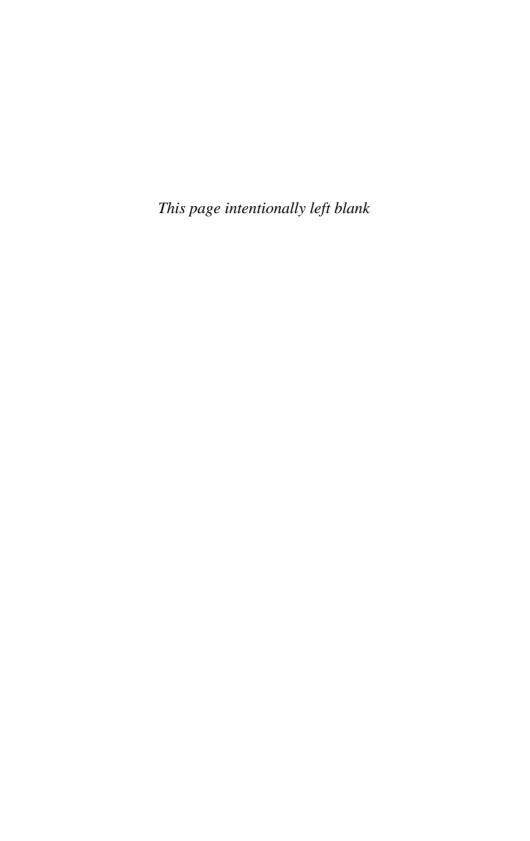
OXFORD

# PREHISTORIC & PROTOHISTORIC CYPRUS

Identity, Insularity and Connectivity

A. BERNARD KNAPP

#### PREHISTORIC & PROTOHISTORIC CYPRUS



## Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus

Identity, Insularity, and Connectivity

A. BERNARD KNAPP





Great Clarendon Street, Oxford ox2 6DP

Oxford University Press is a department of the University of Oxford. It furthers the University's objective of excellence in research, scholarship, and education by publishing worldwide in

#### Oxford New York

Auckland Cape Town Dar es Salaam Hong Kong Karachi Kuala Lumpur Madrid Melbourne Mexico City Nairobi New Delhi Shanghai Taipei Toronto

With offices in

Argentina Austria Brazil Chile Czech Republic France Greece Guatemala Hungary Italy Japan Poland Portugal Singapore South Korea Switzerland Thailand Turkey Ukraine Vietnam

Oxford is a registered trade mark of Oxford University Press in the UK and in certain other countries

Published in the United States by Oxford University Press Inc., New York

© A. Bernard Knapp 2008

The moral rights of the author have been asserted Database right Oxford University Press (maker)

First published 2008

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, without the prior permission in writing of Oxford University Press, or as expressly permitted by law, or under terms agreed with the appropriate reprographics rights organization. Enquiries concerning reproduction outside the scope of the above should be sent to the Rights Department, Oxford University Press, at the address above

You must not circulate this book in any other binding or cover and you must impose the same condition on any acquirer

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
Data available

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

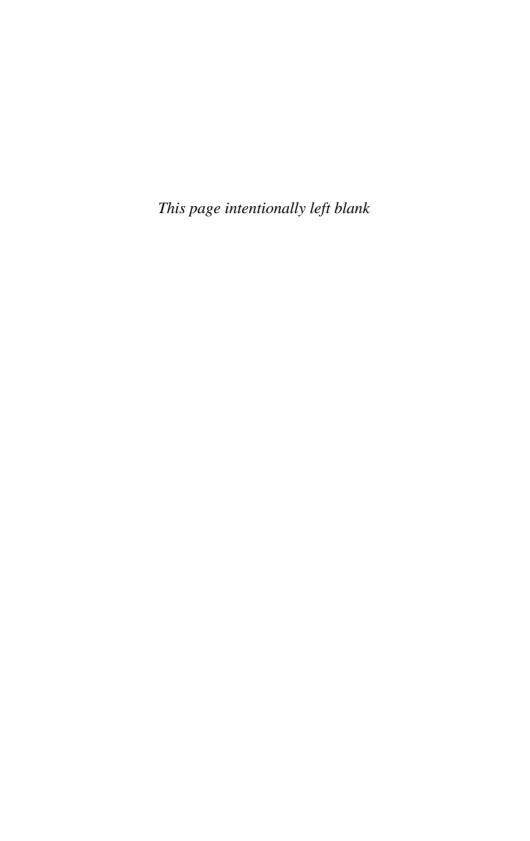
Data available

Typeset by SPI Publisher Services, Pondicherry, India Printed in Great Britain on acid-free paper by Biddles Ltd., King's Lynn, Norfolk

ISBN 978-0-19-923737-1

1 3 5 7 9 10 8 6 4 2

To all my Cypriote colleagues—in particular Vassos Karageorghis, Vasiliki Kassianidou, and Sophocles Hadjisavvas—who have helped in so many different ways to make my scholarly life a truly pleasant, exciting and gratifying experience.



## Preface and Acknowledgments

Over the past three decades, archaeologists working on Cyprus have produced an extraordinary amount of information stemming from new fieldwork (excavations, survey projects) and new research on individual classes of material (including single artefacts). And yet, with two recent exceptions (Bolger 2003; Steel 2004) that follow very different research agendas from my own, there has been no attempt to integrate all this new work and information into a comprehensive presentation of Cyprus's Bronze and Early Iron Ages. For such research-oriented reasons, and because I lecture in honours and postgraduate taught courses (Glasgow University, Department of Archaeology) dealing specifically with Cypriot and Mediterranean prehistory, I have long felt the need to produce an up-to-date, scholarly and provocative synthesis of all the archaeological and documentary evidence related to Cyprus's Bronze–Early Iron Ages.

With teaching support provided by the University of Glasgow Faculty of Arts and the Department of Archaeology (especially Peter van Dommelen and Michael Given), and through financial support from the AHRC (Arts and Humanities Research Council) Study Leave Programme (AN 4164/APN 16926) as well as a British Academy Small Grant (SG-37737), I was able to take a full year's study leave (January–December 2004). During this time, I conducted the bulk of the research essential for this monograph; the final writing of it has taken a further two years, alongside normal teaching and administrative demands.

The complexity and breadth of the topics, materials and ideas covered in this volume presented a real challenge, and I am deeply indebted to the following individuals, listed in alphabetical order, for their comments on earlier drafts of various sections, or on papers and lectures related to the end product. I relied heavily on their comments, but the opinions expressed and the interpretations presented in this study remain my own responsibility, not theirs.

John Bennet (University of Sheffield), on Linear B documents

Emma Blake (Tufts University), especially on habitus

Stephanie Budin (Temple University), on Cypriot and Levantine deities and syncretism

Shlomo Bunimowitz, Yuval Goren (Tel Aviv University), on analyses of *Alashiya* tablets

Kevin Fisher (University of Toronto), on ProBA architecture, monumentality and memory

Marina Gkiasta (Leiden University), on Crete and Cretan identities

Sophocles Hadjisavvas (Director, *Thetis*, Limassol, Cyprus), on Alassa *Paleotaverna* Susan Helft (University of Pennsylvania), on contacts between Cyprus and Hittite Anatolia

Maria Iacovou (University of Cyprus), on Early Iron Age Cyprus

Priscilla Keswani (independent scholar), on Bronze Age mortuary practices

Peter Loizos (London School of Economics), on ethnicity and identity

Sturt Manning (Cornell University), on Maroni, and PreBA migrations

Robert Merrillees (independent scholar), on PreBA migrations

James D. Muhly (American School of Classical Studies, Athens), on *Alashiya* and *Iadnana* 

Yiannis Papadakis (University of Cyprus), on (Cypriot) ethnicity and identity Anthony Spalinger (University of Auckland), on aspects of Egyptian documents Stuart Swiny (SUNY Albany), on various aspects of PreBA architecture and storage Peter van Dommelen (University of Glasgow), on hybridization and *habitus* Jenny Webb (La Trobe University, Melbourne), on various aspects of the PreBA (gender, dating) and the ProBA (architecture and monumentality, seals and sealings)

I also owe a debt of thanks to three anonymous reviewers of earlier drafts of this work, in particular for their piercing commentaries about structure, focus, and emphasis.

For papers, books and theses related to this study, I am indebted to the following scholars:

Albert Ammerman (Colgate University), for preprints of papers on what are likely the earliest, pre-Neolithic sites on Cyprus (now Ammerman and Noller 2005; Ammerman *et al.* 2006)

Sophia Antoniadou (Pierides Museum, Athens), for her Ph.D. thesis (Edinburgh, 2004), especially as related to certain historical aspects of the Aegean 'colonization' of Cyprus

John F. Cherry (Brown University), for various papers and references on Mediterranean island archaeology

Lindy Crewe (University of Manchester), for copies of her Ph.D. thesis (Edinburgh, 2004) and another paper in press, especially as related to the status of Enkomi

Kevin Fisher (University of Toronto), for a copy of his paper on architecture and inequality on Late Bronze Age Cyprus (Fisher 2006)

Giampaolo Graziadio (Università de Pisa), for a pre-publication copy of his paper on Aegean influence in Cypriot seals (Graziadio 2004)

David Frankel and Jenny Webb (La Trobe University, Melbourne), for endless papers related to their excavations at Marki *Alonia* (and for their tolerance of my contrary ways)

Maria Iacovou (University of Cyprus), for various papers on Early Iron Age Cyprus Edgar Peltenburg (University of Edinburgh), for preprints of papers on Late Chalcolithic Cyprus

Johannes Siapkas (University of Uppsala, Sweden), for a copy of his book on ethnicity (Siapkas 2003)

Peter van Dommlen (University of Glasgow), for various papers on hybridization

I also want to thank the following people for producing, or providing me with copies of, several illustrations used in this volume:

Luke Sollars (University of Glasgow), for the maps and for finalizing several other figures

Timmy Gambin (independent photographer) and Nick Vella, University of Malta, for images of Malta

David Frankel, Jenny Webb, and Rudy Frank (La Trobe University, Melbourne), for images related to their fieldwork at Marki *Alonia*, Cyprus

Stuart Swiny (SUNY–Albany) and photographer Douglas Kuylenstierna, for images related to fieldwork at Sotira *Kaminoudhia*, Cyprus

Michael Given (University of Glasgow), for images related to our fieldwork in Cyprus

Sophocles Hadjisavvas (Thetis Foundation, Limassol, Cyprus), for images related to fieldwork at Alassa *Paleotaverna* (provided by Cyprus Museum, Nicosia)

Priscilla Keswani (independent scholar), for Figure 35 (Enkomi tomb types)

Alison South, for images related to fieldwork at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Cyprus Edgar Peltenburg (University of Edinburgh), for Figure 43 (Enkomi 'fortress')

Kevin Fisher (University of Toronto), for Figures 44a, b (plans of Enkomi's 'Ashlar Building')

Jennifer Webb (University of Melbourne), for Figures 29a (*Paleoklichia* seal impression) and 45 (locus of Horned God, Enkomi).

I have dedicated this volume to all my Cypriote colleagues, but in particular to the following scholars:

- Vassos Karageorghis, who has (almost) always supported my research and fieldwork on Cyprus, even though my theoretical approach, as well as my writing style, offered particular challenges to his own ways of understanding Cypriot archaeology;
- (2) Vassiliki Kassianidou, who has served not only as my closest Cypriote colleague on three separate field projects in Cyprus, but has worked with me on two of them as co-director;
- (3) Sophocles Hadjisavvas, who not only supported my research over the years, but as Director of the Cyprus Department of Antiquities facilitated in every possible way the three field projects I have directed on the island.

I also wish to mention several other Cypriotes by name, who were instrumental in facilitating my fieldwork projects: George Constantinou (former Director of the Cyprus Geological Survey), Andreas Panaviotou (formerly of the Cyprus Geological Survey and Ministry of Agriculture), Constantine Xydas (former Director, Hellenic Mining Company), Demos Christou (former Director, Department of Antiquities), and Vathoulla Moustoukki (Secretary par excellence, Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute). Several other Cypriotes have been instrumental in teaching me about the archaeology and history of their island, and without excluding others I would single out in this regard Maria Iacovou, Dimitris Michaelides, and George Papasavvas (University of Cyprus); Despo Pilides, Maria Hadjicosti, Giorgos Georghiou, and Pavlos Flourentzos (all of the Cypriot Department of Antiquities, the last now its Director); Sophia Antoniadou (Curator, Pierides Museum of Ancient Cypriot Art ('Athinais'), Athens; and Pitsa Kenti (Rizokarpason High School, Ministry of Education and Culture, Cyprus). To all of you, I owe a debt I can never repay, but I hope this book takes one small step in that direction.

### Contents

List of Illustrations List of Abbreviations	
terranean Islands, Insularity, and Identity	3
ground and Current Research	10
s, Agendas, and Archaeological Constructs	13
d Archaeology, Insularity, and Island History	14
e Island Paradox	19
sularity and Connectivity	22
andscapes	24
and Identities	27
l Identity and Ethnicity, Migration, Acculturation, Hybridization	30
roduction	31
cial Identity	31
Social Identity and Archaeology	33
nnicity	35
Ethnicity and Archaeology	38
Archaeology, Ethnicity, and <i>Habitus</i>	41
gration	47
Migration and Archaeology	50
culturation	53
Acculturation and Archaeology	55
	duction terranean Islands, Insularity, and Identity ground and Current Research s, Agendas, and Archaeological Constructs d Archaeology, Insularity, and Island History e Island Paradox sularity and Connectivity andscapes and Identities d Identity and Ethnicity, Migration, Acculturation, Hybridization roduction cial Identity Social Identity and Archaeology anicity Ethnicity and Archaeology Archaeology, Ethnicity, and Habitus gration Migration and Archaeology culturation

xii Contents

	Hybridization	57
	Hybridization and Archaeology	59
	Summary and Conclusions	62
3.	Island Archaeology and Island History: Cyprus	66
	Archaeological Constructions: Innovation and Change	66
	Prehistoric Bronze Age (PreBA) Cyprus: A Social Approach	68
	Spatial Organization and Cultural Sequences	69
	Production and Exchange	74
	Production, Exchange, and Identity	81
	Material Culture and Mortuary Practices	82
	Mortuary Practices, Materiality, and Identity	86
	Representations	87
	Representation and Identity	92
	Individuals in Archaeology?	92
	Individuals in the Prehistoric Bronze Age	95
	Individuals and Identity—Broader Issues	101
	Migration and Hybridization	103
	The Anatolian Perspective	104
	An Alternative Perspective	110
	Hybridization in the PreBA	114
	Migration, Hybridization, and Identity	129
4.	Protohistoric Bronze Age Cyprus (ProBA):	
	A Sociohistorical Approach	131
	Settlement Trends	134
	Socio-political Organization	144
	Seals, Sealings, and Socio-political Organization	153
	Socio-political Organization and Identity	158

	Contents	xii
	Production and Exchange	159
	Production, Exchange, and Identity	172
	Gendered Representations	173
	Gendered Representations and Identity	186
	Mortuary Practices	186
	Mortuary Practices and Identity	199
	Architecture, Monumentality, and Memory	201
	The Case for Cyprus	206
	Monumental Structures of the ProBA	211
	Special-Purpose Sites and Structures of the ProBA	233
	Monumentality, Memory, and Identity	239
	Migrations and the Aegean 'Colonization' of Cyprus	249
	Other Aspects of Material Culture	259
	Migration and Hybridization in the ProBA	264
	Other Aspects of Material Culture	268
5.	The Earliest Iron Age: LC IIIB	281
	Hybridization in LC IIIB	286
	Historicity and Identity in Early Iron Age Cyprus	290
6.	Island History and Island Identity on Cyprus	298
	Alashiya and Protohistory	298
	The Identification of Alashiya with Cyprus	300
	Ku-pi-ri-jo/a, A-ra-si-jo, and Cyprus	303
	Alashiya—Cyprus in the Eastern Mediterranean	307
	Economy and Polity	307
	Society and Polity	315
	The Political Organization of Cyprus/Alashiya	324
	An Historical Overview of ProBA Cyprus: Texts and Archaeology	335

xiv Contents

	Elishah, 'lšyy and Iadnana: The Early Iron Age of Cyprus	341
	Archaeology, Texts, and Iron Age History	345
7.	Insularity, Connectivity, and Social Identity on Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus	348
	The Prehistoric Bronze Age	348
	The Protohistoric Bronze Age	357
	Early Iron Age Cyprus	368
8.	Islanders, Insularity, and Identity in the Mediterranean	373
	Island Identities	373
	Island Identities: Cyprus and the Mediterranean	376
	The Mediterranean and its Boundaries	382
	Comparative Studies and Mediterranean Island Archaeology	386
	Islands and Identities: Final Thoughts	388
	eferences	391
Ιn	dex	471

## List of Illustrations

- 1. Maps: (a) Cyprus in the Mediterranean, with sites, countries, and areas mentioned throughout the text; (b) Central Mediterranean; (c) Aegean; (d) Eastern Mediterranean. Prepared by Luke Sollars.
- 2. Ggantija, Late Neolithic megalithic complex, Gozo, Malta. Photograph by A. Bernard Knapp.
- Prehistoric Bronze Age 2 double-headed plank figurine, Dhenia. Cyprus Museum, No.1943/IV-13/4.
- 4. View of cliffs and clouds on Gozo (Malta), taken at approximately six nautical miles off the northwestern coast. Photograph by Timmy Gambin (provided by Dr Nicholas Vella, Department of Archaeology, University of Malta).
- 5. Kordin III boat model. Courtesy of the National Museum of Archaeology, Malta, photographic archive (provided by Dr Nicholas Vella, Department of Archaeology, University of Malta).
- 6. Melanesian island trading rings. Original drawing by Christina Sumner; redrawn by Luke Sollars.
- 7. Nuraghe Santa Barbara, Macomer, Sardinia. Photograph by A. Bernard Knapp.
- 8. Aerial photograph of Nuraghe Genna Maria, Villanovaforru, Sardinia. Courtesy of Parco e Museo, Genna Maria, Villanovaforru, and its Director, Mauro Perra.
- 9. Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus (map): sites, (modern) towns, and other areas mentioned in the text. Prepared by Luke Sollars.
- 10. PreBA site of Marki *Alonia*, view northeast. Photograph courtesy of David Frankel and Jennifer M. Webb, Directors of excavations at Marki *Alonia*.
- 11. PreBA site of Sotira *Kaminoudhia*, showing Areas A, B, and C. Photograph by Douglas Kuylenstierna, courtesy of Stuart Swiny, Director of excavations at Sotira *Kaminoudhia*.
- 12. Electrum earrings: Sotira *Kaminoudhia*. Photograph by Douglas Kuylenstierna, courtesy of Stuart Swiny, Director of excavations at Sotira *Kaminoudhia*.
- 13. Tools, pins, earrings, and other everyday copper objects: PreBA. Image courtesy of Stuart Swiny (first published in *Biblical Archaeologist* 52.4 [December 1989] p. 189).
- 14. Red Polished bowl ('enclosure model') from Bellapais *Vounous* (Tomb 22 no. 26). Courtesy of The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

- 15. Pierides Bowl (from Marki?). Prehistoric Bronze Age 1–2 Red Polished bowl, with genre scene of the life cycle (Pierides Collection; Larnaca). Courtesy of The Pierides Museum-Laiki Group.
- 16. Prehistoric Bronze Age 2 Plain Ware terracotta figurine, with breasts and penis. (Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow, No. ARCH NN 548). Courtesy of Kelvingrove Museum and Art Galley, Glasgow.
- 17. Red Polished ware plank figurines, Prehistoric Bronze Age 2. (a) Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. No. 1963/IV–20/12; (b) Cyprus Musuem, No. 1933/I–17/1 *Vounous*?). Courtesy of The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.
- 18. Late Chalcolithic Philia phase BA pottery distribution in Karkotis Valley, with location of Phlasou *Koutroullis* (Troodos Archaeological and Environmental Survey Project).
- 19. Decorated 'hob' (P2000) from Marki *Alonia*, with designs similar to those on plank figurines. Photograph by Rudy Frank; courtesy of David Frankel and Jennifer M. Webb, Directors of excavations at Marki *Alonia*.
- Red Polished model of 'ploughing scene from tomb at Vounous' (Vounous, Special Series no. 1, Cyprus Museum, Nicosia). Courtesy of The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.
- 21. Marki *Alonia* Phase D during Prehistoric Bronze Age 1 (EC I–II). Courtesy of David Frankel and Jennifer M. Webb, Directors of excavations at Marki *Alonia*.
- 22. Protohistoric Bronze Age Cyprus: sites, (modern) towns, and other areas mentioned in the text. Prepared by Luke Sollars.
- 23. Model representing agricultural, metallurgical, and social processes within the Protohistoric Bronze Age landscape, with site hierarchy indicated. Prepared by Michael Given.
- 24. Approximate settlement/site sizes of Protohistoric Bronze Age. Prepared by A. Bernard Knapp.
- 25. The Protohistoric Bronze Age smelting site Politiko *Phorades*—excavations, with *Kokkinorotsos* ore source in background. Phorades Excavations, A. Bernard Knapp.
- 26. ProBA cylinder seal impressions from various sites depicting oxhide ingots. Original drawing by Christina Sumner; redrawn by Luke Sollars (after Knapp 1986b: 38–9, table 2).
- 27. Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 faience conical *rhyton* from Kition (Cyprus Museum, Nicosia). Courtesy of The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.
- 28. Protohistoric Bronze Age 3 relief-carved ivory gaming box from Enkomi, British Tomb 58 (British Museum, London, Inv. no. 1894.4–1.996). © The Trustees of The British Museum.
- 29. (a) Analiondas *Paleoklichia* seal impression depicting an Aegean-style chariot hunt. Courtesy of Jennifer M. Webb; (b) Protohistoric Bronze Age seal impression

- from Alassa *Pano Mandilares* showing a horse-drawn chariot in bull hunt. Courtesy of Sophocles Hadjisavvas, Director of excavations at Alassa *Pano Mandilares*.
- 30. Type A, bird-faced, nude female figurine, holding an infant, Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 (Cyprus Museum, Nicosia. No. 1934/IV–27/23). Courtesy of The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.
- 31. Type B, normal-faced, nude female figurine with grooved and painted pubic triangle, Base-ring ware, Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 (Cyprus Museum, no. A 53). Courtesy of The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.
- 32. Nude bronze female figurine, standing on oxhide ingot, probably ProBA 2 (Bomford Collection, Ashmolean Museum, No. 1971.888). Courtesy of The Ashmolean Museum, University of Oxford.
- 33. Protohistoric Bronze Age female figurine ('goddess with uplifted arms') from Limassol *Komissariato* (Limassol District Museum, no. 580/8). Courtesy of The Limassol District Museum, and the Director, Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- 34. Katydhata *Laonarka* with tombs along and over the ridge at the left. Troodos Archaeological and Environmental Survey Project. Prepared by Michael Given.
- 35. Multiple Protohistoric Bronze Age tomb types as represented at Enkomi (after Keswani 2004: 111 fig. 5.3). Courtesy of Priscilla Keswani.
- 36. Elite tombs at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* situated beneath a N/S running street to the west of monumental Building X. Courtesy of Alison South, Director of excavations at *Ayios Dhimitrios*.
- 37. Grave goods (miscellaneous gold objects) accompanying burials in Tomb 11, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*. Courtesy of Alison South, Director of excavations at *Ayios Dhimitrios*.
- 38. Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 (LC IIA–B) Tomb 13, built over new structures (Building 1) at Maroni *Tsaroukkas* (after Manning 1998b: 48, fig. 3). Re-drawn by Luke Sollars.
- 39. Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 krater from Tomb 13 at *Ayios Dhimitrios*, showing a woman looking from a building. Courtesy of Alison South, Director of excavations at *Ayios Dhimitrios*.
- 40. Plan of Maroni *Vournes* with Ashlar, West, and Basin Buildings (after Manning 1998b: 52, fig. 4). Re-drawn by Luke Sollars.
- 41 (a), (b) Plan and isometric reconstruction of Alassa *Paleotaverna* Building II (after S. Hadjisavvas (ed.), *From Ishtar to Aphrodite: 3200 Years of Cypriot Hellenism. Treasures from the Museums of Cyprus*, p. 32, fig. 4. New York: Onassis Public Benefit Foundation, 2003). Courtesy of Sophocles Hadjisavvas.
- 42. Enkomi overall site plan showing various monumental, architectural, and archaeometallurgical features (after Courtois 1982: 156, fig. 1). Re-drawn by Luke Sollars.

- 43. Plan showing 'devolution' of the Enkomi 'fortress', Protohistoric Bronze Age 1–2: from top, Levels IB, IIA, IIB, IIIA (after Pickles and Peltenburg 1998: 89, fig. 2). Courtesy of Edgar Peltenburg.
- 44. (a) Isometric plans of Enkomi Ashlar Building: Level IIIA. Source: Fisher 2006 (after Dikaios 1969, plates 274, 277). Courtesy of Kevin Fisher; (b) Isometric plans of Enkomi Ashlar Building: Level IIIB. Source: Fisher 2006 (after Dikaios 1969, plates 274, 277). Courtesy of Kevin Fisher.
- 45. Possible locus of the Horned God within Enkomi's 'Sanctuary of Horned God' (after Webb 1999: 98, fig. 40). Courtesy of Jennifer M. Webb.
- 46. Plan of Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 Kition, Area II, showing main architectural features and archaeometallurgical installations (after Karageorghis 1976: 63–4, fig. 11). Re-drawn by Luke Sollars.
- 47. Sanctuary I, Protohistoric Bronze Age 3 Kouklia *Palaepaphos*, showing the dressed limestone orthostats of the courtyard. Photograph by A. Bernard Knapp.
- 48. Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 'Sanctuary' at Myrtou *Pigadhes*, Periods V–VI (after Du Plat Taylor 1957: 11, fig. 7). Re-drawn by Luke Sollars.
- 49. View over Hala Sultan Tekke *Vyzakia*, with modern town of Larnaca in background (October 2004). Photograph by A. Bernard Knapp.
- 50. Landward (eastern) wall at Maa *Palaeokastro* (November 2004). Photograph by A. Bernard Knapp).
- 51. Gateway community model of Larnaca Bay sites, showing possible port settlement for Pyla (Dhekelia) (after Stanley Price 1979: 80, fig. 20). Re-drawn by Luke Sollars.
- 52. Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 (LH IIIA2) krater from Pyla *Verghi*, Tomb 1, no. 36 (Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, inv. no. CM 1952/IV–12/1). Courtesy of The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.
- 53. Alassa *Paleotaverna*: sunken rectangular feature in south wing, Building II, with ashlar walls behind (October 2004). Photograph by A. Bernard Knapp.
- 54. Strainer jug from Kouklia (Tomb KA TI) with (a) hybridized Aegean- or Levantine-style birds and (b) Cypriot-style bulls (Kouklia Museum, Cyprus). Courtesy of The Kouklia Museum, and the Director, Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- 55. Ivory mirror handle from Kouklia *Evreti* Tomb KTE VIII, depicting Aegean-style clad warrior (Cyprus Museum, Inv. no. K.T.E. T.8/34). Courtesy of The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.
- 56. Protohistoric Bronze Age 3 (LC IIC-IIIA) four-sided bronze stand, probably from Episkopi (Kourion) (British Museum, Inv. no. BM 1920/12–20/1). © The Trustees of The British Museum.
- 57. Haematite cylinder seal from Enkomi, with Aegean-style clad male figure holding two lions by the ears, Levantine fashion (Cyprus Museum, French Mission 1934, Trial Trench 2). Courtesy of The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.

- 58. Protohistoric Bronze Age 3 (LC IIIA) statuette of the Horned God from Enkomi (Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, no. 1948: 190). Courtesy of The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.
- 59. Protohistoric Bronze Age 3 (LC IIIA) statuette of the Ingot God from Enkomi (Cyprus Museum, Nicosia, French Mission 1963, no. 16.15). Courtesy of The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.
- 60. Early Iron Age Cyprus: sites, (modern) towns, and other areas mentioned in the text. Prepared by Luke Sollars.
- 61. Early Iron Age Proto-White Painted stirrup jar from the cemetery of Gastria *Alaas* (Tomb 19, no. 3, Cyprus Museum). Courtesy of The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.
- 62. Bronze *obelos* with Cypriot syllabic inscription, from Palaepaphos *Skales* (Tomb 49, no. 16, Cyprus Museum). Courtesy of The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.
- 63. Gold sceptre from Tomb 40 at Episkopi *Kaloriziki*. Courtesy of The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.
- 64. Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 silver figurine with kilted male figure standing on a stag, from Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* Tomb 12 (Cyprus Museum, K–AD 1599). Courtesy of Alison South and The Cyprus Museum, Nicosia.
- 65. Step model illustrating episodes of social complexity alternating with periods of stasis or collapse (after Allen 1984: 444, fig. 2). Re-drawn by Luke Sollars.
- 66. Status insignia and ProBA ideological system (after Knapp 1986b: fig. 4). Re-drawn by Luke Sollars.

## List of Abbreviations

EA	(El Amarna): cuneiform texts (letters) as numbered in J.A. Knudtzon, <i>Die El-Amarna Tafeln</i> . 2 volumes. Leipzig: Hinrich, 1910, 1915.
KBo	Keilschrifttexte aus Boğazköy. Berlin: Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft.
KUB	Keilschrift Urkunden aus Boğazköy. Berlin: Institut für Orientforschung.
RS	Ras Shamra—prefix for field numbers of tablets and other registered finds of the French Archaeological Mission to Ras Shamra (Ugarit).

Cyprus has long held a strategic, if somewhat liminal position in the protracted history and prehistory of the Mediterranean world. The peoples and cultures of Cyprus—past and present—have made major cultural and economic impacts throughout the region. Yet no published work treats its most formative periods—the Bronze Age and Early Iron Age—in a holistic manner, and none even attempts to examine insularity and island identity from a comparative, social and historical perspective. The study of Cyprus's prehistoric and early historic past has been dominated by a tendency to see the island's social, economic, cultural, and even artistic development as the result of migrations, invasions, colonization, diffusion, or other external factors, whether Near Eastern or Aegean (or both) in origin. Such an approach distorts the diachronic history of Cyprus and precludes attempts to consider how insularity and local enterprise impacted on the islanders' identity (or identities) and the emergence of a complex, hierarchical society. The indigenous inhabitants of Cyprus remain unseen and unheard from such a perspective, and this at a time when 'multivocality' and the local invigorate and structure both historical and social scientific practice. To study how any society changes, at any time, it is crucial first to look at internal rather than external factors. In turn, the changes observed must be seen as the result of socio-cultural processes and individual human actions operating both within and between the societies in question (Renfrew 2004: 263-4).

During the course of the Bronze Age (c.2700/2650–1100 BC), Cypriot society underwent a transformation from an isolated, village-based culture into an international, town-centred, perhaps even state-level polity. Interpretations of these developments differ radically. One school of thought maintains that migrating groups from Anatolia had a major impact on Cyprus's Early Bronze Age culture (e.g. Webb and Frankel 1999; Frankel 2000) whereas another holds that local responses to social pressures and economic demand (e.g. prestige-goods exchange) provided the stimulus for change (e.g. Manning 1993; Knapp 1990a, 1993, 2001). Others see the development of social complexity during the Late Bronze Age as stemming from processes of urbanization, state formation, or 'heterarchical' society (Negbi 1986; Keswani

1996; Peltenburg 1996). The foundation of the island's earliest Iron Age society has long been associated with a colonization by people from the Aegean region (e.g. Snodgrass 1988; Karageorghis 1994, 2001c; Iacovou 1999b), but the actual process involved is now widely debated (e.g. Sherratt 1992, 1998; Steel 1998, 2001; Leriou 2002a, 2002b). Although Cyprus's rich material record might be 'read' in all these diverse ways, none of these interpretations fully engages the material evidence with the relevant, contemporary, cuneiform and other documentary records (19th–8th centuries BC) from ancient western Asia and the eastern Mediterranean, including the Aegean, to attempt an historical approach (cf. Knapp 1979; Baurain 1984).

In terms of approach, I present first (Chapter 1) a background discussion of Mediterranean islands in general, treating more specifically current issues and agendas relating to insularity, island archaeology, islandscapes, and island identities. I then introduce (Chapter 2) several theoretical themes—ethnicity, social identity, and habitus; migration and colonization; acculturation and hybridization—that are revisited in the subsequent chapters on Cyprus. In Chapters 3–5, where the material culture of prehistoric and protohistoric Cyprus is presented essentially in chronological order (but not as a sequential narrative 'history'), my choice of topics is necessarily selective but intended to be broadly representative of the Cypriot archaeological record. Thus I discuss settlement trends and spatial organization, production and exchange, mortuary practices, gendered representations, architecture and monumentality, migrations and hybridization. In Chapter 6, I provide an in-depth, synthesized analysis of all documentary evidence related to Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Cyprus. These documents offer crucial information for understanding the social and economic facets, as well as the political organization of late prehistoric and early protohistoric Cyprus; they also provide a unique perspective on issues related to insularity and island identity. In Chapter 7, I integrate all this material and documentary evidence into a discussion of different Cypriot polities during the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, and the consequent, ever-changing aspects of Cypriot island identities. In Chapter 8, I consider the implications of the Cypriot case for a broader study of the large Mediterranean islands, one that considers how factors such as insularity and connectivity may impact on the social organization, geopolitical configuration, and social identity of prehistoric and early historic Mediterranean islanders.

In presenting my own particular view of Cypriot pre- and protohistory, I proceed on three different levels of analysis and interpretation, On the first level, I reconsider and reformulate some of my own, earlier work on the major social and economic transformation that ushered in the Cypriot Bronze Age (e.g. Knapp 1990a, 1993, 2001), and reassess how the elite-driven international trade that typified the Middle–Late Bronze Ages impacted on several

striking changes that appear for the first time in the Cypriot archaeological record: town centres; fortifications; first use of writing; socially distinct mortuary practices; intensified copper production; and increased interregional trade (e.g. Knapp 1986a, 1994, 1998).

On the second level, I consider how these developments and other, related factors—spatial organization, monumental architecture, gendered representations, mortuary practices, hybridization, distance and the exotic—are related to two situations where archaeologists have sought to identify the existence of migrating or colonizing ethnic groups on Cyprus:

- Beginning of the Early Bronze Age (Anatolians) (Webb and Frankel 1999; Frankel 2000, 2005; cf. Knapp 2001).
- End of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (Mycenaeans) (Catling 1973; Nicolaou 1973; Karageorghis 1994; cf. Sherratt 1994; Steel 1998, 2001; Leriou 2002a, 2002b).

In the second situation, documentary evidence can be engaged fully and integrated closely with the archaeological (e.g. Knapp 1996a).

On the third level, I consider how factors such as insularity, connectivity, ethnicity, and hybridity impacted on island society and island identity, and how islanders might have invoked insularity as a 'resistant' identity (Broodbank 2000: 33). Throughout I attempt to assess how islanders used material culture consciously to fashion their identities and to establish island social, economic, and political practices.

#### MEDITERRANEAN ISLANDS, INSULARITY, AND IDENTITY (FIGURE 1a-d)

Amongst hundreds of islands scattered across the Mediterranean Sea, the large islands of Sicily, Sardinia, Cyprus, Corsica, and Crete (in order of size) stand out because of their spatial extent, natural resources, geographic configuration (relative isolation), and markedly different cultural traditions. The Maltese and Balearic (Mallorca, Menorca) islands, although much smaller in size, also present strikingly different traditions, not least in their monumental building practices (Figure 2). The situation of all these islands on major routes of interaction and commerce within the Mediterranean, moreover, means that they frequently participated in Mediterranean-wide trends and innovations (Bietti Sestieri *et al.* 2002: 420–9). What has been singularly lacking in all previous archaeological research on these islands, however, is

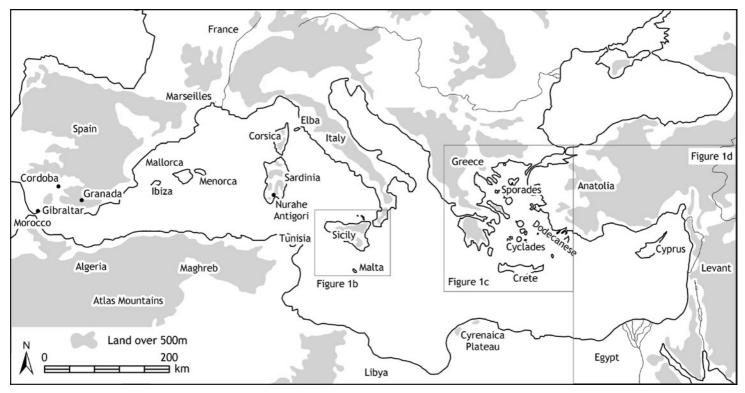
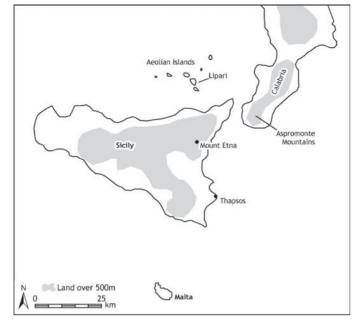
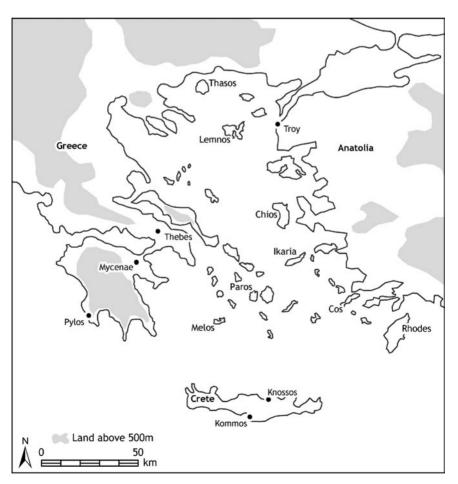
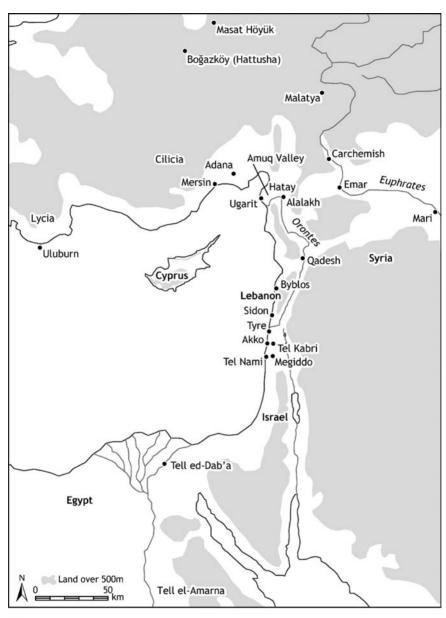


Figure 1: 1a: Map: Cyprus in the Mediterranean, with sites, countries, and areas mentioned throughout the text; 1b: central Mediterranean; 1c: Aegean; 1d: Eastern Mediterranean.



