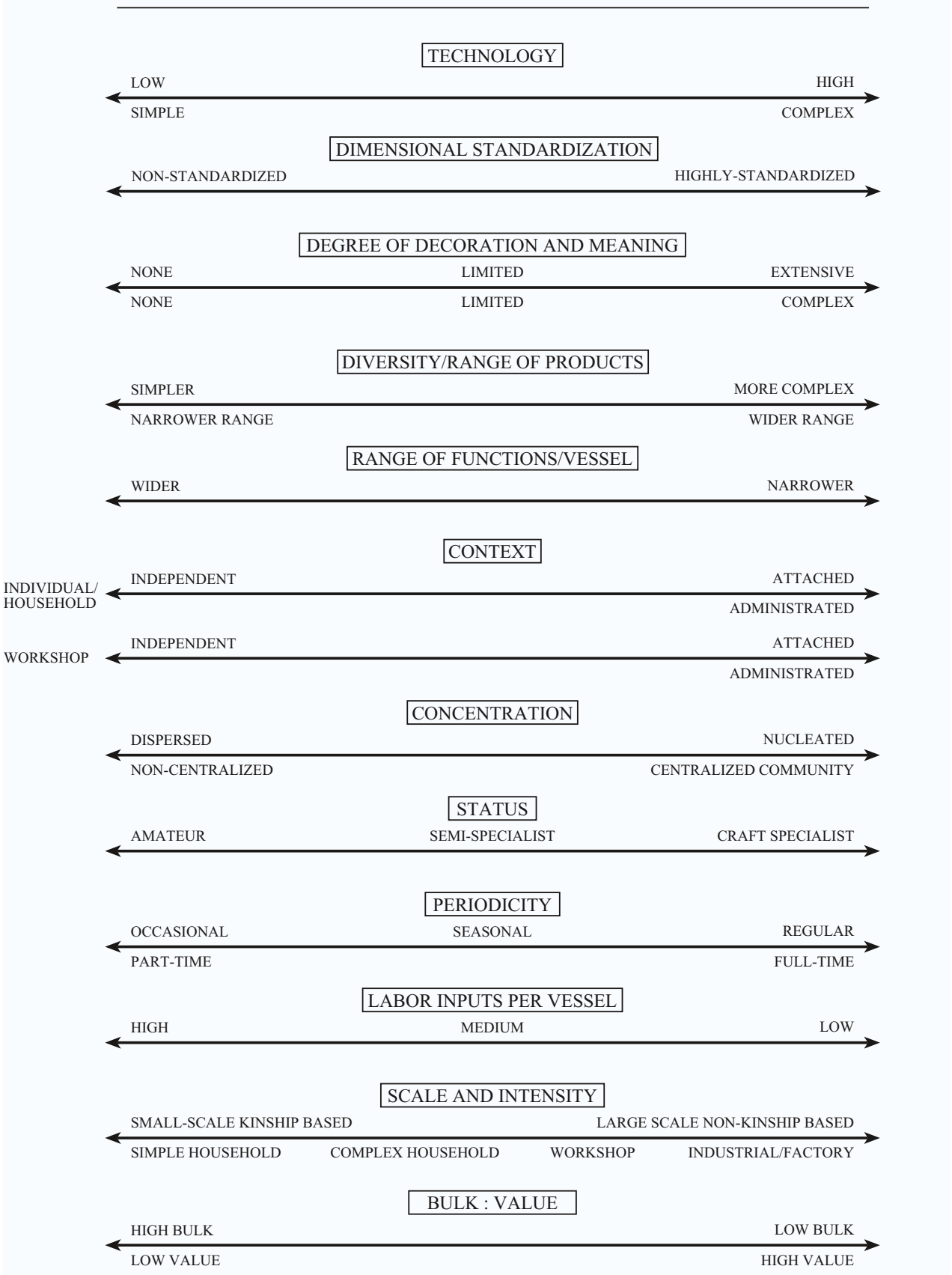


Fig. 7.3 Karl Polanyi's 'material-means provisioning process' and the 'generic model' of an economy according to Rhoda Halperin (prepared by D. W. Rupp and L. Gasparotto).



After: Van der Leeuw, Ex Horreo 4 (1977); Frankel, JMA 1 (1988) Fig. 3; Costin, AMT 3 (1989) Fig. 1.4; Underhill, WA 23 (1991).

Fig. 7.4 Some key dimensions of ceramic variability and value and the relationships to the mode of production expressed as bipolar continua according to various researchers (prepared by D. W. Rupp and L. Gasparotto).

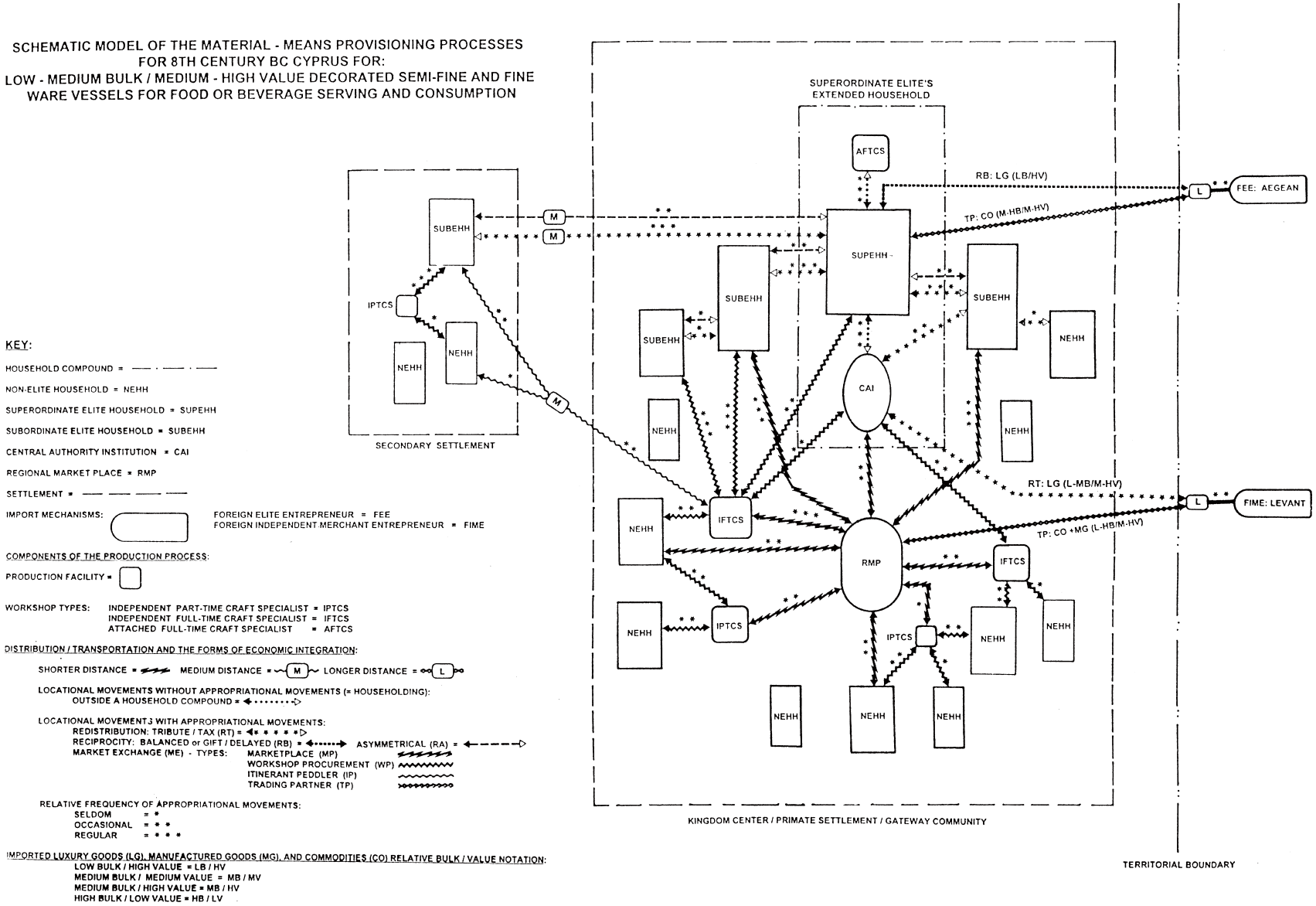


Fig. 7.5 Schematic model of the 'material-means provisioning process' for 8th century BC Cyprus for low-medium bulk/medium-high value decorated semi-fine and fine ware vessels for food or beverage serving and consumption (prepared by D. W. Rupp).

Aegean and Phoenician Imported Ceramics

Nicholas Coldstream's numerous publications (1983, 1986, 1988, 1989, 1994, 1995a, 1995b, 1998, 1999), which document the characteristics, find-spots, chronology and quantities of Greek Geometric decorated fine wares in the eastern Mediterranean, form the basis for our knowledge of Aegean imports in Cyprus between 950 and 600 BC. Lone Wriedt Sørensen's research (1997, 1998) and, more recently, Jan Paul Crielaard's masterful study, with greater analysis of the chronological and spatial patterning, the quantities, the consumption contexts (1999a; 1999b, Table 1, Figs 2 and 3) and the potential meaning of these vessels, together form a solid foundation for this discussion. In summary, these data indicate that a limited number of mostly Euboean decorated fine ware drinking vessels (overwhelmingly pendant semi-circle skyphoi) and, to a much lesser extent, plates were imported at select settlements (i.e. principally, the kingdom centres of Amathous, Kition and Salamis) (Figure 7.6).

These skyphoi were the most popular decorated fine ware drinking shape in the Euboean context. They are found in the archaeological record associated, in some quantity, mostly with a few burials of a kingdom's superordinate elite. These may be alone, in pairs or, to a much lesser extent, 3 or 4 together in the burials (Crielaard 1999a, Fig. 3) and maybe included in some, but not all, of the subordinate elite burials. To a lesser extent they are used as votive offerings in sanctuaries. By inference they must have been used, along with locally produced decorated fine ware vessels with the same functions, prior to such terminal consumption activities, in feasting or 'public consumption rituals' involving wine (Dietler 1990, 370–372). Crielaard (1999a) and Sørensen (1997, Fig. 5), drawing on Patricia Bikai's formative study (1987) of Phoenician pottery in Cyprus, present the essence of the latter imports and their distribution. These vessels display similar patterns, but at the same time have a broader spatial distribution and occur in greater quantities.

The distribution patterns for the Greek vessels suggest that they came to Cyprus either in a more or less constant, but very low frequency, or on occasion in small batches. Furthermore, the fact that only very small quantities are involved makes it highly unlikely that they were brought to the island for the purpose of market exchange. The evidence known from shipwrecks dating from the Classical through to Imperial periods indicates that these were not complete cargoes of low bulk/high value ceramic fine wares, but rather, should be seen as arriving as saleable ballast or space-fillers which were 'piggy-backed' on a cargo of bulk commodities. Most likely these did not include wine or olive oil, but may have included high value materials such as metal ore or decorated textiles. Lin Foxhall (1997) argues that such mixed cargoes formed the basis for maritime exchange, which is otherwise either poorly represented or completely undocumented in the archaeological record. These Aegean 8th century BC postulated cargoes of the 'heart's desire', destined specifically for Cyprus, were at least not packed in ceramic transport amphorae, as there is no evidence that I know of to date in Cyprus or in the Levant to suggest the use of such containers. The fact that most of the imported Aegean pottery in Cyprus and in the Levant is Euboean suggests strongly that this island is the point of their origin.

The lack of secure evidence in the Aegean for specialised merchant ships designed for bulk cargo transport and employing primarily sails as the main means of propulsion, or for large amphora cargoes before the 6th century BC suggests to Michael Wedde (2001) that the vessels used would have been hybrid oared cargo galleys (see also Popham 1987). If the ambiguous picture of ships and shipping provided by Homer's Odyssey can be used here, these hybrid-oared cargo galleys would have been owned and captained by an entrepreneur/adventurer from the local Euboean elite and rowed by his retainers (Thomas and Conant 1999, 104, 108, 112–113). In so doing the local worthy sought to capitalize on the maritime network established by the Phoenicians in the 10th and 9th centuries BC (Sherratt and Sherratt 1993, 366). These voyages would have occurred during Coldstream's (1989, Fig. 1b) second stage, *c*.850/40–750 BC, of sporadic Aegean/Levantine intercommunications. The small cargoes of such ships would have consisted of locally produced bulk but still high value commodities. These may have included iron from Euboea (Bakhuizen 1976; Sherratt and Sherratt 1993, 365) and possibly silver from Lavrion in Attika (*contra* Muhly 1998, 324). Also included may have been value-added items (decorated textiles) intended for exchange by some mechanism, including other bulk, high value commodities and high value items obtained, in some fashion, from the destination point in Cyprus. Some of these Cypriot commodities were quite possibly the same or very similar to those exported from the Aegean but would have been 'foreign' and, therefore, 'exotic' or possessing the mystic and desirable allure of 'the Other' to the Euboeans. The small quantities of decorated fine ware vessels that would have been packed into the interstices of the main cargo were intended, as first suggested by Vincent Desborough (1979, 122) and supported by Coldstream (1983), for high level gift exchange. This proposed gift exchange would have established a host to guest relationship and would have taken place in an interregional marriage context, in the later 10th/earlier 9th centuries BC with the Tyrian elites (Coldstream 1998) and in the mid-8th century BC with the local Cypriot elites (Gjerstad 1979). These Cypriot elites would have been encountered in the island's main cosmopolitan 'gateway communities' i.e. the Cypriot kingdom centres of Amathous and Salamis. Among the local community they would have been perceived as 'social equals', demonstrating to the general population the existence of the local elite's long distance social networks as well as its access both to esoteric knowledge and to exotic objects.

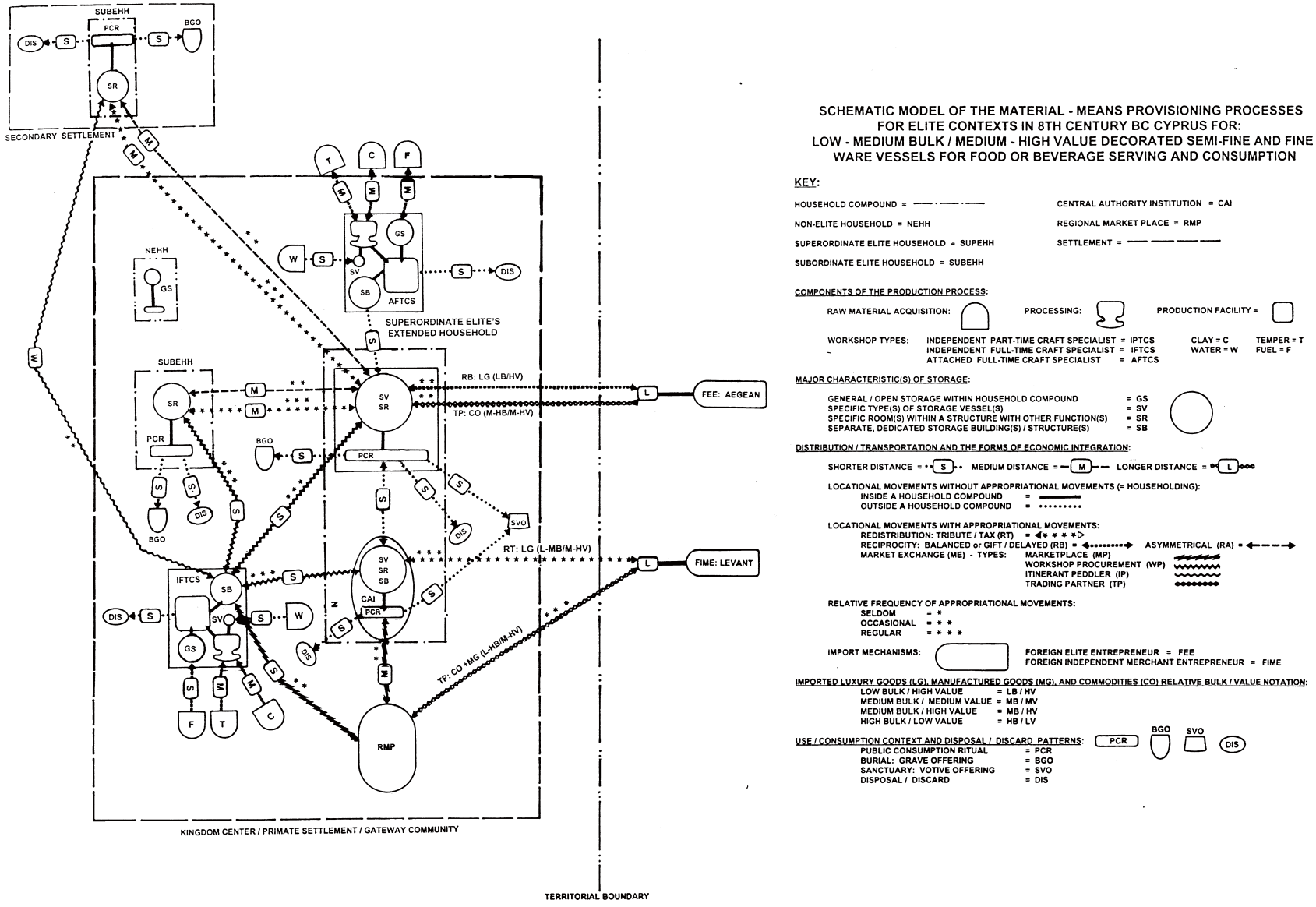


Fig. 7.6 Schematic model of the 'material-means provisioning process' for elite contexts in 8th century BC Cyprus for low-medium bulk/medium-high value decorated semi-fine and fine ware vessels for food or beverage serving and consumption (prepared by D. W. Rupp).

In Cyprus the imported ceramics would have been used in the public consumption rituals that were at the core of the political economy. For the visiting Aegean elites, the gift exhange or 'balanced reciprocity exchange' (Renfrew and Bahn 1996, 352) would have served to 'grease the wheels' of the exchange process between the imported commodities and the exportable local commodities. The sought-after Cypriot commodities probably came from the superordinate elite's household and possibly from the storage facilities of the Central Authority Institution or 'palace'. Low bulk/high value objects from Cyprus and from the Levant – would then 'piggy-back' to the Aegean along with the acquired commodities. There they were used to establish, as well as to reinforce, elite claims to social legitimacy and to political supremacy in the nascent polis. The same process could have occurred at the Levantine ports, in particular Tyre, where prestige goods – sometimes antiques from Mesopotamia or from Egypt – would have been acquired along with high value materials.

It should be noted here that, despite Coldstream's firm belief that the Euboeans were venturing eastward to Tyre, and elsewhere, since the late 10th century BC (1999, 112; 1998, 1989, which is supported by others, cf. Thomas and Conant 1999, 101), Susan Sherratt (pers. comm.) believes that the Greek pottery could all have been carried eastward by Phoenician merchants who had been searching for metallic ores in the Aegean. Jane Waldbaum (1997) also raises serious questions as to which 'nationality' actually brought the Greek pottery to the Levant and in what context. Interestingly, Coldstream wonders (1983, 203) if the few Attic Middle Geometric II kraters found in Cyprus and in the Levant in 'royal', or at least elite, contexts might have been carried back by Phoenician traders.

In contrast to the postulated Aegean mechanism, the Phoenician merchant entrepreneurs from Tyre and elsewhere headed westward with value-added products, novel mass-produced objects, luxury/prestige goods and Egyptianising exotica to exchange for bulk commodities and high value raw materials within Susan Frankenstein's (1979) postulated 'West Asiatic Trading Sphere' (Figure 7.6). These long-distance professional traders, who were engaged in Renfrew's 'Freelance (Middleman) Trading' (Refrew and Bahn 1996, 352) could have operated independently, acted as agents or as members of kin-based mercantile families/'firms', or participated in joint trade missions or trade associations centred in Tyre and other Phoenician city-kingdoms. Some of these merchants would have shuttled primarily back and forth between Tyre and Kition as well as Amathous and Salamis to exchange high value materials in return for desired Cypriot products. Others would have stopped briefly at the Cypriot gateway communities on their way out to the West as well as on their return voyage (Sherratt and Sherratt 1993, Fig. 1A). In this context the greater quantity and the broader distribution of Phoenician semi-fine ware vessels in Cyprus suggests that the Phoenician merchants had a different relationship with the Cypriot superordinate elites than did the Euboean elite entrepreneurs. The proximity of the island to Phoenicia as well as the probable high frequency of what must have been commercially motivated visits is seen here as creating a more formal and more impersonal form of interaction. These interactions could well have been focused on the nascent political institution of the 'palace' and its operatives rather than directly on the superordinate elite's personal household. As a result the Phoenician pottery had a wider distribution but still restricted essentially to the elite's consumption practices. Their vessels too may have been hybrid-oared galleys capable of carrying only a certain amount of cargo. Despite some depictions of hybrid-oared galleys on 8th century BC Cypriot ceramics and 7th century BC terracotta ship models (Sherratt and Sherratt 1991, Pls 1 and 2), there is only limited evidence to suggest that Cypriot vessels ventured to the west during the 8th century BC. Such long distance maritime enterprises may have occurred only in the 12th and earlier 11th centuries BC, given the evidence that Crielaard (1999a) has published. Nevertheless, Cypriot economic and cultural interactions with the southern Levant could well have involved Cypriot vessels and not just Phoenician ones (Gilboa 1999, 124–126).

Discussion

Those individuals from outside the territory wishing to exchange commodities and/or manufactured products in the marketplace required permission to do this. This permission was obtained at least in part by offering 'gifts' to the Central Authority Institution or to the superordinate elite's household. In this period the most visible, archaeologically speaking, of these 'gifts' were the decorated fine ware vessels from the Aegean and the semi-fine ware vessels from Phoenicia. In this context it should be noted that Susan Sherratt's (1999, 172–174) insightful critique of gift exchange, especially of 'cheap and cheerful' decorated fine ware pottery, which did have value-added characteristics, surely has merit. It is true that the gifts themselves did not have any particular intrinsic value, i.e. they did not have 'convertible' or 'preciosity' value. They did, however, have 'added' value via their distinctive shapes and Geometric decorative motifs as well as 'cultural' value as representatives of 'the Other' (Sherratt 1994, 62–63). Having said this the Euboean pendent semicircle 'skyphoi' and plates, with their metallic-looking forms and glossy black paint resembling tarnished silver, could have given the impression to the user and to the viewer of an object of 'prime value'. Further, it is possible that more objects of more intrinsic value, such as metal vessels, were given as the primary gift. Their greater value and durability combined with various curations and recycling practices meant that these were not considered desirable for extravagant, conspicuous, terminal consumption in a tomb or in a sanctuary context. The ceramic

imports could have served as surrogates or 'substitution elites' since they were ephemeral, non-convertible 'tokens of value' (Sherratt 1999, 177, 186).

These foreign ceramics, imbued with 'the Other' and offered as 'gifts' were enclaved by the superordinate household and, then, used to communicate and to legitimise and, thereby bolster, its pre-eminent social standing and political power. In competitive 'tournaments of value' at feasts or public consumption rituals, within the elite ranks, these exotica could be used as 'power tokens' to reinforce various rhetorical statements, made in other media, of the superordinate elite's personal and exclusive access to 'the Other' as well as to the esoteric knowledge associated with the long distance exchange networks. The possession and the consumption of these exotica reinforced their superordinate status and political ascendancy. Selective, limited, redistribution of these luxury goods to subordinate elites as an aspect of 'debt engineering' and their terminal conspicuous consumption, by means of votive dedications in sanctuaries or in burial assemblages maintained, their enclaved, highly envalued commodity status in the society's "regime of value" (Appadurai 1986, 24). Emulation of these material culture behaviours, via the production of local limitations of Aegean vessels, as Crielaard has argued, occurred on a limited basis, normally away from the primate centre (1999b, 276–277, Fig. 2b). Outlying subordinate elites, not well positioned to receive the token and calculated largess of the superordinate elite in the central settlement, sometimes attempted to bypass this inherently inferior status by means of using these counterfeits.

This patterning of the small quantities of Euboean ceramic imports and their local emulations is the opposite of the construction proposed by Sherratt for them (1999, 181–182). Her belief, that they were for sale openly to all along the principal maritime routes of the eastern Mediterranean, as she postulates for the Aegean, as part of a wide-spread de-centralised commercial activity, rather than as part of a high-level official exchange does not fit the Cypriot evidence.

The tentative economic model (Figure 7.6) of the Material Means Provisioning Process for decorated semi-fine ware and fine ware pottery used in beverage and food consumption sketched broadly here for 8th century BC Cyprus begins to provide the 'total context' for the consumption of the Aegean and the Phoenician ceramic imports. The superordinate elite's control of the mechanisms for their import meant that they could enclave these objects, thereby, restricting their circulation patterns. In doing this they infused them purposefully with specific meanings and powerful symbolism. The fact that the chosen items were used for beverage and food consumption meant that they could be used in various public consumption rituals where hospitality was expected in one form or another. These manifestations of exotic 'otherness', incorporated into the society's 'regime of value', could be employed as part of a conscious social strategy of self-definition in order to both distinguish one's self and to distance one's self from one's social and political inferiors. As Crielaard quips, "You are what you possess" (1999b, 264). Thus, by tracing the cultural biography of an imported object in its new inclusive economic context one can begin to understand more fully how and why it was transmitted from the originating society, what meanings it may have had in its new milieu, and to what degree it was assimilated into the recipient society.

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8. The local dimension in the Late Bronze Age southern Levant: a case study using imported pottery

G. Miles Huckle

Abstract

This paper seeks to address what might be described as the 'local dimension' of the Late Bronze Age southern Levant. This perspective offers an alternative view to that offered by traditional approaches to the archaeology of the region, which have been based around an assumed homogeneous 'Canaanite' civilisation. This 'meta-narrative' has been constructed mainly on the basis of the fragmentary documentary evidence of Egyptian records and the Amarna letters. Using imported Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery I will comment on the value of an internalised, consumer-based perspective, which views material culture patterning in terms of social relations.

Introduction

Most research on the Late Bronze Age of the southern Levant has been based around a scholarly 'meta-narrative' which has privileged the fragmentary documentary evidence over that of the material remains. This normative framework has served to distract scholars from addressing the complex patterning present in the material evidence. Consequently, archaeological data has been used mainly to illuminate an essentially text-based image of the Late Bronze Age, and has accordingly been read to depict the continuity and homogeneity which would be expected of a homogeneous 'Canaanite' civilisation. To date, there have been few attempts to question the appropriateness of such a 'top-down' perspective as a framework through which to approach the period.

Analyses conducted in other fields of archaeological research (e.g. Barrett and Kinnes 1988; Hodder 1987) have shown how differentiation in material culture patterning can be understood in terms of social relations. These studies have suggested that analysis of material culture conducted at a fine-grained, and context specific scale, can produce a very different understanding of the nature of past societies. Such an approach would appear to offer the possibility of perceiving the Late Bronze Age southern Levant not as a single cultural unit but as composed of a mosaic of groups. I would argue that these issues can be addressed by taking a 'bottom-up' approach to the evidence, in effect engaging in a discourse at the local level, through the examination of the differential usage of material culture at contextual level over time.

The study I have undertaken here involves a detailed contextual analysis of imported Mycenaean and Cypriot ceramics at several key sites in the southern Levant, in order to investigate possible local variations within the Late Bronze Age. As 'categories' of research, Cypriot and Mycenaean wares were chosen since they are fairly easy to distinguish from local ceramics, are generally published in detail, and could be considered 'self-defining'. Understood as 'imports', these familiar wares have generally been treated as a fairly homogeneous body of material, however, this perspective is essentially that of the modern observer and may be far removed from the perceptions of the user communities.

Building upon other contextual analyses of Cypriot and Mycenaean wares, I propose to examine the manner in which these ceramics were utilised and consumed by the recipient communities in the southern Levant. This approach attempts to give an insight into the world of local practices and identities, which has been masked by a scholarly stress on Late Bronze Age 'Canaan' as representing a single cultural unit. In addition, the long duration during which such pottery was in use offers the possibility of monitoring the development of consumption patterns at individual sites.

Mycenaean and Cypriot wares in context

Studies of Cypriot and Mycenaean ceramics have been based around extensive typologies, which have focused primarily on the shape and decoration of ceramic 'types' and have formed the backbone of the majority of later studies (*inter alios* Åström 1972; Furumark 1941).

However, Vaughan (1991) has questioned whether the distinction between 'types' reflects modern categories of research, or sub-divisions of ceramics that would have been meaningful to the user communities. For example, we cannot assume that modern 'types' such as Cypriot 'White Slip I' and 'White Slip II' were meaningful to Cypriot producers, let alone consumers in the southern Levant. Nor is there is firm evidence to suggest that everyone in the southern Levant who had contact with these ceramics necessarily understood them to have been even 'Cypriot' or 'Mycenaean', rather than 'non-local'. This epitomises the notion of local dynamics where differing levels of knowledge may have been circulating contrasting with the traditional perception of homogeneity within a cultural framework.

Many studies of Cypriot and Mycenaean imports in the southern Levant have focused on chronology and distribution, while the movement of these wares has been approached from what might be described as an 'exporter' or 'trade' perspective. This approach attributes change in the patterning and distribution of imports to known political events, or changes at source. Indeed, the traditional use of the term 'Cypriot' tends to convey the sense that all Cypriot imports can be safely treated as a single group. I think this partitioning of ceramics according to their point of origin is artificial, and a more meaningful approach would be to consider how these vessels were incorporated into localised use.

Recognising that the repertoire and distribution of Cypriot wares in the southern Levant differed from that on Cyprus, Gittlen argued that this exposed a selective exchange, in which ceramics were exported and *geared* to a known market (Gittlen 1981, 49–52). Whilst this provides useful information regarding the trade relationship between Cyprus and the southern Levant, it implies a single homogeneous consumer group. This study is a treatment of these imported wares, through the consideration of material culture patterning in order to illuminate local consumption traits.

Bergoffen undertook a contextual analysis of Late Cypriot pottery in northern Sinai and its connections with Egypt and southern Canaan. She suggested that in some areas the distribution of Cypriot wares implied that they were used by rich and poor alike and therefore were not prestige goods restricted by high level control but had a more moderate value (Bergoffen 1991, 69). Since Cypriot and Mycenaean ceramics were rarely mentioned in Egyptian annals or in the high-level correspondence of the Amarna letters, Bergoffen argues that the exchange and movement of these goods took place 'on the side' of the official supply (1991, 60). This suggests that we need to consider the social 'value' attributed to such materials. Sherratt recently suggested that imported Cypriot and Mycenaean wares might represent placebos for sub-elites, or act as substitutes for elite goods, where the deposition of these wares in funerary or cultic deposits would be adequate in contrast to high level conspicuous consumption performed by true elites (Sherratt 1998, 295). Sherratt argues that pottery, traded as a consumable in itself, became a value-added product demanded as a commodity in its own right and was therefore, in some way, meaningful to its users (1998, 295).

Shanks and Tilley argue that the meaning of material culture can in no way be regarded as stable since it may possess different meanings at different times and in different locations (Shanks and Tilley 1993, 114). Therefore we cannot assume that the value, or use, of vessels was uniform across the southern Levant. One way to interpret the data, therefore, is through a consideration of the contexts in which these wares were located. It is this difference in contextual deposition and patterns of artefact association that is important (Frankel 1991, 243) and which have not been stressed in most traditional analyses of Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery.

The analyses

In order to demonstrate the highly localised complexity of material culture patterning, this paper concentrates on the results of analysis undertaken on published material from Beth Shan, Hazor, Lachish and Megiddo (preliminary reports and excavated material that did not provide full contextual information could not be used in this study). These sites were chosen because they have been extensively excavated, and thus lend themselves to a detailed contextual analysis. Given the different chronologies used, this study has used a standard chronological framework for the Late Bronze Age proposed by Mazar (1992, 242).

Because the meaning and social value of imported wares are likely to be suggested or echoed through contextual situation, it was necessary to devise a model which could categorise the find-spots of imported wares in a meaningful way. Thus for settlements, the contextual framework used here is based primarily upon the architectural layout. This classifies structures according to whether they are understood to be, for example, a cultic structure or a house. For mortuary contexts burials were sub-divided into three categories on the basis of studies conducted by Hallote (1995) and Gonen (1992), namely cave tombs, rock cut shaft tombs and pit graves. It is acknowledged that there are fundamental distinctions between the nature of settlement and mortuary assemblages. With this in mind, I have focused on trends within each.

In order to avoid the excessive divisions used in standard typologies, a functional typology, using shape as the primary category, was adapted from studies by Mountjoy (1993) and Leonard (1981). This typology divides vessels into three function-based groups: serving vessels (e.g. bowls, and chalices), liquid containers (e.g. jugs and juglets) and precious commodity vessels (e.g. flasks and stirrup jars, Figure 8.1). (This relies on the use of common terminology between publications). Indeed,

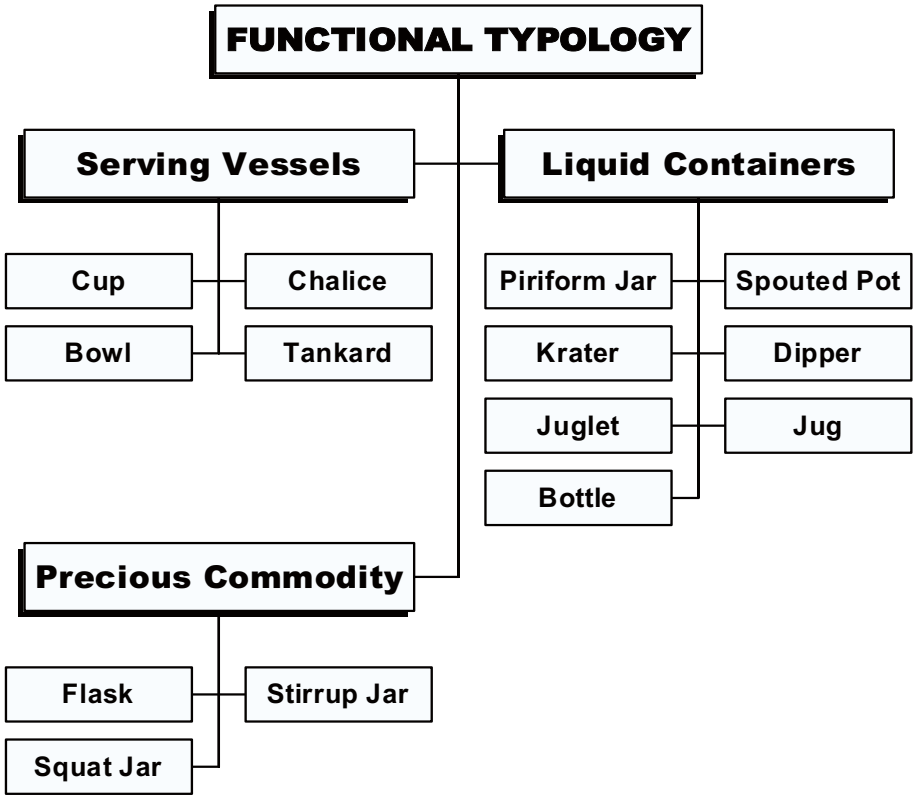


Fig. 8.1 Functional typology.

there proved to be certain complications in differing terminologies such as the difference between 'jugs' and 'juglets'.) Whilst it is acknowledged that vessel function is hypothesised, and not necessarily static, this framework does allow an investigation into the relationship between vessel form and context.

Given the differential breakage rates of vessels (e.g. a large vessel is likely to break up into more pieces than a small vessel) I attempted to refine the method of quantification of ceramics in order to avoid heavy distortions encountered when using a raw sherd count. Where possible, diagnostic sherds (e.g. a rim or handle) were counted together with those body sherds which clearly could not come from the same vessel. This process served to eliminate a proportion of sherds from those published. To refine my contextual analysis, I devised a context quality scoring system, which served to eliminate very disturbed contexts. This was based on a scale of 1–4, where a score of 1 was given to clearly disturbed contexts and 4 to those which were well stratified, excavated and recorded. Whilst there were inherent difficulties involved in the use of secondary materials, this process proved successful in the identification of clearly disturbed contexts (i.e. a score of 1), which were eliminated prior to fine-grained contextual analysis.

The contextual deposition of imported Cypriot and Mycenaean wares reveals significant differences in the patterning between sites. Indeed, of those ceramic forms identified in this study, only slightly more than half are represented at all four sites, so the distribution of forms is not uniform between sites. In settlement and mortuary contexts, bowls are the most common form at all sites (Figure 8.2). However, in mortuary contexts bowls no longer dominate whereas jugs, juglets, stirrup jars and dippers appear in higher concentrations but in varying proportions at each of the four sites (Figure 8.3).

Therefore, the complexities evident in the differential patterning of imported wares in settlement and mortuary contexts may reflect differing local practices encompassing differing levels of knowledge, access and value associated with certain pottery forms between sites.

Due to the many variables encountered when comparing sites, such as the different sizes of excavated area, it is necessary to demonstrate that differential patterning occurs not only between sites, but also *within* sites (since the ceramics will be taken from the same volume of excavated material). An example of this can be demonstrated with the imported wares at Hazor, where in settlement contexts bowls are the most numerous vessel followed by squat jars, jugs, flasks, stirrup jars and juglets (Figure 8.4). Whereas in mortuary contexts, juglets are the most numerous followed by stirrup jars, flasks, cups and squat jars. Thus there is demonstrable variation in the patterning of material culture on both an inter- and intra-site scale.

The notion of the local dimension can be further demonstrated when we observe the difference in contextual patterning between the same form at different sites.

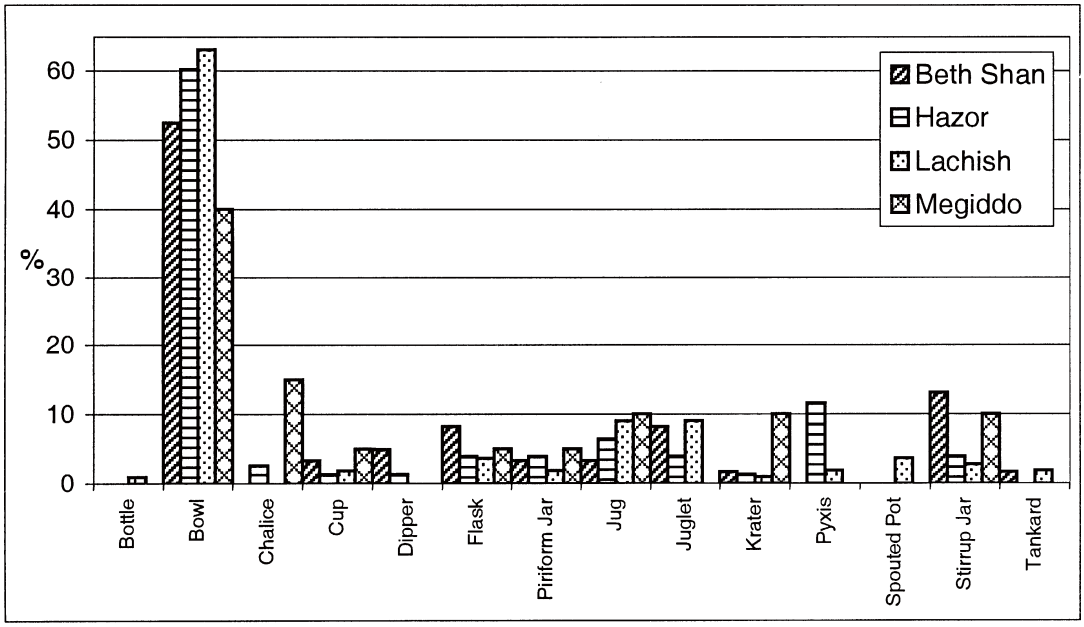


Fig. 8.2 Occurrence of imported Cypriot and Mycenaean wares in settlement contexts.

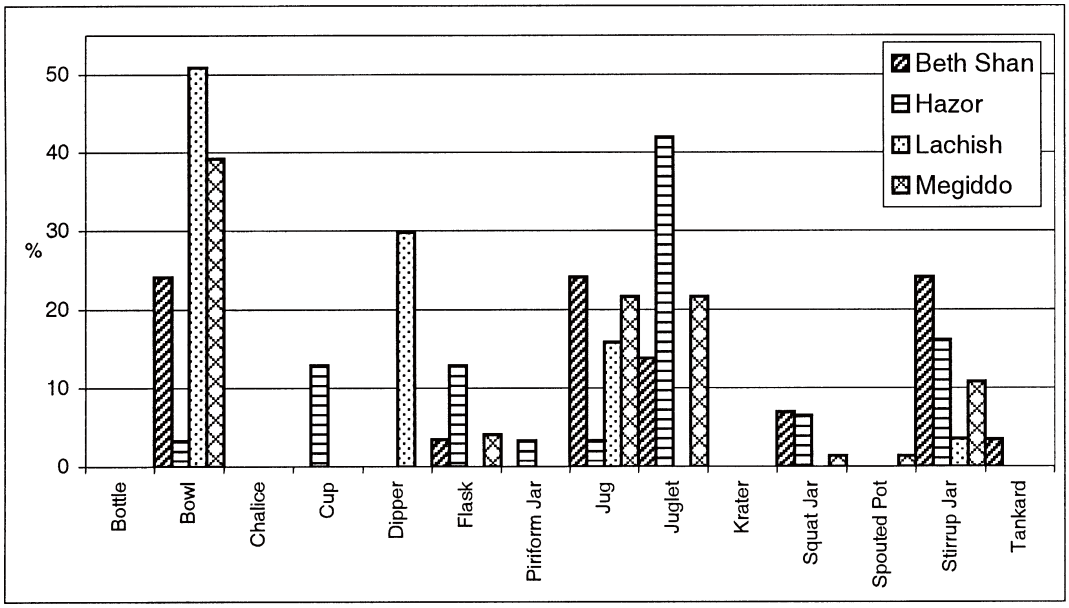


Fig. 8.3 Occurrence of imported Cypriot and Mycenaean wares in mortuary contexts.

The 'dipper' juglet, with its distinctive pointed base, is a good example of this phenomenon since, at Beth Shan, it is present only in settlement contexts and absent from mortuary contexts. In contrast, at Lachish dippers are absent from the settlement assemblage, but numerous in mortuary contexts. Similarly, when we look at the distribution of juglets between sites, Lachish has the most in settlement contexts, followed by Beth Shan, Hazor and Megiddo. However, in mortuary contexts the trend appears to be very different – with the highest proportion of juglets represented at Hazor, followed by Megiddo, Beth Shan and Lachish. Here we are witnessing the differential patterning of the same vessel form between sites, suggesting that localised meanings were attributed to specific forms.

Using the functional typology and by plotting the contextual deposition of wares, it should be possible to detect distinct patterns of association between ceramic forms and contextual categories. In temple structures, more than three-quarters of the Cypriot and Mycenaean assemblage consists of serving vessels. Thus the impression one gets of the temple assemblage is one of 'provision'. However, it is important to note that Cypriot and Mycenaean imports are not found in all temple or cultic contexts. For instance, Hazor has a number of structures in Areas A, C, H and F traditionally understood

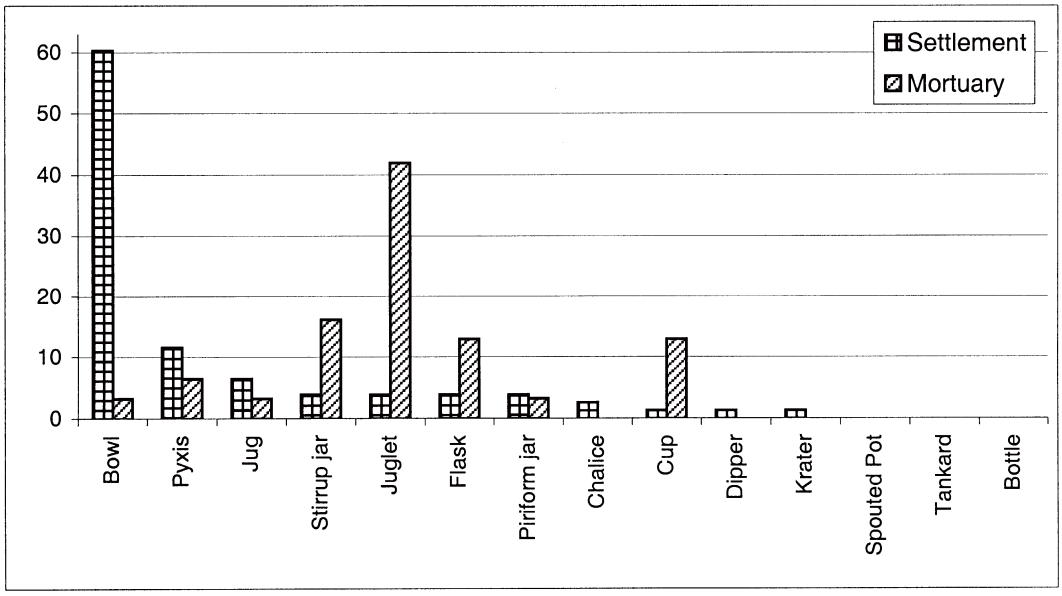


Fig. 8.4 Comparison of imported Cypriot and Mycenaean wares in settlement and mortuary contexts at Hazor.

to be 'cultic' or 'religious'. However, there is considerable variation in the presence of imported Mycenaean and Cypriot wares associated with these structures. Whilst there is no reason to diagnose 'cultic' sites through the presence of imported wares, it is conceivable that we are witnessing differential use of, or varying access rights to, such structures. This raises significant questions about how we are to understand 'temples' or 'cultic shrines' as categories of research. Indeed, it is plausible that the study of material culture at a context specific scale creates an opportunity to observe the internal dynamics of what has traditionally been perceived to be a homogeneous 'cultic' entity.

This leads us to consider whether imported wares are present *because* they are Cypriot or Mycenaean or are we witnessing the incorporation of vessels into localised practice but of which some *happen* to have a foreign origin? The argument that imported wares are foreign, and are therefore 'special' is questionable, since they were not grouped according to their point of manufacture and are often found in association with local types that have similar functions. Thus, the fact that a vessel is Cypriot or Mycenaean could be incidental to its perception and use as, for example, a bowl or a jug.

The relationship between vessel function and context can be further demonstrated through patterning observed in mortuary contexts. The repertoire of Cypriot and Mycenaean wares in cave and rock cut shaft tombs is similar, suggesting that these tomb 'types' may have been perceived as the same thing, only with one occurring naturally and the other artificially. In contrast pit graves seem to have been viewed quite differently because the repertoire of pottery forms includes a considerably smaller proportion of precious commodity vessels than cave and rock cut shaft tombs (Figure 8.5).

This observation gains significance when we consider the fundamental distinction between each type of burial. Cave and shaft tombs might be understood as the loci of multiple burial events as evidenced through the number of skeletal remains, and the fact that they were large enclosed spaces showing regular re-use. However, pit grave burials might be considered to be demonstrative of 'single event' practices. Given this distinction, we may assume that those artefacts placed in pit graves were deposited with the deceased whereas in cave and rock cut shaft tombs vessels may have related less to the individual deceased, than to the activities associated with the dead. That said, precious commodity vessels do not occur in all cave and rock-cut shaft tombs. I would suggest that the presence of these vessels could represent status or prestige, reflected in the placement of those wares in only some tombs, or that these vessels may have been associated with particular social practices perhaps present in other tombs, using as yet unidentified *local* wares.

This preliminary research using imported Cypriot and Mycenaean wares suggests that differentiation does occur. Imported wares were chosen for this study because they are easy to distinguish from local wares and can be used to observe localised patterning. By using imported wares in this way, it has been possible to demonstrate that the distribution of functional types within and between sites is not uniform, whether it be a difference in the frequency of the same form in different contexts or of different forms found in different contexts.

The clear relationship between vessel function and context was highlighted by the example of temple deposits where I believe the use of imported wares has raised significant questions regarding traditional analytical categories. This is also the case in mortuary contexts, where differing local practices appear to be reflected by

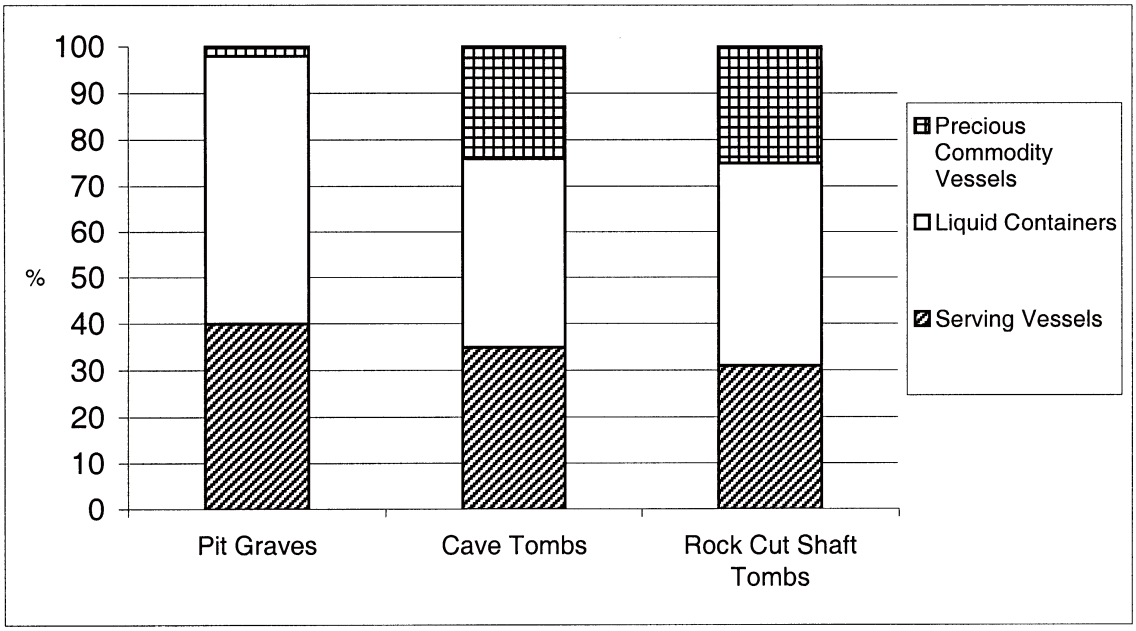


Fig. 8.5 Comparison of imported Cypriot and Mycenaean wares divided by function in mortuary contexts.

the distribution of wares between burial types. This leads us to question how these imported wares were perceived by the consuming societies; as special foreign imports grouped separately, or as non-local vessels incorporated into localised practice.

This paper demonstrates that contextual analyses can elucidate the manner in which material culture is used at different times, in different areas and in different ways by different people. This, in turn helps to define 'local' consumption practices. This is what can be understood as the *local dimension* – which serves to engage with material culture at a context specific scale. Although this study has focused on just one aspect of the rich material culture of the Late Bronze Age in the southern Levant it has raised some issues which could have considerable impact on our understanding of the society in general. For example, not only has it illustrated that imported pottery was absorbed by the receiver populations at different scales it was also transformed at different scales, by which I mean it held different meaning at different times and at different levels of society. Moreover, the level of differentiation illustrated in this study can only suggest at what might also be occurring at other sites in the southern Levant. I would argue that our understanding of this period could be greatly enhanced through the development of a kaleidoscope of studies of this kind and may also serve to confirm that we may not be dealing with a *single* 'Late Bronze Age', but *many* 'Late Bronze Ages' within the southern Levant co-existing at contrasting tempos.

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9. The impact of trade on Late Cypriot society: a contextual study of imports from Enkomi

Sophia Antoniadou

Abstract

*Recent focus in Late Bronze Age Cypriot research has been on social complexity and the role of trade in the establishment of social hierarchy. At the centre of this study is the role of so-called prestige items in trade and social organisation. In order to establish political and social pre-eminence, it has been argued that élite groups use prestige goods acquired through exchange to maintain positions of power within their particular societies. However, little attention has been paid to how trade in prestige items might have impacted on other facets of Late Bronze Age Cypriot society. This paper adopts a contextual approach to the role of imports and argues that the behavioural changes in the distribution and use of imports can demonstrate whether trade has influenced or not Late Cypriot society. In an attempt to monitor the receptivity and acceptance of imports by a community, this paper examines the site of Enkomi-*Ayios Iakovos*, in detail looking specifically at the contexts in which imported prestige items are found, what they are found with and the social life of the objects from acquisition to deposition.*

Introduction

The idea that trade is an important politico-economic as well as social phenomenon has become a well-established concept in the study of Bronze Age Mediterranean archaeology. A prime focus in studies of Bronze Age Cyprus is the investigation of the island's external contacts and trading activity with the surrounding areas in the Mediterranean basin during the Late Bronze Age. It is generally assumed that during the Cypriot Late Bronze Age the driving force behind the involvement of Cyprus in international trade was its new role as a copper supplier. During the earlier periods of Cypriot Prehistory internal changes were also linked to copper exploitation. However, access to and exploitation of copper seems to have been a regional or inter-regional phenomenon (Knapp 1994, 280). What is new during the Late Bronze Age is Cyprus's role as a copper supplier to external markets. External trade is considered as an important factor in the internal developments associated with the rise and maintenance of newly founded urban centres (Sherratt and Sherratt 1991). All models of trade mechanisms, which have so far been employed in the study of Late Bronze Age imports in Cyprus, include the notion of demand for and the control over prestige goods (e.g. Knapp 1986, 1994) otherwise called 'wealth finance' (e.g. Brumfiel and Earle 1987).

However, little attention has been paid to the impact which imports, prestige or not, might have had on different aspects of Cypriot Late Bronze Age society. Although exotic or prestige goods convey information about power and are crucial elements in understanding political ideologies, they attain significance only if given to them by the consumer. Taking this as a starting point, this paper will examine how imports were received and therefore used by the inhabitants of Enkomi, a large site occupied from the end of the 17th century BC until the 11th century BC. The analysis focuses, however, on later periods of the site, from the 14th century BC (Cypriot Late Bronze Age IIC) until the beginning of the 12th century BC (Cypriot Late Bronze Age IIIA), because earlier deposits of the site are under-represented. It is suggested that distribution and contextual analyses will indicate the use of imports and can provide further insights on how these were integrated into Cypriot Late Bronze Age communities.

Trade in context

Imports, the material result of a trade/exchange transaction between at least two parties, can be either gifts or commodities. Modifying Appadurai's (1986, 16) set of distinctions for commodities, imports can be seen as either objects intended by their producers to be traded, or as objects which, although intended for other uses, are ultimately traded. Both categories are contingent on the

way in which imports are traded and can be understood within the context of the incentives for both production and trade. Yet this concept can be partly utilised in archaeological terms because trading mechanisms – or the motivations and intentions of people who trade – are not always understood and cannot always be identified in the material culture. Moreover, various trading mechanisms were operating simultaneously in the Late Bronze Age and therefore, it is not always possible to distinguish which categories of imports were the material outcome of a specific trade mode.

The focus of this paper is on the objects themselves rather than on the modes of exchange, and more specifically on the use and consumption of imports as soon as they arrive in the recipient society. Trade has a social aspect in which items function as active carriers or transmitters of cultural information, 'cultural' in the sense of material culture and practices with fluid systems of social ideas and values (Sherratt 1999, 168). Imports are seen as carriers of cultural information often novel to the recipient society. People and societies interact and exchange goods and ideas. The 'moving' of goods and ideas among groups of people has variable significance amongst the people to whom they are introduced (Schortman and Urban 1992, 237). People may accept or reject goods and ideas. People use imports in various ways that are indicative of the way in which imports are perceived and the 'information' they contain. People do not assign to imports a uniform value, meaning or use just because they are imports.

Objects are active participants in the construction of social realities (Hodder 1996, 15). People create their world in physical form by making use of objects (Gosden 1999, 165; Miller 1987). Imported objects embody the knowledge of production and consumption of the object (Appadurai 1986, 41). These kinds of 'knowledges' are concerned with the formal dimension of an object, its manufacture and stylistic traits or function. Moreover, they are associated with social practices, habits and customs, enacted by people at both the loci of production and consumption of objects.

The nature or the identity of imports is thus twofold. One identity is created by the producers and can be affected by many sorts of variables, such as: the distance between producers, traders and consumers; whether the producers had foreign consumption in mind; and the relation of producers to the circulation of goods. However, as Mauss (1990) acknowledged, the object given in a transaction cannot be completely separated from the people involved in its production, and it bears something of the identity of the giver. Imported objects can therefore retain information about social practices in the locus of production and convey this information to those who consume the objects. Therefore, imports always retain an element of their original owners (cf. van Wijngaarden 1999, 4).

The other identity of an imported object is created by the consumers as they re-contextualise it. The recipient society places the object in a new context, associates it with other objects and values, and uses it for its own purposes. The information which imported objects transmit is evaluated against the pre-existing context of the recipient society and against its own original values (van Der Leeuw 1983, 24). These attributes were not part of the original identity of the imported object (see also van Wijngaarden 1999, 5). Imports, and the information they convey, are often re-interpreted in their new cultural setting; they are evaluated differentially by their new owners. On the one hand, items which might function as symbols of prestige have a very different social significance from those which are used for domestic and everyday activities or from those which are associated with specific craft-working activities. On the other hand, objects may be for everyday use and at the same time a prestige symbol. Imports may be received with or without causing any changes in the local context. The acceptance or rejection of imported goods and ideas is dependent on the degree of integration, which implies the active involvement of imports in local social activities. As such items become more familiar, they may become less exclusive and are perhaps incorporated into local patterns of behaviour (Whitelaw 1999, 33). They may introduce new values, symbols, customs or habits tied to their origins and the circumstances of acquisition. These inevitably also include the practices, ideas and aspirations of the people involved (Sherratt 1999, 169).

The recipient society might choose to incorporate an imported object as a whole or it might choose to copy its manufacture, style or function. Hybrid products can be seen as the result of the receiving society's effort to incorporate new technology, ideas or symbols into its own local tradition, or as the result of what the recipient society, in this case Late Bronze Age Cypriot society, intentionally copied from otherwise unattainable objects. By definition, these artefacts are the hybrid products of Cypriot tradition and of another culture. They are not the direct result of trade between Cyprus and another region. They are, rather, the result of an acceptance of non-indigenous traits by Cypriot society and their integration in local production. These products are indicative of how foreign attributes, such as new stylistic traits, are used by the local communities.

Alternatively, they might be indicative of what Cypriot Late Bronze Age society perceived as more familiar and therefore what it chose to use. What is essential as far as imports and hybrid products are concerned is that *difference*, which is represented by imports, is no longer perceived as such and members of the recipient society may decide to produce hybrid products themselves. It is therefore not only a matter of market accessibility and control of the distribution of goods that make imports or hybrid products usable, equally, it is a matter of receptiveness and acceptance by the recipient society. If imports represent *different*, then hybrid products may represent

similarity or even *sameness*, to the extent that they become part of local tradition.

The impact of imports on a society can be defined as the change in the material culture and its associated social activities caused by the use and incorporation of foreign goods and ideas into the local tradition. In order to examine the impact of imports on Cypriot Late Bronze Age society, imports are seen as potential carriers of information, which is evaluated differentially by the recipient society. Although it is essential to understand and assess the original use, meaning or value that 'imports' had in their place of production, it is equally important to understand imported objects in the context of their receiving society. The underlying problem in previous studies is the lack of context evaluation. Imported objects cannot be seen as prestige objects because the attribution of a certain value or meaning to an object prior to any contextual analysis is considered as a major methodological shortcoming. However well-defined the theory, contextual aspects have to be taken into account for its evaluation (Shanks and Hodder 1995, 14–15). The meaning of things can only be understood as part of their context. Therefore it can be argued that the impact of imports on Cypriot Late Bronze Age society can be assessed only if the context of their use is examined. Contextual analysis can help to identify and clarify the different treatments of imports found in Cypriot Late Bronze Age habitation contexts. It should be made clear, however, that in hierarchical societies, such as Cypriot Late Bronze Age society, not all individuals or groups would have equal access to all categories of imported material or their local versions. Consequently, some imports might, in fact, have functioned as prestige items or may have had restricted use (see Webb, this volume).

Settlement data

Most research of this type has been devoted to either the study of artefacts without taking into account their context or the study of mortuary data. Imports from Cypriot Late Bronze Age settlements and other non-mortuary data have not yet been examined primarily because of their fragmentary nature and because of the effect that archaeological site formation processes have on settlement data. Three recent studies have stressed the need for contextual analysis and used contextual information for the analysis of imported material in Cypriot Late Bronze Age contexts (De Mita 1998; Steel 1998; van Wijngaarden 2002). However, all these studies concentrated on one category of imported material: Mycenaean pottery and its local copies.

Objects enter the material record in different ways, sometimes depending on their use in social practices (Voutsaki 1999, 28), but sometimes through processes still unknown to us. Several studies (e.g. Cameron and Tomka 1993) regarding site formation processes have been carried out, while other scholars working on earlier periods of Cypriot prehistory have attempted to understand how objects entered the archaeological record (e.g. Frankel and Webb 1996; Peltenburg *et al*. 1998). Unlike the work carried out by scholars on earlier periods of Cypriot prehistory, archaeologists working on the Cypriot Late Bronze Age have failed to consider depositional processes, thus making further explanation of the material difficult. Moreover, current archaeological projects, which are paying attention to such aspects, e.g. Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (South 1996, 1997), have not yet been published in a form that contains the necessary contextual and stratigraphic information.

Given the limitations of the material, I have attempted the following analysis using Dikaios' final publication of Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos* (Dikaios 1969, 1971), which is the only site published in a form that contains the necessary contextual and stratigraphic information. This analysis is based on artefacts found on and just above floor depositions of rooms. These are primary depositions of artefacts and they are considered of relatively high contextual value, especially when there is evidence for sudden destruction (Peltenburg *et al.* 1998, 6) of an occupational phase of the site. Destruction processes are regarded as leaving behind a relatively undistorted picture of the material record closer to its 'original' location of use (Webb 1995, 64–70). Therefore, artefacts from primary depositions are used in this study in a simple contextual analysis, the aim of which is to examine whether different types of imports or hybrid products can be associated with different groups of contexts in order to identify their use. Although the sample is small it is believed that a broad pattern emerges which indicates the way in which objects may have been used. Secondary depositions of artefacts are artefacts from the fill of the rooms. This material is also considered here, taking into account that it has less contextual value and cannot inform us about the primary use of an artefact. However, detailed analysis of artefacts from secondary depositions might be indicative of their function, especially when consistent patterns of occurrence can be observed.

The artefacts examined here are imports and hybrid products. Imports are artefacts whose material, technology and style are exogenous to the local Cypriot tradition. These artefacts were manufactured outside Cyprus and they were imported to Cyprus as finished products. Such classes of artefacts are, for example, faience and alabaster vessels, scarabs and amulets, Late Minoan IIIB and Late Helladic IIIA and B pottery. Hybrid products refer to a group of different categories of objects which have neither been identified as imports nor as local products but are either made of imported raw materials in Cyprus or demonstrate external stylistic elements. Such classes of artefacts are ivory items, gold jewellery, seals and locally made Mycenaean-type pottery.

All definitions used in the following analysis regarding the origin of the artefacts, their technology and style follow the excavator's assessments. Studies, such as Kling's (1989) study on Mycenaean pottery, or that of

Xenophontos *et al.* (1988) on basalt tools (which have been published after the publication of Enkomi), have altered and advanced our knowledge about the origin of imports. These studies have been taken into consideration where they relate to Enkomi. The problem of identification of the origin of an artefact or its stylistic traits is a difficult and debated area of scholarship, and different opinions amongst scholars exist. What I have adopted here is what appears to be a consensual position in current research on the origin of imports or the identification of hybrid products (e.g. that Mycenaean pictorial pottery was imported from the Aegean and that by the 13th century BC, Cypriot potters may have begun to imitate such vessels). The function or the use of the Enkomi rooms is also based on the excavator's own assessments (e.g. domestic rooms indicate spaces where living or working activities (cf. Kent 1990) have been identified by the excavator; industrial rooms indicate spaces where copper working activities have been identified).

Enkomi

In 1934, C. F. A. Schaeffer began the excavations at the Late Bronze Age site of Enkomi on behalf of the French government and the Louvre Museum. The French-Cypriot mission was formed with Claude Schaeffer in charge of the French mission and Porphyrios Dikaios in charge of the Cypriot team. The excavations were conducted separately by the two excavators and the joint exploration lasted for ten years (1948–1958). Schaeffer and his successors published several monographs and articles on various aspects of the excavations at Enkomi (Courtois 1981; Courtois 1984; Courtois, J. Lagarce and E. Lagarce 1986; Courtois and Webb 1987; J. Lagarce and E. Lagarce 1985; Schaeffer 1952; Schaeffer *et al.* 1971) but never produced a complete and final publication of the site. J. Lagarce (1993, 97 and 102) noted that the "15,000 m^2 excavated by Schaeffer, were not observed precisely enough to provide material for an entire publication" as carefully and methodically as were observed, recorded and published by Dikaios. The rapid clearance of large surfaces by Schaeffer, uniquely aimed at the discovery of buildings with significant historical information, proved to be less a productive than a destructive procedure of excavation. The excavation of the site was stopped by the Turkish invasion in 1974. Dikaios excavated two sections of the site, out of twenty-four in total (Area I or Quartier 4W and Area III or Quartier 1W), where the results (published in four volumes) gave a clear picture of the stratigraphy of the site.

The following analysis examines the context and pattern of distribution of imports and hybrid products between Areas I and III during the Cypriot Late Bronze IIC (Level IIB) in order to detect differences or similarities in the use of imports/hybrid products in two different areas during the same period. It also examines the context and distribution of imports/hybrid products in Area III/Level IIIA (the beginning of Cypriot Late Bronze IIIA), in order to detect the changing patterns of distribution from the earlier to the later phase of Area III.

Area III/Level IIB

From the earliest period of occupation until its abandonment at the end of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age, Enkomi was the only site that provided evidence of extensive metallurgical production. During the Cypriot Late Bronze IIC (Level IIB), extensive copper workshops were established in the western sector of the Area III building along with two long rectangular tripartite 'megaron'-type halls located at the centre of the building (Dikaios 1969, Pl. 251). These halls may have served as the centre of elite control over the copper workshop during the Cypriot Late Bronze IIC (Dikaios 1969, 67; Keswani 1996, 224).

Dikaios (1969, 67) identified and interpreted the use of three major sectors in the Area III/Level IIB building. The eastern sector, which he says was used for domestic purposes and minor copper workshops, the central sector (with the 'megaron'-type halls) which he says was used for domestic purposes, and the western sector, which was entirely devoted to copper workshops. This was not a clear-cut division as there is also evidence of copper smelting in the central sector and of domestic use of rooms in the western sector. The construction of the fortification wall is dated to the Cypriot Late Bronze IIC and was built soon before the final destruction of Level IIB.

A different interpretation of the building's use has been put forward by Pickles and Peltenburg (1998, 88) who instead of three major sectors, divided the building "into four discrete multi-roomed units constructed around the core Rooms 87, 27/3C, 1/59 and 47" thus dismissing the 'megaron'-type rooms. These four units are defined as a group of Enkomi Quartier 1W houses. Their division, which is based on the fact that the four groups of rooms are not interconnected, better explains why metallurgical activities are attested in areas other than Dikaios's western sector, and why industrial, as well domestic activities, were both identified in the western sector.

Imports and hybrid products in Area III/Level IIB occurred in 34 out of 48 rooms (67% of the rooms) which contained material; in every case these were found with local products in domestic as well as industrial rooms. A wide repertoire of material and artefact types is represented. Imports/hybrid products consist of jewellery items, stone tools, metal and stone weights, luxury vessels and imported pottery (including containers and eating and drinking vessels). However, different classes of imported and hybrid objects are associated with different rooms. Jewellery items such as faience, glass and carnelian beads and a silver ring, all of Egyptian and Syro-Palestinian origin (either as finished products or as raw materials), are associated mainly with domestic rooms, and in particular with the rooms of the central sector of the building (Figure 9.1). Limonite/haematite weights are found in domestic rooms of the central and eastern sectors

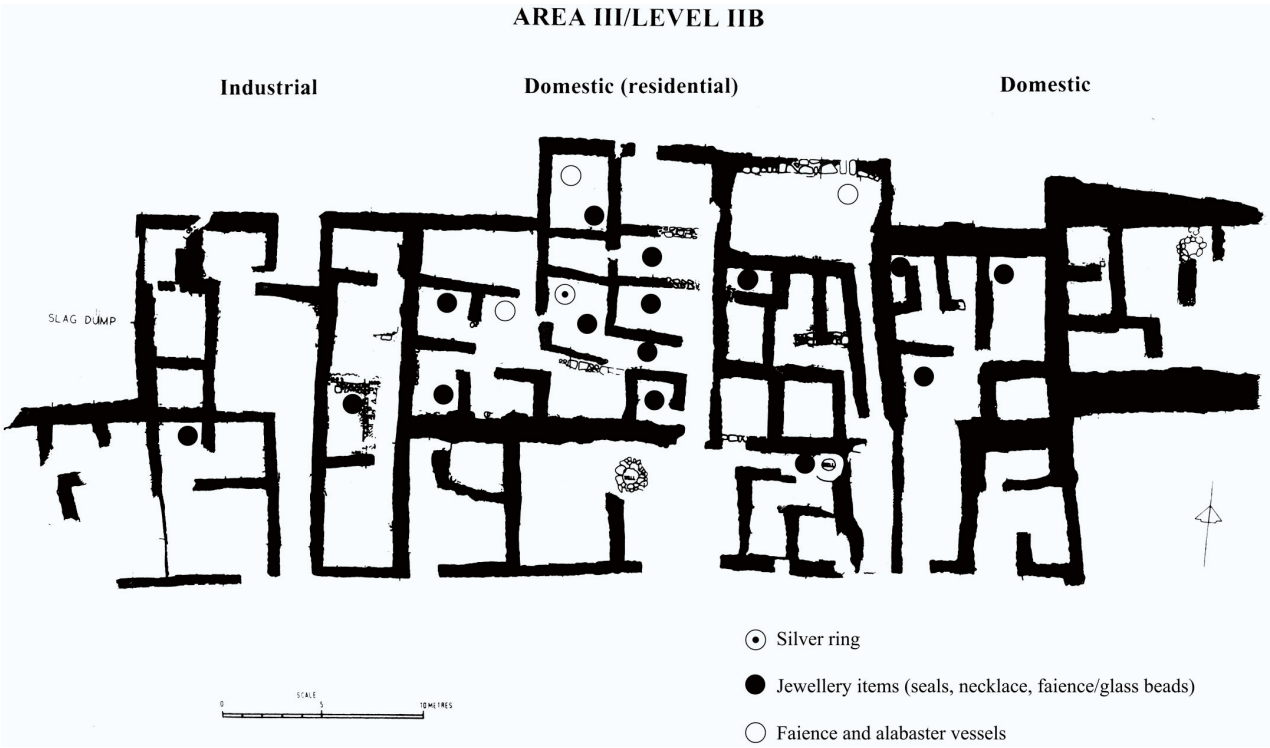


Fig. 9.1 Distribution of imported jewellery items and luxury vessels in Enkomi Area III, Level IIB.

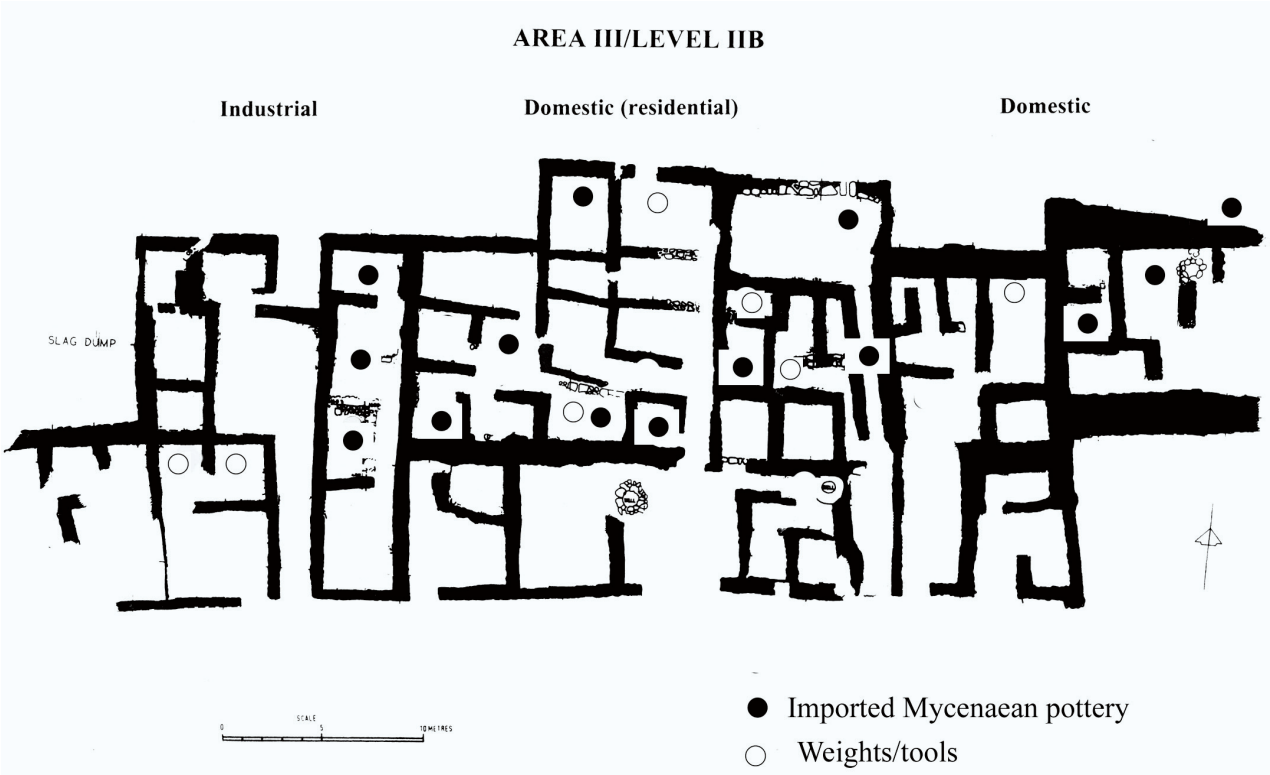


Fig. 9.2 Distribution of imported tools, weights and Mycenaean pottery in Enkomi Area III, Level IIB.

and in one industrial room of the western sector (Figure 9.2). Weights of haematite and lead as well as basalt tools are associated with various domestic rooms in the eastern and central sectors as well as industrial rooms in the western sector. Imported Mycenaean pottery (bowls, jars, craters, dishes) is more often associated with domestic rooms, other than the 'megaron'-type rooms (Figure 9.2).

The first observation that can be made is that imports are widely distributed in the area and cannot be associated with one sector of society. As already mentioned,

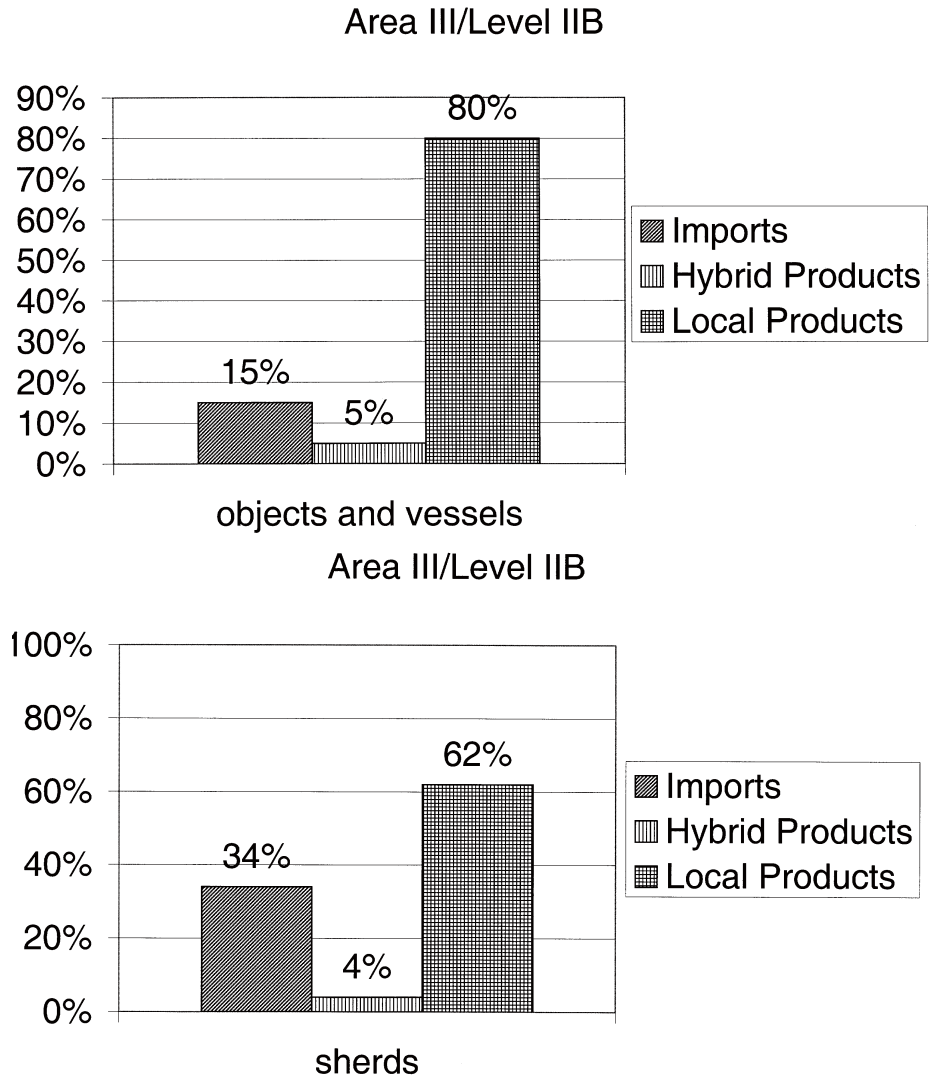


Fig. 9.3 Proportion of imports, local imitations and local products in Area III, Level IIB.

jewellery items, faience bowls and Mycenaean pottery occur in the 'megaron'-type rooms and in other domestic rooms. Only the silver ring (Figure 9.2), which is a personal item, could have served as a 'prestige' item indicating higher social status. It is a unique artefact type found in primary deposition in a room (Room 3) of possibly distinctive architectural style. The clear association of imports with the central sector could indicate that the people who lived there had access to a greater number of imports than those of the other sectors did. Following Pickles and Peltenburg's division, it could be said that the house, which is formed around the core Rooms 27/3C, produced the majority of imported material. However, it is important to note that imports were used by the other domestic as well as industrial sectors of society. This supports as well Pickles and Peltenburg's (1998) division of the building, as there is no clear differentiation between the 'megaron'-type rooms and other domestic rooms.

Hybrid products appear for the first time in habitation contexts in Area III (Figure 9.3) in Level IIB. In primary depositions they occur only in domestic rooms and coexist with local as well as imported material. The first classes of artefacts, which are locally manufactured and have references to external traits, are cylinder seals of Mittanian style, ivory artefacts and Mycenaean pottery, including fragments of craters and dishes. Locally made cylinder seals with foreign stylistic traits occur in the 'megaron'-type rooms in primary depositions and in secondary depositions in domestic rooms of the western and central sectors. None of these rooms has cylinder seals that belong to the Cypriot tradition. However, local cylinder seals do occur in other domestic rooms. Cylinder seals exhibiting external traits do not occur in industrial rooms. Their domestic contexts probably indicate that seals were used as jewellery or as amuletic objects (see Webb 1987, 25–32; 2002, 128).

As already mentioned, imported jewellery items of Near Eastern/Egyptian origin occur in domestic rooms. Locally made cylinder seals, which show mostly Levan-

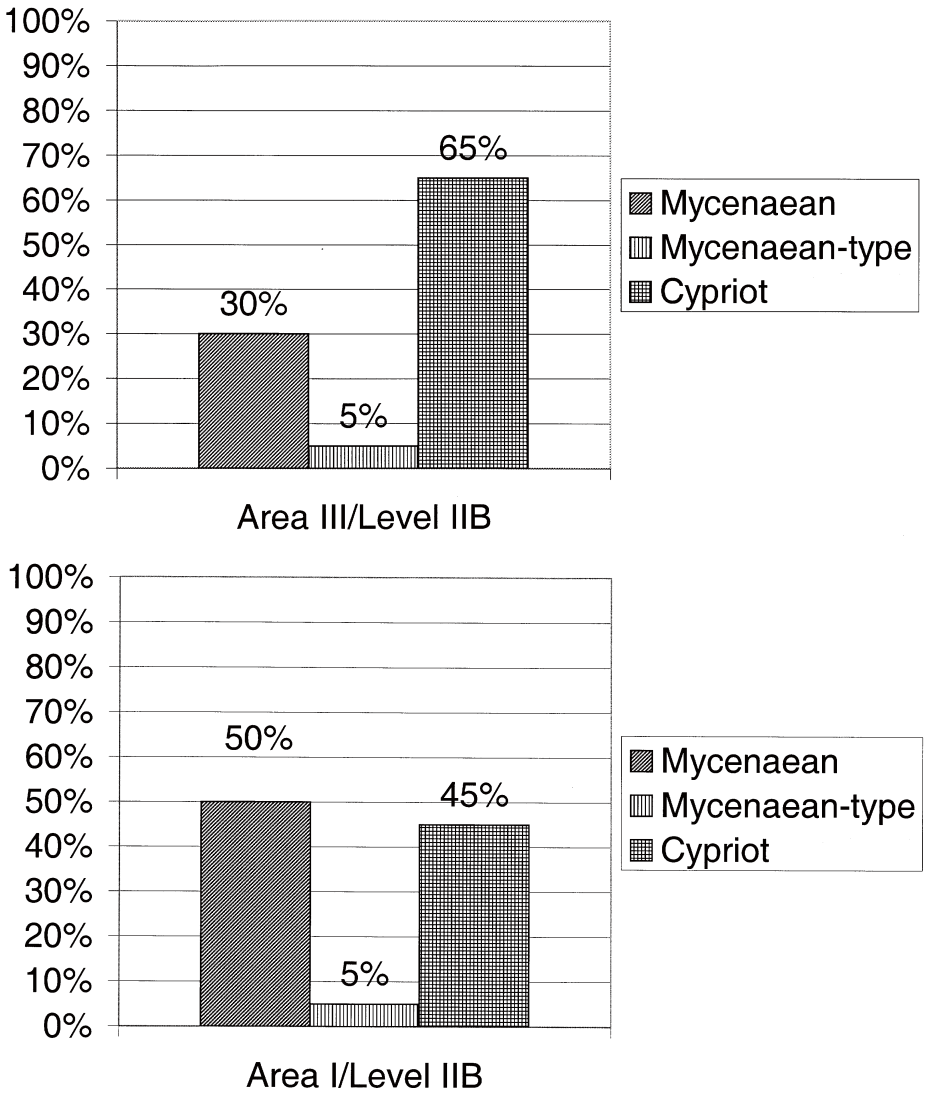


Fig. 9.4 Proportion of imported Mycenean pottery, locally made Mycenean-type pottery and Cypriot pottery in a) Area III, Level IIB and b) Area I, Level IIB.

tine influence, may be jewellery items because they appear in domestic contexts. Therefore, it could be argued that both imported Near Eastern/Egyptian jewellery items and locally made jewellery with Near Eastern or Egyptian influences were used for similar purposes because they both appear in similar contexts. The fact that cylinder seals were not restricted to the 'megaron'-type rooms indicates a similar pattern of distribution and access to hybrid products as to that of imported material. Distribution and access to imported Mycenaean pottery and locally made imitations also follow this same broad pattern. Consequently, it could be argued that imports and hybrid products were used for the same purposes.

Area I/Level IIB

The basic plan of the Area I/Level IIB building was a court surrounded by rooms on three sides (Dikaios 1969, Pl. 271). Due to the destruction episode at the end of Level IIB/Cypriot Late Bronze IIC and the construction of the ashlar building in Level IIIA, the architectural remains of this level in Area I were disturbed. Consequently, only the occurrence of artefacts could be examined. As the artefactual evidence is limited in Area I, in contrast to Area III, it does not provide much evidence for the use of the rooms. Domestic as opposed to industrial use of the rooms is most probable (Dikaios 1969, 166). Therefore, all the material assemblage of Area I/Level IIB, imported and indigenous, is associated with rooms of probable domestic use.

Imports and hybrid products occur in most of the rooms in Area I. Out of 24 rooms that contained finds, 17 rooms or 71% have imports and hybrid products. Imports are dispersed within the area and no true concentration can be observed in any one room. Imports occurring in Area I are similar to those in Area III, indicating that during Level IIB there is no differentiation in the occurrence of

imports between the two areas. Imports in both areas consist of Egyptian jewellery items and luxury vessels, Levantine tools and weights, Mycenaean drinking, eating and container vessels, and Minoan and Canaanite container vessels. Most of these artefact classes were also found in domestic contexts in Area III. Therefore, similar patterns of function of imported material emerge from both areas. Unlike Area III, the amount of imported Mycenaean pottery in Area I is marginally greater than local Cypriot pottery (Figure 9.4). This could indicate that imported Mycenaean pottery in Area I was as frequently used as the local pottery.

The first classes of artefacts in Area I made of imported raw materials and/or demonstrate external stylistic traits are ivory items, bronze weaponry and jewellery, gold jewellery and Mycenaean pottery. This is the earliest level that hybrid products occur in Area I as it was in Area III. Hybrid objects in Area I/Level IIB comprise mainly jewellery items and weaponry, whereas in Area III/Level IIB hybrid objects were mainly jewellery items. However, in both areas locally made jewellery items have evident Levantine stylistic traits (see Dikaios 1969, 256). Cypriots perhaps chose to copy Levantine technology and stylistic traits in jewellery, as this was probably closer to their own concept. This could indicate that Cypriots are more receptive to Levantine influences regarding items of personal use. Aegean influences are absent from such items.

Area III/Level IIIA

According to Dikaios, the building of Area III/Level IIIA was based around an extensive scheme of reconstruction, which followed the destruction of the Level IIB building. In the reconstruction the new layout of the building included the previous Level IIB building with major transformations (Dikaios 1969, Pl. 254). The extensive copper workshops of the western sector of the Level IIB building declined and were 'replaced' by rooms of apparent domestic use. The Level IIB long rectangular halls (Rooms 2 and 3), with the tripartite 'megaron'-type plans located in the central sector of the building, were rebuilt but incorporated several internal changes. The same architectural plan seems to be repeated in the new Rooms 72 (B, C and D), 89A and Room 77, all in the western sector. The excavator (Dikaios 1969, Pl. 254) has identified three rooms (Rooms 34, 35 and 59) as craft-working spaces in Area III/Level IIIA. Room 35 is the only seal carver's workshop so far identified in a LC settlement. As the excavator (Dikaios 1971, 815) and other scholars have argued (Frankel and Webb 1998, 9) this workshop appears to have produced Common Style seals.

In Area III/Level IIIA imports and hybrid products are distributed in 53 out of 61 rooms (87% of the rooms). Their distribution is wider, when compared to Level IIB, where imports/hybrid products occurred in 34 out of 48 rooms (67%). A greater variety of artefact types is represented but still imports and hybrid products consist of established types of gold jewellery items, basalt and limonite tools, ivory items including three plaques, lead weights, faience vessels and Mycenaean imported and locally made pottery. Two Egyptian imported items - a carnelian bead and a faience amulet of Thoth - occurred in one of the 'megaron'-type rooms (Room 72C) and comprise the only finds from that room. Most importantly, the faience amulet is unique in Area III/Level IIIA and therefore, it could indicate that the occupants of Room 72C had access to luxury items of 'prestige' which could function as indicators of social differentiation. This could also be the case for the imported faience cylinder seal found in a 'megaron'-type room (Room 72B), although another faience cylinder seal, which was carved in Cyprus (Porada 1971, 800), was found in the domestic Room 27. This might indicate, however, that although faience cylinder seals could be items of 'prestige' or 'trinkets' not only people who lived in the 'megaron'-type rooms had access to them. Certainly, there is an association of imports with the 'megaron'-type rooms, but their distribution is not restricted. Imports are also dispersed in other rooms, which are spatially (and possibly functionally) associated with the 'megaron'-type rooms, in both central and western sectors, but also in rooms which are not related at all to the 'megaron'-type rooms. A similar pattern was seen as well in the previous Level IIB building, where imports were distributed in other domestic rooms apart from the 'megaron-type' rooms.

Although the majority of imports are distributed in domestic rooms, the majority of objects made of imported raw materials and/or demonstrate external stylistic traits are associated with craft-working and industrial rooms. Hybrid objects from craft-working rooms, most of which are ivory items, have references to external Levantine traits and made of imported raw materials. It is important to note that these rooms have produced a small amount of Mycenaean pottery, mostly bowls. Therefore, an association of Levantine traits and craft-working activities could be observed. On the contrary, hybrid objects from industrial rooms, most of which are bronze artefacts, have Aegean influences (Dikaios 1969, 278). Moreover, the hybrid objects from craft-working spaces are mostly personal items, whereas, the ones from industrial rooms are items of weaponry (as these were classified by the excavator). However, if we consider industrial rooms as another type of craft-working room, then the majority of hybrid objects are associated with craft-working, industrial activities and, thus, technology.

Figure 9.5 shows that while imported objects continued to arrive and hybrid objects continued to be produced on the island during Level IIIA with no effect on demand for the local traditional repertoire, locally imitated pottery is in greater demand than the imported and locally produced pottery. This indicates that locally imitated pottery, which is in fact the Mycenaean-type pottery, is more frequently used than the other types. The fact that imported pottery

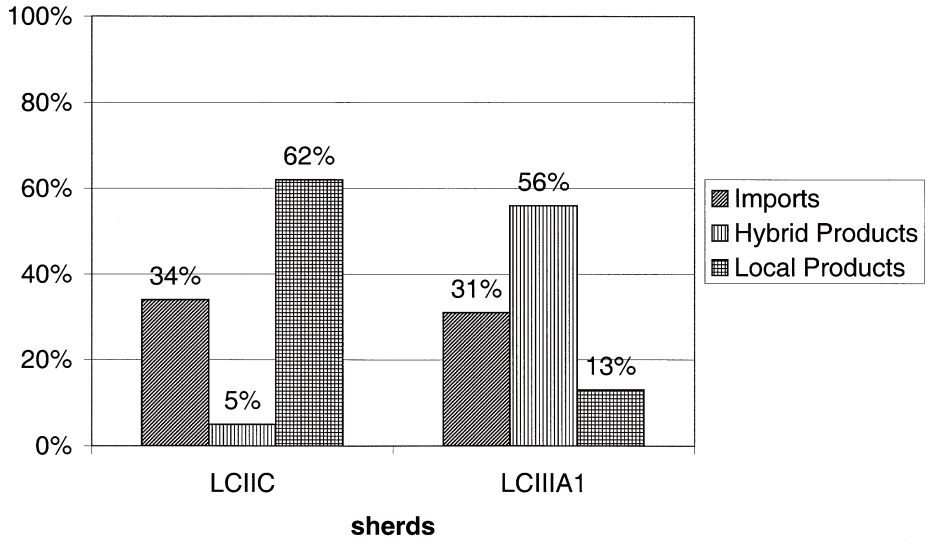


Fig. 9.5 Proportion of imports, local imitations and local products in Enkomi, Area III during LCIIC and LC IIIAI periods.

decreases and locally made Mycenaean-type pottery increases may indicate that imported pottery was gradually becoming unattainable.

Level IIIA is the period during which hybrid products increase, the distribution of imports is wider and local products decrease. Imports are associated with industrial as well as craft-working and domestic rooms, showing that all the main sectors of society represented in Area III/Level IIIA had access to imports. The model of exotics functioning as devices of social status cannot be applied to this Level and Area (for similar conclusions drawn from the tombs (see Keswani 1989, 63). The concept of imports seems familiar to all sectors of society. Original imports and hybrid products had similar functions and were used for the same purposes. This indicates that Cypriot society copied not only stylistic traits, or used imported raw material for the manufacture of hybrid objects, but also copied function and use. Cypriot society deliberately incorporated imported material into all its facets of daily life, as these were familiar and not distant.

Discussion and conclusions

Distribution patterns

The first observation made is the increase in the variety of imports over time and, more importantly, the wider distribution and use of imports. During Cypriot Late Bronze Age IIC imports are distributed in domestic and industrial contexts whereas in Cypriot Late Bronze Age IIIA imports are also found in craft-working contexts. During Cypriot Late Bronze Age IIC in Area III imports/hybrid products occur in 67% of the rooms whereas in Cypriot Late Bronze Age IIIA1 imports/hybrid products occur in 87% of the rooms which contained material. It could be argued that during Cypriot Late Bronze Age IIIA1 imports and hybrid products become accessible to the majority of people.

Cypriot Late Bronze Age IIC is the earliest period during which hybrid products occurred. The first categories of hybrid products were ivory items, cylinder seals and Mycenaean pottery. These categories occurred in low numbers in Cypriot Late Bronze Age IIC and in the same contexts as the original imports. This indicates that the original imports and hybrid products were used for the same or similar purposes. During Cypriot Late Bronze Age IIIA1, hybrid products occurred in large numbers and continued to be distributed in the same contexts with the original imports. Although the number of imports gradually decreases (Figure 9.5), imports are still widely distributed in all types of contexts.

Several consistent patterns can be observed in regard to the choice and use of imports. Imported Mycenaean pottery was widely distributed in all domestic, industrial or craft-working contexts. Therefore, it was never regarded as an object of prestige or as an item of restricted use (see also Wijngaarden 2002, 149). Similar distribution patterns observed for imported basalt tools and haematite/limonite weights or lead items indicate the incorporation of foreign tools into local practices, as these were associated with industrial and domestic activities. The frequency of faience and alabaster vessels in different contexts shows that they were associated with domestic and industrial activities. On the other hand, personal items, such as Egyptian/Near Eastern jewellery, were of restricted use and perceived as having prestige value, since they comprise the only class of artefacts which could be unique items and/or which occurred in more exclusive contexts.

Changes in society

Prior to the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 13th century BC, the majority of imports from Enkomi were distributed mostly in burial contexts, with very few in habitation contexts, and were perceived as rare and exotic. At the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 13th century BC, these rare and exotic objects began to infiltrate all main areas of society as they appear in settlement or non-mortuary contexts. The association of different categories of imports with different contexts indicates that local communities such as Enkomi were able to re-contextualise imports and adjust them to their own needs. The wide distribution of Mycenaean pottery indicates that it was not perceived as a prestige item. In contrast, the association of imported Egyptian/Near Eastern jewellery items with more exclusive contexts indicates the society's ability to recognise the attributes of imports. Most importantly, the consistent patterns of distribution of imports tend to show that imports were well integrated into the local systems of meaning and patterns of behaviours because they were consistently used and interpreted (Whitelaw 1999, 33). The presence of imports which represent the *different* in local contexts, and the subsequent appropriation of these different objects by local people, came about as a result of Cypriot society's active involvement in trade.

Cypriots, residing in sites such as Enkomi had not only developed a taste for imports, but also their knowledge and perception of their surrounding world had become wider. They used imported jewellery for social display and differentiation; they incorporated imported weights and tools into their working activities; and they used imported pottery for everyday customs and habits. By the Cypriot Late Bronze Age IIC, therefore, patterns of behaviour in Cypriot society had changed, incorporating foreign items into local practices. The previous conservative and idiosyncratic character of society had now completely altered. The inescapable conclusion is that the impact of trade changed the social identity of Cypriot Late Bronze Age people. Such a notion is suggested by the wide distribution and use of hybrid products, which demonstrated how well integrated were exogenous traits into the local systems of expression and behaviour. As already stated, if imports represent *difference* then hybrid products could represent *sameness*, to the point they become a part of local production. The fact that hybrid products were used for the same purposes as the original imports indicates that Cypriots were not only borrowing stylistic traits and functions but also customs and habits.

Access to material goods, and specifically to imports, is culturally constructed and actively related to the social structures of the recipient society. Imports were widely accessible to everyone. However, this indicates not only a changing perception of Cypriot society itself but also it means that there was a new social and economic infrastructure which could respond to the need for consumption of these imports. This indicates a change - in essence an economic change - in the social stratigraphy. Imports were not used as devices of social status because the social and therefore economic difference which existed between elite and subordinate social groups in earlier periods was becoming less obvious as local communities actively participated in external trade and had access to a wide repertoire of imports. Wide access to imports did not eliminate social differentiation but should be seen in accordance with and within the context of decentralisation in Cypriot socio-political and economic structures in the late 14th–early 13th century BC (Pickles and Peltenburg 1998, 90). The wide distribution of hybrid products and, most importantly, their coexistence with the original imports from the end of the 14th century BC and during the 13th century BC, should also be seen in the same context. This does not exemplify a case of emulation as a result of social asymmetry but rather, a receptive society which incorporates foreign objects, symbols and ideas into their own sense of identity. It indicates an expression of a wider social reality rather than some prescribed ideological behaviour.

By employing the idea that an object always retains an element of its original owner (Mauss 1990) we can deduce some interesting theories. For example, as Egyptian and Near Eastern jewellery items were the only artefact classes that were consistently associated with elite contexts we might argue that Near Eastern and Egyptian symbols of authority were emulated and used in Cyprus for ideological purposes. If this is the case, then Knapp's (1998, 205) argument for an ideological *koiné* throughout the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean during the 13th century BC seems hard to deny. Cyprus was actively involved in this *koiné*, which presupposes the existence of political and economic organisations that had the capability to respond and function well within this fairly sophisticated exchange network of objects and ideas. This perhaps suggests that Cyprus had political and economic organisations similar to the palatial structures of the Near East, Egypt or the Aegean that might have functioned on a smaller scale or in a different way.

I do not wish to argue here for the presence of major architectural complexes with administrative, ritual and storage functions, such as the Cretan palaces, on Late Bronze Age Cyprus and see it as a result of trade. Even if this were the case, the evidence of palatial organisations in Cyprus is still weak. Enkomi's paramount role in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, which is the only site that has the chronological and spatial depth for such a position, has often been questioned (see Crewe 2004, 280-283; Keswani 1996, 234). Taking into account, however, the Ugaritic tablet with the inscribed name of one of the kings of Alashiya (Malbran-Labat 1999, 121-123), and the idea that centralised authorities controlled dispersed locations of elite craft-working activities, attested in Enkomi Level IIIA (Pickles and Peltenburg 1998, 88), one should reconsider Enkomi's role in the political system of Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

This paper has attempted to show that in order to detect the impact, which imports and hybrid products might have had on Cypriot Late Bronze Age society, the ways in which imports and hybrid products were used by communities need to be investigated. Using data from Enkomi Areas I and III as a case study, contextual analysis was carried out in order to examine the use and the function of an imported artefact. The focus of the contextual analysis was on the association of certain categories of imports and hybrid products with different groups of contexts. Based on the distribution patterns observed it is argued that imported material was actively involved in the social activities of Enkomi's inhabitants in Areas I and III during the Cypriot Late Bronze Age IIC and the beginning of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age IIIA.

All the above information was subject to availability of published material. Certainly future studies will alter the proportions/percentages of the data sets of this study and provide different results on occurrences of categories of artefacts. Different places of origin of imports or of foreign stylistic traits, which appear on products manufactured on island, might be identified. Moreover, future research will provide alternative approaches and may reach different conclusions than the ones suggested in this study. However, what I attempted to do, and considered it as important, was to provide a different way of approaching the material record of Late Bronze Age Cyprus, being aware that this is far from an 'objective' reconstruction of past realities, if such could ever exist.

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PART TWO:
TIME AND CONTINUITY

10. Transmissions and transformations in time and the phenomenon of continuity

Joanne Clarke

> Cultural transmission leads to persistence of behavioural traits through time, but generation by generation, even day by day if our measurements were fine enough to detect it, traditions are modified by accident, individual choices and natural selection. (Boyd and Richerson 1985, 291.)

There are two key trajectories which cultural transmission and transformation can take. The first is cultural change through time and the second is cultural change in space. As the following papers highlight, there often appears to be a resistance to change through time, whereas movement of materials and ideas through space appear to enhance or promote change. Partly, this is to do with the effects of agency, that is the material conditions of social life that simultaneously constrain and enable human beings in their day to day activities and practices (Dobres and Robb 2000, 8; Thomas 1998, ix). It is also partly to do with the "*longue durée of mentalités*" (Hodder 2000, 21), memory and tradition. To complicate matters, cultural change can happen simultaneously in time and space but one domain usually dominates the other. Change in time tends to be characterised by cultural continuity punctuated by episodes of radical change (Boyd and Richerson 1985, 291), while space tends to be characterised by both continuous cultural change and episodes of radical change. This is clear from the papers in this volume, which divide easily into one or other category. Because the categories are quite distinct it requires that some examination of the reasons for this distinctiveness be undertaken. This section then is short introduction to the causes and effects of cultural change through time and how archaeologists might reasonably identify, quantify, and interpret these changes.

Archaeologically, the key difference between exploring the causes and effects of cultural change through time and the causes and effects of cultural change through space is that the former is also an exploration of long-term processes. The culture-historical archaeologists of the post-war years tended to attribute the primary cause of long-term cultural change to external impetuses. In the 1960s processual archaeologists looked for causes of long-term cultural change in the over-arching social, economic and cultural systems that influenced cultural change. Both methods of enquiry went some way toward adequate interpretation of long-term change but failed at the micro scale where archaeology is usually practised. Archaeological method was criticised for being unable to deal with the particular – the individual, the archaeological moment etc. Hodder recently argued that archaeological interpretation should not concern itself so much with long-term processes but rather the long-term narrative should be comprised of many individual moments (Hodder 2000, 25). He argued that what we usually see are individual moments in the archaeological record, in the form of burials, last meals, building abandonments, manufacturing techniques, but we are less likely to 'see' archaeologically, the processes of change. Therefore, there is a methodological problem associated with examining cultural transmissions and transformations in time: how to piece the jigsaw together from the snapshots we see in the archaeological record?

One way is to construct a theoretical and methodological framework in which to examine aspects of long-term cultural change. An approach often taken is to think in terms of evolutionary theory. By applying some of the laws of biological evolution and natural selection to cultural systems archaeologists can, in theory, model long-term patterns of change within structured contexts, such as villages, communities, kin groups etc. Cultural evolution has been debated and discussed for some time now by archaeologists and anthropologists (Boyd and Richerson 1985; Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman 1981; Knight, Dunbar and Power 1999; Shennan 1996, 2002). Boyd and Richerson suggest that culture can be seen as a system of inheritance, and that large amounts of heritable cultural variation exist within and between populations (1985, 283). Sources of cultural variation can include random errors, cultural selection (either direct or indirect bias) and imitation. Cavalli-Sforza and Feldman (1981, 351–357) point out that the speed at which change occurs can be affected by the mode of transmission. Patterns of

behaviour and values transmitted from generation to generation by parents to children, for example, may change more slowly than patterns transmitted between peers. Much of human knowledge is at the level of practical consciousness: individuals know how to take part in their way of life without a great deal of conscious thought and simply get on with it. Thus in their daily lives people produce and reproduce the institutionalised practices of their society (Shennan 1996, 289–290).

The common theme here is inheritance of cultural traits that involves transfer of knowledge, ideas and information either directly along genealogical lines or indirectly between peers. Essentially inheritance of cultural traits may be either biological or cultural. Where cultural traits are predetermined by biological factors, for example, an inability to process alcohol, then certain cultural habits or rituals will form around these biological markers. Cultural traits that are predetermined by cultural factors are more likely to undergo random changes because they are not determined by biology.

The papers in this section are all concerned with long-term cultural transmissions and transformations and the factors that predetermine whether there is resistance to change, slow continuous change or rapid change in response to external impetuses.

Resistance to change is aptly represented by Le Brun's and Thomas's papers. Le Brun argues that the longevity of traditions noted in the later Aceramic Neolithic in Cyprus might indicate the beginnings of a 'Cypriot identity'. This is a good example of where inherited traditions can determine cultural practices over the long term. Resistance to change is not biologically determined in this case but culturally constructed (Broodbank 2000). Thomas, on the other hand, does not go so far as to suggest incipient identity traits in the Chalcolithic period in Cyprus, some 3000 years later than the setting of Le Brun's paper, but notes that some aspects of the Chalcolithic architectural tradition in Cyprus might suggest that although changes in daily life were reflected in material change, architectural forms remained largely unchanged. When a new cultural suite is introduced from Anatolia at the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC, the south west of the island continued to practise existing social and economic activities. Resistance to change was again culturally determined and material manifestations of this resistance were seen in the enduring roundhouse architecture. Thomas asks whether it was habit that ensured the survival of such enduring traditions or whether it involved some deeper more complex process. If habit, then this might be an example what Boyd and Richerson call 'practical consciousness' but if this were the case there should be evidence of change related to external impetuses. However, Thomas highlights that even when changes occur in other aspects of day-to-day life architectural styles endure.

The links between biological inheritance and cultural change are explored in Watkins' paper which examines the idea that as human beings experienced more and more complex situations they developed a material means to store and transmit ideas and concepts, so-called elements of symbolic reference. He argues that the effect of sedentism on human relations was profound and that human beings had to negotiate their relationships in ever more complex ways, this manifested itself materially in the use of objects as spaces for symbolic storage. Neolithic people turned the building of houses into symbolic architecture they structured the layout of their settlements to signify ideas about life and cosmos. Material culture essentially evolved as human beings evolved.

Goring-Morris' paper illustrates this theme. At Kfar HaHoresh, a Neolithic site in Israel, the storage of symbolic and ritual ideas, such as mortuary ritual, gender and social differentiation, are manifested in the mortuary installations and practices. These, he says, can demonstrate a longevity of tradition suggesting that cultural behaviour is transmitted through time and reproduced in similar forms and in similar traditions.

Boyd's paper also illustrates Watkins' theme but this time from the perspective of the day-to-day practice of food preparation. Boyd argues that at the transition from the Epipalaeolithic to the Neolithic food preparation became invested with significance beyond its utilitarian functions and this significance was communicated by being incorporated into different social practises. Essentially, activities, rather than objects were used to store and transmit symbolic information.

Finally Iacovou's paper examines politically and culturally constructed behaviour engineered by an incoming population to have a particular effect on the local population. At the Late Bronze Age/Iron Age transition there is both a new language and a new homogeneity in the material culture of Cyprus. The first is evidently the language of the colonists, the second appears to be something much more complex involving the structured relationships between incoming population and the native population. The clear picture is that change occurs because of a spatial influx of the new but also there is a tendency for the new population to promote old traditions. This is a good example of both continuity and change in both time and space, which is also due to both natural cultural evolution and purposeful engineering.

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11. The Neolithic revolution and the emergence of humanity: a cognitive approach to the first comprehensive world-view

Trevor Watkins

Abstract

It has been usual to say that the beginning of the Neolithic in southwest Asia is a significant time because it was then that people first began to abandon hunting and gathering and to adopt the practice of farming. While there were indeed changes in subsistence strategy, there were also other changes that were more significant. One development of that time in particular represents a crucial milestone in the evolution of our humanity, the facility to operate in terms of symbolic representation. The classic example of symbolic representation is human speech and language, which are now generally thought to have emerged in the form which we know them at the turn of the middle to the upper Palaeolithic. However, this paper follows a suggestion of Colin Renfrew that 'external symbolic storage' is not confined to written language, but is practised by humans in their symbolic use of material culture. In this way, it is possible to understand the Neolithic revolution as the discovery by humans of the potential of material culture for the storage and transmission of ideas and concepts, elements of symbolic reference. Thus it may be said that the first people to be fully human, to share the humanity that is common to human societies in the world today, came into existence at the beginning of the Neolithic in southwest Asia. And the success of their new ideas, new ideology and new symbols was the foundation on which was built their rapid expansion and wide-spread adoption.

Introduction

The thesis of this paper is built upon a good deal of theoretical discussion that is not yet widely covered in the archaeological literature. A substantial part of the middle of the paper is therefore concerned with introducing some of this new material in order to build the groundwork on which the concluding discussion can be constructed. This paper relates to the theme of the volume, since it is concerned with the evolution and emergence of our species-specific, human cognitive capacity to learn, manipulate and represent cultural knowledge, embed it in the context of our minds, and generate further cultural actions or statements, transmitting information to others. It bears on the heart of the process of cultural transmission, the relationship between the minds of individuals and the collective of culture to which they subscribe. Since it will be a long journey through some difficult country before we reach the concluding discussion of this paper, it may be useful to outline that thesis here at the beginning, and also offer a sketch-plan of the route through the difficult country.

The thesis proposed in the concluding part of this paper is that, at a certain stage in the evolution of the modern human mind, it became possible for the first time to formulate and articulate a 'world-view' in which people could situate themselves in relation to each other, to their place in the world, and imagine a universe that extends beyond the world of the physical senses, and which includes supernatural beings. This faculty of the human mind to represent a more or less comprehensive world-view and symbolise and articulate it in terms of material culture was evolved necessarily from an earlier stage, around 50,000 years ago, when *Homo sapiens* had acquired full modern language capability and the beginnings of a faculty to create symbolic representations in two-dimensional and three-dimensional concrete forms. In the new social circumstances of the later Epipalaeolithic and the beginning of the Neolithic period, such a 'world-view', involving religious ideas, an ideology, a cosmology and some infectious physical symbolic representations developed rapidly and spread contagiously. This rapid burst of cultural development began in the final Epi-

palaeolithic period, and took off in the earliest Neolithic, but for the purposes of this paper I shall concentrate on the early Neolithic. Much of what we can see so dramatically demonstrated in the Neolithic can be traced back in some form or other into the final Epipalaeolithic, but the earlier stages in the development need more work before they can be described adequately.

The view taken in this paper is a rather different way of viewing what Cauvin (1994, 2000) has called the 'révolution des symboles' at the beginning of the Neolithic, ultimately engendering the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B phenomenon. In order to flesh out this baldly stated thesis we need to bring into the discussion some relevant ideas from disciplines other than archaeology. It will already be obvious that I do not put in central place in the Neolithic revolution the changes in subsistence strategy that led to the adoption of cultivation and herding. Rather, I am fully in agreement with Jacques Cauvin's view that there were other things going on at this time, social changes and above all what Cauvin calls 'psycho-cultural' changes – developments that were critically important, and with which the changes in subsistence strategy need to be fitted. Much of what Ian Hodder (1990) has to say about *domus* and domestication is also attractive and stimulating, but what Cauvin and Hodder are unable to tell us is what was the cognitive basis of this 'psycho-cultural' transformation, and why this hugely important transformation in the way that people thought, imagined, and articulated their visions in physical symbols should happen when it did and where it did. I hope to persuade you that I can go a good way to indicating an answer to these questions.

As for the route to the high ground at the end of this paper, we shall start with a very brief review of the features of the beginning of the Neolithic that are left out of consideration by the settlement-subsistence archaeologists (as Kent Flannery has categorised them), and which have been placed centre stage by a few authors, including Cauvin, Hodder and myself. To pursue matters further we need to know something of the linked areas of cognitive science, neuro-sciences, evolutionary psychology and the evolution of language. This inter-disciplinary field of studies in which cognitive and neuro-scientists, psychologists, linguists, philosophers, anthropologists and a few archaeologists participate is still very young and is developing very rapidly. The central concern is with the evolutionary processes that have generated what we may call the modern human mind. The implication of that statement is clear: members of the genus *Homo* have not always possessed brains with the capabilities with which we are familiar, and indeed only three or four million years ago *Homo* brains were practically indistinguishable from those of other primates represented today by chimpanzees and gorillas. We are concerned here only with the final stage in that process, the emergence of a modern human mind, minds that work like ours, notwithstanding that they thought about different things and did things differently from us. The position taken here is not only did the human mind around 10,000 years ago work differently from the way the minds of contemporary humans work, but also that human minds 100,000 or 50,000 or 20,000 years ago did not operate relative to what we call culture in the same way that contemporary human minds and contemporary cultures work. Most work on the Neolithic has concentrated on where farming, which we know to be of huge historical significance, came from. This is a teleological perspective. Instead, I want to take a different perspective, one that works forward from the emergence of anatomically modern humans and what is often now referred to as the upper Palaeolithic, or human, revolution. This perspective also involves a rather different, evolutionary time-scale.

For me, the journey towards these conclusions began with the experience of excavating the site of Qermez Dere in northern Iraq in the 1980s (Watkins 1990, Watkins, Baird & Betts 1990, Watkins, Dobney & Nesbitt 1995). The extraordinary elaboration of activities involved in the building, maintenance, modification, demolition and replacement of buildings was fascinating. In each house we found pairs of pillars, symmetrically set on either side of the axis of the semi-subterranean houses, but the pillars were not structural. They were freestanding and had carefully formed shapes; each pillar might be re-shaped, re-worked, re-plastered. If these were symbolic features, their treatment must be considered ritual. Through the 1990s, the evidence of symbolic activity, architecture with symbolic references, images, and signs has mounted. For example, there is Jerf el Ahmar, a small village site beside the Euphrates just south of Carchemish that dates to the beginning of the Aceramic Neolithic period (Stordeur 1998; Stordeur, Helmer & Willcox 1997). At the heart of the village is a subterranean structure with a symmetrical arrangement of non-interconnecting chambers opposite an open area. At the end of the life of the building, it was burnt and destroyed, but not before a decapitated human corpse was placed in the centre of the floor. From the same site we have grooved stones, one of the artefacts typical of this period up and down the Levantine corridor, but in this case the reverse sides have carved signs that are clearly more than decorative motifs. And there are signs, too, on two small stone plaques. From two sites in southeast Turkey, Göbekli (Schmidt 1995; 1998) and Nevali Çori (Hauptmann 1993), we have learned of spectacular sculptured monoliths in schematic human form. They were associated with buildings that are quite distinct from the domestic form of houses, and which the excavators believe are shrines. There are other shrines, too, at the centre of the village of Çayönü, with more monolithic standing stones (Özdoğan & Özdoğan 1990).

We have known for many years about the ritual and symbolic treatment of the dead, and particularly of their detached crania, starting from the excavations at Jericho in the 1950s. Detached and plastered skulls have now been found at a number of sites in the Levantine corridor, while one of the special buildings at Çayönü was par-

ticularly associated with a large deposit of human skulls, as well as a collection of other skeletal elements. Several sites have produced stone masks, while 'Ain Ghazal, on the outskirts of Amman, has produced two caches of remarkable human sculptures at half-life size (Rollefson 1983; 1998). And in this volume, Nigel Goring-Morris discusses the extraordinary diversity of ritual activity associated with buried human remains at Kfar HaHoresh.

People in the Levantine corridor had begun to extend the range of their symbolic representations and activities before the end of the Epipalaeolithic period. At the beginning of the Neolithic, however, there seems to be an explosion of symbolic activity and the use of symbols. These are more elements in what Jacques Cauvin has called the symbolic revolution than he has allowed. The question that I want to consider, though, is where these ideas originated, and, in particular, why they originated when they did.

In order to speed us on our way, I am taking as read Jacques Cauvin's (1994; 2000) general thesis. On the one hand, Cauvin is at pains to show that the beginnings of farming are not the key point in the process that we call the Neolithic revolution. He shows that people in the Mediterranean corridor had changed their way of life very substantially in the final Epipalaeolithic period, and had begun to extend the range of their symbolic activities. At the beginning of the Neolithic, in the Khiamian phase to be precise, communities experienced an explosion of symbolic activity and the creation of symbols. They began cultivation only after these developments had taken place, or at best they were engaging in 'pre-domestic agriculture' in parallel with this révolution des symboles. On the other hand, he relates his 'psycho-cultural' revolution to the thinking of philosophers such as Ernst Cassirer, the structuralist archaeologist and anthropologist André Leroi-Gourhan, and the work of medieval historians of the Annaliste school who deal in terms of l'imaginaire and mentalités. Somehow, at the very end of the Epipalaeolithic and the beginning of the Neolithic, in a certain part of southwest Asia people began to develop ideas of a supernatural world. The concepts of a female deity and a male principle became elaborated and more explicit, and people began to be able to define their own position in relation to their divinities, and thus sought to serve, emulate and influence these anthropomorphic deities.

Now we need to start off on quite a different path. The evolution of the (modern) human mind and the evolution of language have become hotter and hotter subjects in recent years, as the theories and researches of evolutionary scientists, biologists and geneticists, inter-relate with new research in evolutionary psychology, cognitive and neurosciences, and linguistics. On the edges of this nebula, a few anthropologists have been attracted to apply a cognitive approach to anthropology and the anthropology of religion. And one or two archaeologists have begun to put the archaeological sequence of the Palaeolithic alongside the theories of evolutionary psychology (notably Mithen 1996), or to apply cognitive ideas to the field of material culture (e.g. Renfrew & Scarre 1998).

The best place for us to begin is with the human facility for language. The theoretical linguist Noam Chomsky developed the idea of a universal grammar, a kind of meta-grammar that underpins any contemporary human language. Learning language is so complicated and is managed by almost every infant without systematic teaching, without recourse to systematic examples, wherever in the world the infant is born. Chomsky concluded that we are born with a language acquisition device hard-wired into our brains. In other words, our modern human brains have an evolved predisposition for language. Language is a cultural and not a biological phenomenon, but it depends on the genetically driven evolution of the brain/mind. To account for the evolution of modern language, we must take on board the notion of gene–culture co-evolution. The evolution of language remains a highly contentious area of research and debate, but one thing on which almost all those qualified to comment are in agreement is the view that language capability such as is present in all contemporary languages emerged after the emergence of our species, *Homo sapiens*, around 100,000 years ago, or even around 50,000 or 40,000 years ago.

The implication is that anatomically modern humans evolved full symbolic reference capability. That stage occurred at about the time that *Homo sapiens* emerged out of Africa and first appeared here in the Mediterranean part of south-west Asia, or possibly a little later, as the middle Palaeolithic turned to the upper Palaeolithic period. It is worth spending a minute considering what is meant by symbolic reference or symbolic representation (the more correct psychological term), for it is a uniquely modern human cognitive faculty that operates with such facility in our minds that we are simply not aware of the complexity of what our minds are doing. The nineteenth-century American philosopher Charles Pierce produced definitions of reference that are widely used by linguists, semiologists and other philosophers. In the simplest terms, he defined three levels of reference, of which the simplest and most basic is iconic: iconic reference depends on the ability of the sign to remind us of what it is representing, so the icon looks like or in some other way reminds us of the object to which it refers. Indexical reference is more complex, in that the index can be entirely arbitrary, and the relationship between the object and the index of the object needs to be known if the indexical reference is to be read. This is the way that words work at a one-by-one level, where the word is an arbitrary signifier of the object signified. But language using symbolic reference is much more complex again, because with language the signs (words) take their meaning in relation to one another. At one level, language uses systems such as grammar and syntax to demonstrate the relations between the words that make up a sentence, and a sentence says much more than the sum of the individual words of which it is

composed. At another level, we define the meanings of words in hierarchical relationships: a bluebottle is a kind of fly, which is an insect, which is different from a reptile or a mammal. At its most complex the world of symbolic reference (language and thought) provides us with the framework within which we structure our ideas about the world in which we live.

Palaeolithic archaeologists, anthropologists and other specialists interested in human evolution and the emergence of *Homo sapiens* have been enjoying the idea of an upper Palaeolithic revolution, or human revolution. Soon after the beginning of the upper Palaeolithic period, *Homo sapiens* in western Europe began to draw, paint and incise images on the walls of caves, pebbles and pieces of antler. They modelled the human female form, practised ritualised burial of their dead and began to use items of personal ornament, which presumably signified something to the wearer and the viewer. Steven Mithen (1996) in his recent groundbreaking book *The Prehistory of the Mind: a Search for the Origins of Art, Religion and Science* writes of the modularity of the human mind finally gaining cognitive fluidity at this time. For the first time, human minds that had evolved formidable capacities in a wide variety of domains were able to cross-reference fully across the spectrum of those very different faculties. Yet, from the point of view of knowing the symbolic richness of the earliest Neolithic in southwest Asia, the cultural results of the upper Palaeolithic revolution in the archaeological record do not add up to a great deal. There is actually very little output over a relatively long period of tens of thousands of years, only a few sites produce any examples, and the various phenomena do not seem to make a coherent whole. For Steven Mithen, at the core of the 'upper Palaeolithic revolution' is the transformation of the human mind and its new capacity for symbolic reference. He passes over the Neolithic, saying that it is the complementary economic revolution whose central feature is the adoption of agricultural levels of productivity. That is doing far less than justice to what we see in the archaeological record.

How can we relate the explosion of symbolic reference at the beginning of the Neolithic to the upper Palaeolithic revolution? Is it simply more of the same, just a richer diet of symbolism? I take the same view as Renfrew (1996) in this question. In southwest Asia around 10,000 years ago, cultural complexity and the use of material culture for symbolic representation is of a quite different order and cultural and symbolic development was taking place at a totally different rate from anything we see in western Europe 30,000 to 14,000 years ago. One critical environmental factor that was different at the end of the Epipalaeolithic and the beginning of the Neolithic was the social world of the permanent, sedentary community. People needed to relate to quite large numbers of other people, among whom they lived all the time, for the whole of their lives. The size of the early permanent village settlements suggests population levels that the psychologist Robin Dunbar (1996) believes were at or beyond the 'natural' limit of the human mind to manage. Bear in mind that as the population doubles, the number of social relationships amongst all those people increases by the square. Peter Wilson (1988) has discussed at length the cognitive effect of living in settlements with permanent architecture, as opposed to living in open encampments. Sedentary societies recognise concepts of private and public space, and differentiate the spaces in their settlements according to those principles. Whether in terms of the need to cope with exponentially increasing permutations of social relationships, or in discriminating between private and public space within the settlement, or differentiating the (artificial) settlement from the surrounding natural world, or distinguishing the immediate territory which was extensively exploited and 'owned' from the wider environment, people at the end of the Epipalaeolithic and the beginning of the Neolithic were living in a different environment from their hunter-gatherer predecessors, an environment that emphasised the difference between the near/the artificial/the controlled and the further away/the natural/the uncontrolled.

Just as they began to systematise their physical and human environment, the buildings, the settlement, the groups within the community, their territory, their relations with neighbouring communities and the wider world, so perhaps they also began to use their relatively novel abilities to signify ideas and concepts in terms of physical symbols. Previously they had employed vague and rather unspecific ideas about a spirit world, the kind of animistic world that Palaeolithic specialists are now attributing to upper Palaeolithic people in southwest France. In the Epipalaeolithic and earliest Neolithic societies, it was useful to formulate things much more clearly, and to use the oppositions that were part of everyday life as the basis for further, symbolic oppositions, oppositions between our temporal world and a supernatural world, between us everyday humans and supernatural beings, oppositions between the events and processes of our everyday world and the properties of the supernatural world.

For some tens of thousands of years, they had possessed modern-type languages, among whose characteristics were immensely complex and strictly formalised relations between many levels of symbolic reference. And at the beginning of the Neolithic they found the way to systematise their non-language powers of symbolic reference. What made these ideas powerful, easy to remember and easy to transmit was people's ability to signify abstract and even supernatural concepts in terms of physical symbols. They turned the building of houses into symbolic architecture. They structured the layout of their settlements to signify ideas about how life should be lived within their village communities. They treated the bodies, and particularly the heads, of their dead in ways that symbolised relationships between the world of the living and those who had gone (Watkins 2004).

Finally and most importantly, they symbolised their ideas about the supernatural world and its population in terms of physical embodiments of supernatural beings and forces. The anthropologist Pascal Boyer (1993) has discussed the universals of human religious experience, and our willingness to anthropomorphize and symbolise supernatural beings. Perhaps this capacity began to develop in the minds of *Homo sapiens* in the upper Palaeolithic, but it arguably achieved new levels of power for expression at the beginning of the Neolithic. The great advantage of all this symbolic reference through physical artefacts was that, unlike speech, which is transient, the physical symbolism with which they surrounded themselves was always there, always reminding them, teaching their children. They had learned what the psychologist Merlin Donald (1991) has called 'external symbolic storage', a mode of telecommunication. Above all, these ideas about their world were systematic, categorical, discriminating, ordered. Such a systematic and symbolically rich world-view was ideal for providing the cultural underpinning that could be shared by all those in the community, for they lived in and by and through the symbolic references in their settlements. And finally, such a systematic and readily symbolised world-view was infectious, readily communicated and eagerly learned by others who had the same cognitive skills and the same need to cope with their new way of life. In fact, the modern human mind had learned to generate meaningfully constituted culture, together with symbolically meaningfully constituted material culture. In short, we can empathise more closely with what they were expressing than with the mysterious world of the upper Palaeolithic, because they, like us, understood and expressed something of their humanity.

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12. Life, death and the emergence of differential status in the Near Eastern Neolithic: evidence from Kfar HaHoresh, Lower Galilee, Israel

A. Nigel Goring-Morris

Abstract

Ongoing excavations at Kfar HaHoresh, nestled in the Nazareth Hills of Lower Galilee, have unveiled a modest but hitherto unique Middle/Late Pre-Pottery Neolithic B funerary site that probably served nearby lowland farming communities. A wide range of often unusual mortuary installations and practices are documented, including single and multiple, primary and secondary burials, as well as several plastered skulls. Grave-goods of various types are often found, and some burials are associated with animal themes. Preliminary age and sex data, together with accompanying material culture remains, provide evidence for at least incipient social differentiation, which may reflect ascribed, as well as attained status. Some of the variability may reflect gender issues and associated psychological stresses involved in the sequential shifts of early sedentary communities to subsistence, based first on plant cultivation, and only somewhat later on animal husbandry. Comparisons demonstrate the longevity of such mortuary and cultic traditions, many of which can be traced directly back to the local late Epipalaeolithic Natufian. In addition there are compelling indications for a far greater degree of continuity in mortuary and cult practices during the late Neolithic than previously recognised.

Introduction

The 10th through most of the 7th millennia BC (calibrated) in the Near East correspond to the emergence and consolidation of early village societies as part of the 'Neolithic Revolution' (Figure 12.1). During the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (PPNB, *c.*8500–6250 BC) the entire Levant represented a single cultural sphere, albeit with considerable regional subsistence and settlement variability, which is also expressed in a variety of other material culture realms (Banning 1998, 2002; Bar-Yosef 1995, 2001a, 2001b; Bar-Yosef and Bar-Yosef Mayer 2002; Bar-Yosef and Belfer-Cohen 1989a, 1989b; Cauvin 1994, 2000a; Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 1997; Kuijt 2000a; Kuijt and Goring-Morris 2002; Sherratt 1997).

Recent research indicates that in the south-central Levant at least, sedentary communities of the Mediterranean zone initially subsisted on cultivation and hunting during the PPNA and only subsequently, during the PPNB, on agriculture and animal husbandry (Garrard 1999; Garrard *et al.* 1996; Hole 1989; Horwitz *et al.* 2000). Numerous facets of the archaeological record demonstrate the initiation and elaboration of various social mechanisms and rituals to regulate the increasingly more complex lifeways resulting from rapidly increasing, sedentary communities and changes in the economy, many of which began earlier, during the Late Epipalaeolithic Natufian (Belfer-Cohen and Bar-Yosef 2000; Belfer-Cohen and Goring-Morris 2003; Byrd 2000; Cauvin 2000a, 2000b; Goring-Morris 2000; Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 2002, 2003; Kuijt 1996, 2000b; Naveh 2003; Rollefson 2000; Schmidt 2001, 2002a, 2002b; Stordeur *et al.* 2001; Valla 1996, 2002; Verhoeven 2002a, 2002b; Watkins this volume, and references therein). These settlements sometimes include communal constructions, cult areas, installations and features.

Summaries of Levantine Pre-Pottery Neolithic mortuary practices commonly emphasise the widespread tradition of post-mortem skull removal as being intricately associated with stress relieving mechanisms throughout the Levant. Syntheses usually depict initial primary burials as occurring within settlements, beneath lime-plaster floored houses, with subsequent re-opening of the grave for skull removal, leaving the postcranial skeleton intact.

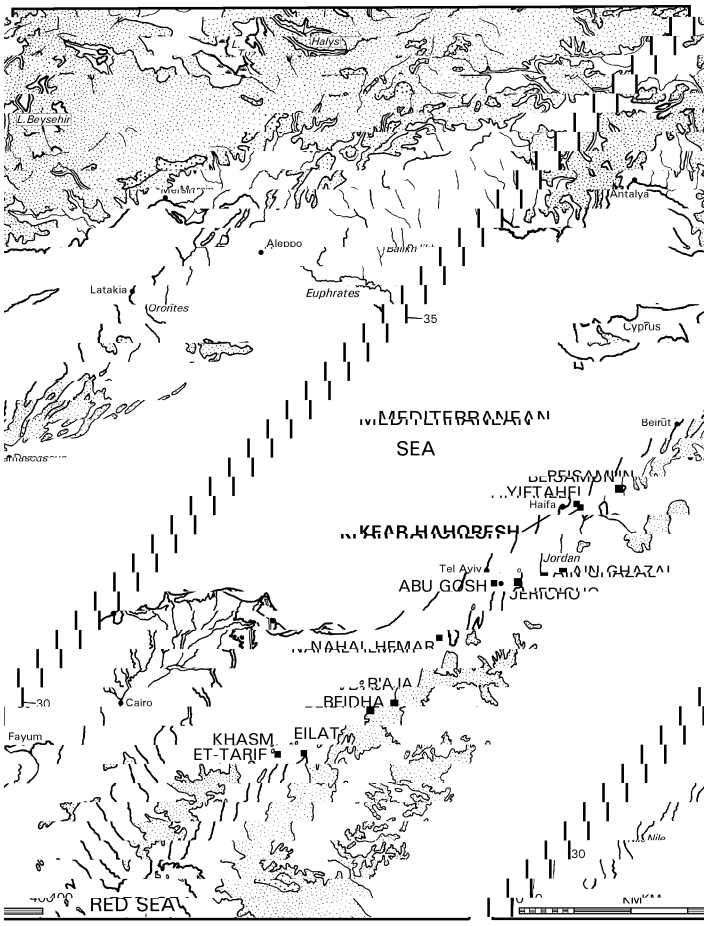


Fig. 12.1 Map of the Levant showing various Neolithic sites mentioned in the text. Light and heavy stippling indicates areas above 1000m and 2000m, respectively.

Grave goods, supposedly, are virtually unattested. Single and nests of adult skulls are sometimes found on or beneath house floors or in open areas. While common, and largely reserved for adults, skull removal was not ubiquitous, since a considerable proportion of corpses were unceremoniously dumped in pits or abandoned buildings and the skulls remained in place (*c.*25% at MPPNB 'Ain Ghazal – Rollefson 2000, 170). Young children and especially infants are generally reputed not to have received any special treatments. A small fraction of adult skulls, arguably male, were subjected to further treatments, especially during the Middle and Late PPNB, including the spectacular remodelling of facial features (Bar-Yosef and Alon 1988; Bonogofsky 2001; de Contenson 1992, 2000; Kenyon 1970; Lechevallier 1978; Rollefson *et al.* 1999; Simmons *et al.* 1990; Strouhal 1973). A few apparently also were deformed *in vivo* (Meiklejohn *et al.* 1992). To date the various treatments afforded the dead thus represent an obvious instance of differential status within Early Neolithic societies, widely interpreted as representing a 'cult of the ancestors/heroes' and some have even claimed that it represents a gerontocracy (Arensburg and Hershkovitz 1989). Plaster statues and stone masks are also cited as intricately associated with PPNB cosmological beliefs, as is the 'cult of the bull' (Cauvin 1994, 2000a; Rollefson 2000; Schmandt-Basserat 1998, 2002). With the devolution of PPNB society and the emergence of the Late (Pottery) Neolithic mortuary and associated rituals, together with many facets of PPNB life-ways, are portrayed as changing radically (Gopher 1996; Gopher and Hershkovitz 1994; Gopher and Orelle 1995; Hershkovitz and Gopher 1990; Rollefson 2000).

Yet, to date, and notwithstanding a plethora of new field projects in the Levant during the past two decades, few essays have specifically and systematically addressed the question of early Neolithic mortuary and other ritual practices, and the potential emergence of social differentiation and ranked societies during the Neolithic. Researchers, in passing, have often noted the apparent paucity of burials within settlements (e.g. Rollefson 2000, 169) but where are the 'missing' human remains? Indeed, how do early Neolithic funerary practices correlate with the living communities? This naturally raises numerous questions as to whether the mortuary treatments outlined above really are normative? If, indeed the modelled skulls are all of young adults then it seems the practice, indeed, is more likely to reflect attained rather than ascribed status.

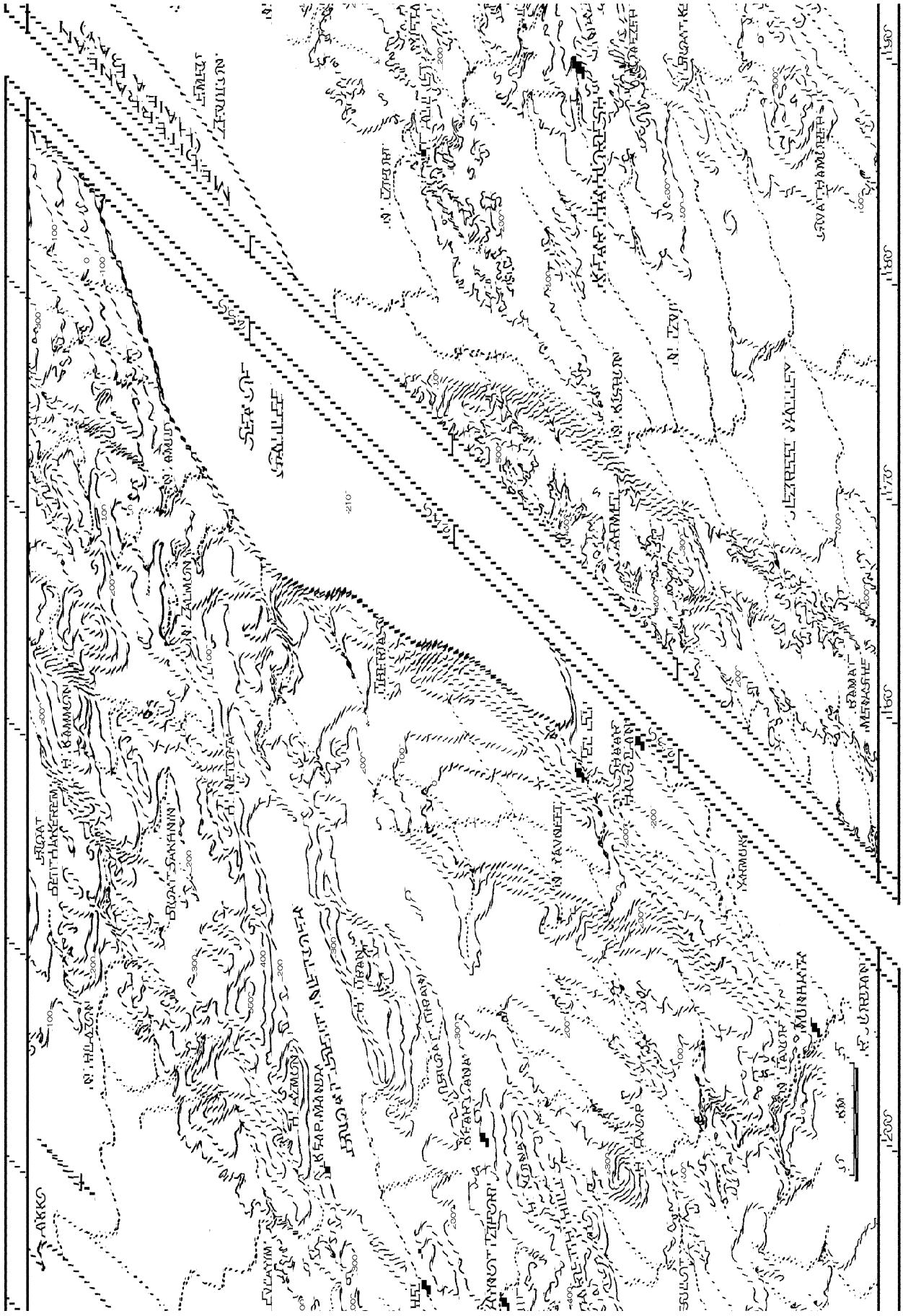


Fig. 12.2 Map showing the location of Kfar HaHoresh and other PPNB sites in the lower Galilee.

But are there other lines of evidence to suggest incipient inherited status? Skull removal began much earlier, during the Natufian (Belfer-Cohen 1988), but do other associated ritual behaviours and features also display such longevity? Are Late (Pottery) Neolithic and later mortuary and other cultic practices really so different from those of the PPNB?

Ongoing investigations at the small site of Kfar HaHoresh in lower Galilee, Israel, have revealed a series of unique and previously undocumented facets of early Neolithic funerary practices in the south-central Levant. The site has interpreted been interpreted as a modest settlement (Goring-Morris 2000). However, though the variety and range of material culture remains hardly differs from those in settlement sites, the totality of contextual associations seem to set Kfar HaHoresh apart from its contemporaries in the region. Indeed, the available evidence now appears to indicate that it should rather be interpreted as a regional funerary and cult centre (Figure 12.2).

A brief description of the site follows, focusing primarily on the range of funerary architecture and associated mortuary practices. These results clearly indicate that a major re-evaluation of PPNB, as well as earlier and later funerary and cult traditions is timely and warranted. It is precisely the contextual evidence of the various mortuary treatments afforded that provide intriguing and provocative evidence for the possible emergence of social ranking, both attained and ascribed (i.e. inherited). Tentatively, the results obtained to date may also throw light on gender roles and associated psychological issues relating to the momentous social and subsistence shifts and upheavals that occurred during the course of the early Neolithic.

Kfar HaHoresh

The site is located on the western flanks of the Nazareth Hills, a low rounded, rolling range in lower Galilee, reaching altitudes of 570m above sea level (Goring-Morris 1992, 1995; Goring-Morris *et al.* 1994–1995, 1995). The hills are bounded by an escarpment above the broad Jezreel Valley on the south, while the northern slopes are delineated by the narrower Biqat Beit Netofa. Kfar HaHoresh is situated at an elevation of *c*.375m above sea level, on the north facing bank of the uppermost reaches of a small wadi issuing into the Jezreel Valley. The valley adjacent to the site is quite narrow, rising sharply on all sides save the west, and a spring is located in the wadi bottom some 200m from the site. Bedrock at the site is Senonian chalk overlain in the immediately surrounding area by extensive outcrops of Eocene limestone which provide readily available sources of flint. Mean annual precipitation today is 640mm, and soils in the hills are heavy brown and pale rendzinas and grumosols (Dan *et al.* 1975). The original vegetation was probably a quite dense Tabor oak-park forest (Zohary 1966).

More specifically, the site is nestled on a gentle and secluded north-facing slope at the base of a steep hill, in an embayment bounded by a 2–3m high bedrock step presently covered by late Holocene colluvium, while the lower slopes of the occupation horizon have been partially eroded. By coeval standards in the Mediterranean zone the site is small, extending over a mere 1–1.5 acres. The locality is now interpreted as representing a local funerary centre, probably used by populations from nearby (3–8km distant) PPNB agricultural settlements situated at the base of Nazareth Hills, such as Yiftahel and Ayanot Zippori, and Kfar Cana, where expanses of arable lands are readily available (Garfinkel 1987; Khalaily and Marder pers. comm.). Though tucked out of sight, a panoramic vista over much of lower Galilee and adjacent areas is provided from the immediately adjacent summit facing the site, and may have been a factor in its placement.

Within the excavated areas, presently totalling some 425m², at least six distinct architectural levels have been recognised already through the 1.0–1.5m thick occupation horizon, indicating that the site was in use for a considerable period of time (Arpin 2001; Tsatskin *et al.* 1999, 2000). Based on radiocarbon calibrations (four 14C dates on charcoal range between 9270±120 and 8650±50 BP uncalibrated; there is also one other clearly aberrant date on bone collagen), typo-technological and other criteria, all levels at Kfar HaHoresh can be confidently dated to the Early through Middle/Late PPNB, contemporary with Yiftahel (Garfinkel *et al.* 1987; Goring-Morris 1994; Goring-Morris *et al.* 1994–1995, 2001; Khalaily and Marder pers. comm.).

In the main excavation area a few low retaining and/or compound walls cross the site at right angles to the slope (Figure 12.3). Four principal activity zones can be broadly identified through the complex stratigraphic sequence of at least six phases:

1. The *central funerary area* comprises numerous lime-plastered surfaces, low bounding and slope-breaking walls, cists, platforms and associated features and installations, as well as human graves. Two and possibly three discrete grave clusters have been identified to date.
2. An adjacent *cult area*, on the western and north-western side of the excavation, exhibits plastered surfaces of various sizes and shapes, a variety of installations and walls, including single or grouped monoliths and stelae.
3. The *midden deposit* extends especially on the south and west sides of the excavation area, spilling under, over and around the previously mentioned areas. It is accompanied by hearths and roasting pits, with huge quantities of fire-cracked stones (potboilers), together with numerous animal bones and other refuse, perhaps resulting from feasting.
4. The *production and maintenance area*, on the eastern

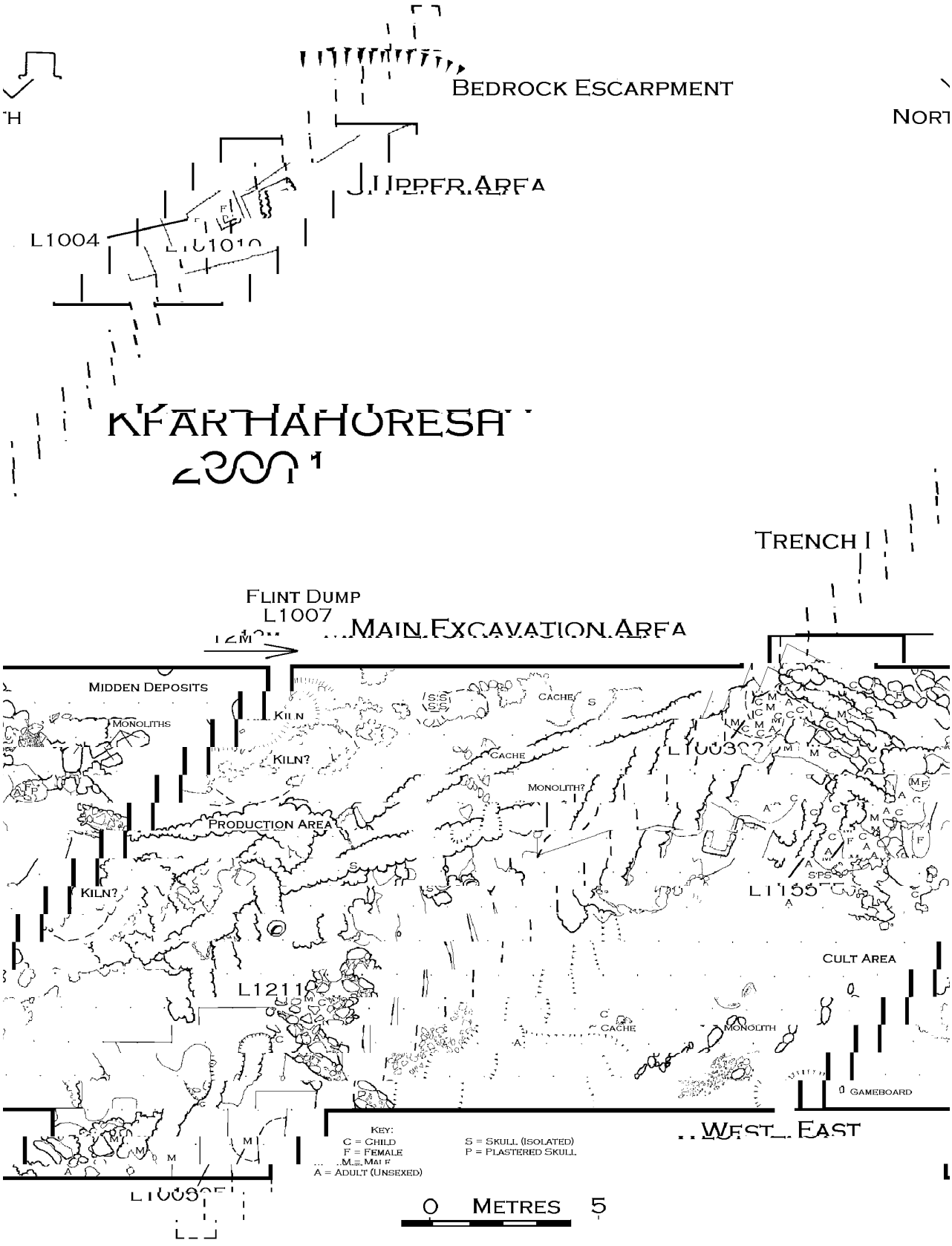


Fig. 12.3 Plan showing some of the main features and activity areas in the upper levels of Kfar HaHoresh.

side of the site, includes kilns, hearths, platforms and items associated with the preparation and application of lime-plaster in some quantity (axes, querns and other groundstone tools, and hammerstones). There are also discrete knapping floors.