1b.





1d.

6



Figure 2: Ggantija Late Neolithic megalithic complex, Gozo, Malta.

the systematic comparison of their many and distinctive cultural developments, and how factors such as insularity and local enterprise impacted on the islanders' social identities, ideologies, iconographies, and economies.

Adopting a conceptually new and distinctive approach, this study seeks specifically to examine insularity, connectivity, and island identities on prehistoric and protohistoric Cyprus. In a very preliminary manner, and in its conclusion, this volume also seeks to extrapolate from the Cypriot case in order to comment on the social identity of prehistoric or early historic Mediterranean islanders on a comparative, Mediterranean-wide scale. The integration and synthesis of a large corpus of data into an interpretive context structured around issues of insularity, connectivity, and island identity, seen through social and historical lenses, have broad implications for the comparative study of islands throughout Mediterranean pre- and proto-history.

The present volume proceeds by drawing out some of the tensions between different ways of thinking about insularity and connectivity, islandscapes, and island identities. At the same time, it makes extensive use of documentary evidence to re-present the Cypriot and the Mediterranean past. Research already published on Sardinia, Sicily, Malta, and Crete lays some of the groundwork for a larger project, which nonetheless demands a more comprehensive and comparative approach, one that will pave the way for further, in depth, research endeavours into island archaeologies and island identities on a broader scale. In addition, I attempt to place some key theoretical concepts on a firmer archaeological footing, and at the same time to advance the study of the Mediterranean past in a manner that confronts unexplored

ideas, crosses traditional boundaries, offers unexpected insights, and extrapolates from such ideas and insights to consider similar patterns and problems in the Mediterranean island context.

In particular, I consider and assess the diverse ways that archaeologists have thought and written on the following, interlinked themes:

Insularity and connectivity in historical perspective: how do islanders consciously fashion their world and establish their identities (e.g. Rainbird 1999; Broodbank 2000)? Insularity is historically contingent and socially constructed, like island identity itself, and must be evaluated from the islanders' perspective of both land and sea. This study considers insularity in the context of broader island-mainland or inter-island relations (connectivity), to gain insights into the ways that distance and the exotic impact on people, materials, and ideologies. Ancient documentary sources also offer crucial insights into pre- or protohistoric society. For example, contemporary cuneiform records referring to the Bronze Age kingdom of Alashiya (Cyprus—see Knapp 1985, 1996: 1–13: Goren *et al.* 2003) reveal that by the 14th century BC, Alashiya was perceived by Egypt's pharaoh to be politically equivalent to other eastern Mediterranean states and to be an active participant in the elite, international exchanges of that time. We even know the name of one, 13th century BC Cypriot king, Kushmeshusha, who sent two letters addressed to his 'son', the king of Ugarit in Syria (Malbran-Labat 1999). Analysed critically, such records provide a unique and independent corpus of evidence for a new island history.

Social identity and ethnicity: how can archaeologists integrate historical or mythological evidence in their attempts to (re)construct identity and ethnicity (Hall 1997, 2002; Malkin 1998)? Shared social practices—imprinted materially as symbols, bodily ornament, utensils, and tools—may be actively involved in signifying ethnicity or in creating and expressing social identities. Malkin (1998: 155–60), for example, argues that a small cup from a juvenile's burial at Pithekoussai in the Bay of Naples—inscribed I am the cup of Nestor'—not only reveals some familiarity with the Homeric *Iliad* but also suggests that the cup's owner and the child's family were Euboian Greeks. To take a strictly material example, the 'plank figurines' of Early-Middle Bronze Age Cyprus (Figure 3), whilst ambiguous in their sexuality, have been seen as markers of individual identities (Knapp and Meskell 1997), as well as 'paraphernalia of power' that reflect emerging social complexity on the island (Talalay and Cullen 2002). By engaging such material evidence with the documentary (where available) and by crossing the age-old divide between prehistoric (Bronze Age) and early historic (Iron Age) cultures in the Mediterranean (e.g. Renfrew 1980; 2003: 317-18; Snodgrass 1985, 2002; Dyson 1993), this study presents new, comparative insights into unresolved, deep

**Figure 3:** Prehistoric Bronze Age 2 double-headed plank figurine, Dhenia.



research issues such as the emergence of complex, early state societies. Together with recent work on migration, acculturation, and hybridization (e.g. Anthony 1990; Chapman and Hamerow 1997a; Cusick 1998; van Dommelen 2006), this aspect also considers how and why people move, what is involved in inter-cultural contacts, how different identities are likely to be proclaimed as distinguishing features, and what kinds of materials might mark all these different factors.

Islandscapes: how do we move beyond landscape studies *per se* (Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Ucko and Layton 1999), and integrate that research into a broader study of social interaction and community relations on Mediterranean islands? 'Islandscapes' (Broodbank 2000: 21–3) have physical manifestations combining land and sea, and equally are constructed and modified by people. Intensive regional survey projects throughout the Mediterranean (e.g. Cherry *et al.* 1991; Jameson *et al.* 1994; Barker *et al.* 1996) have reoriented an earlier focus on urban centres and elites into a more broadly based vision of individuals, rural communities (e.g. Knapp 2003; Riva 2005), and social practice. This study makes judicious use of new evidence from a wide range of survey projects, our own included (Given *et al.* 2002; Given and Knapp

2003; Boutin *et al.* 2003), alongside published data from earlier surveys and excavations, to consider the nature and diversity of Mediterranean islandscapes, and in turn to examine how island communities form, inter-relate, and endure.

#### BACKGROUND AND CURRENT RESEARCH

Several recent publications in Mediterranean island archaeology resonate with themes that have in part structured the present study. Notable amongst them are (1) Broodbank's (2000) study on the early Cyclades, (2) Hall's studies (1997, 2002) on ethnicity and identity in the Iron Age-Classical Greek world, (3) Horden and Purcell's (2000) study of ancient-medieval Mediterranean history, in particular its theme of 'connectivity', and (4) a series of recent, synthetic publications on regional survey archaeology and Mediterranean landscapes (e.g. Barker and Mattingly 1999-2000; Alcock and Cherry 2004; Iacovou 2004). Whereas Broodbank's work treated in a new and dynamic manner issues related to island archaeology and islandscapes in the Cyclades, the present work develops and expands upon those ideas by looking beyond the Aegean to Cyprus and in some small measure to the other large Mediterranean islands. Bietti Sestieri (2003; also Bietti Sestieri et al. 2002: 429) regards these same large Mediterranean islands as playing a primary role in the establishment and continuity of systematic relationships amongst structurally different Mediterranean polities throughout the second and early first millennia BC.

Hall's research into Greek myths as they may be related to ethnic origins offers new insights into the series of disturbances and population movements that took place in the Late Bronze Age–Early Iron Age Mediterranean. Combined with an approach that revolves around the concept of hybridization and a critique of 'acculturation', Hall's work also facilitates a better understanding of the purported Mycenaean colonization of Cyprus at the end of the Bronze Age, not to mention Phoenician and Greek presence throughout the Mediterranean during the Iron Age. Equally important, Hall considers how ethnic groups construct and reaffirm their identities discursively through the media of myths and ethnography. Malkin's (1998, 2002) work on 'return myths' (e.g. Odysseus) expands the parameters of this approach to examine colonial encounters between Greeks and natives in the central Mediterranean and, crucially for this study, reveals an articulation between notions of ethnicity, hybridity, and collective identities.

Horden and Purcell's (2000) magisterial work on Mediterranean history, from classical antiquity through the medieval period, emphasizes a 'deterioration' in

the coherence of geohistorical studies related to the wider Mediterranean world, not least because most specialized practitioners are incapable of keeping up with wider developments in the region. Their own aim is to challenge simplistic notions of Mediterranean cultural unity, and instead to look at the divergent forms of variation, similarity, unity, and diversity, and the 'differences which resemble' throughout the Mediterranean. Mediterranean regional studies and regional survey archaeology increasingly engage with issues related to Mediterranean cultural unity, and/or diversity as well as ancient Mediterranean identities, all issues that warrant attention from a deeper, comparative research perspective.

Finally, and looking more specifically at Cyprus, Frankel and Webb have argued in a long series of recent publications that the migration of a 'focal Anatolian ethnic group' to Cyprus during the terminal Chalcolithic phase may account for a series of innovations seen in the Cypriot archaeological record, and may serve to explain the emergence of a more complex, Bronze Age society on the island (Frankel et al. 1996; Frankel and Webb 1998, 2004, 2006a: 305-8; Webb and Frankel 1999; Frankel 2000, 2005). These detailed empirical studies have prompted others to accept the notion of an ethnic migration from Anatolia to Cyprus in the earliest stages of the Bronze Age (e.g. Peltenburg et al. 1998: 256–8; Bolger 2003: 62, 197, 222–3). It is therefore crucial to re-visit their overall argument—in particular their treatment of issues related to ethnicity, migration, acculturation, and habitus—by reconsidering Cyprus's Prehistoric Bronze Age (PreBA) archaeological record in terms of the hybridization of cultures. I adopt the same line of critique to reconsider the widely accepted notion of an Aegean 'colonization' of Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age, and the possible movements of Mycenaeans and 'Sea Peoples' in the Mediterraenan.

The material and documentary evidence available for the study of Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Cyprus has increased exponentially in recent years. Issues related to materiality, production and trade, migration and colonization have long formed the cornerstone of Cypriot archaeology but the underlying concepts—ethnicity, social identity, insularity, and connectivity—have never been made explicit, let alone examined in a theoretically-informed manner. Moreover, an underlying scepticism about the identification of Bronze Age Cyprus (*Alashiya*) in the rich documentary record of the ancient Near East has long hampered a synthesized account that informs, compliments, and contrasts the material record. Such an account offers the potential for a comprehensive study of the socio-political organization of Bronze Age Cyprus, as well as its economic and ideological relationships with the surrounding cultures of Egypt and the Levant. By addressing directly the theoretical underpinnings of various interpretations of the material record, and by comparing and contrasting that record with the relevant documentary

evidence, this study seeks to uncover the social identity of prehistoric Cypriot islanders within the Mediterranean context, and aims to provide a new island archaeology and island history of Cyprus. I turn now to consider the diverse issues, agendas, and archaeological constructs that inform the theoretical underpinnings of this study.

# Issues, Agendas, and Archaeological Constructs

... not all islands are equal; some are tiny, others are huge, some are mountainous, others flat, some are friendly and welcoming, others are hostile and 'insular', some are linked in an archipelago, others are solitary and confined, some are multiethnic/multi-cultural, others are relatively homogeneous, some are hot, others are cold. (Kohn 2002: 40)

Islands, whatever their location and configuration, are compelling places to study, conduct fieldwork, take a holiday, or even live your life. As an archetype, however, islands typically are viewed as remote, and portrayed in romantic imagery as backwaters, untainted by the ills of modern civilizations, places where life is lived at a slower pace, closer to nature, and amongst people of like mind (McKechnie 2002: 128). Whether they appeal to people's needs for isolation or security, living in an exotic environment, or re-inventing oneself, islands provide an endless source of fascination, fantasy, hope, and anxiety. They offer fodder for poetic, literary, mythological, metaphorical, musical, cinematic, even psychological consumption.

The Pacific, Caribbean, and Mediterranean islands, in particular, have served as rich and diverse arenas for ethnographic fieldwork and research. Such work has made a major impact on the theory and practice of island archaeology (e.g. Keegan 1994; Patton 1996; Spriggs 1997; Broodbank 2000; Fitzpatrick 2004; Rainbird 2004). Increasingly this is the case also for islands the world around, including but by no means limted to the Hebrides (e.g. Mithen 2001; Parker Pearson 2004), the Orkneys (e.g. Renfrew 1985; Richards 1996, 2003), Madagascar (Dewar and Wright 1993) and the Andaman Islands (Cooper 2002). All these studies concern themselves, to varying extents, with island societies and focus on questions of insularity, island biogeography, social geography, and island identities. Many seek to answer questions such as: why do island societies exhibit special features that set them apart from continental ones? To what extent do people impact on insular environments and, conversely, how do insular settings shape, constrain, or change the actions and attitudes of islanders? How does insularity affect an islander's identity and the course of people's everyday lives? How and why does island material culture differ from that of mainlands? Why do people choose to live on islands and how do they manage in an insular setting? What sort of relations exist between island societies, or between islanders and non-islanders?

Bearing in mind such broader questions, the present study has more limited aims:

- (1) to examine how insularity and identity operate in pre- and proto-historic contexts;
- (2) to consider how physical as well as mental islandscapes have been constructed and modified within the Mediterranean, in particular on Cyprus;
- (3) to reassesses certain archaeological assumptions about how islanders interact with other islanders or non-islanders, especially with respect to their ethnicity and identity, or to situations of migration and hybridization.

Two themes that reverberate throughout are *connectivity* (mobility, trade, and exchange) and *colonization* (including aspects of migration and hybridization)—as modes of inter-island contact, and as mechanisms that served, at least in part, to establish, motivate or modify island identities within Cyprus and the ancient Mediterranean. In each case, I seek to unravel these themes by engaging the socially dynamic and historically contingent factor of *insularity*. Because no single island constitutes the ideal unit of analysis, and because there may be as many social (and ethnic) boundaries, or connections, within an island as there are between an island and near or distant mainlands and other islands, these issues warrant attention from a comparative perspective.

## ISLAND ARCHAEOLOGY, INSULARITY, AND ISLAND HISTORY

Island archaeology is worth doing because islands exist in profusion and because their archaeology is undeniably fascinating. This is reason enough, as Pacific archaeologists seem the readiest to recognise. Or if there must be a justification, let it be that island societies as they once existed have all but vanished, and that archaeology is our only avenue into most islands' past for most of the time. (Broodbank 2000: 32)

The emergence of island archaeology as a distinctive sub-field can be traced to a handful of scholars working in insular contexts, where they established and refined a series of (mainly biogeographic) concepts related to insularity, adaptation, equilibrium or extinction, and social change (e.g. Evans 1973, 1977; Cherry 1981, 1985; Kirch 1986, 1991; Terrell 1986, 1988; Keegan and Diamond 1987; Held 1992, 1993). Rainbird (2004: 63) regards such

approaches to island societies as neo-evolutionary and environmentally deterministic, viewing islands in isolation (as 'laboratories') and placing them at the mercy of climatic and ecological factors (also Terrell *et al.* 1997). Even if biogeographic approaches and analogies at times may be misleading (Patton 1996: 24–6; Broodbank 2000: 26–32), the study of island colonizations and insularity can profit from considering certain biogeographic principles and processes: dispersal, adaptation and survival, extinction; isolation, constraints and opportunities, abnormal development; size, distance, and configuration; social fusion and fission; cooperation and competition (Cherry 2004).

Current approaches to island archaeology are more socially focused and consider how islanders consciously fashion, develop, and change their world (including its materiality), how they establish or modify their identities through interactions with other islanders and non-islanders (e.g. Cherry 1990; Rainbird 1999, 2004; Patton 1996; Terrell *et al.* 1997; Kirch 2000; Parker Pearson 2004). Broodbank (1993, 2000), for example, considers insularity not just in biogeographic terms but also in the context of broader island—mainland or inter-island relations, which helps us to examine the ways that distance and the exotic—as symbolic resources and the essence of otherness—impact on the movement of people and materials (based on Helms 1988; see also Knapp 1998, 2006). Robb (2001: 191–2), to cite another example, views islands as inhabited metaphors with natural symbols of boundedness; for him, geography represents social knowledge, and travel is seen as a means to forge and establish island identities.



Figure 4: View of cliffs and clouds on Gozo (Malta), taken at approximately six nautical miles off the northwestern coast.

Although islands are typically more susceptible to exploitation than mainlands, at the same time they are surrounded by the sea, which offers a potential cornucopia of exploitable resources. Because insularity—like island identity itself—is spatially conditioned, historically contingent and culturally constructed, the study of islanders must engage their own perspective, which incorporates dry land (inhabited and bush), the coastal littoral, and the sea (Figure 4). Whereas the beach may serve as a sort of contact point with the outside world, the sea may be seen as an immense threshold, bridge, or barrier between what is near and familiar, and what is far and exotic (Helms 1988: 24-5). Grima (2001: 56-7) suggests that, on Malta, representational carvings of animals at Tarxien (inland) and of fish at Bugibba (on the northeast coast), and of differing spiral designs at both sites, may represent the cosmological domains of land and sea, the two most inevitable components of an islander's identity. Representations of seagoing craft in Malta's monumental complexes—graffiti at Tarxien, a boat-shaped threshold stone at Kordin III (Vella 2004: 28) (Figure 5)—were placed in boundary areas of the structure. Such positioning may point to a ritual replication of the junctures between the maritime and terrestrial domains, recalling the islanders' own experience of the land and the sea (Grima 2001: 62-3; Tilley 2004: 136-7).

Island archaeology and island history today seek first and foremost to adopt this islander perspective (the land and the sea), only secondarily to incorporate the viewpoints of outsiders—amongst whom must be included



Figure 5: Kordin III boat model.

not just archaeologists and ethnographers but all those who colonized, raided, or traded with islands, and left behind material, biological (disease-related) or written evidence of their activities. Yet this rush to adopt an internal, insular perspective and to dispense with the notion of isolation must be offset by considering carefully how external ideas, ideologies, and technologies impacted on islanders' thoughts, actions and well-being (e.g. Terrell et al. 1997). Broodbank (2000: 10–11) argues that in order to conceptualize, analyse, and re-write island archaeologies and histories, we need to engage both with 'linear', narrative approaches that are sensitive to the individual dynamics of insular living, and with 'reticulate' models that consider how these dynamics interfaced with broader, often dense and entangled interaction spheres (e.g. Terrell 1988). At the same time, however, Broodbank harbours some reservations about the value of external oral or written sources (e.g. ancient documentary evidence, early colonial diaries, journals or navigators' reports, ethnographies, oral histories) for re-presenting island pasts. Thus he maintains: '... island history from the mid-eighteenth century AD back into the Pleistocene must be island archaeology, or essentially nothing at all' (Broodbank 2000: 15). As we shall see, the limitations of such testimonies are at times more than offset by the unique, contemporary insights they provide on insular peoples, places and patterns of contact.

If some islands, especially those of volcanic origin, enjoyed a special importance because of the raw materials they contained, or even the food they could produce (Gosden and Pavlides 1994: 166-8), others came into prominence because they were strategically located—whether as steppingstones to other islands and mainland coasts, or as convenient stopovers for merchants or vovagers involved in long-distance trade. Foodstuffs occasionally served as commodities in their own right, but raw materials, essential goods, and luxury items made up the most common components of interisland trade in the prehistoric and early historic Mediterranean. Some islands retained their economic status long after demand for certain resources dried up, or when the location and direction of regional trade shifted. External links—e.g. barter, trade, personal contacts, or outsiders seeking direct access to island resources—helped to reduce the risks and allay the shortages associated with island life. At the same time, these links entailed certain social conditions (e.g. kin-based relations; alliance networks) or material imperatives (e.g. surplus products available for exchange) that exposed islanders to the vagaries and whims of external groups, not to mention their sometimes fatal diseases. In historical times, some Mediterranean islands have served as focal points for maintaining maritime supremacy and economic power, yet their limited resources have sparked intensive internal rivalries (Blake 1978: 256). From the Bronze Age onward, as often as not overseas contacts led to foreign domination and the unbridled exploitation of insular resources, either for export or to sustain transplanted merchant or military communities.

In considering the nature of island life, Patton (1996: 2, 7–8) suggested that insularity is more readily definable than any other environmental variable, yet nowhere does he provide a succinct definition. Broodbank (2000: 16–18), for his part, defines insularity by asking 'what is an island?' Cherry (2004: 235) likewise asks a series of questions—did islanders resist or embrace being incorporated into larger polities? How did increased voyaging reinforce a sense of difference? Was the world beyond an island seen as a source of anxiety, or of innovation and novelty? He then states that such questions '...go to the very heart of what insularity means and how distinctive island identities came to be formed'. Many island archaeologists working in the Mediterranean evidently prefer to define insularity by asking questions or assuming that the issue is self-evident. Surely a basic definition would serve us better:

**Insularity**: The quality of being isolated as a result of living on islands, or of being somewhat detached in outlook and experience. Insularity can result from personal, historical or social contingency.

Islands, insularity, and isolation all derive from a single Latin root, *insula*, meaning not just 'island' but also a 'detached house/block of flats'. By simple definition, then, islands are isolated, their inhabitants detached (insular) in thinking and lacking in the kinds of experience that non-islanders expect or assume. Insularity, however, is contingent in both space and time, and thus may be adopted or adapted as individual or wider social concerns dictate.

The notions that islands and islanders are isolated, and that isolation holds the key to their unique types of development, are deeply ingrained, long-standing concepts in both Pacific and Mediterranean studies (e.g. Goodenough 1957; Evans 1973, 1977; Kirch and Green 1987; Held 1993; cf. Gosden and Pavlides 1994; Horden and Purcell 2000: 123–72; Parker Pearson 2004: 129–30). Islands themselves may be defined or categorized in many different ways—e.g. true and habitat, analytical and perceived, exchange-oriented or monument-oriented, oceanic or stepping-stone, matchbox continents. Insularity, moreover, may be understood from many different perspectives—e.g. oceanic vs. offshore, emic (inside-out) vs. etic (outside-in) (Patton 1996: 182–7; Broodbank 2000: 16–18), including the viewpoint from a *peraia* (nearest coastal contact point or 'safety net'—Doumas 2004: 215). Insular living might be seasonal (Finlayson 2004: 18), or temporary as was most likely the case with the earliest, pre-Neolithic visitors to Cyprus (Simmons 1999; Ammerman and Noller 2005; Ammerman *et al.* 2006).

Once people establish themselves on an island, adaptation and survival become an important focus of their daily lives. Some islands are, indeed, truly

or at least relatively isolated (think of Easter Island in the Pacific, or of Madeira in the Atlantic), and the limitations posed by insular resources and environments are two key attributes of island life (Braudel 1972: 151-4). Some island societies, past or present, display a tendency toward extreme cultural developments or material expressions (Stanley Price 1977; Bonnano et al. 1990; Flenley and Bahn 2003), what Parker Pearson (2004: 129) terms the 'Easter Island syndrome'. Cultural practices and attitudes to the sea and to voyaging, however, condition the extent to which islanders are insulated from or connected to the lands and peoples that surround them. Conversely, the motivations and even the customs of outsiders, from interaction and cooperation to exploitation and control, impact differently on the extent to which an island social system operates as open or closed (seldom exclusively as either). In some island settings, environmental, biological, or social catastrophes may wipe out an entire population, particularly if that population lacks subsistence diversity, resistance against introduced diseases, or the means of sea transport (Jones 1978; Pardoe 1991; Greenblatt and Spigelman 2003).

Broodbank (2000: 18–21) revisited several insular stereotypes—open vs. closed systems, matchbox continents (i.e. large islands like Madagascar), extravagant monument building (e.g. Malta, Crete, Easter Island)—and suggested that in most cases closure or isolation may have been an agreed social strategy. Similarly, Robb (2001: 177) argues that the megalithic-building phenomenon on late Neolithic Malta was not the result of its insularity, but rather that Maltese society created a cultural island in the process of forming a distinctive local identity. The biogeographic concept of a founder effect, developed to explain why some islanders forfeit, or deviate in unusual ways from certain features of their parent cultures (Vavda and Rappaport 1963: 134–5), may entail genetic as well as ecological factors but equally could have been an intentional strategy designed to limit external contacts and/or to establish a distinctive island identity. Ultimately, however, when continental polities began to develop and expand their control over seafaring and trade, as was the case in the eastern Mediterranean and the Aegean from at least the early second millennium BC, most islanders no longer had the choice to cloak themselves in their insularity, except in attempting to resist domination from afar (Broodbank 2000: 21).

#### The Island Paradox

'Isolation' is a relative phenomenon. That the sea surrounds the islands and cuts them off from the rest of the world more effectively than any other environment is certainly true whenever they are really situated outside the normal sea routes. But when they

are integrated into shipping routes, and for one reason or another (often external and quite gratuitous reasons) become one of the links in a chain, they are on the contrary actively involved in the dealings of the outside world, less cut off from them than some inaccessible mountain areas. (Braudel 1972: 150)

Despite their differing levels of isolation, islands are at the same time strikingly exposed to interaction. Herein lies a fundamental paradox about islands: although they serve as essentializing metaphors for singularity and isolation, more often than not they are intricately linked into much broader social, cultural, and politico-economic networks (McKechnie 2002: 129). Typically characterized as remote backwaters, islands frequently serve as nodes where seafaring communities meet and communicate, and where long-distance trading networks and island alliances form and develop (Parker Pearson 2004: 129). Horden and Purcell (2000: 76) speak of islands, literal or otherwise, as being 'in the swim' of communications. Patton (1996: 182–7) distinguished between exchange-oriented (e.g. Middle-Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean) and monument-oriented (e.g. Neolithic Malta, Bronze Age Balearics) island societies. In a monument-oriented society, it may be more fruitful to concentrate on specific island architectural forms and styles rather than the concept of monumentality per se (Parker Pearson 2004: 129). In an exchange-oriented insular society, it is the external links promulgated by internal elites that help to establish social power.

From the very early (Neolithic) exploitation of obsidian sources on Melos (Torrence 1986; Broodbank 2006), through the multiple exchange systems that operated in the Bronze Age Mediteranean (Knapp and Cherry 1994: 123–55; Manning and Hulin 2005), to the ethnographically documented trading rings that linked the peoples of island Melanesia (e.g. Malinowski 1922; Leach and Leach 1983; Allen and Gosden 1991), amongst many others, coastal and island communities have been involved in elaborate, complex, socially significant networks of interaction and exchange (Figure 6). In the Mediterranean, extra-insular contacts and multi-directional voyaging or trading ventures characterized island life from the outset (Peltenburg *et al.* 2001a; Galili *et al.* 2002; Ammerman and Noller 2005; Broodbank 2006).

Within Mediterranean island archaeology, islanders and their cultures often are regarded as backward and isolated, insular both figuratively and literally. The people of Sardinia, for example, typically are categorized as living 'with their backs to the sea' (van Dommelen 1998: 13). Because sea travel in the Mediterranean was often easier and quicker than overland traffic, and because any sea may facilitate as well as impede travel, such views are too restrictive. Boats, moreover, are not just material possessions, but mediators between near and far, symbolic representations of power for their owners in

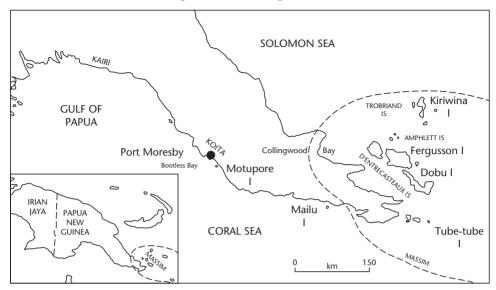


Figure 6: Melanesian island trading rings.

many island societies (Arnold 1995; Robb 2001: 194). The boundedness of islands and the sharp separation of the sea nonetheless underscore the distinctions between insular regions in a way that travel across land does not.

In the Mediterranean Sea (as opposed to the Pacific Ocean), distance from a mainland was not the sole determining factor in the permanent settlement of an island (for Cyprus, see Finalyson 2004), not least because other, intermediate islands often served as 'stepping stones' (Cyprus is an exception). Moreover, some of the Mediterranean islands that show a high degree of what Patton (1996: 137) termed 'cultural elaboration'—Sardinia, Corsica, Crete, Cyprus, Malta, the Balearics—are both relatively large (more than 200 sq km) and relatively distant from any mainland. Clusters of islands, like the Cyclades, offered a diversity of resources, which also enhanced their appeal to potential settlers or colonists (Cherry 1981: 49; Held 1989: 66-78; Broodbank 2000). Current evidence from the Mediterranean islands indicates that seasonal exploitation and occupation may have occurred as early as the 11th millennium BC on Sardinia and the ninth millennium BC on Cyprus (Cherry 1992a; Hofmeijer and Sondaar 1992; Simmons 1999; Broodbank 2006). The physical and biotic diversity of large islands like Sardinia, Cyprus, Corsica, and Crete made it possible for sizeable populations to live and thrive there much earlier than was the case on smaller islands and island groups, like the Cyclades.

#### Insularity and Connectivity

Insularity is not simply an environmental curiosity or geographic condition that can explain cultural diversity or biological evolution. The impact of insularity can be felt to some degree in all natural habitats, in a variety of cultural situations (e.g. Eriksen 1993a): desert oases and mountain villages are ecologically restricted and may be as much or more culturally isolated than islands. The physical aspects of insularity must always be seen in light of social and spatial factors operating at different tempos and oscillating at different rates. Insularity poses special restraints but at the same time offers special opportunities; it demands risks, provides benefits, and can modify social and politico-economic developments in unique and often unpredictable ways. What is important is the way that people manipulate insularity, in distinctive ways, in different times and places.

Connectivity via the sea has been a key feature of island life in the Mediterranean as well as the Pacific throughout prehistoric and historic times (Horden and Purcell 2000: 123-72, 225-8; Gosden and Pavilides 1994). Island groups should not be seen as bounded, sea-girt, internal regimes linked by external connections, but rather as open, sea-linked, almost imagined communities where the whole was quite different from the sum of its parts (Gosden and Pavlides 1994: 163). Discussing the situation during the last 100 years in the Arawe Islands (off the southwest coast of New Britain, in Melanesia), Gosden and Pavlides (1994: 166) highlight the connecting role of the sea in filling the demands of a wider system created by maritime contacts. In discussing the prehistoric situation, from about 1500 BC onward, they suggest that Lapita communities were sea-oriented rather than land-based, and thus may offer evidence of a 'super-community' linked by continual sea crossings and stretching from the island of Papua New Guinea to Tonga and Samoa (Gosden and Pavlides 1994: 168-9). The low levels of material culture found in Lapita sites on the Arawe Islands and elsewhere during any given period may indicate not a landscape of coastal villages (as is the case today) but rather a seascape with island-based points to which people returned on a regular basis. Lapita sites thus may reflect more a colonization of the sea than of land, and would represent a mobile way of life, conditioned and facilitated by the sea. In a similar way, it is now argued that the earliest sites recorded on Cyprus have nothing to do with a colonization of the island, but instead represent stopping points for seafaring Pleistocene hunters or foragers (Ammerman and Noller 2005: 241; Ammerman et al. 2006), who returned to these sites periodically as subsistence needs dictated.

From the very earliest colonizations in the Mediterranean, some level of connectivity involving external communication and exchange—however

restricted—must have existed (Peltenburg et al. 2001b; Guilaine and Le Brun 2003; Peltenburg and Wasse 2004). At the other end of this process, by the final Neolithic or Early Bronze Age (late 4th–early 3rd millennium BC) when seafaring and exchange in the Mediterranean had become much more common, most of its islands, large and small, had been settled permanently (Cherry 1981: 52). Yet the degree of openness or boundedness on any island certainly fluctuated through time, as social, cultural, and material factors impacted on insular adaptability and change. While Mediterranean islands of all shapes and sizes formed a coherent human environment, at the same time they experienced certain pressures, limitations, or benefits as a result of their insularity. Conditions for farming on islands, for example, including limited species diversity (in both plants and animals), often prevented a broad spectrum of subsistence pursuits (e.g. Flannery 1969; Edwards 1989; cf. Watkins 2004). Fishing, however, is an important exception. The abundance of fish remains recovered in recent archaeological excavations in the Mediterranean (e.g. Powell 1996; van Neer et al. 2004), as well as our growing knowledge of submerged coastal sites (e.g. Galili et al. 2002; Ammerman and Noller 2005), suggest that even if the eastern Mediterranean basin is resource poor with a low marine biomass (Held 1993: 27), the dietary importance of fish and other marine foods was quite high.

Mediterranean archaeologists increasingly examine the interplay amongst insularity, connectivity and human settlement. Just as any island's environment, at any time or during any cultural situation, may fashion and constrain island life, so too do the ideas and activities of islanders serve physically to remake their habitat and define their insularity (Broodbank 2000: 363). Insularity thus is not an absolute, permanently fixed state; its reverberations in historical contexts may vary significantly from the ways it impacted on prehistoric situations. Malta's presumed isolation during its final Neolithic megalithic-building phase, for example, has been defined not only by its monuments but also by the utter absence of its pottery outside the islands (and precious few imports). Its Bronze Age culture, however, never defined by its insularity (Cherry 2004: 242), is monument-poor (Pace 2004) but reveals frequent pottery exports (at least to Sicily), imports of obsidian from Pantellaria and Lipari and, curiously, a single Mycenaean sherd (Evans 1953: pl. XIV, 1, 2; Trump and Trump 2002: 136–7). Robb (2001: 189–90), however, points out that Malta's perceived isolation results at least in part from archaeologists viewing Malta in isolation, and that very low level interregional contacts prevailed elsewhere in the central Mediterranean throughout the Neolithic. After some two millennia of cultural contact with their neighbours, Malta's Neolithic inhabitants created a cultural island, but only to reinterpret a common heritage of meaning that revolved around rituals associated with the 'temples'. In all such cases, we are dealing with varying degrees of insularity, and we need to consider how these differ from one another.

In the case of prehistoric Cyprus, for example, Held (1993: 27–8) argues that its insularity between about 4500-1500 BC was crucial in limiting demographic growth and in establishing a dual subsistence strategy (deer-hunting and agro-pastoralism) that ensured the social and economic stability of the islanders. After about 1600 BC, during the Late Bronze Age, cuneiform documents demonstrate that Cyprus (Alashiya), however well connected it may have been to Egypt and several Levantine polities, at the same time was insulated from the predations of mainland-based armies, and thus was able to maintain neutrality in the struggles between Egyptians and Hittites for control in the eastern Mediterranean during the 14th–13th centuries BC (Goetze 1975: 252-5; Akkermans and Schwartz 2003: 329-31). Even though Cyprus lay closer to mainland political centres like Ugarit and Byblos in Syria, or Hattusha in Anatolia, than those centres lay to one another, its distance beyond a secure, marine boundary—meant that it offered a suitably safe haven for exiles banished from Syria and Anatolia (Beckman in Knapp 1996a: 26). At the same time, however, copper—the economic basis of Cyprus's prosperity—was mined, produced, and exported throughout the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world (Muhly 1986; Muhly et al. 1988; Knapp 1989). Cyprus's geopolitical profile as well as its market potential, in other words, resulted from both its insularity and its connectivity within the Mediterranean (Portugali and Knapp 1985: 66-7).

Maritime interaction and trading by sea, as well as the exploitation of island resources, may help to break down insularity, transforming insular social structures, motivating political or economic development and modifying the individual needs and actions of islanders. At the same time, such vectors of contact may fulfil other functions within an island context, e.g. the acquistion or transfer of subsistence goods and basic commodities, raw materials and luxury products. Connectivity and maritime trading impact: (1) on the mobility of island groups, towns, or villages and movements between them and their mainland counterparts; (2) on the level and intensity of contact; and (3) on the overall character of specific islandscapes.

## Islandscapes

The study of the sea and the ways it may affect islanders' mobility have become important aspects of island archaeological research. Aligned with but increasingly distinct from landscape studies, seascapes (e.g. Gosden and Pavlides 1994) or maritime landscapes (e.g. Westerdahl 1992; Knapp 1997a)

caught the attention of island archaeologists early on. Broodbank's (2000: 21–3) neologism—islandscapes—has now been integrated thoroughly into his own fieldwork (the Cyclades) and research on island archaeology. Finlayson (2004: 18–19), however, has questioned the usefulness of the term because, in his words, 'Unless the intention is to privilege islands, then the mainland component is as important'. But Broodbank never denied the importance of mainlands, and sought consistently to consider the special exchanges that take place between islands and mainlands (e.g. Broodbank 2000: 279–83). We should also recall the significance of the (classical Greek) *peraia*, an island's main point of external contact on a nearby mainland (Constantakopoulou 2002: 223–4; Doumas 2004: 217). In any case, Broodbank's purpose in focusing attention on islands and islandscapes was to refine a concept that incorporates the sea and maritime culture as an analytical unit equivalent to landscape, one intended to be more encompassing than seascape or maritime landscape.

The islandscape concept incorporates both the physical (mainly biogeographic) properties of islands—size, location, configuration and topography—and the 'sufficiently generous' conditions that allowed people to define their habitat and surroundings in the diverse ways that were meaningful to them (Broodbank 2000: 21). It is the sea, however, in all its manifold and heretofore under-emphasised ramifications for islanders and island life, which lies very near the heart of the islandscape concept. Broodbank (2000: 22–3) lists two key aspects of his approach:

- (1) the physical diversity of islands, as well as the multiple ways in which islanders perceive both land and sea, indicate that any single island is but one point on a spectrum from which island dwellers construct their world, and through which we should be analysing them;
- (2) cartographic representations of islands, from medieval maps to GIS-derived digital elevation models, provide the usual and not-so-usual ways of visualizing islands, whilst islanders' perspectives—including mental maps incorporating time, direction, and landmarks in sequence—engage memory, experience, inherited knowledge, stories of the sea, and place-naming, all of which must be considered as fully as possible in analysing island life.

Typically the sea is viewed as an open, uniform expanse between landfalls, its most significant features portrayed as surface conditions, inshore or offshore currents and wind patterns that facilitate or hinder voyaging (D'Arcy 1997: 75). This horizontal perspective also has a vertical counterpart that involves marine and other resources, and the capacity or willingness of islanders to exploit them. Islanders' resources, moreover, comprise not just

the physical sea and its human denizens but equally the social and kinship links the latter maintain with others living abroad (Nero 1997: 442). People's knowledge and perception of the sea as a faciltator or barrier to communications, and as a source of food, minerals, shell valuables and the like, vary immensely in space and time.

Some people who dwell by the sea, for example, show an affinity with dolphins, dugongs, sharks, or seals. Sharks are regarded as ancestors by the Langalanga islanders in the Solomons (Guo 2003: 196), and play a key role in Fijian clan-origin myths. Torres Strait islanders have developed elaborate ritual (magical) procedures for fishing and hunting dugongs (McNiven and Feldman 2003). Other people take to the sea in reaction to insular constraints or opportunities, whether social, economic, or environmental. The same Langalanga people, for example, used to build small offshore islets by heaping up stones, coral rocks and soil, in part to procure shells widely used in the Solomon islands as bridewealth, for land transactions, and for bodily decoration (Guo 2003: 190). Living by the sea, of course, also opens the door to extra-insular relationships and influences, from trading or social exchanges to raiding, piracy or colonization. From coastal north Africa of classical times (Herodotos) to the modern Marquesas (Dening 1980), beaches often served as inviolable places (for 'silent trade'), where objects, ideas and individuals moved between cultures. It was the sea, however, that served to link islands and island communities with a wider social world, where goods and ideas moved in an often bewildering variety of directions and in an equally diverse array of nautical vessels (Irwin 1992: 204; Horden and Purcell 2000: 224-230).

Islandscapes, then, are knowable places. Some are symbolically socialized through 'place-myths' to give new settlers a sense of belonging (Erdogu 2003); others are ritually socialized to transform an alien sea into a domesticated space (McNiven and Feldman 2003: 189). Like landscapes, seascapes and islandscapes are not without their dangers, and the distance that sets islands apart from mainlands is often coloured by expectations of strangeness. Rainbird (2004: 4–5), however, cautions that we need to be wary of terms such as 'dangerous' or 'strangeness' as used by ethnographers, scientists, and historians in their tales of voyaging and encounter. In Micronesia, journeys were undertaken when it was perceived to be safe to do so, not simply for collecting or exchanging mundane or prestige goods. Micronesian rituals related to seafaring were devised to insure 'safe returns' as well as economically profitable outcomes (trading and fishing). Such voyages formed part of the social and economic activities of communities whose inhabitants seldom perceived the edge of their reef or atoll as a boundary.

In the Mediterranean, from the third millennium BC to the early 20th century AD, shipping and commerce have been based on the interplay of

geographic and resource diversity (e.g. copper on Cyprus and Sardinia; iron on Elba; obsidian on Melos and Lipari; marble on Naxos and Paros; sugar cane on medieval Cyprus; the wines of ancient Thasos and Chios, or of modern Santorini, Sicily, and Sardinia). Yet we cannot begin to understand long-term trends and variations in shipping and commerce without taking into account the social aspirations of colonists, migrants, merchants, traders, and raiders; the accessibility of island-dwellers to interregional systems of production and trade; technological factors such as ship-building; and the social impact of distance and the exotic. The use of boats, knowledge of the sea and how to navigate it, and the circulation of goods imbued with social as well as economic value could be, and often were, tightly controlled. The power relations involved in all these transactions were readily accentuated in an insular context (Patton 1991: 40). All these factors, physical and social, on land and at sea, combine to create islandscapes, even if they fall short of a phenomenological approach to 'being in the island world' (Broodbank 2000: 33; cf. Hamilton and Whitehouse 2006).

#### Island Identities

In the following section of this chapter, I discuss the shifting meanings as well as the pros and cons of identifying 'identity', including the usefulness (or otherwise) of this concept in archaeological research. Here I focus on issues related to the identity of island dwellers, and how insularity or the connectivity of the sea may impact on the ways that islanders distinguish themselves from other islanders or mainlanders.

Identity is established at least in part through difference and involves the marking of symbolic boundaries. Clarke (2003), for example, argues that the styles of decorated pottery on Neolithic Cyprus show enough variation to demarcate regional differences if not distinctive identities. At the same time, however, overall cultural homogeneity on Neolithic Cyprus (in subsistence strategies, settlement layout, architecture, discard patterns) is suggestive of a group identity symbolically constructed to differentiate Cypriotes from other island groups. The concept of difference—as used to mark identity—is crucial in creating distinctive settings for human action, and distinctive kinds of action are ones that may be perceived archaeologically. If identity is concerned with representation and the invention of tradition, then archaeologists must focus on symbolism, boundaries, and personification as distinguishable features of the material record.

The materiality and ideology of certain islands at particular moments in time may vary dramatically from those of other, contemporary islands and

mainlands. Did 'monument-oriented' islands (Patton 1996: 182–7) like Neolithic Malta or Bronze Age Sardinia (Figure 7) and the Balearics adopt unique (architectural) forms of material culture deliberately to showcase their cultural identity? Do the palatial complexes of Minoan Crete reflect a similar process, and was this palatial identity ultimately transferred to Mycenaeans on the Greek mainland? All these monumental building traditions reveal increasing elaboration through time, perhaps suggesting that those who built, maintained and dwelt in them were attempting to establish an even more specific social identity, revolving around issues of competition and power, within the insular, regional or community context.

As is the case with peoples' identities anywhere, anytime, island identity is a fluid and situational thing, something that islanders adopt or shed in tandem with what they wish to say about themselves, or the way they wish to be seen by others. Islanders' identities typically are formed and fostered within island communities rather than imposed from outside (see also Parker Pearson 2004: 129). Identity making and identity mapping, in fact, work overtime in an island context, where the logical ordering of difference, and distance, confront other experiences, other currents of imagination (McKechnie 2002:



Figure 7: Nuraghe Santa Barbara, near Macomer, Sardinia.

128). Cyprus in the 21st century AD is perhaps an extreme example, but this third largest island of the Mediterranean is home to people who regard themselves not just as Greek (and thus as linked to mainlanders) but as Greek, Turkish, or Maronite Cypriotes (and thus as islanders); as Turkish soldiers or enforced settlers (mainlanders); as urban dwellers or villagers (islanders); or, finally but not exhaustively, as Russians or Europeans (expatriate mainlanders) or as Sri Lankans and Filipinos (servile islanders). This breakdown does not even begin to tap the diversity of groups or individuals on contemporary Cyprus who identify themselves with religious, political, familial, occupational, and other affiliations. Trying to crystallize a single Cypriot identity from the myriad Greek and Roman, Byzantine, Islamic, Venetian, Genoese, Ottoman, and other conquerors, settlers, and customs that came and went over the past 2,500 years is no more realistic than trying to understand why the contemporary, mainly Roman Catholic population of Malta still speaks the language of its medieval Arab conquerors, or how lemons, aubergines, and rice (amongst many other foods and spices) came—via the far-reaching Islamic world—to be traditional staples of the Mediterranean diet (Abulafia 2003).

Considering such issues with respect to the notion of insularity, Broodbank (2000: 20) has noted that island identities are fashioned at times by people who are well aware of others' ideas, customs, languages and foodstuffs, but who chose to deviate from, lose entirely, or preserve certain of these features as it suits them or their environmental niche. Contemporary Cypriot cuisine, for example, whatever the political climate might lead one to expect, has little to do with Greek cooking, but everything to do with the culinary traditions of Turkey, the Levant, and Egypt. Or, to take an archaeological example, the predomesticated cattle that accompanied some of Cyprus's earliest permanent settlers in the 9th millennium cal BC, now found at three separate sites (Parekklisha Shillourkambos, Akanthou Arkosyko, and Krittou Marottou Ais Yorkis—Simmons 1998, 2003; Vigne 2001; Kolska Horwitz et al. 2004: 38), went out of use sometime during the Aceramic Neolithic, were largely replaced by deer as a staple in the island's diet (Croft 2002), and were reintroduced as a domestic species only during the Bronze Age, some 5,000 years later (Croft 1991). Conversely, as the aptly named Aceramic Neolithic indicates, the production of pottery as practised in the contemporary Levant or Anatolia was never taken up concurrently on Cyprus, whose inhabitants instead made use of stone bowls or other containers for presumably similar purposes (Stanley Price 1977).

Island communities have a tendency to develop a strong sense of their common identity vis-à-vis the outside world, a tendency reinforced by distant voyaging where their identity and their differences may become prominent

(Parker Pearson 2004: 129; Constantakopoulou 2005). Because islands embrace not only physical but social landscapes, insularity itself can function as a form of social identity, a cultural strategy that islanders might employ in the face of external interference or domination as a resistant identity (Broodbank 2000: 33). Bronze Age Cypriotes, for example, had established by 2000 BC and maintained for over one thousand years full control over the ever-intensifying production of copper within their island, as well as its widespread distribution overseas. In so doing they created an (elite) ideology that revolved around copper production and expressed it through an array of symbols, statuettes, and other artefacts that served, at least in part, to express and maintain an elite identity within the island (Knapp 1986b, 1988). Indigenous Cypriotes, in fact, seem to have maintained some level of control over the production of copper until the Roman period, by which time imperial domination of the economy—including the social organization of production (Kassianidou et al. in Given and Knapp 2003: 303-5) as well as the export of copper, grain, and timber from the island's main harbour at Salamis—had become absolute, and seems to have resulted in different material markers of identity. During this period, the material bases of life on Cyprus were in part reflective of Greek culture (individual statues, public and private buildings), in part reflective of the Roman koine (pottery, jewellery, glass, and other minor arts). In other words the local Cypriot population, having welcomed the Roman regime, no longer made any obvious attempt to mark their identify through local cultural icons or symbols.

Before engaging the analytical concepts discussed throughout this section in constructing an island archaeology and island history of Cyprus, we must first look in detail at some other key archaeological constructs—social identity, ethnicity, acculturation and hybridization, and migration. These constructs link directly to issues of insularity, connectivity, and island identities and, as will become apparent, have received insufficient attention in the developing field of island archaeology.

# SOCIAL IDENTITY AND ETHNICITY, MIGRATION, ACCULTURATION, AND HYBRIDIZATION

... any sweeping general proposition or statement of identity is likely to be incorrect but this need not prevent the careful and skilful isolation of an underlying relationship

between linguistic, historical and archaeological entities within the defined limits of a probability proposition. (David Clarke 1978: 379)

#### Introduction

The interrelated concepts of social identity and ethnicity, along with the often-associated processes of migration and acculturation, have attracted an extraordinary amount of archaeological attention (e.g. Anthony 1990; Graves-Brown et al. 1996; Chapman and Hamerow 1997; Jones 1997; Hall 1997, 2002; Cusick 1998a; Härke 1998; Malkin 1998; Siapkas 2003). In contrast, the concept of hybridization ('cultural hybridity'), developed in large measure by postcolonial theorist Homi Bhabha (e.g. 1994), has little archaeological pedigree (cf. van Dommelen 2002, 2005, 2006; Vives-Fernándiz Sánchez 2005), but looms large for those whose wish to deconstruct what are traditionally seen as migratory movements or colonization episodes. In what follows, I first define these terms, because archaeologists seldom do so explicitly, and because prehistorians tend to use them without providing independent, contextual validation of their associations (Driscoll 2000: 237). I then discuss each of these concepts in turn, considering the roles they play in contemporary social science, and how they have been constructed and used in archaeology today.

## **Social Identity**

The constitution of identity is an elaborate and deadly serious game of mirrors. It is a complex temporal interaction of multiple practices of identification external and internal to a subject of population. In order to understand the constitutive process it is, thus, necessary to be able to situate the mirrors in space and their movement in time. (Friedman 1992: 853)

Hall (1997: 30, following Tajifel 1982: 2) defines social identity as the knowledge, value and significance attached to membership in a social group. Increasingly, and inappropriately, social identity is used almost as a synonym for ethnicity. Identity, however, actually designates a broader category within which there are more specific elements, including ethnicity. One's public identity, for example, might include vectors such as age, sexuality, class, and gender. In this study, I distinguish carefully between social identity and ethnicity because the former plays an important role in my attempt to represent certain aspects of Cypriot and Mediterranean prehistory, whilst the latter remains a largely intangible and problematic concept (see below).

Social identity has formed a central concern of western philosophy since the 18th century and a key concept in psychology for almost 100 years. The term gained prominence in the mid-20th century with work of Eriksen (1950) in social psychology, whence it was taken up in sociology. Only since the mid-1980s, however, has it become part of widespread academic discourse (e.g. Rouse 1995; Hall 1996). Issues related to social identity have transformed the geopolitical map of the 21st century. Early anthropological studies of 'traditional' societies were concerned with the construction of what they saw as a fixed, stable, and creative identity (Kellner 1992: 141). Modernists, in turn, regarded identity as more mutable, personal, and self-reflexive, and so the boundaries of possible identities expanded. Postmodernists now have promoted the concept of dispersed identities, and argue that people adopt differing identities as social situations demand (Jameson 1984). Pushed to its limits, a postmodern denial of identity would have serious implications for any archaeological narrative (Rowlands 1994b: 141).

The viability of identity—social, cultural, ethnic, or otherwise—as a useful analytical concept remains widely debated amongst contemporary social scientists. Some scholars caution that it is a specifically modern, western concept based on notions like boundedness, internal homogeneity, and uniqueness, which may or may not be relevant in other cultures (Handler 1994). Others argue that, whilst identity may play a significant role in contemporary politics, it is too ambiguous and essentialist to be of any value whatsoever in social analysis (Brubaker and Cooper 2000). A more balanced view maintains that identity, alongside memory, must be problematized more focally if we wish to consider how social forces and cultural practices impact on the ways that people view themselves (Yelvington 2002: 240–3). Most social scientists today regard identity as the product of difference and exclusion rather than as an essential sign of an identical unity.

Social identity may be regarded as an individual's internalization of a group's shared norms and values. Discourses on identity thus involve ideas about personhood (the one), collectivity (the many), and social struggle (the many versus the many). Some identities, then, are institutionally derived; others are not (Jenkins 1996: 25). Social identity may be seen as a construction, always in process; it is conditional and lodged in contingency (similarly, Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 2). Negotiating one's identity today is a process that takes place within specific hierarchies of power (Jacobs 1996: 28). Identities engage with the resources of history, language, and culture in the process of becoming: that is, they are concerned not with 'who are we?' but rather with 'what might we be?' or 'how might we represent ourselves?' Thus we can say that identities are constituted within representation, and relate to the invention of tradition as much as tradition itself.

Dietler and Herbich (1998: 242) stress that '... the redundancy of bodily adornment in reiterating social status and role distinctions among closely interacting members of a group is an important mechanism for the naturalization of social categories and behavioral expectations in the formation of personal identity'. Although 'personal identity' is also an important concept in the immediate conditions and everyday interactions between individuals. the distinction between social and personal identity need not be stressed here, not least because many aspects of one's social identity become incorporated into their personal identities. Identity thus arises from interactions between the individual and society and may be altered repeatedly in changing social situations (Rowlands 1994b: 132). New identities often emerge during periods of major social reorganization, or in contexts of radical change and discontinuity (Mills 2004: 7). Most people, moreover, maintain multiple identities as a result of belonging to various national, linguistic, class, religious, occupational, or other groups. When these affiliations come into conflict and cannot be reconciled, people tend to choose the one that operates in their own best interests; in contemporary society, at least, class tends to be the strongest of these allegiances (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992a: 54-65; Hall 1997: 31). The archaeological dilemma is the need to determine when different types of identities are likely to be proclaimed as distinguishing features, and what kinds of materials might be employed as media for such identity statements.

## Social Identity and Archaeology

Issues related to identity have helped to break down the divide between archaeology and the social sciences, and currently attract much archaeological attention (e.g. most recently, Diaz-Andreu et al. 2005). If concern with group identity in archaeology during the 1960s involved little more than a dispassionate analysis of style, identity has now taken on an exceptional immediacy. The explosion of interest in identity issues within archaeology represents in part a response to a growing awareness of the capacity of ethnic, national, and minority groups to generate disorder when their sense of identity is threatened. In part, it is also due to the growth of mass consumerism and fears about the 'coca-colonization' of global culture. Because of its access to the long-term, archaeology is particularly well suited to react to peoples' anxieties over these concerns, and to establish identity as something enduring and consistent (Rowlands 1994b: 132). For many people, social life and social identities are intimately connected to a particular place, often at the scale of the community. This 'sense of place' (Feld and Basso 1996) is deep and enduring for most people, as settlements or communities become places of memory, and as new identities are imagined (Mills 2004: 11). But identity should not be seen simply as a by-product of belonging to a community, nor can it be 'possessed' by social groups or individuals. Rather it is an unstable, often transitory relation of *difference*. Communities, therefore, reflect what Gupta and Ferguson (1997: 13) term a 'categorical identity', based on diverse forms of exclusion and constructions of alterity.

As a heuristic concept, identity also encompasses nationalism, ethnicity, sexuality, class, and gender because people have, or may adopt in various situations, all these identifications. Thus, on the one hand, identity may be a less volatile and more comprehensive term than ethnicity, one that may help us to analyse more effectively the relationship between the individual and the social. Questions of identity are fundamental to the cultural politics that link personal experience to collective social actions; it is linked closely to a sense of 'belonging' to certain groups and not others (Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 1). On the other hand, if social identity is situational and negotiated, as most social scientists now maintain, then '... each path that crosses another has the potential to produce different ways of materially expressing identity' (Mills 2004: 6).

Given the constraints of the complex and fragmented data sets with which archaeologists must work, they typically treat identity in one-dimensional terms—ethnic identity, class identity, or gender identity (e.g. Brumfiel 1992; Dietler 1994; various papers in Rautman 2000). Rather than treating individuals, archaeological narratives of identity tend to treat social or corporate groups—elites, specialists, potters, weavers, priestesses—and they ascribe to those groups' objective, public practices rather than subjective, personal histories (Fisher and DiPaolo Loren 2003: 226). Archaeological interpretations that equate various aspects of material culture (e.g. weaponry, horsing equipment, accourtements of feasting) with group identity (e.g. masculine warriors—Treherne 1995) are concerned only with what one puts on or around one's body, not how it is worn nor the postures, gestures, and social structures that are equally involved (Fisher and DiPaolo Loren 2003: 226–7; Diaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 9).

Visual representations typically are assumed to depict people displaying their identity and articulating social reality. Often, however, such representations are concerned more with ideological or other constructs of identity than with actual lived experience or real social identities (Pollock and Bernbeck 2000; DiPaolo Loren 2001). The way people dress and adorn their bodies, however, can form an intimate aspect of presenting one's identity. In colonial Louisiana, for example, dress visually communicated both individual selves and social identities (DiPaolo Loren 2003), even if the official, French Crown conceptualization of a particular identity (noblemen, priests, soldiers, labourers and servants, or prisoners) stood at odds with the way that individuals actually presented themselves and experienced their identities. Different views

of past individuals and groups thus may be revealed through both comparison and contradiction, and the discontinuities between the two open up the possibility of discerning multiple meanings in the material world of the past (Hall 2002).

Routledge (2000) argues that specific forms of material culture can serve as identity markers from perspectives both internal (where a certain object or symbol is recognized as linked to a specific ethnic identity) and external (where material culture maps closely to a specific identity through the behavioural expectations that these identities entail). Various types of learned, not necessarily conscious cultural 'schemata' and symbolic associations enable us to interpret and ascribe meaning to experience (e.g. cross = 'Christian'; crescent = 'Muslim'). Some would argue that unconscious habitual choices are more useful than intentional choice if we wish to distinguish practices associated with social identities (Mills 2004: 5). If identity is established at least in part through difference, it is discursive and involves the marking of symbolic boundaries. The concept of difference—as used in marking identity or separating out social vectors (Meskell 1999: 67)—is crucial for creating distinctive settings for human action, and distinctive kinds of action are the very ones that may be perceived archaeologically (Joyce and Claassen 1997: 7). Equally, if identity is concerned with representation and the invention of tradition (intentionally or unintentionally), then an archaeological approach focusing on symbolism, boundaries, and representation as distinguishable features of the material record may help us to recognize practices shared between individual people, social groups or ideals, and thus to make certain statements about social identity (see various papers in Stark 1998a). Archaeology clearly has a crucial role to play in understanding how different experiences and the diversity of material culture may be used to construct social identities.

## **Ethnicity**

The term 'ethnic' has become a cant word in the social sciences and often in everyday speech, where it is frequently used in a blanket fashion to refer to any collective grouping with a semblance of homogeneity, in situations of conflict or positions of subordination. The concept of ethnicity has been so widely taken up because it gets around the problem of defining what it is that makes a people—that is an ethnos—distinctive. Is the unity it possesses based on language, faith, descent, or culture in some vague sense? Ethnicity covers all as well as covering up all. (Goody 2001: 8)

In what follows, I omit several lines of discourse as well as several individuals who have grappled with the topic of ethnicity—e.g. Weber, Durkheim, the British structural-functionalists. Several recent overviews discuss these trends.

movements, and 'schools' in some depth and there is no need to recapitulate them here (see e.g. M. Banks 1995; Sarup 1996; Hall 1997: 17–33; Jenkins 1997; Jones 1997: 40–105; Siapkas 2003: 11–17).

Is ethnicity a principle that might help to explain some key factors of human existence, or is it a subject for analysis and explanation? It has been treated in both ways, and there are nearly as many definitions of ethnicity as there are people writing about it. In one of the more perceptive essays on ethnicity, Comaroff and Comaroff (1992a: 50, 54, emphasis added) treated it both as an analytical object and its conceptual subject:

Contrary to the tendency, in the Western tradition, to view it as a function of primordial ties, ethnicity *always has its genesis in specific historical forces*, forces which are simultaneously structural and cultural.... Ethnicity describes both a set of relations and a mode of consciousness; moreover, its meanings and practical salience varies [*sic*] for different social groupings according to their positions in the social order. But, as a form of consciousness, it is one among many.... each of which is produced as particular historical structures impinge themselves on human experience and condition social action.

Anthropologists were long involved in a debate over *primordial* and *instrumental* approaches to the topic of ethnicity. Primordialists viewed ethnicity as an innate aspect of human identity, existing everywhere and at all times and so requiring only culture-specific definitions. Instrumentalists, in contrast, regarded ethnicity as at best an artefact created by individuals or groups to bring people together for a common purpose. Ethnicity as primordial gives group members a deep-rooted, psychological sense of identity. Ethnicity as instrumental is motivated toward a specific end, and its very existence and continuity are linked to that motivation. Bentley (1987: 26) pointed out that whilst both approaches appeal because of their simplicity, neither deals with how people recognize the commonalities of interest underlying claims to a unique ethnic identity. Understanding these two positions and Bentley's reaction to them are crucial for developing a credible approach to archaeological concepts of ethnicity.

In the (modified primordial) view of Bromley (1974: 66, 1980), who promoted the study of ethnicity in Soviet anthropology (Gellner 1988: 115), ethnicity consists of a group's common cultural features, its distinctive psychological traits, and '...the consciousness of their unity as distinguished from other similar communities'. Thus he identified an ethnic group by the ways in which it could be distinguished from other ethnic groups. The Manchester 'school'—from Max Gluckman to Abner Cohen—adopted the definitive instrumental approach to the study of ethnicity. In their view, political, economic, or ideological factors dictated how and why a group asserts and maintains its ethnic identity; psychological reasons have much

less force. Ethnic groups, moreover, do not persist naturally but must be internally organized, maintained as goal-oriented, and often stimulated by external pressure. Ethnicity thus was regarded as a strategy for group action in the pursuit of specific goals. In Cohen's (1969: 3–4, 27) well-known example of Hausa 'political' ethnicity, the ethnic group exists in potential, but only comes into being when the external conditions are right (Banks 1995: 32–6).

If Cohen (1969, 1974) represented ethnic identity as collectively organized, Frederik Barth viewed it as individualizing strategy (Jones 1997: 74). Although Barth, widely regarded as the founding father of the instrumentalists (Vermeulen and Govers 1996), was criticized for his 'transactionalist' stress on choice and free will (Asad 1972), his concept of ethnicity nonetheless leans toward a transcendence of all other identities, and thus toward understanding ethnicity as a permanent condition of human nature (also Geertz 1973: 255-310; Jenkins 1997: 44-8). Based on his seminal fieldwork with Pathan and Baluchi nomadic groups in Afghanistan, Barth (1969) argued for a shift away from talking about ethnic identity in terms of dress, food, language, blood, and culture, and instead urged scholars to consider the spatial, notional, and ideological *limits* of these features. Barth's boundary distinguished between self-ascription and ascription by others: people choose significant and distinctive features to legitimize their identity, location, and status. This idea of choice, or variation, is generally known as 'situational ethnicity' (Okamura 1981), a position endorsed by several of Barth's contemporaries. Rather than regarding ethnicity as an inherent attribute of social groups, then, it is better seen as a process involving identification and differentiation (Emberling 1997: 306).

The primordialist approach to ethnicity fell from favour with the first writings of Barth, whilst the instrumentalist approach continues to sway archaeological assessments of ethnic identity (cf. Jones 1997: 76–9). The postmodernist position predicted and at times even demanded the demise of ethnicity as an analytical term (Eriksen 1993b: 156–60; Just 1989: 76), or else regarded it as 'sliding' (Lacan), without fixed meaning (Sarup 1996: 179). In the inevitable reaction that now seeks to resurrect ethnicity, Levine (1999: 177) argues that ethnicity, shaped by consciousness and interaction, is located at the active interface between mind, society, and culture.

Cutting across the primordialist–instrumentalist divide, the concept of 'self-awareness' as well as the notion of alterity ('otherness') may be regarded as basic tenets of any definition or understanding of ethnicity. Such criteria, however, themselves tend to be inconsistent and historically contingent: they do not define ethnicity but rather indicate membership in an ethnic group (Just 1989: 76). Emberling (1997: 306) argues that ethnicity is not an inherent attribute of groups or individuals, but rather is a process that involves identification and differentiation. As a result, archaeologists surely will have

more success in considering how identity is constructed than in trying to define specific ethnic groups.

The concept of ethnicity has proved to be problematic and multi-faceted. but continues to be widely used and loosely defined in many disciplines, and in diverse contemporary contexts. It has become a blanket term for anything 'third-world' or 'other' in origin: music, art, dance, film, dress, food, and more. Factors such as a common ancestry or name, a particular territory or 'homeland', a shared religion, language, or historical memory, and common cultural traditions (or a sense of solidarity) typically are seen to link ethnic groups. As distinct from nationalism (Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Diaz Andreu 1997; Emberling 1997: 304–5), ethnicity is expressed in the extent to which an individual feels connected to and acts within a specific social milieu: it is a nearly mythologized arena of feelings and beliefs. A collective memory (Emberling 1997: 301–4) or myths related to kinship (Hall 1997) help to reinforce such factors. Over time, however, such self-ascribed features of ethnic identity may change as social or historical circumstances change, or as ideologies and institutions adapt to new or changing conditions (Bloch-Smith 2003: 402-5). Despite this vagueness, diverse political groups or individuals regularly invoke ethnicity to motivate and legitimize polities both ancient and modern.

#### Ethnicity and Archaeology

As a social construct, ethnicity allows people to classify, locate, and identify themselves in the world. It creates a 'template' (I. Banks 1996: 10) that helps to guide an individual's behaviour, and to distinguish it from another ethnic group's behaviour. Ethnicity thus involves a claim to be a particular kind of person, and such claims typically entail a 'symbolic construal of sensations of likeness and difference' (Bentley 1987: 27). Among the multiple components used to define ethnicity, biology and physical differences are the least effective. Indeed no single factor can be equated directly with ethnicity—neither language, nor technology, nor material culture, not even culture. DeCorse (1989: 137-8), who sought to distinguish material indicators of ethnicity amongst three different tribal groups in northeastern Sierra Leone, concluded that only ritual behaviour—shrines, rock paintings, and mortuary practices might provide certain indicators of ethnicity. Settlement patterning, house types, pottery styles, and iron-smelting technologies proved to be much more equivocal. Whilst some archaeologists assume that documentary or inscriptional evidence constitutes an infallible pointer to ethnicity, such evidence typically reflects elite, centrist perspectives, and in any case we can never assume that all those who wrote or spoke a single language—whether Sumerian, Latin, or Zapotec—belonged to a single ethnic group (Olsen and Kobylinski 1991: 15–16; Emberling 1997: 313–15; Renfrew 2002: 63–71).

Amongst the obstacles archaeologists face in defining a specific ethnic group, Bloch-Smith (2003: 406) notes the following: (1) distinguishing cultural complexes and delimiting their boundaries; (2) isolating factors that relate specifically to a group's ethnicity rather than its social, political or economic circumstances; and (3) tracing variability in a complex of behavioural or material traits through time and space. Most artefacts, whatever their type, are poor reflectors of ethnic identity, and the search for modern-day ethnic groups among archaeological data ignores long-term social, historical, and ideological processes.

This is not to argue that material culture has no role to play in considering ethnicity (cf. Bennet 1999: 224). From the perspective of historical archaeology, McGuire (1982: 161-3) suggested that the 'nature and persistence' of ethnic groups are dependent on (Barth's) ethnic boundaries, which are maintained through the manipulation and display of symbols directly related to those groups' cultural traits. If the material symbols of ethnic identity have proved difficult to isolate in the archaeological record, other material correlates of ethnically specific behaviour are more readily represented. Diaz-Andreu (1998: 212), for example, emphasizes that material culture is one medium through which people display their perception of ethnicity and at the same time negotiate their identity. Because ethnicity revolves so closely around perception, and is concerned only indirectly with material culture, the material patterns that might result from people's daily negotiations of their various identities pose a serious challenge to archaeological interpretation. Moreover, there is no one-to-one correspondence between, for example, a pottery style and an ethnic group: the distribution of a certain type of pottery may mark political boundaries or the limits of an exchange system rather than an ethnic identity (Emberling 1997: 311).

Despite such problems, ethnicity—having crept in the back door—now seems set for a long stay in archaeology. Thus we must decide how best to accommodate it and, as Emberling (1997: 300) has suggested, 'If we are going to use the term "ethnicity" to refer to social groups in the past, we must be prepared to accept its meanings in the present'. Amongst such current meanings, ethnicity often is used to describe social interaction, particularly in relation to 'tribes' or to minority migrant groups and their original societies (M. Banks 1995: 11). Recent work in the social sciences, moreover, seeks to refocus attention on the issue of nationalism and its relationship to the ethnicity of dominant politico-religious groups, or else to question the concept of ethnicity altogether and replace it with concepts such as locality or identity.

These latter aspects form the basis for much recent archaeological writing on the concept of ethnicity.

Bentley (1987: 27–9) argued that ethnicity could be linked to Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) theory of practice, particularly to the concept of *habitus* (see further below—*Archaeology, Ethnicity, and Habitus*). *Habitus* consists of those durable but subliminal dispositions we hold towards certain perceptions and commonalities in practice (e.g. sexual division of labour, morality, daily tasks) that may generate patterned behaviour. Bentley's *habitus*, however, is more recursive: it moves from an unconscious, deep-rooted structural pattern to the individual, and then is transformed into active feedback as the individual confronts changes in her/his socio-political environment. Even if *habitus* is unconscious, it can change, from generation to generation, or when the material and economic conditions of life change.

Yelvington (1991) criticized Bentley's use of the concept of habitus as nothing more than an ill-defined theory of psychological motivation. Bentley's work, however, has impacted strongly on archaeological studies of ethnicity in the wake of Sian Jones's (e.g. 1997: 90–6) pioneering research. Aware of Yelvington's critique, Jones emphasized the cultural aspects of constructing ethnic identity, which in turn provide a means of explaining the emotional power associated with ethnicity. Thus the attempt to construct ethnic identities might spark the self-conscious use of specific cultural features as identifying markers (Shennan 1989: 16), a process that might be reflected in the material record: e.g. in household structure, ritual practice (including mortuary ritual), cuisine (as evidenced by faunal remains, organic residues analysis, etc.), dress or other representations of clothing, weapons or jewellery, utensils or tools (Olsen and Kobylinski 1991: 15; Emberling 1997: 325). Such shared social practices—often reflected materially as symbols, customs (dress, food, dwellings) and certain types of artefacts—may be actively involved in signifying ethnic boundaries, and equally may be used in creating social identities. Fashion, clothing, and other bodily ornament (e.g. jewellery, headdresses, tattooing, body-painting, cosmetics) may serve as media for expressing ethnic identity because of their close associations with the body and the social inscription of the individual (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992b: 74-5).

Competition between groups for resources or goods in demand also increases the likelihood that material culture may play some part in maintaining an ethnic group's social cohesion (Hodder 1977, 1979: 446). Power relations between groups serve an important role in determining strategies for interethnic relations and contacts, and in determining the conditions that enable or limit the movement of people across ethnic boundaries (Olsen and Kobylinski 1991: 22). McGuire (1982: 168) suggested that certain 'oppositional processes'—domination, resistance, differing value orientations—affect

which cultural symbols become meaningful for ethnic boundary maintenance. Ideological or nationalistic symbols, for example, assume some importance as boundary markers in situations where a dominant group attempts to impose political force or economic control over a subordinate group (e.g. Brown 1994). Faust (2000), modelling his arguments after McGuire, seeks to identify certain material aspects of Israelite ethnicity. Evoking Israel's rural, northern valleys, Faust looks at the form, layout, and size of dwellings, settlement plans, public buildings, and faunal remains in an attempt to isolate non-Israelite groups. Special attention is given to the household because of its close association to religious practices, daily life, and practice theory, within which Bourdieu (1977, 1990) developed the concept of *habitus*.

#### Archaeology, Ethnicity, and Habitus

The point is not that most archaeologists should simply avoid the word 'ethnicity,' but rather, we should be wary of the concept it invokes, especially in research on pre-state societies. That is, ethnicity connotes all-encompassing marked and bounded groups, and it may be that such clear-cut groups did not exist in much of the past. At the very least, if we wish to assume that such bounded groups did exist, we need to justify our assumption. (Hegmon 1998: 273)

Archaeology has a demonstrated tendency to adopt current social concerns like ethnicity, agency or nationalism and attempt to relate them to the historic as well as the prehistoric past (e.g. Wilk 1985; Atkinson *et al.* 1996; Diaz-Andreu 1997; Jones 1997; Meskell 1998a; Dobres and Robb 2000). Some archaeologists thus assume that a definable relation exists between material culture and ethnicity (e.g. Brumfiel 1994a; Emberling 1997; Frankel 2000). And yet, as already argued, the correlation between ethnicity and style, technology and cultural similarity or difference remains highly complex. If ethnic groups are so fluid and self-defining, and embedded in particular political or economic relations (Driscoll 2000: 234–5 n. 6), then culture or technology or style cannot be equated *directly* with ethnicity. Most attempts to treat issues of ethnicity or identity in archaeology fail to confront the complex and fluid nature of these concepts.