Funerary and cult architecture

Within the funerary area are a variety of architectural elements and associated installations and features. Most striking are a series of lime-plastered surfaces, many of which are quadrilateral, though one is oval. At least 17 have been identified to date. They are of variable dimensions (up to 15m x 7.5m), thickness (2–12cm), and quality. Some are associated with stone-built 'framing' walls, one to two courses high, which are usually located on the upslope sides, or by low mudbrick or *pisé* parapets. These plastered surfaces were initially interpreted as the floors of residential structures. Yet, almost wherever they have been excavated or probed, a wide variety of graves has been encountered; it is now likely that, to the contrary (and with the possible exception of the oval structure), they commonly represent funerary monuments capping and sealing underlying graves (Goring-Morris 2000; Goring-Morris *et al.* 1998). Additionally, there are also rectilinear cist, platform and 'wall' graves, though so far there does not appear to be any obvious chronological significance to the different grave types. At Natufian 'Ain Mallaha, 'Habitation 1', with its circular plastered bench and complex sequence of burials, is also perhaps most plausibly interpreted as a funerary monument (see Perrot 1966; Perrot and Ladiray 1988). The possibility that some residential architecture is present at Kfar HaHoresh, however, cannot entirely be ruled out (perhaps for site 'guardians'?).

A few short 'walls', sometimes with a larger central stone or groups of monoliths are found, either as rounded blocks or slab stelae, originally standing to heights of up to 1.2m. (The intentional, differential use of friable *nari* blocks, and harder, rounded dolomitic limestone blocks and stones for construction and other purposes is clearly patterned at Kfar HaHoresh. Stelae and posts continue to feature prominently in much later sacred contexts (the biblical *masseboth* and *asheroth*) e.g. *Genesis* 28, 11–18. See also discussion in Avner 2003.) Some of these monoliths are integral to the funerary monuments, while others are located around the fringes of this area of the site. Much the same can be said concerning numbers of post-sockets, sometimes moulded within plastered surfaces, or more commonly as separate stone-built sockets with circular stone 'base-plates'. These do not appear to provide coherent patterns in terms of supports for roofing; rather they can perhaps be more plausibly interpreted as markers or totems. (Similar features are documented during the Final Natufian at Nahal Oren, in PPNA Jericho, as well as at PPNB Navali Çori in the northern Levant [Kenyon and Holland 1983; Kuijt 1996; Nadel *et al.* 1997; Noy 1989; Schmidt 1996; Stekelis and Yizraeli 1963].) In some instances these post-sockets directly overlie graves; in other cases small upright 'tombstones' or stele mark graves. The likely presence of grave markers are noted also at Natufian 'Ain Mallaha, e.g. Tombe 23 (Perrot and Ladiray 1988, 54 and Fig. 29).

Hearths and ovens of different shapes are either sunk within a plastered surface, or occur as more isolated features. They may be moulded from plastic, plaster/ceramic type substances, be carefully slab-lined, or more roughly lined with stones.

The funerary and associated architectural features commonly display considerable spatial redundancy in terms of the stratigraphic sequence. This is valid for the lime-plastered surfaces, which sometimes partially overlap (perhaps in order to avoid disturbing earlier, underlying graves?), as well as post-sockets and hearths. This suggests careful monitoring and planning of activities within the cemetery area (see below), as is also indicated throughout the complex stratigraphic sequence within the site. In one case a circular 'patch' had been added to a lime-plastered surface immediately overlying a grave. In the centre of the patch half a human mandible had been placed (perhaps previously overlooked in preparing and arranging the underlying grave?).

Graves

Analyses of the human remains through and including the 2002 field season indicate a total in excess of 60 individuals from grave contexts based on the postcranial remains, and also more than a dozen isolated skull burials and numerous skull fragments (Eshed 2001; Eshed *et al.* 2000; Simmons pers. comm.; Vergonzanne 1999). Two principle categories of graves can be defined. The first category comprises graves with an emphasis on post-cranial remains. Most are located within shallow pits, commonly but not always under lime-plastered surfaces. They also occur under or within walls or cists, as well as in the open. They include single and multiple burials, sometimes partially coeval and sometimes sequential, as well as combinations of the two: some graves clearly have complex histories of re-opening for the addition of extra burials. (While some burials are clearly primary, repeated re-use of graves and the insertion of later corpses can lead to disturbed primary contexts that superficially look similar to secondary burials.) The fill within graves is on occasion (intentionally?) ashy throughout (e.g. L1003), while in others a chalky, plaster-like material was sprinkled over the top of the grave as a rough and ready patch (e.g. L1005), sometimes prior to more systematic plastering. In some graves the fill seems to merely reflect the nature of the surrounding sediment. Primary burials vary from supine, through flexed and tightly contracted, whether on the side or sitting, and some must have been bound or placed in sacks or mats. No obvious orientation of bodies has been noted.

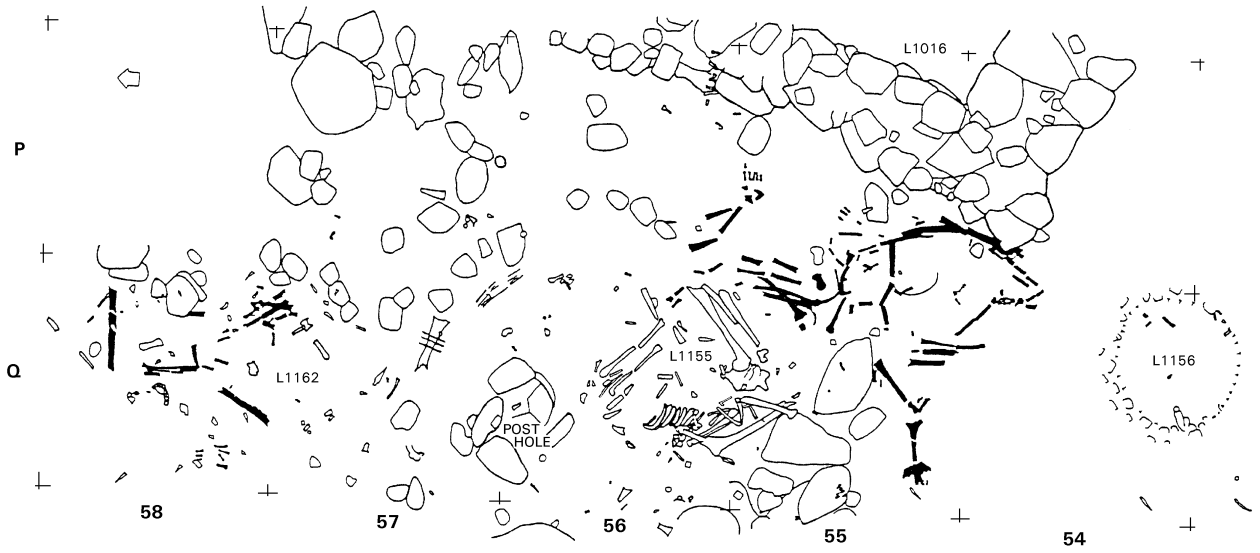


Fig. 12.4 Kfar HaHoresh, Locus 1155, showing (intentional?) arrangement of human bones at the top of the grave complex, immediately below a plastered surface. Grid squares are 1x1m.

The question of secondary burials is complex, and still unresolved. Within multiple graves seemingly random jumbles of bones, and what appeared as small, discrete 'packets', through occasional articulated limb extremities were documented, as well as more or less complete skeletons. Initially, in the field, several of the dis-articulated remains were interpreted as secondary burials. In one large kidney-shaped grave (L1003) two headless primary adult burials, one seemingly with a headless infant cradled in its arms and a few fetal bones in the pelvic region, lined the base of a grave. Above and around them numerous postcranial bones, some in partial articulation, and mandibles representing another 13 individuals were found in an oval arrangement around the periphery of the pit. While some probably represent disturbed primary burials, others, including a package of infant long bones, perhaps more plausibly represent genuine secondary burials.

Most spectacularly, in the top of another complex grave (L1155) mostly human and a few animal bones, some still partially articulated, were initially interpreted as arranged to form a 1.5m long 'depiction' of what appeared to be an animal in profile (Goring-Morris *et al.* 1998). The head, foreleg, back and tail all seemed to be indicated, while the belly and hind leg apparently had been disturbed by a later primary interment (Figure 12.4).

Subsequent complete excavation and detailed anthropological analysis of this grave complex revealed a complex sequence of densely packed primary and secondary burials (the latter in the form of a skull cache – see below). Some of the former were, while still partially articulated, disturbed by later burials. Nevertheless the analysis does corroborate the presence of secondary burials and it seems most parsimonious that the 'depiction' in the uppermost part of the grave complex is not simply a fortuitous arrangement of disturbed primary burials. The concept of such 'designs' is perhaps not so farfetched: human, animal and abstract depictions, using pestles or small pebbles set on end as the medium, are conclusively documented at Eynan in the Natufian, at Biqat Uvda 6 and Khasm et-Tarif on the Sinai/Negev border during the Late Neolithic (Avner in press; see also Goring-Morris 1993; Perrot 1966; Yogev 1983). In at least one other instance a grave comprises a mixture of human elements, representing isolated remains of at least three individuals; these perhaps were found during cleaning and levelling operations during the course of the occupation, and had been gathered together and carefully re-interred.

The second grave class comprises isolated skulls, of which more than a dozen have been recovered. While post-mortem skull removal is, indeed, the general tradition at Kfar HaHoresh, some exceptions have been noted. Subsequent careful reburial of skulls, at the close of their second 'life cycles', either individually or as nests, is usually a distinct phenomenon. However, instances of removed skulls being subsequently placed intentionally into graves together with other postcranial remains is also documented on occasion, though it is possible that they reflect separate events. Surrounding impressions in the sediment (often associated with numbers of small terrestrial shells) sometimes indicate that skulls were reburied either wrapped in, or in a lined bed of organic materials (baskets, mats, textiles, pouches, leaves, grasses or other padding?). Use of such organic materials during the PPN as opposed to ceramic vessels for some burials in the PN may thus mask a far greater level of continuity in burial traditions between the two periods than presently understood and primarily reflect more changes in raw materials for such containers more than anything else. There are several instances of single skulls being buried

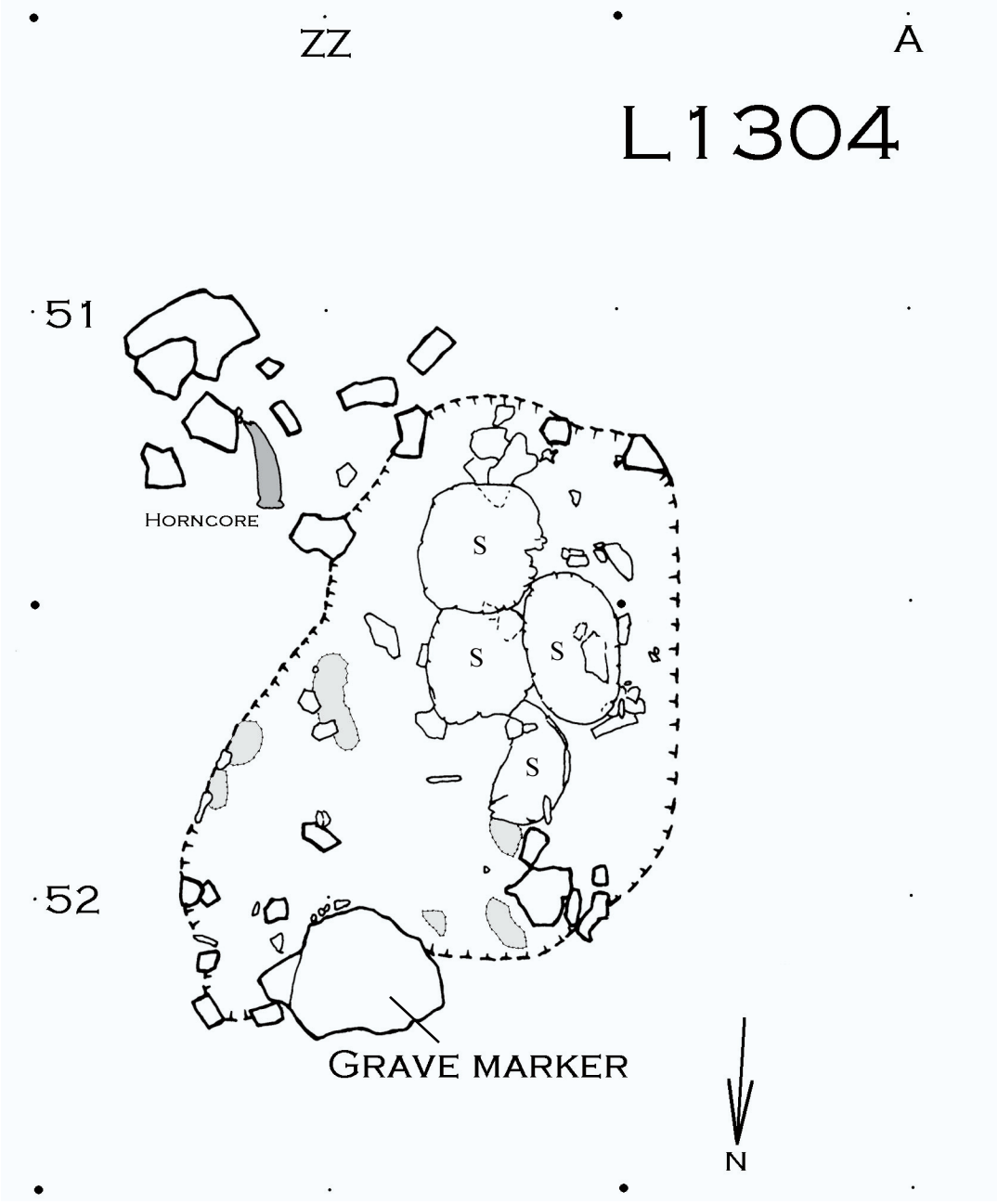


Fig. 12.5 Kfar HaHoresh, L1304, a cache of skulls and 'tombstone' grave marker. Note goat horn core, and shading to indicate organic impressions. Grid squares are 1x1m. S represents skulls.

in separate shallow pits, which were, seemingly, less frequently located directly beneath plastered surfaces. Two adult skull caches (one of three and the other – L1304 – of four) have been excavated (Figure 12.5).

In the case of the former, at least one was plastered, and it appeared to have symbolically 'died' when the outer plaster layers began to deteriorate, at which time it was ritually reburied a second time. Nearby, but in a later stratigraphic context, a poorly preserved clay lined 'bin' or installation (L1036) yielded another, fragmentary modelled human skull. The third skull was recovered from the upper area of the site in a pit (L1004) below a plastered surface together with other postcranial remains (Goring-Morris 1999; Hershkovitz *et al.* 1994, 1995, 1996 – and see below). Several other fragments of plastered skulls have also come to light. All three plastered skulls are of young (male?) adults. The two that have been studied in detail, both males, were modelled in several stages, after which a red pigment was applied; in one case with ochre and in the other with cinnabar, the closest sources of which are located in central Anatolia (Goren *et al.* 2001). Cinnabar was also daubed directly onto otherwise unmodified skulls at PPNB Abu Hureyra on the Middle Euphrates (Molleson *et al.* 1992), as well as at later Çatal

Höyük (Mellaart 1967). However, the use of cinnabar at Kfar HaHoresh is, by far, its earliest documented presence in the south-central Levant.

Although not formally a grave in the sense of the burial of human remains, this appears the appropriate place to describe the contents of a pit located within the main body of graves. Here, there is what appears to be a ritual burial, in a pit or *favissa* (L1363) of fragmented moulded and pigmented plaster remains. These may perhaps represent a bust, torso, or more probably, a 'stand', somewhat akin to those reported from Ramad and Wadi Shu´aib (de Contenson 1992, 2000; Simmons *et al.* 2001). It seems likely that the Kfar HaHoresh specimen may have been symbolically buried when it completed its life-cycle and began to disintegrate.

Grave-goods and offerings

Obvious grave-goods are, numerically, not common; nevertheless they are clearly present and they do demonstrate repetitive patterns, although separation of items which are not obviously within the general grave fill from intentionally placed items is commonly problematic. Furthermore they are associated with all of the burial classes described above, including, perhaps most significantly, not only adults but also children. Two classes of grave-goods can be defined: items actually placed within graves; and offerings placed within the immediate vicinity of graves.

Grave-goods include more standardised chipped stone tool types, such as isolated projectile points, axes, burins, or borers (Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 2001). Interestingly, on occasion there are hints that there may be some emphasis on older, more archaic PPNB types if not as actual heirlooms (e.g. axes with tranchet working edges rather than polished types). There are also instances of stone beads, minerals, sea shells, a large mother of pearl pendant, a lightly incised basalt slab, and 'burnishing' stones (Fig. 12.6). These items are almost always complete.

Additionally, co-associations of less obvious items are also found within or in close proximity to grave contexts. These include: minute discoidal or flat polished pebbles 1–2cm in diameter, very rarely incised, on a variety of raw materials, including some that are exotic (talismans, charms, tokens?) and perhaps also various small natural, often unusually-shaped, red or orange patinated flint nodules. Piles of larger, coloured pebbles were found in precisely the same relative location on two sequential floors of Abri 131 at Natufian 'Ain Mallaha (Valla 1989).

Of particular interest are the clear associations of animal themes in several of the graves (Horwitz and Goring-Morris 2004). Thus in one lime-plastered pit (L1004), under a complex lime-plastered surface, a modelled human skull was found together with a headless gazelle (*Gazella gazella*) carcass. Beneath another plastered surface, a headless, contracted adult burial capped a pit (L1005) containing 356 bones of aurochs (*Bos primigenius*), some in partial articulation, representing portions of at least seven adult and one immature animals, but virtually no cranial elements. There are also one and more probably two instances of articulated fox (*Vulpes sp.*) remains in children's graves.

Examples are found of isolated animal bones (*pars per toto*) being placed directly within graves. In several cases, including children, they include half fox mandibles. Artiodactyl horn cores were also placed adjacent to one of the skull caches (L1304)(Fig. 12.5). These could perhaps represent talismans or charms.

Parallels include clear instances of the intentional addition of animals to human graves as attested during the Natufian at 'Ain Mallaha and at Hayonim Terrace (Davis and Valla 1978; Tchernov and Valla 1997). It is of interest to note the gazelle horncores attached to the skulls of Homo 25 and 27 in Locus 10 at 'Ain Mallaha. A fox mandible is located immediately adjacent to a skullcap on the living floor of Abri 131 at 'Ain Mallaha (see Perrot and Ladiray 1988, Figure 32 and Plate XVIII). Attention should also be drawn to the unusual composition of the faunal assemblage reported from Nahal Hemar, which was thought initially to represent primarily hyena activity, but could also reflect symbolic activities (Davis 1988). At 'Ain Ghazal *Bos* figurines appear in far higher proportions than amongst the faunal remains, while the presence of pig remains in some LPPNB graves is notable (Rollefson 2000). Tortoise carapaces also feature prominently in some Natufian burial contexts (Valla 1991, 1996; Valla *et al.* 1991). Valla (2002) has recently discussed the significance of animal sacrifice in the Natufian and Early Neolithic.

There are also various caches or offerings of items within the general funerary area at Kfar HaHoresh, where the direct association with specific graves is more difficult to prove. Thus two caches of naviform flint implements, one of 16 and the other of 28 items, both accompanied by imprints of wrapping material, have been recovered in the immediate vicinity of isolated skulls. Most implements are unmodified blades, some conjoinable, though they also include single examples of complete tools – a projectile point, a sickle blade, a burin, a borer, a notch. Other, often smaller caches of distinctive flint tools, other objects, or sea-shells have also been recovered in this part of the site. Sometimes there are tantalising hints that magic numbers may be involved, although this remains to be systematically investigated (Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 2001, in press; also Kuijt 1996). Chalk platter and bowl fragments (intentionally broken?) are also occasionally found immediately adjacent to or above some graves and could be intentionally placed.

Other symbolic or ritual items within the site include a variety of so-called 'gameboards' – stones or slabs of various sizes with a series of regularly-spaced drilled holes often, but not always, linked by incised lines. There are also numbers of palm-sized, sub-rectangular to oval limestone or basalt slabs with multiple parallel incised lines. Only a single schematic figurine, carved from chalk,



Fig. 12.6 Kfar HaHoresh, L1352, a headless but otherwise articulated child burial. Note the two pendants. Half a fox mandible was recovered from the area of the right shoulder.

was recovered so far, although a few obvious phallic representations, either natural or carved, have been found.

Grave-goods clearly are associated with both adults and children. For example, in one multiple grave (L1155) the headless, but otherwise articulated burial (L1352) of a 5–7 year old child had a large green and white bead placed in the centre of the mandible, with another green bead immediately adjacent, while a fox mandible was placed near the chest (Figure 12.6). In other instances a fox mandible was placed adjacent to the isolated burial of a child's skull (L1362).

Other finds

A faunal assemblage numbering almost 15,000 identified items has been recovered, with considerable intra-site patterning (Horwitz and Goring-Morris 2004). Three sub-assemblages can be recognised: bones are especially abundant in the midden area, sometimes in partial articulation, while on the east side of the site in the production and maintenance area bone densities are considerably lower and appear to be more weathered and sometimes quite heavily burnt. Finally there are the faunal remains described above that are clearly associated with funerary contexts. The three sub-assemblages also display differences in the species represented, their frequencies, body part representation, degree of articulation, and taphonomy.

In common with other PPNB sites in the north of Israel, the species represented include: mountain gazelle (*Gazella gazella*); goat, probably wild bezoar goat (*Capra aegagrus*); fallow deer (*Dams mesopotamica*); wild boar

(*Sus scrofa*); wild cattle (aurochs) (*Bos primigenius*); red fox (*Vulpes vulpes*); hare (*Lepus capensis*); rodents; birds; reptiles, including tortoise (*Testudo graeca*); and rare fish. Although the preliminary morphometric data are equivocal, goat occurs in much higher frequencies than in late Pleistocene assemblages in the Galilee, likely indicating incipient domestication.

The chipped stone assemblage is primarily *ad hoc* in nature, with a predominance of amorphous cores for the production of flakes, many of which were then fashioned into *becs* and other coarse awls, as well as other less formal flake tools (Goring-Morris 1994). But there is also a distinctive component of naviform blade production, from which a repertoire of more standardised forms were fashioned – sickle blades and reaping knives, projectile points, burins and perforators. A refuse pit located to one side of the site, measuring merely 80cm diameter and 30cm deep, yielded 120,000 items of debitage and debris, but very few cores and virtually no formal tools – the entire contents appear to derive from naviform production. Bifacials, including axes, picks, massive borers and tabular knives, appear to represent a separate *chaîne opératoire*. Various aspects seem to set at least part of the bifacials, as well as some of the naviform components, at Kfar HaHoresh apart from those recovered in many contemporary sites (Barkai 2000. Gebel and Hermansen 2000) have also recently noted the incorporation of bifaces in intra-mural contexts at Ba'ja, perhaps as foundation deposits. While much of the assemblage is made on readily available raw materials, some of the more standardised tool forms are made on non-local flint, and some was heat-treated. There is also a small quantity of obsidian artefacts.

Numbers of groundstone tools on limestone and basalt have also been recovered, including querns, bowls, mortars and platters as well as pestles, mullers, shaft-straighteners and whetstones. A considerable portion of the ground stone assemblage is directly and demonstrably associated with lime-plaster production and application. Nevertheless there may be some association of specific types with funerary contexts, such as large chalk platters: at the Middle Epipalaeolithic Geometric Kebaran site of Neve David stone bowls were directly associated with a burial (Kaufman and Ronen 1987).

A typical bone tool assemblage has also been recovered. Ornamental and other non-local items include marine molluscs (Mediterranean and Red Sea), as well as beads and crayon 'stubs' on a variety of raw materials, including turquoise and malachite.

Discussion

The above presentation of the preliminary results and tentative interpretations of Kfar HaHoresh raise numerous issues and questions concerning the nature of the site. These include: its role at the regional level; incipient differential status within PPNB society; and how these results articulate with the ideological and cultic *milieus* of the Early Neolithic, both locally as well as farther afield. Here very general analogies to early Greek religious organisation and, in particular, the notion of amphictyonies – leagues of neighbouring communities associated with sacred locales – may be useful in understanding aspects of the spatial correlates of early Neolithic ritual behaviours (Belfer-Cohen and Goring-Morris 2003).

So, is Kfar HaHoresh representative of a hitherto undocumented type of PPNB site? The site is small and situated in a secluded setting devoid of significant arable lands. Yet it is readily accessible (perhaps located amongst shared hunting grounds and pastures – 'commons') from nearby, lowland settlements, and the surrounding topography is distinctive and visible from some distance. Göbekli Tepe is also somewhat secluded, atop a rather unremarkable hilltop, near the watershed of the Euphrates and Balikh rivers, a considerable distance from other Aceramic Neolithic settlement sites which are clustered along major river valleys (Schmidt 1995). Nahal Hemar Cave in the Judean desert is also isolated, and clearly represents some sort of repository for cultic paraphernalia. Ba'ja, in southern Jordan, is perched on an elevated ledge, access to which is only by way of a very narrow canyon or *siq*. The excavators have suggested that the choice of the location may be a defensive measure. Yet, to date no evidence has been forthcoming for inter-community, as opposed to isolated instances of inter-personal violence (for which there is sporadic evidence). All other PPNB sites in the southern Levant are exposed and easily approachable, while the walls accompanying some are clearly buttresses against flooding, or subsidence of underlying sediments, e.g. Beidha, 'Ain Ghazal East Field. Although most of the finds reported to date fall within the range of settlement assemblages, the possibility that Ba'ja represents a secluded cult centre should be considered. Indeed, a unique mortuary installation has been reported from the 2000 season at Ba'ja (Gebel and Hermansen 2000). In the northern Levant and central Anatolia there is also evidence for mortuary installations including charnel houses, whether within settlements (Nevali Çori, Çayönü) or as separate cult and funerary sites (Göbekli Tepe, Çatal Höyük).

Although most of the individual architectural elements and features do not differ so radically from those in contemporary settlements, consideration of the contextual evidence of the associated finds provides a unique and quite distinctive overall impression. If the site functioned as a local funerary centre for neighbouring settlement(s), why were some individuals buried in settlements and others here? Excavation reports of settlement sites, supported by remarks of various scholars, indicate that there are rarely sufficient human remains present for the areas excavated for most PPN (and indeed LN) habitation sites in the southern Levant (Rollefson 2000). Furthermore, detailed convincing documentation of primary interment beneath the plaster floors of domestic residences

while they were still in use is actually extremely rare. Burials often demonstrably precede or accompany the overlying constructions (perhaps sometimes intentionally – as foundation offerings?) while others were placed in abandoned buildings (see also Gopher and Hershkovitz 1994; Hershkovitz *et al*. 1986). Intentional intra-mural burials have also been reported at 'Ain Ghazal and Aswad (Rollefson 2000; Stordeur 2003). Thus, while some corpses were initially and even finally disposed of within settlements, many others were immediately or subsequently (after an interval) removed for disposal elsewhere, perhaps at sites such as Kfar HaHoresh. The range of single and group primary through secondary burials at Kfar HaHoresh could signify that corpses were initially stored or buried on habitation sites; and only later, on a periodic or seasonal basis, some (but by no means all) were completely or partially collected together for reburial at Kfar HaHoresh. Of course, this would have been dependent on the degree of decomposition and/or treatments (e.g. skull removal) conducted at the habitation site. There is also some preliminary evidence for defleshing (T. Simmons pers. comm.)

Were the criteria for burial at Kfar HaHoresh, as opposed to within settlement sites, exclusionary, being reserved for only certain segments of the population? Although all age groups of both sexes were recovered, there appears to be a significantly higher proportion of males than females [ratio of 3.4:1, (n = 22) – comparable ratios include 1.3:1 at MPPNB 'Ain Ghazal (n = 33) and 1.5:1 at FPPNB Atlit Yam (n = 32); Eshed 2001; Rolston in Rollefson *et al.* 1985, 106–107]. There is also a pronounced peak of young male adults amongst the Kfar HaHoresh population and relatively few older males (Eshed 2001).

Beyond chronological considerations, if some funerary structures are contemporary, what is the significance of spatial separation? Separate lineages, moieties or some other groupings?

The diversity of mortuary practices at Kfar HaHoresh is especially noteworthy, albeit within more general repetitive themes. There was obviously scope for individual specifics, though within the framework of wider, underlying traditions of considerable antiquity. Male and female adults, children and even neonates were all disposed with at Kfar HaHoresh, seemingly with an unusual peak of young adult males (see above). The same basic array of mortuary treatments, including skull removal, was applied to all ages and sexes. The unequivocal evidence for children receiving most, if not all, of the diverse funerary treatments, including skull removal and the presence of grave-goods, is clearly highly significant. Superficially, at least, this would seem to support the notion of assigned or inherited status. By contrast, the technically most sophisticated treatment, skull modelling, is seemingly reserved for young (male?) adults, at least at Kfar HaHoresh. This practice, then, could reflect standing achieved by the actions or abilities of the individual during the course of his/her life, and hence attained status; this, of course, does not necessarily negate the possibility of skull modelling also reflecting assigned status.

In addition to refuse associated with the construction and maintenance of the funerary structures, there is evidence of intensive cooking and burning – the midden area. Does this represent the residues of ceremonial feasting by celebrants during funerary and associated rituals? The presence of the *Bos* pit accompanying a human burial described above is suggestive of the catastrophic kill of a herd, most likely in a communal hunt (see also Hayden 1995; Hayden and Gargett 1990). Was the site in use year round, or only periodically (seasonally, or on some other basis)? Seasonality studies are being conducted to investigate the matter, and there may be hints that it was in use during at least the winter months. Was the site permanently occupied by a small retinue of guardians/keepers who fulfilled both mundane maintenance and other (ritual) roles?

Why the co-associations of human and animal (mostly, if not all wild) remains within the funerary structures? Could this be related to the psychological stresses resulting from the introduction of domestic animals, and the progressive abandonment of hunting? Valla (1996; 2002) recently discussed the special nature of human and animal relationships within the framework of the Natufian and the Early Neolithic.)

In this context it is interesting that projectile points in Mediterranean zone sites are commonly significantly larger and more intricately worked (e.g. the fastidious Abu Gosh pressure retouched tangs on Byblos and Amuq points) than in contemporary sites in the more arid periphery, though typologically they are similar in both settings (see data in Gopher 1994). This leads to the plausible conclusion that PPNB projectile points were imbued with important symbolic and social messages in precisely those areas where the previously unassailable status of the hunter was now threatened by the introduction of animal husbandry (perhaps size does count!). Indeed, if, as seems likely, there was a time lag between plant and animal husbandry in the southern Levant, it likely had gender connotations. Plant foraging and early agriculture may have been primarily female pursuits. Many discussions on the origins of agriculture have tended to focus emphasis on female imagery such as the fertility 'mother goddess'. Yet, in the southern Levant explicit phallic imagery already appears in the Natufian and continues throughout the subsequent Pre-Pottery Neolithic, as well as during the Pottery Neolithic (e.g. Garfinkel and Miller 2002; Garrod and Bate 1937; Weinstein-Evron and Belfer-Cohen 1993). In contrast, hunting and early herding were probably male dominated activities. The later shift from hunting, probably in the face of diminishing returns, may have caused considerable psychological tensions between the sexes, the likely consequences of which have hardly been addressed to date in discussion of agricultural origins.

Ultimately the origins of many of the material remains associated with early Neolithic cult and ritual beliefs mentioned above can be traced directly back to Late Epipalaeolithic Natufian contexts. These include cult structures, monoliths and stelae, aggregation and feasting, funerary sites, lime-plastered funerary structures, post-socket markers/totems, human and animal burials, and, of course, skull removal. There is a higher degree of continuity between the Natufian and Neolithic in other material realms as well, e.g. lithic techno-typology, than is commonly depicted.

Furthermore, the radical shift in burial practices supposed to have occurred with the devolution of the PPNB and the advent of the Late Neolithic are also likely to be more illusory than current appearances indicate. We simply have very few documented Late Neolithic burials in occupation sites, notwithstanding considerable excavation projects in recent years. [There is approximately 1 burial per 5m³ at Kfar HaHoresh. Comparable figures for other sites are: LLPNB Basta, approximately 1 burial per 20m³ (Nissen *et al.* 1991, 1992); Late Neolithic Hagoshrim, approximately 1 burial per 25m³ (Khalaily pers. comm.); and Yarmukian Sha'ar Hagolan, approximately 1 burial per 400m³ (Garfinkel and Miller 2002). A broadly similar pattern is documented through the 'Ain Ghazal sequence (see Rollefson 2000)]. It is likely that separate cemetery sites remain to be located and identified as such. Also the shift to jar burials actually may reflect more a technological development than a radical shift in burial practices, with the advent of more durable, ceramic containers replacing those from perishable organic materials (baskets, mats etc.) during the PPN (see also Stordeur 2003).

These PPNB traditions reflect both the longevity (at least 3–6 millennia, going back to the Natufian) and the deep-seated nature of the beliefs involved during a period of dramatic, experimental and what were, no doubt, bewildering changes in community sizes, social organisation, economic subsistence, and gender roles.

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13. Transforming food practices in the Epipalaeolithic and Pre-Pottery Neolithic Levant

Brian Boyd

Abstract

The transition from the Epipalaeolithic to the Neolithic has been called the most fundamental transformation in human history. At the heart of this transition lies one basic issue: a change from one way of eating to another. This article looks at how material culture relating to food preparation became invested with significance beyond its utilitarian functions, and how this significance was communicated by being incorporated in different social practices and depositional contexts.

Cultural menus: archaeology and food

Given the eclectic nature of archaeological practice, it seems surprising that until quite recently little attention has been afforded to the study of the social uses of food in past societies. The sociological and anthropological literature has a particularly strong tradition in this respect (e.g. Bourdieu 1979; Caplan 1997; Douglas 1984; Durkheim 1912; Levi-Strauss 1969; Malinowski 1922; Mead 1943). Moreover, there are now attempts to address the topic in a growing number of archaeological studies (e.g. papers in Gero and Conkey 1991; Gosden and Hather 1999; Hamilakis 1999; Hayden 1990). For the most part, though, faunal and botanical remains are still seen as reflecting the 'economy' of sites, the subsistence activities and diet of their inhabitants, and local or regional environmental conditions.

The ways in which people acquire food are social; part of the social act of acquiring and transforming the resources available to them. If we reconsider traditional archaeological definitions of 'subsistence', and think rather about the ways in which people perceive and draw upon the 'non-human components' of their environment, then we become obliged to re-examine the evidence in terms of social practice, not as the mechanistic execution of strategies. Gathering and hunting, for example, are complex social practices which involve preparation, both technical and ritual, co-operation and organisation between the men and women involved, choices and decisions as to which plants and animals are to be acquired, and so on. In these preparatory stages people draw upon historical and practical knowledge, and expectations based upon previous experiences, to guide their procedures, gestures and actions. Similarly, the adoption of cultivation or agriculture cannot be seen simply as the outcome of the success or failure of gatherer-hunter subsistence practices, or as a response to ecological conditions. The (re)organisation of land, landscape, labour and the distribution and consumption of the products of that labour are the means through which people create differences between themselves: those who plant and sow, those who harvest, those who prepare, distribute and consume in different ways, and so on. To reduce this "active, perceptual engagement of human beings with the constituents of their world" (Ingold 1996, 150) to generalised 'strategies' misunderstands the essentially social and cultural nature of food practices.

Perspectives on food acquisition and consumption at the 'Neolithic transition', in the Levant as elsewhere, tend to concentrate largely on elucidating subsistence or economic activities. Debates invariably revolve around a canon of questions relating to first, possible plant cultivation and changes in wild cereal morphology prior to full domestication (i.e. the 'origins of agriculture') (e.g. Hillman and Davies 1990; Hillman 1996). Second, the effects of food storage on the evolution of social organisation (e.g. Henry 1985, 1989). Third, the palaeo-biological use of faunal remains as seasonal indicators, particularly those which are seen as evidence for changes in gatherer-hunter seasonal mobility strategies leading to the adoption of sedentism (e.g. Lieberman 1991, 1993; Tangri and Wyncoll 1989; Tchernov 1991a, 1991b, 1995; Wyncoll and Tangri 1991). Much of this work continues to be invaluable in tracing the morphological development of plant and animal resources, and in the identification of

gatherer-hunter 'economic' strategies. However, the main issue I wish to address here is the general absence of theoretical discussion relating to the social and cultural aspects of the ways in which food – in particular its accompanying material culture – may have been perceived, acquired, transformed, consumed and discarded.

Ground stone artefacts

One way in which we can think through the evidence for food practices is to consider how archaeologists deal with ground stone artefacts. These artefacts – mortars, pestles, grinding slabs, handstones, and so on – have long been regarded as "hallmarks of the Neolithic" (Wright 1993, 93), a "rerequisite to cereal domestication" (Wright 1991, 19). However, in the Levant such items have a long history of use, with occurrences of handstones and grinding slabs reported from a number of Upper Palaeolithic sites in Israel, Lebanon and Syria (Wright 1991, Table 1). Several Early Epipalaeolithic sites (traditionally labelled 'Kebaran', but see Goring-Morris 1995 and Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 1998 for recent refinements to the cultural schema) have yielded small numbers of grinding and pounding equipment, and Middle Palaeolithic (Wright 1991, Table 1) assemblages are similarly low in number and size although do occur with some regularity. In contrast, the Late Epipalaeolithic, most commonly associated with the Natufian but which also includes the Terminal Ramonian and the Harifian (Wright 1991, Table 1), seems to witness a proliferation in both the quantity and variety of ground stone objects, with around half of the known sites producing examples of such equipment (Wright 1991, 1993). Moving into the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A (PPNA), numbers again increase dramatically (to over 70% of known sites), this high frequency being sustained throughout the Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (PPNB) period (Wright 1991, Table 1).

Assemblages of ground stone equipment from the Upper Palaeolithic and pre-Natufian Epipalaeolithic have tended to be treated with brevity. The range of possible uses and significance of such material beyond the purely utilitarian and the broadly 'economic' remain largely unexplored or as yet unpublished (Weinstein-Evron *et al*. 2001; Wright 1992; but see Boyd 1992; Kaufman 1989; Kaufman and Ronen 1987; Peterson 1999; Wright 2000). A reason for this oversight might well be to do with the perceived importance of ground stone equipment within the overall 'cultural package' pertaining to the Neolithic transition. This is characteristically associated with the appearance of plant cultivation and domestication, grain storage and processing and, above all, sedentism. These practices are generally assumed to have their beginnings in the Late Epipalaeolithic Natufian, but for which there is little in the way of direct, consistent and unambiguous evidence until the latter part of the Pre-Pottery Neolithic A at the earliest (from *c*.10,000 BP). In other words, ground stone objects are regarded as more than peripheral only when archaeologists associate them with the circumstances surrounding the inauguration of food production at the very origins of 'becoming Neolithic'.

A second reason may be found in the nature of the surviving evidence for this period of perceived transformation. We have a poorly defined, and by extension relatively poorly understood, Final Natufian (*c*.10750–10250 BP) – the southern desertic Harifian (*c*.10750–10100 BP, Goring-Morris 1991) being something of an exception – followed by a hardly less opaque Early PPNA (termed, by some researchers, Khiamian, *c*.10250–10000 BP). The role of the Younger Dryas here does seem pivotal (e.g. Goring-Morris and Belfer-Cohen 1998) but social strategies operating within and upon those conditions created by such environmental changes must nevertheless be given interpretive priority. To qualify: it is unclear as to the nature of landscape use during this period of more than 600 radiocarbon years (i.e. Final Natufian and Early PPNA). Evidence for substantial architecture is scant, except at Mallaha/Eynan (Valla and Khalaily 1997; Valla *et al*. 1999) and in the Negev (Goring-Morris 1991). Isolated examples have been reported from sites such as Mureybet on the Euphrates (Cauvin 1977) and Hatula in western Judea (Lechevallier and Ronen 1994). The artefactual record remains only sporadically informative (Valla 1995) – the Harif point indicating the probable earliest appearance of the bow in the Levantine record (Marks 1973, but see Bar-Yosef 1987; Peterson 1998; Valla 1987). Large faunal assemblages are rare (e.g. Hatula, Davis *et al*. 1994) and many await full publication (e.g. Goring-Morris 1991; Valla *et al.* 1999).

The botanical record is even sparser than the archaeological, with lack of preservation being but one key factor, particularly in the southern desert regions. The result for the Final Natufian and Early PPNA is a negative palaeobotanical record of 600 years or more. In other words, discussions of the origins and early developments of the cultivation/domestication process are reliant not on direct evidence (i.e. plant remains in context) but on extrapolation from:

1. Pollen analysis (still fraught with difficulties, see Baruch and Bottema 1991).
2. The minute sample of Epipalaeolithic sites with preserved cereal remains [Kebaran: Ohalo II on the south-western shore of the Sea of Galilee (Nadel and Hershkovitz 1991); Early Natufian: Wadi Hammeh 27, central Jordan Valley (Edwards 1991, 145) and Hayonim Cave, western Galilee (Hopf and Bar-Yosef 1987); Late Natufian: Abu Hureyra, northern Syria, which appears to have yielded the earliest domesticated rye grains in south-west Asia (Hillman *et al*. 2001), and Mureybet, northern Syria (Cauvin 1991, 301].
3. The larger sample from Later PPNA sites (Jericho and Netiv Hagdud in the Jordan Valley, Iraq ed-Dubb in Jordan, Aswad, Mureybet and Jerf el-Ahmar in

Syria, see Garrard 1999 for the most recent regional survey and references therein).

4. The artefact record of perceived diagnostic material, specifically and ground stone equipment and flint 'sickle blades' and other tools carrying gloss traces.

The latter (along with the presence of bone hafts) were once seen as conclusive evidence for cereal harvesting, indeed agriculture, as early as the Natufian (Garrod 1932, 1957), but they have been shown to be a much rarer component of Natufian lithic assemblages than was previously assumed (Valla 1984). Added to this, on the few occasions when hafts and microlithic blades have been found together in situ (el-Wad, Umm ez-Zoueitina, Wadi Hammeh 27), the blades do not display silica gloss (Boyd 1996; but see Quintero *et al*. 1997). A recent study of glossed tools from Hayonim Terrace, western Galilee, which combines the archaeological sample with results from modern harvesting experiments, concludes that although evidence for the harvesting of wild grasses and wild cereals seems increasingly convincing, "there is no data from these periods [Natufian, PPNA and early PPNB] that yet support the idea that wild cereals were managed using a system of cultivation, any sowing occurring only sporadically, if at all" (Anderson and Valla 1996, 361).

As for ground stone tools in the Final Natufian (and Harifian)/Early (Khiamian) PPNA, these have been reported mainly from Mallaha/Eynan (Valla *et al.* 1999), Nahal Oren (Noy *et al.* 1973) – although the 'Final Natufian' designation of this site remains uncertain – Fazael IV (Goring-Morris pers. comm.), Wadi Humeima, southern Jordan (Henry 1995), Ramat Harif, Abu Salem and Shluhat Harif (Goring-Morris 1991) and Hatula (Lechevallier and Ronen 1994). Few, if any, of these samples (or those from earlier and later deposits for that matter) have been subjected to residue analysis (but see Christensen and Valla 1999 for some progress in this direction), compounding the traditional assumption that ground stone tools generally reflect plant food processing activities (e.g. Bar-Yosef 1989, 60).

That said, it has been long recognised that ground stone artefacts – including those from Epipalaeolithic and Neolithic contexts – were not associated exclusively with food processing, as the numerous examples stained with ochre and (more rarely) lime testify (Belfer-Cohen 1991, 576, 578–9, Table 2; Copeland 1991, 35; Edwards 1991, 129; Garrod and Bate 1937, 41; Goring-Morris 1999, 42; Moore 1991, 282; Rollefson and Simmons 1986, Table 6; Weinstein-Evron 1998, 96; Weinstein-Evron and Ilani 1994; Wright 1991, Tables 1 and 2 and references therein). The tentative suggestion that some ground stone tools may have been used to polish the plaster surfaces characteristic of many PPNB structures and installations (Rollefson and Simmons 1988, 408) now seems to be further supported by the recent discovery of lime-plaster in a quern, in a bowl fragment, and in the pores of basalt mullers at the remarkable mortuary site of Kfar HaHoresh, Lower Galilee. The excavator correctly points out that, given their context, "these finds call into question the degree to which at least some ground stone assemblages exclusively or even primarily reflect plant processing activities" (Goring-Morris *et al.* 1998, 4). This is a fundamental point that strikes at the heart of current assumptions about this kind of evidence. If it calls into question the invariably assumed role of ground stone equipment vis-à-vis plant processing in the PPNB, then it must be, if anything, even more pertinent for PPNA and Epipalaeolithic – particularly Natufian – assemblages.

Depositional contexts

It would appear, then, that while we may assume that plant/cereal cultivation – along with the first unequivocal evidence for grain storage – was widely practised in the region by the very end of the PPNA (*c*.9400 BP), we are in no position to demonstrate clearly the process of its establishment due to the 'murky' nature of the Final Natufian/Early PPNA evidence. Despite this, the information that can be gleaned from ground stone artefacts – as the focus of this particular article – remains potent, since they constitute one artefact category which seems to regularly cross-cut depositional categories and, as such, allows us now to start thinking more critically about the contexts from which such assemblages are recovered. In other words, consideration of the depositional contexts themselves may give some insight into the different ways in which ground stone artefacts were categorised by the people who actually produced and used them, rather than by archaeologists. To take this further, let us turn to a selection of depositional contexts in which such objects have been found.

1. Mortuary deposits

Given that the evidence for Epipalaeolithic (particularly Natufian) burial practices display no discernible uniformity – indeed each site seems ostensibly different in this respect – it must be said at the outset that no general patterns can be inferred from the published material (*contra* Henry 1985, 1989; Wright 1978). Further, while it may be tempting to predict/anticipate aspects of PPN mortuary practices from the Epipalaeolithic evidence (Byrd and Monahan 1995; Kuijt 1996), detailed consideration of the specific histories and social contexts of those broadly-defined periods must take precedence, on a site-by-site basis as in the examples below.

Two burials from Neve David, Mount Carmel, assigned to the Middle Epipalaeolithic (Geometric Kebaran), display what appear to be the earliest known examples of the deployment of ground stone objects in mortuary ritual. Despite the long history of use in the region, it was not until *c.*13,000 BP that such items were first incorporated in mortuary deposits (Kaufman and Ronen 1987). At Neve David, one of the skeletons (a

tightly flexed adult male lying on his right side) was accompanied by a ground stone mortar fragment which lay directly over the skull. Behind the head and shoulder stood a basalt bowl, and between the legs lay a piece of a basalt milling stone (Kaufman 1989). These associations prompted the excavator to argue for "continuity in ritual behaviour between the Geometric Kebaran and the Natufian" (Kaufman 1986, 122), based upon observations of evidence from Natufian levels at Jericho in the lower Jordan Valley, and Nahal Oren, also on Mount Carmel.

The Nahal Oren excavations uncovered several graves that appear to have been 'marked' by limestone mortars. Generally referred to as 'pipe mortars' (Noy 1989, 56), these are approximately 70cm in height, pierced through the base, and were inserted into the grave in such a way as to protrude above the surface to a height of around 20cm. Drawing upon ethnographic accounts, the original excavators of the site initially speculated that these mortars may have served as tombstones and/or as a means by which the soul of the dead could leave the body (Stekelis and Yizraeli 1963, 5–6). More recently, Kaufman has argued that the association of 'food processing' artefacts with the dead indicates that "these implements took on a special significance beyond their economic importance" (Kaufman 1986, 122). He goes on to suggest that the tradition of associating non-functional 'dead' mortars with human burials began during the Geometric Kebaran and then became more ritualised and standardised in the Natufian (ibid.). However, on reviewing the currently available Natufian evidence, such associations appear far from secure. The majority of ground stone artefacts and fragments from Natufian mortuary deposits usually come from grave fills rather than, as at Neve David, in direct association with the body itself.

At Mallaha/Eynan, in the upper Jordan Valley, a number of burials from the occupation levels have been tentatively associated with mortars or mortar fragments (burials H59, H70, H89), and a basalt pestle (H19) (Perrot *et al.* 1988). From el-Wad, Mount Carmel, Dorothy Garrod described mortar (H. Group 57, in which four of the skeletons lay in a semicircle around a broken limestone, and H60) and pestle (H5) grave associations (Garrod and Bate 1937). She also noted the proximity of burials to an enclosed stone platform into which was cut a V-shaped basin or mortar. Three similar, but smaller, bedrock mortars were situated outside the platform area. The interior surfaces of these mortars displayed no signs of use-wear, prompting Garrod to suggest that the entire construction may have been "connected with a cult of the dead" (ibid., 102). The excavations at Hayonim Cave in western Galilee have produced numerous basalt mortar fragments, some conjoinable, from the fills of, and structures associated with, Graves 6, 7 and 8, as well as several ochre-stained basalt pestles (or fragments of) in Graves 3, 4, 6 and 7. The pestle from Grave 7, similar to an example from el-Wad, had been worked to form the shape of an animal hoof (Belfer-Cohen 1988, 1991).

The association of processing artefacts with graves or grave fills (perhaps placed by mourners during the burial process) could be taken to suggest that people placed some measure of cultural significance on notions of transformation (Boyd 1992). For example, the transformation of grain into food, of limestone into plaster, the culturally perceived transformation of the person from life to death, the transformation of the body post mortem (although I would distance this interpretation from the dichotomous thinking of transforming the 'natural' into the 'cultural' at the earliest stages of domestication, e.g. Hodder 1990; Thorpe 1996). This leads us on to another major context where we encounter ground stone artefacts, and one which is intimately related to archaeologists' perceptions of the 'impending' Neolithic and the shift to sedentism: architecture.

2. Architectural contexts

There are a number of archaeological signatures which are routinely regarded as indicators of sedentism. The appearance of stone-built architecture in the Epipalaeolithic, particularly in the later (Natufian) phase, tends to be viewed as a reliable indicator of permanent settlement. Added to this, the occurrence of the kinds of heavy-duty (i.e. non-portable) 'food processing' equipment discussed in this article, and apparent storage pits, at a number of key sites seems to compound this view. Biological indicators, primarily the appearance of commensal animal species (e.g. house mouse and house sparrow), and studies of incremental cementum growth on gazelle teeth are also regularly cited as lending strength to the argument for a Later Epipalaeolithic origin for settled village life (e.g. Tchernov 1991a, 1991b).

However, if each of the components of this 'package' are analysed separately, it can be argued that these interpretations are less secure than we often believe. For example, the appearance of stone-built architecture does not by itself necessarily equate with increased sedentism, but there is a long-held, and rarely questioned, assumption in much 'Neolithic transition' archaeology that permanence of structure reflects permanence of occupation (Boyd 1995). Here it may be appropriate to comment on the often-made distinction between Natufian 'base camps', which are regarded as 'permanent', and 'temporary camps'. Archaeologists routinely make such rigid distinctions, but how would people living in an Epipalaeolithic or Neolithic landscape have perceived such places? We know from numerous ethnographies that places are usually seen as 'permanent' less by virtue of their materiality, than by virtue of their histories: histories of occupation and abandonment, of movement, of visiting and revisiting, of rebuilding and reworking. More particularly, they are seen in terms of the lives and histories of the people who inhabited those places, sometimes fleetingly, sometimes for longer periods of time. In this sense, a gatherer-hunter camp periodically revisited over several seasons and

generations can be perceived as just as permanent as a village occupied by (some) people all year-round. Correspondingly, Natufian 'base camps' were quite feasibly part of a network of different places that were visited at certain times for a variety of specific purposes. I would argue, then, that the Epipalaeolithic innovation of using stone as a building material has more to do with *marking as significant certain places in the landscape*, places which seem to have had a long-term history of gatherer-hunter use and occupation. The presence of burials, sometimes organised in 'cemeteries', underlying stone-built 'houses' which were rebuilt or reworked over a long period of time (e.g. at Mallaha/Eynan and Hayonim), may indicate not 'permanent' settlement, but rather periodic returns to those ancestral places in the landscape.

The use of 'non-portable' grinding and pounding equipment at some locations may equally indicate a concern with signifying certain places and histories. Large mortars have been found embedded in house floors (at Mallaha and elsewhere), and there are a few examples of mortar fragments being used as part of the fabric of house wall construction (Netiv Hagdud, Hayonim, Wadi Hammeh 27) or, as discussed above, in mortuary contexts (Nahal Oren). Large standing mortars, or more evocatively, those hewn from bedrock (e.g. at el-Wad, Hatula, Wadi Humeima) would have been fixed features of those sites, forming part of the historical significance of such places and landscapes. Perhaps the most striking example comes from Saflulim in the Negev, where a concentration of between 150 and 200 deep bedrock mortars, cupmarks and open grinding surfaces has been recorded on a bedrock ledge below the site, and there are further clusters in the immediate vicinity (Goring-Morris 1999, 42). The Negev site of Upper Besor 6 is a further case in point (Goring-Morris 1998).

Some comments

I have developed this argument in some detail elsewhere (Boyd 2005), but to conclude this brief article some final points of clarification are necessary. My argument has been that we can regard food processing as just one of a range of different practices into which ground stone artefacts were drawn. This does not preclude the strong likelihood that some items functioned solely as food processing equipment in certain contexts. It is becoming increasingly accepted, however, that objects are often assigned a variety of roles in their 'cultural biographies' (e.g. Gosden and Marshall 1999; Kopytoff 1986), and that the 'lives' of artefacts are interwoven with the social biographies of the people who produce, exchange, consume and discard those artefacts (Hoskins 1998). In the Epipalaeolithic and Pre-Pottery Neolithic Levant ground stone objects were employed in a variety of practices: food processing, grinding ochre pigments, lime-plaster production (and possibly application), in mortuary contexts, and so on. It is quite conceivable that certain items served a number of different social roles during their 'lives', perhaps used by a specific person for a particular task before being carried into another range of practices in which they took on a new or different significance. Some may have been used for a while before being simply discarded. Vogel describes how, near Livingstone (Zambia), grindstones, once they have reached the end of their 'domestic' use, are either discarded in local fields or take on a new role as grave markers. Those chosen as grave markers are protected by, in this particular case, local elderly women (Vogel 1993, 339). Comparisons with the Levantine evidence are obviously inappropriate, but this example provides a salutary lesson on the dangers of assuming a restricted range of utilitarian functions – and interpreted meanings – for even the most 'mundane' of objects.

The social significance of ground stone objects during the Later Epipalaeolithic at any rate is unquestionable, as Weinstein-Evron *et al.* (1999) have demonstrated. Their recent sourcing of basalt implements from el-Wad, Hayonim and Mallaha/Eynan suggests that the raw material for these objects – if not the objects themselves – was procured at quite some distance from these particular sites (up to 100km in the case of el-Wad). In addition, some selection of material is evident, with only young basalt from around 20km distant being chosen at Mallaha/Eynan, despite there being older sources closer to the site (ibid., 271). The nature and scale of production are as yet unclear, as are the precise means by which the material was circulated. We can of course posit the existence of an exchange network (ibid.; Weinstein-Evron *et al.* 2001), but the relationship between production, circulation and depositional contexts is difficult to understand. Quite feasibly, the same artefact might circulate through different kinds of exchange network in its 'life', accumulating a range of meanings and values in the context of encounters and exchanges between people. How these movements then relate to specific depositional circumstances is a question for detailed consideration outside the limits of this short article. Suffice it to conclude here that further elucidation of the 'social biographies' of ground stone equipment should help provide a broadening of our current perceptions of Epipalaeolithic and PPN 'food processing' practices.

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14. Like a bull in a chine shop: identity and ideology in Neolithic Cyprus

Alain Le Brun

Abstract

The most recent developments in prehistoric research in Cyprus have revealed that the Cypriot Aceramic Neolithic, as illustrated primarily by the 7th millennium BC site of Khirokitia Vounoi, is the result of a process that started around the end of the 9th millennium BC. This process, evolving over 2000 years, gives archaeologists the opportunity to observe the formation of early Cypriot identity. There is a contradiction between two characteristics of this identity – an indifference towards weapons and the masculine pre-eminence asserted by plastic representations. This contradiction encourages us to think about the role of ideology in early society and how it is transmitted.

Introduction

In his formative paper 'Islands as laboratories for the study of culture process', J. D. Evans (1973, 517–520) underlines the "significant advantages offered by island communities to the prehistorian interested in the problems of culture change in relation to the archaeological evidence". He further notes that "…the relative isolation of island communities make it possible to study the development over long periods of human groups which have been unaffected by any interference from without". These conditions then would make it particularly favourable for a prehistorian wishing to examine characteristics that make one human group different from another, and to track the evolution of group identity. The evidence, in fact, is so particular amongst island communities that it has led M. Augé to the conclusion that "ideal for the ethnologist aiming to characterise singular peculiarities, would be that each ethnic group be an island, possibly related with other islands, but different from any other, and that each islander be the exact homologue of his neighbour" (1992, 66).

These singular peculiarities were conspicuous in Cyprus in the culture that flourished on the island during the 7th millennium BC in what has been called the Cypriot Aceramic Neolithic, demonstrated by the site of Khirokitia *Vounoi* (hereafter Khirokitia). In fact, they have continued to be pointed out since the publication in the fifties of P. Dikaios' (1953) monograph dedicated to the site. These peculiarities were all the more glaring and enigmatic because they appeared suddenly and fully constituted on the island with no visible antecedents either in Cyprus, or on the neighbouring mainland. Aside from the practices of agriculture and herding everything associated with the Aceramic Neolithic could be distinguished from mainland practices.

According to the most recent developments in Cypriot prehistoric research the Aceramic culture appears to be the result of a process that started a long time before, with the arrival of newcomers on the island around the end of the 9th millennium BC. This was first revealed by the discovery near Limassol in the south of the island of the settlement site of Parekklisha *Shillourokambos* (hereafter Shillourokambos). J. Guilaine and his team (Guilaine *et al*. 1995, 1998a, 1998b, 2000; Vigne *et al*. 2000). It was confirmed by C14 dates from well deposits excavated at the site of Kissonerga *Mylouthkia* (hereafter Mylouthkia) in the Ktima Lowlands by the Lemba Archaeological Project (Bolger 1998; Peltenburg *et al*. 2003). According to radiometric dates, the main occupation phases recognised at Shillourokambos took place between the end of the 9th millennium and the end of the 8th millennium BC, long before the Khirokitia Culture, and concurrent with the end of the early Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (hereafter PPNB) / beginning of the middle PPNB and the end of the late PPNB on the mainland (Guilaine *et al*. 2000, 78). Moreover, Shillourokambos shows clear relationships with the mainland Pre-Pottery Neolithic B (hereafter PPNB), particularly the lithic industry. For example, the assemblage from the early phases shows the use of characteristic PPNB blade

production – the bipolar debitage resulting from a naviform core that produces predetermined shaped blades with sharp points. These are designed for use as arrowheads of Amuq and Byblos type, which are diagnostic tools of the PPNB on the mainland. This confirms a connection with the mainland and membership of the Cypriot Early Neolithic in the PPNB interaction sphere, the Big Arrowhead Industry (BAI) techno-complex, according to a new terminology (Aurenche and Kozlowski 1999). In another domain, that of symbols or ideology, decorated grooved stones (Guilaine *et al*. 2000, 79) echo back to similar items collected on the mainland in the PPNA at Mureybet (III) and Jerf el Ahmar and in the PPNB at Çayonu or Cafer Höyük (Cauvin 1997, Fig. 20).

Isolation

After the first phase of colonisation the links with the mainland become gradually more diluted until around 7500 BC flint knapping begins to show divergences with the mainland and obsidian importations become more rare (Briois *et al.* 1997, 110). The strong evidence for inbreeding noticed by Angel (1953, 421) amongst the Khirokitia population corroborate this isolation. A long trajectory with a beginning which will, in the future, probably be defined with more accuracy and precision and which we will call the Cypriot Ancient Neolithic (also known as the Cypro-PPNB, see Peltenburg *et al.* 2000, 2001) is illustrated by Shillourokambos and Mylouthkia and is characterised by a clear continental cultural contribution. The end, in which Cypriot originality asserts itself, is represented by Khirokitia (Dikaios 1953; LeBrun 1984, 1989, 1994) and sites belonging to the same chronological horizon, which we will call the Khirokitia Culture.

Now, it appears from the preliminary reports that the Ancient Neolithic, as known at Shillourokambos, shows more similarities with the contemporaneous cultures on the mainland than with the following Khirokitia Culture on Cyprus. In one sense this is not surprising given the long duration of some 2000 years between the main phase of the two cultures but in another sense, that of island cultural isolation and conservatism, it is quite significant. Within this chronological frame, as contacts with the mainland decreased a need for cultural affiliation with the mainland became consequently less and less necessary and what must be called a Cypriot identity arose. But what do we mean by identity?

Identity in archaeological perspective

Following F. Barth (1969, 66) researchers in the social sciences conceive of the notion of identity in a dynamic way. Whether we are dealing with cultural, ethnic, social, or individual identity, age, sex or gender group, political, economic or ideological identity, identity builds up and changes through the interaction of social groups. Further, inclusion and exclusion processes set limits between these groups defining those who belong and those who do not. In such processes, the features that are taken into account are not the sum of the 'objective' differences – i.e., the differences that the archaeologists seek to understand – but only those that the actors themselves consider as being significant. Therefore the same characteristics may change or lose significance during the history of a group, or else, different characteristics may appear at distinct times that have the same significance. These characteristics, or cultural features, appear in different facets of culture, whether it be beliefs, values, symbols, rules of behaviour, language, code of good manners, clothing or culinary practices. They also appear in technique, or ways of doing things, as indicated by cultural technology studies (Bourdieu 1977; Dobres 1999). For the most part the message or meaning imbedded in these 'identity emblems' (Hodder 1985), has such 'creative power' that any alternative is not allowed so that "when facing two hypotheses, the dream includes them both in the same association of ideas" (Freud 1973, 65–66, cited by Bayart 1996, 180). The archaeologist is therefore quite unable to grasp meaning from the physical object, just as he is unable to perceive the constantly changing character inherent in the construction of identity.

In fact, as we all know, only scraps of a society remain to the archaeologist, the silent and dead fragments of a once living culture. If the archaeologist thinks he has identified some repetitious pattern of behaviour (whether a repeating pattern over time or a repeating pattern in space), and therefore deems it possible to interpret this in terms of past processes of behaviour and/or identity, it is still the archaeologist who has fixed the criteria of his choice. Although he is claiming objectivity his background and his own method of problem solving may lead to the risk of creating himself in his own field of research. Therefore, the subjective identity, the experienced, acted identity, which the anthropologist strives to track down, is replaced by a so-called objective but rebuilt identity. A good illustration of this approach is that the uniqueness of the Cypriot Aceramic Neolithic has always been, and still is, measured by reference to the mainland. Even so, this experienced identity, which escapes the archaeologist, has nevertheless had an influence upon objective identity.

No doubt we'll have to wait for the final publication of all the results of the excavations at Shillourokambos and at Mylouthkia before we can discuss with any confidence the beginnings of a Cypriot identity. However, certain tendencies, certain constitutive elements, may be indicated to the objective observer in the architecture, knapping technology and toolkit, stone vessels, funerary practices, representation of the human figure, and in the economic practices.

As far as architecture is concerned, it is difficult to have an idea of what the original colonists intended for their buildings when they landed on the island. Architecture is represented in the Ancient phase at Shil-

lourokambos by negative traces only in the form of narrow trenches with regularly spaced post holes that may suggest the existence of large enclosures with wooden fences (Guilaine *et al.* 1995, Fig. 7). Elsewhere, at Mylouthkia, there are only wells surviving. Nevertheless, the first concrete evidence is the remains of structures with a circular ground plan (Guilaine *et al*. 1995, Fig. 6). These appear in the Recent Phase at Shillourokambos, but according to the excavator, the practice of circular architecture could be much more ancient, with some indications of it perhaps appearing as early as the Early Phase B (Guilaine *et al*. 1998b, 604). The intriguing factor though, is not so much the adoption of the circular plan but the fact that it survives right through until the Khirokitia Culture, long after rectilinear architecture was fully adopted on the mainland.

In contrast, other aspects of the Cypriot cultural package change significantly. The flint knapping technology, characterised by bipolar debitage from naviform cores diagnostic of the Ancient Neolithic (or Ancient Phases at Shillourokambos), goes out of favour until it disappears in the Khirokitia Culture where single platform cores are the most common. Concurrently, the toolkit changes, and most particularly, arrowheads disappear. The Khirokitia Culture does not belong to the so-called Big Arrowhead Industry techno-complex.

Likewise, there is a shift in tradition in the ground stone industry over time. It is marked in two different ways: 1) the choice of raw material and 2) the development of decoration. In the choice of raw material there is a shift from a preferential use of soft calcareous stones (chalk or limestone) in the Ancient Neolithic (Guilaine *et al*. 1995, 24), to a preference for igneous rocks (primarily diabase) in the Khirokitia Culture. Furthermore, according to results from recent excavations at Khirokitia, this preference continues to assert itself throughout the Khirokitia Culture (Saliou 1989, 138). What is interesting is that this shift from calcareous stone to igneous stone was a conscious choice because, in Cyprus, it is equally easy to get both. A similar change may be observed in the production of engraved pebbles only found during the Khirokitia phase at Khirokitia itself and at Kholetria *Ortos* (Fox 1988, Figs 6 and 7; Simmons 1996, Fig. 2). Again these display a marked preference for the use of igneous rocks and they differ in shape from those collected at Shillourokambos (Guilaine 1998a, 37), they are larger in size, more elaborate and their incisions are deeper. The decoration of stone vessels also changes over time (Dikaios 1953, Pl. LVI, CXXII). I will not make too much of this observation since vessels with incised or relief decoration have been known for a long time in the literature as being a cultural marker of what was the Cypriot Neolithic, however, this development may represent a shift in ideology.

Although data concerning funerary practices are rare for the moment at Shillourokambos, during the last couple of seasons there has been the discovery of the remains of several individuals (skulls and long bones) in a large pit (Guilaine *et al.* 1998b, 604). These suggest funerary practices similar to those at Mylouthkia but very different from that known at Khirokitia where burials, adults and children, were single, primary inhumations in pits dug inside uninhabited buildings. No secondary burial, no evidence for a cult of the skulls, no example of the use of a skull or a skull fragment as grave gifts, no plastered skulls, in fact, no practices diagnostic of the Levant PPNB have ever been found at Khirokitia or in any settlements of the same chronological horizon in Cyprus. Hence there are changes in beliefs and treatment of the dead and the representation of ancestors that differentiate the Khirokitia Culture from the culture brought by the Ancient Neolithic populations to the island, as well as from the civilisations of the mainland.

Cultural divergence is not just observable in Cyprus over time, there is also divergence between the early Cypriot colonists and the mainland, for example in the representation of the human figure. This divergence can be measured on two levels: the use of raw material and in iconography. Whereas on the mainland the plastic properties of clay are used for modelling figurines, all the figurines from the Khirokitia Culture, with the exception of a head modelled in clay (Dikaios 1953, no. 1063, Pl. XCVIII, CXLIV) are made of stone and here again of igneous rocks. As for the iconography, the absence of, or the very limited number of female representations in the iconographic repertoire of the Aceramic Neolithic should be noted, especially as the Near East has shown for a long time a multiplication of human representations and an early preference for the feminine form. One begins to wonder if it were just mere chance that there seems to have existed a duality of meaning between the absence of feminine representations on the one hand and the choice of stone as raw material on the other.

Although animal representations have been much referred to recently for explaining the 'Neolithic revolution' – for example the PPNB population being called the 'people of the bull' (Cauvin 1997, 170) they are rare in Cyprus. Only three examples are known in the Khirokitia Culture (Dikaios 1953, 299, no. 561, 1252, Pl. XCVIII, CXLII; Todd 1979, 285, Fig. 14). These figurines are made of igneous stone and, like Palaeolithic examples from other regions, the species figured, although hard to identify, are not those represented in the faunal assemblages (i.e. sheep, goats and fallow deer).

Within the economic data it is fallow deer that distinguishes Cyprus from the mainland where they represent only a very modest proportion of hunted species. In contrast gazelles, which are absent in Cyprus, prevail. Furthermore, deer, in preference to other domesticated species like sheep, goats and pigs, have been shown in most cases to dominate the Cypriot faunal record, although this also contrasts with the mainland where domesticates are in the majority at contemporaneous sites. The domination of deer is such that the Cypriot economy

has been termed a 'deer-oriented economy' (Croft 1991) and yet the Khirokitia data would certainly bring some moderation to this assertion, since it indicates a considerable decrease of fallow deer to the advantage of ovines. For example, the percentage of fallow deer shifts from 40% to 9% during the occupation of the site, conversely sheep/goat shifts from 33% to 82% (Davis 1994, Fig. 105). Even so, fallow deer has been designated as characteristic of the Cypriot Neolithic, so much so that in the mind of some archaeologists, it represents a shift from a 'deer-oriented economy' to a 'deer-oriented ideology' (Ronen 1995, 1999, 512).

This may be so but in contexts where archaeologists get some hint of an ideology, such as assemblages of animal bones associated with burials or animals intentionally buried, the place of ovines was equal to, if not more important than the place of fallow deer. All that said, and it remains speculation, it seems that deer held a degree of symbolism (Vigne 1993), which can be compared to the bull in other early cultures. However, as cattle did not survive on Cyprus after the first introduction, it did not play a role in the economy or ideology of the island. Unfortunately there is no evidence, so far as I know, that allows us to assess precisely what was the place of cattle before it died out, and whether it had any significance in the Cypriot Ancient Neolithic. The fact remains that its disappearance in the Middle Phase at Shillourokambos, in the second half of the 8th millennium, is not an isolated incident but one of a number of expressions of a deep cultural change.

J. Guilaine and J.-D. Vigne (Vigne *et al*. 2000) have emphasised this culture change by underlining parallel changes in other aspects of the cultural package, for example, general subsistence strategies and the knapping technology (where bipolar debitage is abandoned, and arrowheads disappear). Moreover, this change cannot be interpreted in terms of technique because "techniques are consistent with other cultural phenomena…[they] are simultaneously embedded in and are partly the result of non technical considerations...[they] are a complex phenomenon in which wide symbolic considerations are involved from the start and [to try to separate] the 'technical' from the 'social' (or rather 'social-other-than-technical') is tricky" (Lemonnier 1993, 4).

Ultimately, another world, another system of representation seems to have been establishing itself in Cyprus by the time of the Khirokitia Culture. A new world that did not, or that had rejected, the desire to valorise weapons, turning away from the kind of passion for weapons that the regional PPNB facies displays (Cauvin 1997, 172). The non-violence, the pacifism of the Khirokitia Culture has been pointed out several times. And, as a matter of fact, this feature, which, in the present-day prevailing ideology, is believed to be the attribute of woman, is characteristic of this culture. The point is, however, that it is characteristic of a culture in which, as I have pointed out elsewhere (Le Brun 2002) the masculine pre-eminence asserts itself through the plastic representations of the human figure, the phallic appearance of which is unmistakable, and perhaps also through the choice of stone as the preferred raw-material.

While writing this paper, I did my best not to forget K. Flannery's and J. Marcus' warnings (1993, 267) aimed at cosmologies and religious reconstructions proposed by the cognitive archaeologists. "When almost no background knowledge is available, as for the Aceramic Neolithic, such reconstruction can border on science fiction". And, given the complexity, the fragility and the unspoken of all human construction, I hope I haven't been, while speaking so of the Cypriot Neolithic, like a bull in a china shop.

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15. House form and cultural identity in Chalcolithic Cyprus

Gordon Thomas

Abstract

The development of architectural forms and patterns of building use during the thousand years of the Chalcolithic in Cyprus is complex and appears to differ from site to site. Excavations by the Lemba Archaeological Project at the sites of Lemba Lakkous *and Kissonerga* Mosphilia *and* Mylouthkia *have uncovered the remains of 83 buildings giving us an unparalleled view of architectural change. There are two significant events related to changes in architecture: the first at the very inception of the Chalcolithic period and the second at the end of the third phase/beginning of fourth phase of the Chalcolithic. In both of these episodes in the Chalcolithic sequence it is significant that the standard building form survived throughout despite the impact of dramatic influences and changes and perhaps it reveals something about the role of architecture as an element in defining cultural identity.*

Introduction

Buildings and houses are very powerful symbols both of group and of personal identities. They can be exclusive by setting people apart from others within the group through displays of wealth, authority or power. They can also be inclusive, in identifying a commonality of beliefs and traditions. In some complex or structured societies the symbolic meaning of houses can also reflect a hierarchy of identities.

In her study of a distinctive architectural form in West Africa, Susanne Blier (1987) saw the importance of ontology and metaphor in understanding buildings. In other words, the meaning of buildings within human society is important and a building, by virtue of its role as the largest of human artefacts, can act as a powerful metaphor for a community's view of the world order. In their work, several other anthropologists have also noted the importance of the human metaphor in architectural expression. Architecture is intimately concerned with human activity because, in ordering space, architecture also orders human action. Blier (1987, 2) says that "when buildings incorporate design features of the past, they require people to retrace the steps of their predecessors. When architectural design draws imagery from the cosmos, it requires people to participate within this larger paradigm. So too, when architecture borrows its imagery from human experience, it encourages those who move within it to reaffirm essential features of human identity and activity."

Clearly, the way in which society organises and constructs its buildings is a direct reflection of its traditions, social structures and belief systems. It is through a study of this aspect of buildings, that is through a study of their meaning or ontology, that we can begin to unravel some of their significance. The emergence and survival of a particular architectural form or the development of significant changes within that form will have important symbolic meaning to all those who observe or participate in the use of a building. Our difficulty, as archaeologists, lies with understanding that meaning. In attempting to unravel the meaning of buildings it is first necessary to deconstruct the architectural record with a view to identifying the architectural form and defining the key architectural elements within that form. The articulation of any changes noted in the architectural record through time and an assessment of how these changes are incorporated within the overall canon of the architectural form can demonstrate its significance to the identity of a particular culture. Finally, we can identify other changes that are happening within that society, in order to determine the general pattern of change and the role of architecture within that change.

The Chalcolithic in Cyprus

How then does this apply to the Chalcolithic of Cyprus? The development of architectural forms and patterns of building use during nearly 1500 years of the Chalcolithic



Fig. 15.1 The importance of ontology and metaphor in understanding buildings. Stage one, excavations at Kissonerga Mosphilia.

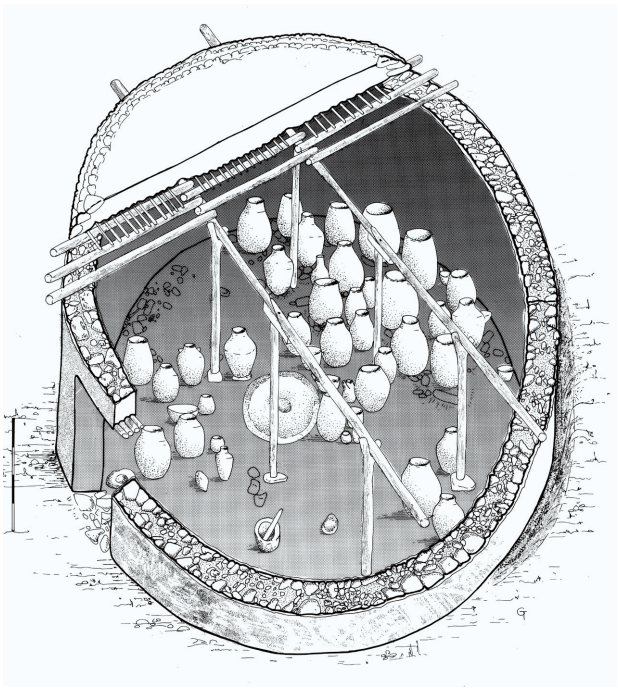


Fig. 15.2 Stage two, artistic reconstruction of the excavated buildings.

in Cyprus is complex and appears to differ from site to site. Excavations by the Lemba Archaeological Project at the sites of Lemba *Lakkous* (hereafter Lemba) (Peltenburg *et al.* 1985), Kissonerga *Mosphilia* (hereafter Mosphilia) (Peltenburg *et al*. 1991, 1998a, 1998b) and Kissonerga *Mylouthkia* (hereafter Mylouthkia) (Peltenburg *et al*. 2003) have uncovered the remains of 83 buildings, giving us an unparalleled perspective on architectural change (Figure 15.1). There are two significant events related to changes in architecture: the first at the very inception of the Chalcolithic period (*c.*4000 BC) and the second at the changeover between the Middle Chalcolithic and the Late Chalcolithic periods (*c.*2900 BC). Both of these episodes reveal something about the role of architecture as an element in defining cultural identity.

The Early Chalcolithic

Despite the clear demonstration of continuity in the Cypriot archaeological record between the Late Neolithic and the Early Chalcolithic periods, there is a general acceptance that the Early Chalcolithic represents the development of a new cultural group, with its own distinct identity and place within Cypriot prehistory. The emergence, therefore, of a distinct building form at the outset of the Chalcolithic may be seen as a metaphor of the beliefs about the origins and traditions of that society. It will have reflected common but perhaps unspoken beliefs about how society was organised and it will have encapsulated, in mud and stone, memories of earlier traditions. Developments within the canon of that architectural form throughout the Chalcolithic periods should similarly reflect either the assimilation of ideologies from outside Cyprus or the effect of dynamic changes occurring within the local society.

Analysis of the architectural remains of Chalcolithic Cyprus (Thomas 1998) has identified a single architectural form as being characteristic of the entire Chalcolithic period. This is a circular, usually free-standing, single-roomed building constructed within a shallow hollow or depression and built either in mudwall or stonewall with a flat earth roof and rendered in mud or lime-plaster. The internal segmentations of space, using specific architectural features and centrally placed platform hearths, are consistent elements of the internal spatial arrangements during the Early Chalcolithic (*c.*4000–3500 BC) and Middle Chalcolithic (*c.*3500–3200 BC and *c.*3200–2800 BC), but become less formalised during the Late Chalcolithic period (*c.*2800–2500 BC). The doorway arrangements adhere to a strict format with the door opening inwards supported on a pivot stone set into the floor at the left doorjamb (when looking inwards). The orientation of the doorway to the southwest also remained fairly constant until the Late Chalcolithic (as discussed below). The low, circular platform hearth, constructed in mud or lime plaster with bevelled edges and a central firebowl, was almost always the focus at the centre of most buildings. The only change to this format came during the Middle Chalcolithic period when rectilinear platform hearths were found in some of the large roundhouses. The use of mud and lime-plaster for all types of internal elements, floors, hearths, and wall finishes, was another characteristic feature of these buildings (Figure 15.2). Within this canon of architecture, there is strong evidence of progressive change and the impact of external influences upon developments. Both of these processes were handled in a unique way by society at that time both preserving and reinforcing cultural identity.

Our knowledge of Early Chalcolithic buildings is still

limited, despite the remarkable survival of several structures at Mylouthkia (Peltenburg *et al.* 2003) and some very meagre remains from the lowest levels at Mosphilia (Peltenburg *et al*. 1998a, 1998b), Maa *Palaeokastro* (Thomas 1988) and Kalavassos *Pamboules* (Dikaios 1961). All of these buildings appear as sunken or dished circular structures, with earth floors and settings of postholes around the edge of the hollow defining some form of wall using timber or mudwall and timber. This particular type of building does not appear in, or has not been recorded from earlier periods in Cypriot prehistory. It is clear, however, from building B152 at Mylouthkia, with its socketed stone settings and arced mud ridge with terminal pot settings, that there are very strong links with the earlier Ceramic Neolithic building arrangements. Similar features also come from Philia *Drakos A* and from Houses 11 and 24 at Sotira *Teppes* (Dikaios 1961). The sudden reappearance, in the Middle Chalcolithic at Mosphilia, of the rectilinear house form alongside circular buildings, also points to links with Neolithic houses of Sotira Culture sites and suggests the survival of enduring architectural traditions over considerable periods of time. This is also supported by the artefact record, with some similarities in the ceramic, ground stone, and iconographic repertoire being observed.

However, running parallel with this theme of Ceramic Neolithic architectural survivals is the introduction of new building methods. The use of mudwall, as a construction technique, in the absence of mudbrick, the construction of foundation hollows and the circular shape of the buildings have no antecedents in the period immediately preceding the Chalcolithic. There are, however, indications of similar architectural traditions from the nearby Levant at the sites of Munhatta 2B2 (Perrot 1964) and Teleilat-Ghassul (Hennessey 1982, 56), where similar circular mud buildings have been uncovered. These structures reflect the survival of a tradition of building in the Levant that spanned many millennia, despite dramatic changes in the mainstream architectural forms of the area. The association of Early Chalcolithic buildings at Mosphilia with bell-shaped storage pits and the remarkable underground tunnel complexes at both Kalavasos *Ayious* (Todd, 1991, 5–6) and Philia *Drakos A* (Karageorghis 1969) are also unparalleled within Cyprus. However, in the Levant, similar features can be seen at the roughly contemporary sites of Shiqmim, Munhatta and Bersheeva. At Munhatta 2B2 circular, semi-subterranean buildings, 3–4m in diameter, are associated with bell-shaped storage pits and, by Munhatta 2B1, circular buildings of 3m in diameter were uncovered, which were founded in the centre of large shallow scoops 10–12m in diameter (Perrot 1964). The two sites of Beersheva-Abu Matar and Beersheva-Safadi have produced, in their earliest phases, settlements of subterranean dwellings set into deep pits lined with mud and stone walls, which give access to underground tunnel and chamber complexes and bell-shaped storage pits (Perrot 1984). The similarity of these arrangements with the more meagre evidence from Cyprus is quite striking. It is made more compelling by the similar date range towards the end of the 5th millennium BC which places them only slightly earlier than the Cypriot examples.

The prospect of two parallel architectural traditions, one from within Cyprus itself and a second from the Levant, coming together to determine the form of Early Chalcolithic architecture is an intriguing possibility. This apparent 'borrowing' is a recurrent theme in Cypriot prehistory, in which a succession of distinctive island cultures may exhibit several traits characteristic of mainland groups, while developing unique expressions of their own identity. 'Borrowing' signifies the interplay of complex cultural processes, which combine to forge an identity. Architecture plays an important part in this process and the form that emerged in the Chalcolithic of Cyprus is distinctive. It is one of the archaeological hallmarks of that period, giving us clues about the cultural traditions that were brought together to form the Chalcolithic roundhouse. Architecture may also have served, on a social level, as an icon of cultural identity, with symbolic significance for the origins and place within the world order of their society.

The Middle Chalcolithic

The differences between the Early Chalcolithic period and the end of the Middle Chalcolithic period are equally marked. Throughout the Middle Chalcolithic, great changes are seen in the way houses are built and in the way they are used. At the outset, the architectural tradition most probably reflects a continuation from earlier periods. This is seen quite clearly at Lemba Area I. Here rows of small, sub-circular mud-built structures, set into distinct hollows, are ranged in terraces facing southwest. Internal space is clearly demarcated by low ridges, platforms and hollows set around a central hearth. All of these features generally show signs of constant repair and alteration, with many artefacts being lost or incorporated into the walls, floor levels and fixtures. This generally cluttered interior is replicated in most buildings with high numbers of a broad range of artefacts coming from the floors and internal deposits. Of similar date, but much larger and much better built, building B200 at Mylouthkia exhibits a similar cluttered appearance with several phases of refurbishment in evidence. However, the beginnings of a more formalised use of space is also clearly in evidence, with classic doorway arrangements, a cleared and defined floor space in the southeastern quadrant, a central hearth, and a focal point at the rear of the building in the form of a sunken bowl, which was later replaced by a plinth. The evidence of burnt timbers and roofing daub as well as a corpse lying beside the hearth suggests that this building may have suffered a sudden catastrophic destruction. The temptation to see the extraordinary variety and number of artefacts in this building as representing a snapshot in the daily life of the community is great. Its internal layout

and quality of construction, however, foreshadows the arrangements of the slightly later Middle Chalcolithic buildings at Mosphilia.

The magnificent large roundhouses of the Middle Chalcolithic period at Mosphilia and, to a lesser extent, Lemba, are a unique architectural form. These buildings are the largest structures in prehistoric Cyprus with diameters between 7–15m. The standard and quality of the construction in these buildings, particularly in the use of lime plaster as well as in the formalised use of space and their association with specific ritual activity, marks them apart from the structures of earlier periods. At Mosphilia, two phases within the Middle Chalcolithic can be seen in the development of roundhouses. The form and layout of the buildings were established early on in the sequence and are represented by buildings B855, B1565, B1547 and B1016. Large (7–10m diameter) structures, built in solid mudwall set on stone foundations and classic doorway arrangements, orientated to the southwest, characterise these buildings. The southeastern quadrant of the building is taken up with a well-built mud or earth floor, sometimes set over stone foundations and contained by two low mud ridges radiating from a central platform hearth. The best-preserved example of these hearths comes from building B855, which is a low rectilinear platform, unlike earlier, and later, hearths, which are circular. The later phases of the Middle Chalcolithic saw the creation of much larger, and much better constructed, buildings, using high quality materials or construction methods and achieving a very high quality finish. Buildings B2 and B4 are good examples of these, although B206 clearly indicates the scale of architectural achievement of this period. Building B206 is, perhaps, the largest structure of prehistoric Cyprus with a diameter of over 15m and walls with stone foundations over 1m wide. The formalised floor area in the southeast quadrant was finished in a thick, high quality lime-plaster, as were the internal wall surfaces. The low mud ridges defining the floor area in the earlier buildings had, in B206, become substantial upstanding walls radiating from a large central hearth, now destroyed. We can only guess at the form of roofing of this building, but with a diameter of over 15m considerable engineering skill and resources would have been needed to span such a large internal space.

Of significance for the buildings of this period was the discovery at Mosphilia of a ceramic building model concealed with other artefacts beneath the floor of building B994 (Peltenburg *et al.*1991). The internal layout and doorway of a typical Middle Chalcolithic house are clearly represented in the model, as are elaborate painted decorations on both the interior and the exterior walls. Red-on-white painted plasterwork was found collapsed from the walls of building B206 and a surviving segment of flooring, in one of the rooms of this building was also painted red. It is highly likely that these large Middle Chalcolithic roundhouses were elaborately painted, quite striking structures. Their role within the community in conveying information about the status, wealth or affiliation of their occupants must have been enormous.

Several aspects of the artefacts recovered from late Middle Chalcolithic buildings suggest a formal, ritualised treatment at the point of their destruction. In general, the interiors of these buildings were relatively devoid of artefacts, suggesting some form of curative behaviour, which stripped most of the buildings of their contents before their destruction. In three instances, buildings B2 and B994 at Mosphilia and possibly B1 at Lemba, there is some evidence of a variety of specialised features or activities at the rear or within the northeastern quadrant of the building. This reflects what was seen earlier in building B200 at Mylouthkia and may suggest a special focal point within the building. Within building B206 at Mosphilia considerable quantities of red-on-white decorated ceramics were found smashed on the lime-plaster floor. They appear to have been placed there immediately prior to the destruction of the building. The analysis of samples of painted wall plaster, fallen from the walls of the building reveal evidence of thin layers of a fine clay being applied to the walls, effectively concealing any of the paintwork. Adjacent to building B206, and possibly overlapping in time, building B994 also exhibits evidence of deliberate destruction, with its mud walls being deliberately collapsed onto the floor of the building, carefully preserving its contents. Significantly, the building model described above was itself 'ceremonially' destroyed prior to its burial. Several architectural features had been snapped off and the entire vessel had been coated in a thin film of white clay. This sort of evidence points clearly to the deliberate and ritualised destruction of buildings during the Middle Chalcolithic period. This is conspicuous consumption on a grand scale and suggests very strongly the important symbolic role played by buildings within society at that time.

However, despite the significant differences recorded between the start and the end of the Middle Chalcolithic period, the basic form of the buildings, the construction methods and the materials used had remained the same as those of earlier periods. Change had been in the scale and quality of the buildings, in the use of decoration, in curative behaviour and in the formalised use of internal space. It was also at this time during the Chalcolithic that a flowering of culture is observed, with the development of distinctive red-on-white painted ceramics and iconographic traditions. Peltenburg *et al.*(1998b), in his analysis of the settlement layout at Mosphilia, sees considerable significance in changes within society at that time. The association of building B206 with specific ceremonial activity in the form of feasting and the conspicuous disposal of specialised artefacts, including the building model, is indicated by a series of artefact-filled pits to the southeast of the building. This, and the evidence for the ceremonial destruction or closure of buildings mentioned above, points very clearly to a specialised role for these buildings during the Middle

Chalcolithic period. Clearly, society had changed quite dramatically during the 4th millennium BC, although the strong continuity and the development of other aspects of the material culture point to the driving mechanism being internal dynamics within Chalcolithic society. Architecture, therefore, had developed dramatically alongside other changes within society. The striking differences in building size between Lemba and Mosphilia suggest that architecture was being used to reinforce status and social difference between the communities. It was functioning as part of a system of social control, by forcing those who observed, used and moved within the buildings to reaffirm the essential structure of their society.

The Late Chalcolithic

The changes seen with the onset of the Late Chalcolithic period are also quite striking. Throughout this period, important cultural indicators appear to suggest increasing Anatolian influence and increasing change within Cypriot society. Most striking are the changes in the ceramic repertoire, with new wares, shapes and decorative motifs being introduced. Stamp seals, chamber tombs, and new forms of personal adornment, including faience and copper, also make an appearance at this time. The introduction of the spindle whorl, and the reintroduction of cattle onto the island, indicate other great changes in the economic base of society. Croft (1998, 213) has been able to document important changes in the economy, with a move away from hunting deer to a greater reliance on the herding of pig and ovicaprids. In the area of architecture, significant innovations and change are also noted. Gone are the large formalised roundhouses of the preceding period. New methods of stonewall construction, the almost total absence of lime-plaster and the different internal arrangements of the buildings are very noticeable. Most important, however, is the clear change in building use. Several associated buildings face onto a common open space and there is distinct division in function between the various structures, which suggests a courtyard arrangement of one household. This is in stark contrast to all preceding periods, in which a structure mostly replicated the form and function of those around it. It is clear that important social changes had taken place. This, together with the accompanying dramatic change in the ceramic record and the absence of many of the earlier iconographic elements, has led Peltenburg to suggest either the arrival of new settlers or of important new cultural influences resulting from increasing long-distance intensive trade links (Peltenburg *et al*.1998a, 251, 256–259). In either case, the assimilation by society in the Late Chalcolithic of very dramatic change had nevertheless still preserved key elements of the earlier building tradition. In particular, the building group in Area II at Lemba is a good example of the new household complex but with B2 still preserving all of the key elements of the earlier architectural form. It is a large, circular, very well-constructed building, set into a gently dished foundation hollow, with a loose segmentation of internal space, standard doorway arrangements and a central platform hearth. Beside this building sit at least two others all of which front onto a common yard and all of which make use of each other's wall structure. Buildings B3 and B7 appear to be fitted into limited available space causing a flattening of their floor plans. They are also, apparently, specialised structures, dealing respectively with the preparation and processing of foodstuffs. This group of buildings seems to function as a single household arranged around a common courtyard. Similar, though less obvious, arrangements of building groups can also be seen at Mosphilia in this period, particularly B1046 and B1044, B86 and B204, and B834 and B1052.

Discussion

It is significant that the standard building form survived throughout the Chalcolithic sequence despite the impact of dramatic influences and changes. It emerged, possibly as early as the late 5th millennium BC, as a distinct architectural form, drawing on influences and traditions both from within Cyprus and from the Levant. It evolved with society throughout the 4th millennium BC as increasing social complexity, emergent hierarchies and, possibly, craft specialisation had a dramatic impact upon the way society was organised and functioned. During the Late Chalcolithic it changed dramatically again along with other shifts in the material record to reflect different social conditions. Peltenburg stresses the greater apparent emphasis on individual households and the accumulation of personal or family wealth as being significant features in Late Chalcolithic society (Peltenburg *et al*.1998a). In each case these developments are seen to evolve within a single architectural tradition which still retained its distinctive character.

Is it possible, then, to view the Chalcolithic house form as an icon of cultural identity that was adapted to suit changing pressures and influences? If so what can it tell us about society during the Chalcolithic and the role of architecture within it? Is it habit that ensured the survival of such enduring traditions or is some deeper, more complex, process involved? As I indicated earlier, the importance of metaphor in understanding buildings suggests that simplistic interpretations rarely hold true. On a subconscious level all house-builders draw upon greater communal belief systems about world order and their place within that order. It is within that context that we must seek to understand the meaning of prehistoric buildings (Figure 15.3).

From this perspective, the use of observations about, for example, building size, quality of materials and finish or about the internal organisation of space, to demonstrate larger social issues is entirely justified. So too is the use of ideas about building form to indicate possible cultural antecedents. In this paper, the implications of the existence

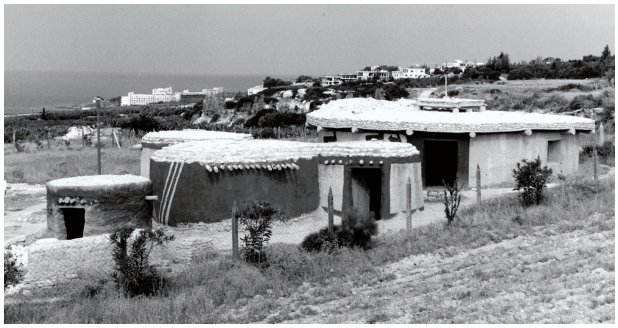


Fig. 15.3 Stage three, material reconstruction of Chalcolithic buildings at Lemba Lakkous.

of particular architectural features have been used to give additional clues about Early Chalcolithic links with the Levant and with Late Neolithic architectural traditions in Cyprus itself. During the Middle Chalcolithic period, house form is seen to evolve into impressive, elaborate and costly structures, which may indicate increasing social complexity and the emergence of elite groups and hierarchies within society. If architectural elements like grandeur, the formalised use of space and the quality of finish and decoration are considered to be socially important aspects of buildings then it can be seen how the visual impact and the daily use of such buildings can help to reinforce cultural beliefs and attitudes. They can be considerations in the transmission of cultural ideas. At the other end of the time scale, during the Late Chalcolithic, the evidence for increasing and intensive long-distance trade contacts with Anatolia on one hand and the evidence for the accumulation of individual or family wealth (as seen in B3, the Pithos House at Mosphilia) heralded far-reaching changes within society. This may possibly even indicate the arrival of new peoples. In architecture, the emergence of a particular form of building layout, i.e. the household complex, is seen to develop in Late Chalcolithic settlement patterns. This has important implications for our understanding of the way in which society at that time was organised and it may also herald developments which are reinforced in the Bronze Age. The development of the rectilinear courtyard type of house, so characteristic of Bronze Age sites, may have some of its Cypriot antecedents in the Late Chalcolithic period. More significantly is the survival, in symbolic form, of elements of the large roundhouses of Mosphilia into the Early Bronze Age. This development may be seen in the Vounous bowl. Here we have a model of what may be a circular, free-standing structure, either a single-room or open-space, with clear segmentation of the enclosed space and a focus of some ritual activity at the back of the building. These are all elements that are seen in the great roundhouses of the Middle Chalcolithic, but which are manifested in a society that had by then abandoned that particular architectural form. This survival is significant and must surely reflect enduring traditions of belief and identity.

To summarise then, buildings do have an important symbolic meaning within society and can act as a metaphor for a people's beliefs about themselves and about the world in which they live. They can convey information about the identity of a group and about the place of individuals within that group. In Cyprus we have seen how the assimilation of architectural elements drawn from both within Cyprus and also, external to the island, from the Levant, has created a distinctive architectural form, which may have stood as an important symbol of the Chalcolithic. We have also seen how changes and modifications within that standard architectural form can be used by society to transmit information about itself, and about the way it is organized, through the building size, the use of quality materials, the decoration and the arrangement of internal space. Buildings in Chalcolithic Cyprus, therefore, function as mechanisms, both of social control and of group identity. They are key elements in the transmission and assimilation of cultural identity.

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16. Cyprus at the dawn of the first millennium BC: cultural homogenisation versus the tyranny of ethnic identifications

Maria Iacovou

Abstract

In seeking to identify ethnicities in the material remains of Early Iron Age Cyprus, we distort the wider picture and miss its fundamental message: following the 12th century breakdown of its Late Bronze Age socioeconomic structure and the inevitable breakup of its demographic pattern, the island emerged in the 11th–10th centuries with a new, albeit culturally homogeneous environment. The question to ask, therefore, is not how this or that ethnic group predominated over the other – such a conflict is not made evident by the archaeological record – but rather how an homogeneous material culture came to dominate the formative horizon of a new era.

Introduction

Cypriot archaeology is a field of research in which prehistorians and Bronze Age archaeologists group themselves together on one side, leaving Iron Age scholars on the other. On rare occasions the two academic parties make an effort to communicate with each other, but as a rule they hardly ever sound as if they can, or wish, to speak the same language. Below, I will justify this aggressively dogmatic statement which I have chosen in lieu of an introduction. I will presently maintain that it is largely the responsibility of pre- and proto-historians to extend their research to cover the transition to the Early Iron Age, if the current absence of a credible methodology for the study of the Cypriot Iron Age is to be remedied. For this reason, much of what I have to suggest rests on analogies drawn from the study of prehistoric Cypriot horizons.

Since the early decades of the 20th century, archaeologists have invested a good deal of energy in maintaining a two-fold prehistoric debate devoted to:

1. The mysterious absence of an early Neolithic culture – the notoriously elusive Neolithisation of Cyprus (Le Brun 1989 and this volume; Todd 1987, 173; Todd 2001).
2. The so-called Philia culture, namely the course of the transition from the long Chalcolithic period of Cyprus to the Early Bronze Age (Dikaios and Stewart 1962).

At long last, a decisive break-through has been achieved, and these two shadowy chapters in the historicity of Cyprus' early cultures are in the process of being resolved. The break-through came as a result of a combination of factors: the tangible evidence was not haphazardly dealt with following chance discovery; in both cases, patient vigilantes were ready to apply the best of methods in data collection. These discoveries, unimpressive to the untrained eye, would have remained mute in earlier days; now, they have been made to render fundamental results, due to the strict methodology with which assemblages have been analysed (Frankel and Webb 1996; Guilaine *et al.* 1995; Guilaine and Briois 2001; Peltenburg *et al.* 2001; Webb and Frankel 1999). Secure and solid evidence, therefore, is currently becoming available to scholars involved in the reconstruction of these two prehistoric cycles, who need no longer make assumptions based only on highly fragmentary evidence and arguments *ex silentio*.

The same, however, cannot be said for the much more recent period of the transition from the Late Bronze to the Early Iron Age which, though not in the realm of prehistory, has remained alien, problematic and often incomprehensible. Either as an epilogue for those working in the Late Cypriot time-zone, or as a prologue for those working in the Iron Age, the period that leads from the one to the other has failed to attract the necessary attention (Rupp 1997, 69), and remains in limbo between the two. Substantial lacunae in our knowledge of this transitional period provide free range to the development of arguments

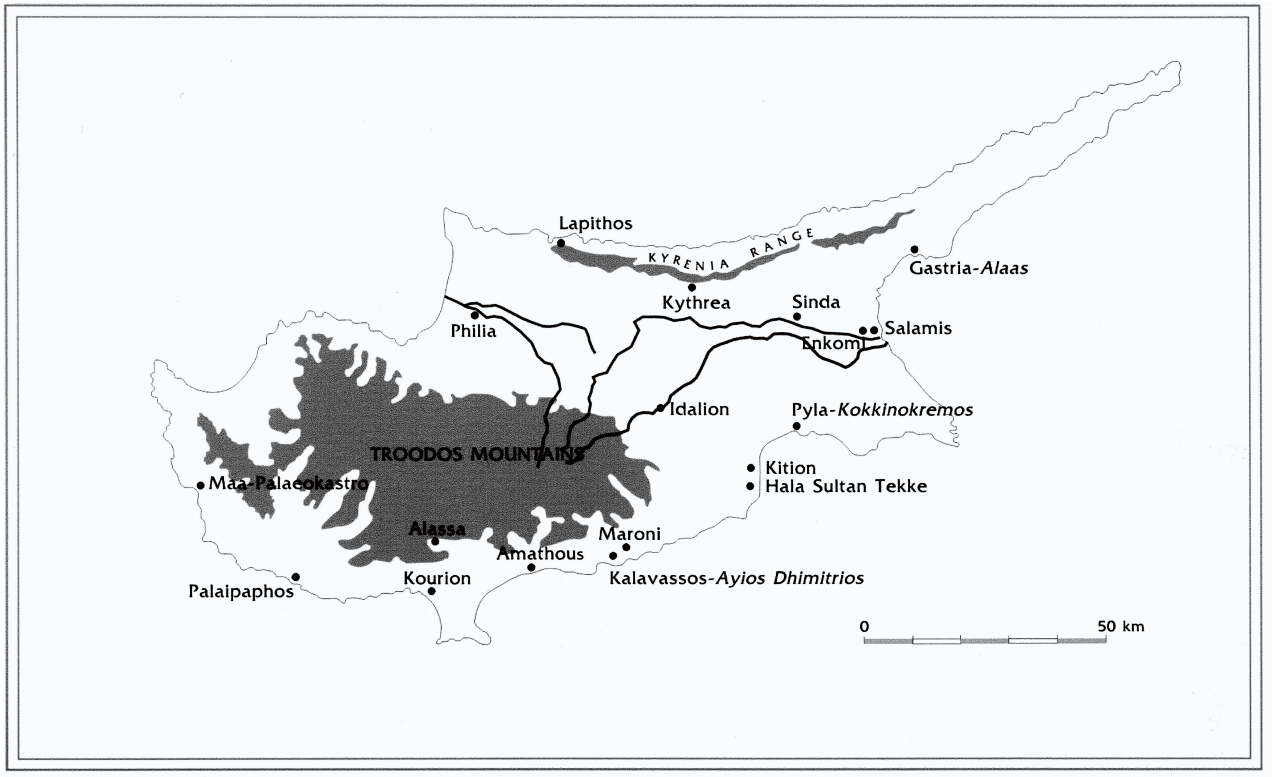


Fig. 16.1 Map of Cyprus with sites mentioned in the text.

as improbable as Michael Given's on the invention of the Eteocypriots by imperialist archaeology (1998a). The discussion generated by such 'postmodern' constructs (Hamilakis 1998, Silberman 1998) hardly addresses the 'grey areas' of Early Iron Age archaeology in Cyprus (as Given himself recognises in his response: 1998b, 126). As such, our knowledge of the island's settlement during this transitory horizon ranges from nil to elementary (Iacovou 1994, 151–158; Vanschoonwinkel 1994, 111–117). To counterbalance this major lacuna, legends (of uncertain but much later date) that treat the foundation of these settlements, have acquired the guise of historical facts (Maier 1985). The result is that they become gradually empowered with ethnic attributes of far greater significance than they were ever meant to have, even in the Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical era when one could maintain, as David Rupp does (1998, 218–219), that in the service of state propaganda, foundation legends received a distinct ethnic format.

Consequently, as long as the settlements that define the island's passage from the second to the first millennium, from the Age of Bronze to the Age of Iron, remain untraced and/or unexcavated, and are not exposed to the fine-scaled analyses applied to prehistoric sites. Kinyras the autochthonous and Agapenor the Arcadian will continue to vie for preeminence in our interpretation of the political history of the city-kingdom of Paphos (Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 51; Maier 1986). Belos the Phoenician will continue to pose a threat to Teucer the Achaean, until the champions of the Phoenician cause win him acknowledgment as co-founder of Salamis (Negbi 1998, 87), and so on and so forth (Figure 16.1).

Migration episodes and economic models

The respective teams of scholars responsible for the new inroads in Cypriot prehistory mentioned above, reached – quite independently of each other – tentative conclusions that support a migration-episode hypothesis. The earliest of the two conjectural episodes is credited with the introduction of the first farming communities by migrant farmers who became the founding fathers of the mature aceramic Khirokitian culture (Peltenburg *et al.* 2000, 851–852). More complex, and as such more controversial, the second episode, credited for triggering the process for the transition to the Bronze Age, is associated with people who had introduced a novel house and settlement architecture, a different subsistence diet and a new agricultural package (Webb and Frankel 1999).

Consequently, novel prehistoric research, carried out in Cyprus by Australian, British and French archaeologists – who, one assumes, are free of the burden of Cyprus' contemporary political or ethnic aspirations – has revived an archaeologically unpopular and unfashionable theory: it is proposed that the generating or accelerating process which introduces first the Neolithic/Chalcolithic and then the Early Bronze Age economic model is empowered in each case by a chronologically and geographically distinct migration episode. Admittedly, while the former proposition has gained support, the latter has encountered

opposition because of having assigned a precise cultural identity, namely Anatolian (Frankel *et al.* 1996), to the migrant groups held responsible for the innovations in the island's material culture (Knapp 1999, 81).

I wish to propose that in as much as this mid-third millennium episode generated dynamics that were directed towards the exploitation of Cyprus' copper resources (hence the inception of Early Cypriot in *c.*2400 BC), over a millennium later the island's primacy in the production of functional iron (Sherratt 2000, 82; Snodgrass 1980, 345) may have been variously endowed or accelerated by a protohistoric migration episode, hence the beginning of Cyprus' Early Iron Age (*c.*1100 BC) (for the need to redefine the inception of the Early Iron Age in Cyprus, see Iacovou 2001, 86–87).

Once beyond the actual episode, however, these migrant forces lose their impact to the extent that the migration as an event is irrelevant to the ensuing culture. Thus, the presumed formation of a primary (or archaic) state (Peltenburg 1996, 27; Webb 1999, 305–308), and the development of a complex, urban society in the Late Cypriot period (extensively treated, for instance by Knapp 1986, 1994; Webb 1999, 3–8), could not have been projected as Anatolian phenomena because no distinct human or ethnic entity of Anatolian extraction nurtured itself as such in either the Early, Middle or Late Bronze Age of Cyprus. Together with the long-established Neolithic/Chalcolithic people, immigrants became the revitalised, coherent and homogeneous population of the Cypriot Bronze Age and eventually the rightful claimants of the island's impressive, though short-lived (Keswani 1989, 71) Late Bronze Age culture.

Furthermore, the earliest evidence of a prehistoric script, which appears in Late Cypriot I (*c.*16th century), does not define a language linked either to Anatolians or to an older Neolithic stock. It is a language born of the island, in accord with the insular confinement of its human geography. Developed in response to the social and economic requirements of the Late Cypriot Bronze Age, the Cypro-Minoan script must conceal the population's common or at least predominant language in the Late Cypriot period. As such, it remained in use as long and as late as that particular society and its associated cultural expressions can be traced in the archaeological record; in short, its last traces disappear by the end of the 12th century (Hirschfeld 2002, 99; Knapp and Marchant 1982; Masson 1983, 34–37).

Language change

That the language of the Cypro-Minoan script was no longer the island's predominant language in the first millennium BC is an established fact (Masson 1983, 84); whether it managed to survive at all – under the guise of an unreadable syllabic script which is encountered at Amathous, one of the Iron Age polities of Cyprus – remains a highly debatable issue (Petit 1999). It is possible, even probable, therefore, that the island's Bronze Age language was almost completely annihilated and replaced in the course of the Protohistoric Early Iron Age (Iacovou 1998, 11), though certainly not overnight. How did Cyprus become "a largely Greek-speaking island in the Archaic and Classical periods" (Sherratt 1992, 326)? It is our responsibility to interpret the process by which this fundamental change between the island's prehistoric and historic language, or languages, took place. In fact, this is the primary factor that sustains a protohistoric migration episode by the end – and certainly at no time after the end (Catling 1975, 215) – of the Cypriot Bronze Age. It tells us that it did happen, but it does not tell us how it happened. We cannot question the former; but failure to answer the latter – the how it happened – with anything that could withstand the scrutiny of sound reason, has discredited the entire migrant event. Nonetheless, no matter how hard one tries to disqualify the reality of this protohistoric migratory episode, its long-term impact is indelible: it undermined the island's Bronze Age language and substituted for it a particular form of early Greek, a fact that provides its own chronological range to the episode (as discussed further, below).

A protohistoric migration is therefore more tangible than either of the prehistoric episodes since it definitely resulted in the transformation of the island's language, something that could not have been done by forcing the island's population to take lessons in Greek. Moreover, the Greek dialect of Cyprus never developed into Classical Greek; it remained a hopelessly antique dialect (Chadwick 1988; Morpurgo-Davies 1992). Known as Arcado-Cypriot, it is valued as the only historic Greek dialect that retained a very close kinship to the proto-Greek of Linear B literacy (Chadwick 1975; Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 11–13). In fact, the early stage of its development is known as Proethnic Greek (Woodard 2000, 37). Arcado-Cypriot – which was evidently lost to other Greek speakers before the end of the second millennium – survived in Arcadia and Cyprus respectively, due to the geographical isolation of its carriers (Iacovou 1999b, 110).

International-age immigrants

No matter how crystal-clear the linguistic evidence may seem, archaeological data fails to corroborate the expected proto-Greek identity of this migratory episode: the material-culture evidence, which we have persuaded ourselves we must expect from this episode, is not there. The immigrants' package, being a concoction of our own, fails to reveal the migrants as we perceive them. It may be time to admit that the impasse is half of our own making and half born from the inherent characteristics of this particular episode: following the age of internationalism in the Mediterranean, *grosso modo* the 14–13th centuries, it is ludicrous to think that lithic technology, for instance, can provide the proof it does for a prehistoric episode (Peltenburg *et al.* 2001). In the LCII or III time-zone,

every effort invested in defining the migration through the isolation of distinct material corpora, such as ceramics, is bound to fail and, indeed, has failed miserably. The argument has been exhausted, especially in a series of articles by Sherratt (1991, 1992, 1998, 1999). Pottery of Aegean type, mass-produced on the wheel during an international age by an industrialised society, cannot qualify as archaeological proof of immigration. In the particular case of Late Bronze Age Cyprus, Aegean-style pottery, on its own, should not be expected to define the arrival of a discrete group of people from the Aegean (Karageorghis 2000, 251).

The reason is quite prosaic: international-age migrants may have no cultural baggage of their very own by which they can be readily identified, especially if they never sought to live apart in newly-founded settlements. Indeed, archaeological research strongly suggests that there are no culturally distinct 12th-century settlements in the island. Even Pyla *Kokkinokremos* and Maa *Palaeokastro*, the two extremely short-lived Late Cypriot sites that, due to their location are regularly described in the literature as defensive or military outposts (Karageorghis 1990, 27; 2000, 251), are not considered refugee or migrant establishments but rather joint-venture sites (Karageorghis 1990, 10, 26).

Demography and the chronology of the protohistoric migration

We attribute the eventual abandonment of even the most successful and long-lived Chalcolithic settlements to the demise of the Chalcolithic economic model. The succeeding Early Bronze Age economy is inextricably linked to its own Early Cypriot demography (Swiny 1989). We may equally suggest that, as a response to the demise of the Late Cypriot economic model – made evident by the gradual abandonment of its associated settlement pattern in LCIIC-IIIA (Knapp 1997, 68) – a new demographic pattern began to take shape before the end of the second millennium (Iacovou 1994). This Early Iron Age settlement distribution was determined by a new economic model – maybe even by a new sociopolitical structure (Snodgrass 1988, 12) – with which it had a more efficient interaction, as the success and longevity of sites established in the Early Iron Age would indicate (Catling 1994, 136; Papageorghiou 1993).

Precisely where does the protohistoric migration fit in time? If the culture of Early Cypriot I is already the result of the conjectural Anatolian episode, which was concurrent with the demise of the Chalcolithic culture, by analogy the third episode and its 'phantom' immigrants should be sought during the demise of the Late Cypriot economy, namely in the LCIIC–IIIA transition or early in the 12th century.

An evaluation of the overall material culture of the 11th–10th centuries (as presented in Iacovou and Michaelides 1999) suggests that the primary force behind the island's evident prosperity was a culturally coherent and homogenous society. We can be fairly certain that once the Early Iron Age clock starts ticking the migrant episode belongs to the past. Whatever its nature, it could not have fostered homogeneity: somewhere in the material data, it was bound to create diversity. Such diversity, though absent from the available 11th- and 10th-century data, is identified in various aspects of the 12th century. No matter how they are described or assessed by different scholars (recently, Karageorghis 2000), the novel aspects that appear in LCIIIA – for example, bathtubs or Handmade Burnished ware – are neither homogeneously distributed within or between sites, nor do they have a lasting impact. It is my understanding that they create a short-term lack of balance in the material culture and an inter-site diversity during LCIIIA, the period that is coming to be identified as the initial experimentation phase for the production of iron in Cyprus (Pickles and Peltenburg 1998).

It should be clear then that I disagree with the overall assumption that the symposium 'Cyprus in the 11th Century BC' (Karageorghis 1994) has propagated: because we agreed that the immigrants remain invisible in the 12th century, the main force of the migrant episode has been dated downward to the 11th century. I am convinced that what we see in the 11th and 10th centuries is already the settled outcome of a *fait accompli*. Despite the dearth of settlement evidence and the overwhelmingly bountiful material from mortuary contexts, the archaeological data that define the Cypriot environment during this 200-year period fail to disclose that the island was in a state of flux, or in the process of receiving waves of immigrants, or colonists, whom material corpora can distinguish as either Greeks or Phoenicians; nor is there anything in the archaeological record that could be interpreted as the result of widespread conflict generated by rivalry between distinct ethnic groups (Iacovou 1999b, 16–17).

One grows particularly weary of attempts (for example Negbi 1998) to present the Early Iron Age necropolis at Palaepaphos *Skales* as an ethnic mosaic: among dozens of nearly identical tombs containing largely similar burial assemblages (Karageorghis 1983) how is it possible to tell the ethnic or linguistic background of the deceased? To dismember these assemblages into meaningless components in order to equate either ceramics or metal objects with a deceased member of the old Cypriot stock, or a Phoenician or, for that matter, a Greek-speaking Mycenaean 'blueblood' (Rupp 1998), is fraught with the dated ideology of archaeology's uncritical days, when isolated artefacts, usually imports, could be elevated to ethnic markers. If, three decades ago, even one as wise as the late Porphyrios Dikaios saw fit to identify Mycenaean megara in 12th-century Enkomi (Dikaios 1971, 519), this does not justify anyone today turning the myth on its head in order to recover a Phoenician city from 11th-century Salamis, or an 'Eteocypriot' cemetery from Palaepaphos: "the earliest remains at Salamis are distinctively Phoenician" writes Negbi and considers it "legitimate to assign

the richest burials of the Paphian [Skales] cemetery to wealthy Eteocypriots" (1998, 87–88).

An uncomplicated, sensible approach to the basic nature and overall character of the Skales necropolis and the dozen or so other burial grounds that date from the Cypro-Geometric period (early ones at Lapithos, Kythrea, Kition, Amathous, Kourion; references in Iacovou 1994, 152, 154–157), will disclose the obvious: these are the well-cared-for burial plots of securely established, culturally homogeneous and quite prosperous communities, whose population appears to increase in the course of the Cypro-Geometric horizon (from the 11th/10th to the 8th century). These distinct and well-defined burial grounds, and the individual graves within them, remained in use for generations. Could one claim even a remotely similar picture of continuity for the mortuary pattern of the 12th century? The question will be answered below.

LCIIC–LCIIIA: the continuum

If we are to stand a chance of writing a history of Cyprus in the Early Iron Age that will be at least as credible as the history of Late Bronze Age Cyprus, the temptation to use undefined ethnic attributes needs to be overcome. Let me explain why I consider our comprehension of the island's cultural and sociopolitical history of the later second millennium BC satisfactory by comparison.

The late phase of the Cypriot Bronze Age, whether still largely prehistoric, in my opinion (Iacovou 2001, 88–89), or already protohistoric, in Knapp's opinion (1994, 282), has provided adequate data from controlled excavations to allow an impressive array of scholars to move beyond the classificatory/taxonomic into the interpretative mode. Irrespective of disagreements, this change in mode means that we are focusing on the processes which gave rise to the island's complex urban society.

All things considered, we have a fair idea of the Late Cypriot society, which was contemporary with the international Amarna period (Liverani 1987, 69): monumental urban enhancement with secular and sacred architecture closely associated with finished products in metalwork. State affairs – whether of an 'archaic state' (Peltenburg 1996) or of a series of complex chiefdoms (Smith 1994) – are variously assigned to politico-economic (Knapp 1997, 49) or social elites in a preponderantly 'heterarchical' political landscape (Keswani 1996, 239), but surely not to kings since palaces with archives do not exist (Merrillees 1992, 320–321). Nobody wastes ink on the ethnic make-up of this Late Cypriote society, though it is the one that produced and enjoyed the highest-level civilisation Cyprus ever reached during the seven or eight millennia of its prehistoric existence. The only ethnic concern we have ever had on their behalf has been to identify them as the children and lawful ethnics of the land of Alasia (Knapp 1996 contra Merrillees 1987). Their Alasiot identity notwithstanding, they never wrote any form of Greek. If in their undecipherable Cypro-Minoan script (or scripts) we can assume some knowledge of their prehistoric language, then certainly these late-second-millennium Cypriots, and especially those involved in administration, sacred ceremonial, production and exchange (Smith 1994), were anything but Greek speakers.

Meanwhile, we have acquired faith in the substance of cultural continuities (styles and manufacture of pottery, architecture and urban layout, religious practices, tomb use and metalworking technology) that characterise the transition from the 13th to the 12th century, or from LCIIC to LCIIIA (Sherratt 1998, 294; Webb 1999, 6, 288). Until recently, this transition was erroneously burdened with the overpowering stigma of invasions and destruction caused by Sea Peoples and was followed by the migration of Mycenaeans fleeing from economic depression in their Aegean homeland (Muhly 1992). Today we speak cautiously of settlement abandonment in LCIIC which if, or when, it presents evidence of destruction it is almost never settlement-wide (South 1989, 322–323). Abandonment, therefore, and not whole-scale destruction is the phenomenon that stands out (Iacovou n.d.). Following the closure of many a settlement at the end of the 13th century, the 12th-century levels of previously inconspicuous establishments, such as Kition or Hala Sultan Tekke, show an astonishing measure of nucleation (Keswani 1996, 228), which in the case of the former is enhanced by the ashlar aggrandisement of its open-air sanctuary (Webb 1999, 288, 292).

Who the Mycenaeans were at home and how they operated in the 12th century following the demise of their palatial society (Rutter 1992), or how we define the Mycenaean cultural phenomenon in the 'Mycenaean periphery' (Feuer 1999 with references), was the knowledge we had to gain before we could admit that a Mycenaean palatial or post-palatial microcosm never existed in Cyprus. Consequently, it is now clear that no distinct settlement structure or material culture accompanied the introduction of a Mycenaean-related form of Greek to the island. A strong argument in favour of the fact that the new language developed not away from but within the nucleated 12th-century urban centres of Late Bronze Age Cyprus, is the fact that its users took advantage of the local Cypro-Minoan script to create a syllabary, the Cyprosyllabic, that was to serve their own language (Woodard 1997, 247; 2000, 35). When and where could Greek-speaking migrants have learnt their first syllabic signs? Certainly not after the 12th century since use of Cypro-Minoan is not in evidence after LCIIIA, and certainly not in some refugee stronghold, isolated away from the last of the literate Cypriots.

Cypro-Minoan was lost when it was no longer sustained by the sociopolitical and institutional complexity that had caused it to appear in the Late Cypriot period in the first place. This complexity was brought to an untimely end in the 12th century, "probably by a combination of external disruptions and internal instabilities" (Keswani 1989, 70). Beyond the LCIIC–IIIA continuum, the 12th century is

not an extension of "the florescence of urban civilisation which took place in Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age" (Keswani 1989, 70). It is, rather, the climax of a social and cultural diversification that defies patterning.

I maintain that during this horizon of diversification, we begin to lose sight of the cultural definition of those responsible for the Late Bronze Age urban civilisation of Cyprus. Hundreds of foreigners may have been living within the urban boundaries of Enkomi, Kition or Hala Sultan Tekke in LCIIIA, but in the absence of cultural clarity they remain largely undetected. In fact, the presence of foreigners of eastern and/or western origin in 12th-century Cyprus is assumed by many scholars (Åström and Masson 1982; Åström 1998; Karageorghis 2000), but no one specific group manages to become discernible, or to acquire distinction in the material record of the 12th century.

Academic prejudice

At this chronological point, however, Cypriot Bronze Age specialists see fit to conclude their work. I quote *in toto* one such concluding statement: "By 1,100 BC, however, the settlement patterns and systems of political organisation that characterised the Bronze Age had come to an end, as new social and economic structures dictated the establishment and development of new population and power centres on Iron Age Cyprus" (Knapp 1997: 69).

No one can be blamed for his or her choice of specialisation, but this particular stopping point – the product of entrenched academic prejudice – is to be blamed for the delayed maturation of Early Iron Age studies in Cyprus. This lack of vision towards a diachronic interpretation of the evolution and transformation of the human environment in an island as small as Cyprus, certainly goes against '*la longue durée*' and processualism which, if true to its name, has no excuse in not following the process beyond the end of the 12th century. Many a Late Cypriot site were indeed abandoned shortly before or after the LCIIC–IIIA transition (Karageorghis 1990; Iacovou n.d.). Eventually, the few surviving LCIIIA settlements either shifted and relocated in the landscape – as in the classic case of the shift from Enkomi to Salamis (Yon 1999, 17) – or continued to occupy, as we assume for Palaipaphos and Kition, the same urban nucleus they had been occupying since 14th or 13th century; only these establishments were now operating within a thoroughly transformed social and economic environment (Iacovou 1999a, 148, 150). A similar Early Iron Age environment is gradually being reconstructed from contemporary 11th and 10th century data furnished by freshly-founded settlements, such as Amathous (Iacovou 2002) that have no Late Bronze Age lineage.

The mortuary data

In order to justify my argument against this academic prejudice and reaffirm that across this barrier we move from 12th century social divergence to 11th/10th-century homogenisation, I suggest that we take the mortuary sample from one end of the great divide to the other. To prove my case, I will maintain that only one who has done as much work as, let us say, Priscilla Keswani (1989; 1996) on Late Bronze Age mortuary data is adequately equipped to assess satisfactorily the implications and significance of the transformation of the mortuary pattern that marks the transition to the Early Iron Age.

Keswani observes the departure from the prehistoric Bronze Age tradition of burial in what were large extramural cemeteries in the Early and Middle Cypriot, to a new Late Cypriot tradition of tombs adjacent to the settlement, and relates this phenomenon to the movement of settlers into areas where they had no previous connections or ties to other groups that might have favoured establishment of communal burial grounds (Toumba *tou Skourou* serves as her prime early example). It should be stressed, however, that the change was only one of location – from extramural to intramural – while the type of the tomb, the traditional Cypriot chamber, did not change in the least. This therefore suggests that socially – not ethnically – heterogeneous groups from different parts of the island converged in one settlement (Keswani 1996, 220–221).

Next, by studying separately the mortuary sample from Enkomi – where one finds the maximum of continuity between the settlement and its contemporary burials from MCIII/LCI to LCIII – Keswani (1989) discovered that the most commonly observed mortuary feature attributable to LCIII, in the 12th century, was no longer the traditional Cypriot grave, used for multiple inhumations, but a previously unattested type: the shaft grave. Generally small, shallow cuttings, the shaft graves entail a minimal amount of labour in their construction, though their use was not restricted to low status individuals (Keswani 1989, 55–56). The proliferation of shaft graves in LCIII, side by side with many of the pre-existing Cypriot chambers which continued to be used in the 12th century may represent, Keswani suggests, the presence of foreigners, functionaries or specialists; people detached from their place of origin who had no local family tomb (1989, 70).

Keswani was therefore able to identify the presence of heterogenous human elements in 12th century Enkomi. Though almost certainly not her intention, she may have come closer than anyone else to the character of the 'invisible migration'. The divergence observed in the 12th century is not restricted to the international and elitist character of the material culture: it extends to the physical presence of foreigners who had taken up residency in the Cypriot cities. Shaft grave burials are also reported from Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström 1983, 185; Niklasson-Sönnerby 1987), Palaepaphos (Catling 1979) and Kition (Karageorghis 2000, 257).

Enkomi was gradually abandoned between the end of the 12th century and the beginning of the 11th century.

With the single exception of one early Cypro-Geometric tomb (Yon 1971), Salamis – the site closer to the sea where the Bronze Age settlement of Enkomi relocated itself – has so far not revealed its earliest cemetery, namely burials contemporary with the initial phase of the settlement's establishment. It is further east that the earliest manifestation of the island's new burial pattern has been located: the necropolis of Gastria-Alaas (Karageorghis 1975). Alaas marks the introduction of several Early Iron Age characteristics:

1. A return to the extramural, community-organised burial ground. By the end of the 11th century, or at the inception of Cypro-Geometric I, this became an established island-wide pattern (Iacovou 1994).
2. The earliest construction and use of a type of grave previously unattested in the Cypriot environment (Catling 1994) – the chamber tomb with a long dromos.
3. The end of variability in tomb types (observed in the LCIIIA urban centres), and the promotion of the new grave-type.

The Aegean region has provided ample evidence of the fact that the chamber tomb with the long dromos was the mortuary monument of an established family group in the Late Helladic (Mycenaean) period (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 97, 116, 131). Its introduction to Cyprus, and its island-wide use from the 11th century onwards, marks the replacement of the island's traditional Late Cypriot grave which was also used for inhumations over an extended period of time. The shaft grave, on the other hand, drops out of the picture after its short-lived use in the 12th century. This implies that in the 11th and 10th century communities of Cyprus, the foreigners were no longer foreigners and the shallow, single-use shaft grave did not respond to the requirements of a monument that was expected to be periodically reopened and reused. Indeed, the success of the chamber tomb in Mycenaean Greece is partly explained by the fact that it was adapted precisely to allow regular access to the burial chamber (Cavanagh and Mee 1998, 116).

The Early Iron Age communities of Cyprus were therefore responsible for the establishment of large extramural cemeteries of chamber tombs, which remained in use for generations. It is these burial grounds that:

1. define the island's new Early Iron Age demography and settlement distribution;
2. mark the substitution of the non-homogeneous 12th-century mortuary pattern with a homogeneous one; and
3. suggest the community of the living enjoyed security and stability, social and cultural proximity.

"The last Mycenaeans continued to bury their dead in chamber tombs [in LHIIIC], and by that token continued to be Mycenaeans", write Cavanagh and Mee (1998, 135). The transference of this particular Mycenaean practice to Cyprus is not in doubt. Nonetheless, though the origin of the new tomb-type is Aegean (Sherratt 1992, 329), it is only the type of the tomb that has an unequivocal Aegean descent – not each and every individual buried inside the hundreds of chamber tombs with dromoi found in Iron Age Cyprus. Likewise, Proto-White Painted and White Painted I, the local painted pottery that was being deposited in these tombs during the 11th and 10th centuries, has a distinct Aegean affiliation to the LHIIIC *koine* (Iacovou 1988, 1–3; 1991), but its use is not restricted to Greek-speaking migrants; nor was there a different branch of the ceramic industry that catered for the dietary needs or mortuary customs of Eteocypriots or Phoenicians: in the 11th and 10th centuries, the island's ceramic industry produced only one type of painted ware (Iacovou 1999a, 148–149); it was high quality and it had an amazingly rich and coherent repertoire of shapes.

Phoenician expansion plus Phoenician presence equals Phoenician colonisation?

We had to learn the hard way that pots are not people (Sherratt 1991, 195). They are neither Greeks nor Phoenicians. The Greek speakers were thus unburdened of the tyranny of having to produce their own strangely selective and eclectic repertoire of Aegean-style pottery in 12th-century Cyprus (Catling 1986, 595; Sherratt 1991, 193–195). But, it seems that the burden has been shifting onto the shoulders of the Phoenicians. We learnt that neither the imported Mycenaean pictorial vases, nor their locally-produced imitations constitute the least evidence for a Mycenaean colonisation. We run, however, the risk of reliving the same faulty argument all over again, this time in the name of an Early Iron Age Phoenician colonisation (or settlement, according to Stern 1990), though no ceramic package was ever brought from the Phoenician coast by a discrete group of people to help maintain their dietary habits in Cyprus. The Phoenician colonisation construct is largely built on the evidence of one ceramic shape: the round-based (globular) neck-ridged jug and the contemporary imitation of this eclectic and selective Phoenician vase (Bikai 1983; 1987, 48, Pls III–VI), which in Cyprus was produced alongside all the other WPI and Bichrome I shapes (Iacovou 1988, 36–37, 52).

The imported Phoenician vases, found in the 11th and 10th century assemblages at Palaepaphos *Skales* (Bikai 1983), have been unwittingly treated as unequivocal evidence for a contemporary 'Phoenician expansion' to the West (Bikai 1994, 31). In her introduction of the Phoenician Pottery of Cyprus, Bikai stressed the fact that she was documenting "all the ceramic evidence for a Phoenician presence in Cyprus before the period of colonisation which is represented by the installation at Kition" (1987, 1) in the 9th century. Apparently, 'Phoenician presence' can be easily misread as physical ethnic presence, since Professor Stern for example can claim an "intensive Phoenician settlement" (1990, 32) of Cyprus

in the 11th century on the basis of a select group of Phoenician vases that constitute Bikai's Kouklia horizon (1987, 68). One hopes that this unilateral approach will soon be replaced by a more promising interpretation developed as a result of Gilboa's work on the Iron Age pottery from Tel Dor (Gilboa 1999a) and her recent study of the early Bichrome style in Phoenicia which "owes much to Cypriot decorative concepts" (Gilboa 1999b, 9).

Epilogue

"The Phoenicians", writes Bikai, "did not succeed in taking over Cyprus. If they had, Cyprus would be speaking Phoenician rather than Greek today" (1994, 35). Along with the spread of a new language that was, evidently, not Phoenician but Greek, vital cultural elements of Aegean origin – the new type of tomb and the largely Aegean-based ceramic tradition – acted their part as unifying agents in the construction of a homogenised island environment in the 11th and 10th centuries. After all, "the most effective mode of interaction is a common language…The development of a shared language, even when initially there was greater linguistic diversity, is one of the features that may be associated with peer-polity interaction" (Renfrew and Bahn 1996, 366). It is not ethnicity, therefore, that produces a shared language; it is a shared language that may gradually create or contribute towards an ethnic bond (elsewhere I have tried to isolate the Greek speakers and to define the reason for their ethnic assertion in Cyprus: Iacovou 1999b).

Nonetheless, not all the features that define the transition to the Early Iron Age can be traced to the cultural background of an allegedly Aegean human stock: the open-air sanctuaries of Bronze Age Cyprus stand untouched by any significant cultural change. In fact, the "absence of major discontinuities in the archaeological record of cult practice across both transitions [from LCIIC to IIIA to IIIB] " (Webb 1999, 8) is a phenomenon of far greater significance than we have probably realised until now. There are two relevant parameters involved here:

1. "the size, scale and complexity of the cult buildings erected at Kition and Kouklia in LCIIIA suggest the existence, also, of strong centralised authority" (Webb 1999, 292); and
2. the LCIIIA ashlar aggrandisement of the Kition and Kouklia temene introduced no Aegean architectural tradition. Granted that these two sanctuaries were not abandoned in the 11th century – indeed, they are today the only visible monumental survivors of the transition to the first millennium – it is more than likely that they continued to fulfill their original role. Monumentality defines power and, in the case of the Cypriot sanctuaries, it embodies the strength to control an economy traditionally based on the production and exchange of metal resources.

Is it by some accident that when colonists from the Phoenician city of Tyre established themselves at Kition in the late 9th century (Yon 1999, 20), they did what true colonists should not have done? They ought to have abolished or to have undermined the seats of local religion and have substituted their very own. Instead they refurbished the Kition sanctuary, allowing it to resume and continue its traditional role. This role was both symbolic and functional; it stood for administrative, economic and political control.

The island's Early Iron Age culture, which can be traced – admittedly with much difficulty – at the dawn of the first millennium BC, was constructed primarily in order to maintain a potentially resourceful and dynamic system capable of redefining the island as a major international metals trader in the Mediterranean world of the Early Iron Age.

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PART THREE:
SPACE AND DIVERSITY

17. Crossing cultural divides: transmissions and transformations in space

Joanne Clarke

Introduction

One of the greatest challenges for archaeologists is understanding how and why cultural transmission and transformation occurs. What we do know is that it only occurs as a consequence of human interaction. Given that it is the ways in which people in the past interacted with each other and their environment that fascinates us, cultural transmission and transformation as a topic of study in itself has been largely ignored. For example, the transmission of materials and ideas happens through trade and exchange, diffusion, migration, invasion, enculturation, acculturation, peer polity interaction etc., and all of these forms of interaction have been studied in detail by archaeologists. The difficulty is that the interaction processes that foster cultural change are represented in the archaeological record as material culture, and material culture is often incidental to, or a by-product of, the interaction process. Therefore studying the ways in which culture is transmitted and transformed is, in theory, a more reliable method of approaching interaction studies because it is one step closer to the material record.

This short introduction aims to explore the effects of interaction on cultural change. It begins by exploring how transmission and transformation of culture takes place within the context of a number of interaction models and why certain transformations happen in some circumstances and not in others. Each of the six papers in this section examines a particular aspect of culture that has moved from one place to another and become something else either during or after the transmission process

What sorts of cultural traits travel?

In the Oxford Dictionary culture is described as the total of the inherited ideas, beliefs, values and knowledge which constitute the shared bases of social action, including the total range of activities and ideas of people. Culture, therefore, can take many forms, from actual materials, to the technologies that create materials, to styles of making and decorating materials, to the iconography embedded in materials, to the ideologies of individuals and groups (religions, cosmologies, taboos) sometimes represented by materials, to knowledge that is passed on by individuals and groups, also sometimes represented by materials. I specify materials in all of these categories of culture because that is what we have in the archaeological record to represent cultural transmissions and transformations. The material representation of cultural activity is therefore the key to understanding how and why culture moves and changes. However, understanding the 'hows' and 'whys' of cultural transmission and transformation is made infinitely more complex by the fact that not all aspects of culture are transmitted or transformed in the same way, nor to the same degree. What is certain is that at some level human beings are involved in the process whether directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously.

In archaeology it is axiomatic that we can only recognise cultural change within the context of material culture and this is woefully inadequate when dealing with some aspects of cultural transmission and transformation. For example, if we hope to trace the spread of religion, we must first identify the material traits usually occurring in association with that religion and then trace the chronological and spatial trajectories that these traits take. Ideas and beliefs may not be represented materially, so only a proportion of the complete cultural suite of a religion may exist in the archaeological record. There are different degrees of assimilation of cultural traits by receiving populations meaning that not all aspects of a religion will be adopted to the same degree or at the same rate. Omissions and/or additions to the suite of cultural traits that represent a religion may effect change in a religion. Finally, cultural transmissions do not always occur in context so that information can be lost or misunderstood and therefore some traits may be altered or changed. All these factors will cause transformations that lead to regional variations.

Most studies on cultural interaction have centred on long-term, large-scale models of interaction and their effects on human populations. Trade and exchange (Earle and Ericson 1977; Gale 1995; Polanyi 1957) is perhaps the most comprehensively studied and best understood of

interaction models. It takes many forms, from gift giving (Mauss 1990) to exchange in pre-monetary societies, to trade and the production of wealth in complex hierarchical, and monetary societies. Cultural interaction can also happen because of movement of human populations via migration or invasion, diffusion etc., and through the politics of interaction such as core-periphery studies (Rowlands, Larsen and Kristiansen 1987), peer-polity interaction (Renfrew and Cherry 1986) and world-systems theory (Wallerstein 1980). However, these large-scale population studies do not allow for the micro-examination of the movement of particular cultural traits within the greater interaction process. Yet, in all of these circumstances cultural traits are transmitted and transformed, not only consciously and actively but also unconsciously.

How does culture travel?

If we assume that cultural traits travel with people then we are halfway to understanding how they travel. But not all aspects of culture travel the same way. For example, a receiving group can copy materials, decorative styles and iconography with relative ease and these types of cultural transmissions are common in the archaeological record because they can be easily identified. Technologies and ideologies on the other hand, require greater human involvement in the transmission process and they are more difficult to identify archaeologically. A useful example to illustrate this problem is pottery:

1. At its most simple pots can move. This is a very useful phenomenon in archaeology because the presence of an easily identifiable ceramic type in different locales can indicate interaction that is probably fairly direct and possibly relatively contemporary.
2. Decorative schemes found on pots can move. In one sense this form of cultural transmission is quite difficult to trace archaeologically because one type of decorative mode can be applied to variety of mediums and can be transformed into something not immediately recognisable as the originating pattern. However, with some careful observation, pathways of transmission and transformation can be followed.
3. Ways of making pots can move. This is, in theory, easier to trace archaeologically than decorative modes because it usually involves the transfer of personnel. It may be visible in the archaeological record through careful observation of context of manufacture.
4. The function of a pot can move. This often accompanies the movement of a pot. As long as there is an identifiable archaeological context the function of a pot may be identified. However, the transmission of function requires that a receiving group understand how a pot was used in its original context. This is useful for archaeological interpretation because it suggests that there must have been knowledge of, and regular contact with, the transferring group.
5. The ideology of a pot can move. This is the most difficult to identify archaeologically. Only when all other forms of cultural transmission have been ruled out can we attribute similarities in material traits between regions to the transmission of ideology.

Once transmitted, all these cultural forms can also be transformed. For example, a pot can be copied identically, or altered in some way. Decorative modes can be copied faithfully or altered in some way. The same may be said of technology, of function and of ideology. What is more, in all of these cases the process of transformation may be conscious and understood or unconscious and misunderstood by the receiving population.

One of the more tricky problems in cultural transmission and transformation studies is actually identifying the degree of human involvement in the process. For example, the adoption of new technologies or ideologies almost certainly requires the presence of a small number of people who can teach ways of doing things and ways of thinking about things. But this is not the case for the adoption of decorative styles for example. It is perfectly possible for instance, for a style of pottery decoration to be imitated without the presence of the people who invented the decorative style. This conundrum is aptly illustrated in Braun's paper (this section). In his study of Egyptian and Levantine pottery types in the Early Bronze Age of the southern Levant, Braun notes that there are examples of direct imports from one region to another. However there are also Egyptian pot forms made from Levantine clay, there are Egyptian pot forms with Levantine features and there are Levantine pot forms made in Egyptian clays found in the Levant. Braun lists a number of scenarios that could explain these observations:

1. An Egyptian goes to the Levant and makes Egyptian pots in Levant clay.
2. A person from the Levant goes to Egypt, learns how to make pottery in the Egyptian way and then returns to the Levant where he replicates the style.
3. A third party, neither Egyptian nor Levantine goes to Egypt, learns how to make Egyptian pottery and then makes it in the Levant.

It is not appropriate to go into more detail here as Braun examines each scenario in depth. However, this example illustrates the difficulty we face in unravelling the complexities of human interaction without first unravelling the types of cultural transmissions and transformations that have occurred and then contextualising them spatially and chronologically.

Miroschedji and Sadeq do exactly this in the following paper. At the site of Tell al-Sakan in the Gaza Strip, 90–95% of the pottery in the lowest levels was of Egyptian type. Miroschedji and Sadeq say that at least 75% is of local manufacture (Egyptian vessels made from local clay)

and no hybrids were identified. The remainder was local pottery. As all the pottery is found stratified in well-preserved contexts some preliminary remarks about the process of cultural transmission was possible. In this instance Miroschedji and Sadeq surmise that Tell al-Sakan represents a sizeable Egyptian population in the southern Levant. This is supported by other Egyptian elements in the material assemblage.

Killebrew's paper explores cultural transmissions and transformations from the perspective of World-Systems Theory. In the southern Levant at the end of the Late Bronze Age there is increasing diversity in the archaeological record. Others have attributed the apparent shift from cultural homogeneity to diversity at this time to greater ethnic diversity. However, Killebrew argues that we are too quick to associate changes in material culture with changes in human populations. It is equally likely that the homogeneity recognised earlier in the Late Bronze Age may represent an eastern Mediterranean 'world-economy'.

Webb's paper successfully uses the material record to trace changes in ideology in Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age. The paper examines the possibility that certain artefacts derived from foreign sources that have symbolic meaning may also act as status markers and bearers of elite authority. Because Webb confines her study to the negotiation of personal and social identity within an ethnically homogeneous group she is able to demonstrate successfully the role of ideology in the development and maintenance of stratified society.

Moorey's paper examines cultural transmissions and transformations in the Achaemenid Persian Empire. Like Phillips, he explores the 'question of reception' saying that "It needs first to be recognised that so much turns on 'receptivity' amongst the ruled, since not even first-hand contact is necessarily required for something to be imprinted upon a receptive cultural entity. The establishment of empire may facilitate it; but it does not necessarily stimulate it. There has first to be the will, from above, to impose conformity and then the desire, from below, to emulate and imitate".

Budin's paper considers how far cultural transformations can be traced in the archaeological record. We are introduced to the Judean Pillar Figurine, an object found in archaeological contexts throughout the Levant in the Iron Age and produced and consumed locally. Budin attempts to establish an origin for the iconography of these objects, which she hopes might help with the interpretation of their meaning. She argues that by identifying the origin we can contextualise these objects in an historical context of production and then trace how they moved from one society to another, how they were received and assimilated and how they were eventually transformed. Interpretation of the meaning of these objects in the context of Iron Age Levant then becomes more complete as we have a sense of their original function and meaning as well as a sense of their function and meaning in their context of recent consumption.

Ulbrich's paper picks up the same theme by examining whether votive sculptures representing Near Eastern goddesses found in Iron Age Cypriot sanctuaries are evidence of the adoption and adaptation of Near Eastern iconographic types or actual Near Eastern cults being practised in Cyprus.

Given's paper questions whether we can identify ethnic groups through material correlates. He argues that close contextual examination reveals that different groups in different contexts can use the same styles and the same material culture, just as the same groups can use different styles and different material culture.

Finally Seretis' paper takes us to Cyprus during the colonial period and concludes that "the establishment of empire is not always accompanied by consequences such as the circulation of mass-produced goods. It is dependent upon what the empire in question hopes to gain from the territory it is taking over. The local articulation of the global concept of imperialism, colonialism, is contextual and tied to a particular place and time".