In such attempts, Bourdieu's (1977, 1990) theory of practice—which embraces the concept of *habitus*—has become widely influential, ostensibly because it was developed in relation to two preeminent domains of archaeological research, material culture and the use of space (e.g. Hodder and Hutson 2003: 90). *Habitus*, nonetheless, is metaphorical and non-material in nature: it is a philosophical construct, not material reality. Practice theory aims at least in part to bridge the divide between social structures and agency

(i.e. practical activity), something that had been ignored in earlier, primordialist and instrumentalist approaches to ethnicity. Bourdieu himself showed little concern either with agency as such (rather with 'collectivities'), or with issues of ethnicity (except to criticize its use as a legitimating device by modern ethnic groups). Moreover, the 'material conditions of existence' that comprise Bourdieu's *habitus* are defined less in terms of individual practice than of fundamental structures (Meskell 1999: 26–7; Siapkas 2003: 32–3).

Bourdieu defined *habitus* as follows (1977: 72, emphasis in original): 'The structures constitutive of a particular type of environment (e.g. the material conditions of existence characteristic of a class condition) produce *habitus*, systems of durable, transposable *dispositions*, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures'. Athough other attempts to define *habitus* often run counter to Bourdieu's 'project' (Hodder and Hutson 2003: 90), most archaeologists writing on the subject would (probably) agree that *habitus* involves those unconscious, often subliminal and internalized *dispositions* towards certain perceptions and practices that may generate *patterned behaviour*. It allows people to create an intelligible, common-sense world endowed with meaning. It is similar to language learning, where competence can be achieved without any conscious awareness of the structure(s) involved. A good example is shaking hands, which seems to be performed universally, and unconsciously, with the right hand, not the left (personal comm., Peter van Dommelen).

Habitus, then, is made up of generative schemes that produce regular but non-binding, goal-directed but not necessarily conscious, habitual practices and representations (Bentley 1987: 28). Such a concept is attractive to archaeology because it holds forth the promise of a socially constructed world, one that generates but equally constrains the everyday (albeit unconscious) experiences of human actors. In the sense of what Brubaker and Cooper (2000: 4–6) call 'categories of practice', habitus may be understood as everyday social experience. It cannot, however, be regarded as 'ritual behaviour' or even 'new technologies and a new economic lifestyle' (Bolger 2003: 118, 197). Habitus could constitute 'similar ways of doing things' (Clarke 2003: 208) and it might be linked with ethnicity in terms of its exclusivity, but it is more static, especially over time (see below).

In most respects, *habitus* offers an explanatory model more suited to analysing large-scale social endeavours than individualizing strategies (Meskell 1999: 26–7). Giddens' theory of structuration (1982: 8–11; 1984: 174–5), by contrast, posits that both human agents and social institutions ('structured social practices') are constituted in and through recurrent practices, and that the organization of these practices is fundamentally recursive. That is, structures represent both the medium and the outcome of all those practices that act back on them.

Most archaeologists who turn to practice theory (and thus to Bourdieu) are seeking to understand how and why agents act as they do (and thus should invoke Giddens): they regard *habitus* as something that mediates the relationship between the individual and the wider social world (Giddens' structured social practices—e.g. Barrett 1994: 35–7; 2001). Bourdieu's work dealt exclusively with non-western ethnographies, Giddens' with modern western sociologies: individuals and agents are crucial only to Giddens' theory of structuration.

Bentley (1987: 49–50) maintained that a 'practice theory of ethnicity' should incorporate empirically valid conceptions of both individual and group identity and actions. Amongst archaeologists, Sian Jones (1996, 1997; also Shennan 1989: 15–17) revisited Bentley's work to consider how ethnic classifications might be grounded in the social conditions and cultural practices that characterize any human group. In Bentley's view, the shared unconscious dispositions of the *habitus* promote and perpetuate mutual feelings of identity amongst people similarly inclined; these feelings are then consciously appropriated and given form *through existing symbols or other material resources*. Having examined these ideas with the benefit of Yelvington's (1991) critique, Jones (1997) concluded that ethnicity and *habitus* are not directly congruent: there is a break, she argued, between those structured dispositions that make up the *habitus*, and the way that people objectify cultural differences involved in producing or reproducing ethnicity.

Although Bourdieu never made any explicit claims about material culture, it is unlikely he would have objected to such archaeological lines of argument. As Bentley maintains, *habitus* is related to ethnicity, just as it may be related to cultural dispositions and material culture. Yet these relations are not parallel to each other, nor is it possible to short-circuit the connections between them by relating ethnicity directly to cultural dispositions or material culture. *Habitus*, in other words, and for archaeological arguments, may be related to ethnicity or it may be related to material culture, but that does not enable us to link ethnicity directly to material culture. Barth (1969: 14) long ago argued that cultural similarities cannot be equated with ethnic groups: the features that mark ethnic boundaries are '...only those which the actors themselves regard as significant'.

In Jones's (1997) view, cultural practices often are arbitrary, and the articulation of ethnicity in material culture also varies. Before such practices or material signifiers can be taken to represent a cultural tradition, their representation has to be rationalized and systematized. Ethnic categories, then, may be produced at a discursive level between cultural practice and cultural tradition; they are reproduced and transformed by a process of differentiation from the cultural practices of other ethnic groups. The forms that such

oppositions take become apparent at the interface between people's *habitus* and the social conditions—the distribution of material and symbolic resources that make it possible to establish dominant ethnic categories—prevailing in any particular context. In other words, the (symbolic) expression of cultural difference depends upon the particular cultural practices and historical experiences that develop in any given society. Ethnicity, and our understanding of it, fundamentally entails context (Emberling 1997: 307). Generally speaking, however, we should question the very existence of bounded ethnic groups (Hegmon 1998: 273–4; Siapkas 2003: 35); accordingly, no spatial distribution of artefacts or material culture should be equated directly with an ethnic boundary.

If we shift the archaeological focus on habitus from analysing ethnicity to examining social identity, our options would seem to improve. Dietler and Herbich (1998), for example, sought to integrate Americanist notions of style with French concepts of technique and *habitus* in order to understand better the nature and function of social boundaries in the construction of identity. Whereas their case study of the Luo-speaking people of western Kenya represents a relevant ethnoarchaeological application of their integrated approach, I am more concerned here with their use of the concept of habitus. In contrasting structuralist and more action-centred views of material culture, Dietler and Herbich (1998: 245-8) maintain that a dynamic theory of material culture as a social phenomenon should account for both structure and agency by showing how the two are mediated through practice. That is, we should be able to understand how human actors are conditioned or constrained by social structure, and in turn how human practice reshapes social structure in the process of reproducing it. These authors suggest that Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* offers just such a framework by integrating material culture and its production techniques (chaînes opératoires) with the social actors responsible for making and transforming material culture. As a result, reproducing material culture becomes more realistically situated in social life, and the dispositions that stimulate social action are formed together in the course of practice. Such a perspective makes it possible to see how group identity is formed and transformed alongside material culture and in the course of practice. In this light, habitus can be seen as a dynamic relational phenomenon, both historical product and agent: it enables us to see how practice both reproduces and transforms structure as it adjusts to social demands.

In another key study, Blake (1999) examined the role of identity formation in enabling and establishing a clear boundary between Sardinia's Bronze Age Nuragic society and its antecedents. Whilst acknowledging the difficulties in defining any social group's identity from the material record, she takes it as given that the largely discrete, homogeneous archaeological record of Nuragic-

era Sardinia represents a single, dynamic culture. Adapting Bourdieu's practice theory, and seeking to modify the concept of *habitus* as a means of mediating between social structure and human behaviour, she approaches identity formation and use from the perspective of 'dynamic nominalism'. In this perspective, self-categorization or self-defintion is regarded not simply as a way that humans negotiate existing structural conditions, but rather as a structuring device in itself. Blake thus seeks to deconstruct the dualistic nature of structure vs. agency, and maintains that self-categorization only makes sense if these two principles are one. Thus self-definition is both a practice people engage in and at the same time a framework for other practices, whilst structures are redefined as ingrained practices. Bourdieu himself, it should be noted, claimed that *habitus* only exists 'in practice', and thus must be reconfirmed in any society by the constant, routine re-enactment of these practices (e.g. shaking hands with the right hand).

Identity formation, then, as the practice of self-description, is not simply a feature of *habitus*; it also serves a crucial structuring role in human behaviour (Blake 1999: 36-7). Social identity, of course, forms only one of a constellation of other identities—based on age, sex, class or ethnicity—that, collectively and discursively, influence and inform one another. In turn, the formation of a broader, 'corporate' identity requires a social group to select its defining characteristics—as well as its material insignia, symbols and the like—in order to distinguish itself from other social groups. The essential point for the present discussion is that self-categorization (or self-conceptualization) has the generative capacity not only to establish one's identity (by acting and defining one's self in a certain way) but also to influence the behavioural possibilities for so doing. Engaged with practice theory, such a perspective collapses habitus (as Bourdieu would agree it must) from mediating between social structures and human action to becoming both structure and action (similarly Fisher and DiPaolo Loren 2003; 228). Analytical priority is thus no longer either agent- or structure-centred, but rather constitutes an interactional focus (as in Papadakis's [1998] analysis of modern Greek Cypriot collective identity).

Can such concepts help archaeologists to identify some level of correspondence between material expressions of social identity and the range of cultural practices and social conditions associated with a specific ethnic group?

In considering issues of *identity*, contemporary social scientists place much emphasis on self-awareness and self-categorization, the status or power positions of the people involved, the social processes that go into constructing group boundaries, and the inter-relationships between socio-cultural groups. Current social science concepts of *ethnicity*, in contrast, regard it as a fluid, unfixed category, in a constant state of redefinition and deconstruction, often

used intentionally by individual actors or groups as a means to adapt to, legitimize or change a particular social, environmental, or politico-economic system. Expressed more simply, ethnicity is '... something that people do' (Hegmon 1998: 272). Clearly this poses difficulties for archaeologists who still conceive of distinct assemblages of material, recurrent in time and space, as the expression of an archaeological culture (Childe's term; Shennan 1989: 5–14; Diaz-Andreu 1997: 156). Most practising archaeologists, moreover, harbour reservations about linking specific material assemblages to distinct ethnic groups (Stark 1998b: 10), not least because they recognize that variability in material culture results from a wide array of spatial, hierarchical, functional, or other social, political, and economic factors beyond ethnicity. There is seldom a one-to-one relationship between representations of ethnicity and the full scope of social conditions and cultural practices that characterize a specific ethnic group (Jones 1997: 128).

Although ethnicity always involves active processes of performance and interpretation in objectifying cultural difference, it is formed by contextually specific cultural practices or historical experiences. Archaeologists cannot regard simple variation in archaeological material as a sign of physical or social distance between ethnic groups (Hodder 1985; Shennan 1989: 11–21). Nor can they assume that close contact between such groups will eventually result in uniform acculturation amongst all the diverse material and social aspects that characterize them. In addition, ethnicity must be distinguished from the simple notion of spatial continuity or discontinuity (Shennan 1989: 19). Although there may be a close link between the way that ethnicity is signified in both material and non-material culture (Hodder 1977, 1982), when people generate and express ethnic identity they incorporate an entangled mix of different cultural traditions characterized by diverse structuring principles in very different social domains (Rowlands 1982: 164; Jones 1996: 72). Archaeologists, therefore, will have difficulty in finding clear material expressions of past ethnic groups, and as a result should qualify or question the existence of bounded, homogeneous ethnic groups (in Childe's sense).

On the positive side, archaeological configurations of ethnicity necessarily involve a complex pattern of overlapping, operational material culture distributions repeatedly formed and transformed in different social contexts. The manifestation and analysis of such contextually-bound identities may prove to be within the realm of archaeological interpretation, and this seems a challenge worth taking up. If ethnic identities are self-characterizing, then some elements of a human group's material culture—its social practices—surely will form part of the symbolic repertoire that constitutes their identity. Even if social practice does not equate directly with ethnicity, shared practices are likely to be involved in the *generation* of ethnicity. Such practices thus may

be useful in helping to distinguish between those material distributions that were involved in the active signification of ethnic boundaries and those that were not. Diaz-Andreu (1998: 213) argues that material culture allows 'glimpses of processes' that formulate cultural (but not specifically ethnic) identity. Some aspects may be conscious (e.g. clothing, personal ornamention, bodily representation), others unconscious (e.g. daily activities, routine actions and techniques, or the dispositions towards certain perceptions and practices—i.e. *habitus*). Bentley (1987: 27) suggested that the conscious sensations involved in linking individuals to an ethnic group stem from a '... subliminal awareness of objective commonalities in practice', in other words from similarities in *habitus* (Shennan 1989: 14–15).

Habitus serves to shape, subconsciously, what people are and thus may contribute to the creation of ethnic differences (Hegmon 1998: 273). At the same time, however, the symbolic marking of ethnicity is open to manipulation, even if that was never the original intention. Habitus, therefore, is continuously repeated and reconfirmed by human action, whether ethnic identity is purposely altered or not. Whilst habitus thus forms a link between the subjective, internal experience of ethnic identity, and the objective, external social context, an archaeological reading of the situation is somewhat different. If archaeologists want to identify conscious and unconscious practices that reflect and act back on the realm of habitus, what Bourdieu (1977: 91) termed 'the mind born of the world of objects', they must examine similarities and differences on a scale smaller than that of culture, and consider issues of identity in relation not only to social groups but also to its individual members.

## Migration

Those of us who support migrationist explanations of particular events and processes in... prehistory should more explicitly advance a view of ethnic and other forms of social identity as dynamic, situational phenomena rather than primordial qualities which can be stereotyped as inherently 'superior' or 'inferior'. (Lilley 2000: 15)

Anthony (1990: 895–6) defines migration as a structured behaviour and emphasizes its social aspects: '... within specific historical contexts... migration can be understood as a behavior that is typically performed by defined subgroups (often kin-recruited) with specific goals, targeted on known destinations and likely to use familiar routes'. Such behaviour is facilitated or constrained by social organization, kinship links, transportation factors, and information access.

In assessing the concept of migration, a major division separates those disciplines (demography, sociology, law, political science) that examine the

structural conditions which shape migrations and those (history, anthropology, and economics) that consider how such structural forces shape the decisions, actions and social changes involving individual agents, households or community relations (Brettell and Hollifield 2000: 2–3 and tables 1, 2). Amongst social scientists, a further divide exists between those who adopt a top-down (macro) approach to study immigration policy or market forces and those who follow a bottom-up (micro) approach to study individual migrants or immigrant families. Anthropologists, for example, examine the cultural construction and symbolic markers of migrants' ethnic identities whilst sociologists tend to be more interested in the institutional manifestations of ethnic difference (Brettell and Hollifield 2000; 5). Lucassen and Lucassen (1997) claim that an even deeper rift exists between social scientists and historians. Historical narratives tend to relate how immigrant groups settled, shaped their communities, and constructed their social identities. Social scientists, in contrast, tend to analyse migration as a process, and seek to explain how social structures influence and constrain human behaviour. Such divisions are far from absolute, however, because both anthropologists and historians are concerned with context-specific, individual situations, even if anthropologists remain more focused on cross-cultural, often structural comparisons. In my view, migration offers a context for analysing social identity because changes in residence force migrants as well as local inhabitants to reassess how they see and understand their own personal or collective identities (Bernardini 2005: 35).

Since the 1970s at least, economic geographers, demographers, and geneticists have developed several models to predict modern migrations on the basis of past migratory patterns (all summarized by Anthony 1990; 1997; 25–7). Archaeologists have defined various kinds of migratory movements they believe to be visible in material form (amongst others, Kristiansen 1989; Renfrew 1987; Gamble 1993; Boyle et al. 2000). The links between genetics, linguistic shift, and migration are complex and multifacted (e.g. Renfrew 1993, 2002; Renfrew et al. 1995; Blench and Spriggs 1999; Bellwood and Renfrew 2002), and need not detain us here. The bottom line is that migrants often move in streams (not 'waves'), and most frequently settle in places that are familiar to them and which offer the social and logistic support necessary to begin a new life, or to take on a new identity. Access to relevant information about potential routes and destinations is often conveyed through kinship or co-residence links and is based upon the social processes involved in sharing information (Anthony 1997: 26). Depending upon a variety of social or economic opportunities encountered at their destination, migrants often return to their place of origin. Migrants, indeed, tend to be people who have migrated before: frequent moves reduce the social ties and limit the economic constraints that often induce habitational stability. Finally, initial migrants to a foreign land tend to be young and male, only later becoming more balanced with respect to both age and gender as natural increase supplants incoming migrants as the major factor in population increase (Anthony 1990: 903–5). Migrants, then, tend to have very narrowly defined goals (often unknown beyond the migrating group), and they behave in a manner that is broadly understood.

Geographers argue that migration tends to occur when certain 'push' factors at the point of origin (e.g. economic or social breakdown, population growth) combine with favourable transportation costs and 'pull' factors at the point of destination (e.g. social or economic advantage, available space). Equally crucial is access to information about the social, spatial or politico-economic situation in the potential destination. Although frequently favoured in explanations of migration, population density is seldom the most significant push factor. Both ethnohistoric and archaeological cases show that a variety of social groupings (communities, villages, tribes) tend to fission or segment and migrate for diverse, 'push'-related reasons. These include, for example, social practices that privilege first-born or elder children in Africa (Kopytoff 1987); structural inequalities amongst Mayan royal lineages as well as shifting labour demands amongst craft workers needed in new centres (Fox 1987); drought, disease, or warfare amongst the Anasazi in the American southwest (Kohler 1993); the depletion, also in the American southwest, of crucial resources such as agricultural land, firewood, or a favoured species of hunted animal (Kohler and Matthews 1988). In such cases, migration results not from population pressure but from resource or environmental stress, or as a social strategy to improve peoples' prospects for a better way of life, or for enhanced power and prestige.

Demographers, for their part, have found that pull factors, information access and transportation costs are the most critical in successful migrations. Pull factors include everything from labour or employment opportunities (e.g. migrant labourers in the Classic Mayan centre at Copan—Demarest 1988), to a more favourable environmental gradient (e.g. Anasazi migration from the Mesa Verde to the northern Rio Grande region—Ahlstrom et al. 1995), to the availability of new lands or virgin territory (e.g. the proposed dispersal of Indo-European speaking farmers throughout Europe—Bellwood and Renfrew 2002). 'Chain' migration (later migrants follow earlier ones) and 'circular' migration (regular movements with intention to return) rely on information about optimal routes, means of transport, destination opportunities, and economic or social advantages. Examples include the trading voyages made by those involved in Melanesia's diverse exchange systems (Leach and Leach 1983; Munn 1990) or the Lapita phenomenon in the Pacific (Allen and Gosden 1991; Kirch 1997; Green 2003); the long-distance, prestige-good exchange systems that linked large areas of Bronze-Iron Age Eurasia and the Mediterranean (e.g. Frankenstein and Rowlands 1978; Liverani 1990; Sherratt 1993; Manning and Hulin 2005). Ideological or religious factors may also be involved, for example: (1) the success of Kachina ceremonialism in facilitating aggregated communities may have been instrumental in 'pulling' the early Pueblo peoples from Chaco Canyon and the Four-Corners (Mesa Verde) region, to continue on their migratory way (Lekson and Cameron 1995); (2) the Christian Crusades and pilgrimages that involved tens of thousands of people in circular migrations (Mann 1986: 379–90).

The diversity of methods and competing theories amongst social scientists and historians, and the different types of data they use, obviously produce different kinds of information about migration and include or exclude diverse voices in that production. In the American southwest, for example, the abandonment by Pueblo peoples (Anasazi) of the 'Four-Corners' (Mesa Verde) region and the nearly concurrent growth of population in the northern Rio Grande area represent a classic example of migration, 'literally the stuff of myth' (Lekson 1995: 100). Whereas these origin and migration histories have deep cosmological and spiritual significance for modern Pueblo peoples, and at the same time document an actual (prehistoric) movement, for modern archaeologists such migration histories are decidedly more problematic and controversial (Cordell 1995). Paradoxically, whilst archaeologists working in the Four-Corners region believe firmly that this area was abandoned by the end of the 13th century AD, archaeologists working in the Rio Grande tend to discount the likelihood of any large-scale migration from Mesa Verde to the Rio Grande (Cameron 1995: 107–11). The aims and realities of these diverse perspectives dictate individual and methodological choices as well as theoretical predilections. From the perspective of an archaeologist (or even a historian of science), it is impossible to cite all the relevant literature, or to decide which approach is best. Migration, mobility, and movement were (and remain) part of many peoples' social lives. The main point that archaeologists can take from the social science and historical literature on migration is that no shared paradigm exists. Rather there is a variety of competing theoretical perspectives fragmented further by competing ideologies, disciplines, native voices, even countries. We need to zero in on specific ideas and approaches that are relevant to archaeology.

## Migration and Archaeology

The study of migrations has a long and bitterly debated history in archaeology, from its early use alongside diffusionism as an explanation for evolutionary histories (e.g. Childe 1928) to its current, still contested status as an explanation for demic diffusion, colonization, or cultural change (e.g. Ammerman and Cavalli-Sforza 1984; Anthony 1990; Chapman and Hamerow

1997; Sanmartí 2004). Early 20th century archaeological research in Europe, Britain, and the United States failed to develop a methodology for relating migration to explicit ideas how about it actually worked or for recognizing its archaeological correlates (Trigger 1968: 39-47). Processual archaeology, in turn, discounted migration as a possible mechanism for explaining cultural development and change (e.g. Adams et al. 1978). Although migration models are no less processual than trade mechanisms (Chapman and Hamerow 1997: 3), something that David Clarke (1968: 411-31) recognized even in new archaeology's heyday, most processualists looked to internal, systemic factors (e.g. population growth, eco-environmental variability) for explanations of cultural development or social change. Migration, however, is a social phenomenon tied up with, amongst other factors, subsistence, mobility, exchange, politico-economic exploitation, and technology transfer. Archaeologists seeking to identify or explain migrations in prehistory need to be well aware of the hermeneutic between modern migrations, nationalism, and the politics of archaeology, but at the same time must try to incorporate social as well as demographic or environmental variables into their interpretations.

Recent archaeological publications related to migration, following social science trends, highlight several reasons for migratory movements—e.g. 'push-pull' factors; economic, demographic and ideological factors; transport factors (e.g. Anthony 1990: 899–905; Chapman and Hamerow 1997b; Jochim et al. 1999: 133-5; Burmeister 2000: 543-4). Clark's (1994) criticisms of density-dependent migration (i.e. resulting from population pressure) in the Palaeolithic era as an explanation for cultural change, in particular the tendency to equate material complexes with ethnic groups, are salutary in any archaeological context. In part, the current fascination with migration as an explanatory concept is associated with postmodernist and postcolonial thinking that seeks to empower local and indigenous peoples and to castigate global and imperial or colonial regimes. In contrast, continuing scepticism about using migration to explain cultural change, especially amongst Americanists like Clark, is clearly part of the processual legacy that rejects diffusionism and migration as hallmarks of cultural history (e.g. Chapman 1997: 12-13; Jochim et al. 1999: 129; Barako 2003: 163-5).

We cannot, however, deny the historical or prehistoric reality of migrations, especially in light of the importance attached to regional and interregional studies in many current research agendas (Anthony 1990: 897; Burmeister 2000; Frankel 2000). The peopling of the world by *Homo sapiens sapiens*, morever, whether as hunters, farmers, fishers, merchants, or military regimes, demonstrates the reality of human mobility and migration. Indeed, as long as 95,000 years ago, the migrational capacity of *Homo erectus* (or, more precisely, *Homo floresiensis*) has been revealed by striking new evidence for the arrival of

early hominins on the Indonesian island of Flores (Morwood *et al.* 2004). Barring massacres, natural disasters, or what Lekson and Cameron (1995: 184) flippantly term 'UFO abductions', whenever people abandon their homes or communities, migration of some sort inevitably follows.

What are some possible archaeological correlates of migration, in particular those that relate to the structure (rather than the cause) of migratory events? In answering this question, I must emphasize that I am not offering some essentialist characterization of migration that would be applicable in every historic or prehistoric context (Chapman and Hamerow 1997b: 2). First, because longdistance migration can be propelled by knowledge of accessible routes and attractive destinations, shared artifact styles and the formal exchange of basic resources may make it possible to reconstruct information or exchange networks that facilitated migratory movements. Second, because migration is affected by transportation costs and the ease of travel, we might expect more evidence for short distance rather than long distance migratory movements, and we may expect them to occur in the wake of technological improvements or developments in transport: for example, the use of wheeled vehicles or maritime inventions like the longboat and the sail, the domestication of the horse or the camel, or the construction of road networks (e.g. Roman roads, or those around Chaco Canyon). In instances of chain migration, artifact types may reflect a regional sub-group of migrants, whilst settlement patterns may reveal isolated pockets around founder communties separated by considerable distances from the point of origin (Anthony 1997: 27). In historical cases of 'return' migration (where counterstreams of migrants return to their place of origin—Anthony 1990: 904), the migrants involved typically invested in land or prestige goods, the latter procured during their sojourn (Cameron 1995: 116).

Archaeological investigations of migratory movements also need to confront issues related to the formation and maintenance of ethnic groups, issues that are quite complex in recent or historic ethnographic situations, much more so in prehistoric cases. In one seemingly successful attempt along these lines, based on an in-depth analysis of pottery from the Pueblo Arroyo Hondo, Habicht-Mauche (1993) suggested that the immigration of large numbers of people into the northern Rio Grande region during the 13th–14th centuries led to increasing differentiation of local ethnic groups and to the development of tribal boundaries that lasted several centuries, until the Spanish arrived in the region. Nonetheless it must be emphasized once again that whilst such studies may suggest the roots of a particular material expression, they can never reflect directly the ethnicity, ideology, or identity of those people who use, interact with, or express that particular material form or pattern.

Before migration becomes a viable tool for archaeological interpretation, we must be able: (1) to recognize it as patterned behaviour (how it works); (2)

to identify its material cultural traits; and (3) to acknowledge that there are many different types of migratory behaviour. By providing stories about 'origins', the memory of migrations is often used to establish ethnic identities. In encounters with the 'other', the migratory movements of various peoples can help to accentuate various other aspects of identity. Through processes of acculturation or, better, hybridization, the identities of migrants and local peoples often are transformed and assimilated. Migration, in other words, is a phenomenon linked closely to several other theoretical aspects treated in this study, and migrations themselves are a central fact of social life: the renewed attention archaeology is giving them seems in no way misplaced (Anthony 1997: 30). Here I follow Anthony's directive that, for archaeologists, it is more important to try to understand the structure of migratory events than to determine the actual causes of migration.

#### Acculturation

The literature on acculturation in anthropology is far from homogeneous, and a recent volume dedicated to formulating and finding common ground amongst archaeological instances of culture contact demonstrates an equivalent multiplicity of understandings (Cusick 1998a). Redfield *et al.* (1936: 149) provided the earliest, most basic and perhaps least controversial ethnographic definition of acculturation: '... those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original patterns of either or both groups'. The 'veneer of uniformity' (Cusick 1998c: 130) imposed by this definition, however, ignores differing levels of power relations between social groups as well as individual agency and decision-making.

Smith (1998: 258) provides a more recent (essentially archaeological) definition of acculturation, with all its shortcomings: '... the comprehensive assimilation of new cultural elements from a dominant donor, with little difference remaining between donor and recipient at the end of the process, as opposed to more limited and selective emulation and adaptation of material culture and/or new cultural features within a tradition distinct from the donor'. This type of approach to acculturation assumes that simple replacement of a less complex society's material and symbolic resources by those of a more complex ('donor') society indicates cultural change and a loss of cultural or social identity. Passive and one-dimensional, such models reflect the perspective of the dominant, and are reductionist, structurally overdetermined, incapable of treating individual agents and social actors, and oblivious to the impact of the small scale, typically less complex societies in an interaction network.

In contrast, Dietler (1998: 297–9) has defined the 'colonial encounter' in terms that archaeologists and social scientists alike might well adopt as they consider both the systemic and idiosyncratic aspects of acculturation:

It is an active process of creative transformation and manipulation played out by individuals and social groups with a variety of competing interests and strategies of action embedded in local political relations, cultural perceptions, and cosmologies. People use alien contacts for their own political agendas, and they give new meanings to borrowed cultural elements according to their own cosmologies. Foreign objects are of interest not for what they represent in the society of origin but for their culturally specific meaning and perceived utility in the context of consumption.

The point, then, is to understand how members of small scale, at times less complex societies became entangled in larger social, economic, and political relations—whether of domination or resistance, compliance or competition—and were transformed in the process. Such deliberations must strike a balance between social structures and individual actors on various scales and in diverse cultural contexts.

As an interpretive framework for studying cultural contacts, acculturation has been widely criticized for, amongst other things, its colonialist background and top-down approach, a functionalist concept of culture, the tendency to ignore power relations and to overlook individual decisionmaking, and the use of description (e.g. trait lists of different cultures) instead of explanation (Lightfoot 1995; Cusick 1998c: 127-36). The theory of acculturation as developed in socio-cultural anthropology by the 1950s was based on a series of now largely discredited premises. These include: (1) interaction amongst societies differentiated by size, political complexity, and military power produce the greatest cultural impact; (2) smaller, less complex societies become more significantly transformed than their powerful counterparts as a result of contact and interaction; and (3) smaller and less complex societies tend to lose their cultural distinctiveness as its members become acculturated to the dominant society's value structures (Schortman and Urban 1998: 104). The study of culture contact has been described as the predisposition for people in specific social units to interact with outsiders who do not share their social identity (Schortman 1989). Such contacts clearly involve power relations, and the need to mediate such relations amongst different social groups—for example to establish and maintain territorial boundaries—creates situations in which culture contact is inevitable (Cusick 1998b: 4). The form and nature of such interactions, however, are highly variable, and the factors that obtain in cases of hierarchical, heterarchical, and egalitarian societies or exchange relations can be, and typically are markedly different.

Acculturation studies need to encompass more dynamic and unpredictable components such as transculturation, creolization, hybridization, assimilation,

and resistance. Any analysis that perceives power relations—e.g. domination and the extraction of basic resources—as one-sided and central to social or economic exchange in fact misconstrues such relations, which seldom entailed the subordination of natives, unequal exchange partners, or socially less complex groups (Thomas 1991: 83–4). Cultural contact between human groups, and the involvement of peripheral groups in trade or exchange relations often developed without any physical coercion or through some negotiated forms of acquiescence and resistance. As a consequence, archaeologists need to link this type of macrohistorical theory with microscale material signatures in the archaeological record (Alexander 1998: 479). In order to develop a satisfactory archaeological concept of acculturation, we have to understand how the material record relates to variability in the diverse structures and individual relations of interaction.

## Acculturation and Archaeology

The concept of acculturation as formulated in the social sciences remains well entrenched in archaeology (e.g. Wells 1980; Dietler 1990; Schortman and Urban 1992; Clarke 2005). This is the case not least because—despite all the arguments elicited for independent invention—human social groups, even in deep prehistory, have seldom existed in isolation for any significant stretch of time. Moreover, without attempting to dissect and understand the diversity of factors at play in cultural contacts, it would be difficult if not impossible to understand human history. Cusick (1998c: 136) offers at least four salient reasons for archaeologists to study acculturation: (1) to understand how cultural contacts impact on social change; (2) to engage with the positive as well as the negative aspects of cultural contact; (3) to examine the relationship between cultural contacts and power relations; and (4) to consider how the dynamics of cultural or social identity are affected by ideas or things external to any given society. Informed archaeological research treating acculturation today needs to consider how factors such as hybridization, individual decision making, and power relations (domination, resistance) impact on the diversity of relationships involved in cultural contact and social change, and in forming social identities.

Archaeological perceptions of acculturation typically are based on investigations of how material culture is diffused or exchanged amongst human groups (e.g. Schortman and Urban 1992; Frankel 2005). Using terms (often less than explicitly) like assimilation, emulation, enculturation, or syncretism, archaeologists have tended to see a distinctively unidirectional, top-down replacement of the material and social traits of a subordinate culture with those of a dominant culture, for example in situations thought to have involved Neolithization, 'becoming Bronze Age', Minoanization, or Romanization. Such

interactions, however, are dynamic, seldom one-sided, difficult to predict and not easily characterized with archaeological data. Whereas interepretative approaches necessarily vary, and although colonial or contact situations often are illuminated by historical records, archaeological evidence remains a crucial element for elucidating the interactive acculturation process.

The basic unit of analysis is a network of interacting cultures, not one individual culture. Events taking place in one location or region cannot be understood without reference to the wider interaction system and the individual people involved (Schortman and Urban 1998: 110–17). These interaction systems, however defined or labelled—compare Schortman and Urban's (1998) egalitarian, coevolving and hierarchical systems with Alexander's (1998) symmetrical, entanglement and colonial processes—serve as useful heuristic tools to examine difference, conflict, power relations, and all the other factors involved when two groups of people come into contact. Attempts to interpret such contact situations must, necessarily, '... avoid the assumption that the material culture of the more complex polity is inherently desirable to the less complex populations' (Alexander 1998: 486).

How are such interactions played out in material terms? Alexander (1998: 487–93) discusses assemblage diversity, site structure, and architecture, and the material aspects of ritual, all aimed at establishing and making more robust the links between variation in the structure of interaction and variation in the material record. The modes and techniques through which people actively or passively negotiate their autonomy or dependence are not exclusively economic or political in nature; they encompass a wide range of tactics that imbricate material culture in diverse contexts (Alexander 1998: 489).

Architecture is an important medium for expressing power and control. but one that may also be manipulated by subordinate peoples as a way of negotiating social relations and reformulating social identity (Alexander 1998: 490-1). Foreign or divergent architectural styles may mark the presence of merchants, traders, or administrators rather than actual colonists, or they may indicate the emulation of foreign elites by their local counterparts. Native or indigenous habitations, however, often are unchanged in such situations because decisions on the allocation and employment of labour would have been left in local hands. Architectural attributes and style may be differentiated in vernacular or civic/ceremonial structures, and modified in accordance with local conditions and the suitability of local building materials. The variability of sites at the household level also offers crucial material evidence for understanding the structure of interaction and acculturation. This may involve changes in types or levels of craft specialization, the perception of order or control (power relations) apparent in household or site layout, the use of storage facilities, and indicators of gendered activities in household contexts.

Interaction and acculturation typically involve significant changes in symbolism, ritual, and ideology (Alexander 1998: 491–2). Ritual practices and mortuary customs, for example, become more syncretized as native or local peoples selectively adopt foreign or intrusive elements. Sanctuaries, temples, and public buildings alike often are constructed or reconstructed in the same location as earlier ceremonial or ritual enclosures. Burial practices and cemeteries more generally may reveal some mixing of local and foreign traits or customs, and the location of tombs may also change, e.g. from intra- to extramural or vice-versa. The production and use of figurines may cease or change in style and technique, and their locus of consumption or deposition may alter, e.g. from a more 'public' to a more 'private' sector.

All these factors and more indicate that the production and use of material culture is often patterned with respect to the nature and structure of social interactions and contacts. Archaeological evidence, moreover, is crucial for establishing a diachronic theory of acculturation, and Alexander (1998: 493) argues that 'archaeology is one of the few bodies of evidence that possess sufficient time depth to examine changing reactions to contact over long periods of time'.

#### Hybridization

In contrast to acculturation, hybridization (or hybridity) has emerged as a prominent theme in material culture studies, particularly in analysing colonial situations and their postcolonial reactions, or in examining contemporary contexts of globalization, culture, and art (e.g. Thomas 1994; Friedman 1995, 1997; Comaroff and Comaroff 1997; Papastergiadis 2005). As employed in postcolonial and cultural studies, hybridization refers to the social interactions and negotiations that take place between colonists and the colonized or, as Friedman (1995: 84, emphasis added) defines it, the processes that lay behind the '...cultural *mixture* [that] is the effect of the practice of mixed origins'. Recent handbooks on postcolonial theory define hybridization more generically as 'the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonialism' (Ashcroft *et al.* 1998: 118), or as involving 'processes of interaction that create new social spaces to which new meanings are given' (Young 2003: 79).

The notion of 'hybridity' originated in mid-19th century biological and evolutionary debates to define a cross between two animal or plant species. Developed soon thereafter as a social and cultural metaphor ('cultural hybridity'), it came to denote the lack of racial purity (Young 1995: 1–89). Postcolonial usage, however, has now superseded such racist connotations

and the historical tendency to associate hybridity with the pseudo-science of eugenics (Papastergiadis 1997: 257–8). Current theoretical debates generally agree that all identities and cultures are formed through negotiation with difference. The concept of hybridity has become central to interpreting and understanding such negotiations between different social groups, and to revealing how the ideals of one social group are reconfigured as they are internalized by others (Papastergiadis 2005: 42–3, 48).