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18. Identifying ethnicity from Prehistoric pottery in Ancient Egypt and the Southern Levant

Eliot Braun

Abstract

Sites dating to the late 4th and early 3rd millennia within southern Israel and the Palestinian region of Gaza have yielded considerable quantities of imported Egyptian pottery as well as locally made wares that appear to be highly influenced by Egyptian styles (i.e. Egyptianising pottery). Some scholars have, on the basis of this pottery and related artefacts, argued for the presence of an ethnic Egyptian population domiciled within the southern Levant, side by side with local denizens. In addition, smaller, but significant, quantities of southern Levantine pottery have been found at contemporary sites in Egypt, although no such argument is made for the presence of southern Levantine potters in the Nile Valley for this period. This paper questions the validity of some widely accepted interpretations of interconnections between the Nile Valley and the southern Levant and suggests some alternate ways of explaining the archaeological record.

Introduction

Even before the discovery of hard evidence for Egyptian involvement in the southern Levant, Y. Yadin (1955) attempted to explain scenes on the Narmer palette as a record of Egyptian military penetration into the region. Interaction between the two regions in the Early Bronze Age (hereafter EBA) was understood as a virtual given and S. Yeivin's (1960) publication of the first *serekh* discovered at Tel Erani and what was believed to be masses of related Egyptian and Egyptianising material, was understood as supporting Yadin's hypothesis. Since then scholars have attempted to explain, in one way or another, the presence of what are clearly considerable quantities of Egyptian and Egyptianising artefacts in the archaeological record of the Early Bronze Age I (EB I) in the southern Levant.

Since the first excavations at Tel Erani, new discoveries have greatly increased our awareness of Egyptian interaction with the southern Levant, by producing even greater quantities of similar material at additional sites. Complementary discoveries in Egypt also turned up considerable quantities of southern Levantine artefacts in contemporary contexts, indicating that the exchange of goods was not one sided.

A number of scholars have recently interpreted this information as evidence for a nascent Egyptian state assuming control over a large territory. While I share the enthusiasm with which they have embraced new data and attempted to explain them, I suggest that some of the interpretations they offer are not completely justified when rigorously examined against other archaeological data.

A theoretical perspective

David L. Clarke (1978, 152–153) in his formative work, *Analytical Archaeology*, defined an artefact as "any object modified by a set of humanly imposed attributes…". In turn, he noted: "the artefact is the focused result, directly correlating a whole set of actions, sequences of actions, or behaviour necessary to materialise the abstract conception in the maker's mind." Clarke (1978, 155) cited Ashby (1956, 39) on the subject who earlier wrote: "Every artefact, every material object, contains an infinity of attributes or variables and therefore of possible systems networking these attributes."

A similar concept has been expressed by Prudence Rice (1987, 283–284) who, quoting a much earlier work (Krieger 1944, 278), applied it to the study of ceramics and gave it a name, calling it the 'artisan's *mental template*'. This template is associated with traditional ceramic production and is a major source of information on the cultural *milieu* from which ceramic artefacts derive.

Although each individual piece of pottery was produced from an essentially amorphous mass of clay (an

extraordinarily malleable medium) that allows for maximum creativity, archaeological ceramic artefacts, for the most part, display in technology, form and decoration, a conservatism that places them within very traditional boundaries. Thus, a primary observation derived from ceramic assemblages emphasises what appears to be a universal aspect of the human condition, a basic, copycat nature that stores learned ways of doing things and passes them on to later generations. Such repetition is the essence of culture in the archaeological sense, and is the basis for a theoretical framework by which much of the archaeological record is analysed. This penchant for humankind to produce artefacts along traditional guidelines does not, however, mean that ceramics and the traditions they represent are not modified by change, especially along time trajectories and in regard to locale.

Pottery is a major source of data on the cultural attribution of archaeological deposits in the Near East and consequently an enormous body of literature has grown up around its interpretation. Embedded in each and every pot, and every sizeable fragment thereof, are coded data that have a potential to convey meaningful information relating to the cultural or ethnic identity of the potter who fashioned it. The purpose of this paper is to examine to what degree, as analysts of the archaeological record, we are actually capable of properly interpreting the information coded within such fossilised artefacts.

As Levy *et al.* (1997, 34) have noted: "Establishing ethnic identity based on material culture found in the archaeological record is extremely difficult and subject to much debate." In a recent paper, Stein (1999) also notes the problem, but suggests that, under certain conditions, ethnic identification may be successfully carried out, especially in the case of identifying a foreign colony. Stein's (1999, 12) concept of 'colony' as " … an implanted settlement established by one society in either uninhabited territory or the territory of another society" is one that appears to be particularly applicable for the time-span and region under discussion here. Stein (1999, 21) defines ethnicity as "… a social construct that is created and maintained through a variety of conscious and unconscious behaviours – such as the use of specific styles of material culture". Notably, and here his ideas are particularly relevant to this paper, he also categorically states (Stein 1999, 15) that it is not enough to use a single artefact category, specifically pottery, for determining ethnicity, especially when considering the question of a foreign colony or enclave. He suggests additional criteria that include architecture, site plan and the material culture assemblage, as equally important in ethnic identification. In a series of articles, he and colleagues appear to have demonstrated the existence of just such a foreign (i.e. Urukian) enclave at Haçinebi in Anatolia (Turkey) in a 4th millennium BC context. The impressive arrays of data they offer consider public and private architecture (Stein 1999), administrative paraphernalia (Pittman 1999), pottery (Blackman 1999; Pearce 1999) and lithics (Edens 1999).

Similar, and even greater, claims for the existence of an Egyptian 'colony' and 'province' have been made for the southern Levant in the late 4th and early 3rd millennia (e.g. Brandl 1992; de Miroschedji 1997, 1999, 161–164), but how strong is the case for such claims? The arguments are mostly based on a mass of pottery identified with this foreign ethnic element. An attempt to examine the strength of these claims follows below and, in addition, the question of identifying ethnicity by pottery is looked at, from the opposite side of the fence, through examples of 'southern Levantine' ceramic types found in contemporary Egypt.

The distinctiveness of ceramic production in the southern Levant in this period, as compared with that of contemporary Egypt (including its sub-regions; e.g. Tutundzic 1989, 1993), need not be elaborated on here, but it is noted that it has been well documented in the literature and is universally accepted (e.g. Amiran 1974; Andedlkovic 1995; Brandl 1989; Gophna 1972, 1976; Kantor 1942, 1954, 1992; Weinstein 1984). Such an ideal separation of attributes allows us to interpret interaction between people of these two regions in this period from pottery in the archaeological record.

Southern Levantine pottery in Egypt – imports and influences

William Flinders Petrie (1902), working in the Naqada cemeteries of Egypt at the turn of the 20th century, recognised the introduction of a foreign attribute (that we now know to be from the southern Levant) the wavy ledge handle (his W Class), and apparently surmised (Hoffman 1984, 118–120) that in Egypt it underwent a major transformation through time. He posited that it was originally adopted by Egyptian potters as a functional appendage and that as time passed it became less and less prominent until, latterly, it became no more than a slightly raised, decorative element, with total loss of its original function.

According to Kaiser's 'Stufen' chronology (Hendrickx 1996, 39–40, 59–60; Kaiser 1957), the first wavy ledge handles appear in Egypt in Naqada IIc, although examples are found earlier at Maadi in Rizkana and Seeher's (1987, Pl. 77, 1–4) Ware V. Certified southern Levant imports are associated with this same period (e.g. Kroeper 1988, Figs 69 and 70, 1989) and presumably they are the inspiration for wavy handles on contemporary Egyptian vessels. These latter are notable for longer and more gracile bodies (e.g. Kroeper 1988, 59–61; Pumpenmeier 1993, *Abb*. 9) and are similar to more traditional types of Egyptian pottery without handles (e.g. Kroeper 1988, 66–67). 'Development' through time, of both the handle, and the overall morphology, of such jars, during the progression of Proto-Dynastic/Early First Dynasty Egypt (i.e. Dynasties 0 and part of Dynasty 1), provides archaeologists with one of the most useful series of chronological pegs for this time span (Hendrickx 1996, 59–60).

In Egypt at least, the assumption is made that the

ethnicity of potters who fashioned these vessels is no different from that of potters who fashioned more traditional Egyptian types. Indeed, so far as the literature is understood, W Class pottery that is not imported is considered wholly, and typically Egyptian (e.g. Petrie 1921, Pls XXVIII–XXX; Wilkinson 1999, 43), despite its development from southern Levant prototypes.

Within this same time span there are also quantities of southern Levantine 'imports' that have been noted in Egypt, mainly, although not exclusively, in royal and elite funerary contexts (e.g. Dreyer 1996, 1998, *Abb*. 60–70; Kroeper 1988, Figs 37–40; Möllers 1969, *Tafel* 9, 13, 41). There does not seem to be any suggestion in the literature of any sizeable and permanently settled foreign ethnic element in the Nile Valley responsible for this pottery, despite its exotic origins. That is probably because there is no corroborative evidence to suggest what Stein (1999, 12) calls: "…a broad complex of material culture used in a variety of contexts, rather than being limited to a single category such as ceramics". However, quite a different slant is put on the interpretation of the archaeological record of the southern Levant for what is often a parallel phenomenon (see below), even when only this single category of artefactual evidence is available.

Who made the imported Canaanite ceramics found in Tomb U-j at Abydos?

Within the large necropolis at Abydos is a group of tombs dating to the Proto-Dynastic period, collectively designated 'Cemetery U' (i.e. '*Friedhof* U'; Dreyer 1996, 13–37). Within Cemetery U, a number of tombs (each designated by a lower case letter; e.g. U-k, U-o), all lined with mud brick, and some with multiple rooms, are dated to the Naqada III period. They are ascribed to elite (royal?) personages (Dreyer 1998), because their relatively complex mortuary structures represent a major advance from simple, unlined cist burials of the earlier Naqada I and II periods, thus indicating increased social status of individuals interred within.

Several of these tombs contained quantities of vessels (i.e. '*Importkeramik*') that quite clearly exhibit southern Levantine attributes. The tomb with the largest assemblage of such exotic containers (between 350 and 700), U-j, (Hartung 1992, 1998), is the final resting place of 'King Scorpion I' (not to be confused with King Scorpion II, known from a ceremonial mace head found in Hierakonpolis; Emery 1961, 42, Fig. 2a). It may be noted that many of this extraordinary cache of vessels were found intact and all had clay sealings (Hartung 1998). They contrast with some 700, unsealed Egyptian vessels from the same tomb.

From the point of view of morphology, all these sealed vessels are decidedly 'non-Egyptian', despite the fact that most lack handles. A 'Canaanite' pedigree for them is assumed (Hartung 1992, 1996, 1998) and, for of at least some of them, is apparently assured (McGovern *et al.* 1997, 11–12; Porat and Goren 2002). The geographic origins of the fabrics of others, however, are open to question. Dreyer (1998, note 145) actually noted that there is conflicting evidence as to the origin of the fabrics of some of these vessels (see especially Porat and Goren 2002), and therefore we must await a second promised report that will, perhaps, clear up the matter.

Simple empirical examination of the published illustrations, however, suggests (to those familiar with EB I ceramics from the southern Levant) that not all in this group appear to be typical of their supposed place of origin. On the basis of 343 illustrations of virtually complete vessels (Hartung 1998), the purportedly 'Canaanite' vessels in Tomb U-j that appear, through macroscopic examination of morphology and decoration, but without benefit of rigorous scientific testing procedures for provenience of clays, to be imports from the southern Levant, are more or less limited to 44 published examples. The remainder, not illustrated, cannot be evaluated; i.e. a clear attribution is possible for between *c*.8% and 17% of the complete assemblage of '*Importkeramik*' reported by Dreyer (1998, 21)

I include, in the group of 44, most of the vessels with handles (ledge, lug and vertical strap varieties), and two additional, handleless pots (Dreyer 1998, Abb. 66, 12/16 and Abb. 62, 10/20) decorated in a highly distinctive manner known as 'basket style' (Stager 1990). So far as I can discern all of these 44 vessels have close and numerous parallels in Late EB I ceramic assemblages, especially at sites in the southern region. Notably, some are rather good morphological parallels to a vessel of typical southern Levantine morphology (e.g. Amiran 1969, 49–54; Braun and van den Brink 1998, especially Figs 1 and 4 and Pls 7 and 10), but made in Egypt and exported to Tel Halif (see below).

Several vessels within this select group, however, are not typical of their supposed place of origin. Three jars (Dreyer 1998, 7/50, 10/93 and 11/17) all decorated in a distinctive style, nicknamed 'pyjama' (named for the broad red, vertical stripes on a heavy white coat of lime slip), have an additional slightly raised strip of rope-like design, obliquely applied to their shoulders. Another of these jars, from the Late Pre- and Proto-Dynastic cemetery at Minshat Abu Omar in Egypt (Braun and van den Brink 1998, 75–76 and note 25; Kroeper 1988, 1989), has been shown through petrographic testing to be southern Levantine in origin. This raised strip is found almost exclusively on vessels of southern Levantine mien discovered in Egypt. Only a single exception is known to the writer from their supposed homeland, a small, bag shaped juglet from Har Tuv (Mazar and de Miroschedji 1996, Fig. 18.3).

Additional decorative features within this group, including a wavy (e.g. Hartung 1998 Abb. 64, 10/115, Abb. 66, 12/13) and a patchy style of painting (e.g. Hartung 1998, Abb. 70, 8/4), remain so far unparalleled in the southern Levant. Notably, they are found in the

remaining group of handleless *Importkeramik* vessels discussed below, suggesting a common origin or at least a common derivation.

The remaining pots, the bulk of the imported vessels from this tomb, are handleless bottles or jars that have attributes clearly associating them with southern Levantine EB I ceramic types (i.e. body proportions and flat bases). Within the group, there is a range of types that approximates vessels with handles and they are defined accordingly. Jars without handles (e.g. Hartung 1998, Abb. 65, 10/123) are exceedingly rare in the southern Levant. I know of only one specimen of this type, recovered in the large, Late EB I assemblage of Horvat 'Illin (Lower) (Braun *et al.* 2001). For the present, large, narrow-necked bottles (morphologically similar to jugs) seem, with a single exception known to derive from the Judean Hills (Yekutieli 1995), to be directly paralleled only in Northern Sinai (Oren 1989, Fig. 9.17).

Modes of decoration in this group are also atypical for the Late EB I of the southern Levant. The wavy, tiger-striped like effect (e.g. Hartung 1998, Abb. 64, 10/105/, Abb. 65, 10/151) is so far as we have been able to ascertain, without parallels in southern Levantine assemblages. On the other hand, the bold stripes (e.g. Hartung 1998, Abb. 63, 10/56) and criss-cross patterns (e.g. Hartung 1998, Abb. 63, 10/40, Abb. 68, 12/79) of some of the vessels are known there, but are rarely encountered. Generally, this type of decoration is relegated to smallish vessels painted in a somewhat less than skilful imitation of fine examples of 'basket style' (e.g. Marquet-Krause 1949, Pl. XLVII, 4.932, 10.922).

While this second, and larger, group does not appear to be purely southern Levantine, we can only wonder from where the atypical attributes of the group derive. Obviously Egyptian influence would seem to be the most likely source, but whether a 'non-feature' such as the lack of handles can be proposed as an Egyptian attribute is a highly debatable point. Otherwise, specific Egyptian or Egyptianising attributes seem to be absent in this group, and so their unusual features may be a feature of function rather than of decoration (McGovern *et al.* 1997).

If there are attributes present that might help to establish the ethnic identity of the potters they are probably very deeply encoded. The question remains whether or not this pottery was the work of southern Levantine potters producing specific vessels for export or whether Egyptian potters were working in the southern Levant and sending them home? Alternatively, there may be a factor of mixed ethnicity. To what extent, if any, is a time factor involved? Notably, '*Importkeramik*' is found in several tombs (including U-j and U-k) that are believed to represent a chronological progression, indicating these vessels continued to be made over some length of time.

Thus, it is not at all clear how to categorise this second group. Should it, as in the case of the Tel Erani vessels of easily identifiable, mixed cultural attributes (see below), be termed 'hybrid' and if so, is there an ethnic significance to it? There are, of course, no certain, or simple answers. What does seem likely is that the 'mental templates' from which these vessels derive their inspiration, do not appear to be entirely southern Levantine, or, at least not typically so.

Egyptian and Egyptianised pottery in the southern Levant – imports and influences

The last two decades have seen a spate of scholarly works reporting on quantities of Egyptian imports derived from Early Bronze Age sites, mostly in the region of southern Israel, Gaza and Sinai (e.g. Brandl 1989; Braun and van den Brink 1998; Levy *et al.* 1995, 1997; Oren 1989; Oren and Yekutieli 1992; Porat 1986–1987, 1989, 1992). Most recently, notable additions to sites yielding Egyptian imports are Tell es-Sakan (de Miroschedji and Sadek 2000a, 2000b, 2000c, this volume) and Tel Lod. Following van den Brink's (1999) soundings at Tel Lod, another Israel Antiquities Authority team (with my participation) recovered a sizeable quantity of Egyptian imported pottery in Late EB I/Early EB II contexts.

In addition to the burgeoning of new scientific methodologies for determining geographic origins of clays (e.g. Goren 1991; Porat, 1986–1987, 1989), there has come a recognition of what we may term here Egyptian related or 'Egyptianising' ceramics (e.g. Andedlkovic 1995; Brandl 1989; de Miroschedji 1996, 23–24; de Miroschedji 1997; de Miroschedji and M. Sadek this volume; Goren 2000; Levy *et al.* 1995, 1997; Mazar and Porat 1986–1987, 1989). This denotes pottery made locally in the southern Levant, but purported to have morphological and technological attributes that derive from the Egyptian cultural sphere. Significantly, as noted above, no such term as 'southern Levantinised' is applied to Egyptian ceramics with similar, externally derived attributes. Vessels sharing characteristics thought to be of Egyptian and southern Levantine type are said to be 'hybrids' (e.g. Brandl 1989; Dessel 1991, 132; Helwing 1999).

'Hybrid' (see below) artefacts are particularly problematic because they no longer convey discrete cultural elements, but represent the materialisation of abstract conceptions derived from a mixed cultural bag. They allow for any number of possible interpretations. It should be noted that, if associations are brief and limited to two cultures, then there are not likely to be too many options. Immediacy of contact within limited time frames would argue for directly appropriated and presumably well-defined attributes. Within such parameters the following scenarios would suggest themselves for Egyptian type pottery in the southern Levant:

1. The potter was Egyptian and copied or attempted to approximate a southern Levantine prototype.
2. The potter was southern Levantine and copied or attempted to approximate an Egyptian prototype.
3. A person of another ethnic group copied or attempted

to approximate a southern Levantine and/or an Egyptian prototype.

However, when a time trajectory is factored into the analysis, the possible interpretations are greatly multiplied and consequently become more complicated.

Let us now address the question of ascertaining the ethnicity of the potters who made the Egyptianising vessels. In doing so, it is necessary to examine some of the claims made by scholars for evidence of Egyptian activity in the southern Levant based on the presence of ceramics, because their claims are far-reaching in their implications. I would like to proffer my additions concerning the identification of Egyptians in the southern Levant, in the time period under discussion, to the ongoing debate on the subject (Levy *et al.* 1997, 34).

A 'Southern Levantinised' pot

Probably one of the most rare finds is a pot from the Halif Terrace (Levy *et al.* 1997, Fig. 27) of wholly southern Levantine morphology but fashioned from Egyptian clay (i.e. in Egypt). It is identified as an "Egyptian copy of a Canaanite jar with ledge handles". It is so like types that obviously inspired it (e.g. Hennessy 1966, Fig. 3, 147; Marquet-Krause 1949, Pl. LXIV, 35, 702, 933, Pl. LXII, 776, 777, 778), that until this conference (when T. Levy graciously pointed out that petrographic examination indicates the vessel was made in Egypt), I actually ignored the published evidence and assumed it to be purely southern Levantine in origin because of its shape. One may only wonder whether an Egyptian or a southern Levantine potter was responsible for its manufacture. Equally mysterious is the reason why such a pot was sent so far away to a location where it would appear to be quite ordinary. Neither its shape nor finish suggests that it was a prestige item and so the best explanation is that it was likely to have been sent for its contents.

Egyptian imported 'wine jars' in the southern Levant

The presence of large Egyptian jars in EB I contexts was first recognised with the discovery of the Narmer serekh from Tel Erani (Yeivin 1960). Since then, numerous fragments of others, some clearly recognisable as 'wine jars' (e.g. van den Brink 1996, Figs 1–3), indicate that considerable quantities were transported to a number of sites in the southern Levant, probably along the Sinai route (Oren 1989; Oren and Yekutieli 1992). Quite a few fragments of these jars have been recovered at Lod, a definitively non-Egyptian EB A site (cf. Tell es-Sakan; de Miroschedji and Sadek 2000a, 2000b, 2000c).

Jars found in the southern Levant that bear *serekhs* suggest a possible royal interest because of the trouble in transporting these heavy, bulky and somewhat fragile objects over such long distances. Presumably they were intended to function as containers. Despite their technical superiority to the coarse EB counterparts of the southern Levant (e.g. Braun and van den Brink 1998, Fig. 3, Pls 4–6), they can scarcely be classified as luxury items in the way that smaller vessels may be (e.g. Levy *et al*. 1995, 29, lower fig.).

An interesting perspective on what may have been an Egyptian penchant for conveying bulky ceramic vessels over distances is found in a large vat of rather coarse ware that originated in the Nile Valley. It was discovered embedded in a floor of the Egyptian residency at 'En Besor (Gophna and Buzaglo 2000) and only serendipitously (Gophna pers. comm. 1999) found to be an import; its outer aspect was originally thought to mark it as an Egyptianising vessel.

Egyptianising 'kitchen ware' in the southern Levant

A definitively Egyptian type vessel, known as 'bread mould' or 'baking bowl', is notable for certain morphological features, although there is considerable variation within the group as a whole. Of very coarse ware with much organic temper, these crudely fashioned vessels have particularly thick walls with flat rims. The most notable feature of this type is an extraordinarily thick, and sometimes bulging, convex bottom usually marked by numerous, large indentations or impressions that give it a distinctive, lumpy or unfinished look (e.g. Engel 1996, Abb. 23; Fairservis 1971–1972, Figs 24, 22–24, 26; Jacquet-Gordon 1981, Fig. 1, 1–5; Petrie 1953, Figs 8b–9s; van den Brink 1992, Fig. 7, 3).

The presence of bread moulds at EB I sites in Sinai (Yekutieli 1998, 168), at 'En Besor III (Gophna 1995, 75–76), in the EB I levels of Tell es-Sakan (de Miroschedji 2000, 30; de Miroschedji and Sadek 2000a, Figs 2, 5), Tel Maahaz (Amiran and van den Brink 2001; Beit-Arieh and Gophna 1999, Fig. 11, 1–3) presumably sites where Egyptians settled, is directly related to this foreign population. When tested petrographically these vessels were shown to be made from local loess clays. It is commonly assumed (e.g. Levy *et al*. 1997) that this 'kitchen ware' was a clear sign of people living at the site and maintaining singularly foreign 'culinary practices', one of Stein's (1999) criteria for identifying ethnicity. However, recent data lead me to question this conclusion. Extensive excavation at Tel Lod has yielded a sizeable assemblage of Egyptian and Egyptianising pottery, including 8 *serekhs* incised before firing on imported Egyptian potsherds. As important as this material is, it should, however, be put into perspective. In bulk it actually represents only a tiny fraction of the overall EBA ceramic assemblage and, according to Stein's (1999) criteria, the EB settlement at Lod may be characterised as overwhelmingly local in virtually every aspect of its material culture (i.e. architectural, ceramic, chipped stone and flint stone traditions). (While it is too early for any

statistical analysis, the estimated Egyptian and Egyptianised ceramics from two large areas that yielded a sequence of four EBA phases is probably less than 1% of the total. This area includes one of only three (albeit not the largest) concentrations of material believed to have been found in some state of 'primary' deposition (i.e. possibly a dump) in relation to its stratigraphic origin. Two other concentrations seem to be analogous deposits. None is associated with any architectural feature. The remainder of this material was found scattered in fills throughout the EBA and even later levels and is merely a collection of potsherds culled from the excavation.) Evidence of ceramics and some simple *bullae* without decoration (van den Brink 2002) could suggest an Egyptian enclave at the site, but there are strong reasons to suggest otherwise.

Rather unexpectedly, results of petrographic testing indicate at least some of the coarse, heavy and bulky bread moulds from Lod were transported from manufacturing sites in the northern Negev (van den Brink 2002 and pers. comm.). Notably, all the other Egyptian associated material at Lod appears to be imported from at least as far. If this observation is correct (and it needs to be verified with rigorous scientific testing), then we need to understand the Egyptian ceramic element at Lod as a wholly imported as well as 'foreign' phenomenon. At Tel Lod, kitchenware is clearly part and parcel of an Egyptian and Egyptianising 'ceramic kit' that has been transplanted and, on present evidence, it does not seem to have set down roots at the site.

If Egyptians settled at the site and were desirous of maintaining special traditions that included the use of bread moulds, one would hardly expect them to bother importing them from any great distance, especially since local (i.e. southern Levantine) potters, or ethnic Egyptians themselves could have manufactured new ones easily, as was done at Megiddo (Goren 2000; Joffe 2000, 171). Thus, we are justified in questioning whether Egyptian style bread moulds from Lod should be necessarily interpreted as evidence for an Egyptian ethnic element resident in the population. Perhaps they should be understood as merely one manifestation of a somewhat varied, foreign element in the material culture and their presence put on a par with 'non-kitchen wares'.

One may also question further whether similar elements (including bread moulds) in the material culture of the EB I levels at Tel Halif, should not be similarly understood. Were this site not located on, or near, deposits of loess clays from which ceramics of Egyptian type were usually made, we might be able to say whether they were imported to the site, as at Lod. Numerous fragments of such vessels, along with quantities of pots of Egyptian type found at the Halif Terrace (Levy *et al.* 1997), have been assumed to be local production. However Dessel (1991, 131–133, 422), quoting an unpublished report on petrographic research done on Egyptianising pottery, suggests that this material could be similarly imported. Porat (1988, 3) also notes that "this raw material is identical to the raw materials used for the same forms from the sites of Tel Erani and Tel Ma'ahaz". Thus, the scenario of Egyptians resident on the Halif Terrace, producing simple utilitarian vessels including 'kitchen wares', is not the sole possible interpretation of the evidence. The point made here is that, even though many of these vessels are coarse, utilitarian objects, some quite bulky, we should not assume that they were made by Egyptian potters for an Egyptian ethnic element in residence at the site.

Hybrid pottery

Recent work at the site of Tell es-Sakan in the Gaza Strip has yielded virtually incontrovertible evidence of what is certainly a major Egyptian presence in the southern Levant. Four superimposed strata of a fortified settlement exhibiting material culture reported as overwhelmingly (i.e. 90% of the pottery) Egyptian or Egyptianising are tentatively dated to Naqada IIIa (de Miroschedji and Sadek 2000a, 2000b, 2000c). Obviously an understanding of this site is central to any interpretation of the archaeological record of this period. The question now is not whether there was an Egyptian colony in the southern coastal region, but rather what were its parameters and how did it affect the social and cultural development of EB I society? For that we need to look beyond Tell al-Sakan, and two other Egyptian settlements at 'En Besor (Stratum III) and Tel Ma'ahaz, to see just what was the extent of Egyptian influence on other communities.

Crucial to this understanding is so-called 'hybrid' pottery. While there are definitely examples of such objects, I feel that much of what is claimed to be hybrid pottery can be proved to be of wholly local inspiration and manufacture. Accordingly, I would adjust the degree of Egyptianisation on Southern Levantine EB I culture concomitantly downward.

One of the leading proponents for a very extensive Egyptian colonial episode in the Southern Levantine EB I is Brandl (1992). Hybrid ceramics (see above; Brandl 1989, 376–379) were crucial to his thesis for an Egyptian colony at Tel Erani, well before the discovery of Tell es-Sakan, now thought to be the centre of Egyptian activity. When I examined Brandl's classifications (Table 18.1) in detail, my conclusion was that only his Classes B and C had Egyptian associations.

Brandl's assumption was that all classes listed above were made by Egyptians (i.e. people from the Nile Valley working in the manner of contemporary cultures there). This inferred equation of pots equal people is used to support claims of a sizeable Egyptian ethnic population at sites such as Tel Erani and Tel Halif, where Egyptian and Egyptianising pottery was found in some quantity (e.g. Brandl 1989, 379; Levy *et al.* 1995, 1997).

In all fairness, it must be pointed out that Egyptianising pottery is not the sole evidence for this interpretation.

Table 18.1 Brandl's (1989, 376–379) classes of hybrid, 'Egyptian' pottery.

Class	Description
A	Canaanite shapes with chaff bearing clay and an Egyptian style finish.
B	Vessels displaying Egyptian forms sometimes having a Canaanite type of plastic ornamentation.
C	Pottery of Egyptian shape with Canaanite-type clay.

Corollary support from these sites includes a growing number of *serekhs* (i.e. Egyptian royal symbols, some that name the king) bearing vessels, flint objects (Rosen 1988) and clay sealings, or *bullae* (e.g. van den Brink 1995) of Egyptian type. In addition, pictorial representations of Asiatics in submission to an Egyptian king are also used to support this argument (e.g. Levy *et al.* 1995, 23; Schulman 1989, 435–441). However, the discovery of the large, truly Egyptian settlement at Tell es-Sakan fits Stein's criteria for a colony far better than the various interpretations put forward for other sites.

Egyptian imports by themselves could be interpreted as the result of trade and its administration, but together with what were believed to be very large quantities of hybrid artefacts, as well as what were considered to be locally made Egyptian (i.e. Egyptianising) ceramics, the argument for a sedentary Egyptian population at some sites seemed more than reasonable. However if, as I have suggested, the bulk of hybrid pottery should actually be removed from this category, then the evidence for Egyptian influence, and, by corollary, that for additional colonies and enclaves, is considerably reduced.

Brandl's claim that Class A pottery (e.g. Brandl 1989, Fig. 15) is a 'hybrid' is entirely dependent upon his view that southern Levant potters preferred loess clays, while Egyptian potters only used them as a substitute for Nile Valley clays. Vegetal temper, commonly found in some coarse Egyptian wares, is further thought by Brandl to be an indication of the work of ethnic Egyptian potters. However, Class A vessels show no particular Egyptian morphological traits, and if we acknowledge that the clay and temper have no Egyptian associations, then this class of pottery was not likely to have been made by Egyptians, nor even by people from the southern Levant with behavioural and technological templates tainted by Egyptian influences.

However, Brandl's (1989, Fig. 16) Classes B and C do have merit as 'hybrids'. They very clearly show Egyptian influence in overall morphology, while still being fashioned from local clay, sometimes with 'Canaanite plastic decoration' (Class B). Class C clay is specifically described as 'Canaanite' (i.e. what Brandl interprets as uniquely local), but of what sort precisely is not stated. Another vessel type is considered by some scholars to be an Egyptian style bread mould (e.g. Brandl 1989, Fig. 13, 1–2, Figs 10, 19; Yekutieli 1998, 150) because of its exceedingly heavy walls, generally concave morphology and overall coarseness in fabric and finish. However, it is distinguished from Egyptian prototypes (Jacquet-Gordon 1981) by its shallower profile and flat base. In my opinion it should be considered as another example of a 'hybrid'. A few vessels of this type have been recovered in excavations at Tel Lod.

Who made the 'hybrid' Pots?

To Brandl, the definitions for Egyptian and Egyptianising are one and the same with the former term used by him indiscriminately to describe both classes of articles. Thus he makes no distinction between the technological behaviour of potters and how they arrived at a finished product. In fact, he understands hybrids as proof of Egyptian colonisation. But is such a simplistic interpretation justified?

Prolonged interaction between Egyptians and people from the southern Levant could produce generations of people with different ethnic backgrounds and consequently varieties and gradations of influences, technological skills and behavioural processes. The following are just some of the possible permutations that might have existed:

1. Egyptians settled in the southern Levant for long periods bringing with them technological skills learnt in Egypt but picking up local traits.
2. Second and later generation 'Egyptians' born in the southern Levant but maintaining ethnic identification of their cultural homeland and/or visiting Egypt on a regular basis. They would therefore have, primarily, a southern Levantine technology but with Egyptian influences from parents and visits to Egypt.
3. Mixed Egyptian and southern Levantine progeny with each generation further removed, or the balance of the mixture changed, from one side or the other but receiving very muted technological influence from Egypt.
4. Potters of one ethnic group producing for the other.

Clearly the possibilities for interpreting the hybrids are even wider than those cited above. Pots give only mute archaeological evidence that is highly encoded. Hybrids may be clearly recognisable, but the information they carry about their use in life is deeply encrypted. Scholars must be wary of categorising them as being Egyptian or southern Levantine in origin because this may cause confusion if they are used to support higher level interpretations of archaeology.

When do pots equal people in the EB I of the southern Levant?

Although there is a considerable and important quantity

of Egyptian and Egyptianising material at Tel Halif (Levy *et al.* 1995, 1997), in my opinion the material culture of the site's Stratum 2A occupation is overwhelmingly southern Levantine (see below) and there is no particular reason to postulate an Egyptian enclave there.

Most Egyptian elements at Tel Halif are portable objects such as pottery and *bullae*, and are associated with a particular precinct of the site, more or less centred around Area A (Levy *et al.* 1997, 16). Other precincts produced Egyptian material, but apparently in considerably smaller quantities (Dessel 1991, 304; Levy *et al*. 1997, 32, 34). Dessel (1991, 304) maintains there was a permanent presence of ethnically identifiable Egyptians at Tel Halif based on the presence of Egyptian and Egyptianising ceramics, including 'kitchen wares' (i.e. bread moulds). However, that interpretation is not necessarily valid. Hybrid pottery at Tel Halif seems to be limited to only one imported vessel (described above and known to be made in Egypt) and a few ledge handles that appear to the excavators (Levy *et al.* 1997) to be fashioned of an undefined 'Egyptian paste'. At best, Egyptian associated material at the site represents a sizeable element in the assemblage, but it cannot be said that it is definitive evidence for an Egyptian element in the population. There is no corroborative evidence for it.

A cave at the site, once touted as an 'Egyptianising tomb', is in this writer's opinion, a simple affair only marginally deserving of the descriptor, 'tomb', and with no Egyptian associations. A natural cavity (one of at least two in that hillside which were used in the Chalcolithic and EB periods) that may have been altered minimally by rough-hewing, it is embellished with a nicely finished lintel. Access to it is through a stone-lined passageway. In the second of two periods of utilisation (not as a tomb) the cave, is thought by the excavators to be Egyptianising due to the addition of a massive stonewall at its rear. Sometime later, when the floor of the cave was considerably raised by fill to well above the foundations of the wall, it was used for a single, simple flexed inhumation, without grave goods.

The excavators suggest this 'tomb' had Egyptian affinities with step tombs of Dynasty 1 at Helwan (cf. Levy *et al.* 1997, Figs 12a, 12b, 30; Saad 1951; Wood 1987), but the following features argue against this interpretation:

1. Its location within a settlement.
2. Its simple, stone-lined passageway lacks steps (covered in the second period of its utilisation by a ramp).
3. The irregular floor plan of the cave.
4. The simple character of the stone wall (paralleled at most contemporary sites in the southern Levant where stones were readily available as building material).
5. The simple, flexed burial on fill well above the level of the floor in the third and final utilisation of the cave.
6. The lack of grave goods.

Nothing in the utilisation of this cave suggests any significant similarities with Egyptian burial customs, nor is the cave comparable to the elaborate, precisely quarried tombs at Helwan that, in any case, date to a somewhat later period.

The architecture of the Late EB I at Tel Halif, typically domestic and paralleled at other sites of the same period in the southern Levant (Braun 1989), is totally devoid of any Egyptian associations (e.g. Gophna and Gazit 1985). Nor is there any evidence for Egyptian flint knapping traditions in the chipped stone assemblage (Levy *et al.* 1997, 38) from the site. Thus, Tel Halif fails to meet even Stein's criteria for a foreign, ethnic enclave. The Egyptian and Egyptianising element at this site may be as easily used to argue for some form of commercial and/or political relationship, likely to have been conducted with a not too distant Egyptian polity, perhaps centred at Tell es-Sakan. In this context the *serekhs* from the Halif Terrace, apparently all on jars of Egyptian origin, suggest that it was likely to have been sponsored by the Egyptian state.

Tell Lod would also seem to have been a typical southern Levant settlement, although excavation also yielded quantities of material that suggests considerable contact with Egypt. With the exception of a few poorly preserved wall segments with unusually small bricks, somewhat reminiscent of those from the Egyptian residency at 'En Besor (Gophna and Gazit 1985), the only other Egyptian associations are found in pottery, undecorated *bullae* and a statistically insignificant handful of flint tools. Otherwise the material culture is overwhelmingly local, with the Egyptian associations totalling considerably less than 1% of the overall assemblage. Notably, with the exception of only three small concentrations, this material was mostly spread around the site in fills. None of these objects was found *in situ*, on floors within architectural features. Thus, at least for the present, Stein's criteria, applied to an enclave of Egyptians at Lod, remain unfulfilled. Quite possibly the foreign element on the site may prove to have been imported from a rather considerable distance.

Tel Erani also seems to display a primarily local EB I material culture, although there are important Egyptianising additions that suggest a foreign population was also resident there. The best examples of this are Brandl's Classes B and C pottery, truly hybrid types that show varying degrees of influence from both southern Levant and Egyptian traditions (Kempinski and Gilead 1991, 179). Another important Egyptianising element is found in the flint tool kit (Rosen 1988); a sign that either this material was specifically imported to the site or was made by a knapper of flint, skilled in the contemporary traditions of the Nile Valley. It is noteworthy that this particular element of Egyptian influence is missing at other sites claimed by scholars to be Egyptian.

When should 'foreign' ceramics be equated with foreign populations in the southern Levant and Egypt during EB I/Dynasty 0?

This question is one that has a major bearing on the analysis of the archaeological record of these regions at the end of the 4th millennium. In large part, it is dependent upon qualifying data, defining what is Egyptianising and what may, for want of any term in the literature, be called 'southern-Levantinised'.

In fact, the 'southern-Levantinised' possibility seems never to have been explored. Scholars have assumed, *ipso facto*, that any elements of southern Levantine ceramic morphology, and perhaps technology, which may have made their way into the Nile Valley as imports, within the briefest period of time were co-opted and became Egyptian. Egyptian-made W-Class pottery is in that category. Sumerian/Elamite motifs appearing in Late Naqada IIC/D-IIIA *objects d'art* (Tessier 1987) are similarly regarded. Little has been made of any possible role which southern Levantine (and counterpart Sumerian/Elamite craftsmen) may have played in the Nile Valley in this period. However, even if we cannot say definitively that people from the southern Levant were present in Egypt in any great number in this period, it should be noted that their contributions to Egyptian 'mental templates' changed the face of a certain class of Egyptian ceramic production, and in doing so, greatly contributed to our understanding of chronology and interregional contacts.

Yeivin's (1960) realisation of the phenomenon of an Egyptian element in the ceramic assemblage of Tel Erani revolutionised concepts of the degree of Egyptian influence in the southern Levantine EB I, while Gophna's (1972, 1976, 1995), and later Amiran's (1974, 1977) discoveries helped to flesh out the picture, indicating that Tel Erani was not a unique phenomenon. Particular interest was taken in ceramics because they represented the bulk of material culture with Egyptian associations. With the realisation that petrographic studies (e.g. Glass 1978) could verify ceramic sources and identify imports, this diagnostic tool was utilised to examine Egyptian morphological types (e.g. Porat 1988, 1989). The results indicated both imports and Egyptianising pottery and the latter was considered as evidence that Egyptians had settled in the southern Levant and, at least in the case of ceramic production, had worked in the traditional manner of their homeland. The eventual discovery of hybrids (Brandl 1989, 368–379) put some chronological depth into the Egyptian presence, while also indicating a degree of integration with the local population, similar to that noted at Hassek Höyük in southeast Turkey (Helwing 1999).

Some thoughts on the interpretation of Egyptian presence in EB I from the archaeological record

That Egyptians settled in the southern Levant during EB I has been obvious since the excavation of 'En Besor, Stratum III (Gophna 1976, 1995). That site, albeit small, fulfils Stein's major criteria for a colony. Two other sites seem also to be prevailingly Egyptian in their material culture and should be considered as colonies. Tel Ma'ahaz yielded pottery that was mostly Egyptian or Egyptianising (Beit Arieh and Gophna 1999). Whether, as Amiran (1977) suggests, the site was merely a camp (no architecture was encountered) or whether it may have been a more permanent, albeit small settlement is uncertain. What does seem assured is its overall Egyptian character. Tell es-Sakan, with such a decidedly Egyptian and Egyptianising ceramic assemblage reported by the excavators (de Miroschedji and Sadek 2000a, 2000b, 2000c) can hardly be understood as anything but an Egyptian colony. However, it remains largely unexcavated and we must wait for future work to show us the precise nature of this settlement. From what we know of it presently, it seems to have the potential to put Egyptian efforts at colonisation in the southern Levant into a much clearer context. It will be interesting to see whether this site will produce hybrid pottery or evidence for a southern Levantine enclave in the midst of an Egyptian population.

Two additional settlements appear to have had concentrations of Egyptian residents. Soundings at Taur Ikhbeineh (Oren and Yekutieli 1992) yielded a not inconsequential quantity of 'local Canaanite pottery' as well as a quantity of Egyptian and Egyptianising ceramics. The occupational sequence, as published, suggests that a local population settled the site and continued to live there, probably side by side with, or at least in close proximity to Egyptians in the colony at Tell al-Sakan. For the present Tel Erani is the only other site that appears to have had an Egyptian ethnic element living as an enclave within a primarily southern Levantine population.

Thus, taken together, the evidence for Egyptians settled in the southern Levant at these sites is quite impressive. In particular Tell es-Sakan, with its sequence of four Egyptian strata, gives chronological depth to a settlement episode, while explaining the presence of such considerable quantities of Egyptian and Egyptianising material. Whether, however, it is valid for scholars to extrapolate from this information and postulate the border of Egypt on the Yarqon river (de Miroschedji 1997, 23, 2000) is another matter. The multiple implications of this hypothesis are beyond the scope of this discussion, but surely one may question whether the present evidence for Egyptian administration (i.e. *bullae*) is sufficient to support such a hypothesised elaborate level of organisation.

Our knowledge of other communities within the same time span and region suggests considerably lesser contact with Egyptians. Palmahim Quarry is notable for one Egyptianising vessel bearing a *serekh* (Braun and van den Brink 1998), and a mere handful of additional objects, possibly with Egyptian associations (Braun and van den Brink 1998, Fig. 3A). Otherwise the material culture of

this extensively excavated site is overwhelmingly local. So too is that of Horvat 'Illin Tahtit, although there is a slightly larger (but statistically almost irrelevant) quantity of Egyptian pottery and associated artefacts (Braun and van den Brink 1998, 82–83) there. Tel Dalit (Gophna 1996), in the same valley as Tel Lod, and contemporaneously occupied, has yielded only a single Egyptian sherd (R. Gophna, pers. comm. 2000). Hartuv, a somewhat earlier EB I settlement (Mazar and de Miroschedji 1996) equated with the Tel Erani C horizon, has yielded only a few Egyptianising bowls; the prevailing ceramic styles are local.

The Late EB I and EB II phases at Tel Aphek, situated at the headwaters of the Yarqon river, are predominantly local in character (Beck 2000; Gal and Kochavi 2000). Only two tiny fragments of Egyptian vessels are illustrated in the published report (Beck 2000, Figs 8.4, 8, 9). Although there is no quantitative analysis of the Tel Aphek pottery, it may be assumed from the published evidence that the Egyptian component was of minimal importance. What was the nature of the contact between the people of these communities and the Egyptians? Can we say with any degree of confidence that the inhabitants of these typical southern Levantine settlements lived within the borders of Egypt? Is the combined evidence of Egyptian and Egyptianising ceramics, *serekhs* incised on Egyptian and local vessels, flint production by Egyptian techniques, *bullae* at Tel Halif (Levy *et al.* 1997, 16–18; van den Brink 1998), Tel Erani (Kempinski and Gilead 1991, 173) and Lod (van den Brink 2002) enough to justify postulating Egyptian political hegemony or direct administration?

The assumption that *bullae* are administrative devices is acceptable (van den Brink 1995), but the argument that their discovery at a site means incorporation of the area into an Egyptian polity is not. Other, alternative explanations are possible. They could denote trading missions or exaction of tribute. When associated with *serekhs* they apparently indicate royal sponsorship of whatever activity is going on. Certainly, to judge from the sheer bulk of Egyptian associated material recovered to date, the flow of goods between Egypt and the southern Levant, and of Egyptian associated goods within the southern Levant, was considerable enough to support the idea of a large-scale, state supported enterprise.

If the Yarqon River were the border of Egypt, then on which side was the Late EB I settlement (Stratum B VIII) of Aphek? Notably, the material culture of this community is overwhelmingly and typically local, with even a suggestion of a somewhat northerly orientation (Beck 2000, 97). One must ask whether Tel Aphek was fortified in this period (Gal and Kochavi 2000, 62–63) by an Egyptian polity against local aggressors, or whether the town wall was for the protection of locals against a bellicose Egyptian polity.

If, as seems likely, Tell es-Sakan were the political centre of Egyptian activity, then it is important to note that it too was fortified, leading us to wonder just how much control the polity, which that community represented, had over both its immediate hinterland and the considerable area north to the Yarqon. A claim is made by Kempinski and Gilead (1991, 189) for an EB I date for the fortification at Tel Erani, although Brandl (1989, 379–382) prefers to ascribe it to the EB III period. If, for the present, we assume that the former scholars are correct, then an understanding of which ethnic group may have fortified the site is all important for gaining insight into the nature of Egyptian presence in the region.

What remains to be understood is just how important was the Egyptian presence and what was its real nature over time (de Miroschedji 2000b, 161–165). Yekutieli (2000, 150 and passim) and de Miroschedji (1999, 191–194) note that in the earliest phases of EB I in the southern region there is little or no evidence of Egyptian material, but that as the period advances it appears with ever increasing frequency. Thus, the stratigraphic provenience of Egyptian and Egyptianising pottery, as well as its relative frequency in regard to overall assemblages, is important in helping us to evaluate the degree of influence this ethnic group had on social and political developments in the late 4th and early 3rd millennium BC. Very often we lack such information and it is difficult to develop scenarios based on such imprecision.

In general it seems the earliest contacts between Egyptians and people from the southern Levant were somewhat limited and perhaps desultory. Obviously they began in the Chalcolithic period (de Miroschedji 1997, 21; Faltings 1998, 2000; Kaplan 1959; Perrot 1959; Watrin 1995), but there is no good evidence in the archaeological record for Egyptian settlements nor even for imports in the very earliest phases of EB I, best represented at Tel Halif (Dessel 1991), Afridar, Area G (Braun 2000; Braun and Gophna 2004) and Palmahim Quarry 3. De Miroschedji, (1999, 162), however, prefers to see the entire EB I as a '*periode coloniale*', with the establishment of colonies during the third quarter of the 4th millennium. This interpretation is probably based on the Egyptian finds from Phase IV at Taur Ikhbeineh and Site H, the earliest sites with which Egyptian material is associated. These communities post date initial EB I phases (Afridar, Area G and Palmahim Quarry 3) and, in any case, do not display primarily Egyptian material culture. Essentially there is no evidence for Egyptian colonies, nor even for enclaves of Egyptians at local sites so early on in the EB I sequence. Trade may best explain the Egyptian pottery in this period.

More significant contact between Egypt and the southern Levant appears to have been instituted not too much later in Yekutieli's (2000, 150) EB Ia2 phase that is equivalent to de Miroschedji's (2000, 162) culminating phase of colonisation (i.e. the last quarter of the 4th millennium). Evidence for some of the earliest contacts in EB I comes from Site H, Wadi Ghazzeh (Macdonald 1932, Roshwalb 1981, 333), a settlement that definitively precedes the Egyptian settlement at nearby 'En Besor,

Stratum III (Gophna 1995, 11–17). Later, in the Erani C period, there is evidence of increased interaction between Egypt and the southern Levant. During this time span, royal tombs of Dynasty 0 (e.g. Tombs U-k and U-j at Abydos) show an obvious penchant for providing imported southern Levantine pots and their contents, for the deceased (Hartung 1996), a practice that continues on into Dynasty I (e.g. Tombs of Djer to Qa'a at Umm el-Ga'ab/Abydos; Emery 1961, Figs 33, 34).

By Late EB I Egyptian elements (mostly pottery) in the southern Levantine had increased to the extent that they indicate a wholly different level of interaction. An unfortified Egyptian residency at 'En Besor is probably contemporary in part to Tell es-Sakan, a large settlement apparently fortified by a massive mud brick wall. Contemporaneously, Egyptians seem also to have camped in the Northern Negev at Tel Ma'ahaz where they left a rich assemblage of pottery.

The evidence of these sites indicates the Egyptian experience in the southern Levant was varied, with settlements of quite different sizes and obviously disparate functions. These communities were surely part of a concerted effort by Egyptians settling in the southern Levant but the evidence we have from them can be interpreted to fit a number of scenarios. One of the critical problems is in understanding the chronology of these sites. Gophna dates a site at Afridar, Ashqelon to the Erani C horizon (Brandl and Gophna 1994; Gophna pers. comm. 2000). Was there a monumental building of Egyptian style at Afridar, Ashqelon in this period as Brandl (1992, 445) claims? Was there a contemporary Egyptian enclave at Tel Erani? Was the Egyptian colony at Tell es-Sakan already in place this early?

The earlier phases of Egyptian penetration are not so clear as are the later phases. By late EB I Egyptian colonisation seems to have reached its apogee. It is to this period that we can, for the present, assign the three truly Egyptian sites. But what of their functions and what were the relationships between them? Was 'En Besor a small, mercantile and/or military outpost (Gophna 1995), positioned strategically at an oasis so as to facilitate and protect caravans of goods traversing a North Sinai route between the southern Levant and the Nile Valley? Did an Upper Egyptian polity, on the way to unifying Egypt, or shortly thereafter, create a large colony at Tell es-Sakan as a spearhead for expansion into the southern Levant? Or did the colony function primarily as a commercial centre or entrêpot for large-scale (i.e. royal, state supported) trade with the local populace? Why was Tell es-Sakan fortified, especially in an area in which there is little evidence of large aggregations of local peoples? Were communities of people from the southern Levant at Taur Ikhbeineh, Tel Erani and the Halif Terrace potential threats to this Egyptian settlement? Was Tell es-Sakan a centre of a bellicose and repressive colonial administration that was responsible for some major destruction levels in the archaeological record (Yekutieli 1998, XII–XIII)? Was it responsible for a violent conflagration that destroyed Stratum IV at the southern Levantine site of Horvat 'Illin Tahtit?

Indeed, what was the status of settlements of primarily local character that exhibit important Egyptian components (e.g. Halif Terrace; Levy *et al.* 1997) in their material culture? Were they vassals of an Egyptian polity, forced to pay levees or were they free, self-governing entities engaging in large scale trade? Were the villages at Palmahim Quarry and Horvat 'Illin Tahtit in direct contact with Egyptians? Did they trade with an Egyptian polity or did the Egyptians demand tribute from them and use them as a source of slaves, as one scholar (Yekutieli 1998, XII–XIII) suggests? Did Egyptians treat only with populations that had specific goods or sufficient and desirable surpluses, for example, Lod (van den Brink 2002), while ignoring others like Tel Dalit. Was there an exchange system based on parity, or was it one-sided with the Egyptian polity primarily on the receiving end?

Was Tel Erani a truly urban centre in Late EB I with a central administration capable of erecting massive fortifications, or was it a large aggregation of people organised at a village level of development? Were there Egyptian garrisons or groups of settlers at Tel Erani? Did they maintain separate ethnic identities (as overlords?) or did they mix and interact with the local population on a more equitable basis?

If the latter, how are we to understand the presence of numerous fragments of imported Egyptian wine jars at such sites at Tel Lod, Tel Erani and Tel Halif? Why were Egyptian wine jars, some incised with royal symbols (i.e. *serekhs*), exported to the southern Levant? Certainly there was no lack of pottery containers in that part of the world. Could their contents have been intended for the local Egyptian community? Would the Egyptians have exported wine to what is believed to have been a grape-producing area (McGovern *et al*. 1997) for their own use or for trade with locals? Were these jars emptied of their contents and afterwards passed on, perhaps as objects of trade or forms of payment for commodities, or were they exported empty with the intention of being used to ship liquid comestibles back to Egypt? If as Yekutieli (1998) suggests, foodstuffs were the bulk of exports to Egypt, then no trace of them would appear in the archaeological record, leaving us with a very lopsided picture of economic interaction. These are just some of the questions that arise concerning economic activity suggested by the plethora of Egyptian imports.

Even more difficult to interpret is the dispersal of Egyptianising pottery throughout the southern Levant. When these objects were fashioned of loess clay and are found at sites north of the Negev (as at Tel Lod) where the raw material of which they are made is not found, they are quite obviously imports (see above). However, much of this pottery is found at sites that lie on or adjacent to geological deposits of this soil and, consequently, we cannot tell whether it was made locally or imported to the

sites. Based on what we know of inter-site movement of ceramics in this period (e.g. Goren and Zukermann 2000; Yannai and Grosinger 2000, 159–160) it is not unlikely that much of this Egyptianised material was being transported from one, or possibly several centres of production to the sites discussed above, even when coarse, utilitarian objects are included. Although we may not always be able to use this pottery to definitively state where Egyptians were settled, it is at least an invaluable indication of interconnections between two ethnic groups who peopled this region of the southern Levant.

If we take the information that Egyptian and Egyptianising pottery has provided concerning the existence of Egyptian colonisation and related economic activity, and attempt to integrate it with additional information from the archaeological record, then we can begin to get some idea of the political tenor of the times. The largest Egyptian settlement, Tell es-Sakan, was fortified, suggesting that it was situated in a hostile or at least potentially hostile environment. Otherwise it would be difficult to understand the investment in such a massive fortification. Was this an indication that the colony existed in a 'pale of settlement', much in the way the English settled Ireland in Tudor times (Bindoff 1950, 44). It should be noted that other fortified urban centres existed at Tel Aphek, Jericho (Holland 1986; Parr 2000), Tel Shalem (Eisenberg 1997), Tell Abu al-Kharaz (Fischer 2000, 202), Tel Megiddo (with monumental buildings and at least a fortified precinct; Finkelstein and Ussishkin 2000) and Tel Beth Yerah (Getzov 1988). Clearly an Egyptian polity was not the sole power playing on the stage of the southern Levant in this time span. In addition, there is evidence of at least small quantities of Egyptian material making its way further north and east to sites beyond de Miroschedji's northern border of Egypt (Brandl 1992; Braun 1993; Yannai and Braun 2001).

Summary

The discussion above, centred on the identification of ceramic types as evidence for Egyptian penetration into the southern Levant in the late 4th, early 3rd millennia BC, is intended as an exercise in suggesting plausible scenarios for interpreting data which are presently available. While the current level of information on this chapter of late prehistory has been greatly enhanced in the last few years, it is certainly far from sufficient to give us a clear picture of the geopolitical events that the archaeological record reflects. One need only compare the published accounts from the region under discussion with the level of detail obtained from the small Anatolian site of Hacinebi (Blackman 1999) to understand why we cannot characterise southern Levantine–Egyptian interaction with greater accuracy. Simply, we do not yet have enough data to achieve the same depth of analysis.

Since this paper was first conceived, I have had to substantially revise my ideas to fit new data and no doubt, by the time it reaches press, certain observations will be less valid. What I wish to suggest is that the reality we try to interpret from the archaeological record was probably infinitely more complicated and thus proportionately difficult to understand (e.g. Redford 1992, 33–36). That is of course inevitable considering our virtually complete reliance on mute evidence, mostly of pottery.

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19. The frontier of Egypt in the Early Bronze Age: preliminary soundings at Tell es-Sakan (Gaza Strip)

Pierre de Miroschedji and Mo'ain Sadeq

Abstract

Tell es-Sakan is a large Early Bronze Age site located about 5km south of Gaza City and some 500m to the north of Tell al-'Ajjul. Entirely covered by a dune, it was accidentally discovered in 1998 during construction work of a housing project which badly damaged its southern half.

A brief pilot season of excavations directed by the undersigned took place at Tell es-Sakan in September 1999 under the auspices of the Center national de la recherche Scientifique and the Department of Antiquities of Gaza, with the financial support of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The archaeological remains consist of layers of exceptionally well-preserved mud-brick architecture dating to the entire Early Bronze Age period. In this long sequence, two main phases can be distinguished, an Early Bronze I horizon which was basically an Egyptian settlement, in which almost the totality of the archaeological material was of Egyptian type dated to the Naqada IIIa-b period and an Early Bronze III occupation (c.2650–2350) represented by at least five building strata showing close cultural affinities with sites other sites in the region. The presentation of these results will be followed by a preliminary evaluation of the significance of Tell es-Sakan in connection with current problems in the archaeology of the Early Bronze Age in the southern Levant.

The site and its discovery

Tell es-Sakan is a large tell located about 5km south of Gaza City, on the northern bank of the Gaza river (Wadi Ghazzeh), some 500m to the north of Tell al-'Ajjul (Figure 19.1). This area historically represents the frontier between Egypt and Canaan.

Being entirely covered by a dune, the site remained undetected, despite careful survey of the area in previous decades. Its existence was suddenly revealed following large-scale construction work undertaken in 1998 for the al-Zahra housing project (Figure 19.2). Several large trenches, dug by machines for the foundation of high rise buildings, have seriously damaged the southern part of the site, creating big sections, up to 7–8m high and 35m long, which cut through the archaeological deposits. These sections revealed several layers of exceptionally well-preserved mud-brick architecture, while the earth removed from the trenches brought to light an abundance of archaeological material dating exclusively to the Early Bronze Age, between *c*.3300 and 2350 BC.

The discovery of Tell es-Sakan represents a new element in the archaeology of the Early Bronze Age in Palestine and opens a new chapter in the archaeology of the Gaza Strip. It is both the most southwestern Canaanite site known in the southern Levant and the first settlement dating to the 3rd millennium BC to be identified in the Gaza strip. To judge by its size, it was probably the major Early Bronze Age settlement in the Gaza region. It may have been the successor of Taur Ikhbainah, an Early Bronze Age IA settlement located on the northern bank of the *Wadi* Gaza (Oren and Yekutieli 1992). It is also probably the forerunner of the neighbouring Middle and Late Bronze Age site of Tell al-'Ajjul (Kempinski 1993, with bibliography), as is suggested by the proximity between the two settlements and by their chronological succession. Given its location and its sequence of occupation, Tell es-Sakan offers a unique opportunity to monitor the interaction between Egypt and Palestine during the early rise of the Egyptian civilisation and the first urbanisation of Palestine.

The salvage excavations in 1999

Being under threat of total destruction due to the development of the current housing project, the preservation of Tell es-Sakan was the main objective of the rescue

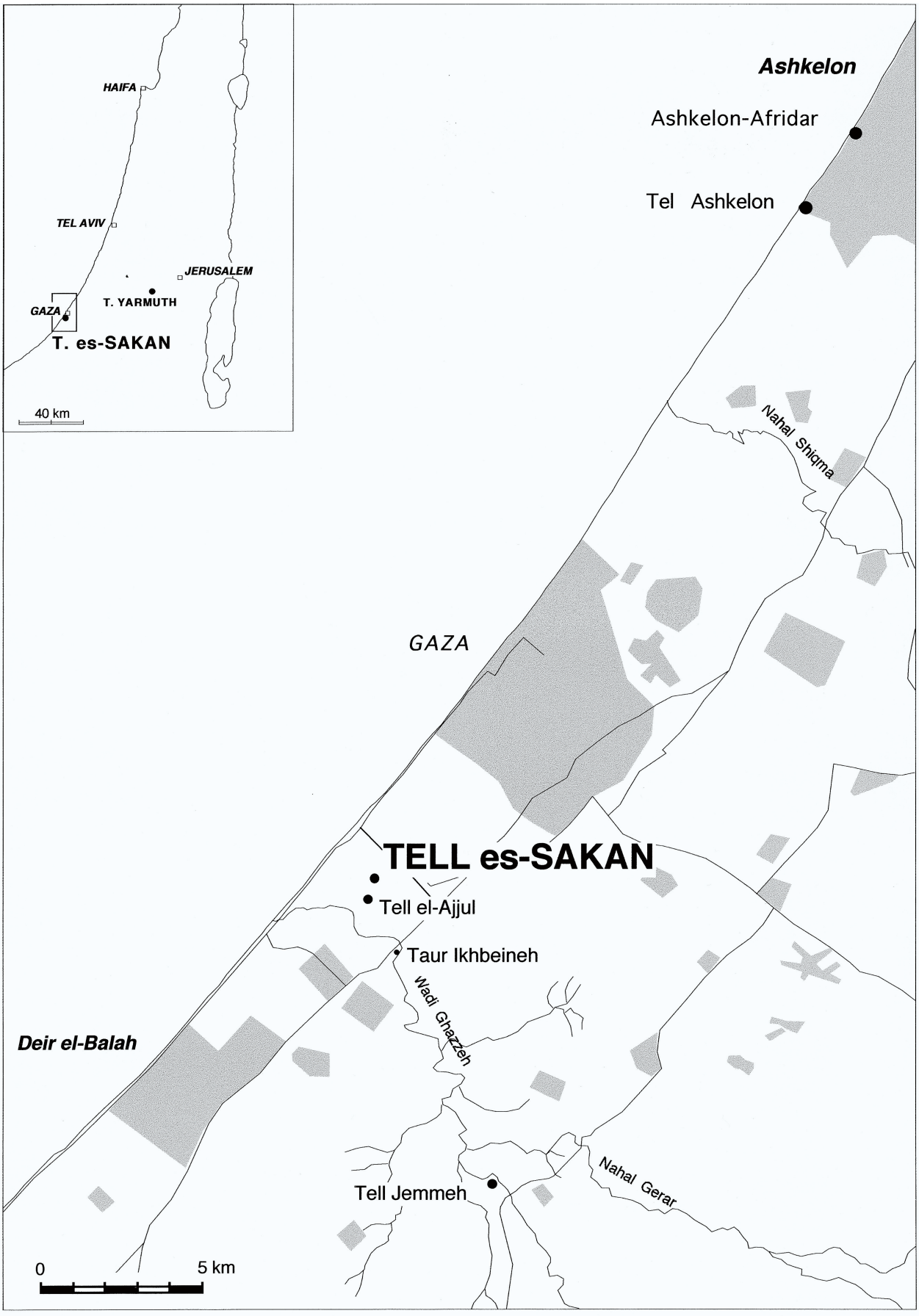


Fig. 19.1 Location map of Tell es-Sakan.



Fig. 19.2 Tell es-Sakan, view to the east.

excavations conducted in September 1999. The excavations lasted less than three weeks, from September 13–30, 1999 and were conducted on a very modest scale.

Surface survey enabled us to draw up a schematic plan of the site (Figure 19.3). It is a provisional plan, as no systematic topographical survey could be carried out in the past season. It appears that only the southern half of the tell suffered damage due to the building activities. The total area covered by the ancient settlement can be tentatively estimated between 5 and 8 ha. Thus Tell es-Sakan ranks among the major archaeological sites of the Gaza Strip, and among the large Early Bronze Age settlements of Palestine.

In order to establish the stratigraphic sequence of the site, work focused on the two main bulldozer trenches excavated as foundations for high-rise buildings. The largest of these trenches (Trench I) is about 35m long, 17.5m wide and 8m deep. The other trench (Trench II) is 30m long, 17m wide and 4m deep. The sides of both trenches were cleared with the help of ladders and scaffolding in order to expose the stratigraphy (Figure 19.4). As the southeastern sides of both trenches are aligned, a schematic stratigraphic section about 65m long and 4 to 8m high was obtained (Figure 19.5).

The sections showed that the building remains, represented exclusively by mud brick walls without stone foundations, were mostly well preserved, some of them standing more than 1.5m high. Floors were easy to trace and ashy layers were numerous. At the eastern corner of Trench I, the archaeological deposit has a total thickness of nine metres. Altogether nine archaeological strata were recognised.

Three soundings were excavated along the line of the southeast section in order to obtain a preliminary insight of the archaeological sequence (Figure 19.5). 'Sounding A', in the eastern corner of Trench I, reached the virgin sand at a depth of 1m below the bottom of the trench, i.e. 9m below the surface of the tell (Figure 19.6). It yielded a rich sample of archaeological material belonging to the first three strata of occupation (A-9 to A-7) and dating to the last third of the 4th millennium BC (Figures 19.7–19.9). 'Sounding C', in the southern corner of Trench II, was started at a depth of 4m below the surface of the tell. It has reached an archaeological stratum, possibly corresponding with Stratum A-4 in Trench I, and therefore designated tentatively as Stratum C-4. It is represented by impressive building remains, exposed immediately under the bottom of the trench and preserved to a height of up to 1.5m (Figure 19.11). The dating of this stratum is estimated to the beginning of the Early Bronze Age III, *c*.2700 BC (Figure 19.12, 1–9). 'Sounding B', excavated from the top of the tell between Trenches I and II, revealed in Stratum B-1 building remains associated with a floor dated to the end of the Early Bronze Age III, *c*.2400–2300 BC (Figure 19.12,14–21).

Hence the material recovered in these soundings yielded information on the cultural assemblage of the early, middle and late strata of occupation at Tell es-Sakan. It documents an archaeological sequence covering almost the entire Early Bronze Age, between *c*.3300 BC, the approximate date of the foundation of the site, and *c*.2250 BC, the estimated date of its abandonment. In this long sequence, two main phases can be distinguished, the first being Egyptian and the second Canaanite.

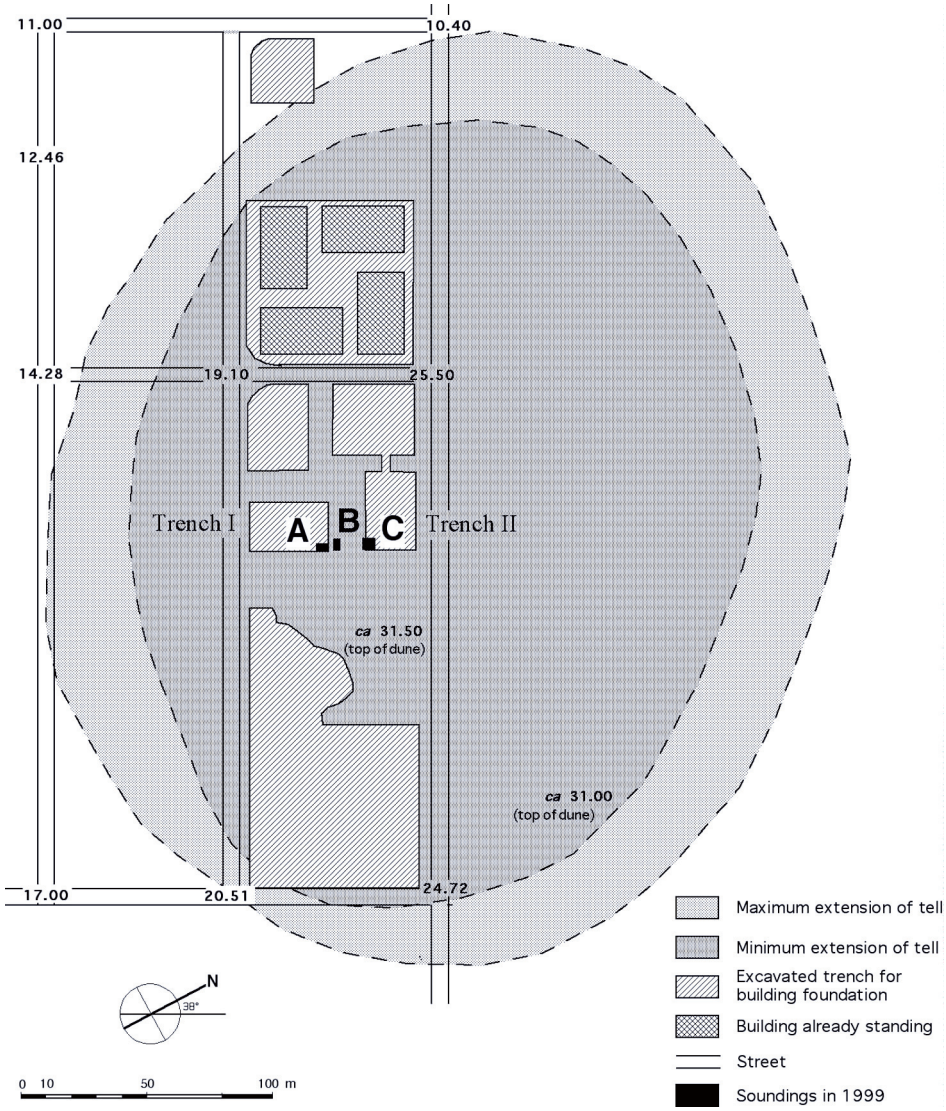


Fig. 19.3 Schematic plan of the site.

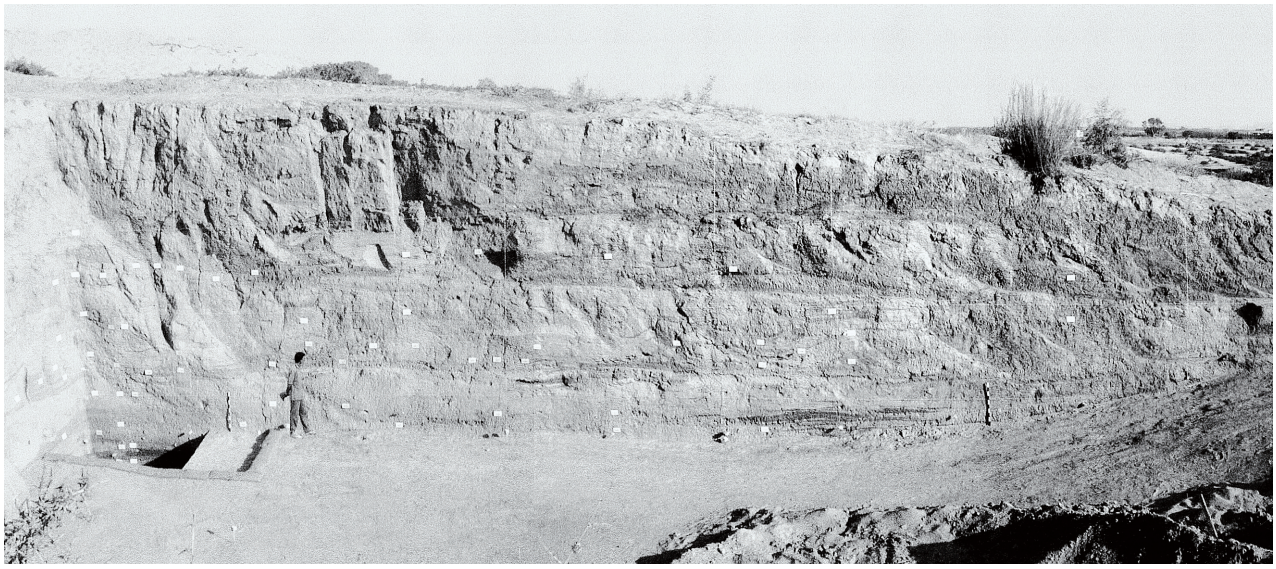


Fig. 19.4 South-east section of Trench I after cleaning.

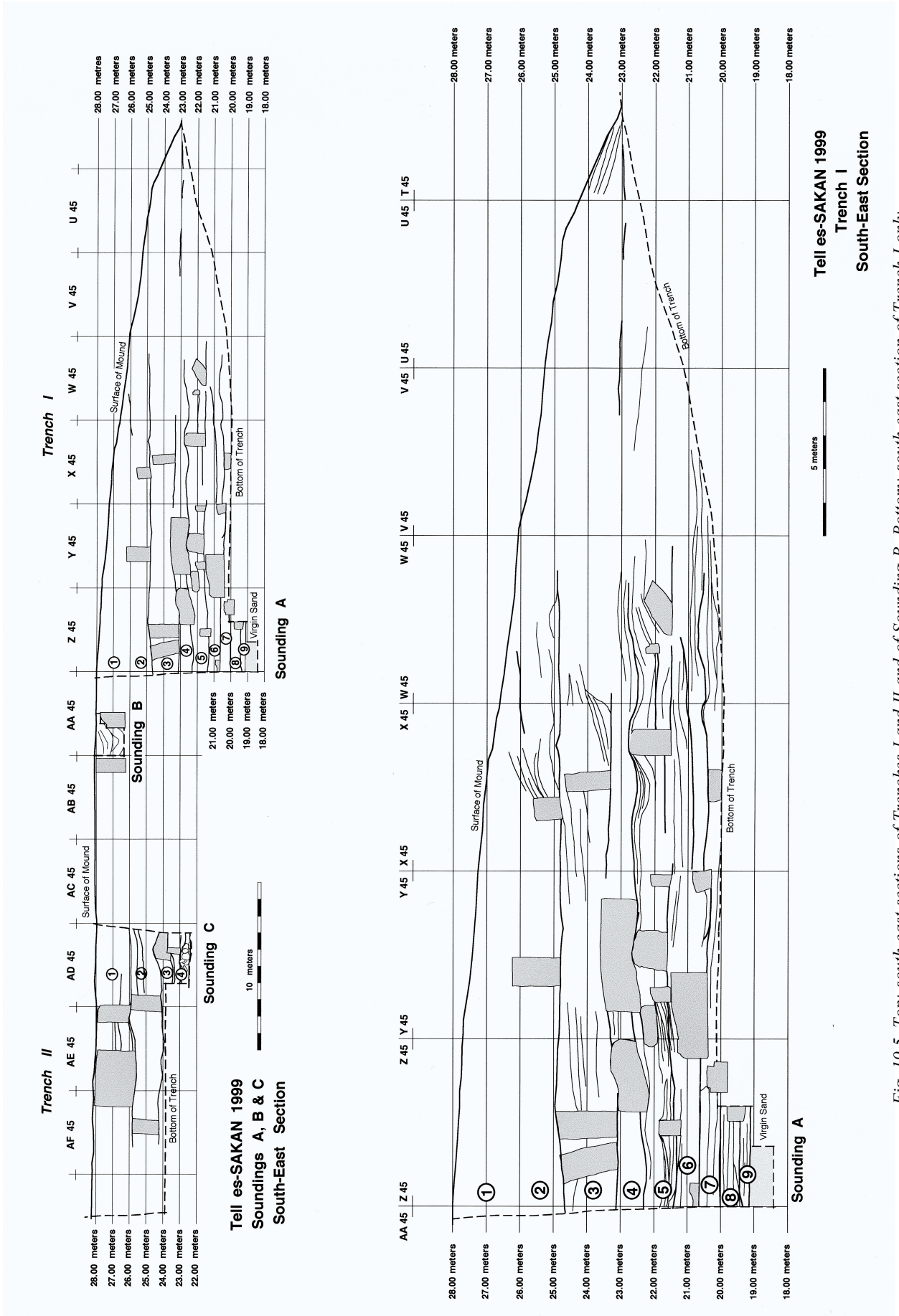


Fig. 19.5 Top: south-east sections of Trenches I and II and of Sounding B. Bottom: south-east section of Trench I only.



Fig. 19.6 'Sounding A', view to the east. Note the virgin sand at the bottom.

The Egyptian phase (Early Bronze Age I)

This first phase is represented by the first three strata of occupation (Strata A-9 to A-7) identified in 'Sounding A' (Figure 19.6). Two pits and a few building remains were found. The latter were represented by narrow walls, built with small elongated mud bricks and were associated with several superimposed floors. The wall of the lowermost stratum (A-9) was built directly on virgin sand. Considering the small size of the excavations, a relatively large amount of archaeological material was recovered.

In these three strata, almost all (i.e. between 90 and 95%) of the assemblage is of Egyptian type, i.e. interchangeable with that of contemporary sites located in Egypt, such as Minshat Abu Omar (Kroeper and Wildung 1994), Sheikh Awad (van den Brink 1989), Buto (Köhler 1992), Hierakonpolis (Adams and Friedman 1992), and others (see also, Hendrickx 1999; Kaiser 1985, 1990; Petrie 1921). A fair percentage of the pottery is even of Egyptian provenance, although the large majority (at least 75%) is of local manufacture, i.e. typically Egyptian

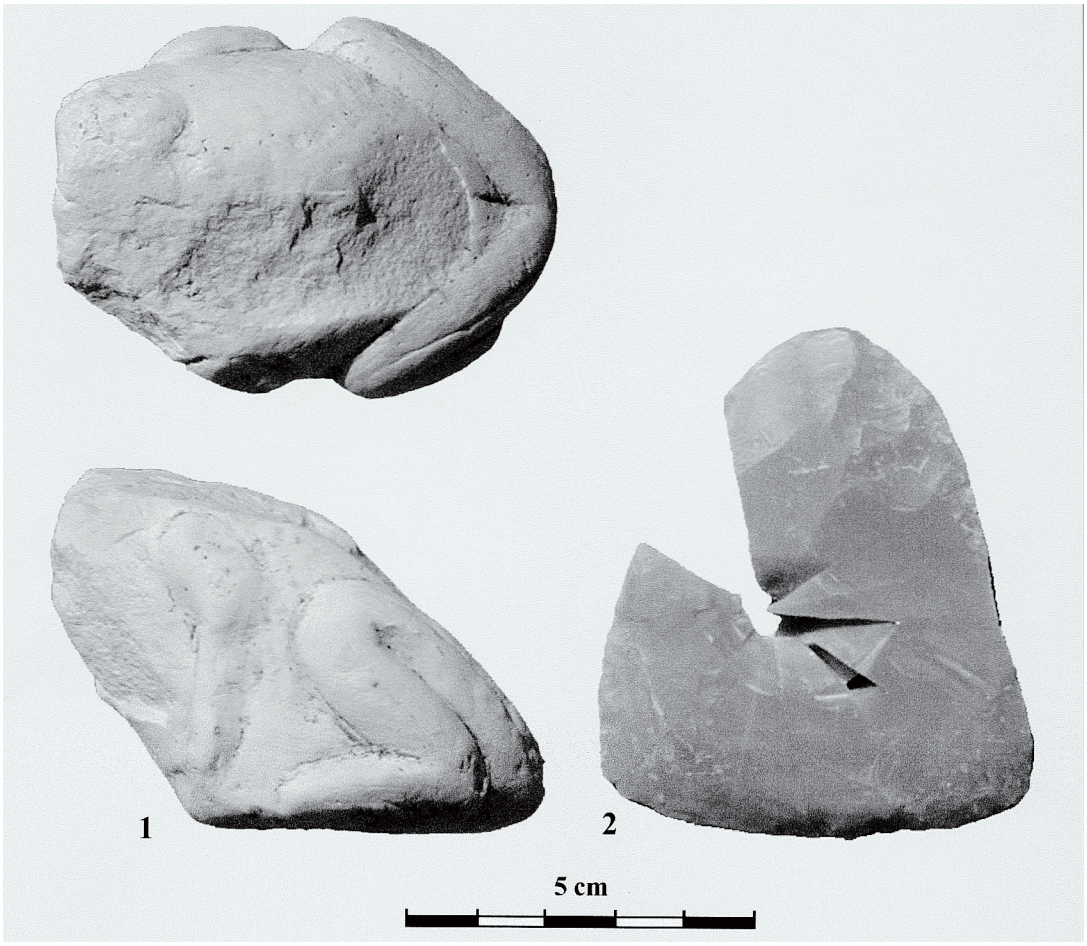


Fig. 19.7 Figurine of a frog in soft limestone (1) and a flint scraper (2).

vessels made with local clays. It should be noted that no 'hybrid' vessels were identified (for a definition of 'hybrid' vessels –Palestinian shape with Egyptian element/decoration/surface treatment, or vice versa – see Brandl 1989, 376–378).

The proportion of Palestinian material dated to the Early Bronze Age I is comparatively insignificant, both quantitatively (less than 10%) and qualitatively, as it is mostly represented by rims of holemouth jars (Figure 19.8.14), a few possible hemispherical bowls and one small sherd of a jar with a pillar-handle (e.g. Amiran *et al.* 1978, Pl. 15: 18). Assuming that the same kind of assemblage characterises the lower strata of the entire settlement, Tell es-Sakan should be considered as an Egyptian settlement during this initial phase of occupation.

A representative sample of the stratified finds is illustrated in Figures 19.7 and 19.8, while Figure 19.9.2–3 shows two surface finds. In addition to some typical flint tools with pressured retouches on both sides (Figure 19.7.2) two objects deserve a special mention. A fragmentary figurine of a frog in soft limestone was found on a floor of Stratum A-7 (Figure 19.7.1); it is of clear Egyptian type and manufacture and dates to the Predynastic period. A large fragmentary bead in faience covered with a bluish glaze (Figure 19.9.3) was found in the rubble at the bottom of Trench I. The abundance of fragments of Nile shells (*Aspatheria Nilotica*) should also be mentioned (see Reese, Mienis and Woodward 1986).

The rest of the material recovered consists of pottery, for which the most characteristic shapes were found in strata A-8 and A-7 (Figure 19.8). Coarse bread moulds (Figure 19.8.4) are very abundant and associated with numerous splintered pebbles used in fire-places, suggesting that the area excavated was an open space where bread-making activities took place. Small carinated bowls with a burnished red slip (Figure 19.8.1), as well as lotus-shaped bowls, either with a coarse surface or with an orange burnished slip (Figure 19.8.2), are quite frequent. There are also many examples of large coarse bowls and deep basins with mouldings on the rim, all locally made with a heavy, straw tempered, paste (Figure 19.8.3). The same ware was used for slightly tronconical pot stands with triangular openings, of which at least two examples were found (Figure 19.8.10). Most typical are the cylindrical vessels, either locally made or imported from Egypt, sometimes decorated with a string-impressed horizontal line below the rim (Figure 19.8.7). Ovoid vases, with a narrow flat base (Figure 19.8.5), and small pots,

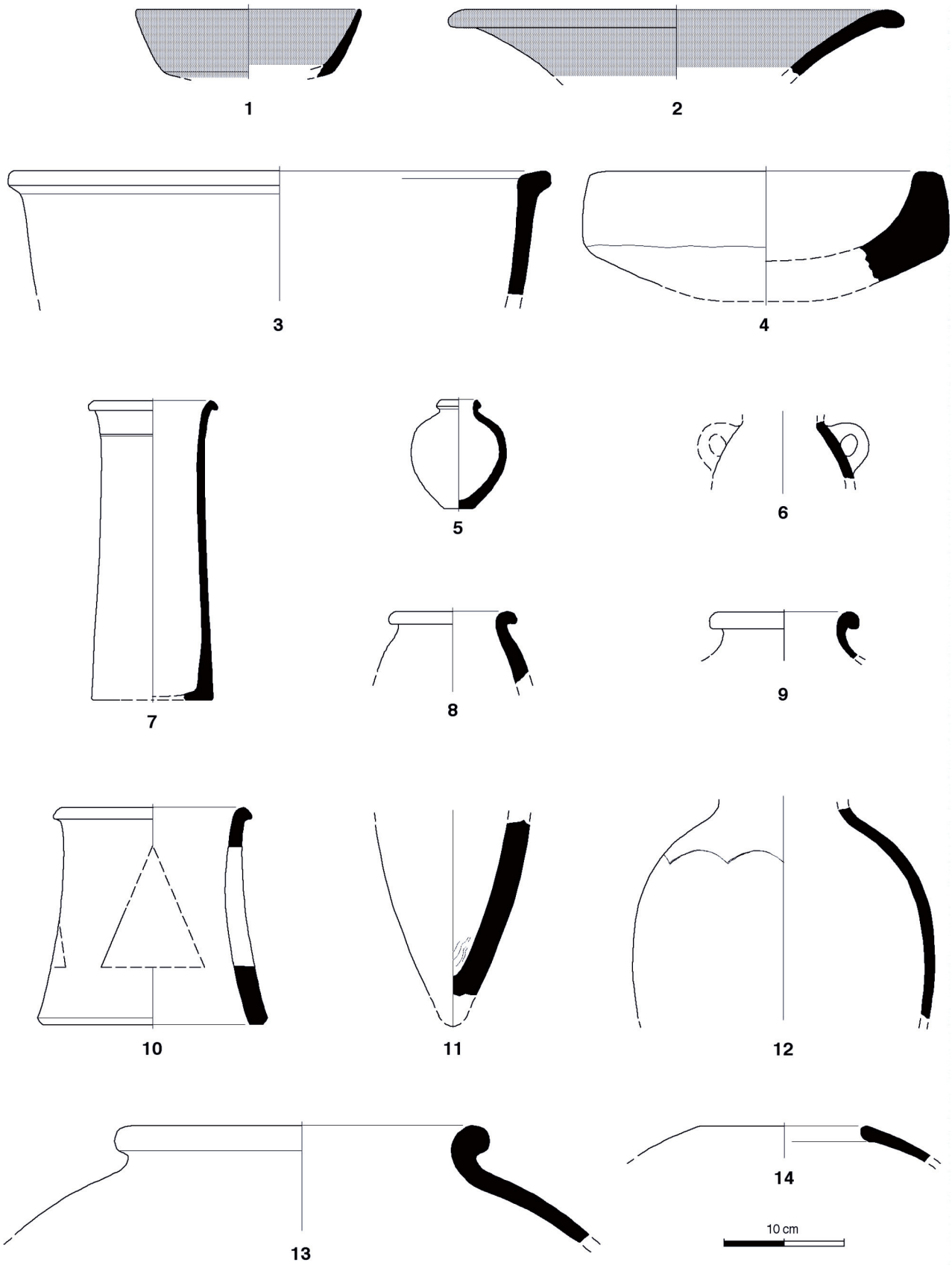


Fig. 19.8 Early Bronze Age I pottery from Strata A-8 (nos 1, 3–6) and A-7 (nos 2, 7–14).

with two (?) loop-handles attached on the shoulder (Figure 19.8.6), are rare occurrences. Among the jars, many of which seem to have been imported from Egypt, there are small examples with a thickened rounded rim (Figure 19.8.8–9), 'beer jars' with a pointed base (Figure 19.8.11), fragmentary 'wine jars' with a typical decoration of three thumb-impressions on the shoulder (Figure 19.8.12) and large storage jars with a short neck and a rounded rim (Figure 19.8.13). The rarity of local Palestinian holemouth jars (Figure 19.8.14) has already been mentioned.

The scarcity of Palestinian pottery makes the precise dating of strata A-9 to A-7, in relationship to the chronology of the Palestinian Early Bronze Age I, somewhat uncertain, although the pillar-handled jars, of the type referred to above, are unknown before the late Early Bronze Age IB. On the other hand, the abundance of diagnostic Egyptian vessels offers good links into the Egyptian chronology of the Predynastic period, which should therefore be used as a reference. The pottery assemblage from these strata suggest that Tell es-Sakan was an Egyptian foundation established during the second half of the Predynastic period. The available sample of stratified pottery from Stratum A-9 is much too small to be precise about the date of foundation of the site in the Naqada IIIa or IIIb period. Actually, the material recovered to date is remarkably homogeneous within the three strata so far identified. Most of the pottery illustrated in Figure 19.8 was recovered on two closely superimposed floors of Stratum A-7, which can be dated to the very end of the Predynastic period and the transition to the First Dynasty (Naqada IIIb).

This dating is suggested by the following list of randomly selected comparisons for the major shapes: Bread moulds (Figure 19.8.4; Petrie 1921, Pl. XXVIII: 1G; and refs in Gophna, 1990, 74–75); carinated bowls (Figure 19.8.1; Kroeper and Wildung 1994, Abb. 156, 174; and refs in Gophna, 1990, 150); lotus-shaped bowls (Figure 19.8.2; Köhler 1992; Abb. 155, Kroeper and Wildung 1994, Fig. 4.1; Petrie 1921, types R 26–27 and L 10 and refs. in Gophna 1990, 145–147); large coarse bowls and deep basins (Figure 19.8.3; Kroeper and Wildung 1994, Abb. 138 and refs in Gophna 1990, 79–80); fenestrated pot stands (Figure 19.8.10; Petrie 1921, type L 34–35); cylindrical vessels (Figure 19.8.7; Petrie 1921, type W 85 and refs in Gophna 1990, 81–82); small ovoid vases (Figure 19.8.5; Petrie 1921, type R 57); 'Beer jars' with a pointed base (Figure 19.8.11; Kroeper and Wildung 1994, Abb. 141, 145, 149; Petrie 1921, type L 36; Van den Brink 1989, 60, Pl. 8); 'Wine jars' with impressed decoration on the shoulder (Figure 19.8.12; Gophna, 1990, Figs 10, 7 and 11; Petrie 1921, type W 33); and large storage jars (Figure 19.8.13; Petrie 1921, type L 46–47 and refs in Gophna 1990, 82–83).

Indeed, among the surface finds is a sherd with a fragmentary *serekh*, possibly bearing the name of 'Nar(mer)'. This sherd is illustrated in Figure 19.9.2a, while Figure 19.9.2b shows a restoration suggested on the basis of a comparison with the Narmer *serekh* found in Tel Erani V (Yeivin 1960, Fig. 2).

The significance of these discoveries should be evaluated by comparison with other contemporary sites in the southern Levant which show an Egyptian presence. More than a dozen Early Bronze Age I sites with Egyptian material are known today in this area (Figure 19.10) (for a recent synthesis, listing earlier literature, see Andedlkovic 1995; Brandl 1992; Braun this volume; de Miroschedji 1998 and in press). On these sites, however, the percentage of Egyptian pottery is always very low in comparison to that of the local Palestinian pottery. For this reason they are usually interpreted as local Palestinian settlements in which small groups of Egyptian 'colonists' had settled, i.e. as evidence of an Egyptian colonisation of southwestern Palestine during the Predynastic period. Until the discovery of Tell es-Sakan, only one of these settlements could be considered as 'Egyptian' on the grounds that it had yielded an archaeological assemblage which was almost exclusively Egyptian and in which the Palestinian element was marginal. This site is 'En Besor, located some 25km to the southeast of Tell es-Sakan, where Stratum III corresponds to a large building in which many Egyptian vessels, cylinder-seal impressed clay *bullae* and other objects were discovered. It has been described convincingly as an Egyptian trading post (Gophna 1987, Gophna 1995, 255–262). The excavations at Tell es-Sakan have now revealed another contemporary Egyptian settlement. Actually, it seems that the pottery assemblage of Stratum III at 'En Besor and that of Stratum A-7 at Tell es-Sakan are interchangeable and that the two sites were occupied simultaneously during the 31st century BC (Compare the pottery shapes illustrated in Figure 19.8 with R. Gophna 1995, 71–93, 1990, 144–162). Nearly all of them are also attested at 'En Besor III.) The difference between them concerns the size – and therefore also the nature – of the settlement. While the area of the Egyptian settlement at 'En Besor III was estimated by the excavator at only 1200m², that of Tell es-Sakan could be of about 5ha or more. The large size of Tell es-Sakan and its geographical location on the caravan road between Canaan and Egypt, not far from the ford crossing the Wadi Gaza, further suggest that it may have played a major role in the organisation of the Egyptian colonies in southwestern Levant.

These observations are essential for a better understanding of the archaeological significance of Tell es-Sakan at the end of the 3rd millennium BC. They allow the formulation of a working hypothesis, to be tested by future excavations. At least for the period corresponding to the very end of the Predynastic/Early Bronze Age I period (i.e. the 31st century), the discoveries made at Tell es-Sakan suggest that the Egyptian colonial presence in southwestern Palestine was not uniform in character but presented a peculiar spatial organisation. It seems that three different areas should be distinguished (Figure 19.10):

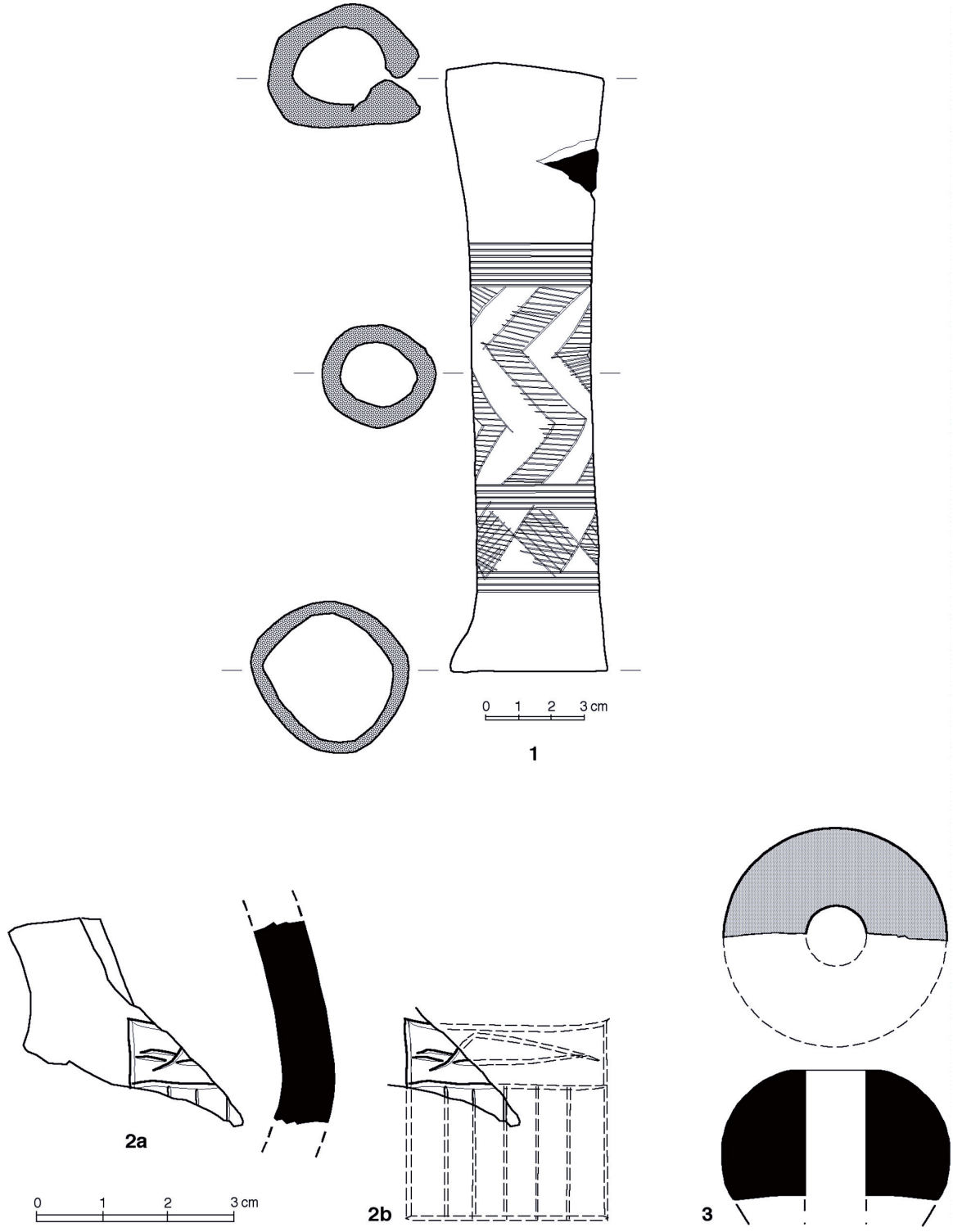


Fig. 19.9 Objects recovered on the surface (nos 2a and 2b) and in sections in deposits dating to the Early Bronze Age I (no. 3) and the Early Bronze Age III (no.1).

1. A 'core area' of permanent Egyptian installation, where sites like Tell es-Sakan and 'En Besor contain an almost exclusively Egyptian material culture. It is presumably from this core area that the administration of the Egyptian colonial territory was conducted, possibly from Tell es-Sakan itself, as it appears to have been the major Egyptian settlement in the southern Levant at this time.
2. A 'peripheral area' of colonial Egyptian presence, covering roughly the coastal plain and the Shephela

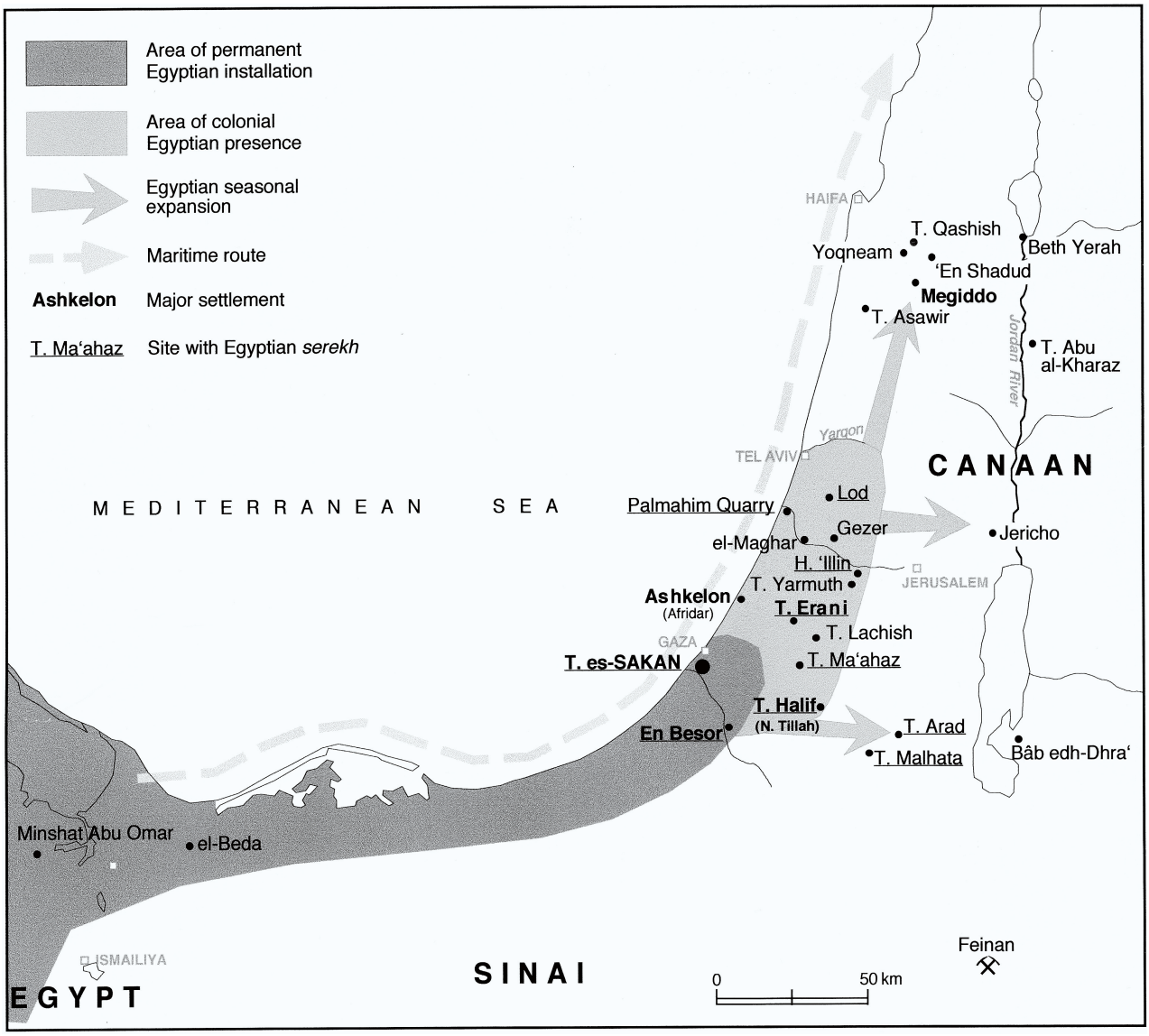


Fig. 19.10 The Egyptian presence in Canaan at the end of the Early Bronze Age I (= Naqada IIIb).

region south of the Yarqon river, where sites like Nahal Tillah, Tel Erani, etc., hosted a more or less important Egyptian contingent, for all or only part of the year. This situation would explain why, on these sites, the Egyptian material is a marginal component (always much less than 50%) of the entire archaeological assemblage, which remains predominantly Canaanite.

3. A third area corresponding to the rest of Palestine, where a few sites (i.e. Arad, Small Tel Malhata, Jericho, Tell Abu Kharaz, Megiddo) simply testify to the existence of more or less regular trading contacts with Egyptians, who could occasionally, or seasonally, send small groups of traders there. For Small Tel Malhata, see Amiran and Ilan 1993, 939. For Jericho: Hennessy 1967, Pls XXV: 15, XXVI: 1. For Tell Abu Kharaz: Fischer 2000, 204–212. For Megiddo, we believe that the cache of Egyptian vessels found in Level J-5 underneath Temple 4040 should not be dated to the Early Bronze Age III, as proposed by Finkelstein, Ussishkin and Halpern [2000, 66, 537, 586–587], but rather to the final Early Bronze Age I, as suggested by Yoffee [*ibid.*, 174] and Goren [*ibid.*, 496–501].

The Canaanite Phase (Early Bronze Age II{?}-III)

After this initial Egyptian phase, Tell es-Sakan became a Canaanite city. The Early Bronze Age II occupation (*c.*3000/2900–2650) is presently hardly attested, either by excavations or by surface survey. (It should be stressed that the indications of surface survey at Tell es-Sakan are *a priori* significant because a large amount of pottery sherds have come to the surface as a result of extensive



Fig. 19.11 Early Bronze Age stratum (C-4) in 'Sounding C', view to the south.

digging by bulldozers. For example, in the Fall of 1998, soon after the digging of the foundation trenches, several semi-complete vessels were retrieved by Dr. M. Sadeq and by Father Jean-Baptiste Humbert, of the École biblique et archéologique française de Jérusalem, directly from the sections where they were protruding. It can therefore be considered that the absence of Early Bronze Age II diagnostic shapes (vs. the frequency of Early Bronze Age I Egyptian and Early Bronze Age III Cananean shapes) is indeed significant. Hence it is not impossible that following

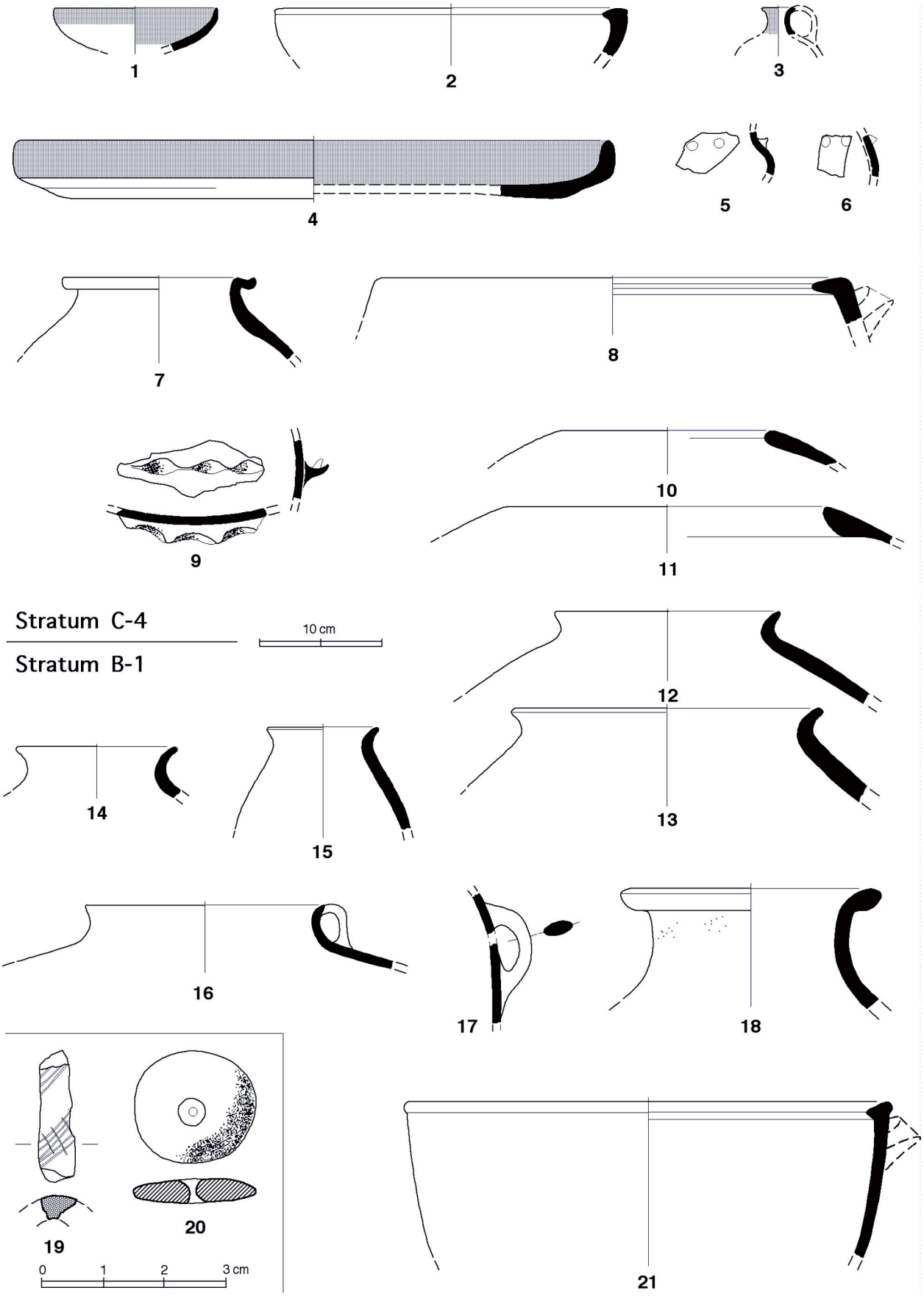


Fig. 19.12 Early Bronze Age III pottery and objects from stratum C-4 (nos 1–9), stratum B-1 (nos 14–21) and contemporary deposits in sections (nos 9–13).

an Egyptian retreat at the beginning of the 3rd millennium BC, the site went through a period of decline or abandonment. Future excavations will test this hypothesis.

By contrast, the Early Bronze Age III occupation, from about 2650 BC onward, is represented by at least five building strata (A-5[?] to A-1), altogether an accumulation of more than five meters of archaeological deposit.

An EB III stratum (C-4) was reached in 'Sounding C', where the building remains consist of thick mud brick walls, preserved to a height of more than 1.5m (Figure 19.11). A floor covered with a layer of *kurkar* was cleared, and the burial of a large vertebrate was partly exposed. The corresponding pottery is exclusively Canaanite. It includes a shallow hemispherical bowl with a red burnished slip (Figure 19.12.1), large bowls with inner ledge rim (Figure 19.12.2), small juglets (Figure 19.12.3), a large shallow platter with red burnished slip, jars with a gutter rim (Figure 19.12.7), and large and deep spouted basins with an ovoid body (Figure 19.12.8) and horizontal wavy ledge-handles (Figure 19.12.9). The associated cooking pots are either of the usual hole-mouth jar type (Figure 19.12.10–11) or characterised by a short flaring neck (Figure19. 12.12–13) – a kind of vessel hardly found on contemporary sites in inner Palestine and which could be a local type. It should also be noted that the red burnished vessels are slipped on the inside and only below the rim on the outside, a typical feature in southern Palestine in the Early Bronze Age III (de Miroschedji 2000, 320). This assemblage can be dated to the beginning of the Early Bronze Age III period by comparison with Early Bronze Age IIIA vessels from Tel Yarmuth (see ibid., 321–326; de Miroschedji *et al.* 1988, Pls 27: 6–10, 28: 7–10, 29: 1–3, 30: 10–13, 31: 5, 33, 34: 14–16, 35).

The latest Early Bronze Age III stratum (B-1) was reached in 'Sounding B', between Trench I and II at the summit of the tell. It has revealed some fragmentary building remains, which are difficult to interpret, given the limitations of the sounding. Two parallel walls, with a floor between them, were cleared. In addition to cooking pots, hemispherical bowls and platters similar to those of Stratum C-4, the associated pottery includes large pithoi with a flaring rim and a lime-washed surface (Figure 19.12.18), jars with a loop-handle attached to the neck (Figure 19.12.16), large loop-handles belonging to jars or basins (Figure 19.12.17) and deep spouted basins with a tronconical body (Figure 19.12.21). Comparable vessels are well known in Tel Yarmuth, where they are dated to the end of the Early Bronze Age III, *c.*2400 BC and are ascribed to the Early Bronze Age IIIC period (Ben-Tor 1975, Fig. 8.4; de Miroschedji *et al.* 1988, Pls 44.9–10, 45.17–19; de Miroschedji 2000, 326–336). The cultural affinities of this pottery assemblage thus suggest that Tell es-Sakan may have been, at this time, in relationship with sites of inner Palestine, especially those of the Shephela. In this context it is worth mentioning that a unique type of quadripod platter, discovered at Tel Yarmuth only in Palace B, i.e. in an elite context dated to the very end of the Early Bronze Age III, was determined by petrographic analysis to originate from an area located south of Ashkelon (de Miroschedji 1993, 841, Fig. 11), i.e. quite possibly from the Gaza Strip – an area where the only Early Bronze Age III site known presently is Tell es-Sakan itself.

Noteworthy among the finds from Stratum B-1 are a large stone spindle whorl (Figure 19.12.20) and a fragment of a decorated bone handle (Figure 19.12.19). The latter fragment is especially interesting as it provides the archaeological context of another complete object of this category, found in a nearby trench but unfortunately in an uncertain stratigraphic context, as it had been washed down from a section cut through Early Bronze Age III strata. This bone handle (Figure 19.9.1) had been neatly sawed at both ends. It bears an incised decoration, with two registers bordered by a group of horizontal lines. A narrow register at the bottom is decorated with a row of cross-hatched lozenges, and a large one at the top is ornamented with a row of zigzag bands filled with horizontal lines. This kind of object has a rather wide distribution in Syro-Palestine but those presenting the same disposition of the registers are represented more in southern Palestine (See Zarzecki-Peleg 1993 [Type III]). While the decoration of its lower register is quite common, that of the upper register is rather exceptional, being attested only on specimens from Ras Shamra, Byblos and 'Ay.

Conclusion

It may be expected from the results of the first soundings conducted at Tell es-Sakan, that the excavation of this site will enlighten both the modalities of the Egyptian colonisation of the southern Levant during the Predynastic period and the conditions of the Canaanite expansion to this area during the Early Bronze Age II-III phases. The site especially promises to offer a local paradigm for the archaeology of 4th–3rd millennia BC in the southern Levant. A large-scale excavation is therefore planned for the Autumn of 2000.

Acknowledgements

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20. Cultural homogenisation and diversity in Canaan during the 13th and 12th centuries BC

Ann E. Killebrew

Abstract

The locally produced material culture of Canaan during the 14th and 13th centuries BC is remarkable for its largely homogeneous character. This culture has usually been defined as 'Canaanite' even though contemporary written sources present a picture of cultural, social and ethnic diversity. A very different picture is evident archaeologically during the following 12th century BC. This period is characterised by great regional diversity, which represents a clear break with the preceding period. Many scholars have interpreted the differences in material culture as reflecting group identity or ethnicity. This is based not only on the material culture but also on later biblical texts that describe diverse populations inhabiting Canaan during this time. This paper examines the following questions: What is the meaning of cultural homogenisation during Late Bronze Age Canaan? What are the causes of the relatively rapid regionalisation and material culture diversity in Canaan during the following century? I utilise a World-Systems Theory approach to suggest possible explanations for these cultural phenomena.

General concepts

Traditionally, scholars working in the eastern Mediterranean have attempted to interpret material culture patterns as representing ethnic or cultural groups. Often discussions of material culture diversity have focused on the identification of specific cultural or ethnic entities and their origins. However, it is evident that one cannot rely on such monolithic approaches to answer questions of cultural diversity. Rather, a very complex grid of cause and effect influences material culture. This includes political, economic, social and/or environmental factors – all of which play a role in the shaping of material culture. Several conditions are necessary for examining the significance of cultural diversity in the archaeological record. First, a broad familiarity and knowledge of the material culture and its contexts are necessary, or what can be referred to as a synchronic approach on a large-scale regional basis. Second, a grasp of what occurred before and what followed after should be considered, or a diachronic overview, in order to begin an evaluation of the significance of stability or change in the material record. Historical aspects of the period and region under investigation are also crucial since historical process can play a role in the formation and expression of cultural diversity or ethnicity (see e.g. Conkey 1990; Jones 1997, 124–127; Wiessner 1989).

Recognising the need for such a broad approach, scholars have attempted to understand cultural development and change in ancient societies using World-Systems Theory (e.g. Hall 1999). I. Wallerstein, one of the pioneers of modern World-Systems Theory, describes two types of world-systems – world empires and world economies – the latter being applicable to past pre-capitalist societies. According to his definition, World-Systems are self-contained as an economic-material entity and are based on extensive division of labour and a multiplicity of cultures. A world economy requires the existence of core-states that exploit the labour and material resources of peripheral areas (Wallerstein 1974, 348–350). Several studies have been recently published that apply a World-Systems model to the eastern Mediterranean during the 2nd millennium BC (Frank 1993; Kardulias 1999; A. Sherratt 1993; E. Sherratt and A. Sherratt 1993). Building upon previous research, I suggest in this paper a modified World-Systems approach consisting of four different, but interrelated, levels of the human experience, which can serve as a framework for our examination of homogeneity or diversity:

1. A global level, in this case the world of the eastern Mediterranean and the relationship between various regions.

2. A regional level, the specific region, in this case Canaan, and its political and economic structure.
3. A local level, or the socio-political and economic system of the center and periphery or a specific settlement.
4. An individual level, representing the extended family or kinship level, household group or an individual action.

The Late Bronze Age

Global level

During the 14th and 13th centuries BC the political and cultural constellation in the eastern Mediterranean region included several empires, most notably the Hittite and Egyptian superpowers. Two additional regions, the Aegean and Cyprus, also played an influential role in international affairs. Membership in this 'club' is reflected in the 14th and 13th century correspondence from archives and inscriptions discovered in Anatolia, Syria, and Egypt. Rulers of equal status are referred to as 'brothers' and vassal subordinates are referred to as 'sons'. The resulting political system in the Near East during the Late Bronze Age consisted of a double level of political rule with a hierarchical system of large regional units based on a higher level of 'great kings', and a lower level of 'lesser kings' who were bound by treaties to rulers of the empires (Liverani 1987; Tadmor 1979).

The eastern Mediterranean was economically and culturally interconnected by a complex system of exchange or trade. Several different models for the understanding of the economic nature of these connections have been suggested, from gift or tribute exchange (Zaccagnini 1987; for a selection of texts listing royal gifts see Cochavi-Rainey and Lilyquist 1999) to a system of well-developed trade on a local, regional and global level (A. Sherratt 1994). What is clear from the archaeological evidence is that imported items permeated the eastern Mediterranean world, with these specialty items found even in the most modest village settlements of the period, suggesting that at least on one level there is indeed a global connection.

Regional level

In the Syro-Palestinian region, the double level of political rule was particularly evident because of the numerous small semi-autonomous kingdoms, each with local dynasties (Liverani 1987, 66–67). Canaan, as used in contemporary ancient Mesopotamian and Egyptian texts and later biblical accounts, refers to a geographical place or region that roughly corresponds to the modern regions of Lebanon, Israel, Palestine, Gaza Strip, Jordan and southern Syria (Rainey 1996; Schmitz 1992). Greater Canaan was divided between the two major powers of the region following the battle at Kadesh on the Orontes River in 1285 BC. Northern Canaan (northern Palestine and Syria) was largely under Hittite influence while southern Canaan was under Egyptian control. By the 13th century BC, the northern boundary of Egyptian influence may well have been located along the Megiddo–Beth Shan line, with the Jezreel Valley and the regions to the south falling under Egyptian political influence. As J. Weinstein (1992, 142–143) has pointed out that with the exception of a fragmentary statue from Byblos inscribed with the name of Ramesses III, no Egyptian monuments are attested from Syria for the period between the reigns of Ramesses III and Ramesses IX. Ramesses III's claims to Syrian conquests are apparently without validity.

The exception to this relative material culture homogeneity appears at a number of sites in Canaan, such as Tell Beth Shan (James 1966; James and McGovern 1993; Mazar 1997), Tell el-Farᶜah (S) (Oren 1984), Tell al-Saᶜidiyeh (Tubb 1988, 1990; Tubb *et al.* 1996), and at numerous sites in the Gaza Strip (Dothan 1987, 1993; Oren 1984) and along the coast of northern Sinai (Oren and Shershevski 1989). At these sites, Egyptian presence is clearly evident in the architecture and artifacts, and from the historical texts of the period. In my opinion, these sites were inhabited by significant numbers of Egyptian 'envoys' and other service personnel at several key sites such as Tel Beth Shan and Deir al-Balah, who were sent by the pharaoh to serve in Canaan as administrators or military personnel. The Egyptian-style pottery produced locally in Canaan indicates the presence of not only Egyptians, but Egyptian potters, and in my opinion reflects ethnicity, in this case, a small but ethnically separate group residing in Canaan whose purpose was to administer the region.

In contrast to the appearance of homogeneity in many aspects of the material culture, contemporary texts, with its linguistically diverse personal names, indicate an 'ethnically' mixed population (Hess 1989). Considered together with the great variety of burial customs (Gonen 1992) and cultic structures (Mazar 1980, 62–66), both considered to be culturally sensitive indicators, most scholars have concluded that Late Bronze Age Canaan was probably not made up of a single 'ethnic' group, but consisted of a diverse population.

Local level

Whatever the ethnic or social makeup of the individual inhabitants of Canaan was during the Late Bronze Age, it was unified by a common socio-economic system based on a city-state/hinterland or core-periphery model. Contemporary texts inform us that the city-states in Canaan were administered and controlled economically and politically by Egypt, and the resulting system provided a relatively uniform structure of production and distribution of goods (Na'aman 1981; Redford 1990).

Throughout the Near East, with the probable exception of Cyprus, political and economic power was concentrated

in the city-state, specifically the palace, which served as the administrative centre and seat of the local ruler located in urban settlements. Economically, the palace system was characterised by monopolistic production and intensive interregional trade (Knapp 1985; A. Sherratt and S. Sherratt 1991).

This closely interrelated political and economic structure of the eastern Mediterranean region and the centralised city-state political system during the 13th century is reflected several aspects of the material culture. It is especially observable in the largely homogeneous ceramic repertoire of Canaan proper, a ceramic assemblage that is characterised by mass production and standardised ceramic vessels. Canaanite-style pottery was manufactured in professional workshops. Based on provenience analyses of several of these assemblages that indicate local production, I conclude that these workshops probably served only a specific city state and its hinterland. Due to the homogeneity of certainly clay types with certain forms on the one hand, and the variety of clays used to produce different shapes, we may be dealing with small-scale pottery workshops that specialised in certain shapes. The archaeological evidence for potters' workshops in the Late Bronze Age would support this view of small professional workshops associated with the city-state (Killebrew 1996).

Regarding the contemporary Egyptian-style pottery produced in Canaan, I would like to suggest that due to the remarkable uniformity between Egyptian-style pottery produced in Canaan with ceramics produced in Egypt itself, that this craft was probably under central Egyptian control and that the pottery was produced by potters from Egypt. Over several hundred years, Egyptian pottery produced in Canaan retained its form and techniques of manufacture. Only if the production of these vessels were centrally regulated would it be possible for the Egyptian pottery assemblage to remain so unchanged over time.

Individual level

The individual in society can also have an impact on material culture patterns. Socio-economic status or ethnic and/or ideological identity of an extended family unit, household or individual can be reflected as diversity in material culture. Individuals could well have acted on an economic level as private traders or merchants, outside the control of the palace. Thus variation in Canaanite burial and cultic practices may or may not be related to the origin or ethnic identification, or could be a result of social or economic status. However the individual level is the most difficult to distinguish archaeologically. In the case of the Late Bronze Age, individual levels of influence are largely superseded by the global, regional and local systems.

The Iron I Age

When the meltdown of the great centres of power began in the late 13th century BC the concentration of political and economic power transformed the physical collapse of the palace city-state system into a general disaster for several of the larger regional powers. On the other hand, the decline or collapse of the 'superpowers' liberated many of the peripheral areas under their control and, presumably, freed from external exploitation. The breakdown of international lines of communication between the different regions was replaced by more local lines of communication and resulted in the fragmentation of Canaan into smaller regionally-defined units, often corresponding to geographic regions.

During the 12th century BC regional diversity develops relatively rapidly following the rather drastic changes in the socio-economic and political structure on the global, regional, and local levels. Three cultural entities are traditionally identified in the Iron I period:

1. A material culture associated with newly established hill country village settlements (Dever 1993; Finkelstein 1988; Mazar 1994).
2. A continuation of Late Bronze Age material culture, mainly in the valleys and along the northern coastal plains.
3. Aegean-style material culture which appears suddenly and in significant quantities at a number of large settlements in the southern coastal plain (Dothan 1982, 1998).

Hill Country Villages

The 12th-century hill country is characterised by the sudden appearance of noteworthy numbers of small, unwalled settlements in areas that in the previous century were largely unsettled. The inhabitants produced a ceramic assemblage that typologically developed out of the 13th century BC repertoire of Canaan. The ceramic repertoire from these small village hill country sites is characterised by its utilitarian function and by the very limited number of forms, mainly storage containers and cooking pots. Giloh, located near Jerusalem, can be seen as a type-site of these hill country settlements (Mazar 1994). It is noteworthy that all of the vessels from Giloh that were examined petrographically, had been manufactured in the Giloh-Jerusalem area, perhaps indicating the relative isolation of these hill country settlements (Killebrew 1998a, 215–219). These small village settlements can be seen as a result of regional and local socio-economic and political factors, together with a possible individual ideological choice.

The Iron I pottery from the hill country settlements was also produced by professional potters. The large *pithoi*, so characteristic of these settlements, are one of the most challenging shapes to form and could only have been produced by professionals. However, no potters' workshops have been uncovered thus far. I would like to suggest that itinerant potters might have produced the hill country pottery, at least in part.

Lowland Settlements

The second category of regional settlements which can be identified in the archaeological record include a number of sites, especially those located in the Shephelah and lowlands, where local Canaanite style material culture, and perhaps similar modes of production, continue into the 12th and 11th centuries. The differences between the very limited repertoire of ceramic forms at the small hill country hamlets, such as Giloh, and the more extensive repertoire of ceramic shapes continuing the Late Bronze Age tradition at lowland sites, such as Yarmuth, is especially remarkable since these sites are often within walking distance of each other. These differences in material culture do seem to designate a 'boundary', the nature of which has been a topic of heated debate during the last few decades (Dever 1993; Finkelstein 1997; London 1989). There is no real evidence to suggest that the cause of this boundary was due to ethnic differences or large-scale population movements. Rather, it should be attributed to regional and local socio-economic and political disruptions that occurred during this period and could have been further defined by individual choices or ideology.

Southern Coastal Plain Cities

The most clear cut picture for rapid material culture change occurs at several newly constructed urban sites in the southern coastal plain, which are usually defined as Philistine. The 12th century inhabitants of these sites, such as Tel Miqne-Ekron, did not have their roots in Canaan, as is reflected in all aspects of their Aegean-inspired material culture, including ceramic typology and technology, foodways, architecture, cultic practices and city planning (Dothan 1995, 1997; Stager 1995). The most extensively examined aspect of this new material culture is the pottery assemblage. It differs from the indigenous ceramic tradition in its shape, decorative style, and technological features and shares a remarkable similarity with Aegean-style pottery, especially that of Cyprus and Cilicia (Killebrew 1998b, 1999, 2000). Aegean-style vessels, often inaccurately referred to as 'Mycenaean IIIC:1b' pottery, technologically demonstrate a clear break with earlier Late Bronze Age clay procurement strategies. The potters of this assemblage preferred a highly calcareous clay comprising a mixture of loess and chalk for the production of table wares. This deliberate choice of raw materials represents a clear break with the previous Late Bronze Age potting tradition. A similar picture is revealed regarding formation and firing techniques. A combination of hand and wheel techniques were used by potters of Canaanite and Egyptian-style forms. Aegean-style shapes were produced exclusively on the fast wheel, and there is also a clear indication that different, probably lower, firing temperatures were used in the production of this pottery (Killebrew 1998a, 198–206, 239–242, 244–252).

This Aegean-style pottery was produced in a professional workshop setting. However, several technological aspects, such as the carefully prepared and consistent nature of the clays and high technological skills required to produce such fine wares, may indicate that its roots lie in large-scale industrial production. This factory-style mode of manufacture was probably that which produced the widely exported Mycenaean IIIB wares appearing throughout the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean in the preceding 13th century. What is clear from clay provenience analysis is that during its later phases, Mycenaean IIIB pottery was already beginning to be produced at numerous locations. The Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery production represents the complete decentralisation of the production of this pottery (Killebrew 1998a, 253–257).

The very distinctive Aegean-style material culture, when considered together with the biblical texts, indicates that a new ethnic group arrived and settled on the southern coastal plain of Canaan during the 12th century BC. This is reflected in all aspects of the material culture, and most likely, language. In this scenario we are dealing with a global level of influence, which due to inter-regional changes and some population movements, resulted in the appearance of this highly distinctive Aegean-style locally produced material culture in the southern coastal plain. In my opinion, this material culture is Aegean-inspired but NOT Aegean in origin (but see e.g. Dothan 1995 who suggests an Aegean origin for the Philistines). In light of this evidence, I suggest that these newcomers arrived as well-organised and relatively prosperous colonisers, representing a large-scale migration of people that quickly settled at several sites on the southern coastal plain of Israel (Bunimovitz 1998; Dothan 1998; but see S. Sherratt 1992, 1998 for a different view).

Conclusions

In this paper I suggest a World-Systems framework for the relationship between levels of societal interaction and its impact on material culture. Certain aspects of material culture, such as technology, may provide additional clues regarding the reasons for cultural homogeneity or diversity. In this light, the relative cultural homogeneity of the 13th century does not represent a homogeneous population, but rather more likely reflects the eastern Mediterranean 'world-economy' evident in the global, regional and local conditions of the 13th century. By the same token, the regionality of the 12th century, with its cultural and geographical boundaries, is probably a result of the breakdown of this world economy and the change in the regional and local levels of influence with perhaps a conscious individual, or even ideological choice. Individual choice may be reflected in the material culture isolation of the hill country villages. With a multi-levelled approach that addresses many different aspects of the material culture and structure of ancient society, it may be possible to begin to understand the complexity of the

past of living communities in Canaan during the great social transformations of the Late Bronze and Iron Age transition.

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21. Ideology, iconography and identity. The role of foreign goods and images in the establishment of social hierarchy in Late Bronze Age Cyprus

Jennifer M. Webb

Abstract

During the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus previously weakly stratified communities were propelled into statehood through contact with existing states outside the island. Imported luxury items, architectural styles and aspects of mortuary treatment were used to create and index status differences no longer directly dependent on ascribed position. Emerging elites also adopted new dominance mechanisms. While the latter may initially have involved physical coercion, long-term sanctions entailed the creation of a socially coercive ideology almost wholly derived from external sources. This patterned display and use of foreign goods and images may be a diagnostic feature of secondary state formation.

Introduction

During the course of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus (*c.*1650–1050 BC) most if not all earlier village-based communities became integrated into highly stratified, urban-based societies which can legitimately be characterised as states or polities. State formation in Cyprus, however, was not the result of indigenous restructuring along a gradual evolutionary trajectory. It was, rather, a relatively abrupt transition, driven by increased cultural and economic interaction with the more organisationally complex polities of the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean, and the rapid elaboration of a prestige-goods economy, based largely on the input of foreign goods acquired in exchange for Cypriot copper. This process of 'secondary state formation' (Price 1978) was accompanied by major discontinuities in the archaeological record and a profound shift in both the material culture and geopolitical history of the island.

The emergence of institutionalised socio-political inequality during the earlier years of the Late Bronze Age involved newly formed Cypriot elites in processes of self-definition and legitimation as they sought to establish their position and maintain control over wealth production and long distance exchange. Mechanisms of legitimation include public and ceremonial architecture, ritual paraphernalia, elite craft technology and the restricted circulation of exotic and symbolic artefacts. This paper is primarily concerned with the latter – that is with the use of symbolic artefacts, and more particularly those derived from foreign sources, as status markers and bearers of elite authority. This approach is grounded in an instrumentalist argument which recognises the creation and manipulation of symbolic markers as a major component of social identity and reproduction. In the Late Bronze Age, where individual and corporate affiliations were expressed through competing access to wealth and rank, the manipulation of symbolic referents played a significant role in the establishment and maintenance of social boundaries.A number of studies have dealt with the role of ideology in the development and maintenance of stratified society (Demarest 1989; Demarest and Conrad 1992; Earle 1993; Friedrich 1989; Knapp 1988, 1996a, 1996b etc; Kristiansen 1984; Miller and Tilley 1984; Miller *et al*. 1989). 'Ideology' may be broadly defined as the use of religious and other symbolism for political and social purposes – or more specifically seen (following Giddens 1979, 6) as "the capability of dominant groups or classes to make their own sectional interests appear to others as universal ones". More recently the debate has widened to include the active manipulation of mythology to promote elite claims to power and explain specific events (Bauer 1996; Sahlins 1981, 1985; Urton 1990). Both are widely considered to have been critical arenas in early state formation.

The geo-political configuration of Late Bronze Age Cyprus

The geo-political configuration of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age is the focus of considerable debate. Muhly

(1989), Knapp (1988; 1993, 99; 1994, 424–428; 1997, 65–66; Knapp and Cherry 1994, 37–38) and Peltenburg (1996) have proposed the emergence of a single archaic state during the 16th century, founded and dominated by a paramount centre at Enkomi on the east coast. This fledgling state may not have been able to establish island-wide authority but appears to have dominated foreign relations and maintained control over the mining, distribution and export of Cypriot copper. Since copper had to be obtained from inland sources, a regional infrastructure was required to ensure the consignment of ores from the mines to refinery and transhipment points. This, Peltenburg (1996) suggests, was achieved by a hinterland strategy of direct procurement, underpinned by a network of forts established at critical junctures to ensure the cooperation of local populations and the safety of the east–west routes from the mines to Enkomi. Some twenty-one forts have been identified, built during the period in which Enkomi was establishing control. At the same time Enkomi may also have been mobilising agricultural surpluses, collected as tribute for distribution to specialists at the mines, along transhipment routes and at Enkomi itself.

There is general agreement that by the late 14th or early 13th century this overarching system had given way to a series of regionally-based peer polities (perhaps as many as eight), administered by local elites whose authority rested largely on the control of regional copper industries and other material and symbolic resources. Keswani (1993, 1996) has proposed that these polities operated within a highly regulated hierarchical system of primary and secondary centres, mining communities, transhipment points and agricultural support villages, linked by a complex network of tributary and exchange relations (see also Knapp 1997, 46–52; Webb and Frankel 1994).

The organisational strategies which governed the production, consumption and exchange of resources in these regional systems remain uncertain. Peltenburg (1996) suggests that during the early stages of its formation the archaic state at Enkomi used a staple finance system as a means of socio-economic integration, in conjunction with the coercive underpinning of the fortified outposts. The latter, however, do not appear to have been a long-term solution to the problems of security and most were out of use by the late 16th century. Subsequently, a more complex disbursement system dependent on both staple and wealth finance (D'Altroy and Earle 1985) appears to have come into use. A similar two-fold redistribution model has been applied to the political economy of the autonomous polities of the 13th and 12th centuries by Keswani (1993). New mechanisms must also have been developed for instilling compliance amongst local elites and those engaged in the extraction, smelting and transport of copper. While these are not well understood, it has been suggested that physical coercion was replaced by covert ideological sanctions, expressed through monumental architecture, official ritual paraphernalia and the circulation of symbolically charged artefacts (Knapp 1996a, 1996b; Peltenburg 1996). It is these ideological sanctions, and the socially coercive role which they played in early state formation in Cyprus, with which this paper is primarily concerned.

Dimensions of exchange value

Value or perception of value is crucial to understanding both the function of individual artefacts in society and the symbolic character of local and long-distance exchange (Kristiansen 1989; Schortmann and Urban 1992, 153–156). Susan Sherratt has identified four primary dimensions of exchange value in the eastern Mediterranean (1994, 62–63).

The first – *convertible value* – refers to literally convertible materials, such as precious and base metals, which can be acquired, used, stored, recycled and recirculated. Such artefacts can be put to both practical and symbolic use in the pursuit of power and acquire added social or symbolic value when embedded in finished objects. It is clearly in the interests of elites to manage the production or acquisition of these materials, oversee their transformation into finished products and prevent their uncontrolled seepage either vertically downwards within their own social hierarchies or laterally to elites in other areas. At the same time, the managed distribution of restricted quantities of raw materials and finished products can be used to create and sustain relationships of reciprocity and obligation within and across elite groups.

Sherratt's second dimension – that of *preciosity* – refers to materials, such as ivory and precious stones, which are not convertible in any literal sense but which derive their main value from their status and perception as rare or exotic. Such objects are ideally confined to elites, but, because of their usually low convertibility, they "pose slightly less of a threat" to elite authority "if some …escape down through social hierarchies or across to undesirable equals" (Sherratt 1994, 63).

The third dimension is that of *added value* – the value added by the manufacturer to materials which either have no other significant dimension of value (like pottery), or already possess convertible or preciosity value in their own right.

Sherratt's fourth value dimension – that of *cultural value* – refers to "the degree to which, within the system as a whole, an object or class of objects acquires a universally recognised social or ideological significance" (Sherratt 1994, 63). This can, and usually is, relevant to items which also possess most, if not all, of the other value dimensions, "but by nature is highly specific to its context" (Sherratt 1994, 63).

The degree to which items acquire *added* and/or *cultural* value varies from object to object, depending on the amount of time, skill, technology and esoteric

knowledge involved in its manufacture and the cost of raw materials. Again, it is in the interest of elites to control the production and distribution of objects with high added or ideological value, and in particular those with related dimensions of convertibility or preciosity. This would normally be achieved through ensuring that such objects were acquired through restricted exchange networks or manufactured by what is variously referred to as a system of 'attached' (Earle 1981), 'administered' (Sinopoli 1988) or 'tethered' specialist production (Santley *et al.* 1989) – that is by full-time artisans employed by elite institutions.

It is along the dimensions of *added* and *cultural* value that material culture should most clearly reflect the growth of a 'prestige goods economy' (i.e. an economy dominated by goods with high added value produced by specialist craftsmen), and the use of ideological sanctions to legitimise disparities in power, wealth and status. This should be particularly evident in the case of objects which score highly on both these dimensions – that is in the case of objects which combine symbolic content with skilled workmanship or artistry. Ideology takes a particularly powerful material form when manifest in products, which may be broadly defined as 'works of art'. Art is part of ideological imprinting – "part of a process of institutionalisation, not only of what is to be said and thought, but how it is to be said and who is to say it, part… of an ongoing process of negotiation and re-negotiation of social relations" (Bender 1989, 88).

Dimensions of ideological value

In the context of the establishment and maintenance of social hierarchy, the ideological value of material culture may further be regarded as having three main components or objectives. Together these constitute the ability of a particular ideological system to perform a socially coercive role (exert positive sanctions). These may be defined as:

1. The definition and affirmation of rank and status.
2. The legitimation of rank and status.
3. The negotiation of inequality.

In Late Bronze Age Cyprus these appear to have utilised recognisably different iconographies on different arrays of objects, distributed via different mechanisms to different sectors of society.

The definition and affirmation of rank and status

The *identification* and *affirmation* of rank were principally achieved through ownership and display of objects and images that served as the material correlates of high status. These were, for the most part, items with convertibility or/and preciosity value, normally combined with added or/and symbolic value. They functioned primarily as rank insignia and items of competitive display and are primarily visible, archaeologically, in mortuary contexts. Notably, most are objects of personal adornment or linked with elite consumption behaviours, such as feasting and drinking. They may be of relatively simple type (e.g. a plain gold bowl where the value lies in the preciosity and convertibility of the raw material). More often they have a symbolic content directly related to the designation and affirmation of rank (e.g. high status images such as chariot scenes, sphinxes and bulls). In Cyprus the majority also reflect foreign connections, either as imports or as bearers of imported iconographies.

These objects, which cluster in highest order burials in urban centres, work on a relatively restricted level ideologically (as *insignia* and *display*), for the most part using static motifs in formal, heraldic or repetitive compositions. As symbolic markers they define rather than legitimise class membership, serving a primarily internal political function, designed for inter – and intra-elite display – that is, for communication within and across competing elite groups and immediate subordinates rather than down the social hierarchy. This may be expected to have been a particularly important strategy during the early years of state formation, when functionally similar elite groups were competing for control of long-distance networks and internal resources.

Notably, almost all images on objects of this type have widespread, generic associations with high status and are drawn from non-Cypriot iconographies. Neither sphinxes, griffins, lions nor chariots, for example, were known in Cyprus prior to their appearance on imported exotics at the beginning of the Late Cypriot period. Local elites looked immediately to the wider world for their status referents, drawing on a spatially extensive, shared eastern Mediterranean symbolic system.

Contact with distant polities is also likely to have had symbolic and practical dimensions well beyond the material data (Helms 1988, 1992; Wells 1992). Interaction with political and economic elites operating in more complex systems must have significantly increased the prestige of local elites and is likely to have served as a mechanism of transfer of both abstract and concrete concepts of leadership and political, administrative and market systems. Long-distance interaction arguably provided Cypriot elites both with sets of social valuables with which they were able to proclaim their identity and mediate their relationships with subordinates, and with new models of socio-political power. These transactions also formed the basis of a wealth finance system, in which limited numbers of exotics were passed down the social hierarchy in 'exchange' for widely available subsistence goods and services, creating reciprocal relationships and vertical ties of dependence critical to the establishment of regional power.

The legitimation of rank and status

This display and limited distribution of status-enhancing goods may have been well suited to securing the unity

and allegiance of elites and would-be elites but is unlikely to have been of much value in gaining the cooperation of non-elites. No stratified society, however, can operate long without being perceived as legitimate, or at least inevitable, by most or all participants in the system (Kus 1982). This brings us to the second and third dimensions of ideological value – those of legitimation and negotiation – both arguably of greater importance to the long-term stability of early states than the posturing of prestige-conscious elites.

As a number of scholars have pointed out, the view that elites impose a dominant ideology on the minds of non-elites through monumental architecture, exotic goods and fancy rituals, which combine to create an awe-struck and submissive peasantry, is no longer acceptable (Abercrombie *et al*. 1980; Paynter and McGuire 1991, 8). In fact, effective messages sent by elites to non-elites often mask, mystify or deny the existence of power differences, despite their reality (Cobb 1993, 70–75). Mythology and religious practice are also active factors in prescribing behaviour. Metaphors expressed in mythology may serve to transform the natural into the supernatural, defining identities and creating a complex, seemingly immutable justification of existing social relationships. This may, in turn, be exploited by ruling elites through control and manipulation of public ritual and the symbolic information invested in material culture. Objects used in the dissemination of messages of legitimation and negotiation are likely to bear more complex iconographies than those used for status display and to have different depositional parameters. In particular they are unlikely to have been regularly deposited in tombs because, as active mechanisms of communication, their value within the system depended on their continued visibility and circulation. Such items were also directed at a different audience. While status-defining goods were primarily used in inter-elite display, objects legitimising the social innovation of state formation and increasing power and wealth asymmetries must have been intended for lesser elites and non-elites. Neither existing nor prospective elites needed to believe in the system in which they played a privileged role. The compliance of those disadvantaged and excluded by institutionalised inequality, however, is likely to have required positive sanctions and, in some instances, physical coercion.

Ideological messages requesting or enforcing non-elite compliance are embedded in settlement hierarchy, mortuary practice, architecture, ritual, language and iconography as well as less archaeologically visible domains. In Cyprus the richest source of politico-ideological information is provided by the complex visual images engraved on cylinder seals. Cylinder seals first appear in Cyprus in the late 17th century BC, as imported prestige goods from the Near East. Local manufacture began during the late 16th century BC. The great majority of both imported and locally engraved seals come from Enkomi, which was clearly a major centre of glyptic development and production throughout the Late Bronze Age (Courtois and Webb 1987; Webb 2002). Cypriot cylinders have been classified into three broad stylistic groups, identified as the Elaborate Style, Derivative Style and Common Style – a division which distinguishes between the finest, most complex engraving on imported haematite and less skilled, more schematic work on softer local stones (Porada 1948). Each group also has its own distinctive iconography.

Elaborate Style cylinders almost invariably show highly individualised formal presentation scenes in which winged or double-headed deities with horned crowns and embroidered gowns are attended by sphinxes or bull-headed, lion-headed or griffin-headed ministrants who present them with inverted griffins, lions or caprids. These seals show a high degree of technical skill and esoteric knowledge and were almost certainly engraved by full-time specialists attached to centralised authorities.

Derivative Style seals frequently show a robed, bare-headed heroic or semi-divine apparently female figure with a subject lion, griffin or caprid which she holds on a leash or by the tail or forepaw – or a kilted male figure or figures in similar attitude. Others depict ritual performances or adoration of a tree by griffins, lions or caprids. These seals are unlikely to have been carved in the same workshops as those of the Elaborate Style. Their restricted distribution, however, suggests that they were also produced under elite sponsorship.

Common Style seals are characterised by recurrent compositions, depicting schematic human figures, real world animals, symbols of cult observance and apotropaic or talismanic designs. Cylinders of this type were probably also engraved under elite supervision but are relatively widely dispersed through the settlement hierarchy.

Being small, durable and highly mobile devices, operating within the administrative hierarchy, seals are likely to have played a significant role as symbolic markers. Elite control over the production and distribution of such highly charged goods, moreover, is easily translated into control of the symbolism of power by direct reference to religious authority.

Ownership and use of Elaborate Style seals, in particular, may have served to link high level elites with service to the gods, legitimising their claim to divinely sanctioned authority and promoting a privileged relationship with the supernatural realm. It could be argued that these seals give specific expression to notions of a divine order based on the recognition of established difference. Similarly, Derivative Style iconography appears to draw on heroic narratives or symbolic events in which order and harmony are achieved through the defeat and submission of dangerous forces. Notably, the sphinxes, lions and griffins used as status insignia on prestige objects in elite tombs appear on both Elaborate and Derivative Style seals as divine subjects, ministrants or offerings. Such points of articulation suggest that political elites appropriated for themselves the respon-

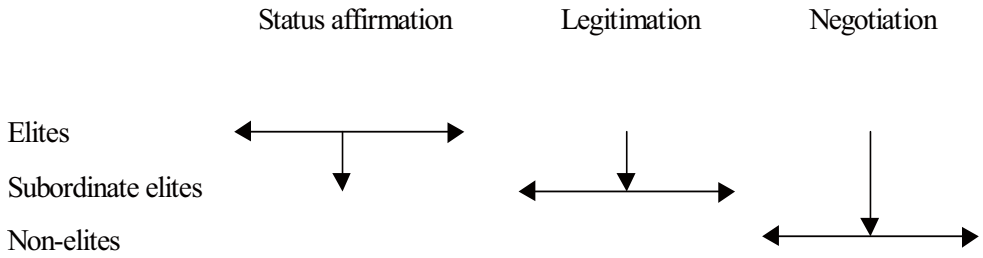


Fig. 21.1 Principal directions of communication.

sibility for mediating between the natural and supernatural worlds. This cosmological rhetoric is arguably principally concerned with the construction and reproduction of order through natural hierarchy and dominance – presenting a refined ideological model which both mirrors and displaces the real relations of power and control within complex society.