Bakhtin and Lotman first developed the notion of hybridity to represent transformative processes of culture, language (semiotics), and knowledge; they concluded that innovation and improvization became much more intense along border zones of cultural contact (Bakhtin 1981; Papastergiadis 2005: 56). Most famously, however, it was Homi Bhabha (1985) who amplified the concept of cultural hybridity to deconstruct dualistic perceptions of colonial situations (i.e. colonizer vs. colonized) and thus to counter the view that the inhabitants of such countries or regions must be regarded as either colonial or indigenous. People and material objects in these situations often exhibit a mixture of cultural similarities and differences, and thus reflect an ambivalence toward either a dominant colonial identity or a subservient indigenous one. Neither colonial norms nor indigenous traditions survive intact in such situations. Both are negotiated to some extent, and give way to new, more ambiguous social and material practices, to new perceptions concerning the meanings and memories of peoples and things. The crossing of such social and cultural boundaries—what postcolonial theorists term the 'in-betweenness' of people and their actions, and what Bhabha (1989) calls the 'third space' of colonial processes of interaction—should not be seen as exclusively modern phenomena (Rowlands 1998; Dietler 2005; van Dommelen 2006). Furthermore they may be articulated in material as well as social terms. Thus when objects or material culture are redirected into a 'third space', or when social groups are reconfigured by engagement with 'others', movement and re-alignment are always involved. The mixture of people and things previously separate provides a stimulus for the emergence of something new (Papastergiadis 2005: 56-7). Hybrid cultures, therefore, do not simply fuse colonial and indigenous features; rather they develop entirely new social and material creations—hybrid identities if you will—that demonstrate their own unity and coherence (Nederveen Pieterse 2001: 230-9; van Dommelen 2006).

Postcolonial theorists like Bhabha (1994) have emphasized this 'inbetweenness' of people and their actions in contact situations. They have explored how the mixture of differences and similarities amongst colonial and indigenous peoples relates to entirely new forms of identity and cultural practice. The loss or transgression of previous boundaries seldom results in the disappearance of cultural differences, but instead culminates in the appearance of new forms of cultural mixture, more complex patterns of cultural differentiation (Papastergiadis 2005: 51). In 19th century South Africa, for example, the Tswana are seen actively to have hybridized European attempts at colonization, making their own various signs and practices of European modernity. In terms of Christianity, native churches were filled with vernacular forms of spirit possession, ancestor worship and local modes of preaching and hymn-singing (Comaroff and Comaroff 1997: 86–90, 115–16; 2005). In terms of the currencies introduced by missionaries, the money Tswana made from employment was diverted into social relations and the local cattle economy (Comaroff and Comaroff 1997: 202–15). In other words, by complying with colonial norms and standards but at the same time maintaining and integrating them within various indigenous perceptions, people in specific contact situations invent new traditions and develop new cultural norms of their own (van Dommelen 2005: 117; 2006: 136–7).

The ambivalence and ambiguity that characterize such colonial situations result from constant negotiations over the differences and similarities between the distinctive groups. Van Dommelen (2002, 2006) maintains that such ambiguity is an inherent feature of colonialism, and should not be seen as an exclusively modern or Western phenomenon. Hall (2004: 193), for his part, maintains that hybridity is neither bound to the specific historical circumstances of colonialism nor linked to a particular community's migration patterns. Hybridization, therefore, is just as likely to have occurred in ancient contact and colonizing situations as in modern ones (Rowlands 1994a). Indeed, the prominence of concepts such as transculturation, creolization, or hybridization as themes in postcolonial and material culture studies (e.g. Thomas, 1991; 1997; Fabre 2002; S. Hall 2003), and the exploration of their value in archaeological research (e.g. Rowlands 1994a: 40-8; van Dommelen 1998: 214-16; 2005: 116-18, 136-7; M. Hall 2000: 21-2, 38-9; Webster 2001: 217-23; Gosden 2004: 158–9; Lightfoot 2005), demonstrate the crucial role they have begun to play in archaeological studies treating migration and colonization.

## Hybridization and Archaeology

The critical task that confronts social theorists is to track the dynamism between the process of hybridity and the effects of cultural mixing. For archaeologists, the concept of hybridity—as a social, material, or cultural mixture—has the potential to refine the understanding of any contact situation involving colonization, migration, or acculturation. Its primary conceptual drawback, namely of reifying natural cultures and denying or overlooking the dynamic role of human actors in cultural encounters, may be circumvented in

part by adopting the term 'hybridization'. Van Dommelen (2005: 116–18) argues that hybridization (as opposed to hybridity) relates actively and more directly to the social agents, negotiations and interactions involved in any contact situation, and at the same time retains the notion of mixture in producing new social and material traditions (also Friedman 1995: 84). The key to understanding local contexts in their wider setting, van Dommelen (2006: 139–40) argues, lies within localized instances of 'hybrid practice' (in the sense of Bourdieu's practice theory). By its very nature, the archaeological record is deeply imbricated in such hybridizing practice, and the meanings and perceptions of material objects in contexts of cultural contact should also be regarded as hybrid constructs.

Nicholas Thomas (1991, 1997) has demonstrated that the meanings of objects and practices involved in cultural contacts never remain unchanged but rather are recombined into new ones, thus reflecting this process of hybridization. One example he uses is the way that cloth was introduced into the Pacific region during the early 19th century, in some areas replacing traditional bark clothing entirely, in other areas (like western Polynesia) relegating the latter to other, often ceremonial usages (Thomas 2002). One traditionally Tahitian bark cloth garment called a tiputa (similar to a Latin American poncho) reveals a very complex history of usage. In the early to middle 19th century, the inhabitants of Samoa, who typically never wore upper body clothing nor bark cloth, were somehow convinced by converted Tahitian missionaries to adopt these garments. Evidently, these missionaries promoted the use of the tiputa because it covered up bare-chested Samoan women and men and thus encouraged a Christian type of modesty. The Samoans, however, seem to have regarded tiputa in purely local terms, as garments that empowered those who wore them. In terms of hybridization, the crucial point is that the Tahitian missionaries adapted a traditional Tahitian garment to their new needs and beliefs on Samoa (modesty), whilst the Samoans adopted the tiputa and gave it an entirely new meaning (empowerment). As Thomas (2002: 196) describes it: 'These artefacts were not just expressions of a new context, but technologies that created that context anew'.

In excavations at Colony Ross in northern California, Lightfoot *et al.* (1998: 209–15) uncovered striking evidence for the mixing of material culture associated with the process of hybridization. Documentary evidence reveals that the Russian–American Company established Fort Ross and forced Alaskan men from the Aleutian and Kodiak islands to work there as marine hunters and labourers (Lightfoot 2003). During the course of time, some of these men established households with local women, chiefly from the Kashaya Pomo tribe: within the settlement, Alaskan-style houses (flattened cabins) were filled with locally made, indigenous stone tools associated with basic domestic practices

(house-cleaning and food preparation). In particular, the diet in these joint households directly reflects the creation of new hybrid practices: the Alaskan Alutiiq consumed Californian rockfish and venison whilst the Kashaya Pomo ate whale and seal (Lightfoot *et al.* 1998: 212).

In a series of studies, van Dommelen (2002, 2005, 2006) has discussed Phoenician and Carthaginian (or Punic) colonial interactions with indigenous peoples in Sardinia, Ibiza, and southeastern Spain, and the hybrid practices that followed in their wake. In Punic Sardinia, for example, a series of shrines in the island's interior, evidently dedicated to the Greek goddess Demeter, were set up in previously abandoned nuraghes. Objects found within an early 4th century BC shrine at Nuraghe Genna Maria near Villanovaforru (Lilliu 1993) (Figure 8) suggest that rituals performed there were not, in fact, dedicated to Demeter but instead must be related to Punic traditions (and Demeter's adoption in the Punic pantheon). Such an interpretation indicates that the shrine was a colonial introduction. The ritual assemblage is dominated by oil-lamps—primarily Greek and later Roman imports from Italy but including a few indigenous types—that were foreign to Punic rituals but are known from contemporary and earlier Iron Age Sardinian sanctuaries. Given the array of multiple meanings and influences represented by the objects, the shrines and the divinity (divinities?) to whom they were dedicated, it seems clear that any original connotations of these materials had been superseded by new meanings constructed in the colonial context, whilst the cult at Genna Maria itself reflected new, hybrid practices based on a reinterpretation of locally available objects and materials (van Dommelen 1997: 314-16; 2006).

The diversity or even the polarity of material culture evident in many historic and prehistoric cases of migration or colonisation have always been seen in the light of factors such as innovation, technology transfer or essentialist notions about the dominant and the subservient. This 'top-down' view of cultural interaction and change must be replaced by a (postcolonial) perspective that focuses firmly on local contexts and processes of negotiation, and emphasizes local traditions and interests in their wider regional or interregional settings (van Dommelen 2005: 136). By focusing on ways that hybridization works and is given material expression, archaeologists can better analyse and understand the mechanisms by which innovations—social, economic, or technological—were adopted and adapted to prevailing material and social practices, and how their mixing, whilst drawing on locally available materials, led to entirely new forms and meanings of the objects involved.



Figure 8: Aerial photograph of Nuraghe Genna Maria, Villanovaforru, Sardinia.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The preceding discussion has highlighted several approaches relevant to or already adopted in archaeological attempts to reconstruct identities, define ethnicities and understand *habitus*, interpret acculturation or hybridization, and assess the structure of migrations. The search for culturally bound artefacts, architecture, and other aspects of material culture reveals little about the lives, mindsets, identities, or social concerns of historical actors or prehistoric groups and individuals (Horning 2002: 133, 136). Similarities in material culture and material patterning through space and time cannot be

taken as passive indicators of social identity or ethnicity, nor should they be seen in uniformitarian terms. Rather they must be contextualised in a focused manner and treated with due regard to their historical contingency. Where relevant, this includes migratory movements or episodes of acculturation and hybridization, in all of which people are adjusting to new social, natural and material environments (Jochim *et al.* 1999: 140).

The archaeological study of social identity demands a critical stance toward essentialist conceptions, supplemented by an emphasis on the fluidity and situatedness of identities (Fotiadis 1997: 108–9). If earlier archaeological work on identity tended to be primordial in orientation, postprocessual concerns with agency and the individual heralded a shift towards the interactionist position. The view that identity results from a discourse between the individual and society suggests that the self is not some inner, essentialist core, but rather is constantly altered by changes in social situations. Most people, in all societies, have multiple social identities that may endure over long periods of time, and are expressed through diverse material forms and media. Although no single medium reflects a one-to-one link with social identity, many diverse styles, techniques, products, symbols, dispositions and attitudes are employed to create and express identity (Dietler and Herbich 1998; Robb 2001: 177). Perhaps the key feature to bear in mind is that identity is forged through difference, typically marked by symbolic representations and forms of social exclusion (Woodward 1997).

A certain tension exists in both anthropological and archaeological thinking about issues related to ethnicity and ethnic identity. If modernists adopted an essentialist approach to ethnic identity, postmodernists promoted the concept of multiple or dispersed identities—i.e. people adopting different identities as their social situations demand (Sarup 1996: 175). Both positions have thus far proved unhelpful for archaeologists who wish to identify ethnicity not just in material culture but also in myth, cultural tradition, written records, artwork, and oral histories (e.g. Hall et al. 1998; Malkin 1998, 2001; Siapkas 2003). Nonetheless, the notion of self-ascription vs. ascription by others does seem relevant to archaeological discourses on ethnicity and identity (Emberling 1997: 302). Although the material symbols of ethnic identity provide the clearest indicators of boundary maintenance, they are usually scarce, or difficult to identify and isolate in the material record. Archaeologists who wish to engage with the concept of ethnicity need to explain how ethnic boundaries were established, stabilized and maintained through time, and how they disintegrate or become transformed. Given the multiplicity of problems involved in defining an ethnic group, then, it may prove more useful to archaeologists to focus on how ethnicity was constructed. For example, we might consider in which social or politico-economic contexts a sense of ethnic identity may have emerged, and how that might have occurred. In such an approach, archaeologists can capitalize on material culture by considering the ways that particular people used it, and how it may be patterned in the archaeological record as reflections of those particular groups.

Migration has been a constant throughout human history and prehistory, one embedded in social strategies and economic structures, not least of which is the individual or group quest for identity. Migrations link people, places and landscapes in diverse and unpredicatable ways, revealing broad patterns as well as intricate details, all of which command archaeological attention (Chapman and Hamerow 1997: 1). Closely related to and often following upon migratory movements or colonial enterprises, acculturation and hybridization are discursive processes in which different social and economic relationships are continually negotiated and renegotiated, and through which entirely new social and material conditions are developed. Acculturation processes may vary with respect to levels of technology, factors of distance, relations of power, the demographic trajectories of societies in contact, and the individual motivations that propel movement, contact and exchange. In migratory or contact situations, ambivalence and ambiguity may—paradoxically—help hybridized cultures to become more coherent, because the typically ambiguous meanings and perceptions that emerge in establishing identity can serve to bridge cultural differences and solidify relationships (Friedman 1997: 88).

Studies of acculturation and hybridization must attempt to understand how indigenous people or local groups, as a result of the intentions and desires of their individual or collective members, became engaged with larger regimes of economic or political power, and were transformed in that process. The acculturation process is a complex, contingent and always changing mixture of shifting perceptions and human intentions, different forms of domination, accommodation, and resistance, and the locus and structures of power (Dietler 1998: 299, 307). The hybridization process engages actively the mixed character of migratory and colonial situations, a metaphorical 'energy field of different forces' (Papastergiadis 1997: 258) from which new, hybrid cultures emerge, and through which local identities develop. The challenge that faces archaeologists is to be able to recognize the material facets of migration, hybridization, and acculturation processes, and to find ways of rendering them historically intelligible without making them seem irresistible or inevitable. In systems of 'cultural entanglement' (interacting people or polities), which are more relevant than 'symmetrical' or 'colonial' systems to the types of interaction that are of concern in this study, multiple forms of material culture—including pottery, metals, raw materials, diverse technologies, prestige goods, items of dress or adornment, mortuary customs and feasting paraphernalia—are seen to be readily transferred or recognizably transformed between individuals, social groups, communities, and polities.

Finally, the complexities involved in an approach that seeks to engage habitus in treating ethnicity or identity have limited the number of informed archaeological studies. Nonetheless, because people often systematize and rationalize distinctive cultural styles in the process of establishing and expressing their identity (ethnic, social, sexual, or otherwise), archaeologists may vet succeed in isolating discontinuous, non-random distributions of material culture which plausibly may be related to the expression of identity phenomena (Shennan 1989: 16; Jones 1996: 73). Given the potential signficance of trans-historical and trans-cultural contexts in generating ethnicity, looking at material culture groupings over long periods of time may help to isolate the dimensions of material culture that, at least in part, express one level of identity. Having ascertained what sort of identity might be represented in a given archaeological context, and having defined explicitly and contextually what (ethnic) identity is and how it may be formally identified in material culture (Clarke 2003: 207–8), the construction of ethnicity might be visible archaeologically as multiple overlapping boundaries, or operational traits and material expressions that represent cultural difference (Jones 1997: 128). Such cultural differences, however, are both transient and subject to reproduction, redefinition, and transformation in the ongoing social activities and performances of everyone's everyday life.

In the following chapters, I discuss in some detail how the concepts of ethnicity, migration, and acculturation have been employed in diverse reconstructions of Cypriot prehistory and protohistory (from about 2700–900 BC), and in turn how the concepts of social identity and hybridization might produce more balanced interpretations. I do not attempt to treat the empirical evidence exhaustively, but rather comparatively and didactically, in order to facilitate an integrated discussion of theory and data. I suggest that—as is the case with notions of colonization and colonialism (Dietler 2005)—the use, understanding, and presentation of these theoretical concepts in Mediterranean archaeology, conceptually and empirically, has been somewhat less than optimal. In turn, I suggest how a more contextualized, nuanced treatment of the motivations and practices involved in demographic movement, individual or group identification, cultural entanglement, and social change can help us to re-present several complex aspects of the Cypriot past, and in turn bring them to bear upon Mediterranean archaeologies.

## Island Archaeology and Island History: Cyprus

Cypriote historiography, particularly of the Bronze Age, has been afflicted by and suffered from an invasion syndrome.... The result has been a serious distortion of the history of the Cypriote people as such, for while the reality of certain foreign interventions is undeniable, due recognition and weight must be given their political, social and cultural complexity before the history of Cyprus, at least during the Bronze Age, can be seen in its proper light. (Merrillees 1975: 37)

# ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONSTRUCTIONS: INNOVATION AND CHANGE

Perceived changes in Cypriot cultural traditions or material assemblages typically have been glossed with reference to diffusion, invasions or ethnic migrations (e.g. Dikaios 1962; Catling 1971a; Karageorghis 1973). In its latest guise (Peltenburg 1996; Webb and Frankel 1999; Frankel 2000), with explicit reference to the Prehistoric Bronze Age (PreBA), the identities and processes invoked to explain culture change have become more elaborated empirically and more sophisticated theoretically—even invoking the concept of acculturation (Frankel 2005)—but the methodology remains largely unchanged.

In the passage quoted above, Robert Merrillees admonishes other archaeologists working on Cyprus for attributing various Bronze Age social, cultural, and political innovations to foreign invasions and interventions. He levelled his criticism on Catling's (1970, 1971a) *Cambridge Ancient History* chapters (Neolithic and Bronze Age Cyprus) for viewing cultural developments on the island from the outside in, rather than from Cyprus outward—as any history demands. In an eloquent response to Merrillees' critique, Catling (1979a) maintained that it would be impossible to gain any historical perspective without comparing the island's cultural achievements to those of

its neighbours, and without considering the likely impact of foreign influences on Cypriot society, or of foreign demand for Cypriot goods and products (notably copper). Catling, however, also maintained that as a result of its insularity, Cyprus during the Early and especially Middle Bronze Ages reached an 'optimum' level of cultural achievement, beyond which it could not develop without revitalization and stimulation from abroad.

Catling's detailed and knowledgeable summary of the island's economic and political fortunes and misfortunes throughout the *longue durée* of its subsequent eras is neither contentious nor particularly relevant to this discussion. However, his perspective on the indigenous Cypriotes' capacity (or, rather, lack of it) for initiating technological development or social change on the island—perhaps in response to overseas development or demand—was at the time, and remains still, highly contentious. Today, nearly 40 years after Catling was writing, we have a dramatically different archaeological record, especially with respect to the excavation and publication of settlements and material culture sequences that span the emergence and stabilization of Bronze Age society on Cyprus (Late Chalcolithic, Early and Middle Cypriot periods—PreBA 1). We also have a better understanding of the some of the social processes involved, not least—as this study will demonstrate—the roles of insularity, connectivity, and hybridization in establishing island identity. Given the current situation, one can only wonder how Catling's views might have changed.

One thing is clear: Catling can only be included circumstantially in the long tradition of British archaeologists trained in the Classics (as Catling was), some of whom were amongst the first professionals to work on Cyprus. Their negative attitude toward the Ottoman Empire, and then Turkey, sustained a long-standing philhellenic bias that has always affected the structure of archaeological research on the island (Given 1998), and remains one of the main burdens born by the archaeology of Cyprus today. Until the 1980s, most archaeologists working on the island, including native Cypriotes, were trained first and foremost as specialists in Aegean, Levantine or Anatolian archaeology, only secondarily in the archaeology of Cyprus. As a result, the island's unique pottery, statuary, and fine arts—all too often looted from its primary context and bundled off to major art museums in Europe, Britain, Australia, and the USA (Goring 1988; Karageorghis et al. 2003: 23)—were studied mainly by classicists who regarded such works as provincial and inferior when compared with Greek art (Karageorghis et al. 1999: x). From such perspectives, Cyprus has always been seen as a bridge or a crossroads between the Orient and the Occident (e.g. Karageorghis 1986a, 2002c). One result is that cultural development and social change on Cyprus typically are seen as timeless processes, punctuated at crucial junctures by immigration, foreign invasion, or else the 'revitalization' and 'stimulation' envisioned by Catling as a *sine qua non* for innovation and the reversal of cultural stagnation. And so the ebb and flow of social time, economic change, and cultural development inevitably are associated with external forces, themselves based in scholarly preconceptions that anticipate Aegean or Near Eastern cultural influences.

As emphasized throughout this study, Cypriot material culture differs markedly, and continuously through time, from that of the surrounding regions. Apart from the inevitable colonization episodes during Cyprus's Early Aceramic Neolithic ('Pre-Pottery Neolithic', or Cypro-PPNB) and the subsequent Aceramic Neolithic (Guilaine et al. 2001; 2002; Peltenburg et al. 2001a, 2001b; Guilaine and Le Brun 2003; Peltenburg and Wasse 2004), evidence of foreign contact remains quite circumscribed until the Bronze Age, after about 2500 BC (Knapp et al. 1994; Peltenburg et al. 1998; 256–9). To what extent this perceived isolation was linked to the nature of insularity, or in what measure our interpretations stem from the erroneous concept that islands are self-sustaining systems to be understood primarily in their own terms, are both focal concerns of the present study. Whilst I would therefore concur with Merrillees that it is crucial to present Cypriot prehistory primarily from an internal perspective, the discontinuities that typify the Cypriot archaeological record—from the first colonization episode through the Iron Age—equally demand that we consider internal developments within the context of the wider eastern Mediterranean and Aegean worlds.

I begin by reassessing cultural developments during the transitional Late Chalcolithic–Early Bronze Age era, the earliest phase of PreBA 1 (about 2700–2400/2350 BC), when several obvious changes in material culture form, style, and usage have been ascribed to an incoming ethnic group. In what follows, I discuss a diverse range of material data—usually analysed and interpreted in culture historical, economic, or demographic terms—in order to present an explicitly social reconstruction of Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus. Without such a detailed reconstruction, we cannot begin to evaluate issues related to ethnicity or identity, acculturation or hybridization, and migration on a comprehensive, long-term basis.

#### PREHISTORIC BRONZE AGE (PREBA) CYPRUS: A SOCIAL APPROACH

By the end of the Chalcolithic period, around 3000–2500 BC in the Mediterranean, most islands—large and small—had been settled (Cherry 1981: 52–8). People were producing their own food and living in the same community throughout the year. About the same time, certain changes evident in the

archaeological record—population growth, the production of food surpluses, the use of storage facilities, the expansion of external trade, the establishment of territorial boundaries-indicate that Mediterranean island societies were becoming increasingly interconnected and more complex, whether we classify them as segmentary, ranked, heterarchical, or hierarchical (Chapman 2005: 77–80). In most cases, these developments took place when special-interest groups, or leaders within such groups, came to control access to various goods or products increasingly in widespread demand throughout the eastern (and in some cases the western) Mediterranean. Such products include but are not limited to raw materials (copper, gold, silver, lead, tin); precious goods (ivory, alabaster, faience, lapis lazuli, and other precious or semi-precious stones); or a range of more perishable goods lost to the archaeological record (Knapp 1991; Palmer 2003). More intricate and increasingly interlinked economic systems emerged during the course of the Bronze Age, from the Levant through Cyprus and western Anatolia to the Aegean, Italy, and Sardinia, and as far west as the Balearic islands and Spain. By the end of the third millennium BC, the demand for metals became a key factor in expanding interregional contacts, the emerging trade in prestige goods, and developing social distinctions (Kassianidou and Knapp 2005; Webb et al. 2006). Copper from Cyprus increasingly became an integral component of these social and economic interaction spheres. How else does Cyprus fit into this broad picture?

## Spatial Organization and Cultural Sequences

Like its Neolithic and Chalcolithic predecessors, prehistoric Bronze Age society on Cyprus was essentially conservative, and relied on a mixed agropastoral economy. At the same time, substantial and striking changes become evident in the archaeological record. Beyond the mortuary and representational innovations discussed below, the PreBA 1 material record is characterized by several other features. These include: sub-rectangular and often multicellular architecture (Swiny 1989); the introduction of the plough and equids and the re-introduction of cattle (Simmons 1998, 2003); several distinctive pottery wares (especially Red Polished—Bolger 1991); a variety of mould-cast copper tools, weapons and ornaments (Balthazar 1990); wider use of spindle whorls and loomweights as well as 'gaming stones' (Swiny 1986b: 32-64; Crewe 1998). Subsistence evidence indicates a decline in the exploitation of deer (Knapp 1994: 396 table 1, with full references), a rise in the use of cattle, the introduction of screw-horned goats (Frankel et al. 1996: 45), and a change in the way that animals were integrated into both the economy and the ideology of PreBA Cyprus (Keswani 1994).

Settlement size as well as the actual number of sites increased from the Chalcolithic period onward. Both factors involved more than simple population growth. The costs of subsistence production escalated; stress on resources and available land mounted; and members of the community either re-structured themselves through (managerial) specialization or perhaps fissioned off into new communities (Peltenburg 1991c: 27; Manning 1993: 43-4). Settlement expanded into areas previously unoccupied: arable zones such as the western Mesaoria (the agricultural plain between the Kyrenia and Troodos mountain ranges) or the coastal plain north of the Kyrenia range; the Troodos foothill zone around the upper reaches of the Pedhieos, Yialias and Kouris Rivers, and farther south along the eastern rim of the Troodos; the southern and western coastal fringes and immediate hinterlands, from Larnaca in the east to the Paphos district in the west. Most of these areas lent themselves well to the use of intensified plough agriculture, whilst those in the Troodos foothills were ideally situated to tap into the copper deposits of the Lower Pillow Lavas (Figure 9).

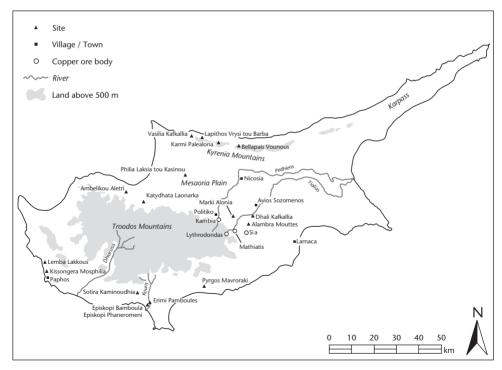


Figure 9: Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus (map): sites, (modern) towns, and other areas mentioned in text.

The material sequences from settlement sites dated to the transitional Chalcolithic–Early Cypriot period (=PreBA 1, see Table 1 below) have become much better documented in recent years (e.g. Manning and Swiny 1994; Frankel and Webb 1996a, 2006a; Peltenburg *et al.* 1998; Webb and Frankel 1999; Swiny *et al.* 2003). As a result, we are now able to consider on a firmer basis issues related to absolute chronology, cultural continuity or discontinuity, and the possibility of a foreign presence or foreign influences during this transitional period.

Stratigraphic evidence from the site of Marki Alonia (Webb and Frankel 1999: 37-8) shows indisputably that the Philia settlement 'facies' (otherwise known as the 'Philia phase') predate other known Early Cypriot (EC) I-II sequences. Elsewhere on the island, and particularly in the west, the sequence is less clear. At Sotira Kaminoudhia, there are no stratified settlement deposits from the Philia phase, but Philia pottery from several tombs—lacking any association with EC pottery (Swiny et al. 2003: 103-44)—helps to confirm and support the stratigraphic sequence at Marki. This sequence also indicates that Stewart's (1962: 269–70, 296–7) view of the Philia culture as a regional variation of EC I-II on the north coast was incorrect and, conversely, that Dikaios' (1962: 192–203) view of the Philia culture as preceding the EC was essentially right. In other words, the traditional pottery or technological phases—Late Chalcolithic, Philia, EC I-II, EC III-MC I-are, on currently available evidence, seen to be sequential and overlapping, with the Late Chalcolithic and EC components incorporating certain material aspects previously linked exclusively to the Philia phase (see Table 1).

The large, 12-hectare site at Kissonerga *Mosphilia* in the southwest (Peltenburg 1991a; Peltenburg *et al.* 1998: 3) finds no counterparts amongst other known PreBA I sites. Philia phase sites are situated in the central and western *Mesaoria*, with a few distributed around the Troodos massif and on or near the northern, western, and southern coasts (Knapp 1990a: 150–1, table 2, 154, fig. 1; Webb and Frankel 1999: 7–13, fig. 1). In the south, cemeteries at Sotira *Kaminoudhia* and Episkopi *Bamboula* reveal some ceramic parallels with other Philia phase sites (Manning and Swiny 1994: 164, 167; Webb and

8. ( ) -/1			
Current	Traditional	Dates BC	
PreBA	(Late Chalco–Early/Middle Cypriot)	2700-1700/1650	
PreBA 1	Late Chalcolithic Philia 'Phase' Early Cypriot I–II	2700–2500 2500–2400/2350 2400/2350–2000	
PreBA 2	Early Cypriot III – Middle Cypriot I–II	2000-1700/1650	

Table 1. Prehistoric Bronze Age (PreBA) Cyprus: Chronological Schema



Figure 10: Prehistoric Bronze Age site of Marki Alonia, view northeast.

Frankel 1999: 8–11; Swiny *et al.* 2003: 149–50). Most well documented sites of the Philia phase are cemeteries. Webb and Frankel (1999: 7–13) have now discussed 19 of these sites at length, and questioned the identification of a further 14 sites (all of which, however, may be placed in the PreBA 1 period).

The only PreBA 1 settlements (or phases within settlements) that have been excavated thus far are Kissonerga *Mosphilia*, Marki *Alonia* (Figure 10) and Sotira *Kaminoudhia* (Figure 11). In addition to the 14 misidentified or unconfirmed Philia sites noted by Webb and Frankel, and the well known and published mortuary sites (e.g. Vounous, Lapithos), several concentrations of PreBA materials or 'sites' in various parts of the island have been detected through survey work over the past 25 years (and note Catling 1962: 138–9, 148–54). These sites include but are not limited to those found in Table 2.

PreBA sites, in other words, are found to varying extent throughout the island, although most settlements were typically situated in close proximity to arable land and perennial watercourses (Swiny 1981: 80–1). The incipient exploitation of copper resources had already begun (Knapp 1990a: 159–60; Keswani 2005: 385–91), but the people of the PreBA still relied on a mixed economy. These factors help to explain why sites were located close to the



Figure 11: Prehistoric Bronze Age site of Sotira Kaminoudhia, showing Areas A, B and C.

interface between the *Mesaoria* and the mineral-rich foothills of the Troodos Mountains. Manning (1993: 47) predicted the discovery of '... one or more sites and episodes of emergent complexity in the fertile northwest in the Late Chalcolithic period', but that prediction has yet to be fulfilled. And, unless Webb and Frankel (1999: 7–8) are correct in suggesting that Bellapais *Vounourouthkia* may have filled such a role in the subsequent Philia phase-EC period, the wealthy PreBA cemeteries near the north coast at Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba* (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934; Herscher 1978; Keswani 2004: 67–71) and Bellapais *Vounous* (Stewart and Stewart 1950; Dunn-Vaturi 2003a; Keswani 2004: 63–7) are still the only witnesses to coastal settlements in this region. There seems little reason to doubt the existence of such settlements, which would have served as primary staging posts for external trade. But if, as some specialists argue, PreBA 1 society was essentially insular and conservative, with only low levels of socio-economic differentiation and a primarily agro-pastoral economy

6 1		•
Site Name	Period	References
Evdhimou Ambelovouns, south coast	EC	Swiny 1981: 72–3
Stavros tis Psokas area, western Troodos	EC-MC	Peltenburg et al. 1987:
(3 settlements, 2 cemeteries)		15–16
Kalavasos Pamboules, south coast	Late Chalco, EC	Todd 1989: 48–9
Krini Merra, Kyrenia range	Late Chalco, EC	Sevketoglu 2000: 91-3
Sites '83-E-20', '82-D-1', southwest	Late Chalco, EC	Sørensen and Rupp 1993: 4-6
Alykos River valley (5 cemeteries,	EC-MC	Frankel and Webb 1996a: 6
1 habitation site)		
Psematismenos Trelloukas and	EC	Georgiou 2001: 49-51;
Koliokremmos/Palia, Maroni		Manning and Sewell 2006;
Aspromoutti, south coast		Webb et al. 2007
Politiko Phournia, Ergates Spileadhia,	Late Chalco, EC	Given and Knapp 2003:
Episkopio Vrysia, northern		265–6
Troodos foothills		
Phlasou Koutroullis, northern		Given et al. 2008
Troodos foothills		
Politiko Troullia, northern	EC-MC	Falconer et al. 2005
Troodos foothills		

Table 2. Prehistoric Bronze Age (PreBA) Sites: Evidence From Surveys

(e.g. Frankel 1988; Baxevani 1997; Davies 1997), what would have been the focus and purpose of this external trade? To answer that question, we need to consider in some detail the array of available evidence for production and exchange in the PreBA.

## **Production and Exchange**

By far the earliest evidence of copper on Cyprus stems from the Middle Chalcolithic cemetery at Souskiou *Laona*, where excavations in Tomb 158 produced a strip of metal twisted round in nine spiral loops and suspended from a mineralized grey strand of copper. Steel (2003–4: 110) identifies this object as a copper spiral hair ring. Beside this spiral lay six curved fragments of copper, perhaps all part of a single annular pendant or pin (Crewe *et al.* 2005: 51–2, 65, figs. 16.2, 16.3). The spiral is nearly identical to a copper ornament found in the nearby cemetery of Souskiou *Vathrykakas* (Christou 1989: 93 and fig. 12.10; Peltenburg n.d.). Other, nearly contemporary copper pieces were found long ago at Erimi: a chisel, and what has been described as a hook and a knife (Gale 1991a: 44–5).

Recent excavations in PreBA 1 (Late Chalcolithic-EC) settlements and cemeteries have provided important new data for the earliest stages of indigenous metalworking and casting activities on Cyprus. Excavations at Late

Chalcolithic Kissonerga *Mosphilia* (period 4) retrieved six metal objects, ore consistent with production from local sources, and two possible crucibles, indicating that extractive metallurgy and metalworking from local ores was underway by the mid-third millennium BC (Peltenburg *et al.* 1998: 188–9). Evidence for a local, insular metallurgical technology increases during the subsequent Philia phase, with its wealth of mould-cast, copper-based artefacts (usefully summarized in Webb and Frankel 1999: 31–3). The impurities detected in analytical work on PreBA 1 copper-based artefacts (e.g. Balthazar 1990: 105, 161) suggest that any existing native copper deposits had been exhausted and, like the evidence from *Mosphilia*, indicate that copper was now being mined and smelted locally (Swiny 1997: 200).

The most striking evidence for the smelting of local ores and their casting during the PreBA is represented by the three chalk casting moulds from Marki *Alonia*, one of which derives from the earliest Philia phase wall excavated at the site (Frankel and Webb 2001: 35–6; 2006a: 216–17, fig. 6.19; Fasnacht and Künzler Wagner 2001: 38–41, fig. 11). These are the earliest-known moulds used for metallurgical production on Cyprus, and the axes or axe-shaped ingots manufactured in them have several parallels in Philia phase metalwork. On the basis of comparative archaeological evidence, the excavators concluded that the smelting and casting of copper were amongst the earliest activities carried out at Marki *Alonia*, and that the site's location, if not its foundation, may well have been based on its proximity to the nearby copper ore bodies (Mathiatis, Lythrodondas, Sia and Kambia). Equally important, the archaeometallurgists concluded that these moulds provide unique and very early evidence for the indigenous production of metal artefacts from local Cypriot ores (Fasnacht and Künzler Wagner 2001: 41).

Detailed archaeological and archaeometallurgical (EDXRF) analyses of the metal assemblage from (EC) Sotira *Kaminoudhia* also demonstrate a precocious knowledge of metalworking, including the judicious use of alloys by Cypriot metalsmiths (Swiny *et al.* 2003: 380; Giardino *et al.* 2003: 392). The small, unforged 'billet' casting of a dagger blade (or ingot fragment?) produced in an open mould at *Kaminoudhia* (Swiny *et al.* 2003: 373), along with the surface discovery of a crucible fragment at the nearby EC–MC settlement of Paramili *Pharkonia* (Swiny and Mavromatis 2000: 435), both argue for the existence of local metalworking and casting activities during the PreBA (Swiny 1997: 200; Giardino *et al.* 2003: 391). From Alambra *Mouttes*, less than 10 km southeast of Marki, three further mould fragments, 16 crucible fragments, 38 pieces of ores or gossans, and at least 16 pieces of slag indicate that the mining, smelting, and casting of Cypriot copper ores continued during the subsequent PreBA 2 (MC 1) period (Coleman *et al.* 1996: 129–37). Similar, closely related evidence for PreBA 2 metalworking comes

from Ambelikou *Aletri* (Merrillees 1984), Episkopi *Phaneromeni* (Swiny 1986b: 68, 87; Craddock 1986) and possibly Kalavasos *Laroumena* (Todd 1988: 135, 139–40; cf. Todd 1993: 85, 93).

Thus the earliest exploitation and subsequent production of Cyprus's copper sulphide ore deposits took place during the PreBA 1 period, in the northeast Troodos foothills (Marki Alonia) and in the south (Kaminoudhia) and southwest (Mosphilia) of the island. Internal demand for copper was on the rise, and would have provided the metal for casting a range of both utilitarian and prestige items, many of which were removed from circulation and deposited in burials like those at Sotira Kaminoudhia, Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba, Bellapais Vounous, Alambra Mouttes and Vasilia Kafkallia (Hennessy et al. 1988; Philip 1991: 88–99; Frankel and Webb 1996a: 213; Keswani 2004: 63–71). The high costs of such (metals-based) mortuary displays, along with the increasing importance of heritable property and the attendant costs, stimulated the increased production of copper for internal mortuary consumption (Keswani 2004: 82; 2005: 385–94).