The iconography of Elaborate and Derivative Style seals, along with glyptic itself, is derived entirely from foreign sources. None of the key referents in indigenous seal iconography is visible in Cyprus prior to the introduction of imported cylinders and other exotics in the early years of the Late Bronze Age. This wholesale adoption of motifs drawn from foreign (primarily Near Eastern) cosmologies is symptomatic of the profound and rapid change in material culture, which accompanied secondary state formation on the island.

The negotiation of inequality

Common Style iconography is less obviously dependent on external models but also predominantly if not exclusively ideological. These seals present a radically different series of images apparently directed toward non-elites and concerned with negotiating or masking inequality rather than legitimising privilege. Common Style seals are concerned with the observance of ritual, with talismanic designs (probably involving a popular demonology), with subservience to human authority, and with motifs which appear to be operationally and ideologically linked with the management of the copper industry. The most common of these shows a human figure, ingots, a bucranium, circles and a palm tree. The repeated representation of these generic symbols may have been intended to mask the economic base of elite power by promoting ideological links between human labour, the copper industry and divine authority (Knapp 1986, 37–42; Webb 1992, 118–119, 1999).

In some cases the coercive ideology expressed in seal iconography can be closely linked with that manifest in public architecture and other media. This is particularly so in the case of the association between cult and metallurgy which is apparent in the location of metal workshops in sanctuary complexes, and most obviously in bronze cult statues which show deities standing on ingots. This cooption of divine authority to promote elite management of the copper industry was a key element of the ideological underpinning of state formation in Cyprus.

In sum, the ideological imprinting of material culture in Late Bronze Age Cyprus appears to have been highly prescriptive and tightly controlled by dominant groups. It appears also to have had three major dimensions, directed by means of different mechanisms to different segments of the social hierarchy (see Figure 21.1). Symbolic messages embedded in elite prestige goods were intended primarily for intra-elite display and as a means of establishing ties with subordinate elites. More complex iconographies of legitimation and negotiation were directed to lesser- and non-elites to secure their compliance in the mobilisation of labour and to provide authority for the allocation and redistribution of surplus production. In the latter context seals appear to have played an important socially coercive role. This is not, however, to suggest that they were the only or even the primary means by which state ideology was disseminated. They happen to be the only pictorial medium of any ideological complexity which has survived. The use of skilled artisans to encode such products with symbolic messages is one way in which elites attempt to resolve ambiguity and smooth over contradictions inherent in socio-economic inequality. This reorganisation of elite/commoner relationships was a key task in building centralised regional states and these and other surviving symbolic markers have an important role to play in tracing the development of state formation on the island.

Conclusion

Secondary state formation in Cyprus can be seen as a relatively abrupt transition, wherein previously weakly stratified communities were propelled into statehood through direct contact with existing states outside the island. The principal catalyst appears to have been long-distance trade – with trade defined as "risk-taking, profit-motivated entrepreneurial behaviour" (Adams 1974, 239; Cobb 1993, 61) on the part of emerging Cypriot elites based primarily at Enkomi. This long-distance trade, principally in Cypriot copper and foreign preciosities, had a critical disruptive impact on the local and regional political economy. Imported luxury items, architectural styles and aspects of mortuary treatment appear to have rapidly evolved into a new 'political currency' (Kipp and

Schortman 1989, 373) – that is, they were used to create and index status differences no longer directly dependent on ascribed position, and dispersed downward and outward to attract non-elite followers and motivate surplus production. Emerging elites had also to rapidly evolve, adapt or adopt new forms of political and economic organisation and new dominance mechanisms. The latter appear initially to have involved direct physical coercion in order to secure regional control of local resources. Longer-term sanctions, however, entailed the creation of a socially coercive ideology almost wholly derived, at least in its visual imagery, from external sources.

This patterned display and use of foreign goods and ideologies appears to be specific to contexts in which cultures were undergoing rapid and disorienting change (Schortman 1989; Wells 1992, 186) and may well have been a diagnostic feature of secondary state formation. In Cyprus it appears to have been initiated by entrepreneurial elites intent on establishing control of long-distance exchange. These elites constructed an identity based on their connections with foreign lands and legitimised their authority by means of ideological concepts drawn from the same sources. In the evolution of secondary states, where formative periods of development are missing or truncated, recourse to external sources of experience and legitimation may be expected to be a relatively common phenomenon. Given the rapid development of social hierarchy in Cyprus, local elites arguably had little choice but to acquire the conceptual means to implement their authority from the same sources which provided the suites of prestige objects which served as a visible manifestation of that authority. Foreign models of political ideology, that is, appear to have offered Cypriot elites a blueprint for domination lacking in their own iconographic tradition. Luxury items supplied (probably fairly cheaply) by foreign elites in return for Cypriot copper also provided an obvious mechanism for elite display and an appropriate base for the establishment of a wealth finance system with which local elites could establish and maintain internal social compliance among the managerial sector and middle range groups. The mechanisms used to instil and monitor compliance amongst non-elites or commoners are more difficult to discern, although some seal groups may, as suggested, provide access to this realm of socio-political negotiation.

The impact of long-distance exchange on secondary state formation in Cyprus should not, however, be seen as fostering dominant core/dependent periphery relations such as those proposed by Wallerstein's (1974) world systems model for more recent capitalist economies. It could be argued, on the contrary, that the use by Cypriot elites of foreign goods and symbols was an effective means of both consolidating regional power and of easing their entry into the so-called Mediterranean 'world system'. Rather than relegating them to the cultural periphery or reducing them to economic dependence, their adoption of a spatially extensive elite identity allowed them to rapidly accumulate social power and develop state apparatus in a process initiated by and maintained within the wider framework of eastern Mediterranean interaction.

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22. Images of women and cultural assimilation in the Achaemenid Persian Levant and Cyprus

P. R. S. Moorey

Abstract

This paper seeks to elucidate the impact of Achaemenid Persian imperialism down the urban social scale through artefacts, in various materials, used primarily by women or representing them. They offer a wider and deeper perspective on the question of cultural homogenisation within ancient empires, whilst sharpening hypotheses for explaining the cultural relationships of rulers and ruled.

Introduction

Of all the great empires of the ancient Near East, the largest, that of the Achaemenid Persian kings, is archaeologically one of the most elusive, known to us, primarily, from extremely disparate written sources in a variety of forms and languages, notably Elamite, Akkadian, Old Persian, Egyptian, Greek and Aramaic, the unifying *lingua franca* of the Achaemenid Empire (cf. in general: Briant 1996). Cyrus, victorious over the Neo-Babylonian dynasty at Opis on the Tigris in 539 BC, set in train an imperial policy that, to a greater or lesser extent, characterised the Empire until its eclipse at the hands of Alexander the Great about two centuries later. Although enormous in size, and remarkably diverse in social and cultural character, this Empire was remarkably resilient to the end, providing its successors, the Seleucids, with many of the institutions of their own supremacy. It was controlled from the highest levels of the Persian aristocracy, with the King at its heart, his role reinforced by a socio-religious ideology in which the great god Ahuramazda and the king, his divinely appointed servant, were conceived as working together to maintain a perfect order from which all would benefit.

At local level the Persian aristocracy interacted with the native 'elites', including intermarriage. Persian rule depended very much on co-operation with the local power-brokers, who were used in the Persian interest and were for the most part closely controlled. Yet, within this system, for example, Jerusalem and the sub-province of Yehud, retained its sacred laws, its priests and its Jewish administrators (cf. Avigad 1976). Traditional dynasts ruled Phoenician cities (cf. Betlyon 1980), as the local family of Sanballat (Cross 1963) governed Samaria. Flexibility, backed when necessary by brutal force, characterised the ways and means through which Persian rule harnessed enduring local traditions of great diversity. In religion, for example, local cults were upheld as a particularly effective means of securing local loyalties; but the shrines of those who rebelled were ruthlessly destroyed. Under Artaxerxes II (405–359 BC), if not before, the cult of the supreme goddess Anahita, was particularly used to strengthen a sense of identity amongst members of the governing 'elite' in the provinces, by the introduction there of statues of this deity, whose name was then linked with the two supreme gods Ahuramazda and Mitra (cf. Briant 1986).

Our concern here is with the material evidence in the Levant, much of it admirably reviewed by Stern (1982), over twenty years ago, but increasing all the time, and with the degree to which, in the words of the conference prospectus, cultural differences are or are not eroded within empires. It will be my purpose here to suggest that two factors are vital to significant cultural impact in such circumstances: local 'receptivity' and the desire to 'emulate'. Arguably, the prime motivator is social standing (status) and, as that matters more to the receiver than to the donor, cultural assimilation is likely to tell us more about the receivers than about the donors. As with all such problems when studied through material culture, this investigation is controlled from the outset by what has both survived and is relevant to our purpose. It might then seem singularly perverse to choose images of women, notoriously rare even in the 'elite' art of the Achaemenid Empire (cf. Brosius 1996, 85–7; Sancisi-Weerdenburg 1983; Spycket

1980) and costume, the most perishable of craft goods, to epitomise such an inquiry. Obviously, without surviving textiles, the possibility of analysing costume structurally and assessing degrees of adaptation and imitation is severely limited. Yet certain rare signifiers in base metals and common materials, such as bone and clay, illustrate aspects of female costume (or its absence), where transmission and assimilation, religious and secular, may be traced especially well, as much in popular as in 'elite' urban culture within the Achaemenid Levant. Rural society is to all intents and purposes unknown to us at this time.

First, however, a word of caution is necessary. In the ancient Near East in general, as anyone who is familiar with the famous multi-ethnic delegations portrayed on the monumental reliefs at Persepolis in Iran will be aware (cf. Roaf 1983; Root 1979), distinctions between ethnic groups were regularly made on the basis of costume. For example, a Babylonian description of the installation of Cambyses, crown-prince of Cyrus, in the position of (sub) king of Babylon in 539 BC highlights its role. At a central point in the ceremony, when the divine statue was led out of the temple *cella*, Cyrus, in a Persian Robe, joined his son, robed in Babylonian costume, and preceded him in the remaining ceremonies. Thus the new imperial ruler intervened in his native costume to emphasize the subordinate position of his heir apparent, recently enthroned in local dress as King of Babylon (Kuhrt 1997, 302).

The evidence to be cited here, however, is of garments with a foreign 'accent' rather than in a foreign 'language'. Our concern is with declarations, not of specific ethnic identities, but rather of a desire to be in fashion, to emulate the garments of the families and households of the new ruling 'elite'. Fashion, notoriously, supports status. One feature of Achaemenid Persian costume is especially significant. Artworks, from across the Empire and actual garments from Scythian burials of the Achaemenid Period in central Asia, indicate the importance of sleeves in the dress of the Iranian-speaking peoples: Medes, Persians, Scythians and others. However, before the Achaemenid Period, they were not a characteristic of male or female costume west of the Zagros mountains in the Near East.

The evidence

Monumental and miniature representations of Achaemenid male dress show two forms of attire. One, the trousered 'Median' costume, particularly suited to riding, is not relevant here, though it raises the interesting question as to whether trousers were ever worn by non-Iranian men in the Levant, as may possibly be the case on an ivory comb fragment from Ashekelon (cf. Stager 1993, 109). Or did they epitomize all that was most foreign about the new overlords? The so-called Persian Robe, consisting of a long pleated garment with full sleeves, was broadly speaking common both to men and to women. Whether it consisted of one or two garments remains an open question (cf. Calmeyer 1988). The upper part certainly appears to consist of a loose cape, put on over the head and tucked into a belt at back and front. Loose pleats inserted below the elbows give the distinctive fullness of the sleeves. In art the folds of the skirt are often much accentuated and stylized. When shown frontally, there are usually two distinct groups of pleats continuing the line of the often conspicuous belt-ends. As Goldman (1991, 98) has shown: "the fully draped Persian Robe seems not to have remained in women's wardrobes after the fall of the Achaemenid Empire, [and was] replaced by the looser gowning of the Seleucids and the lighter, airier fabrics of the Parthian and Sasanian designers".

The central question here is this: to what extent did images of women in the western Achaemenid Empire reflect their role in projecting social standing by adopting foreign (i.e. Iranian) styles of dress, which were new to the region, particularly as shown on objects of daily life specific to their gender? The virtual invisibility of women in the official monumental art of the Persian Empire has already been noticed. They are only slightly less elusive in the minor and more popular arts of the Empire. However, when they do appear, the context is notable for its combination of the novel and of the traditional, of the secular and the religious. Among the provincial 'elites', notably in Turkey, this is particularly true of seal stones, predominantly now stamp rather than cylinder seals. One of many (a cylinder seal) will have to serve here as an indication of the world of women being unusually well reflected in seal designs (cf. Goldman 1991, Figs 17, 19, 23–33). This example, formerly in the de Clercq Collection, now in the Louvre, has often been illustrated (originally: Ménant 1886, ii, Pl. IX, Fig. 2). To the left, a lady of high status is seated, holding a flower up to her nose in her right hand. She wears a veil over her back, descending from her tiara, as do the ladies shown standing on a very rare decorated textile preserved in the famous frozen Scythian tombs at Pazyryk in Siberia. This was an import from a workshop to the west within the heartland of the Achaemenid Empire (cf. Rudenko 1970, Fig. 139). The tiara (or crown), originally the prerogative of the royal family, appears to have devolved during the Achaemenid Period to members of the nobility. It was also worn by supernatural beings (cf. Goldman 1991, 100, n. 32). On the seal a young boy(?) hands her a bird, probably a dove, the traditional offering for the goddess Anahita (Ishtar). In the centre of the scene is an incense burner. Behind it stands another woman wearing her veil rolled and pendant from her tiara down her back. She holds what appears to be an incense bucket, from which to replenish the burner. The parallels with the textile from Siberia are striking, not least the fact that the seated lady, like the women on the textile, has her breasts exposed. It has sometimes been suggested that the seated lady is the goddess herself; but this seems unlikely. Not only the domestic setting and the Siberian comparison suggest

otherwise; but so do other seals, on which Anahita appears isolated and distinguished in the traditional nimbus of Ishtar, sometimes even standing on her familiar animal the lion (cf. Boardman 1970, n. 878).

In a tomb of the 5th or 4th century BC found at Umm Udaina, near Amman in Jordan, a bronze caryatid incense burner was associated with pottery, glass, bronze and silver artefacts (Khalil 1986). The central stem is cast as a woman in distinctive Persian dress. However, this type of stand has pre-Achaemenid precursors west of the Zagros. All other such caryatid bronze stands that I know of, unfortunately, are without recorded find-spots to provide evidence of date; but the best known may be attributed stylistically to an 8th or 7th century BC workshop, probably in Assyria or Urartu (cf. Frankfort 1996, 103, Pl.117, n. 55; Moorey 1973, 84–85). However, the example from Jordan is the only one on which the object supported has survived. Not all the women on such stands are dressed. There are a number of comparable stands, on which the caryatid, in being naked, follows an Egypto-Phoenician rather than an Assyro-Urartean tradition. Such also is the case with the swimming girl on the well known silver ladle from the 5th or 4th century BC Tomb 650 at Tell Farah (South), excavated by Petrie. The same tomb yielded the metal frame of a couch, one corner of which is incised with several Phoenician letters (Yisraeli 1993, 444). As the draped and undraped distinction also applies to a category of mould-made clay votive plaques, which I shall be discussing in a moment, its significance will be considered then.

The impact of Iranian female dress in the Levant is also, not surprisingly in the light of these caryatids, reflected in certain pieces of cosmetic equipment, notably a series of anthropomorphic bronze kohl tubes, made as standing women wearing the Persian Robe; one in the Ashmolean Museum was acquired in Aleppo. As Culican (1975) pointed out, they all fall in a single tradition with regional variations. Here again, it would appear that some showed nude, some dressed women (Moorey 1974, n. 121 with comparanda). These have close parallels in the less costly material bone, including an example from level 3 at Al Mina (Woolley 1938, Pl. XIII: MN 207) and one, acquired in Beirut, now in the Ashmolean Museum, attributed by Harden to "Phoenicia" and dated to the 8th or 7th century BC. However she clearly wears the Persian Robe (Harden 1962, 310, Fig. 63). It seems likely that they may well have had ivory counterparts, to judge by ivory fragments from Susa carved as female figurines (Amiet, 1972, Pl. 4). It is not clear, as is the case for so many examples which are without reported sources, whether this type of anthropomorphic metal kohl tube is of Iranian origin. I am not aware of securely dated examples, before the Achaemenid Period, from anywhere in the Near East.

All these objects may be judged, save perhaps for the bone tubes, to be 'elite' equipment from within urban contexts, reflecting the impact of the latest foreign overlords, particularly amongst the community of women. As Quinten Bell (1976, 117) noted in his book *On Human Finery*: "it is because dress is above all concerned with status that it becomes hard to find any exact correspondence between its development and the demands of ideology". Were the people represented here foreigners or did the makers and users of these objects wish simply to allude to a foreign ruling group? The common denominator is more probably political rather than ideological: the fashions emulated here are significant, to the imitator in various levels of society, as part of a complex relationship, based on the dynamics of shifting political authority and power.

It is possible to take this analysis rather further, both down the social scale and the through the hierarchy of materials, as well as to see it operating in an ideological context, by reference to a series of mould-made terracotta plaques representing female figures in low relief. They had been current intermittently in the Levant since the mature Middle Bronze Age, when they appeared initially under the influence of Babylonia. There, such mass produced plaques had first appeared in the Akkadian Period (*c*.2350–2150 BC) (cf. Auerbach 1994). It is now over half a century since Riis (1948–1949) provided a typological classification of the Levantine examples, which endures as the primary point-of-reference in the absence of an up-to-date 'corpus' of them. He identified four main nude Iron Age types: on three types the females clasp or display their breasts and may only be distinguished by their hair styles; in the fourth group, their arms are held into their sides. These types derive directly from Middle and Late Bronze Age Canaanite prototypes. The dressed females sometimes display their naked breasts; sometimes they hold the right arm down into their side, whilst holding a flower in the left hand: all these are features of the gems and the Pazyryk textile, already discussed, which were not apparent on the mass produced plaques of this type found in Syro-Phoenicia before the mid 6th century BC.

A particularly instructive set of such fragmentary plaques from occupation levels of the Achaemenid Persian period have recently been reported from the Japanese excavations at Tell Mastuma, some eighty kilometres southwest of Aleppo in Syria. Most of them were found in "ash pits or in the tell accumulation layers, which both belong to Level O … three plaques … from architectural remains … one … from the round structure which was probably used as a bin … [two] from the fill of rooms … plaques found in the architectural remains are naked types" (Nishiyama and Yoshizawa 1997, 82–83). Male 'Persian rider' figurines were associated with them in ash pits, as at the other local sites Tell Denit (cf. Shaath 1990), Tell Mardikh (Matthiae *et al*. 1995) and 'Ain Dara (Abu 'Assaf 1996). The Persian period occupation at Tell Mastuma was not a major settlement, as it had been previously in Iron Age II. Of the plaque fragments recovered there, the relatively new, dressed type were

slightly out-numbered by the traditional nude type, which had their hands either cupping their breasts or held into the sides, with the face framed by a mass of hair. Occasionally bracelets and necklaces are worn, and even more rarely anklets or a girdle. On some the pubic triangle is emphasised with dots.

A fine fragment of such a plaque has recently been published from Peltenburg's (1995, Fig. 24) current excavations at Jerablus Tahtani, on which the woman exposes her breasts through openings in her dress, holds a flower and wears bird-shaped pendants. Examples of dressed females on examples from Woolley's (1938, Fig. 28, lower) excavations at Al Mina introduce a degree of ambiguity into this discussion. Whereas some (cf. Woolley 1938, Fig. 28, lower left) clearly show the Persian Robe, it has been argued that others include wearers of "the Greek style chiton with the overfold, leaving their arms bare" (Goldman 1991 n. 27). As this sleeved garment imitated the Persian Robe (cf. Miller 1997, 156–165), its presence in the later 5th to 4th century at Al Mina does not affect the thrust of the arguments for the adoption of the Persian Robe in the Levant from early in the Achaemenid Period.

Plaques of this type did not become abundant in the Iron Age Levant until the later stages of Iron Age II and into the Persian period, and then most often in Phoenicia and Syria. The nude types were a local inheritance from the Late Bronze Age; but the clothed types would appear to be an innovation of the 6th century BC (cf. Nishiyama and Yoshizawa, 1997, 85). This change has commonly, following Riis (1948–1949, 76ff), been attributed to western influences; to the impact of Aegean culture on the Phoenician region. However, though the chronological basis for any contrary argument is still insecure, the draped female figures, as the caryatid stands illustrate, and the plaques echo, are arguably part of a broadly north Mesopotamian (Assyrian) tradition, reinforced in due course, by the Iranian preference for representing non-'elite' and 'elite' women in costume. The nude female (natural and supernatural) had been an aspect of Elamite iconography in Bronze Age Iran; but it was alien to the imagery of the intrusive Iranian-speaking peoples of the Iron Age, who were to create the Achaemenid Empire. In contrast, mould made clay 'Nude Females' with their ultimate origins in 3rd millennium Egypt and Babylonia, represent in the Iron Age Levant, notably in Phoenicia, a traditionally Egypto-Canaanite phenomenon, a distinction particularly well illustrated amongst the famous 'Nimrud Ivories' of the 9th to 8th centuries BC. Those variously attributed to Assyrian, Syrian and Phoenician workshops particularly well demonstrate the contrasting usages in their representations of women and goddesses (cf. Barnett, 1982 Pls 41b, 44c, 45d) in the immediately Pre-Achaemenid Iron Age. The contrast is neatly illustrated in the 10th century BC basalt and limestone orthostats at the head of the 'Long Wall of Sculpture' at Carchemish, where a full-frontal winged nude female deity is set immediately adjacent to the enthroned draped queen, shown in profile (cf. Hawkins 1984, 76, Fig. 112).

Discussion

In the prospectus for this conference the organisers posed the following question: are cultural differences eroded through the circulation of mass produced goods, the spread of iconography, religious symbolism and architectural forms, and the establishment of empire? In general the great empires of the ancient world were multi-ethnic and culturally heterogeneous at the outset and, even within those that were long-lived, cultural homogenisation is not their most striking characteristic at the point of collapse. It needs first to be recognised that so much turns on 'receptivity' amongst the ruled, since not even first-hand contact is necessarily required for something to be imprinted upon a receptive cultural entity (Winter 1977, 379). The establishment of empire may facilitate it; but it does not necessarily stimulate it. There has first to be the will, from above, to impose conformity and then the desire, from below, to emulate and imitate, often in ways that may say more about the conquered than about the conquerors. In the Achaemenid Empire the forms, and to a degree, the decoration of material culture with marked semiotic significance – tableware, personal ornaments and clothing, and military equipment – favoured by the Great King and his Court were increasingly evident through time across the Empire. However, in artistic imagery and styles, on reliefs, seals and elsewhere, it is clear that, though they were manipulated to emphasize particular imperial ideologies, it was often in local idioms (cf. Dusinberre 1997; 1999), particularly in areas with strong local traditions distant from the homelands of the Iranian-speaking peoples. Local patrons evidently exercised a degree of choice within a well-defined framework of imperial constraint in certain areas of Anatolia.

It is extremely difficult to assess how far down through the social hierarchy cultural differences were eroded in the process. Appearances, as we have seen, might change, but what of meaning and usage? Did the very evident widespread distribution of 'elite' tableware modify manners and eating habits? Was this anymore than 'imitation' at a basic technological level? How are we to detect 'acculturation', through which imitated forms were modified to allow for differing manners and customs? I have sought to show what was involved in the Achaemenid Empire in the case of the one less privileged gender, down through the social scale in some traditional objects, utilitarian and symbolic. This was a matter, not so much of copying or reworking a given model, but rather of grafting foreign details onto traditional forms or adopting foreign fashions that reflected a desire amongst the majority of the population to 'emulate' the life-styles of the 'Persianized' ruling group, without necessarily adopting their beliefs and customs. As Miller (1997, 244) has pointed out in her recent study of cultural receptivity

between Athens and Persia: "Although the donor culture often has greater political, military, or economic power, history knows of too many examples of the reverse for power difference to provide a necessary or a sufficient explanation of receptivity: Rome received Greek culture in the 2nd century BC and Egyptian in the early Imperial period".

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23. Minoan Asherah?

Stephanie Budin

Abstract

This paper examines the possible foreign origins of the pillar base of the Judean Pillar Figurine (JPF). After considering and rejecting Mesopotamian and Levantine origins due to lack of chronologically compatible antecedents, the hypothesis of Cypriot origins is presented. The data show that Cyprus did have a pillar-based goddess image in its repertoire immediately preceding the earliest appearances of the JPF in Judea. Furthermore, there is evidence of contacts between Cyprus and Judea in the areas where and when the JPFs first appear. The mixing of the foreign pillar base with the indigenous arm positioning under the breasts led to the iconography of the JPF

The essay then considers the origins of the pillar-based idol in Cyprus, noting that it emerged from the 'hoop-skirt' base of the Goddess With Upraised Arms idols that were introduced onto Cyprus by Aegean colonists. Finally, the meaning of the JPF is considered. The theory is presented that, in spite of the foreign influence, the Judeans thought of the JPFs as distinctly their own, and the JPFs were used in contrast to the more eroticised Ištar and Aštart images of Phoenicia and Assyria.

Introduction

The Judean Pillar Figurine (henceforth JPF), first discovered in the 19th century (Kletter 1996, 10), is a distinctive style of female figurine found prevalent throughout the Iron Age geographic region of Judah. The images (Figure 23.1) show either a mould-made or hand-made head and face, prominent breasts, arms that extend out from the body so that the hands rest under and support the breasts, and – the most distinctive characteristic of all – a pillar-shaped, free-standing base. The figurines were originally coated with a white wash and painted, although this slip seldom survives. (Barkay, pers. comm.). They are exclusively an Iron Age phenomenon: while they are most prevalent during the 8th–7th centuries BC in Judah, the earliest examples date back into the late 10th or, perhaps safer, early 9th century BC. They are most frequently found either in domestic or funerary contexts, or as refuse in pits or cisterns (Kletter 1996, 61). The uniqueness of their pillar bases is appreciated when seen in contrast to the female iconography of the Near Eastern Bronze and Iron Ages (Figure 23.2). These show images familiar to any Mesopotamian or Syrian art historian, to wit, a nude female, usually *en face*, either using her arms to accentuate her sexual characteristics (genitalia or breasts) or to hold floral or faunal motifs to her sides. In some cases, she may also hold either a child or some round object (a tambourine?) before her chest.

The two most common questions concerning these images are: a) what is their relationship to the Biblical *asherah*, the man-made, probably pillar- or tree-like cult object with possible associations with the goddess of the same name (Perlman 1978, Chapter 2; Wiggins 1993, 130) and b) what is the origin of these images? It is the latter issue that I intend to address in this paper. Specifically, what is the origin of the pillar-shaped base that has given rise to the previously mentioned asherah question? Is it an indigenous development, perhaps rendered so as to imitate the "Asherahs on every high hill and under every luxuriant tree" (2 Kings 17.10), or was this motif brought in from abroad and adopted by the Judean population?

History and methodology

There have been various hypotheses as to the origins of the JPFs in the last century, all more or less falling into four distinct groups. The Mesopotamian hypothesis made by Pritchard in 1943, claims that the JPFs are Mesopotamian in origin as *per comparanda* from such central Mesopotamian sites as Uruk, Tell Asmar, and Ashur

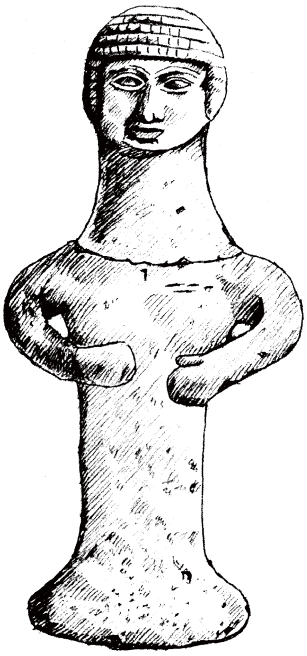


Fig. 23.1 Asherah figurine. From Tell Duweir. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Gift of Harris P. Colt and Dunscombe Colt, 1934 (Patai 1990: Plate 1).



Fig. 23.2 "Gold 'Astarte Plaque' from Ugarit/Ras Shamra." Musee du Louvre, AO 14.714 (Budin 2002: 318).

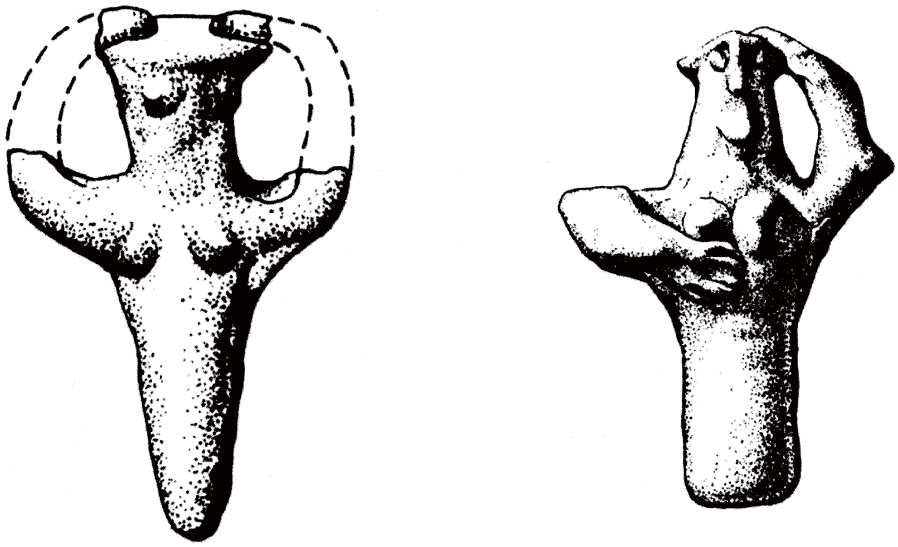


Fig. 23.3 "Mourning Figures from a) Tell Jemmeh and b) Azor." (Dothan, Trude and Moshe 1992, 201).

(Pritchard 1943, 58). Sass and Uehlinger espoused an Assyrian-Phoenician hypothesis in their 1993 publication of Near Eastern divine iconography (Sass and Uehlinger 1993). A Cypriot hypothesis, put forth by Albright in 1939 and Winter in 1983, claims that the figurines are inspired by Cypriot styles prevalent at the same time, with Albright even arguing that the heads of the mould-made images are actually produced in and exported from Cyprus to Judah (Albright 1939, 117–119; Winter 1983, 124). Finally, there is the argument for indigenous development, most recently espoused by Kletter (1996). He stated quite adamantly that, based on geographic distribution, the JPFs are pointedly Judean in origin (Kletter 1996, 45). In this final hypothesis, Kletter suggests no possibilities that the figurines, or aspects of the figurines, might be of foreign influence or derivation. For the sake of completeness, I would also like to mention one last possible hypothesis: that of Philistine origins. Pillar-based figurines with breasts and arms in a position of 'mourning' have come to light at such Philistine settlements as Tel Jemmeh and Azor (Figures 23.3a and 23.3b) (Dothan and Dothan 1992, 201). To the best of my knowledge, though, no one has

considered these as predecessors to the JPFs, and, thus, there is no 'Philistine' argument in this respect. This hypothesis will be considered further below.

My intention here is to give a critical examination of these various schools of thought and to establish a methodology to see if it is possible to determine if any of these hypotheses has a greater claim to accuracy than the others. The argument for the possibility of origin will be based on the following criteria:

1. Suitable *comparanda* (a pillar-based, female style, preferably with emphasis on the breasts).
2. Suitable *comparanda* adequately close in time to the emergence of the JPFs.
3. Contacts between Judah and possible place of origin during the emergence of the JPFs in Judah.

One final statement must be made concerning this methodology, and that is that I do not consider any nude, female figurine with legs to be a cognate of the JPF or its base. Thus, the Syrian Bird-faced figurines or the Levantine 'Astarte Plaques' as they are called may not be considered as suitable comparanda, although, as we shall see, they do have their own part to play in the evolution of the upper portions of the JPFs.

For the sake of simplicity, I am going to consider three hypothetical origins for the JPFs and their bases: Mesopotamian, Indigenous/Palestinian, and Cypriot. As there are no suitable cognates to the JPFs in Phoenicia, the first criterion of the methodology is not met, and, thus, the Phoenician origin speculated by Sass and Uehlinger is not viable.

The Philistine argument deserves further examination. The early date of the images from the Philistine sites in comparison to the date of the earliest JPFs (a 200 year difference) makes a Philistine hypothesis quite unlikely. Two further pieces of data argue against a possible Philistine origin for the JPFs. The first is that these images appear attached to the rims of kraters, in contrast to the free standing JPFs, and thus are decorative. The second is that, according to the Dothans, these female images from Philistia appear in two styles; pillar-based and with visible legs (Dothan and Dothan 1992, 200–201). As legs and genitalia appear to be 'optional' aspects of the iconography, the pillar-shaped bases may be due to a simplified, schematic representation, rather than a specific aspect of the image's iconography. Nevertheless, as the Dothans have argued, the pillar-based versions of these figurines have their closest cognates in the Aegean, a fact that will have greater meaning in the course of this study.

Mesopotamia

To begin with the argument for Mesopotamia, as Pritchard noted, there are in fact good cognates to the JPFs in Mesopotamia and Syria, notably at the sites of Ebla, Hama, Tell Ta'yinat, Tell Brak, Tell Chuera, Harran, Selenkahiye, Habuba Kabira, Tello, Larsa, Kish, Dur-Sharrukin, Ashur, Uruk and Tell Asmar. However, not one of these sites has produced a female pillar-based figurine within the relevant chronology. At almost all of these sites the pillar-based figurines come from 3rd-millennium contexts. A second millennium context is discernible for Hama (18th century), Selenkahiye (but no later than *c.*1900 BC), Tello (18th century), Kish (1750 BC), and Ashur (early 2nd millennium). At the far end of the chronological spectrum are examples from Hama, Dur-Sharrukin and Kish, dating to the 7th and 6th centuries, and thus too late to be forerunners to the JPFs. They may be actually inspired by them (Badre 1980, passim; Barrelet 1968, passim.). While the Mesopotamian hypothesis might satisfy two of the stated requirements, suitable *comparanda* and timely contact, the comparable figurines are at least a millennium too early or a few centuries too late to serve as prototypes for the JPFs. As such, the Mesopotamian hypothesis is not viable.

Indigenous

This leaves the hypotheses of indigenous versus Cypriot origin. The unique aspect of the JPFs and their primarily Judean contexts do argue in favour of the indigenous hypothesis. However, this hypothesis does raise some difficult questions in explaining the origins of these rather unique images. The first, quite simply, is the question of how the pillar-base comes into being. As shown above, there are no contemporary pillar-based figurines in the Levant or Mesopotamia within about 1000 years of the emergence of the JPFs. Could the pillar-shaped base simply have emerged with no predecessors and with no trace of evolution in Judah?

The most practical answer to this question appeals to function: the pillar base was invented so that the images might stand upright. This hypothesis is supported by the appearance of alternate pillar-based images in Judah in the Early Iron Age, notably oil lamps and bird figurines (Kletter 1996, 250–252), suggesting a new means of display.

This practical answer, though, does not address the second question, which is: why were the residents of Judah willing to abandon one of the most important aspects of Levantine female iconography, i.e. the prominent display of the lower body and the genitalia? An upright female image still displaying the lower body was certainly possible, as is evidenced by the Philistine images mentioned above, as well as the so-called 'Astarte' images used to decorate Iron Age model shrines from Tel Qasile and Akhziv, where nude, fully rendered females are set standing on either side of the shrine entrance. (Culican 1976, 53; Mazar 1980, 82).

The fact that a completely new style of female figurine appeared without precedent and in strong contrast to the well established and widespread traditional iconography firmly suggests that external influence was involved. The evidence from Cyprus suggests that it was a likely source.

Cyprus

Beginning with the first criteria, there is a cognate to the JPF in Cyprus during the relevant period of time. As early as the 11th century BC, and quite prevalent in the Cypro-Geometric II–III periods (950–750 BC), there existed in Cyprus a common style of female figurine known as the Goddess With Upraised Arms (Figure 23.4; to be distinguished from the earlier, Minoan Goddess With Upraised Arms). These figurines have cylindrical bodies, either solid or hollow, breasts in relief, flat tiaras (or none) and accentuated facial characteristics. While the upper sections of the figurines are distinct from those of the JPFs, notably in the arms positioning (raised versus supporting breasts), the style and construction of the pillar-shaped bases are similar, if not identical. Thus, Cyprus has the necessary cognates much closer in time than the Mesopotamian versions.

The more critical consideration in this instance is the issue of contacts between Cyprus and Judah during the relevant chronology. Thanks to recent work by Gilboa based on excavations at Tel Dor, we now have a much clearer picture of early contacts and trade between Cyprus and the southern Levant. There is now evidence of trade between these two regions dating back as early as the 11th century BC, which shows continuation into the 10th century and beyond. The sites that show early Iron Age contacts with Cyprus are (see Figure 23.12): Akhziv, Tell Abu Hawam, Dor, Megiddo, Tel Zeror, Beth Shan, Tel Qasile, Tel en-Nasbeh, Tel el-Ful, Ashdod, Beth Shemesh, Lachish, Tel Jemmeh, Tel Beit Mirsim, Tel el-Far'ah, Tel ez-Zuweyid, and Tel Beer Sheba (Gilboa 1989, *passim*).

The earliest JPFs, dating from the late 10th/early 9th centuries–8th centuries BC come from: Beth Shemesh, Tel Beer Sheba, Tel Qasile, Tel Erani, Lachish and Arad (see Figure 23.12). Save for Arad, all of these sites have brought to light either Cypriot pottery or, in the case of Tel Erani, Philistine ware from as early as the 11th century, continuing into the 10th and 9th centuries, and so into our period of consideration. Tel Qasile yielded four sherds of White Painted Ware from Stratum X (two possibly from IX, intruding into Stratum X), dating to *c.*1050–980 BC (Gilboa 1989, 212; Mazar *et al.* 1985, 81). Beth Shemesh brought forth Cypriot juglets (2 or 3) and a White Painted Ware I bowl from Stratum III (1200–1000 BC), and Cypriot juglets of Phase II (early Iron IIB, *c.*900 BC) (Gilboa 1989, 214). Grave 147 in Lachish, dated to 850–800 BC, yielded two juglets identified as Cypriot by Gjerstad (Tufnell 1953, 297). A plethora of Black-on-Red Ware is divided between Tombs 218, 224, and 1002, which cover the period of the 10th to 9th centuries. Other Cypriot wares from Lachish come from Cave 6024, Grave 110, and Tombs 218, 6006, 224, and 1002 (Tufnell 1953, 298–299). Tel Beer Sheba yielded a few Philistine sherds from Stratum IX (*c.*1100 BC), while Strata VII and VI brought forth Black-on-Red Ware of *c.*1025–975 BC (Herzog 1984, 63).

In general, the earliest find spots for the JPFs and contemporary evidence of Cypriot wares in Iron Age Israel are a) along the coast/in Philistia (Tel Qasile, Tel Erani), and b) in the Judean hill country. Therefore, the third criterion of the methodology is met, and Cyprus could possibly be the origin of the pillar-shaped base of the JPF. Of special significance appears to be Beth Shemesh:

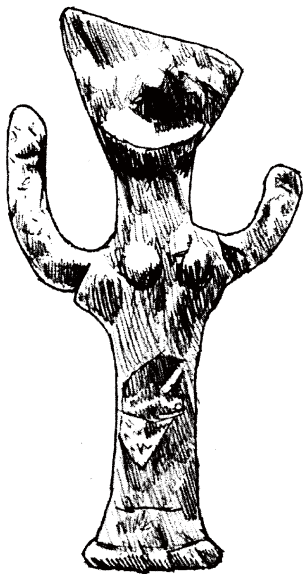


Fig. 23.4 "Cypriot Goddess with Upraised Arms" from Kition. Cyprus Museum, 381 CM (Karageorghis 1977, Plate 21a).

1. from where the earliest known JPF comes;
2. which was a major site for the discovery of JPFs;
3. which has very early contacts with Cyprus; and
4. which is very close to Jerusalem, where the greatest number of JPFs were ultimately found.

This may be a critical link in the adoption, adaptation, and distribution of the pillar-based motif.

Aegean origins

However, the pillar-shaped base has its own evolution in Cyprus and derives ultimately from the bell-shaped bases of the Aegean Goddess With Upraised Arms. As such, the search for origins does not terminate in Cyprus, but in Crete. The bell-shaped-bottomed Goddess With Upraised Arms (Figure 23.5), which dates back to the Middle Minoan period in Crete and up into the Mycenaean period, makes its way into Cyprus in two distinct pathways. In the Late Bronze Age, Aegean *psi* (Figure 23.6) and *phi* figurines begin to appear in Cyprus, possibly serving as a sign of elite status via foreign contacts (Begg 1991, 53ff). These small images are the result of a simplification of the Goddess With Upraised Arms. In the 11th century BC, somewhat more distinctively Cretan versions of the Goddess With Upraised Arms appear on Cyprus, possibly through the arrival of Cretan colonists/refugees during



Fig. 23.5 "Large terracotta figurine of a goddess wearing a crown of poppy-heads from Gazi near Knossos." Herakleion Museum (Higgins 1989,126, Fig. 152).

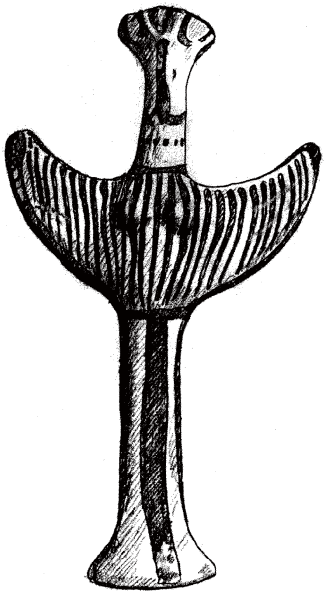


Fig. 23.6 "Psi-shaped figurine from Zeli, Locris." LH IIIB. Lamia, Archaeological Collection BE 1049 (Mycenaean World 1988, 130, Fig. 72).

the 'second wave' of Aegean immigration into Cyprus in that century.

As early as the 11th century, there are also examples of solid-pillar-based versions of the Goddess With Upraised Arms. Over time, in the Cypro-Geometric I period, the 'hoop-skirts' narrow rather consistently, leading to the hollow or solid pillar-shaped bases which serve as our parallel for the JPFs. Ultimately, then, the origin of the pillar-shaped base of the JPF may not just be Cyprus, but Crete by way of Cyprus.

Mixing iconographies

While the pillar base has clear antecedents in the Aegean and Cyprus, the positioning of the arms (consistently under the breasts) is, as mentioned above, a long-standing Near Eastern tradition. The entire JPF cannot be said to derive from Cypriot or Aegean influence, as the torso region of the image is clearly traditionally Levantine, while the heads of the mould-made images even have certain Egyptianising features and associations. The mixing of these different, and distinct, iconographies in Judah supports the hypothesis of indigenous development, only now seen as a development based on foreign influences rather than as a purely indigenous one.

That the JPFs result from a mixing of Levantine and Cypriot iconographies is supported by the presence on Cyprus of a Plain Ware figurine style which, in almost all aspects, pre-figures the JPF (Figure 23.7). These LC IIIA-B Plain Ware figurines are freestanding, hollow-bodied females with a columnar base, moulded breasts, and arms curving out from the torso so that the hands are under the breasts (Karageorghis 1993, 26 ff). Facial features are hand-made in moulding, and additional details (a belt?, hair) are rendered in paint. These figurines only exist in Cyprus around 1200 BC, with no examples extant between these Bronze Age versions and the appearance of the JPFs, so it is not possible that these are direct forerunners of the JPFs.

As I argue for the JPFs, these Plain Ware figurines are the result of a mixture of Levantine and Aegean iconographies. The Levantine influence derives from the bird-faced figurines (Figure 23.8) that begin to appear on Cyprus in the Late Cypriot II period. This is most evident in the positioning of the arms that serve to emphasize the breasts. The Aegean influence is evident in both the columnar base and the decoration with paint, both of which might be attributable to the *phi* and *psi* figurines. Thus, (Figure 23.9) a Levantine bird-faced figurine plus an Aegean *psi* figurine equals the Plain Ware Cypriot equivalent of the Judean Pillar Figurine.

It is possible that the JPFs resulted from a similar mixing of identical iconographies. The consistent arm positioning of the JPFs, with hands supporting the breasts, appears to derive from a long-standing iconographic tradition in the Near East, most notable perhaps on the Syrian bird-faced figurines that were so influential on Cyprus (Figure 23.10). The pillar-shaped base is the result of influence from Cyprus, a form ultimately derived and evolved from the Minoan bell-shaped base of the Goddess With Upraised Arms. Likewise, the white slip and painted decoration which originally adorned the JPFs is a distinctively Aegean decorating technique which begins to appear in Cyprus in the LC II period, once again probably due to the influence of the *phi* and *psi* figurines. Thus, as shown on Figure 23.11, the Aegean Goddess

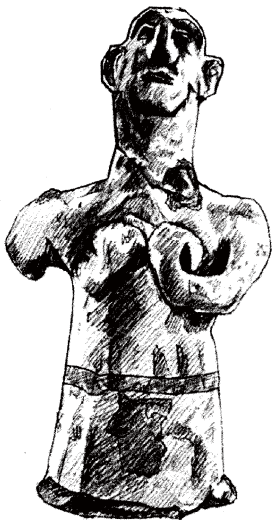


Fig. 23.7 "Free-Standing Plain Ware Female Figurine" Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, 124 (Karageorghis 1993, Pl. XVII, Fig. 1, catalogue number K(i)1).

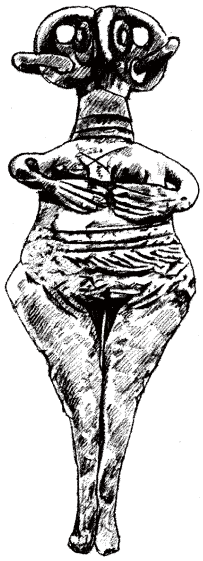


Fig. 23.8 "Bird Faced Figurine from Hala Sultan Teke." Larnaca District Museum. 1021 (Karageorghis 1993, Pl. II, Fig. 1, catalogue number A(i)8).

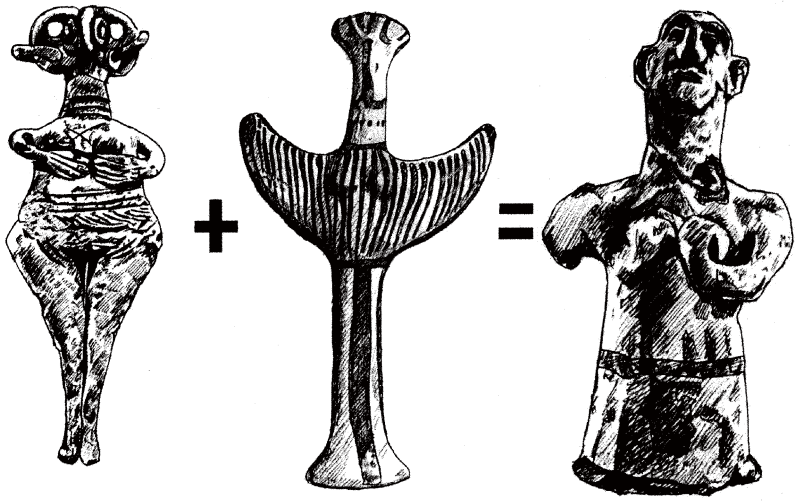


Fig. 23.9 Transformations in figures 6 and 8 lead to figure 7.

With Upraised Arms figurine is transferred to Cypriot pillar-based Goddess With Upraised Arms, plus Bird-faced figurine, equals JPF (Figure 23.11). In the end, this particular combination – pillar base with arms supporting breasts – is specific and unique to Judah (as mentioned above, the Cypriot equivalents are about 300 years to soon to serve as forerunners, and both are the result of independent, though similar, development). As such, it is not irrational to support the hypothesis of indigenous development for the image as a whole. When broken down into its constituent parts, however, the upper body clearly has its origins in the long-standing Near Eastern figurine tradition, while the pillar-shaped base owes its existence to the bell-bottomed Goddess With Upraised Arms of the Aegean *koine*, adapted and narrowed by the Cypriots.

Assimilation

If the JPFs were in fact adopted and adapted from a Cypriot prototype, the questions which remain are: a) why did it take over a century for the JPF to become common in Judah? and b) why did societies far more heavily in contact with Cyprus, such as Phoenicia, not adopt the pillar-based image into their own local iconographies? While the earliest JPFs begin to appear in the late 10th/ early 9th centuries BC, they only become prominent in the 8th and 7th centuries. Likewise, Phoenicia went so far as to colonise Cyprus and had both direct and indirect contacts with the Aegean. Yet, to date, such pillar-based figurines do not appear in the Phoenician repertoire. While Phoenicia is yet far from fully excavated, the lack of such images even from a random sampling of Phoenician items

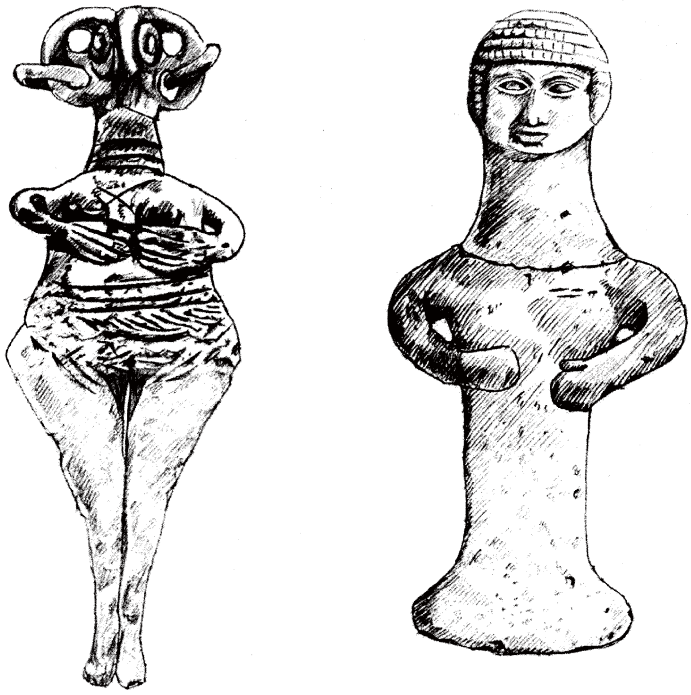


Fig. 23.10 Similarity in form shown between figures 8 and 1.

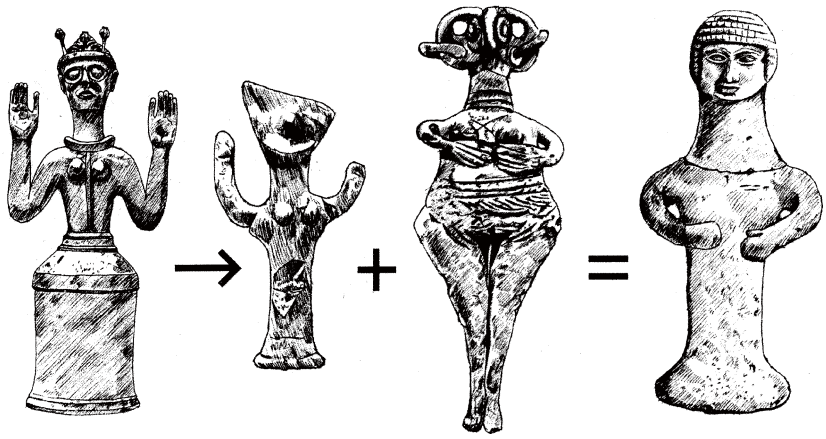


Fig. 23.11 Transformations over time in iconography of figures 4, 5 and 8 lead to figure 1.

throughout the Mediterranean strongly suggests the overall lack of such an image in the iconography.

I believe that the answer to both of these questions lies in the contrast the JPFs provided to the traditional Levantine female divine iconography, specifically in the portrayal of the sexual attributes. The pillar-shaped base covers, hides, or otherwise deletes the most consistently significant attribute of Levantine female iconography: the prominent display of the genitalia. This attribute is expressed and, frequently, exaggerated on the majority of Near Eastern female iconography since the late 3rd millennium (Figure 23.2). The pillar base clearly nullifies any potential for representing, much less exaggerating, the genitalia, but nevertheless continues to make use of the depiction and emphasis on the breasts. This suggests that we are dealing with an image still in the same category as the earlier images, where the act of holding the breasts remains a significant aspect of iconography, but where the genitalia, possibly the more erotic aspect of the image in question, is either no longer relevant, or is suppressed. This contrast to the previous millennia's iconography probably accounts for the slow adoption of this motif in the Levant, when it occurs at all.

Three hypotheses come to the fore to explain why this new iconography becomes acceptable and prominent in the 8th century. One is a change in the culture or ideology of Judah in the Iron Age that negates the iconographic value of the display of the genitalia. This hypothesis may receive some support from the Old Testament, where, to quote S. R. Keller, "The exposed human body is rarely, if

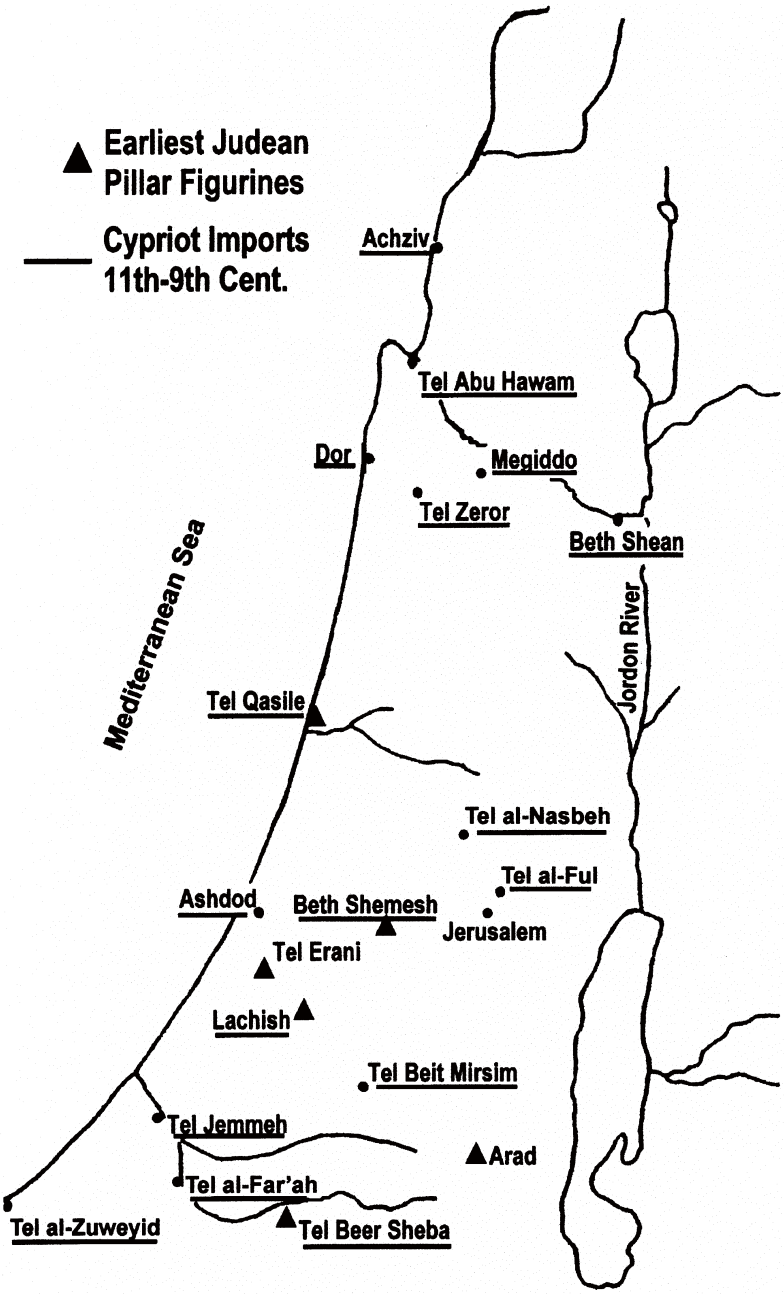


Fig. 23.12 Map of Levant during the Iron Age.

ever, glorified in the narrative Biblical text" (Keller 1992–1993, 32). A new era of 'prudishness' may account for a sudden interest in, or need for, a less blatantly erotic female image.

The second hypothesis is, of course, the Asherah hypothesis: if these images represent goddesses, then the JPFs might represent Asherah, with a base that would not only emphasize her tree- or pillar-like associations, but would clearly render her distinct from the more erotic Ištars and Aštarôth of the surrounding regions.

It is this matter of distinction or difference that, I believe, is of ultimate importance for the pillar-shaped base. The third hypothesis is historical, suggesting that the JPFs become prominent in the 8th century when the threat from Assyria is at its worst. They continue in popularity until the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 BC, when Judah loses its sovereignty entirely. The JPFs appear in quantity when Judah was desperately trying to maintain its independence of rule and culture, and the use of the pillar-based 'Asherah' images may have been used in opposition to the nude and heavily eroticised images from Assyria to the east and Phoenicia to the north.

In the end, then, it was not the foreign quality of the JPFs that made them popular. A century (or more) after adoption and after considerable Levantine and even Egyptian iconographic influence on the upper portions of

the images, it is rather unlikely that a Cypriot origin of any part of the figurines was even remembered. By contrast, it appears that the JPFs were so thoroughly assimilated into the Judaic iconography that they came to be thought of as purely local; the Judean female figurine offered a contrast to the sexual 'Astarte' plaques of Judah's menacing neighbours.

Acknowledgements

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Appendix

Basic chronology

Israel (cf. Barkay in Ben-Tor 1992)

Iron Age I:	1200–1000 BC
Iron Age Iia:	10th–9th centuries BC
Iron Age IIb:	8th century BC
Iron Age IIIa:	7th–early 6th centuries BC
Iron Age IIIb:	586–late 6th century BC

Cyprus (cf. Karageorghis 1993)

Cypro-Geometric I:	1050–950 BC
Cypro-Geometric II:	950–850 BC
Cypro-Geometric III:	850–750 BC

Mesopotamian pillar-based figurines

Ebla: Pillar-based figurines attestable to 2400–2300 BC. By 2000 BC they have legs.

Hama: About a handful of pillar-based figurines in Level J, datable to 24th–21st centuries BC. Badre lists one in Level H, datable to the 18th century BC, and one from Level E, datable to the 8th century BC (influence from Judah?).

Tell Ta'yinat: One pillar-based figurine (minus head) from 'Phase II', probably A-J. Datable (?) to 2900–2500 BC.

Tell Brak: One pillar-based figurine from the palace of Naram-Sîn, datable to the late 3rd millennium.

Tell Chuera: Several pillar-based figurines from this site, all datable to the 3rd millennium.

Harran: One pillar base (top broken off) from the Akkadian Era (3rd millennium BC).

Selenkahiye: At least a third of the figurines from this site are pillar based. All date from 2400–1900 BC.

Habuba Kabira: About a handful of pillar-based figurines from this site, all datable to late 4th millennium at the latest.

Tello: All date from late 3rd millennium through 18th century BC.

Larsa: All late 3rd millennium.

Kish: One unknown. One no later than 1750 BC, and one from *c*.6th century BC.

Dur Sharrukin: Neo-Assyrian.

Ashur: All late 3rd millennium, one early 2nd millennium.

Uruk: All early.

Tel Asmar: All early.

Earliest examples of JPFs

Beth Shemesh:	10–9th century
Tel Beer Sheba:	10–9th century
Tel Qasile:	9th century
Tel Erani:	9th century
Arad:	9–8th century
Lachish:	9–8th century

Cypriot connections with Near Eastern sites with JPFs listed above:

Beth Shemesh: Cypriote juglets (2 or 3) from Stratum III (1200–1000 BC) (Grant and Wright 1939, 132–133). White painted I bowl of Stratum III, close of 11th century (Gilboa 1989, 214). Cypriot juglets of Phase II (early Iron IIb, *c*.900 BC) (Grant and Wright 1939, 139–140).

Tel Beer Sheba: A few Philistine sherds come from Stratum IX (*c*.1100 BC), while Strata VII and VI yielded Back-on-Red Cypro-Phoenician Ware (*c*.1025–975 BC).(Herzog 1984, 63).

Tel Qasile: Four shards of White-Painted Ware come from Stratum X (two possibly from IX, intruding into Stratum X), dating to *c*.1050–980 BC (Mazar 1985, 81; Gilboa 1989, 212).

Tel Erani: Philistine site, with the Iron I period dominated by Philistine Wares.

Arad: Iron Age fort settlement in interior. No foreign wares mentioned in site report.

Lachish: Grave 147 yielded two juglets identified as Cypriot by Gjerstad. The tomb dates to 850–800 BC. (Tufnell 1953, 297). The majority of the Black-on-Red Ware is divided between Tombs 218, 224 and 1002, which cover the period of the 10th to 9th centuries BC. Cypriot Wares come from Cave 6024, Grave 110, Tomb 218, Tomb 6006, Tomb 224 and Tomb 1002.(*Ibid.*, 298–299)

Earliest Cypriot pottery in Palestine in the Iron Age

Akhziv	11th-century cist graves (Mazar 1977)
Tell Abu Hawam	late 11th-10th century (Balensi 1980)
Tel Zeror	2½ of 11th century (Ohata ed. 1967)
Tel Qasile	1050–980 BC (Mazar 1985)
Ashdod	first quarter of 10th century (Dothan and Porath 1982)
Tell Jemmeh (?)	10th century (Petrie 1928)
Tell el-Far'ah	1000 BC or later (Petrie 1930)
Tell Beit Mirsim	1150–1075 BC or later (Greenberg 1987)
Beth Shemesh	late 11th century
Tell el-Ful	11th century, or as late as 990 (Grant and Wright 1939)
Megiddo	end of 11th or beginning of 10th (Guy 1938)
Beth Shean	date uncertain

10th-century sites remain same and similar (Gilboa 1989, 215)

Main find sites of JPFs

Jerusalem (405)	
Tel en-Nasbeh (143)	(early contacts with Cyprus)
Beth Shemesh (30)	(early contacts with Cyprus)
Lachish (29)	(early contacts with Cyprus)
Tel Beit Mirsim (37)	(early contacts with Cyprus)
Tel Beer Sheeba (43)	(early Cypro-Phoenician Ware)

Cypriot influence at sites with Most JPFs

Tel en-Nasbeh: Wampler notes at least 5 Cypriote or Cypro-Phoenician imports at the site, two of which he specifically identifies as Cypriote (873 and 874). The former he dates to 1100–850 BC, the latter to a 7th century locus. Of the last three, two are to be dated to the 7th century and one to the EI period (Wampler 1947, 155).

Beth Shemesh: Cypriote juglets (2 or 3) from Stratum III (1200–1000 BC) (Grant and Wright 1939, 132–133). White painted I bowl of Stratum III, close of 11th century (Gilboa 1989, 214). Cypriot juglets of Phase II (early Iron IIb, *c*.900 BC) (Grant and Wright 1939, 139–140).

Lachish: Grave 147 yielded two juglets identified as Cypriot by Gjerstad. The tomb dates to 850–800 BC. (Tufnell 1953, 297). The majority of the Black-on-Red Ware is divided between Tombs 218, 224 and 1002, which cover the period of the 10th to 9th centuries BC. Cypriot Wares come from Cave 6024, Grave 110, Tomb 218, Tomb 6006, Tomb 224 and Tomb 1002 (ibid., 298–299).

Tel Beit Mirsim: Silo 43 (second quarter of 11th century BC) one sherd Cypro-Phoenician ware; one Cypriote juglet. Silo 6 (1150–10th century BC) torso of ointment vase, Cypriote import.

Tel Beer Sheba: A few Philistine sherds come from Stratum IX (*c*.1100 BC), while Strata VII and VI yielded Back-on-Red Cypro-Phoenician Ware (*c*.1025–975 BC) (Herzog 1984, 63).

24. The worship of Anat and Astarte in Cypriot Iron Age sanctuaries

Anja Ulbrich

Abstract

This paper reviews the epigraphic, iconographic and other archaeological evidence for the worship of Anat and Astarte in Cypriot Iron Age sanctuaries according to its validity. Such evidence comes exclusively from urban sanctuaries of the city-kingdoms. Only for Lapithos and Kition do inscriptions attest to the actual practice of Phoenician cults in Cyprus, but only by Phoenicians. On the other hand, votive sculptures representing goddesses of Near Eastern origin, such as Hathor capitals and Astarte figurines were found in most of the city-kingdoms urban sanctuaries. This paper considers whether these indicate a transmission, adoption and adaptation merely of Near Eastern iconographic types as adequate representations of a local goddess, or of Phoenician or Egyptianising religious and cultic practices.

Introduction

Cyprus, the proverbial cross-roads between Orient and Occident, is commonly perceived as the first stepping stone in the westward expansion of the Phoenicians arriving on the island from their homelands at the Syro-Palestinian coast sometime in the late 10th century BC (cf. Lipinski 1995, 24–26). More than 200 Phoenician inscriptions and other archaeological evidence indicate not only trade between both regions, but actual Phoenician settlement on the island, especially in the coastal and the eastern parts. This applies particularly to the city-kingdom of Kition, Lapithos, which was possibly (re-) founded by Phoenicians and also to Amathous, Idalion, Tamassos and Paphos (e.g. Masson and Sznycer 1972; Reyes 1994, 18–21; Seibert 1976, 3–28. For location of the city-kingdoms of Cyprus see Figure 24.1.) At these sites, significant groups of new Phoenician settlers lived side by side with the previous inhabitants, the Cypriots (Reyes 1994, 21), who in the literature are commonly divided into 'Eteo-Cypriots' and 'Greeks' or 'Greek Cypriots', but who cannot be distinguished clearly on the basis of archaeological evidence (Reyes 1994, 1–17).

The Cypriot population at the beginning of the Iron Age had evolved in the course of multiple waves of immigration in the Neolithic period from the Levant and Anatolia, and later in the Late Bronze Age from the Aegean. Because all of these settlers had brought with them aspects of their cultures, including religion, a characteristic, though regionally diverse Cypriot culture and religion had emerged that combined locally developed traditions with Levantine and Aegean features of the Late Bronze Age. This mixed cultural *milieu* on Cyprus was confronted with a new cultural wave in the form of the arrival of Phoenician settlers, and the subsequent constant contact with Phoenicians by trade within Cyprus and abroad (most concise survey still in Karageorghis 1982).

Inscriptions attest to the worship of various Phoenician gods in Cyprus, among them Eshmun, Melqart, Baal, Resheph, Astarte, and Anat (cf. Lipinski 1995, 289; Masson 1960, 137–142). However, the evidence from sanctuary sites all over Cyprus indicates that the local (non-Phoenician) Cypriots continued to worship local gods, mainly their 'Great Goddess' identified in the Greek literature since Homer with Aphrodite or Kypris (cf. most recently Pirenne-Delforge 1994, 309–369 with further references; Bennett 1980, 270–322). Also worshipped was a male god identified in Cypro-syllabic and alphabetic Greek dedicatory inscriptions from Cyprus with Apollo (cf. Bennett 1980, 322–357) or Zeus (cf. Bennett 1980, 453–471).

Reviewing the epigraphical and contextual evidence for the worship of Phoenician Astarte and Anat in Archaic and Classical Cyprus, this paper will attempt to elucidate the following questions:

1. What role did those goddesses play in Cypriot religious life, especially with regard to the ubiquitous cult of the Cypriot Aphrodite?
2. Is there any evidence of adoption, adaptation and possibly transformation of those cults by the (non-Phoenician) Cypriots?

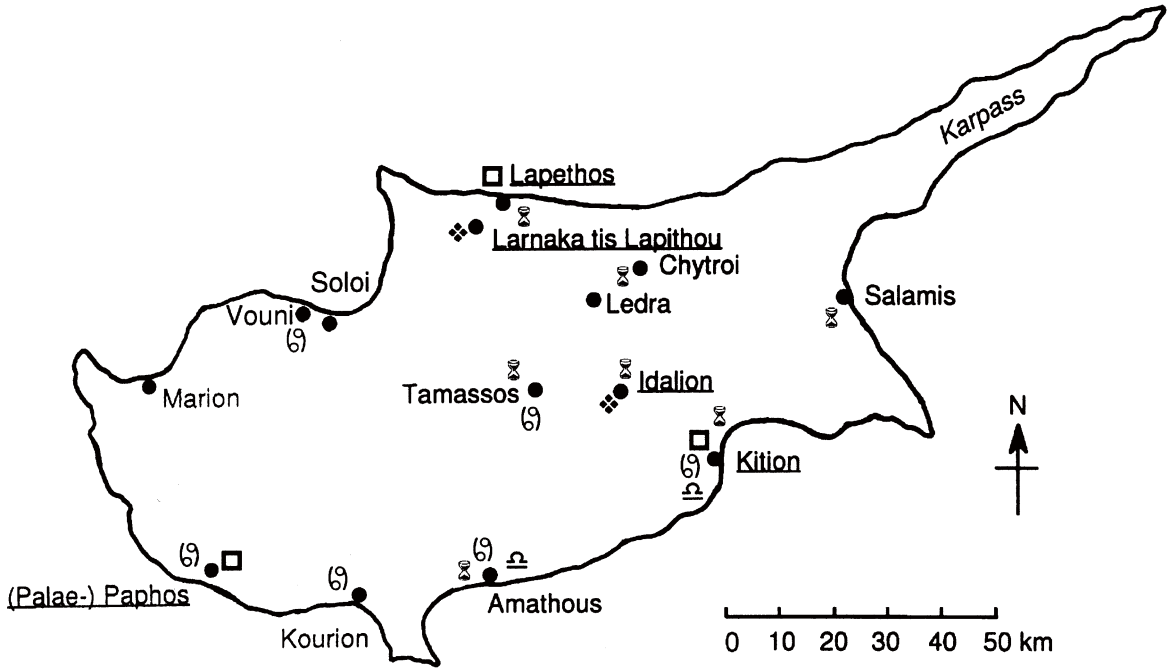


Fig. 24.1 Distribution of inscriptions attesting to the worship of Anat (❖) and Astarte (□), of Hathor capitals (♋), of Astarte figurines (⌛; not complete) and of dea gravida (♎).

3. On what level and by what mechanisms did such a process of cultural transmission evolve?

Such principal questions can only be pursued through analysis of the evidence for the worship of Anat and Astarte with regard to the evidence for the cults of all female deities in Cyprus, especially from the sanctuary sites proper. The following points must be addressed:

1. Were the Near Eastern cults practised separately from Cypriot cults in special sanctuaries or were they practised side by side with Cypriot cults in common sanctuaries?
2. Who were the people who dedicated votive gifts to Anat and Astarte?
3. Does the archaeological evidence from sanctuaries in which these goddesses were worshipped differ from other Cypriot sanctuaries, and if so, in which ways and how strongly?
4. Is there any non-epigraphic evidence from those sanctuaries which is diagnostic for the cults of Anat and Astarte, and which can also be found in epigraphically unidentified sanctuaries?

About 260 sanctuary sites existed in Cyprus during the Archaic and Classical period. Evidence from these sites ranges from dedicatory inscriptions found isolated or in secondary contexts or a few fragments of votive sculpture to wholly excavated sites with substantial assemblages of votive gifts, mostly votive sculptures, altars and architecture (for a site catalogue and the following observations cf. Ulbrich, 2005). Of those, only a very few sites can be assigned to a particular goddess (13), a god (3) or a divine couple (4) through dedicatory inscriptions mentioning the titles or names of deities. The votive sculpture from those epigraphically identified sanctuaries, however, shows clearly that the gender of the deity was the major factor in the iconographic types of votive sculpture (cf. Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 322–323). For example, the sanctuary of 'Resheph/Apollo' at Tamassos-*Frangissa* yielded votive sculpture representing exclusively male votaries and a few images of gods (Buchholz 1991). In comparison the votive sculpture from the sanctuary of 'Aphrodite Kypria' at Amathous consists of mostly female votaries and exclusively female representations of a goddess (Hermary 2000, 167). Due to such diagnostic votive assemblages, about half of the epigraphically unidentified sites can be more or less securely assigned to either a goddess (*c.* 40), a god (*c.* 50) or to a divine couple (*c.* 20). The rest of the sites cannot be attributed with any certainty, due to the state of conservation of the votive sculpture.

While the worship of Anat is only epigraphically attested at Idalion and Larnaka tis Lapithou near Lapithos, the cult of Astarte is indicated by inscriptions from Kition, Paphos and Larnaka tis Lapithou. The nature of both goddesses, including the somewhat elusive distinction between them, has been much discussed in the light of the textual, epigraphic and iconographic evidence from Phoenicia and elsewhere in the Mediterranean. The evidence for the worship of Astarte (last compiled by Bonnet 1996) shows her as a multi-faceted deity, who includes the functions of war- and city-goddess as well as

a goddess of female sexuality, love and fertility. The main function of the likewise multi-faceted Anat in Ugaritic myth, however, seems to be that of a war-goddess, whose sexual activity is doubtful and elusive (van der Toorn 1999, 37–43 s.v. Anat with further references). This connects her strongly with the virgin Greek Athena, with whom, in the inscriptions from Iron Age Cyprus, Anat is invariably equated (see below). Interestingly, Cyprus is the only place in the Mediterranean where the cult of Anat is still clearly attested epigraphically in the Iron Age.

At Idalion, one Phoenician dedication reading "for Anat" (Masson and Sznycer 1972, 110, no.10 a, b, Pl. 10.2), possibly also "and Baal" (Lipinski 1995, 310) was found near a sanctuary situated on the summit of the western acropolis of the city. It was incised on a spear-stand, dated around 500 BC. Another inscription on one of a pair of horse blinkers of the 8th or 7th century BC has been read as "for Anat" by Masson and Sznycer (1972, 108–110, no. 10 A, α, β), but is now generally accepted as denoting the theophoric name Ba´anat (Lipinski 1986, 379–382, 421–422, no. II 4). These inscribed votive offerings, both appropriate gifts for a war- and city-goddess, were discovered in 1850, together with other fragments of armour, weapons, horse-gear and other metal objects, two of which bore Greek-Cyprosyllabic dedicatory inscriptions to the Greek city- and war-goddess Athena (Masson 1981, 233–234). One of those, probably the handle of a bronze weapon, has "to Athana in Idalion" incised on it (Masson 1981, 245, no. 218, Pl. XXXVII). The other is the famous bronze tablet from Idalion (Masson 1981, 235–244, no. 217, Pls XXXIV–XXXV): it records a decree of king Stasikypros and the demos of Idalion to donate land to the physician Onasilos as a reward for his medical help given to Idalion warriors on the occasion of an unsuccessful siege of Idalion by the people of Kition, some time during the first half of the 5th century BC (for controversy about the exact date see most recently Stager *et al.* 1974, XXV–XXVI and Stager and Walker 1989, 463–466). According to the text, the decree was to be deposited in the temple of "the goddess Athana, who is around Idalion" (Masson 1981, 236–237, line 26–27 and 243). Not only the inscriptions from this sanctuary, but also the types of votive offerings from the site, its topographical setting, and history indicate clearly that the goddess was worshipped as the main city- and war-deity of Idalion (cf. summary in Gjerstad *et al*. 1935, 626–628). Already a cult place in a fortified Late Bronze Age settlement on the summit of a prominent hill with commanding views in all directions, it later became the main sanctuary of a Geometric and Archaic settlement further down the slope of the hill (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 626–627). Some early votive figurines (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, Pl. CLXXXII), spindle-whorls, tools and jewellery suggest that this main city-goddess was originally also concerned with human fertility and domestic animals, and probably all other aspects of human life, including metal-production, as indicated by remains of iron, bronze, and copper slag from the sanctuary (cf. find-tables in Gjerstad *et al*. 1935, 599–603 and Pls CLXXVI–CLXXXVI).

After Idalion developed into a city-kingdom some time before 673/672 BC, when the king of "Edali" is first mentioned on the prism of Esarhaddon (Reyes 1994, 160, Table 2), several other sanctuaries, also for female deities, were established in and around the city (cf. Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, 5–6, no. 3, 15–19, nos 29–40). At that time, the goddess of our sanctuary seems to have acquired a more specialist function as a city- and war-goddess as well as patron deity of the Idalian dynasty. This is reflected by the inscriptions and types of votive-offerings mentioned above (weapons, armour etc.) and the fact that an Archaic palace-structure with workshops and storage facilities was built on a terrace on the lower northern slope of the western acropolis (cf. Stager and Walker 1989, 460–466). As a result, the palace had actual control of the access from the lower city to the sanctuary (cf. map in Stager and Walker 1989, 4, area C and D). The overwhelming predominance of metal-votives, including weapons, armour, horse-gear, but also jewellery and prestige objects, such as gold-plated silver bowls (cf. list of finds in Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 532–570) suggests that Athena/Anat was also protector of Idalion´s copper mines, copper production and metal-crafts, the first being the major source of the city-kingdom´s prosperity and economic and political independence (Stager *et al*. 1974, 149–178; Stager and Walker 1989, 275–356).

The rich copper mines of Idalion and neighbouring Tamassos seem to have attracted Phoenician tradesmen and settlers from the Phoenician city-kingdom of Kition, which is amply attested by dedicatory as well as funerary inscriptions from these areas (e.g. Seibert 1976, 17–18, 23–24). In fact, access to the copper mines and commercial interests may have been the motivation for the siege and ultimate annexation of Idalion and its territory, including the copper mines, by the people of Kition in about 470 BC (see above). Before that, the spearstand with dedicatory inscription to Anat (and her brother Baal), as well as the horse-blinkers dedicated by Ba´anat in the Athena sanctuary on the western acropolis, can only have been deposited by resident or visiting Phoenicians, who were involved in this copper trade and who identified the local goddess of the sanctuary with Anat as her closest equivalent. Other dedications were bronze and silver bowls, embellished by scenes of hunting, heroic fighting, military and cultic processions (e.g. Matthäus 1985, 165–166, nos 431–432, Pls 38 and 39), which also refer to the war-like and political character of the goddess. Although they are commonly regarded as Phoenician products (Matthäus 1985, 353–354), which could have been dedicated by Phoenicians proper, they could equally have been the gifts of wealthy Idalion Cypriots, who could have acquired them from Phoenician craftsmen.

Likewise, the architectural design of the Iron Age sanctuary (Gjerstad *et al.* 1935, 526–532, Plans XIX–XXI), which is comparable with other Iron Age sanc-

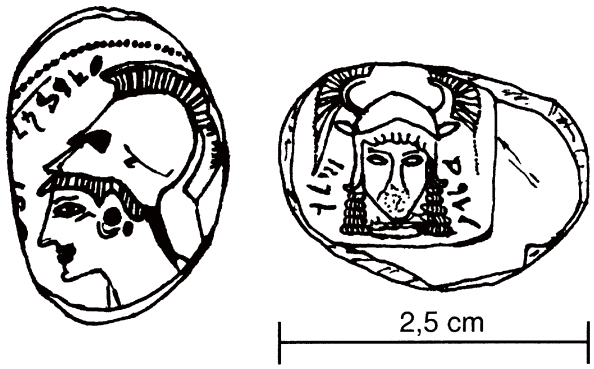


Fig. 24.2 Stater of King Sidquimilk of Lepathos. (Paris, Louvre, no. 784). Drawing according to photograph in Masson and Sznycer 1972, Pl. XI, nos 2–3.

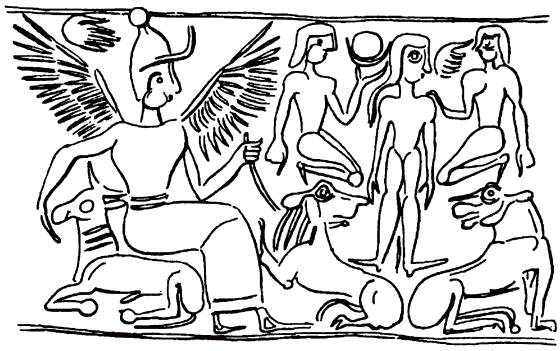


Fig. 24.3 Cylinder Seal from Ugarit (15/14th century BC) (Cornelius 1993, Pl. IX, Fig. 25).

tuaries in Cyprus (cf. Wright 1992, 255–278, Pls 90–122), suggests that it was pre-eminently a local Cypriot one in which non-Phoenician and Phoenician residents of Idalion worshipped one major war- and city-goddess equated with Athena by the Greek-speaking dedicants and with Anat by the Phoenician ones. Being a symbol of the independent city-kingdom of Idalion and its powerful dynasty, this sanctuary was destroyed when the kingdom of Kition finally conquered and annexed Idalion in about 470 BC (see above), and never rebuilt. Therefore, the fragment of a marble bowl with a Phoenician dedication to Anat, made by a certain Merpaim in the third year of the reign of "Baalmilk, king of Kition and Idalion", i.e. 422 BC (Magnanini 1973, 122, no. 11), found reused in the foundations of Ayios Georgios, must have come from a different sanctuary site. This may have been the nearby sanctuary at the foot of the eastern acropolis (most recently Senff 1993), where a god had been worshipped since the beginning of the Archaic period. Dedicatory inscriptions from the 4th century BC indicate that both Phoenicians and Greeks worshipped him. The Phoenician inscriptions name him Resheph-Mikal, the corresponding Greek ones Apollo-Amyklos (Senff 1993, 87–88). Anat, as the female counterpart of the war- and patron-deity Resheph (cf. Lipinski 1995, 179–188) may well have been venerated by the Phoenicians in the same sanctuary or in an unknown *temenos* nearby.

The only other epigraphic testimony for the worship of Anat on Cyprus is a bilingual, Greek-alphabetic and Phoenician, inscription from Larnaka tis Lapithou, the Phoenician Narnaka, less than 10 km south of the city-kingdom of Lapithos (Magnanini 1973, 123, no. 1). Carved on a huge natural rock, which might indicate the existence of an otherwise unexplored sanctuary nearby, it relates the dedication of an altar to Anat and Ptolemaios, thus dating to the late 4th century BC. The dedicant is a Phoenician called "Baal-Shemesh, son of Sasmay" (in the Phoenician), and "Praxidamos, son of Sesmaos" in the Greek-alphabetic texts. While the father's Phoenician name is only transformed into a Greek form "Sesmaos", in the Greek-alphabetic text, the son and dedicant has the completely different, genuinely Greek name "Praxidamos". This, together with the fact that the Greek-alphabetic text, in five lines and common Greek formula, is actually inscribed above the two-line Phoenician text, might reflect a conscious and intentional act of self-integration by the Phoenician dedicant into the Greek portion of the ethnically mixed society of Lapithos. The deity's name, "Anat, fortress of the living" in the Phoenician text, is equated with "Athena Soteira Nike" in the Greek-alphabetic part. However, it is unclear whether a war- and city-goddess, who might already have been worshipped at that site before the 4th century, had already been introduced as Athena by Greek Cypriots or as Anat by locally settling Phoenicians, or whether, like in Idalion, she was only later identified by Phoenicians with Anat, and by Greek Cypriots with Athena.

The importance of Athena is already attested, however, by the depiction of her head with a Corinthian helmet on the earliest coins from Lapithos at the end of the 6th century BC (Destrooper-Georgiadhes 1984, 145, Pl. XXVIII, nos 12–31). This image is also depicted on the obverse of the coins of the Phoenician king Sidqimilk of Lapithos (about 450 BC), while the obverse shows a female head *en face* with a helmet with cow-ears and bovine horns with wings attached to them (Masson and Sznycer 1972, 97–100, Pl. XI, nos 2–5; see Figure 24.2). This iconography points to prototypes from the Near East, where horned helmets, wings and arms are attested in the depictions of female war-deities from the 3rd millennium BC, when they were usually identified as Ishtar (Colbow 1991), the Mesopotamian equivalent of the later Astarte. Thus, goddesses with horns or horned helmets appearing in representations of Canaanite war-goddesses in the 2nd millennium could be interpreted as either Astarte or Anat (e.g. Falsone 1986). Since Ugaritic texts describe Anat not only as a war-goddess, but as the only one with wings (Walls 1992, 1.10.II 11), the depiction of a winged goddess with a horned helmet on a seal of the 15th century BC found at Ugarit has been interpreted as Anat, while the naked

goddess beside her has been identified as Astarte or Qudshu (Cornelius 1993, Pl. IX; see Figure 24.3).

Astarte and Anat were both depicted as war-goddesses and the goddess on Sidqimilk's coins could be interpreted as either. Dedicatory inscriptions from Lapithos attest to the worship of both goddesses as well as the Phoenician god Melqart in this city-kingdom, where literary, epigraphic and archaeological evidence also suggests a strong Phoenician presence at least since the early Archaic period (cf. Seibert 1976, 19–23). Phoenician settlers, who had brought their cults with them (cf. below), probably practised both the cults of Anat and Astarte in ancient Lapithos. The sanctuary of Anat, attested by the inscription from nearby Larnaka tis Lapithou, was probably a local sanctuary of the war- and city-goddess of this town, called Narnaka in a Phoenician inscription discussed below. However, neither the proposed sanctuary in Lapithos proper nor the one in Narnaka has been located and explored. Thus, it is impossible to determine whether Anat (or Athena) was worshipped, as in Idalion, in a pre-existing local sanctuary of an unnamed Cypriot city-goddess, possibly the Great Goddess of Cyprus, or whether separate sanctuaries were built specially for Anat by locally resident Phoenicians.

Several Phoenician dedicatory inscriptions attest to the worship of Astarte from at least one sanctuary at Kition and at Lapithos, and from at least two sanctuaries in Palaepaphos.

The existence of an Astarte sanctuary in Lapithos is indicated by a dedicatory inscription on a rectangular marble statue base, found in Larnaka tis Lapithou, the Phoenician town Narnaka (Bonnet 1996, 74f. and 160 E 12, with further references; LL3 = Magnanini 1973, 125–127, no. 3; photograph in Sznycer 1988, 59–61, Pl. XVII). There, it was probably originally dedicated in the 'sanctuary of Melqart at Narnaka' recorded in line two of the text. The inscription probably dates between 345 and 315 BC. (cf. Bonnet 1996, 74 with further references) because a king of Lapithos, probably Praxippos, is mentioned in the text as a son of king Demonikos (II). In line six of the nine preserved lines of this complicated inscription, the Phoenician dedicant, 'Param, son of Gerashtart', records his dedication of 'a bronze statue in the temple of Astarte in Lapash', Lapash being the Phoenician name of Lapithos. Param's titles mentioned after his name probably connect him with the cult of Melqart and, possibly, Astarte (Bonnet 1996, 74 and 101–102). While Honeyman read and reconstructed the text as denoting 'cult-supervisor and sacrificer of the sin-offering, who is in charge of Lapethos' (1938, 297; also Magnanini 1973, 126, line 1), Greenfield (1987, 396–399) and others (e.g. Parmentier 1987, 409) give the following three titles: 1. 'establisher', 'excitateur' or 'resurrector' of the god (= Melqart?), 2. 'sacrificer' (of whatever kind of sacrifice) and 3. governor of Lapithos. In the latest contribution, Sznycer cannot decide on any particular option for the first title (1988, 59–60; no. 13), but he reads the second title in combination with the third as 'commander, who is in charge of Lapash' (Sznycer 1988, 61). As such, Param, and probably other Phoenicians, played an important role in the administration of the town.

If the first and original reading of the first line of the text were correct, the very existence of a Phoenician cult supervisor and an (expiatory?) sacrifice in Lapithos would give a clear indication of an importation and actual practice of different Phoenician cults in Lapithos by its Phoenician population, already suggested by the dedication to Anat discussed above. This is further corroborated by the fact that the inscription also mentions various dedications by Param to "Melqart in Narnaka" and to the "Gods of Gebal (i.e. Byblos), who are in Lapash". This might indicate that the mother-city of the majority of the Phoenician population of Lapithos were from Byblos, to which religious ties still existed (cf. Watkin 1988, 6 and no. 9). As in the case of Anat at Larnaka tis Lapithou, no corresponding sanctuary site to which the inscriptions could refer is known. Therefore, there is no further archaeological evidence to indicate whether the imported Phoenician gods were, as in Idalion, worshipped in pre-existing local sanctuaries of older Cypriot gods, together with local Cypriots of non-Phoenician origin, or in separate ones.

Two fragmentary Phoenician dedicatory inscriptions to Astarte were found outside their original sanctuary context in Palaepaphos, modern Kouklia, both dated to the 3rd century BC for epigraphical reasons. One (Bonnet 1996, 160, E 14; Magnanini 1973, 132, no. 1; Masson and Sznycer 1972, 81–86) was inscribed on a badly preserved marble fragment, found, together with a contemporary Greek-alphabetic dedication to Aphrodite, near the ruins of the church of Ayia Phaneromeni (Masson and Sznycer 1972, 81 incl. no. 8) in the locality of Xylinos. It might possibly refer to the dedication of a lock of hair, which is attested both in Phoenician and Greek cult practice, "to Astarte of Paphos". This term is obviously a Phoenician translation of, or at least equated to, the "Paphia" or "Aphrodite Paphia" in contemporary Hellenistic inscriptions from her nearby principal city-sanctuary (Mitford 1961, 1–42), only 300 m south-southeast of Xylinos (cf. map in Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 121). It is, however, unclear whether "this sanctuary" in the Phoenician inscription refers to the main sanctuary of the Paphian Aphrodite, or to a smaller sanctuary of the goddess at Xylinos from which the Greek-alphabetic inscription to Aphrodite might also have come. Nevertheless, in both cases Greek-speaking Cypriots and Phoenicians must have worshipped the principal Paphian goddess in the same sanctuary.

Common worship could also have been practised in a small sanctuary at Styllarka near the ancient harbour of Paphos (Bonnet 1996, 160, E 13; Masson and Mitford 1986, 110–111, no. 240). However, this is only attested by a fragmentary dedication "to Astarte" on a white marble fragment picked up from the ground there. The

site was probably frequented by local and foreign seafaring tradesmen alike, who asked the goddess for a safe journey on their way from Paphos to their ship in the harbour, or thanked her for it on their way from harbour to town. There could also be evidence for common worship at a sanctuary outside, but near the city wall and the northeast gate of Paphos in the locality of Marcellos (cf. Masson and Mitford 1986, 124–125, carte II and plan I). The limestone votive sculpture from this sanctuary, found within a siege-mound built by the Persians during their siege of Paphos in 498 BC, reveals a stronger Phoenician or Near Eastern influence than the votives from any other known Archaic or Classical sanctuary in Cyprus. The majority are *stelai* with relief decoration showing Phoenician and Egyptianising figurative motives and symbols, such as a smiting god with a winged sun-disc above his head, sphinxes, lions and door or shrine motives, which, made in local limestone, were probably dedicated by local Phoenicians (cf. Tatton-Brown 1994, 71–76 with illustrations). While only a few early pieces are Cypriot (Tatton-Brown 1994, 71–73, Pl. XX b–d) 223 of the 226 published Cyprosyllabic inscriptions from this sanctuary are written in Greek (cf. Masson and Mitford 1986, 19–98, nos 1–225). Here, again, Phoenicians as well as (Greek-speaking) Cypriots seem to have worshipped their god(s?) together.

Kition is the only Iron Age city-kingdom which can be confidently identified as a Phoenician, possibly Tyrian, colony; the Phoenician presence is indicated by many funerary and dedicatory inscriptions, the latter attesting to the worship of Astarte, Resheph, Baal, Eshmun and Melqart (cf. Guzzo-Amadasi and Karageorghis 1977). An inscription on a now lost marble *stele*, removed from an unknown sanctuary, perhaps Bamboula (see below), and rebuilt into the later city wall of Kition, testifies to the dedication of a statue by the wife of a "servant of the house of Astarte" to "her lady Astarte" in 325 BC (Bonnet 1996, 158–159 E 9; Guzzo-Amadasi and Karageorghis 1977, 11–13, A 1).

A marble plaque with Phoenician text on both sides, unearthed at Kition-*Bamboula* during British levelling operations in 1891, provides a unique testimony for an officially organised Semitic cult of Astarte and Melqart (Guzzo-Amadasi and Karageorghis 1977, 103–126, C 1; Bonnet 1996, 70–72 and 159, E 10) in a sanctuary at this site (see below). The texts on both sides record the salaries of various personnel involved in both cults, dating to two different months of the same year during the first quarter of the 4th century BC. Side A (Guzzo-Amadasi and Karageorghis 1977, 104–106) additionally mentions the renovation or refurbishment of the "temple of Astarte" (line 4) and "the pillars (?or foundations) of the platform (or the stone) within the temple of Mikal" (line 13). Personnel of the Astarte-cult involved singers, servants, two sacrificers, bakers, who baked the "cake for the Holy Queen", and "barbers, who exercised their cultic duties". The scribes, "dogs" (female prostitutes?), and "young boys" (male prostitutes?) mentioned after the building activities for the Mikal temple might have been involved in the Mikal cult alone, but more likely in both cults, as cult prostitution was closely connected with the Astarte cult (Herodotus 1.199.1–5). The personnel recorded on side B (Guzzo-Amadasi and Karageorghis 1977, 118–119) include magistrates, a "maitre de l'eau", "young girls in a sacrifice", and, as on side A, "dogs" and "young boys", which might also refer to Astarte, not mentioned on this side (Bonnet 1996, 70–72).

The corresponding sanctuary at Bamboula (Nicolaou 1976, 103 (map) no. 2, 105–106; Yon 1986, 139) was already identified as an Astarte-sanctuary by Ohnefalsch-Richter in 1879, before the actual decipherment of the inscription. He drew his conclusion from other finds, unearthed during the levelling operation at Bamboula, among them two colossal Hathor-capitals (Caubet 1986, 155–156, Fig. 2; Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893, Pl. CC 1–3) and several diagnostic votive-terracottas representing almost exclusively female types (Ohnefalsch-Richter 1879). In 1929, the Swedish Cyprus Expedition discovered exclusively male types of limestone votive sculpture, including images of the gods Herakles-Melqart and 'Zeus Keraunios', in a nearby *favissa*, thus confirming the cult of a male deity – Mikal in the inscription – at Bamboula (most recently Bonnet 1995, 72 and Caubet, 1986, 155–156). Since 1976, French excavations in the same area and east of the *favissa* have uncovered a sanctuary dating from the 9th century BC to at least 312 BC, including votive-sculpture confirming Ohnefalsch-Richter's assumption by featuring mainly female types. Among them are also definite and possible representations of the goddess proper, such as the so-called goddess with upraised arms, Astarte-figurines (nude females), a goddess with a high *kalathos* with vegetative decoration, the above-mentioned Hathor-capitals, and a group of miniature terracotta *stelai* with Hathor-head presentations found together near the altar (Caubet 1986, 157–159, Fig. 2; Yon 1993, 116–124).

Were such types of votive-sculpture exclusive to Astarte? This question can only be answered by comparing their iconography with votive sculpture from other Cypriot sanctuaries of female deities. The nearest is at Kition-*Kathari*, a huge sanctuary complex with several temples, which by its size, architectural design and wealth of votive offerings was most probably the principal sanctuary of the town, where several gods were worshipped side by side. There is no clear epigraphic evidence for the worship of Astarte from Kition-*Kathari*, since the reading of a fragmentary Phoenician inscription on a Phoenician bowl is still controversial (Guzzo-Amadasi and Karageorghis 1977, 148–160, D 21; Karageorghis 1998, 105 with further references). However, the female votive sculpture found in the *temenos* clearly indicates the cult of a female deity in this sanctuary beside a male god. He was identified with "Baal of Kition" in a fragmentarily preserved Phoenician dedication of the 5th

or 4th century BC on a sherd of a plain white Cypriot jug (Guzzo-Amadasi and Karageorghis 1977, 170–171, D 37), or as "Melqart" on a bowl (Karageorghis 1976, 160, Fig. 92), both from the *temenos*. These dedications, definitely made by visiting or resident Phoenicians, make it plausible to identify the female goddess at Kathari with Astarte (cf. Bonnet 1996, 73), already worshipped together with Mikal (Melqart) at Bamboula.

Thus, at Bamboula and Kathari a principal divine couple were worshipped as city-gods in common or adjoining sanctuaries, a constellation attested mainly for Phoenician cities, such as Tyre and Byblos (Lipinski 1995, 65–66). The votive sculpture given to Astarte at Kathari includes a wide range of certain and possible deity representations, including the Aegean-type goddess with uplifted arms, Astarte-figurines, both known from Bamboula, but also the so-called '*dea gravida*'-figurines (Karageorghis 1998, 107, Pl. 5), *kourotrophoi*, and even an Aphrodite statuette of Greek type of the 4th century (Karageorghis 1976, 164–167, Figs 98–101 and 104). However, representations of Hathor are missing.

The architecture in the sanctuaries of Kition in which a specific Phoenician cult must have been practised cannot be systematically analysed in this paper in order to specify its relation to the cults. However, Kition-Bamboula, but also Kathari, yielded certain types of votive sculpture which apparently refer to the cult of Astarte, not exclusively on the grounds of the inscriptions, but also by their obvious iconographic relation to the Near East, including Egypt. These are mainly the so-called Astarte-figurines and the Hathor-capitals.

Astarte-figurines, depicting naked females with prominently rendered breasts and pubis, who partly touch their genitalia, refer to female sexuality and possibly fertility, a common aspect of several Near Eastern goddesses, including the Mesopotamian Ishtar and her Phoenician counterpart Astarte. From the Phoenician homeland of the latter, where such figurines were found in great quantities, they were introduced to Cyprus by Phoenicians at the end of the 8th century (most recently Karageorghis 1999, 1–2). The earliest and the most numerous specimens are attested in tombs as well as in urban sanctuaries of the city-kingdoms of Kition and Amathous, both principal harbour towns of Cyprus and strongholds of Phoenician presence (for Amathous see Hermary 1987). These small-scale, mould-made figurines, which were easy to transport on trade routes within Cyprus, spread quickly over the eastern part of the island (cf. Karageorghis 1999). Here they were dedicated in various sanctuaries of female deities, most of them in or near the city-kingdoms with strong Phoenician connections or settlements, such as Lapithos, Tamassos and Idalion (Figure 24.1). There, local coroplastic workshops developed several variations of these figurines influenced by the more traditional female votive-sculpture (cf. Karageorghis 1999) usually dedicated in sanctuaries in or near the cities proper. Thus changed, the original Phoenician Astarte-figurines seem to have become a new appropriate gift to local female goddesses, probably bought and dedicated to their fertility goddess by Cypriot and foreign Phoenicians as well as non-Phoenician Cypriots.

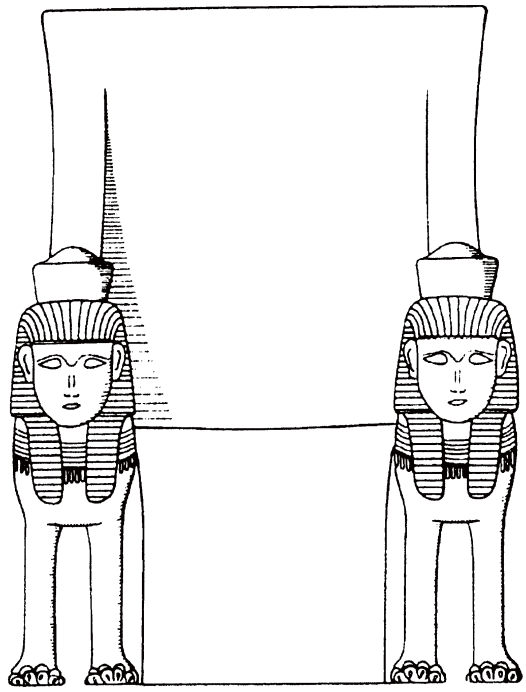


Fig. 24.4 Throne from Amathous-Vikles (reconstruction according to Hermary 1987, 386, Fig. 5).

The cult and iconography of Hathor were also well known in the Phoenician homeland since the Bronze Age, where she was assimilated to local Phoenician city-goddesses, such as Baa'lat Gubal from Byblos (Bonnet 1996, 20–21; Lipinski 1995, 70–73) and Astarte (Bonnet 1996). However, colossal Hathor-capitals, attested outside Cyprus only in sanctuaries of female deities in Egypt, are known in only a few specimens exclusively from sanctuary contexts at Kition, Amathous, Kourion, Tamassos, Paphos, and Vouni (cf. list in Hermary 1985, 666–668 including photographs; see Figure 24.1). Their size, and the fact that they are made from Cypriot limestone, indicate that they must have been developed and produced particularly for those sanctuaries, by locally resident sculptors on special commission. Commissioner and sculptor must have been familiar with Egyptian, Phoenician and local Cypriot iconography, as they adorned the Hathor-capitals with typically Phoenician-Egyptianising elements such as the winged sun disc with *uraeus* snakes and Greek or local-style floral elements, as seen already in the earliest specimens from Kition (Hermary 1985, 666–667, Figs 8–11) and Amathous (Hermary 1985, 683–687). Depictions of Hathor-heads are also known from so-called 'Phoenician' or 'Proto-Aeolic' capitals dedicated as *stelai* in the famous sanctuary of 'Aphrodite' in Idalion (Hermary 1988, 2, 9, no. 9 and 13, Pl. III) and

from votive-offerings at Tamassos (Buchholz 1993, 201, no. 21, Pl. XLIV.2)

Another iconographic aspect associated with Astarte in the Near East, not attested at Bamboula, is the throne supported or accompanied by sphinxes or lions (cf. Bonnet 1996, 152 with further references). A 'life-size' throne of the 4th century BC was found in Bostan al Shaykh and a Hellenistic example of the 2nd century BC at Hirbet et Tayibe near Tyre (Swiggers 1983, 125–132). Fragments of a comparable throne with sphinxes come from the site of an extramural sanctuary northeast of Amathous in the locality of Vikles (Hermary, 1987, 386–388, Fig. 5; see Figure 24.4). It is possible that here the Phoenicians of Amathous worshipped their proper Astarte, as perhaps the Phoenicians of Paphos did at the comparably situated extramural sanctuary at Kouklia-Marcellos, mentioned above, where a leg of a throne in form of a lion's or sphinx's paw was found (unpublished but seen by the author).

Conclusion

In conclusion, the only unambiguous evidence for the worship of Anat or Astarte in Cypriot sanctuaries are Phoenician inscriptions, which attest to temples or dedications to those goddesses in the Cypriot sanctuaries at Kition, Lapithos, Idalion and Paphos (cf. Figure 24.1). Those dedications were invariably made by Phoenicians with distinctively Phoenician names, only replaced by a Greek one in the bilingual Anat/Athena inscription from Lapithos. The inscriptions from Kition, particularly the report of expenses, and those from Larnaka tis Lapithou, indicate the continuous practice of Phoenician cults by locally resident Phoenicians in Kition (only Astarte) and Lapithos (Anat and Astarte). These Phoenicians also worshipped other Phoenician deities in these city-kingdoms, such as Baal, Melqart, Eshmun (Kition only), and the gods of Byblos (Lapithos only). At Idalion, however, local and resident or travelling Phoenicians made dedications to Anat as well as Resheph in pre-existing Cypriot sanctuary sites, in which the Greek-speaking population identified the deities as Athena or Apollo. The dedications to Astarte from the two sanctuaries at Paphos referring to the major city-deity, venerated by the Greek-speaking Cypriot population as (Aphrodite) Paphia, possibly come from such common sanctuaries as well.

Neither the architectural evidence, not discussed here, nor the dedication in various sanctuaries of particular types of votive-sculpture with an iconography originating in the Near East, including Egyptianising tendencies, seem to have a clear and exclusive relation to the 'ethnic' identity of the deity worshipped there and her cult. This is attested by the strongly Phoenician votive-sculpture from Paphos-Marcellos suggesting a 'Phoenician-type' deity, which is contradicted by over 200 Greek-Cyprosyllabic inscriptions that must have come from non-Phoenician dedicants worshipping at the same site. Astarte-figurines, originally imported from Phoenicia and then locally adopted, and Hathor-capitals, developed in Cyprus by sculptors for sanctuaries in the city-kingdoms, were found not only at Astarte-sanctuaries in Kition-*Bamboula* or Kathari, but in several major urban sanctuaries of other city-kingdoms, such as Amathous and Paphos. The main city-goddess worshipped by Astarte-inscriptions in Paphos was in literature and partly also epigraphically identified as the Cypriot or the Paphian Aphrodite, thus equating these goddesses in their functions and aspects. In all the sanctuaries where those Near Eastern-type representations were dedicated, were also found other clear or possible goddess-representations of a more Cypriot character, such as the goddess with vegetal *kalathos* or crown at Bamboula and Kathari. The goddess at Kathari was even presented with at least one Greek-type Aphrodite statue in the 4th century BC, thus being even iconographically identified with her Greek counterpart. This kind of votive practice suggests that the goddesses worshipped at those sites shared, independently from their actual name, several functions common to the Phoenician Astarte, as well as the great local goddess(es) of Cyprus, mainly identified with the Cypriot Aphrodite. Thus Astarte-figurines and Hathor-capitals could have been given by Phoenicians, either living in or trading with Cyprus, as well as by the non-Phoenician Cypriot population. The latter might have adopted them as appropriate images expressing certain aspects of their equally multi-faceted and strangely elusive Great Goddess of Cyprus.

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25. Architectural styles and ethnic identity in Medieval to modern Cyprus

Michael Given

Abstract

Archaeologists and art historians have often attempted to identify ethnic groups by means of specific stylistic traits in their art and architecture. Close contextual examination, however, reveals that different groups in different contexts can use the same styles. This article reviews some examples of architectural styles and features which were borrowed and transformed during the Medieval, Ottoman and British colonial periods in Cyprus (1191–1960). One building, the British colonial governor's residence in Nicosia built in the 1930s, is particularly revealing in its deliberate use of styles normally associated with all the other ethnic groups of Cyprus.

Introduction

Archaeologists investigating a low hill on the southern edge of Nicosia in a millennium or two's time are likely to discover the remains of a monumental structure with a bizarre mixture of architectural styles and motifs: Byzantine domes and column capitals, Gothic mouldings and windows, Venetian lions, Ottoman lattices, Cypriot vernacular arches, and British coats of arms, plus further oddities such as stone camels' heads and gargoyles wearing bowler hats. Unless scholarly interests have changed drastically by then (and presumably they will have), the archaeologists are likely to ask questions about the ethnic identity of the builders and inhabitants of this structure: Greek? Turkish? Frankish? Venetian? British? Cypriot? or some mixture of them all?

This is certainly how much 19th and 20th-century scholarship has operated. Architectural historians and archaeologists have identified specific stylistic traits as belonging to specific 'races', 'ethnic groups' or 'nations'. Domes are Byzantine, pointed arches are Frankish, broad eaves are Ottoman, and wide verandas are British colonial. To Camille Enlart, for example, writing in French in 1899 about the Gothic architecture of Cyprus, "the buildings and inscriptions of Cyprus speak our language in all its native purity" (Enlart 1987, 16). Einar Gjerstad in the 1930s was happy to distinguish "indigenous Cypriot" and "Greek" phases in the 5th-century BC palace at Vouni, merely on the basis of its changing architectural layout (Given 1998, 18; Gjerstad 1933, 594; cf. Maier 1985, 36–37). Similarly, the 1990 edition of *Footprints in Cyprus* is content to sum up the medieval military monuments of Cyprus by declaring without qualification that "their fashion is not Cypriot but French or Venetian" (Hunt 1990a, 221). In common with much writing on ethnicity, scholars have seen a direct and unchanging connection between particular traits in material culture and the ethnic groups who supposedly produced them.

In this paper, rather than entering the now well-rehearsed theoretical debate on ethnicity in archaeology (e.g. Jones 1997) I aim to demonstrate how different groups use the same architectural styles at different times for different purposes. Particular architectural styles and motifs can suggest particular ethnicities and identities to their builders or inhabitants, but very often they mean something else entirely (Schriwer 2002). This becomes particularly clear with the long-term view of the archaeologist, so my examples will cover the Medieval (1191–1571), Ottoman (1571–1878) and British colonial (1878–1960) periods in Cyprus. Again and again architectural styles were appropriated and manipulated for local, specific purposes, rather than belonging to any primeval and unchanging 'ethnicity'. After following through the changing uses of a few stylistic traits during this period, I will focus on one building which appropriated them all: Government House in Nicosia, built by the British colonial rulers of Cyprus in 1933–1937.

Transformations

Gothic

The major contribution of the Lusignans, the French

Catholic dynasty who controlled Cyprus from 1192 to 1489, to the island's architectural landscape was the importation of the French ecclesiastical styles of the 13th and 14th centuries. The most famous and perhaps most influential example of the French Gothic style in Cyprus was the Cathedral of Ayia Sophia in Nicosia (1209–*c.*1350 AD), built by French clerics, masons, sculptors and even some workmen (Enlart 1987, 82–86). The plan and most of the structure is what Gunnis called "the purest early French pointed style" (Gunnis 1936, 49), and the early 14th-century west porch has its best parallels in Rheims Cathedral (Enlart 1987, 125–127). On the face of it there would seem to be no doubt that this building was ethnically French.

Yet this easy identification presupposes, firstly, that there was such a thing as an unambiguous 'French' identity during the 13th and 14th centuries. The 'Franks' in the Eastern Mediterranean were clearly still negotiating their religious and national identities. They were doing this in the face of not just the Muslims but also the local Byzantines and their own highly varied origins in western Europe (Ilieva 1995). That the archetypal 'French' west porch was built while an Italian was archbishop is symptomatic.

More specifically, the later history of buildings such as Ayia Sophia and the influence that their styles had on other structures suggest that there is not such an easy and direct relationship between style and ethnic identity. After the Ottoman occupation of Nicosia in 1570 Ayia Sophia was turned into a mosque, and continued as the most important 'Cathedral-mosque' of the city, where the Ottoman governor came for Friday prayers (Mariti 1909, 42–43). Ottoman policy left Orthodox churches for the Greek Cypriots to worship in but converted the Catholic churches of their Latin predecessors into mosques. This gave rise to a distinctive 'Ottoman Gothic' style that characterised major Ottoman city mosques: Ayia Sophia or Aya Sofya (renamed Selimiye Cami in 1954); Haidar Pasha Camisi (St Catherine's Church, 14th century); Ömerye Camisi (St Mary's Augustinian church, 14th century); Yeni Cami (a 13th-century Latin Gothic church); and many more in Nicosia, the other five towns, and even in villages such as Episkopi. When there was a need to distinguish Greek Orthodox from Turkish Muslim, the Gothic style was characteristically Ottoman.

Further transformations in the distinctive Gothic style can be seen in the many and varied imitations of it, both in ecclesiastical and domestic architecture. The influence of Ayia Sophia is most clearly seen in one specific feature which is unusual and so easily traced. All three doors in the early 14th-century west porch are flanked by pairs of niches with elaborately carved brackets and borders, too shallow to hold statues but possibly for paintings of saints (Enlart 1987, 117–118). These were first copied in a building which lies immediately south of this porch: the 14th- to 16th-century 'Bedestan', probably to be identified with the Church of St Nicholas mentioned in contemporary documents (Enlart 1987, 136–146; Gunnis 1936, 55–58). Although when this doorway was built the Bedestan was a Latin church, by the early 16th century it was the Greek Orthodox cathedral, Gothic arches and all (Enlart 1987, 137). With this as a model, the flanking niches then worked their way into the Cypriot vernacular, and were frequently used in Nicosia town houses of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, both Greek and Turkish Cypriot.

To these can be added a host of other Gothic details which became commonplace in the Cypriot vernacular from the 16th to the 20th centuries. For example, trefoil windows and blind windows, to be seen on Greek and Turkish Cypriot houses, churches, mosques and fountains; corner mouldings derived from stylised colonnettes, to be seen on the doorways of virtually every town house of the late 19th and early 20th centuries; and the pointed arch, which became the structural basis of stone-built village houses and was widely used in arcades and balconies in khans, monasteries, administrative buildings and houses, even until the present day. As well as stylistic traits, actual architectural members were taken and re-used in new contexts. The church of Ayios Michael Tripiotis in Nicosia, built probably in 1690, is particularly notable for its Gothic, Romanesque and Renaissance sculptures incorporated into a new Greek Orthodox setting (Enlart 1987, 160–163).

One more appropriation of the Gothic style shows how historically specific the meanings of a style can be. When the British community of Nicosia decided to erect an Anglican church in the 1890s, the architect, William Williams of the colonial Public Works Department, chose the style that was expected of him: late Victorian English Gothic Revival (Schaar *et al.* 1995, 27–29). The trefoils in its windows and the needle window in its diminutive spire are derived ultimately from French Gothic, but not via the churches and mosques of Medieval and Ottoman Cyprus but from Victorian reworkings of English Medieval Gothic. In this context, therefore, the Gothic style is not French or Greek or Turkish but authentically British.

Venetian

The Venetian state ruled Cyprus from 1489 to 1571, and bequeathed to the island a handful of Renaissance buildings. The few survivals include a two-storey wing added to St Mary's Augustinian church in the late 16th century, and three round arches from the impressive façade of the Provveditore's Palace in Famagusta, complete with Tuscan columns, their shafts taken from Roman Salamis (Enlart 1987, 468). As with the Gothic structures, elements of this style were emulated by the Cypriots and entered the set of ecclesiastical and vernacular options that masons could choose. The 16th-century church Stavrou tou Missiricou (later Arablar Camisi) in Nicosia had a Byzantine layout, and adopted a range of Gothic and Renaissance features, to which a

minaret was added after 1570. By the middle of the 19th century Greek Orthodox churches in the cities displayed a wide range of Byzantine, Gothic and Renaissance styles. The most famous structure which regularly receives the epithet 'Venetian' consists of the city walls of Nicosia, built in the late 1560s in the face of an imminent Ottoman invasion. Although the earthen core of the walls was completed, only part of the stone facing had been done by the invasion in 1570, the upper half of the walls being faced with turf (Perbellini 1988, 37). To a large extent it was the Ottomans who finished the job, adding the stone facing of the upper parts, parapets on the bastions, and parts of the main gates. This is seen very clearly at the Famagusta Gate, where the Sultan's tughra was added in 1820 to the main pediment over the round-arched doorway. The bastions, too, were renamed, so 'Loredano' became 'Derviş', 'Podocataro' became 'Suslu', 'Roccas' became 'Karaman', and so on.

After the British occupation in 1878 the walls were appropriated again and made not Venetian or Ottoman but British. A famous engraving from the *Illustrated London News* (7th September 1878, 229) shows the Union Flag flying over the Caraffa (Altın) bastion, and when the Royal Engineers made a new breach immediately north of the Paphos Gate in 1879 to improve traffic flow, they left a plaque with their crest and the date. This was common practice in Malta, where the buildings and structures of the Knights of St John were all 'reinhabited' and 'reinscribed' (cf. Said 1993, 253) and made unequivocally British.

Ottoman

Like the Lusignans and Venetians, the Ottomans brought their own architectural styles, which can be seen in purpose-built mosques, khans, fortifications, aqueducts, fountains, and town houses. Arab Ahmed Paşa Mosque in Nicosia, according to David Hunt, "has its admirers among those who are attracted by Ottoman 18th-century architecture" (Hunt 1990b, 252). More generously, and more accurately, it is a good example of a cruciform mosque with central dome and pendentives, probably dating to the early 17th century and restored in 1845 (Tekman *et al.* 1982, 3). Hala Sultan Tekke, rebuilt in the middle of the 18th century and again in 1816, is a similar structure with central dome and four smaller half-domes supported by pointed arches, and a stalactite *mihrab* niche (Çuhadaroğlu and Oğuz 1975, 31–35). The dome was to be taken up in the British representational architecture of the 1930s, most notably in Government House.

It was Ottoman domestic architecture which saw the most frequent transformations. The two most obvious exterior characteristics, broad eaves and a projecting kiosk, became widespread in 18th- to 20th-century townhouses, Greek and Turkish Cypriot alike. The house of the Greek Cypriot *dragoman* Hadjigeorgakis Kornessios, constructed in 1793, has a distinctive wooden kiosk over the main door, shaded by broad eaves, along with an internal arrangement which is inward looking and, as far as public rooms are concerned, focused on the *selaml1ık* or guest room.

Contemporary portraits show Hadjigeorgakis wearing Ottoman dress with the official fez, proudly displaying the firman granting him his position (Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou 1991, 63–65). These portraits and the façade of his house show a member of the Greek Cypriot elite emulating the forms of display of the Ottoman rulers of the island. The main door, however, is clearly inspired by the now common Cypriot Gothic style, having a pointed arch with successive mouldings including the popular 'dog-rose', and a reused Venetian marble slab showing a lion and a simplified coat of arms. A Greek Cypriot emulating the Ottoman Turks can still use Frankish and Venetian styles and motifs.

In the early years of their rule the British dismissed the Ottoman style and its vernacular derivatives as 'native', but from the 1920s new ideologies of nationalism and imperialism encouraged them to start adopting local styles. By representing local culture in carefully selective ways, they could demonstrate their knowledge of their colony and exclude unwelcome nationalisms, most notably Greek Cypriot nationalism (Given 1997, 69–73). As well as Government House, a good example was the Teachers' Training College designed by Austen Harrison and completed in 1958, whose Ottoman broad eaves and projecting kiosks were combined with other motifs and materials from the Cypriot vernacular (Given 1997, 72–73).

(Neo-)Greek

Cyprus had no Ionic or Doric temples in the Classical period, and its Roman temples seemed to have stimulated no imitation in later periods. Some Greek revival influences can be seen in 19th-century Orthodox church architecture, with pediments over doorways and schematic pilasters and classical mouldings. A good example of this is the church of Phaneromeni in Nicosia, constructed in 1872. Its north door is an extravagant composition of a classical pediment enclosing a slightly pointed arch. The door is framed in a Gothic manner by stacked colonnettes with Byzantine capitals, while the pediment is supported by classically fluted semi-columns again with Byzantine capitals, and the dedication plaque above the door is flanked by two Venetian-cum-vernacular lions. A further touch of irony comes from the stone, most of which was taken from the Lusignan castle at La Cava, 5km south of Nicosia (Gunnis 1936, 235). The rest of the building similarly draws on classical, Byzantine, Gothic and Renaissance styles to produce this church which for most of the colonial period was at the forefront of the Greek nationalist movement.

Many of the British colonial rulers of Cyprus at the beginning of the 20th century were classically trained.

For them, the Greek revival style signified education, culture and history, or at least their understanding of such things. The Cyprus Museum, finished in 1907, was in a brownstone version of the Greek Revival style, plus an Ionic porch in Pentelic marble added by the Curator of Monuments George Jeffery, based on the Athena Nike temple of classical Athens. Similarly the colonial Agricultural School of 1913, designed mainly by the High Commissioner, used a central pedimented gable with pilasters and flat Ionic capitals.

As Greek Cypriots increased their demands for union with Greece during the 1910s and 1920s, the Greek Revival style took on a very different meaning. Because of the links which Greek Cypriots saw between themselves and the glorious classical past, the style was appropriate for Greek nationalist statements of identity, above all in the main carriers of the national message: the schools (Given 1997, 66–69). Thanks to Theodhoros Fotiades, a Greek Cypriot architect who had been trained in Athens and worked in Alexandria, the towns and villages of Cyprus saw a huge number of Greek Revival schools built in the 1920s, beginning with the Pancyprian Gymnasium in Nicosia in 1923 and emulated with varying degrees of skill in a host of other Greek Cypriot schools across the island. The holding of nationalist events such as the staging of classical plays and ceremonies such as 'Flag Days' with this architecture as a backdrop demonstrates the new nationalist associations that this style had.

The popularity of the style then spread to Greek Cypriot domestic architecture, with Fotiades and others designing grand town villas with imposing Ionic façades and verandas. As happened so often, this elite style filtered down into the standard townhouse vernacular, and the 1920s and 1930s saw a huge number of townhouses built with more or less schematic classical façades. Often the style brought its political significance with it, but on some occasions it clearly did not. The Evkaf headquarters in Nicosia, built in 1928, has a façade broken by flat, schematic classical pilasters and mouldings; added to that are two large doorways set in Gothic pointed arches and flanked by Renaissance rusticated quoins (Keshishian 1990, 217). At one level the traits and features of Greek Revival have been added to the broad architectural vocabulary of the Cypriot architect and mason; at another it is directed towards a very specific expression of ideology.

Government House: transformation and representation

Throughout the history of architecture in Cyprus, styles have been continually adopted by different groups and given different meanings. The reasons for such shifts varied from unconscious emulation of specific social groups to deliberate imitation, borrowing or transformation. During the British colonial period, especially in the 1920s to 1950s, we have many clear examples of the deliberate manipulation of architectural style for political and ideological purposes. This is not because the British were the first propagandists, or because modern ideologies were any more overt. The only difference is that for the first time we have extensive and detailed documentation about the intentions and opinions of architects, clients and viewers. An examination of a particular case from this period demonstrates how people give meaning to style for specific, local purposes, rather than accepting some already existing deeply pre-ordained significance.

On the 31st October, 1931, a mass of Greek Cypriot demonstrators demanding union with Greece set fire to the old Government House. Being largely wooden, built from a prefabricated kit sent from England in 1878, it burnt to the ground. For the current governor, Sir Ronald Storrs, the building of a replacement was not just a matter of convenience for himself and his family, it was a chance to recover the colonial regime's lost prestige and authority, and more importantly to project his image of Cyprus. The new structure was to represent a deeply historical Cyprus, but one without any trace of Hellenic nationalism, and one which was unified and consummated in British rule (Given 1997, 70–71; Schaar *et al.* 1995, 75–78).

Storrs' first choice of architect was Austen St Barbe Harrison (1891–1976), Chief Architect to the Public Works Department of Palestine from 1922 to 1937. In 1931 Harrison's Palestine Archaeological Museum (now the Rockefeller Museum) was under construction, and Storrs clearly favoured Harrison's attempt to represent all styles and histories of the Holy Land in this building: a Crusader tower over the entrance; an Islamic pool and *liwan* in the centre of the monastic cloisters; and a series of sculptures by Eric Gill depicting events in the region's history such as the creation of the Hebrew alphabet and Romulus and Remus (Fuchs and Herbert 2000, 309–324). This 'colonial regionalism', a prevailing imperial ideology of the time, aimed to respect and represent local traditions, and protect it from modern international influences (Fuchs and Herbert 2000, 282–283).

The plans of Harrison's Government House for Cyprus show a building which is on a large scale but varied and interesting, a careful balance of different proportional masses. No details are shown in these plans, but in form at least the historical references are subtle. The central tower is perhaps reminiscent of Medieval military structures, emphasised by the hood-moulds round the windows. Shallow domes cover the tower and porch, and the form at the south end of the east wing is strikingly similar to a colonial bungalow. We only have the plans, however. The foundation stone was laid on George V's birthday on 3rd June 1932, but as the work dragged on and became more expensive, Storrs' tour of duty finished, and his successor, Sir Reginald Stubbs, had a less grandiose vision of British rule in Cyprus and no personal connection with Harrison (SA1/929/1925).

In February 1933, accordingly, Stubbs terminated

Harrison's contract, in spite of the architect's vigorous protests, and three months later he employed a London architect, Maurice Webb, to design a cheaper, simpler building which would only require local materials and labour. Compared to Harrison's harmonious and original design, Webb's building makes up in pomposity what it lacks in interest. In plan the building has three wings set at right angles to make a U-shape. The long repetitive front façade that this produced was interrupted by a disproportionately large porch, set grandly with arches and a monumental British coat of arms. Above the porch rises a squat, blank tower, capped by a small dome (Figure 25.1).

What Webb's Government House lacks in architectural originality, however, it gains in ideological interest. The unsubtle level at which it was given some sort of 'Cypriot' association is made clear in a telegram from Stubbs in June 1933:

> The plans generally are very satisfactory. As stated in my telegram of the 26th of June I should be glad if it were found possible to give a Cypriot character to the arches in front of the house but I recognise that they must harmonize with the architecture of the entrance porch and it may well be difficult to design a suitable porch with a Cypriot motif. (SA1/1296/1931/1)

This of course begs the question: what is a 'Cypriot motif'? By examining the stylistic features of this structure, we find a clear, if unsubtle, understanding on the part of Webb and Stubbs of what constitutes an authentic 'Cypriot' style. The arches on the porch, for example, are pointed, following the now common characteristic of the Cypriot vernacular, derived ultimately from Frankish Gothic. It is also abundantly clear that they do not harmonise with the round-arched openings at each end of the façade, nor with the rather modernist balustrade at the top of the porch. But ideology takes precedence over artistic harmony.

Further architectural details add to the list of required historical references to include all ethnic groups of Cyprus. The columns of the arcade along the rear façade have a variety of imaginative and slightly unlikely Byzantine capitals. The arches in this arcade, of course, are pointed, though those of the verandas above them are round. The tracery in the large arched lower windows of the pavilions projecting outwards from each rear wing have stylised Gothic tracery. In a tradition dating to the Medieval period but still followed in Britain today, the gargoyles on the rear façade portrayed figures such as the head mason, the head carpenter, and a labourer (one of whom wears the bowler hat). The water spouts of the first floor represent the heads of a camel, a mule, a cow and a goat, thus acknowledging the animals who contributed to the construction (the goat, reputedly, by supplying hair to temper the plaster).

The main tower, which is of somewhat squat proportions, has a dome which presumably had either Byzantine or Ottoman associations for the builders. The domes capping individual rooms in the pavilions which terminate each wing at the rear seem more Ottoman; the latticed windows underneath them make the pavilions resemble a *shaykh's* tomb or a *hamam*. All corners and openings are dressed with sandstone quoins, in the best tradition of British colonial architecture on the island for the last 50 years. Just in case the British component in the 'Cypriot style' is missed, the already pretentious porch is weighed down by an enormous sculpted royal coat of arms, while medallions on the sides of the porch show the royal British lion and the two lions of Richard the Lionheart, first British ruler of Cyprus.



Fig. 25.1 Front (north) façade of Government House, Nicosia.

These sculptures and the appropriation of stylistic features from different periods and groups from the island's history were emphasised by the literal appropriation of artefacts and architectural members. Monuments glorifying the European Medieval past of Cyprus were the first to attract the attention of British administrators and be brought to the grounds of Government House: a lintel from the Gothic church that became Yeni Cami (Jeffery 1918, 63); two 15th-century cannons from Kyrenia (Jeffery 1918, 312); and a cannon given by Henry VIII to the Hospitallers, found in Famagusta Bay in 1907 (Gunnis 1936, 192–193). In 1901 two Gothic arches were brought from the Old Konak, previously the Lusignan,



Fig. 25.2 Rear (south) façade of Government House, Nicosia, with two Medieval arches from the Old Konak in the foreground.

Venetian and Ottoman palace (SA1/1402/1901), and in 1906 a further Gothic arched doorway was removed from the west end of the Bedestan (SA1/241/1907; Jeffery 1918, 89). Originally these were mainly of historical interest, demonstrating the European character of Britain's predecessors as rulers of Cyprus. With the construction of the new building with its ideological aim of representing Cypriot history and all its ethnic groups, the two arches from the Konak were repositioned so that they faced the rear façade of the building on the same axis (Figure 25.2). The pointed arches of the 'Cypriot' building replied to the original pointed arches, and gained authenticity and authority from them.

The message is clearly that 'Cypriot' character, to the British, consists of a *mélange* of Byzantine, Medieval, Ottoman and colonial stylistic traits. The classical – associated with the Greek Cypriot nationalism that burnt down the building's predecessor – is conspicuous by its absence. This 'Cypriot *mélange*' (Caröe 1933) characterised much British colonial architecture in Cyprus from the 1930s to the 1950s, such as Harrison's Teachers' Training College in Nicosia. Government House, however, was the most prominent structure in this style. What better stage on which to present the architectural definition of 'Cypriot' identity than the residence of the island's ruler and so the embodiment of the state itself?

Conclusions

Specific architectural and stylistic traits such as mouldings, motifs, and forms, when viewed in the long term, clearly have no single 'meaning'; in particular, they have no one unchanging association with a specific ethnic group. Byzantine capitals, Gothic arches and niches, Venetian lions, Ottoman eaves and even British quoins have all been borrowed, imitated, transformed and given new meanings and new associations with different ethnic groups. Sometimes, as with Gothic corner colonnettes, the new versions seem to carry no particular association. Other motifs such as Venetian lions can be taken into the vernacular style and come to be a generally recognisable characteristic of a different group – Orthodox Greek Cypriots, for example, or the British colonial community in Cyprus.

All the architectural styles and motifs discussed in this paper continue to change, whether they are transferred from one ethnic or social group to another, or whether they are keeping pace with social development within any one group. The Greek Cypriot educated elite, for example, built neo-Classical town houses in the 1920s and modernist international style houses in the 1950s and 1960s, but are now restoring or imitating traditional vernacular houses, complete with the 'Gothic' arches and 'Ottoman' kiosks that they had previously rejected.

The later fortunes of Webb's Government House illustrate even more vividly the ease with which the meaning of styles and motifs can be transformed in a few decades. After independence Government House became the Presidential Palace, initially the office and ultimately the residence of the presidents of the Republic. State visitors are welcomed and often televised on the steps of the Palace, shaking the hand of the President underneath

the oversized British royal coat of arms. Even after the coup of 1974 and the bombing of the Palace, the building and the coat of arms were lovingly restored, apart from some sample bullet holes and pockmarks – which have themselves become another architectural trait demonstrating Greek Cypriot identity. The British royal arms may seem an unusual symbol for a postcolonial state, and would certainly confuse those future archaeologists. But symbols and styles can only ever have temporary meaning; they must remain available for others to borrow and transform.

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26. Identities and empire: Cyprus under British rule

Kylie Seretis

Abstract

This paper discusses the role played by the British Empire in the construction of Cypriot cultural identities. By examining how the empire used material culture and the ordering of space to consolidate their position and by addressing the physical impact that the culture and ideology of (the British) empire had upon the visual and conceptual landscape, this paper explores why much of the culture of the British Empire was not necessarily adopted into Cypriot culture at the local level.

Imperial Landscapes

Said (1993) defines imperialism as the theory and attitude of the dominant ruling class. Colonialism is seen as the articulation of imperialism in invaded or settled territories. Thus, when discussing empire, we have at least two things to consider – the mental templates of the coloniser and the actual articulation of this attitude within the colony. A third issue to be considered is the experience of the people who were colonised. The examination of different cultural identities within a colonial context and how they interrelate is one way which permits an exploration of the ways in which people, differently engaged and empowered, appropriate, contest or reclaim their landscape.

Distinct attitudes were imbued in the British imperial order, resulting in very distinctive forms of colonialism. Jacobs (1996, 38) suggests two distinct forms of colonialism. The first is where colonisation is based on permanent territorial expansion, destroying the existing society and constructing a new society modelled on that of the imperial homeland, which is applicable to countries such as Australia. The second is a form of colonial expansion that is designed to maintain the indigenous society but to re-orientate it in the service of the coloniser. Cyprus, due to the island's position on the fringes of Europe, falls into the second category alongside colonies such as India.

The purpose of this paper is to show the ambiguity and variety involved in the study of cultural difference and identity, in particular cultural identity when investigated through material culture. The aim is not the generation of a universal definition or explanation for cultural difference, ethnicity or identity, but to begin to draw out and document the complexity involved in the study of transmitting culture in relation to historical communities and peoples.

The Cypriot population

Cyprus, with its strategically desirable geographic position in the eastern Mediterranean, has a history of constant foreign intervention and rule. For centuries Cyprus has been home to people from a multitude of cultural and ethnic groups. Today it is no different: the peoples who live in Cyprus include Christian Orthodox Greeks, Muslim Turks and Arabs, Christian Maronites, Latins, Armenians and the British. Excluding the British, these same groups have been in Cyprus since at least the 16th century AD.

In the 1870s, prior to the British annexation of the island, the two main religious groups were Christians and Muslims. The two main ethnic groups were Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. In their religious practice they can be seen to be very different, although on general level there are similarities between the two religions. Within both religious communities, religion was not seen as separate from secular life, education was male dominated and conducted through the religious institutions. This could usually be seen in the architecture, with the religious building (church or mosque) having a school located within it or nearby. Cultural difference was asserted through the practice of religion.

Landscapes of empire

What does the establishment of British rule in Cyprus

mean in relation to the impact and effect on the Cypriot social and cultural landscape, and how is this manifest in the material world?

Several factors are common to the 'colonial experience': the importance of mapping the 'unknown' territory, the transfer of the coloniser's town planning and architectural styles and the development of a colonial administrative system. This can almost be seen as a template of the British Empire. In Cyprus the British constructed buildings, roads and bridges throughout the island. In the villages they built water systems, police stations, jails, schools and post offices. They also introduced an independent system of currency, established new judicial systems and enacted a representative Legislative council.

Through the investigation of the physical remains of this period, it is possible to say that the items themselves are often homogeneous. A water cistern in one village does not vary much from that of another. The roads, whether the early stone constructed variety, or the later tarred roads, do not differ in techniques of construction between villages. Construction techniques of government administrative buildings such as courthouses, police stations and official residences tend to follow a similar colonial style with local influences. While today these buildings may be lost amongst the 1960s to 1990s streetscapes, at the turn of the century and earlier they would have been very imposing structures on the Cypriot landscape.

The provision of amenities, improved roads and a postal service, meant that villages, once isolated, could make use of the wider communication networks across the island and beyond. This effect is not just limited to the period in which the construction takes place, it continues today. The British provided the infrastructure for modernisation. This distinctly British infrastructure made the process of industrialisation and modernisation that took place from the turn of the century onwards possible, and has allowed Cyprus to take that step into the modern era more easily than some of its neighbours.

However inevitably (but not necessarily intentionally) the same infrastructure played a role in the development of Cypriot identities – Greek and Turkish – and the development of nationalist sentiments. After the Greek War of Independence in 1821, Greek Cypriot religious leaders began to express the desire to merge with the 'Motherland', Greece. But it was in fact under British rule that the desire for freedom and Enosis (union with Greece) was strongest. Enosis was seen as an opposition to British rule. The British were viewed as political oppressors and economic exploiters, preventing the development of the local economy.

Although originally viewing Cyprus as an 'oriental' island, with its large Greek-speaking population it was soon to be seen, in the minds of many of the British, as being ultimately tied to Greece (and ancient Greece). Some of the early British governors and officials of Cyprus had a 'classical' education, learning of the rise of the West through the development of the Greek world. These were men, the governors and rulers of the island, who were taught to read Latin and Greek. Thus even though 20% of the population was Muslim, for the British the island began to become equated with a past that was inherently 'Greek'. In 1880 an exchange took place between the High Commissioner of Cyprus, Colonel Biddulph, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Earl of Kimberley, regarding the teaching of English. Lord Kimberley refused Biddulph's argument that "it was only through learning English that the Cypriots would attain a higher civilisation and acquire access to every branch of human knowledge". Kimberley's reply was that the Greek language afforded "ample means not only for an ordinary education but for the attainment of a high degree of mental culture" (Georghallides 1979, 47–48).

In relation to the two major religious groups on the island the British administration favoured segregation. The political system that the British introduced in the 1882 constitution was founded on the assumption of persistent ethnic conflict and formalised ethnic divisions (Anthias 1992, 41). Between 1878 and 1882, under the instruction of the Foreign Office, Captain H. H. Kitchener (1882) conducted a survey of the island to compile a scientific map for the administration and development of the island. This survey divided the communities by mosque and church, emphasising difference (Kitchener 1882).

The Colonial administration oversaw the establishment of separate schools for the two communities, with Greek Cypriot schools teaching Greek history and Turkish Cypriot schools teaching Turkish history (Talbot and Cape 1914). There were separate Muslim and Christian electoral lists (Georghallides 1979, 45). In mixed communities there was a headman for each community, with two separate meetings relating to village issues (Wilson and Donnan 1929, 2). But did the British Empire penetrate the fabric of Cypriot culture? And what was the affect of empire on the lives of Cypriots in the villages and towns?

There can be no denying the impact that British had on the health, education and lives of townspeople and villagers over the period from 1878–1960. Fresh piped water, the clearing of wasteland, the eradication of malaria, the construction of roads, bridges and public buildings had major impacts on their lives. Not only did the health of the population improve the program of public works such as building and road construction provided jobs (especially in the post-war periods of economic decline), and once constructed, provided faster access and communication. The increase in the number of schools saw literary rates across the island improve, in particular in more isolated rural areas (Seretis, forthcoming).

However the imposed colonial rationality and order could be ignored within the colonies. In practice, colonial law and order could be transformed or transgressed. What was intended, and what came about in practice, was not

necessarily the same. The message the coloniser intended to give and how it was understood at the local level, by the colonised, did not always neatly follow suit.

The British colonial administration, unsuccessfully in the long term, attempted to introduce the formalised grid plan design into the future organisation of towns and villages. Even in Australia, where from the first, towns were planned European constructions, the grid plan did not last long. In 1809 Macquarie's grid plan for Sydney was outlined. By the 1830s Sydney had begun to grow, more influenced by topography than the Governor's plans. In the villages of Cyprus today house construction is still heavily influenced by the surrounding topography. The employment and training of Cypriots exerted a local influence on some of the government-constructed buildings (Schaar *et al.* 1995, 101–104), suggesting that the interaction between coloniser and colonised was not a one-way transfer of ideology and culture. Thus the local articulation of the global concept of imperialism, colonialism, is contextual and tied to a particular place and time.

Material culture identities

At the same time we need to consider that material culture can have multiple meanings and is not a simple reflection of the culture in which it is produced. Also those meanings change through time. Architecture and settlement patterns often outlast not only the generation that built them but also the ideology behind it. Through the use made of a building through time, we can show that the ideology that created the material culture is not followed and successive users do not necessarily have to be aware of it or believe in it. An example of this is the House of Hadjigeorgakis Kornessios, currently a museum in Nicosia. The material culture relating to the 18th century Greek Cypriot Hadjigeorgakis Kornessios, a Dragoman under the Ottoman Empire, can be interpreted in a number of ways. The role of the Office of the Dragoman was communication between the Ottomans and the subject populations. The duties (mainly financial) included the collection of taxes from the Christian population of the island (Rizopoulou-Egoumenidou 1993, 11).

Hadjigeorgakis's *konak* (house) contains the *kiosk* (enclosed wooden balcony), the *oda* (reception room), and a *hamam* (bath-house). Within the *konak* there are portraits of Hadjigeorgakis that show him with a *firman* (edict) and wearing the official headgear. But at the same time, Hadjigeorgakis was a practising Christian Orthodox Christian Greek; he paid for the construction of an Orthodox church, and can be seen on donor inscriptions. His house, the *konak*, reflects the 'Ottomanising' that took place throughout the Ottoman Empire and it clearly shows that on a spatial material level, Greek Orthodox Cypriot houses, in this case of high status, can be no different to those of Ottoman Muslims of a similar status. Today these houses are being purchased, restored and refurbished by Greek Cypriots, either as for use as offices, classrooms, homes, or as museums. The meanings and the use of the buildings are no longer the same, despite the same external façade and similar internal features.

In comparison to other colonial situations, the extent of adoption of 'British' portable material goods in Cyprus during the late 19th and early 20th centuries was not widespread through all classes on the island. It appears to have been restricted to the urban elite, or those who aspired to belong to this group (Seretis, forthcoming). Within the upper class of Cypriot society British influence is visible in both the adoption of European styles of clothing and other forms of material culture such as the furnishings of the period (for examples see Marangou 1995, 117). At this time, in places such as Australia and America, the widespread adoption of items such as transfer printed ceramics (whether foreign imports or locally produced) is seen as an imitation of British society, a way of displaying identity and is adopted by many different socio-economic groups. However perhaps, in Australia at least, this could be due to the lack of a pre-colonial pottery making tradition, or to 'cultural' ties to Britain as the motherland, or to British cultural tradition, rather than being a consequence of the establishment of Empire.

To date, of villages investigated across the island, none have evidence of large quantities of mass-produced ceramics, as opposed to the overwhelming amounts of village-produced pottery. Most of the villages that do have mass-produced wares are those where occupation has continued after 1964. The majority of these wares date to the mid- 20th century and not the 19th century (Seretis, forthcoming).

It is relatively difficult to tie material culture to a particular cultural or ethnic group (Jones 1997). Even when a particular item of material culture is linked to a specific group, the use of it by a different 'cultural' or 'ethnic' group does not have to imply the adoption of the belief system of that culture. In pre-1960s Cyprus it was not uncommon for Turkish Cypriots, in villages where there was no mosque, or nearby village with a mosque, to worship in an Orthodox Church. This phenomena is not uncommon in the Mediterranean world. Jane Cowan has witnessed similar practice in Northern Greece (Jane Cowan, pers. comm.). The important factor was that the building symbolised a place for worship, not whether it was Orthodox or Muslim.

Conclusion

Does the establishment of empire necessarily erode culture? Did the cultural variation found in Cypriot culture decline under the British Empire? Was it subsumed into British culture?

The answer is complex and the question needs to be broken down and re-examined to include an understanding of the local context. We need to reconsider the ways in

which empires are viewed and portrayed. The establishment of empire is not always accompanied by consequences such as circulation of mass-produced goods. It is dependent upon what the empire in question hopes to gain from the territory it is taking over. The analysis needs to address not just the impact of empire on the subject colony, but also to take into consideration how empires interact with and are transformed by those cultures they seek to dominate. The local articulation of the global concept of imperialism, colonialism, is contextual and tied to a particular place and time.

It is important to understand that the British Empire was not a timeless unchanging monolithic entity. The role and aims of the British Empire towards the end of the 19th century in Cyprus are very different from the role and aims of the British Empire that established colonies in the Americas in the early 17th century and Australia in the late 18th century. In October 1907 after a visit to Cyprus Winston Churchill, then Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, described it as "quite unworthy of Great Britain, and altogether out of accordance with the whole principles of our colonial policy in every part of the world" (Georghallides 1979, 17). In many aspects Churchill was right. However it is clear that Britain considered the occupation of Cyprus as a strategic move, positioning itself in a location close to two situations, the Russo-Turkish confrontation, and Suez and the Tigris-Euphrates Valley (Georghallides 1979; Patrick 1976, 5).

However, the British chose not to alter two aspects of Cypriot culture, language and religion. This played a fundamental role in the development of Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot identities throughout the 20th century. Thus regardless of the administrative changes, cultural differences (between the coloniser and the colonised) were not eroded. If anything we can see that the British administration played a role in the development of the nationalist causes on the island. This is perhaps most easily seen in the development of Enosis amongst the Greek Cypriots.

Another factor that needs consideration is the temporal landscape. Material culture does not change, nor is it adopted uniformly, at the same rate, across the landscape. Some areas of Cyprus, such as the cities of Nicosia, Larnaca and Limassol, have changed dramatically in the last 30 years. Yet you can drive through the Troodos and still see women riding donkeys to get to their agricultural fields, or farmers using donkeys to carry produce. At the same time you will see the 'city folk', with their four-door pickup trucks checking the family land. Women in villages still make *trahana*, families still have *pithoi* for their olives and wine. Men can still be found sitting in the coffee shops. The coffee shop is still a central focus in the village. In the mountain villages such as Farmakas, families still make their own wine. In Kornos the women still make pots. Families in Nicosia go to the mountains, collect olives from the family land and take them to the local olive press (now mechanised) and get their olive oil. Fruit and vegetables are still sold by villagers on Wednesdays and Saturdays in the old town of Nicosia.

It would appear that, regardless of intent, the establishment of the British Empire in Cyprus during the later 19th century, the government policy, which was based on religious difference, created and fostered cultural diversity as opposed to homogeneity amongst the peoples on the island. This diversity existed until the 1960s and the creation of the Republic of Cyprus. This year marks 40 years since Cyprus became a Republic in 1960. Perhaps there has not yet been enough time for the full effect of the British Empire to have emerged. Indeed with the physical presence of Britain in the form of the sovereign bases still on the island, perhaps the empire has not truly left.

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