These developments transformed the island's economy, making it possible for new, elite social groups in charge of production to answer a growing external demand for Cypriot copper. By the 19th century BC (PreBA 2), cuneiform documents from Mari on the Euphrates River in Syria provide our earliest, irrefutable evidence for the export of Cypriot (Alashiyan) copper (Charpin 1990; Sasson, in Knapp 1996a: 17-19; and see Chapter 6 below). Although evidence for Cypriot maritime contacts during the PreBA remains limited, contemporary polities in the Levant, Egypt and the Aegean sought a whole range of imported goods: e.g. the cedars of Lebanon, the gold of Egypt and the copper of Cyprus (van Andel and Runnels 1988; Knapp 1994: 280-2 and fig. 9.4). Accelerated communications as well as sea borne trade between Cyprus and its neighbours provided an opportunity for at least some people on the island to emulate or to adopt as their own some of the striking material innovations that characterize the PreBA. If in previous periods the insularity of Cyprus had served to any extent to limit overseas contacts, increasingly the production and exchange in metals and metal goods broke down such barriers and at the same time provided both foreign ideas and objects that formed the basis of a new insular identity.

The limited (but steadily growing) number of imports that arrived in Cyprus at this time—from the Aegean, the Levant, and Egypt—has been recovered primarily at *Vounous*, Lapithos, and two other cemeteries near the north coast: Vasilia *Kaphkalla* and Karmi *Palealona* (full references in Knapp 1994: 281, fig. 9.4; Keswani 2004: 79–80, tables 4.7a–c, 4.11a–c; 2005: 388–9 table 13). Two (antithetical) spiral earrings from Sotira *Kaminoudhia*, made from an alloy of gold, silver, and copper, may also have been imported (Swiny

1997: 191), but their shape is very similar to other, pure copper earrings found at *Kaminoudhia* (Swiny *et al.* 2003: 376–9; Giardino *et al.* 2003: 391–2) and several other PreBA sites (Webb and Frankel 1999: 31–4, fig. 23). Beads and pendants made of imported faience and shell from *Mosphilia* and *Marki* may be noted in this context (Frankel and Webb 1996a: 215–16; Peltenburg *et al.* 1998: 256–7), as may the shafthole axes and 'warrior belts' from Politiko *Chomazoudhia*, Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi*, Dhali *Kafkallia* and Ayios Sozomenos, and in the vicinity of Alambra and Larnaca (Buchholz 1979; Swiny 1982: 73–4; Courtois 1986: 74–9; Philip 1991: 85). The relative scarcity of all these imports, their deposition primarily in mortuary contexts, and the aesthetic qualities of objects like the 'electrum' earrings from *Kaminoudhia* (Figure 12) all speak to their social, if not very personal significance, and suggest that certain of the island's inhabitants sought to identify themselves or their ancestors with a symbolism entirely missing in locally produced goods.

Intensified copper production and the manufacture of metal goods also account for the practice of locating sites at or near the agricultural-mineral interface (e.g. Ambelikou Aletri, Marki Alonia, Sotira Kaminoudhia), and for an emerging site hierarchy (Knapp 1997b: 46–63). Keswani (2004: 150) suggests that sites such as Ambelikou Aletri and Pyrgos Mavroraki (Belgiorno 1999; 2004) may have been established as outposts for mining and smelting copper by kin groups from both the north and south coasts. Because the bulk of the pottery from Mavroraki dates to a late phase of PreBA 2, and because the association between its archaeometallurgical finds and structural/ceramic elements remains uncertain (Muhly 2002: 81), it seems premature to discuss the role and function of this crucial site in Cyprus's early metallurgical history (cf. Keswani 2005: 386–7). Beyond that, however, the conspicuous metal wealth from the north coast cemeteries, and the more utilitarian copper objects found both in the north coast sites and in industrial sites (Ambelikou Aletri) or agricultural villages (Marki Alonia, Sotira Kaminoudhia, Alambra Mouttes) nearer the copper sources, indicate distinctive attitudes towards metals. The composition and style of the copper-based artefacts found in mortuary contexts (Balthazar 1990: 432) point to the ceremonial consumption



Figure 12: Electrum earrings: Sotira Kaminoudhia.

of metal goods, in particular their value as objects of prestige display (Giardino *et al.* 2003: 392). Philip (1991: 91, 95; 1995), moreover, argues that, by analogy with Levantine traditions, the larger 'hook-tang' weapons were almost certainly status symbols, not least because of the longevity in their shape and manufacturing tradition (Swiny 1997: 205–6).

On the basis of new chemical and lead isotope results from 16 PreBA (EC-MC) metal artefacts found in Cypriot tomb or hoard deposits (in particular Vasilia), Webb et al. (2006) now propose that the development of metalworking on Cyprus took place within a very complex regional interaction sphere in the mid-third millennium BC. These interactions involved the sea-borne movement of metals and metal artefacts between coastal Anatolia. Cyprus, the Aegean, and perhaps even the southern Levant, and indicate that metalworkers from all these areas, including Cyprus, had access to the same metal sources. In a related study based upon lead isotope analyses, Stos-Gale (2001: 200-1, fig. 10.2) stated that 29% of an unspecified number of copperbased metal artefacts from Pre-Palatial Crete (c.2600–1900 BC) are consistent with production from Cypriot ores. The only numbers given for these objects combine those from the Pre-Palatial and Protopalatial periods: 118 objects of which 25 are said to be consistent with production from Cypriot ores. It is difficult to work from Stos-Gale's numbers—including the 11 (of 29 total) 'Early Bronze Age' tin-bronze artefacts from Crete consistent with Cypriot production listed in another table (Stos-Gale 2001: 205, table 10.3)—to the actual 29% figure she provides (2001: 202, fig. 10.2). Nonetheless, the crucial point is that if some of these Pre-Palatial artefacts could be dated more specifically to the earlier stages of PreBA 1 (i.e. to the Late Chalcolithic or Philia phases), then during the very same time span in which Webb *et al.* (2006) maintain (also on the basis of lead isotope analyses) that closely similar if not identical media of exchange (rod- or ring-shaped ingots) were being produced throughout the eastern Mediterranean, we also would have artefacts from Crete consistent with production from Cypriot copper ores.

Cyprus's role in these interactions remains poorly understood, because only the site of Vasilia can be seen to have participated directly (Webb *et al.* 2006: 283). It remains uncertain whether the imported raw materials and finished artefacts analysed were brought to Cyprus by Anatolian migrants or metalsmiths, acquired from Anatolia by Cypriote elites, or obtained through seaborne trade conducted by Cycladic or Anatolian (or Cypriote?) entrepreneurs. Equally, it remains uncertain how ores consistent with production from Cypriot sources got to Crete during the Pre-Palatial period, but it now seems crucial to factor Crete into this interaction equation as well.

With respect to agricultural production, the use of the plough and the adoption of several others aspects of the so-called secondary products package,

aided and to some extent instigated the transformation of PreBA society on Cyprus. The mixed farming economy became 'extensified' (Halstead 1987; Manning 1993: 44). Moreover, the use of the axe (for clearing land) and the plough (for cultivating more land), together with the re-introduction of cattle to the island, changed the mode of subsistence production and eventually altered the island's ecosystem. The secondary products revolution made possible the increased agricultural yields necessary for a surplus, as well as the means to transport that surplus. The new order of magnitude in agricultural production permitted elites to support and sponsor more specialized production activities (Manning 1993: 47), resulting in restructured relations between capital, labour and management. Larger tracts of arable land, specialized animal husbandry, facilities for (household) storage and an increased level of managerial control over the entire system all served to promote a more efficient agro-pastoral economy, provided a surplus that elites mobilized and manipulated, and thus helped to satisfy the social, economic, and ideological needs of elites and commoners alike.

At the same time, the growth of foreign demand and the importance of prestige goods to the economy, alongside the intensified production of copper and the establishment of differential access to copper ore sources, resulted in new social dynamics of interaction, notably wealth and status differences amongst PreBA 1 households or extended family groups. New modes of exchange, competition, and display, changing mortuary practices focused on the ancestors, and possibly a gendered division of labour became apparent (Manning 1993: 48–9; Webb 2002a: 93–4; Bolger 2003: 193; Keswani 2005: 382–4). The excavated settlements of this period, however, have yet to produce striking differences in wealth within communities, indicating that mortuary ritual was the primary arena for affirming and displaying disparities in social status (Swiny 1997: 206; Keswani 2004: 153–4), if not the emergence of social hierarchies (contra Keswani 2005: 384).

In addition to domestic and parenting tasks involving the household, or domus (Hodder 1990: 44–99), women also would have engaged in some of the compartmentalized labour necessitated by the secondary products revolution. In contrast to hoe-based agriculture (the norm for earlier periods), farming practices based on the plough typically involve more intensive and efficient work cycles, more effort over a larger area and in different ways and, as a consequence, more people (at least at harvest time)—typically family members or kin, including women and children (Boserup 1965; Sherratt 1981). This intensified field labour would have been invested in clearing the land-scape of trees, removing the stumps and preparing the new ground for staple crops, tending to (and herding) new types and increased numbers of animals. At the same time, the compartmentalization of labour, and the demand for it

only at specific junctures in the annual cycle, meant that at least some people were freed at certain times from the relentless labour involved in hoe agriculture. In turn, there may have been an increased emphasis on the hereditary transmission of property and draft animals, and on the long-term attachment by family groups to particular fields or sectors in the landscape (Keswani 2004: 149). Such social phenomena may be reflected spatially by the well-known pattern of site clustering (Swiny 1981; Knapp 1990a: 158–9).

The labour requirements entailed by the secondary products revolution thus precipitated changes not only in human time and animal requirements but also in social organization, from an earlier, communal basis to one that involved extended family households and intra-community cooperation. Such alterations in kin or family structure, and in the organization of production that followed the adoption of plough-based agriculture, almost certainly involved changes in the way people viewed and identified themselves. At the same time, these social and economic transformations must have prompted the changes so evident in Cyprus's architectural traditions. The layout of the new rectangular, multi-roomed and accretive (or 'agglutinative'—Wright 1992a: 310-11) domestic structures uncovered at PreBA 1 settlements such as Marki Alonia and Sotira Kamminoudhia have led some scholars to argue that the basic social unit was now the nuclear family (Swiny 1989: 21; Bolger 2003: 35-6, 134) or the patriarchal family (Bolger 1996: 371). Webb (2002a: 88), however, has rightly cautioned against equating hierarchical gender relations with increasing levels of socio-political complexity and economic inequality. She argues instead that the (contextspecific) household is the most appropriate analytical unit for a gendered examination of individual men's and women's lives. The concept of community is equally crucial for a better understanding of PreBA 1 social organization, as Keswani (2005: 342 and n. 9) has recently argued. Thus far, however, this concept has been adopted in Cypriot archaeology as a focal point of study only for interpreting a mining and agricultural community of the subsequent, Protohistoric Bronze Age (Knapp 2003).

If the individual household replaced the communal compound as the basic unit of production and social reproduction, each (extended family) household would have developed its own storage facilities within or adjacent to the physical dwelling, thus enhancing the potential for individual, private accumulation of wealth (Flannery 1972: 48; Keswani 2004: 148–9). Household, rather than communal storage facilities are indicated in the settlements at Marki *Alonia* (Philia phase-EC) (Frankel and Webb 1996a: 54–5, 146–7; Webb 2002a: 92–3), Sotira *Kamminoudhia* (EC) (Swiny 1989: 21; Swiny *et al.* 2003: 189–91) and Alambra *Mouttes* (early MC) (Coleman *et al.* 1996: 282–3). From Pyrgos *Mavrorachi* comes a large pithos with an estimated capacity of about

500 litres; gas chromatography analysis indicates that it contained olive oil (Belgiorno 2004: 71-2). During the PreBA, there was a tendency to enclose domestic activity areas, suggesting some concern with individual privacy (Keswani 2004: 148). Although many of the structures excavated at PreBA sites have small rooms or other spaces where domestic items or perishable foodstuffs, fodder, and fuel might have been stored, there is no evidence for anything approaching the scale of communal storage seen in the Late Chalcolithic Pithos House at Mosphilia (Peltenburg et al. 1998: 41-2, fig. 3.9). The role of household storage facilities in the developed PreBA economy, then, is indicated primarily by structural installations and plastered bins, much less so by the very limited evidence for large pithoi (Pilides 1996: 107; 2005: 172; Swiny et al. 2003: 44). In fact, one large Red Polished (Philia) ware pithos from Marki Alonia served an entirely different function—as a receptacle for a child's burial (Frankel and Webb 2000: 71 fig. 4, 74-5; 2006a: 285, pl. 64 a-b). Certainly there is nothing in the available PreBA record to compare with the massive storage facilities evident in the Pithos Halls of Late Bronze Age sites such as Kalavasos Avios Dhimitrios, Alassa Paleotaverna, or Maroni Vournes (South 1997: 152-6; Cadogan 1992: 53-7; Hadjisavvas 2003b: 31-2, figs. 3-4), or in the quantities of pithoi seen in agricultural support villages such as Analiondas Palioklichia (Webb and Frankel 1994) or Aredhiou Vouppes (Given and Knapp 2003: 179–82; Steel and Janes 2005: 234–7).

## Production, Exchange, and Identity

Increasing demand for copper to be consumed in funerary displays within the island, or used in exchange relationships beyond the island, meant that somebody had to limit or control access to the island's copper ore deposits. Social and organizational changes associated with the secondary products revolution, in turn, were linked to the increased production of copper and metal objects that served both internal (mortuary) needs and external demand. Both levels of demand led to a steady rise in the scale of metallurgical production and its associated technologies, and in the concomitant development of overseas trade. All these factors necessitated new levels of communication and a new social infrastructure, what I view as the emergence of socially differentiated groups or individuals. By controlling agricultural and metallurgical production as well as access to copper ores, and by manipulating the output of dependent farmers, smiths or artisans, these new Cypriote managers or elites consolidated their power base. At the same time they excluded other social factions from the metal goods that not only symbolized elite membership (Keswani 2005: 392–3), but also provide material indicators of changes in the way these islanders viewed and identified themselves.

#### Material Culture and Mortuary Practices

The community at Late Chalcolithic Kissonerga Mosphilia seems to have reached its maximum extent in Period 4 (c.2700–2400 BC), with population estimates ranging between 600–2600 (Peltenburg et al. 1998: 254–5). În earlier phases of the Chalcolithic, the archaeological record already reveals some remarkable material evidence suggestive of social differentiation. From the recently excavated Middle Chalcolithic cemetery at Souskiou Laona, for example, finds of metal and faience suggest some sort of fluorescence in both the technological and ideological domains (Crewe et al. 2005). Mortuary practices at Laona reveal evidence of multi-stage burial rites with possible secondary treatment of the interred, perhaps a harbinger of PreBA practices. During Period 3B at Mosphilia (c.3200-2900 BC), multiple strands of evidence—'birthing' figurines and a house model, a two-tiered intra-site hierarchy, larger and better-built (calcarenite) structures, wealthy children's burials—indicate organized public, ceremonial feasting and gendered activities (Peltenburg 1991a; Peltenburg et al. 1998: 244-9; Bolger 2003: 129-32), if not the emergence of individual identities (Knapp and Meskell 1997). Certain prestige items, in particular a stunning and diverse array of picrolite figurines, were quite common in Chalcolithic contexts (Peltenburg 1991b: 117–18; Peltenburg et al. 1998: 189-92; Bolger 2003: 86-8). Toward the end of the Middle Chalcolithic (Period 3B at Mosphilia), however, this material and social configuration changed. The evident emphasis on procreativity and fertility (or, more likely, sexuality) expressed by the figurines, the high rates of infant and child mortality (Lunt 1995: 58, table 10.1; Peltenburg et al. 1998: 73-5, table 4.4) and the apparently sharp drop in female life expectancy during the Chalcolithic period (Bolger 1993: 37; Keswani 2004: 147) all seem to signal a society in demographic crisis. The formerly thriving community at Mosphilia vacated the settlement, which lay abandoned for a period of approximately 200 years.

When *Mosphilia* was resettled during the Late Chalcolithic (Periods 4–5), a new, technically proficient and standardized type of pottery—Red and Black Stroke Burnished Monochrome ware—came into production. There is evidence of communal bulk food and liquid storage facilities, metalworking, and specialized craft activities (Peltenburg *et al.* 1998: 249–55). The Pithos House of period 4 is somewhat larger in size (nearly 10m in diameter) than other contemporary structures but also shows features—like a central hearth—found elsewhere. The more than 40 *pithoi* contained in this structure indicate, atypically for this period, a storage capacity that common sense dictates to be well beyond the household level. Various other objects associated with this

structure, including ladle-handled bowls, a concentration of conical stones (possibly linked to western Asiatic tokens—Schmandt-Besserat 1992), stamp seals, a cache of axes and adzes, and the working of metal, shell, flint, and picrolite, led Peltenburg (1993: 15) to conclude, rightly in my opinion, that the Pithos House may have served as a central storage and redistribution centre where surplus production represented wealth. In the project's final publication (Peltenburg *et al.* 1998: 252), the Pithos House is described as a residence—with bulk storage facilities—whose occupants had greater wealth and control over productive labour than any other *Mosphilia* household.

At the same time in *Mosphilia* (Periods 4–5), differential burial practices become evident in the diversity of new tomb types—chamber tombs, pot burials, and scoop graves (Peltenburg et al. 1998: 70-3). Whereas the distinctive treatment of adults and children (much lower proportion of adults in intra-site burials) had characterized earlier Chalcolithic mortuary practice (Peltenburg et al. 1998: 83-6 and fig. 4.5; Crewe et al. 2005: 48-50), both were interred together in Late Chalcolithic burials at Lemba Lakkous and Mosphilia (Bolger 2003: 153–5; on the treatment of children in both periods, see Lorentz 2002). Peltenburg regards this change as a 'major ideological shift' between the Middle and Late Chalcolithic periods at Mosphilia (Peltenburg et al. 1998: 84; Crewe et al. 2005: 58-9), whilst Bolger (2003: 155) interprets it as indicating '... closer associations within family groups during the middle of the second [sc. third] millennium'. Excavations at Sotira Kaminoudhia (Philia phase, EC) also have revealed multiple-burial, extra-mural chamber tombs (Swiny 1997: 189-91; Swiny et al. 2003: 103-44). Material recovered from both Mosphilia and Kaminoudhia reveals notable increases in the quantity and quality of grave goods, as does that from the somewhat later (EC I–II) north coast cemeteries at Bellapais Vounous and Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba (Dikaios 1940; Stewart and Stewart 1950; Toumazou 1987; 203-7; Keswani 2004; 63-71: Dunn-Vaturi 2003a).

Several rather striking changes thus characterize mortuary practices during the earliest phase of the PreBA: the earliest use of chambered tombs, the increase in multiple interments, the first instances of group burials made up of women, men, and children, and the decline in grave goods, most notably the birthing figurines and picrolite pendants so common in Middle Chalcolithic tombs (Christou 1989; Peltenburg 1992; Peltenburg n.d.). Bolger's (2003: 158) gendered interpretation sees these changes as indicating: (1) new socio-economic conditions ('advances in social complexity') that reinforced social bonds between children and adults, and (2) new gender (and age) constructs that impacted on male–female relationships. Peltenburg is more conservative in interpreting these changed mortuary phenomena, acknowledging nonetheless that they represent some level of indigenous social

differentiation linked to other 'fashions, technology, eating and drinking habits' of foreign inspiration or derivation (Peltenburg et al. 1998: 252, 257). Above all, it seems clear that the special treatment accorded to children during the Middle Chalcolithic—inclusion of picrolite pendants and other exotica in burials, secondary treatment of infant and children's bones, libation-hole graves for infants—was no longer provided (Peltenburg et al. 1998: 85, 91; Niklasson 1991: 186–7; Baxivani 1997; Lorentz 2002). Perhaps children had lost their special position as they became involved increasingly in the labour efforts associated with the secondary productes revolution. Indeed, differently sexed and aged individuals (family groups, including children) were now being interred together, and the practice of depositing some remarkable goods (figurines and pendants) with these burials had been discontinued. Such factors suggest a levelling off of the Middle Chalcolithic trajectory toward social differentiation (cf. Bolger 2003: 158). Even if these burial practices so apparent in southwest Cyprus had wider currency during the Late Chalcolithic/PreBA 1 (for which there is no evidence), soon they were to change once again.

During subsequent phases of the PreBA, the deceased members of society began to be placed in large communal cemeteries clearly demarcated from their associated settlements. Davies (1997: 22) sees these burial practices as broadly homogeneous and indicating only a low level of socio-economic differentiation. Frankel (2002: 174), likewise, finds no evidence for symbols of power or prestige in PreBA cemeteries beyond concentrations of metal-work. Similarly, Steel (2004: 139–42) discusses at some length the elaboration in mortuary rituals (including the ceremonial consumption of exotic alcoholic beverages and the associated 'sacrifices' of cattle and sheep), the increasing quantity, diversity, and quality of grave goods (including metal wealth), and the changing socio-economic organization evident during the PreBA (including 'increasing levels of disposable wealth'). She concludes, however, somewhat in contradiction, that '... there is no certain evidence for the emergence of social elites'.

In contrast, Herscher (1997: 31–4) maintains that various funerary customs seen at *Vounous* (less so at Lapithos)—involving distinctive pottery types and wine-drinking vessels, extensive faunal remains, the positioning of certain skeletons, and items such as plank idols and gold or bronze objects—all point to special ritualistic meals (devoid of pig) consumed in honour of elite ancestors, and thus associated with membership in an elite group. Keswani (2004: 150–4) and Manning (1993: 48), from quite different perspectives, also have linked PreBA mortuary practices to the emergence of new, ancestrally-based ideologies held by specific descent groups (Keswani), or to the legitimization of land rights (Manning) in a situation of increasing



Figure 13: Tools, pins, earrings, and other everyday copper objects: PreBA.

competition for good arable land. Bolger (2003: 159–60) also sees the repeated use of the same cemeteries and mortuary rituals over several generations as indicating a reverence for ancestral links, relating them to the emergence of family or household group identities.

Hundreds of utilitarian copper objects have been found in burials at Bellapais *Vounous*, Lapithos *Vrysi tou Barba*, Vasilia *Kafkallia*, and Sotira *Kaminoudhia* (Figure 13) (Herscher 1978: 790–1; Hennessy *et al.* 1988; Swiny 1989: 25–7, table 2.2; Swiny *et al.* 2003: 369–84; Keswani 2005: 363–79, tables 2–12). More limited numbers of prestigious metal artefacts and imports have also been recovered from these tombs (Knapp 1994: 278–81, figs. 9.3–9.4; Keswani 2004: 75, 77 and tables 4.7a–c, 4.11a–c). Manning (1993: 45, 48) argues that the luxury goods found in these collective, late third millennium BC (EC) burials belonged to an hereditary aristocracy and represent a 'classic instance of a prestige goods economy in action'. Like Herscher (1997), he suggests that serving vessels from (EC) mortuary contexts would have been used for consuming alcoholic beverages at feasts (Manning 1993: 45), thus servicing an elite group who sought to establish control over various aspects of production.

According to Keswani (2005: 348–9, 363), the mortuary practices of the PreBA may be linked to a broad complex of ideological (ancestral links) and socio-economic (secondary products revolution) developments. In a context of population growth, new agricultural and pastoral strategies, diminishing availability of land and a new emphasis on social boundaries (indicated by new and diverse regional traditions in pottery manufacture—e.g. Frankel 1974, 1988), burial grounds may have become focal points for competitive display, the negotiation of social identity and the institutionalization of social

inequalities, and above all the veneration of ancestors that helped to establish (kin-based or familial) rights to land (Keswani 2005: 349, 392).

During the ceremonial activities that involved secondary treatment and collective reburial of the dead, sizeable quantities of disposable wealth came to be deposited in the tombs of PreBA 1 Cyprus, Keswani (2005: 385-4) now argues that these competitive mortuary celebrations—including an increased number of imported prestige goods in Cypriot tombs—also provided a crucial internal stimulus for the intensification of copper production during the PreBA (Keswani 2005: 388-9, table 13). The display of costly local metalwork as well as prestige-laden imports in Cypriot mortuary rituals somehow may have caught the attention of foreign visitors or traders, thus extending the knowledge of Cyprus's rich copper resources more widely in the eastern Mediterranean. Such knowledge may well have led to increased external demand for Cypriot copper. This was the very time that earlier exchange networks (in the Persian Gulf, Mesopotamia, Anatolia, and the Levant), which had provided copper to Levantine and Near Eastern polities. began to fragment and break down (Knapp 1986a: 44-5), whilst an eastern Mediterranean (Aegean, Anatolian, Cypriot) network was emerging (Stos-Gale 2001: 200-2; Webb et al. 2006).

## Mortuary Practices, Materiality, and Identity

Funerary rites grew increasingly competitive, elaborate and costly during the course of the PreBA. New social groups would have used these mortuary rituals to underpin their status and establish their identity, not least by revering and celebrating their status-laden ancestors. Perhaps, as Keswani (2004: 151; 2005: 349) suggests, they did so in the context of diminishing agricultural land, concerned to lay claim to specific regions or resources by constructing chamber tombs and reusing formal cemeteries to perpetuate the links between specific kin groups, their ancestors and communal connections to the land. Emerging elites who had themselves stimulated production by creating an internal demand for increased amounts of copper goods to be interred with themselves, their kin and their ancestors, at the same time were in a position to respond to developing external demands for Cypriot copper. Mortuary practices thus highlight new ideologies and new economic activities underpinning and distinguishing the status of an elite group (or groups) on PreBA Cyprus (Keswani 2005: 370, 382-4). In contrast to those who take a minimalist approach to understanding the social implications of all the striking changes in mortuary and material practices during the PreBA, I would argue that a newly emerging social group exercised a significant amount of control over an increasingly complex and hierarchical society. The growing allure of exotic goods they were able to import and display, emulating foreign elites and ideologies, not only served to intensify social distinctions within Cypriot society but also helped to establish new elite identities on the island.

#### Representations

How else did this elite group (or groups?) identify themselves within PreBA society? Are there further material markers that might have been used to signify their socio-political status, and to distinguish them from other islanders?

Peltenburg (1994) has reinterpreted a Red Polished pottery bowl from the cemetery at Bellapais *Vounous* (Dikaios 1940: 50–1, pls. VII, VIII), dated to the very end of the third millennium BC (PreBA 2, or EC III–MCI), as a legitimizing device used by emergent male elites who had become instrumental in transforming and stratifying Cypriot society (Figure 14). Of the 19 human

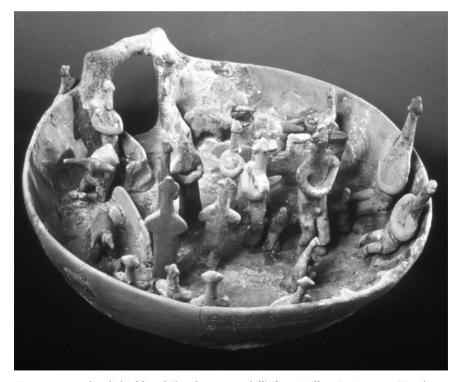


Figure 14: Red Polished bowl ('enclosure model') from Bellapais *Vounous* (Tomb 22 no. 26).

figures and four penned cattle depicted inside this modified bowl with an entryway (an 'enclosure model'), most are represented in the round (excepting three plank-like figures). Of all these, only one—holding an infant—is obviously female (two are of indeterminate sex). Bolger (2003: 39–41) sees the men as active agents, the woman in a clearly delimited and segregated, maternal role. There appears to be a hierarchical, social ordering of the figures represented, from animals, infant and female, through various individual males, to a seated male figure of some prominence. As Steel (2004: 146) has noted, several aspects of this scenic composition may be seen as typical devices for illustrating the relative importance of individuals in prehistoric art: the different sizes of the participants; the distinct gestures made by certain figures; the various postures (standing, kneeling, sitting or enthroned); the excluded individual peeking over the wall of the enclosure.

There are several other, often contradictory interpretations of this extraordinary object, which must have held some special meaning for those who removed it from circulation and placed it in the *Vounous* tomb. Karageorghis (1991: 140) regarded it as a sacred enclosure, its occupants perhaps engaged in a mortuary ritual or a fertility ceremony. Frankel and Tamvaki (1973: 42-4) highlighted the possible funerary aspects of the scene, suggesting that it may have depicted a ceremony held in the *dromos* of a tomb. Morris (1985: 281–3) criticized such interpretations, suggesting that the people depicted were involved instead in more generic domestic or village activities. Coleman (1996: 329), too, doubted whether this scene represents any social unit larger than an extended household. Manning (1993: 45-6), however, identified the main figure in the Vounous model as a specific individual, an 'aggrandiser' surrounded by images of power, wealth, and social reproduction, one who wielded institutional authority on PreBA Cyprus. Steel (2004: 146), similarly, suggested that this scene may represent the notion of elite-generated prosperity and power as symbolized by the 'enthroned' figure. Yet Keswani (2004: 78) maintained that any status differentials indicated by the iconography of this scene (and by PreBA mortuary rituals more generally) had not become institutionalized into a rigid social or political hierarchy. If Peltenburg is correct to see this bowl as representing a building rather than a tomb or sacred enclosure, then the imperatives of domestic space may be seen as commensurate with those of mortuary ritual. Both indicate unprecedented and more complex social realities, the emergence of (male) elites, and a new, more specifically gendered ideology that separated male and female roles in economic production and social reproduction.

Other scenic representations of the PreBA provide further evidence for gendered ideologies and practices in an increasingly complex, if not hierarchical society. Keswani (2004: 151) suggests that genre scenes depicting agricultural

and food-processing activities, and images associated with human reproduction, may have symbolized the intermediary role of the ancestors in insuring fertility amongst PreBA social groups. Webb (2002a: 93-4) observes that whenever women are depicted in these genre scenes, they are consistently represented as parents, partners and productive labourers, the last especially with respect to food-processing activities. One recently published 'wine production' scene, for example, portrays on the shoulder of a PreBA 2 (MC I) Red Polished double-necked jug (from a cemetery at Pyrgos) a centrally-placed, female figure in the round (Karageorghis 2002a: 75-6, and 72, fig. 7). This figure stands in what appears to be a small trough, perhaps a grape-crushing vat. Below the sluice in the vat is another human (male?) figure holding a large basin, into which the contents of the vat would have flowed. The repeated performance of what seems to be socially constructed, gendered activities (here, making alcohol during the working part of a woman's life cycle), suggests an embodied division of labour wherein both women's and men's identities were gendered according to their productive roles in society.

A similar scenario has been proposed for a Red Polished III mottled ware deep bowl, with modelled figues placed below the rim. This genre scene was found in Tomb 36 at the Bronze Age cemetery in Kalavasos village (Cullen in Todd 1986: 151–4, fig. 25.2, pls. 19:3–4, 20–23). The scenes, possibly portrayed in a temporal sequence, are thought to depict both bread- and winemaking, the latter activity observed by a man and woman sitting together. Herscher (1997: 28–30) has reinterpreted four other PreBA vessels with scenic compositions, to which may be added another model from the Desmond Morris collection (Karageorghis 2002a: 69–74, figs.1–5, pl. II), as depicting the pressing of grapes in the production of alcohol to be consumed in funerary feasts. All these production scenes may be understood as representing vignettes of agrarian life as idealized for the mortuary context. Beyond the Pyrgos jug and Kalavasos bowl, however, none of these scenes reveal unambiguously the sex of the figures depicted.

The scenic composition depicted on another Red Polished III vessel, the 'Oxford Bowl', may show distinct gendered activities, segregated by placement on opposite sides of the bowl. Only males, however, are clearly gendered; the tasks they perform may have been differentiated by class or age instead of gender. The activities depicted on this enigmatic bowl have been equated with breadmaking (Morris 1985: 269–74, pls. 292–302) or a metallurgical process (Merrillees 1984: 11) or both (Morris 1985: 273–4). Swiny (1997: 203–4), however, pointed out problems with both interpretations. If, as Webb (2002a) argues, these modelled vessels represent a male–female dichotomy in which individuals were gendered according to the performance of a specific activity, and if all members of society were aware of this division, there would have been little need



Figure 15: Pierides Bowl (from Marki?). Prehistoric Bronze Age 1–2 Red Polished bowl, with genre scene of the life cycle.

explicitly to sex the figures. Thus these modelled scenes would have served, informally at least, 'to maintain and reproduce gender identity as a social fact' (Webb 2002a: 94). At the same time they highlight how the body—and bodily performance—may serve as the locus of gendered difference.

Bolger (2003: 115–17) interprets another genre scene from a well-known PreBA 1–2 (EC III–MCI) Red Polished vessel quite differently. The bowl illustrated by Bolger (2003: 115, fig. 4.10) is from Marki *Alonia*, not Marki *Pappara* as she has it (see Karageorghis 1958: 151–2, pl. XI.a, c; 1991: 120–1, pl. LXXX; Morris 1985: 274–5, fig. 488). More confusingly, the *Pappara* bowl is not the one she goes on to discuss and interpret on the following pages (Bolger 2003: 116–17). This is, instead, the 'Pierides Bowl' (Figure 15), said to have been found at Marki and now in the Pierides Collection in Larnaca (Karageorghis 1991a: 120, pls. LXXVIII–LXXIX; Morris 1985: 277–8, fig. 490). On the actual 'Marki (*Pappara*) Bowl', the people depicted may have been engaged in grinding corn (Karageorghis (1958) or making bread (Morris 1985: 275). On the Pierides Bowl, Morris (1985: 278) already had observed that the scenic elements—men, women, infants, animals, various other objects or installations—seem to be arranged in 'a deliberate time sequence'. Swiny (1997: 204–5), in turn, offered his own interpretation of the genre scene

on this bowl, adding most importantly that what Morris saw as an oven might equally be regarded as the stomion of a tomb, 'in which case this scene would represent the final event of the *life cycle* played out around the rim of this remarkable vessel' (emphasis added).

Bolger adopts Swiny's interpretation wholesale but gives it a gendered spin. She suggests that the portrayal on the bowl of 19 men, women, pregnant women, unsexed individuals, and an infant represents a narrative of the life cycle in prehistoric Cyprus, from pregnancy to childbirth, marriage (partnering), parenting, working, and death. Although one might question why Bolger interprets the scene depicted on the Pierides Bowl as representing a 'nuclear family group', she has at least provided a provocative (gendered) analysis of the overall composition, one that would have been more compelling had she presented a new line drawing of the vessel (or at least illustrated the correct vessel). Bolger (2003: 90, 101, 108–9) is insistent that many archaeologists working on Cyprus have failed to examine figurines and figurative compositions first-hand, and thereby to take into account not just the theoretical implications but also the contextual associations of all this evidence 'amassed from decades of fieldwork and research'. Accepting the validity of such demands, Bolger should live up to her own expectations of others.

Ribeiro (2002) considers another striking feature of these same scenic compositions, namely the common lack of explicit sexual indicators. Using as examples ten pottery vessels with attached human figures, she suggests that those portraying unsexed or sexually ambiguous figures may have been intended to represent pre-pubescent children. She discusses several African and Melanesian ethnographic examples in which pre-pubescent children are regarded as neither female nor male, but as a third sex. She observes, further, that the transition to adulthood in these societies traditionally is marked by rituals or feasts involving genital alteration, bodily decoration, or new attire that served to recreate the individual as a fully sexual man or woman. Ribeiro (2002: 204–6) thus argues that the deliberate portrayal of sexual organs on some PreBA Cypriot figures, and their absence on others, may well reflect the ethnographic situation: the many unsexed figures depicted in PreBA scenic compositions therefore could be seen to represent a distinct gender group, or a pre-pubescent third sex.

Bolger (2003: 135–6) suggests that various taphonomic factors, as well as the fragile nature of the actual appliqué figures, may account for the lack of sexual markers on the individuals portrayed in these scenic compositions. Based on a distributional analysis of the sexed or unsexed figures on a sample of six, Red Polished ware scenic compositions, Bolger (2003: 136–8) points out that there is a far higher proportion of unsexed figures than of identifiable males and females. If Ribeiro is correct, then children or adolescents contributed much more to a wider range of domestic production activities than

adults did. Thus children or adolescents—as part of a distinctive, island social structure—would have provided a crucial source of labour beyond the usual sex or gender categorizations.

## Representations and Identity

Hamilton (2000: 28) has argued that we should not be forcing prehistoric figurines 'into preconceived sex and gender pigeonholes, and then using the results to interpret social structures'. Taking that caveat into account, perhaps it is safer to regard the unsexed figures discussed by Ribeiro and Bolger not as marking a distinctive gender, but rather as representing another, possibly class-based aspect of their social identity. Such figures thus provide another indicator of the ways that living on an island poses certain restraints, in which social practices were modified to meet economic needs in a unique if not entirely unexpected way. Where we can observe clearly gendered individuals in the scenic compositions—whether the differently-sized and (one) prominently-seated male on the Vounous 'enclosure' model, or the centrally-placed female figure in the 'wine production scene' on the Pyrgos jug—we seem to be dealing with not only socially constructed, gendered activities, but also distinctively different identities for women and men, each one gendered according to their working roles in an insular society.

## Individuals in Archaeology?

Ever since the appearance of Hill and Gunn's (1977) staunchly processual volume on The Individual in Prehistory, archaeological opinion has been divided sharply over the existence of individuals in the past, perhaps even more so over our ability to define them in the material record. In a newly revised version of the now-classic textbook on interpretation in archaeology, Hodder and Hutson (2003: 121-4) acknowledge the complexity of this concept, and discuss it in terms of embodiment and the relational self. In several studies, Meskell (1996, 1998b; 1999: 8-36) treated the concept of the individual from archaeological as well as social science perspectives. She outlined the historical trajectories and ontological necessity in the study of the self, and discussed the emergence of social identities, social actors and individuals in both material and documentary records (Meskell 2001: 188-95). In contrast Thomas (2002, 2004a, 2004b), rightly concerned that archaeologists tend to project too much of the present onto the past, has persistently criticized archaeological treatments of the individual. He argues that the rational or autonomous individual is a cultural construct unique to western modernity and to its most characteristic (and for him, unacceptable) political philosophy—humanistic liberalism (Thomas 2002: 30).

Diverse and complex ethnographic and social science issues have influenced and divided archaeological thinking on this topic. Meskell (1999: 34–6) discusses both the terminology (person, identity, individual, and self/ selfhood) and the possible archaeological dimensions of the individual: (1) the self-inscribed, cultural concept of the person (e.g. how prehistoric peoples conceived of themselves); (2) the anonymous individual person or individual bodies (e.g. prehistoric mortuary remains or figurines); (3) individual people distinguished by their actions (e.g. artists, craftspeople, technological styles); (4) representations of individual people in iconography, architecture, or documentary evidence (e.g. frescoes, figurines, the Parthenon marbles, lists of weavers or metalworkers in Linear B texts); and (5) historically known individuals (e.g. Sumerian kings, Greek philosophers, Roman generals). Beyond acknowledging such dimensions, there are common threads of misunderstanding and mutual incomprehension that have led to the often acrimonious debate exemplified by the writings of Meskell and Thomas. This suggests that the current divide may be superficial if not artificial. Whereas this debate over the possible existence of individuals in archaeology cannot be resolved here, not least because so many complex issues are involved, some discussion is essential if we wish to grasp a fuller understanding of human representations on PreBA Cyprus (for detailed discussion, see Knapp and van Dommelen 2008).

Many postprocessual archaeologists have emphasized human intentionality and paid lip service to studying the individual, but in practice seldom consider 'real people' (Johnson 1989: 189–90). The existence or representation of individual people in prehistory is more often implicit than explicit. More serious is the pessimism that leads Frankel (2005: 24; emphasis added) to argue: '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'. Like Frankel, many archaeologists seem to think that individuals, persons and identities are more accessible in historical milieux, with their multi-faceted data sets and in particular written records (Meskell 1999: 212-15). Although Shennan (1989: 14) pointed out that documentary sources simply provide 'one more piece of evidence', Meskell and Joyce (2003: 21-3, 27-8), using Egyptian hieroglyphic and Classic Maya texts, make a case for a strongly contoured sense of the individual and the embodied self in Egyptian and Mayan culture.

The case for individuals, persons and identities in prehistoric contexts, from the Upper Palaeolithic through the Bronze Age, is equally compelling.

McDermott (1996), for example, argued that European Upper Palaeolithic female figurines were attempts at self-representation, whilst Duhard (1990, 1993) suggested that each figurine may portray an actual individual, or person. Talalay's (1993; 2000: 4-5) studies of human figurines and burials in Neolithic Greece led her to argue that production and exchange in this primarily egalitarian society involved (anonymous) individual men and women—potters, peddlers, and pastoral herders. Based on his analysis of thousands of figurines from the Neolithic Balkans, Bailey (2005: 7, 145-6, 203-4) cautiously asserts that they provided the 'ingredients' for expressing individual, household and village identities. Renfrew (1994: 167-70; 2001: 135) links the beginnings of metallurgical production in Bronze Age Europe and the Aegean to the emergence of socially distinct individuals, identifiable through their actions: by symbolic mortuary displays of weaponry (Europe), or by high-prestige commodities (Aegean). For Broodbank (2000: 170–4), the high incidence of individual burials in the Early Bronze Age Cyclades, as well as the quantity, diversity (female, unsexed, male), size and style of anthropomorphic figurines from the same period, attest to the 'increasing archaeological visibility of individuals'. Frankel (1991: 247-9) and Cherry (1992b, 1999) discuss attempts that have been made to identify the output of individual artists, respectively on Cyprus and in the Bronze Age Aegean, whilst the reconstruction of skulls from a Middle Minoan shrine at Archanes-Anemospilia in Crete suggests 'important and striking individuals, marked out both by their physique and their possessions' (Musgrave et al. 1994: 89), one example of anonymous individual bodies.

Gaining access to the individual in material culture clearly presents a major challenge to archaeology, not least because the concept of the individual is a loaded and historically-situated term (Shanks and Tilley 1987: 62). The archaeological record cannot *prove* the existence of individuals in prehistory, even if their material conditions are represented in media as diverse as rock art, clay and stone figurines, frescoes, or pottery. Theoretical and practical issues alike complicate any definition of analytical or real individuals in a prehistoric context. Nonetheless, it seems important to move beyond attempts simply to identify social groups or categories, or to break them down into opposing binary classifications, or to argue that—in every prehistoric or early historic context—the people portraved represent nothing but modern reconstructions cast in our own image. Thomas's concerns are deeply felt: he believes that the concept of the individual is a specifically modern, western concept, one that is anachronistic and ethnocentric, and retrodicits onto the prehistoric past our own views on what it means to be human (Thomas 2004b: 119). Nonetheless, experiencing oneself as a living individual is part of human nature, and archaeologists therefore must take into account the social, spatial, and ideological importance of individual people (*not* 'individualism'), and of embodied lives in prehistoric as well as historical contexts.

#### Individuals in the Prehistoric Bronze Age

The comparative ease with which individuals or embodied lives have been identified in historically documented societies should not deter archaeologists from attempting to identify and characterize individuals, or to postulate their roles in prehistoric and protohistoric societies. This holds particularly true for a largely pre-literate yet increasingly complex society such as that of PreBA Cyprus. What sorts of archaeological indicators might point to the emergence of individual agents or social identities in Cypriot prehistory? For one, both Chalcolithic and Bronze Age figurines provide highly visible representations of the self, and it may be noted that Bailey (1994, 1996) interprets various Chalcolithic figurines from Bulgaria as representations of emerging individuals.

Until recently, most discussions of anthropomorphic clay or stone figurines on Cyprus were largely descriptive and based on classifying their formal and stylistic attributes (e.g. Goring 1991; Karageorghis 1991a; Vandenabeele and Laffineur 1991, 1994). The binary (male/female) division of human society has formed the main criterion for interpreting these figurines, whose usage is typically seen in the realms of ritual or fertility (Merrillees 1980: 172, 184; Peltenburg 1991a: 85–108; Bolger 1992, 2002). In contrast, I suggest that these figurines offer important clues not only for debating issues of sex and sexuality, but also for characterizing individuals in prehistoric or non-historical contexts, and for considering changing ideologies and identities within prehistoric Cypriot society (see also Knapp and Meskell 1997).

Within many agriculturally based, egalitarian, essentially household-based societies such as that of Cyprus's Early-Middle Chalcolithic periods, certain people may have been valued socially but it is rare even for a social group to assume pre-eminence. Nonetheless, the increased attention given to juvenile burials in Middle Chalcolithic Souskiou (Christou 1989) and *Mosphilia* (Peltenburg *et al.* 1998: 83–5) might indicate some degree of individual rights or status, perhaps amongst distinct lineages (Manning 1993: 43). At the same time, there was a pronounced increase in the production and use of cruciform picrolite (and other stone) figurines, all of which display what Bolger (2003: 108) terms 'individualized traits'. The Red-on-White pottery figurines of Middle Chalcolithic *Mosphilia* (periods 3A, 3B), in particular the eight, clearly gendered, female birthing figurines (Goring 1991; Peltenburg *et al.* 1998: 154–9), show a variety of decorative elements and stylistic traits indicative of recognizable individuals (Bolger 2003: 189). In cases such as Middle Chalcolithic *Mosphilia* (Peltenburg *et al.* 1998: 244–9), where contextual evidence indicates

communal or ceremonial activities, the figurines may be seen as ex-voto symbols of the self, not as generic mother goddesses or priestesses.

By the Late Chalcolithic and Early Cypriot periods (PreBA 1), characterizations of individuals become prominent in a much wider range of material. Manning (1993: 45) set the stage for this trajectory of enquiry by suggesting that the earliest prestige imports into northern Cyprus triggered increased levels of internal production, the control and co-ordination of which perhaps motivated some 'key individual' to institutionalize a new, secular form of power. Although Frankel (2005: 24) denies the likelihood of identifying individuals in PreBA Cyprus, his entire argument for the 'enculturation' of ethnic migrants from Anatolia (see below) rests on interaction, movement, technical training, and cultural learning 'in which *individuals* were the active participants. Each generation—each *individual*—had to learn to become a Bronze Age person, socialized into patterns of behaviour and social relationships and trained in many specific skills' (emphasis added). Clearly, for reasons seldom stated (or, stated counter-intuitively as here), there is deep-seated resistance to the notion of individuals in prehistory.

The incipient aspects of social complexity we see during Middle Chalcolithic times became even more pronounced during the PreBA (Knapp 1993a: 89–90; Manning 1993: 44–8). By then, several novel features (see preceding sections) indicate the emerging status of more prominent people and social groups, and recognizable individuals become visible. Amongst the new features are an elaboration in burial practices (especially urn burials and chamber tombs), the use of seals, the personal use of metal products such as copper hair-rings and copper (and gold) spiral earrings, intensified agricultural production, and the emergence of long distance exchange. The last feature may be seen not only in the dentalium and faience beads found at Mosphilia (Peltenburg et al. 1998: 192-4), but also in the sea-borne movement of metals and metal artefacts in what seems to have been an inter-regional exchange system that spanned southern coastal Anatolia, Cyprus, the Cyclades, and perhaps even the southern Levant (Webb et al. 2006). Manning (1993: 46) regards the development and expansion of trade relationships beyond the island throughout the PreBA as a trigger that prompted a multiplier effect. In other words, the acquisition, display and exchange of prestigious metal goods and other imports accelerated structural changes in Cypriot society (Peltenburg 1993: 20; Knapp et al. 1994: 413–14). Not least amongst these changes were the accumulation of power and wealth, and the emergence of one or more individuals who assumed a focal position in society. Intensified metallurgical activities during the late third millennium BC resulted in a specialized surplus product promoted by an elite group or individual, taking advantage of a



**Figure 16:** Prehistoric Bronze Age 2 Plain Ware terracotta figurine, with breasts and penis.

prestige-goods economy that had developed in response to foreign demand (Knapp 1994: 279–80).

Knapp and Meskell (1997) studied a range of prehistoric Cypriot figurines and modelled figures in an attempt to consider how self and identity might have been constructed, and to suggest how and why representations of individuals, or the characteristics of individuals, become so visible in PreBA Cyprus. On a general level, we adopted contemporary discourses on the body to analyse several different kinds of prehistoric Cypriot figurines and to engage them in constructing an archaeology of the individual. We argued that whilst Early–Middle Chalcolithic society on Cyprus was small in scale and egalitarian in nature, several of its material features—in particular the collection and deposition of Middle Chalcolithic figurines—might point to individual as well as communal action. We noted in particular that the increased attention given to children's burials in the Middle Chalcolithic cemetery at Souskiou *Vathyrkakas* might suggest the development of individual rights or status. Finally, we made the point that whilst we would not deny





Figure 17a, b: Red Polished ware plank figurines, Prehistoric Bronze Age 2.

the existence of individuals in Cypriot prehistory prior to the PreBA, representations of individuals might change over time; evidence for representing the self might be better or more extensive during one period than another (Knapp and Meskell 1997: 192–9). Many of the figurines and modelled figures we discussed certainly challenge straightforward sexual categorization or interpretation (Figure 16), and we suggested that sex, perhaps, was not a key structuring principle of Chalcolithic–Bronze Age Cypriot society.

Talalay and Cullen (2002) developed and refined these ideas, also arguing that a binary approach to the sexuality of Cypriot figurines is untenable. They proposed multivalent, androgenous, and especially ambiguous meanings for the plank figurines of the PreBA 2 period (Figure 17), especially in the context

of mortuary ritual (it should be noted that at least a dozen further, mainly fragmentary examples derive from recently excavated settlement contexts—see below). Talalay and Cullen see the plank figurines as insignia symbolizing social prestige, reflections of emerging social complexity in PreBA Cyprus, yet they remain ambiguous themselves about the individuality of these figurines. Citing ethnographic parallels, they state that the flexibility in function of Melanesian and Australian comparanda might accommodate the notion of individualizing identities. They conclude, however, that the plank figurines more likely signal an emphasis on collective or group identity, and the ancestral ties of PreBA Cypriot communities (Talalay and Cullen 2002: 187, 191). Bolger (2003: 90, 108–9, 188–90) also dismisses the plank figurines as possible representations of Bronze Age individuals, taking up those aspects of Talalay and Cullen's paper that suit her argument.

Given their two dimensional form and highly uniform, stylized character (Merrillees 1980: 183), Bolger (2003: 108) feels that the plank figurines are no more 'individual' than their Chalcolithic forerunners. Indeed, excepting breasts, sexual characteristics are not common, genitalia are rare and infants, cradled or not, make up only a small portion of the extant figurines (Merrillees 1980: 174-6). Talalay and Cullen (2002: 183), however, rightly point out that whilst the flattened, or 'plank' aspect of these figurines simplified the human form, they are 'anything but reductionist'. The actual size of the figurines—ranging in height from 0.1-0.7 m—is noteworthy and, together with the elaborate decoration, indicate not only specialized craftsmanship but also a significant investment of time in their production. To Frankel's (1997: 84) 'Bronze Age eye, there appears to be no less and possibly even more uniformity among the Chalcolithic cruciform figurines' than there are in the plank figurines. The richly incised geometric patterns portray highly distinctive eves and evebrows, mouths, noses, hair, and ears, as well as bodily ornamentation and dress that may represent dress (shawls, scarves, necklaces, headbands, waistbands) or bodily decoration (paint, scarifications, tattoos) (Knapp and Meskell 1997: 196). MacLachlan (2002: 367-8), whilst acknowledging the highly stylized nature of the plank figurines, suggested that their complex, bisexual, or dual sexual symbolism could reflect social tensions associated with individuals seeking to redefine their place in a rapidly changing world. Based on multivariate statistical analyses of the figurines' various decorative features (e.g. dress, headband and waistband, necklace or scarf, face-marks), A Campo (1994: 150, 165-6, 168) concluded that: (1) such features portray individual dress and ornament; (2) the face-marks differentiate between people and signal an individual's place in society; and (3) the form of the plank figurines represents specific, individual women.

Of the known corpus of plank figurines (a Campo 1994), fully 40 (about half) derive from tombs around the villages of Vounous and Lapithos (Merrillees 1980: 184). Most of them come from Lapithos Vrvsi tou Barba, a north coast cemetery already singled out for its wealthy (metal-rich) burials and elite mortuary rituals. Talalay and Cullen (2002: 185) emphasize that 11 of the plank figurines from Lapithos had been placed in large, elaborately furnished tombs with a wealth of metal objects; the remaining examples were also interred with metal goods (knives, daggers, axes, pins and rings) and/or with prestige goods made of gold, silver and faience. There exists, in other words, a clear if not necessarily 'idiosyncratic' (Merrillees 1980: 184) contextual association between the plank figurines and elite burials (Keswani 2004: 74-80), whether of family groups or individuals or, perhaps, of individuals absorbed into a collective whole as the Lapithos mortuary rites suggest (Talalay and Cullen 2002: 189). This predominant contextual association with distinctive (elite) burials indicates the exclusivity of the plank figurines as well as their inaccessibility to most members of PreBA society (on mortuary rituals associated with these burials, see also Herscher 1997: 31-3; Sneddon 2002: 105-9; Keswani 2004: 146-50).

Talalay and Cullen (2002: 189–90) concluded that the plank figurines may represent the prestigious social insignia of an emerging elite class, symbols of group identity whose schematized form and ambiguous sexuality were capable of accommodating singular male, female or other identities during a period of increasing social complexity. 'Plank figurines may well have been valued possessions of the dead or the mourners [in mortuary rituals], but they also may have carried a particular meaning appropriate to the circumstances of the individual burial' (Talalay and Cullen 2002: 190).

In addition to these complete or nearly complete plank figurines, found primarily in mortuary contexts, ten fragmentary examples—and pieces of 25 more anthropomorphic figurines—have been recovered from excavations in the settlement at Marki *Alonia* (Frankel and Webb 1996a: 187–91; 2006a: 155–7). One torso fragment from a picrolite figurine of Chalcolithic type was also recovered at Marki (Frankel and Webb 1996b: 65–6, fig. 4), as was at least one fragmentary White Painted (Philia) ware figurine (Frankel and Webb 2000: 81, 83 fig. 10; 2006a: 155 fig. 5.1 [P14300]). Of the 52 pottery anthropomorphic figurines found at Kissonerga *Mosphilia*, 31 are from datable contexts, and of these only seven belong to Phase 4, the earliest stage of PreBA 1 (Peltenburg *et al.* 1998: 154–8, table 6.8). Only one small (Red Polished) fragment of what the excavator regards as a cruciform figurine was recovered from the settlement excavation at PreBA 1 Sotira *Kaminoudhia* (Swiny *et al.* 2003: 399–400, fig. 9.2 [TC22]). Excavations at the PreBA 2 settlement of Alambra *Mouttes* produced 11 fragmentary Red Polished ware

figurines, of which five were plank types (Coleman *et al.* 1996: 202–3, and fig. 49). One further anthropomorphic figurine was found in the (metal-working) settlement of Ambelikou *Aletri* (Belgiorno 1984: 19).

Frankel and Webb (1996a: 187–8) have usefully documented many other examples of anthropomorphic terracotta figurines from PreBA mortuary contexts (also Stewart 1962: 236–8, 347–8; Karageorghis 1991a: 3–40, 52–102; Mogelonsky 1991). Prior to the excavations conducted at PreBA settlement sites over the past two decades (Kissonerga *Mosphilia*, Marki *Alonia*, Sotira *Kaminoudhia*, Alambra *Mouttes*), almost all well provenanced anthropomorphic figurines had been found in mortuary contexts, and thus it was widely assumed that they had been produced for mortuary purposes. Nearly 60 such figurines, however, are now known from PreBA settlement contexts, and evidence for their prolonged use, mending, and discard in such contexts demonstrates that they were in everyday use and so did not serve exclusively in ceremonial or ritual functions.

I have already discussed various other representations of the human form during the PreBA, in particular some of the modelled figures ('scenic compositions' or 'genre scenes') attached to or contained within pottery vessels (also Merrillees 1980: 179–83; Morris 1985: 264–90). Other human figures are represented in low relief, for example in Tomb 6 at Karmi *Palealona* (Stewart 1963) or in the 'sanctuary' models from Kotchatis and Kalopsidha (Karageorghis 1970; Frankel and Tamvaki 1973; Åström 1988). There are, in addition, several other representations of the human form, notably figures in the round or freestanding figurines (Merrillees 1980: 177–8, types IA2 and IB2), and the somewhat quixotic, hollow, anthropomorphic vases (*askoi*) or vessel-shaped figures, often decorated with features very similar to those employed on the plank figurines (e.g. Morris 1985: 162–4; Stewart 1992: 36 [class III]; Karageorghis 2001a).

### Individuals and Identity—Broader Issues

What can all these diverse representations of the human form tell us about prehistoric individuals with distinctive identities in insular contexts? Did the plank figurines represent a major ideological shift in women's roles on prehistoric Cyprus? Bolger (1993, 1996) associated Chalcolithic figurines with women's procreative abilities, birthing and fertility, firmly entrenched in an egalitarian society where women were held in high regard. By the Bronze Age, however, she felt that 'centralised authorities created structures in which women's roles were increasingly restricted and social and economic inequalities became institutionalised' (Bolger 1996: 371; cf. Frankel 1997). Bolger thus sought to explain the origin of female oppression, and of women's diminished,

'caretaker' status, as the result of social changes actually reflected in the figurines. To her, such changes signalled the emergence of the patriarchal family and the workings of state-level society. Following a Campo (1994), Bolger assumed that all plank figurines represented females, an interpretation that ignores their sexual ambiguity and fails to entertain the likelihood that sex *per se* may have had little relevance for those who produced and used them (Hamilton 2000: 18–23, 28). We might also want to consider whether the apparent paucity of male figurines indicates that men's authority was so firmly embedded in society that there was no need to signify it. Or was masculinity, in the strictly Western sense (Knapp 1998b), simply not a focus of social signification?

Bolger's evolutionary meta-narrative takes no account of such questions. Dressed up in contemporary anthropological garb, it nonetheless remains strikingly similar to the ideas of Marija Gimbutas, who maintained that the egalitarian, matriarchal communities of Neolithic Europe were replaced by the patriarchal states of the Bronze Age, thus marginalizing the role and status of women in society (Meskell 1995). Even if the social structure of the PreBA was more patriarchal than that of the Chalcolithic era, Bolger has underestimated women's roles and women's identities. New patterns of family group burials including women, men and children, and the repeated appearance in genre scenes on PreBA pottery of socially constructed, gendered activities (often highlighting women as well as an individual woman's life cycle), indicate that both female and male identities were gendered in line with their social roles. By the following, ProBA, the wealth of women's personal ornamentation—evident above all in the mortuary setting at Kalavasos Avios Dhimitrios (e.g. Goring 1989; South 2000)—suggests that they held a distinctive social position and an individual identity, whether as the person who insured continuation of elite lineage or as a valued partner and member of a powerful family (Mina 2003: 96–7, argues a similar case for the Early Bronze Age Aegean).

Rather than viewing the flattened form and often standardized shapes of the plank figurines as indicating collective and group identities, thus deemphasizing the individual, these features are better seen as opening the way for individual users to impose upon them their own sexual or gendered identities (Talalay and Cullen 2002: 186). This was a deliberate manoeuvre that enabled the figurines' owners to adapt or transform their identity throughout their life cycle. Finally, their contextual associations link the plank figurines to an emerging elite who would have appropriated such representations to reinforce, broadcast, and ascribe their individual status, and to mark their distinctive identity within this island society.

### Migration and Hybridization

Understanding the period of transition from the Chalcolithic era to the Bronze Age on Cyprus (PreBA 1) is crucially important for understanding Bronze Age Cypriot society overall. As a result, discussions of this transitional period have long sparked lively debate, and continue to do so (e.g. Knapp 1993a, 2001; Manning 1993; Peltenburg 1993, 1996; Webb and Frankel 1999; Keswani 2005). This debate comes down to two contrasting positions about the origins of the several material and cultural innovations of the PreBA, and the social or demographic factors that lay behind them:

- (1) an ethnic migration or colonization (two very different processes) from Anatolia, and/or a lower key stimulus diffusion of people and ideas from Anatolia;
- (2) internal changes and developments on Cyprus, tied to external demand for copper and/or a prestige goods economy.

The archaeological record of mid-late 3rd millennium BC Cyprus (PreBA 1) and southern Anatolia (EB II) indicates that these two cultural regions were in contact. Yet the cultural meetings and mixings that ensued traditionally were explained in terms of Anatolian invaders (Dikaios 1962: 202-3) or refugees from Anatolia (Catling 1971a: 808-16). Peltenburg regards some of the cultural innovations of the PreBA as being of Anatolian inspiration (Peltenburg et al. 1998: 256), whilst Webb and Frankel (1999) perceive a settler Anatolian ethnic group (represented by the Philia 'facies') intermixing with but dominating an indigenous Chalcolithic group (or, at the very least, inciting the locals, by virtue of new technologies, to become assimilated with the intrusive group). Dissenting from the pack, Stewart (1962: 269, 296) felt that what others saw as an intrusive Philia culture was nothing but a regional variant of EC I-II, that both cultures derived from a common, Chalcolithic source, and that any possible Anatolian influence was superficial and ephemeral with respect to the strikingly different material culture of the EC era. In his own words, 'the development [of EC material culture], no matter what influences brought it about, was essentially a Cypriote affair and due to the genius of the islanders' (Stewart 1962: 296). Webb and Frankel's work (especially 1999), like Manning and Swiny's (1994) before it, have rendered Stewart's proposal untenable. Indeed it has forced me to recast my own arguments, or at least my scepticism over the notion of Anatolian migrants (Knapp 2001).

Recent fieldwork and research, as well as changes in the thinking of those who have held opposing positions in this debate, mean that we need to

rethink and reassess the social and cultural encounters that took place between Cyprus and various overseas polities during the transitional PreBA 1 era. On the one hand, I would now accept that some people from southern Anatolia (and perhaps others from the Cyclades and the Levant) had sustained contacts with Cypriot islanders over an extended period during the mid-late third millennium BC. On the other hand, I would still caution that there is no scope for viewing the island's PreBA inhabitants as comprising technologically superior (Anatolian) colonists, or migrants, vs. indigenous (Cypriot) communities. I suggest instead that the co-presence of Cypriotes and foreigners is a necessary precondition for the development of the hybrid practices that offer the most parsimonious and compelling explantion for the appearance of all the innovations seen in PreBA material culture.

In what follows, I discuss first the developing perspectives held by David Frankel and Jennifer Webb over several years during the course of their excavations at the site of Marki *Alonia* (Frankel *et al.* 1996; Frankel and Webb 1998, 2004, 2006a: 305–8; Webb and Frankel 1999; Frankel 2000, 2005; Webb *et al.* 2006). I do so because their position on issues related to migrant Anatolians came about in the attempt to understand the wider relevance of their findings at Marki, the only excavated site on Cyprus that spans the period between the Philia phase and the Middle Cypriot I period. I then present some alternative perspectives on the PreBA 1 period, followed by a detailed discussion of the relevant material culture—framed in terms of hybridization practices and intended to resolve, or least break down the divisions, in this debate.

## The Anatolian Perspective

In their early papers on this topic, Frankel and Webb argued that a focal Anatolian ethnic group or groups had migrated to and colonized Cyprus during the transitional PreBA 1 period—when multiple material and cultural innovations appeared in the Cypriot archaeological record. They no longer use the term 'colonization', and they have always acknowledged that many of these innovations could have developed within existing Cypriot systems of production. Nonetheless they rejected the possibility of exclusively internal developments, which others specifically defended (e.g. Manning 1993; Knapp 2001). Perhaps because Marki *Alonia* is an inland site, distant from any likely entry point(s) of migrant Anatolians, and equally somewhat removed in time (one or two generations in their view), Frankel and Webb found no direct correlations between the various classes of material or technologies (Anatolian originals and Cypriot derivatives) used to amplify their arguments. They attributed this lack of direct material correlations to a process of acculturation.

Their arguments are complex and detailed, employing for example the concept of 'technology transfer' and adopting Bourdieu's concept of *habitus*.

In engaging with the concepts of ethnicity and acculturation, Frankel and Webb did not confront some fundamental problems inherent in those concepts (discussed at length in Chapter 2). Moreover, at least in their earlier papers, they viewed migration and/or colonization as prime movers in cultural change. They suggested (Frankel *et al.* 1996: 48–50), for example, that the innovations we see in the PreBA material record resulted from the colonization of Cyprus by an Anatolian ethnic group or groups, and that these innovations:

provide evidence of a transfer of a range of technologies, indicative of the movement of whole groups of people, bringing with them to their new homes skills, crafts, technologies and associated social patterns and concepts...A primary motivation for this colonisation may have been access to copper sources, involving the movement of people with a 'focal' technology 'leapfrogging' across to the island following initial exploratory visits.

Whilst they believed (Frankel *et al.* 1996: 41) that the concept of ethnicity was crucial for identifying migrants or colonizers, they acknowledged the problems in identifying co-occurring sets of identical or near-identical material that would help to define such an ethnic group. Some of their conclusions initially prompted my own, rather hypercritical response (Knapp 2001).

In his initial paper that broached the subject of acculturation, Frankel (2000) proposed a process in which Anatolian contact and conflict with local Cypriot communities was at first limited, but resulted in the migrant Anatolians and indigenous Cypriotes somehow co-existing, living and working for several generations in distinctive ways. 'In other words, we have two sets of people with very different *habitus* carrying out tasks and structuring their lives in distinct fashions' (Frankel 2000: 178). This is demonstrably not the case in one crucial respect, namely where an Anatolian migrant group is argued to have brought innovative technologies to bear upon the exploitation of Cypriot copper resources, indeed to have colonized Cyprus in order to exploit new metal resources. On present evidence, there is no sign of two distinctive sets of metal artefacts (Muhly 2002: 81), nor of differing archaeometallurgical tools and technologies.

Throughout his more recent treatment of acculturation (Frankel 2005), the human intentions and behaviour so crucial for understanding how or why different cultural groups might have interacted and become 'acculturated' remain unexamined. This unreflective use of trait lists, in which the frequency of modified material objects (in this case from Anatolia) is equated with the degree of acculturation, has been described as a form of 'latent imperialism'

(Saunders 1998: 417–18). Changes in behaviour and material culture are equated with a change in ethnic identity; material culture is seen to reflect cultural traits and quantifiable changes in material culture are tied directly to acculturation (Cusick 1998c: 135). No matter how sophisticated Frankel's carefully contextualized trait lists of material culture may be—from architecture, pottery, spindle whorls, and metal types ('systemic' factors) to mortuary practices and culinary equipment ('individual' clan, kin, or religious beliefs), they are poor tools for analysing ethnic identity, or even cultural contacts (Cusick 1998c: 137–8). Rather than explaining the events and processes that characterize the transition to the Bronze Age, Frankel has instead simply labelled them with accompanying trait lists as an ethnic migration, followed by a top-down acculturation process in which indigenous Cypriotes eventually adopted all the technological innovations that followed in the wake of the Anatolian migrants.

I see this process differently. Migrants, by maintaining aspects of their original culture, or in the process of adapting to a new culture or cultural area, tend to break with the earlier order and produce new cultural as well as material culture forms. Migration irretrievably alters the idea of home and place, weakening and intensifying old bonds in the process of creating new ones (Papastergiadis 2005: 55). Issues related to technology transfer therefore need to take into account how migrants and local peoples interact and exchange ideas, ideologies and cultural pratices, and in so doing adopt new cultural traits and new forms of material culture.

In various studies, Frankel and Webb maintained that the innovations seen in the material record of PreBA Cyprus could not be explained by either stimulus diffusion or a prestige-goods economy driven by external demand. They were followed in part by Peltenburg (1996: 22–3; Peltenburg *et al.* 1998: 256–8), and more recently by Bolger (2003: 62, 197, 222–3), who argued that several aspects of the material record (spindle whorls, pottery, metal and shell products, urn burials, stamp seals—as seen in Philia phase levels at Late Chalcolithic Kissonerga *Mosphilia*) are intrusive and resonate with Anatolian influences. Such resonances, in my view, are a hallmark of hybridization practices that follow in the wake of cultural contacts, including both migration and colonization.

In considering the reasons that might lay behind the differences between intrusive Anatolian and indigenous Cypriot technologies and types of material culture, Frankel and Webb advanced the notion of technology transfer to explain the adoption of innovations, and adopted the concept of *habitus* in an attempt to explain the distinct cultural assemblages of Chalcolithic and PreBA Cyprus. Taking the latter point first, and as already argued above, Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* has no direct link to material culture: it deals with

possibilities that are always being re-invented or revised. Archaeologists, however, have seen it as inevitable that 'everyday practical behaviour' must have material dimensions (starting with Jones 1997: 116–19). Indeed, as Webb has insisted (personal comm.), the dynamics of social processes and possibilities must somehow be captured in the physical remains of human activities.

With respect to the development of new technologies, whose transfer from one place to another may be difficult to achieve, Frankel et al. (1996: 41) pointed out that radical changes in technology are most easily affected by the movement of experienced workers. That may be so, but it is equally true that technologies easily cut across ethnic or social boundaries. Wright (1985: 22), for example, in studying third millennium BC pottery from southwest Asia, argued that whilst style might serve as a medium for social expression, technologies do not, but instead transfer readily across cultural barriers. Because the newly introduced technologies and techniques have no obvious superiority to those used previously. Frankel (2000) suggested that they were more likely to have been introduced by the migration of entire ethnic communities to Cyprus than by a generalized diffusion of highly skilled crafts or the deliberate import of prestige goods. As argued at length in Chapter 2, however, no single factor—material, cultural, linguistic, biological, or technological—can be linked directly to ethnicity, nor can it be used to define ethnicity. By any understanding, ethnic identity is fluid, multivariate, and dynamic, not fixed, homogeneous, and bounded.

Despite the impressive range of empirical evidence that Frankel and Webb have marshalled and eloquently discussed—pottery, textiles, food preparation and agricultural technologies, architecture, metallurgy, burial customs, discard strategies (Webb 1995; Frankel *et al.* 1996: 42–7; Webb and Frankel 1999; Frankel 2000), we are still singularly lacking the kind of discontinuous, nonrandom distribution of archaeological data that might plausibly be related to an ethnic identity (as seen, for example, in case studies of Hodder 1982 or Weissner 1983). Frankel *et al.* (1996: 41), moreover, were fully aware of this problem from the beginning:

The identification of consistently co-occurring sets of identical material items is, however, a seldom realised ideal. The rapid development of forms within a small migrant colony militates against the identification of particular items or styles.

In every class of material or technology cited by Frankel and Webb, we might usefully consider the effects of multiple cultural attachments on the social and cultural mixtures involved. Hybridization refers: (1) to the visible manifestation of difference—with respect to both material culture and identity—as a consequence of the incorporation of foreign elements, and (2) to the

processes by which cultural differences are either naturalized or neutralized when differing cultures clash. In this case, we should reconsider the material culture factors laid out by Frankel and Webb in terms of the hybridization process (see below, *Hybridization in the PreBA*):

- (1) pottery: the features are 'Anatolianizing, not Anatolian';
- (2) loomweights, textile manufacture: forms are not identical, but the 'undoubted equivalence of function' is said to demonstrate technological change;
- (3) architecture: no precise parallels because of the variety of Bronze Age designs and the generalized nature of similarities;
- (4) jar or pithos burials: common in Anatolia from the Chalcolithic period onward, several variations are seen on Cyprus (Philia, Kissonerga *Mosphilia*, Marki *Alonia*, Lapithos);
- (5) metallurgy: Anatolian material parallels poorly represented, but similar metal items were produced throughout the eastern Mediterranean during PreBA 1 (Webb *et al.* 2006).

Several hallmarks of PreBA 1 mortuary practice deemed by Frankel and Webb to be indicative of an intrusive Anatolian ethnic group (extramural cemeteries, pithos burials) have precedents or contemporary parallels throughout Early Bronze Age Anatolia and the Levant. Keswani (2004: 81), moreover, notes that 'the entire complement of practices that emerged in late third millennium BC Cyprus is not as yet readily discernible within any specific region of western Anatolia, the proposed homeland of the immigrants... whereas local precedents are clearly evident in the Middle Chalcolithic cemeteries of Souskiou in Cyprus'. Of course, Souskiou is a Middle Chalcolithic site, and so cannot be considered a *direct* forerunner chronologically or culturally to the Philia phase. And, it should be noted that Keswani (2004: 81) herself accepts 'some level of colonization from Anatolia' during that phase. Both Keswani (2004: 150-4) and Manning (1993: 48) associate innovations in PreBA 1 burial practices with new ideologies or land-use practices—by and for Cypriotes alone—that involved competitive display, social status and, above all, the veneration of ancestors. More importantly, however, Keswani (2004: 81, emphasis added) concludes: 'it seems likely that [PreBA] Cypriot mortuary traditions represent an evolving fusion of mainland and local practices, elaborated by indigenous and immigrant communities in the context of ongoing social competition and gradual cultural assimilation. In this instance, it would be more accurate to talk of hybridization practices than of cultural assimilation.

In their early studies, Frankel et al. were necessarily vague about the Anatolian region that spawned the migrants who reached Cyprus. 'Anatolia'

as they understood it entailed everything from Troy (spindle whorls) to Lycia (pottery, metals, spindle whorls) to Cilicia (architecture, pottery, metals, food processing) to the trans-Caucasus region ('hobs', or hearth surrounds—cf. Philip 1999) and western Anatolia more generally (burial customs, metals, food preparation technology). In a latter attempt to narrow the point of origin for all innovations to southwest Anatolia, Frankel (2000) assumes an absolute centrality of place (southwest Anatolia) that blurs our understanding of the complex spatial attachments created by new forms of communication or by creative forces that flow from the ambivalent mixings involved in cultural contacts. This is not to argue that culture—like commodities—can be transferred from one place to another, but rather to question any dependence of culture on a fixed (or absolute) sense of place (Papastergiadis 2005: 53). Hybridization practices offer a much more dynamic way of examining culture contact and intermixing, as well as cultural transformation.

To summarize then: Frankel and his colleagues believed that the critical factors leading to socio-cultural change at the onset of the PreBA were an ethnic migration and an associated transfer of technologies, and that many of the innovations in question were 'directly introduced' from Anatolia. The validity of this scenario is compromized by an overreliance on problematic concepts such as ethnicity, migration, and acculturation. Moreover, if a culture or an ethnic group can only be sustained by being tied to a specific place, how are we to understand those cultures and social or ethnic groups that co-exist in a common space? How do we define the identity of people who are on the move from one place to another? Can people who have strong, authentic attachments to a place also develop a form of social or ethnic identity that is influenced by movement? Such questions play a key role in evaluating the likelihood of an Anatolian migration to Cyprus during PreBA 1, and demand that we engage with the concept of hybridization, which will make more transparent the material and social consequences of migration.

In my view, material goods like spindle whorls, loomweights, pottery, or metal objects that lack direct links to Anatolian precedents, and yet are seen to be intrusive in the Cypriot context, might better be regarded in the trajectory of 'third space', another aspect of hybridization practices. Neither Anatolian nor Cypriot, they indicate the ambivalent consequence of mixture, the outcome of a process of interaction that takes place both within and against the binary structures of identity and culture. People involved in the process of hybridization renegotiate their identities and reconceptualize their culture, including their material culture. Thinking about migration in terms of hybridization practices can help archaeologists to transform their understandings of the dynamics involved in cultural interaction and identity construction.

Hybridity thinking is driven by the dual desire of connection and separation. To create something new involves ripping it out of one context, pushing against existing boundaries, rearranging the order of things. These disruptive acts of mixture can lead to new forms of awareness and construct new networks of agency; however, there are no guarantees that mixture will always entail equality. Hybridity, mobility and difference show us the other side of things, takes us to foreign destinations, provide a new perspective—this in itself is not liberatory. It is just different. (Papastergiadis 2005: 61–2)

Webb and Frankel (1999: 40) have acknowledged that the proposed ethnic migration from Anatolia to Cyprus may never be visible archaeologically:

The socio-cultural, technological and behavioural markers that distinguish Philia settlements and burial grounds must be several generations removed from the earliest settlers and are the result of a transformational process of acculturation and adaptation to new geographical, ecological, and social circumstances. The intrusive origin of the Philia facies, nevertheless, has direct manifestations in the archaeological record. These are derived from rather than identical to those of their point of origin. (emphasis added)

Had they discussed 'a transformational process of *hybridization*' involved in adapting to new circumstances, our thinking on this proposed migration would fall more closely into step. I have already discussed at length the crucial differences between the concepts of acculturation and hybridization, as well as current theoretical and methodological concerns over processes of migration and acculturation (Chapter 2). During the formative stages of the PreBA, the lack of identical Anatolian parallels or imports in the material record, and the presence of forms that reveal material and technical mixings of both culture areas, are better understood and explained as the result of hybridization practices (see further below). Indeed, as Frankel and Webb have shown, the archaeological record of PreBA Cyprus reveals both direct and indirect material indicators of such practices. Finally, and in turning to alternative perspectives, I need to reiterate that my own position on these materials (seen as the result of exclusive developments within Cypriot society, as part of Cypriot culture) has now changed.

# An Alternative Perspective

In attempting to understand the factors that lay behind the transition from Chalcolithic to Bronze Age society on Cyprus, I have been the main dissenter from Frankel and Webb's notions of an *ethnic* migration or colonization of Cyprus (Knapp 2001). Citing wealthy burials and elaborate mortuary rituals, prestige goods and imports, and signs of Cypriot involvement in an emerging

eastern Mediterranean interaction sphere during the mid-late third millennium BC (see now also Philip et al. 2003; Kassianidou and Knapp 2005: 263–8; Webb et al. 2006). I was not alone in relating these factors to internal production and consumption in the northern part of the island (Manning 1993: 47–8, 51 n. 12; Peltenburg 1993: 20; Knapp 1994: 419–24). I argued that no evidence available at the time could demonstrate unequivocally anything beyond the enterprise of an indigenous elite group that took advantage of foreign demand for copper to establish and solidify their own position (e.g. Knapp 1990a, 2001). Although I would now modify my position specifically with respect to the material record of the PreBA 1 era, there is still every reason to believe that accelerating overseas and interregional communications led to an ever more disproportionate rate of innovation between elite and non-elite groups. The gap between domestic- or lineage-based production of non-specialist products (pottery, clothing, subsistence goods) and the towncentred production of specialist products (copper for export, metals, other prestige goods) continued to grow—albeit sporadically and to different extents in different regions—throughout the PreBA and into the ProBA, until about 1700 вс.

Rather than assuming that a focal ethnic migration or colonization of Cyprus was responsible, others have also considered how we might explain all the innovations and cultural changes, as well as the indisputed import of prestige goods into Cyprus during the PreBA 1 period. Held (1992: 138–40), for example, suggested that 'stimulus' (technological) diffusion, along with low-level immigration from southern Anatolia, might account for both the development of metallurgical technology and the emergence of long-distance trade on an extended scale during the late third millennium BC. Mellink (1991) argued that an early phase (equivalent to Early Bronze [EB] II at Tarsus in Cilicia) of sporadic trade was followed by a period when Cilician copper prospectors and miners exploited new sources of metal on Cyprus. There is good reason to think that contacts with southern or southeastern Anatolia had been established by this time (e.g. Goldman 1956: 112–13, 130; Swiny 1986a; Mellink 1991: 170-4). Until very recently, however, there was little material, theoretical or scientific justification for ascribing innovations in copper production and distribution solely to foreign intervention or foreign expertise (Watkins 1973: 146-7; Mellink 1991: 167; Peltenburg 1996: 22-3).

Above (pp. 76–8) I discussed the development of metalworking on Cyprus and its relation to a complex set of mid-third millennium BC regional interactions involving the sea-borne movement of metals and metal artefacts between coastal Anatolia, Cyprus, the Cyclades and perhaps the southern Levant (Philip *et al.* 2003; Webb *et al.* 2006). These interactions involved not only metalworkers but also merchants and mariners from all these areas,

including Cyprus. Because Cyprus's role in these production and exchange spheres is still poorly understood, it cannot be demonstrated whether people from Anatolia or the Cyclades, or the Cypriotes themselves, imported the metals and/or the finished products. In their earlier publications, Frankel and Webb seem to have assumed (like Catling 1979a, critiqued above) that the Cypriotes themselves lacked the expertise or motivation to exploit copper, one of the island's most prominent natural resources (e.g. Webb and Frankel 1999: 31; Frankel 2000: 176). They maintained (following Gale 1991a), for example, that most Chalcolithic metal objects found on Cyprus, like some more recently analysed PreBA objects (Webb *et al.* 2006), were imports.

Changing perceptions about the reliability of lead isotope analysis as a sourcing technique (e.g. Muhly 1985a, 1995, 2003: 144-5; Kassianidou and Knapp 2005: 237), as well as the somewhat mercurial configurations of the Cypriot lead isotope field itself (Budd et al. 1995; Knapp 2000), had already called into question the validity of this line of argument, the equivalent of hauling coal to Newcastle. On the one hand, whilst copper is a very prominent natural resource in Cyprus, it would have been of little interest, value or even visibility to communities with no knowledge of metalworking (J. Webb, personal comm.). On the other hand, the growing body of evidence for the exploitation of Cypriot ores during the PreBA 1 period (see above, pp. 74–6), including the use of such ores in the metal objects of Pre-Palatial Crete, indicates at least some local, Cypriot level of involvement. Once finished metal objects began to arrive from elsewhere, moreover, the mining and smelting of local ores, and the complex technologies involved, were conducted in the much broader context of a mid-third millennium BC regional exchange system that involved not just metals and technological expertise, but also hybridization practices (see further below).

To acknowledge the existence of a wide-ranging regional exchange system in metal resources and metal artefacts, one in which the Cypriotes themselves played some role, respresents a significant change in the way Frankel and Webb earlier conceived of copper exploitation and production on Cyprus. Moreover, their own excavations at Marki *Alonia*, in the eastern sectors of the Troodos foothills, have provided the earliest-known (Philia phase and EC III) moulds used for metallurgical production on the island. The project's archaeometallurgists concluded that these moulds represent sound evidence for local metals' production from Cypriot ores (Frankel and Webb 2001, 2006a: 191; Fasnacht and Künzler Wagner 2001). Copper ores, of course, are prevalent in the Pillow Lavas all round the Troodos foothills: their somewhat earlier exploitation in the west is suggested by the evidence for metal use and metalworking at Kissonerga (Peltenburg *et al.* 1998: 188–9) and in the north by the possible hoards at Vasilia (Webb *et al.* 2006). Their later

exploitation (PreBA 2, ProBA 1) in the northern sectors of these foothills is also well documented archaeologically (Constantinou 1982; Merrillees 1984; Knapp *et al.* 2001, n.d.).

By any criterion, the archaeological record of mid-third millennium BC Cyprus offers only the most ambiguous evidence for an Anatolian colonization of Cyprus, Migration, of course, is an entirely separate issue (see Chapter 2): it involves structured, broadly predictable human behaviour 'typically performed by defined subgroups with specific goals, targeted on known destinations and likely to use familiar routes' (Anthony (1990: 895-6). Silberman (1998: 272), moreover, describes migration as 'continuous adaptive behavior between regions with long-standing familiarity, characterized by considerable back-and-forth movement, not a permanent exodus'. In contrast, colonization—whether ancient or modern—involves the intention to establish colonies (Dietler 2005: 53; van Dommelen 2005: 110). The ancient Greek meaning of the term apoikiai (αποικιαι) means literally 'away from home'; the modern (European) understanding of 'colony' is more akin to the Latin term colonia ('settlement deliberately established elsewhere'—van Dommelen 2002: 121). Such an understanding of this term involves the manipulation or domination of local peoples, i.e. 'the colonized' (Voskos 2005: 2–3).

In colonizing new lands, therefore, people deliberately establish new settlements in foreign lands with the specific intention of domination, or at least of economic exploitation. In migrating to new places, however, people may disperse or move for all sorts of reasons, from population pressure and consequent loss of habitat to economic incentives, social competition or the simple urge to explore (Rainbird 2004: 99). Rather than assuming that foreign styles or influences necessarily reflect the presence of an intrusive, colonizing ethnic group, we should leave open the possibility of other, more diverse migratory elements. Equally it is possible that trade was carried out for its own specific ends, as indicated by the seaborne trade in copper metals and metal artefacts during the mid-third millennium BC (Webb *et al.* 2006; Stos-Gale 2001). Trade, emulation and colonization typically have distinctive material signatures (Stein 2002: 36–7), but this possibility has not been pursued critically or closely in considering an Anatolian colonization of Cyprus.

In the section that follows, I reconsider most of the material factors that Frankel and Webb have employed to argue for 'a focal migration of extended family groups into western Cyprus from southwestern Anatolia' (Webb and Frankel 1999: 40). In so doing, I employ the concept of hybridization: (1) to reassess the cultural encounter(s) that took place between Cypriote and other eastern Mediterranean peoples during the mid-third millennium BC; (2) to counter the view that the island's inhabitants can be divided up into a migrant Philia group and an indigenous (Chalcolithic) group (Webb and Frankel

1999: 38–43; Frankel 2000); and (3) to criticize the inherently colonialist notion that the successful establishment of this (presumed) intrusive Philia group or groups in the western and central parts of the island led to 'the gradual acculturation and finally complete assimilation of [indigenous] Chalcolithic communities beyond the area of Philia settlement' (Webb and Frankel 1999: 42). In my view, the material objects in question, as well as the people who used them, clearly exhibit mixed cultural origins, and display an ambivalence toward any possibility that 'interaction with the Philia core area must eventually have led to the transfer of immigrant technologies to the indigenous population' (Webb and Frankel 1999: 42–3). In such contact situations, innovation and improvization become much more intense along the border zones of cultural contact (where Webb *et al.* 2006 now see the maritime movement of very similar metals and metal artefacts), whilst the traditions of migrants and local peoples alike are negotiated, resulting in new, more ambiguous social exchanges and material practices.

#### Hybridization in the PreBA

Archaeologists have debated for at least half a century the extent to which different peoples—whether from beyond or within the island—were responsible for all the innovations seen in the material record of Cyprus's earliest Bronze Age periods. What was the nature of contacts between these people? If foreigners were involved, were they colonists, refugees or migrants? How would indigenous Cypriotes and newcomers have become amalgamated, or habituated to living with one another? To what extent are such cultural meetings evident in the material record? Given the existing diversity of (often mutually exclusive) opinion, and short of further excavations in late Chalcolithic and Phila-phase settlements or, ideally, a settlement in which Late Chalcolithic—Philia—Early Cypriot sequences overlap, how might we move toward some resolution of this debate?

I adopt here a postcolonial perspective, examining several objects or classes of material previously described as 'Anatolianizing' or of Anatolian inspiration, with respect to their ambiguity and ambivalence. The people, objects, and practices involved in migration typically undergo change or mixture, which results in new combinations of material and social practice. Here I use the term hybridization to refer to the social interactions that characterized contacts between native Cypriotes and intrusive Anatolian (or other) peoples during the PreBA period. By viewing this situation of cultural contact in terms of hybridizing practices, my aim is to elucidate and clarify the understanding and perception of an archaeological record fraught with ambiguity

and multiple possible meanings, which in turn has led to the current diversity of opinion.

In what follows, I provide some specific examples of hybridization in the PreBA material record. Webb and Frankel themselves have published much of the crucial evidence, and I cite them often in what follows, even if I ultimately reject their binary portrayal of an indigenous Chalcolithic ethnic group vs. an intrusive Anatolian (Philia 'facies') ethnic group. My reasons for doing so go beyond the simply terminological: (1) the meanings of the terms colonization and migration are demonstrably different; (2) both terms have multiple social as well as material impacts and expressions; (3) hybridization offers a more dynamic and nuanced explanation of the PreBA 1 material record than the top-down notion of acculturation; and (4) understanding the social facets of the PreBA 1 period is greatly enhanced by considering its material record in terms of hybridization practices.

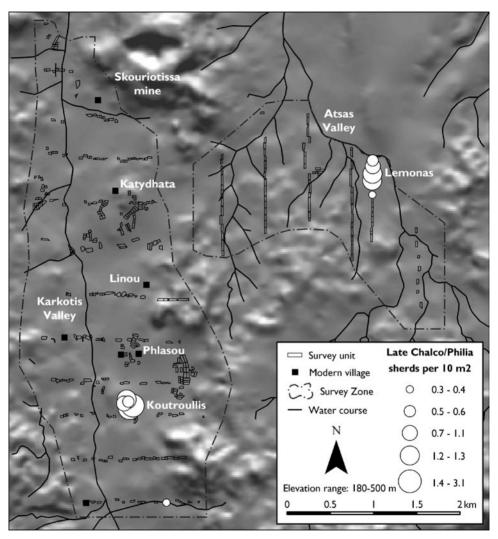
With respect to pottery, Bolger (in Peltenburg 1986: 37–9; 1989: 151) suggests that there was a breakdown in established ceramic traditions, especially in the wares that characterize the Chalcolithic/Early Bronze Age transition (PreBA 1). She attributes these developments to the arrival of new techniques and ideas from abroad. This change in tradition involved a renewed interest in experimenting with pottery shapes, fabrics, and surface treatments, as well as a 'tendency toward hybridization among the full repertoire of ware types' (Bolger, in Peltenburg 1986: 39), anticipating a widespread adoption of new pottery-producing practices in the initial phases of the Bronze Age. The Black Slip and Combed ware found in at least six Philia phase (PreBA 1) sites in the centre, northwest, and southwest of the island (Webb and Frankel 1999; 25-8 and fig. 18) has long been associated with seven Red and Black Streak-Burnished ware sherds found in EB II levels at Tarsus in Anatolia (Goldman 1956: 112-13, 130; Swiny 1986a: 35; Mellink 1991: 170-2; Swiny et al. 2003: 68). Stewart (1962: 231) felt that the relationship between the two wares may have been entirely fortuitous, not least because he believed the larger Cypriot shapes to be variants of Red Polished Philia wares. Having examined both sets of wares, Peltenburg (1991c: 31, 33 n. 5) concluded that they are diagnostically the same, and that the Tarsus examples were imported from Cyprus. One might also mention in this context a Red Polished bottle and jug uncovered in a somewhat earlier level at EB II Tarsus (Swiny et al. 2003: 68, with further refs.).

There are other, more general similarities between some EB II vessels from Tarsus (Cilicia) and Karataş-Semayük (Lycia) in Anatolia, and various Philiaphase pottery shapes (Swiny 1986a: 35–7, figs. 1–2; Frankel *et al.* 1996: 42–4 and nn. 25, 35–6). These include jugs with tall, cutaway spouts; spouted jars and juglets; amphorae with incized decoration on neck and shoulder;

two-handled cooking pots; various storage jar shapes; bottles; flat low-walled trays and griddles. The similarities in the two ceramic traditions also involve technological features (handles attached by use of a tenon pushed through body of a pot), and decorative motifs (plain or white-filled incised decoration, especially quadrant circles, perforated elements, incised patterns such as parallel chevrons and herringbone—for the last see Bolger 1983: 72). Mellink (1991: 172–3) pointed to some of the same shapes (beaked pitcher) and pottery manufacturing techniques (application of loop handles on flasks, jugs and jars), suggesting that they evoked 'an unhesitating recognition of Anatolian contacts', even if none of the Cypriot vessels are exact copies of Anatolian prototypes. Both Swiny and Mellink recognized that these ceramics, as well as a range of other materials from Philia phase sites or tombs, were 'Anatolianizing' rather than Anatolian in origin.

During our recent survey work in the Karkotis River valley in the northern Troodos (Given et al. 2002), TÆSP recorded what appears to be a PreBA settlement site, Phlasou Koutroullis, with pottery spanning the full Late Chalcolithic–Early Cypriot sequence (Figure 18). Here we collected and analysed examples of what seem to be very early Red Polished ware, possibly of the Philia 'facies'. The rather fine, tan-to-grey fabric of the pottery was coated with a brilliant red slip and streaky burnish (Mara Horowitz, forth-coming in Given et al. 2008). These sherds featured the 'Anatolianizing' plugthrough handle technique typical of Red Polished wares. In a separate (2004) visit to this site, Giorgos Georgiou (Cyprus Department of Antiquities) recovered a large plug-through handle made in Red Monochrome fabric: we believe this is the first example ever found on Cyprus. It too illustrates well the hybridized nature of PreBA 1 material culture, where new technological traditions intermingled with existing ideas and techniques.

The entire new complex of pouring and serving vessels—especially jugs, juglets, and bowls—has been interpreted as part of a wider eastern Mediterranean and European process that involved the elite production and consumption of alcoholic beverages, with all its attendant social and ideological overtones (Manning 1993: 45). In light of this suggestion, we must also take into account the possibility that innovations in metalworking on PreBA 1 Cyprus were imbricated in wider regional spheres of ideology and interaction. Imports, exports, and a range of foreign influences in style and technology have long been apparent in pottery, metal goods, and faience products exchanged throughout the PreBA between Cyprus and Crete, the Cyclades and the Levant or Egypt (e.g. Catling and Karageorghis 1960; Branigan 1966, 1967; Merrillees 1979; Catling and MacGillivray 1983; Knapp 1994: 281 fig. 9.4). It was precisely at this time—during the mid-late third millennium BC—that Near Eastern (including Egyptian) trading systems expanded to



**Figure 18:** Late Chalcolithic-Philia phase pottery distribution in Karkotis Valley, with location of Phlasou *Koutroullis*.

incorporate diverse polities stretching from Syria and the southern Levant through Cyprus, the Cyclades, and Crete into an even wider interregional interaction sphere (Marfoe 1987: 31–5; Sherratt and Sherratt 1991: 367–8).

We now have sound evidence for wide-ranging, metal acquisition networks from the early third millennium BC onward, extending from the Aegean through southern coastal Anatolia and Cyprus, and possibly to the southern Levant (Philip et al. 2003; Kassianidou and Knapp 2005: 236–8). Based on the new compositional and lead isotope analyses of 16 PreBA metal artefacts from Cyprus (discussed above), now in the Museum of Antiquities at the University of New England (Armidale, Australia), Webb et al. (2006) propose that the development of metalworking on Cyprus must have been involved in these complex, interregional interactions, with metals and metal artefacts circulating between the Aegean, coastal Anatolia and Cyprus during the PreBA 1 period. Stos-Gale's (2001) demonstration that a significant percentage of copper-based metal artefacts found in Pre-Palatial Crete were consistent with production from Cypriot ores suggests that all four areas may have had access to the same metal sources, and may have produced similar media of exchange (ingots, formerly identified as armbands or bracelets). Webb and Frankel acknowledge that Cyprus may have played more than a passive role in this newly expanding interaction sphere.

With respect to new metal forms, various types of knives or daggers, axes, pins, razors, and personal ornaments turn up in PreBA 1 Cypriot contexts (see Figure 13 above; Swiny 1986a: 37–9 and fig. 3; Muhly 1991a: 360–1, 366–71; Webb and Frankel 1999: 31). There are even pottery imitations of the dagger and sheath (Tomb 114 at Vounous Site A—Stewart and Stewart 1950: 154), as well as over-sized ('baroque') and (one) minature version of hook-tanged weapons (Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba cemetery-Philip 1991: 68-9, 90; Manning 1993: 44). Of all these new metal types, several reveal close parallels with Anatolian tools and implements: toggle pins with conical heads, knives or daggers with raised and flattened midsections; flat axes with polygonal butts and spiral earrings (or hair-rings?), including two examples in gold (Swiny 1986a: 37-8; Mellink 1981: 173). Swiny (1986a: 38) also suggested that the use of tin bronze in two spiral earrings and an awl indicate a familiarity with Anatolian technology if not the actual import of Cilician bronze, since analytical work has shown that most bronzes produced locally were made of arsenical alloys (Swiny 1982, 1986b: 95-7; Balthazar 1990: 21-69).

Frankel (2000: 176) once argued that Anatolian specialists introduced to Cyprus all the skills and technology associated with the mining and production of copper. Now, however, we can place the knowledge and initial exploitation of Cypriot copper resources into the much broader framework of an interregional trade in metals, a possibility that would also diminish

the importance of factors such as access to localized resources, or local technological requirements, for understanding the introduction of copper metallurgy (Webb *et al.* 2006).

Turning now from issues related to metals production and external trade to matters of internal, household production and use, the case for hybridization remains equally striking. Incized, biconical spindle whorls from several Philia phase deposits on Cyprus (Webb and Frankel 1999: 33–4, fig. 22: 14, 15, and fig. 25) differ markedly from the impromptu materials used during the Chalcolithic period. They do, however, reveal similarities with EB II Anatolian examples, particularly those from Cilicia (Swiny 1986a: 38; Mellink 1991: 173). Frankel and Webb (1996a: 192–5; also Crewe 1998: 59–60) argued that patterns of use-wear and damage to conical spindle whorls excavated at the PreBA 1 site of Marki *Alonia* indicate that they were designed for use with low-whirl spindles, common in Anatolia, Greece and the Balkans (Barber 1991: 53–4, 59–64; Frankel 2000: 172–3 and figs. 4–5).

At the same time, the use of sun-dried or low-fired clay loomweights from several PreBA sites (Frankel and Webb 1996a: 197–8) indicates that cloth was produced on vertical, warp-weighted looms. In turn, the weights of EC-MC spindle whorls from Marki Alonia, Alambra Mouttes and Episkopi Phaneromeni are consistent with the production of flax and wool, both of which had a very broad zone of prehistoric use in the Old World, including Cyprus (Åström 1964: 112 and fig. 1; Pieridou 1967: 26-8; Flourentzos 1989: 67). When the production zones of loom types (warp-weighted vs. ground) are plotted against fibre types (wool and flax vs. flax only), Cyprus falls into a very wide zone of production (flax and wool produced on warp-weighted looms), from northwest Europe through Anatolia but excluding the Middle East and Egypt (Barber 1991: 250, fig. 11.1). Thus it seems clear that textile production on Cyprus formed part of a broader Euro-Anatolian (as opposed to Near Eastern) tradition, but there is no basis for concluding that '[Cypriote] Bronze Age spinners were working with craft techniques imported from the north (specifically Anatolia) at the beginning of the Bronze Age' (Frankel 2000: 172; Frankel and Webb 2006a: 177). Evidence for the origin of the warpweighted loom used in the Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages of the eastern Mediterranean is equally ambiguous, and Rahmstorf (2005: 157-8) doubts that those loomweights can tell us anything about ethnic groupings.

Excavations at Marki *Alonia* have uncovered eight complete or nearly-complete and 70 fragmentary semi-circular clay hobs (stands for round-based cooking pots) (Frankel and Webb 2006a: 17–21). These hobs, made of a low-fired clay (sometimes covered with a slip), were previously unattested on Cyprus (Frankel and Webb 1994; Frankel and Webb 1996a: 181–6). At least one hob, with three human heads, has now been found at Pyrgos *Mavroraki* 

(Belgiorno 2004: 69, 98 fig. 40), whilst Swiny et al. (2003: 187, fig. 4.15 [P81], 191–2) believe they have identified another hob fragment at Sotira Kaminoudhia. As a group, the Marki examples date from the Philia phase (one fragment) to the end of the EC or very beginning of the MC period (PreBA 2). The production technique of the hobs is quite similar, but they differ from one another in size and the amount or style of decoration. Frankel and Webb (1996a: 182; 2006a: 18) cite multiple examples of very similar hobs, found throughout Anatolia and into the southern Levant. Virtually all hobs are horseshoe-shaped, furnished with interior knobs (providing support for the cooking vessels), and made of unbaked or low-fired clay. Some features of the western Asiatic hobs seem distinctive from the Cypriot examples (e.g. a vertical handle at the rear, frequent use of anthropomorphic decorations but note that the Pyrgos example has three human heads on its terminals). Moreover, the Marki hobs (Figure 19) are decorated with an array of dashed and zig-zag lines and small dots very similar to the facial designs seen on contemporary, Red Polished plank figurines, exemplifying well the local intermixing of motifs on diverse types of objects (Frankel and Webb 1994: 52, figs. 1–2; Frankel and Webb 1996a: pl. 32a).

Although in their earlier work Frankel and Webb (1994: 56) were sceptical about using these hobs as evidence for 'a simple migration or replacement model', in the final publication of the first phase of the Marki project, they



Figure 19: Decorated 'hob' (P2000) from Marki *Alonia*, with designs similar to those on plank figurines.

stated that 'Hobs may have been introduced to Cyprus early in the Bronze Age as part of the initial Philia assemblage, other elements of which appear to be of southwestern Anatolian origin' (Frankel and Webb 1996a: 183; cf. Swiny et al. 2003: 192, 194 who state unequivocally that the Kaminoudhia example was not part of the Philia assemblage there). They also maintained that objects such as hearths, hobs, and kitchen wares would have been unlikely items for trade; rather they were intimately linked with everyday domestic practices, if not with ethnicity, and were 'unlikely to travel without accompanying groups of people or, more specifically, women' (Frankel and Webb 1996a: 183). From my perspective, however, the hobs—of apparent Anatolian or Levantine shape and origin but decorated with distinctively Cypriot designs and missing some of the foreign features (rear handle)—reveal similarities in form, function, and meaning, and provide a superb example of both the material and social aspects of hybridization practice.

In discussing new agricultural practices associated with the secondary products revolution (see above, pp. 78-81), Frankel et al. (1996: 45) singled out the donkey as 'a feature of eastern rather than western faunal assemblages' and the sole-ard plough as 'a type generally characteristic of western rather than eastern regions'. To clarify these generalizing statements, Frankel (2000: 177) suggested that Anatolia is the most likely source area for all newlyintroduced faunal species (donkey, cattle, screw-horned goats), and that soleard ploughs 'fit within a northern technological tradition'. Sherratt (1981), however, whom Frankel cites as his authority for both examples, saw the situation quite differently. With respect to the donkey, Sherratt (1981: 274 and fig. 10.11) noted only that it had been domesticated for use as a pack animal during the early third millennium BC in both the southern Levant and Egypt. and that it was used in Cyprus for the same purpose by the later third millennium BC. With respect to the plough, Sherratt (1981: 266-9 and fig. 10.7) sought merely to distinguish between a Near Eastern and a much broader European tradition. Indeed, he cited as part of the European tradition the sole-ard plough as represented: (1) on a clay model from Vounous (Dikaios 1940: 127–9, pls. 9–10a) (Figure 20) and (2) with signs of the Cretan pictographic and Linear A scripts. More importantly, he noted (Sherratt 1981: 267): 'It is not known what form was in use in Anatolia, but it was probably also a one-handled type'. In other words, it was only the evidence from Cyprus and Crete that made it possible for Sherratt to suggest that the sole-ard plough might have been used in Anatolia, and it is thus unwarranted to imply that Anatolia was a source area for this implement.

Schaar's (1985) early, comparative study of PreBA house forms sought to link certain architectural features in six buildings at PreBA 2 Alambra *Mouttes* to the dwelling plans of structures in EB II levels at Tarsus in Anatolia (despite



Figure 20: Red Polished model of 'ploughing scene from tomb at Vounous.

the nearly 500 years that separate the two sites). Although the features cited by Schaar are very general (e.g. bipartite, multi-roomed, rectangular buildings with party walls shared by two contiguous units), he suggested that the approach to house form and use of interior space might indicate some level of cross-cultural influence or mixing ('Anatolian inspiration' was his term). More specifically, Schaar pointed to possible similarities between the Alambra and Tarsus house forms in the use of porches, and the placement of the main room within the structures (at Tarsus the front room; at Alambra the rear part of the structure).

In extending the comparison of such features to other sites, in particular the earlier, PreBA 1 structures excavated at Marki *Alonia* and Sotira *Kaminoudhia*, Schaar's argument does not stand up well (Swiny *et al.* 2003: 65). Nonetheless, the multicellular buildings at Sotira *Kaminoudhia* do share some features with those at Alambra, whilst structures at both Sotira *Kaminoudhia* and Marki *Alonia* reveal the use of party walls and rectilinear plan. A strictly bipartite division of buildings is not obvious at Marki or Sotira, whilst the regularity of walls and layout varies considerably. Swiny's comprehensive, comparative study of interregional architectural traditions (Anatolia, the Levant, and the Aegean) in the third millennium BC reveals further parallels between some building features at Sotira *Kaminoudhia* and those at EB II Tarsus (Swiny *et al.* 2003: 66–71). Both traditions differ from the freestanding, self-contained, megaron-like units that characterize EB II–III Anatolian

domestic architecture beyond Cilicia. Several buildings at EB II Tarsus have party walls and irregularly arranged rooms of varying size, as do at least four structures in *Kaminoudhia* Area A. The typical Tarsus layout of entranceways—with front porches, corridors, or antechambers—is also apparent in certain units at *Kaminoudhia* (and at Alambra, as Schaar noted). At both sites, doorways are typically situated in the angle of a building, in some cases adjacent to a short spur wall or return. Other common features found inside buildings at Tarsus, Marki, and Sotira are low benches or platforms (those at Tarsus tend to be broader and more elaborate in construction) and lime plaster bins used as supports for pottery vessels.

Prima facie, then, it is possible to point out some general similarities in PreBA Cypriot structures at Marki, Sotira, and Alambra: they appear to be rectilinear in plan, multicellular, and agglomerative, making use of shared walls. Some of the differences amongst them have been ascribed to local topography and availability of materials, or to the function of the buildings (Frankel and Webb 1996a: 53-4). Other differences, however, are more fundamental. At Marki Alonia, for example, Frankel and Webb (2006a: 309–15: 2006b) have now presented in detail the evolution of the site's built environment over the 500+ years it was inhabited. They regard the apparent multi-cellular and agglomerative aspects of Marki's domestic architecture as an artefact of time, and see the standard architectural form as individual house compounds comprising two or three rooms set at the rear of a larger, enclosed courtyard. There is little evidence here of large scale or long term planning, and the excavated remains appear to be the result of a gradual growth in the population (Figure 21). At Sotira Kaminoudhia (Swiny 2003: 54–66) too, where dwellings were constructed on a series of southward sloping terraces near three perennial springs, there is notable variation and complexity in room shape, layout, and proportions, and less regularity of orientation and placement than at Alambra, where the terrace of houses cut into the hillslope and built directly upon bedrock seems to represent a deliberate and formal layout.

In terms of building materials, most structures at Marki and Alambra, as well as those at Tarsus in Cilicia, had party walls constructed of mud-bricks laid on stone footings. In this case, Sotira *Kaminoudhia* is the exception with its exclusive use of the locally abundant tabular limestone (although sundried mud-bricks were found at the site—Swiny *et al.* 2003: 59). Alambra is also noteworthy in this aspect as excellent building stone was readily available at the site (Coleman *et al.* 1996: 21) yet the builders chose to use mud-bricks. Swiny commented that the use of mud-brick at Alambra might be seen as a 'progressive development' (i.e. over the sole use of stone—Swiny *et al.* 2003: 66). But what exactly is meant by progressive development? In the Cypriot

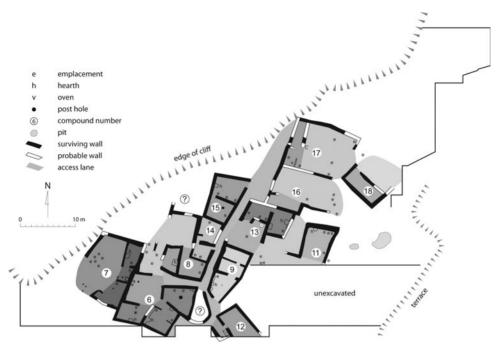


Figure 21: Marki Alonia Phase D during Prehistoric Bronze Age 1 (EC I–II).

context, the use of mud-brick in wall construction goes hand-in-glove with the transition from the single-room circular structures of the Chalcolithic period to the multi-room rectangular structures of the Bronze Age. The change in construction technique and building material—from circular buildings made of stone foundations with mud-walls to rectangular buildings made of stone and mud-bricks—was fundamental but also functional in nature. The use of mud-bricks in circular buildings is hardly viable, and even though more effort is required to produce mud-bricks than mudwalls, replacing bricks is far easier than replacing or repairing entire mudwalls. Moreover, circular mud-wall buildings are not ideal constructions for adding units, whereas the agglutinative building technique of the PreBA with rooms added in any and every manner (Wright 1992a: 303)—demanded the use of mud-brick (or else stone, as at Sotira Kaminoudhia). In other words, narrowly viewed, one could argue that the change in building form (round house to rectangular) was based on a change in construction technique (mud-wall to mud-brick), and that any fundamental social changes involved were the result of gradual, internal developments, not external influences or ethnic migrations.

The development during the PreBA of rectangular, multi-roomed, sharedwall structures built of mud-bricks should be reconsidered in light of their various 'generic' similarities (Frankel 2000: 175) with contemporary Anatolian, Levantine, and even Aegean buildings (Swiny et al. 2003: 66-71). We have already seen that all these areas may have been linked in wider spheres of social (elite production and consumption of alcoholic beverages) and economic (innovations in metallurgy) interaction and contact. Although there are possible functional reasons for the use of new building materials, the fundamental change in house form and structure may be associated with equally significant changes in social organization (Swiny 1989: 21; Frankel and Webb 2006b: 299-302; more generally Flannery 1972, 1993). Whilst Frankel (2000: 175) acknowledged the functional aspects of architectural developments, he questioned any evolutionary trajectory as the by-product of a changing social order and pointedly attributed the introduction of new architectural traditions and techniques to an intrusive Anatolian ethnic group. Frankel and Webb (2006b: 300) now suggest that demographic growth was a major factor in the evolving architectural tradition at Marki, but make no reference to any ethnic migration.

Despite the specific differences seen in the buildings of the only three wellexcavated settlements of PreBA Cyprus, in general several new features of architectural form and design share a common tradition. All these features are strikingly different from those of the Chalcolithic era and at the same time are enhanced and influenced by alternative, Anatolian construction traditions and technology. Reassessment of the many ambiguous building features of the PreBA—some seen as 'Anatolianizing', others as locally derived, still others as a combination of the two—suggests that many were recombined into new elements of material and social practice through the process of hybridization. The front porches or antechambers seen at Kaminoudhia and Alambra, for example, are not only similar to the entryways of buildings at Tarsus, they may also be seen as a structural equivalent of the exterior passages seen in Chalcolithic huts at Lemba and elsewhere (Schaar 1985: 144). Similarly, the L-shaped interior partition walls so obvious at Alambra and Kaminoudhia could be seen as another outcome of transforming curvilinear or sub-rectangular walls into more fully orthogonal structures.

At Tarsus, Alambra and Sotira *Kaminoudhia*, neither production nor occupation debris were allowed to accumulate on domestic floors when they were in use (Coleman 1985: 134; Schaar 1985: 44; Swiny 1989: 18; Coleman *et al.* 1996: 331; Swiny *et al.* 2003: 30–1). At Marki, virtually all cultural materials were either removed and deposited in communal refuse heaps at some distance from the houses, or else recycled and reused as building fill in later houses (Webb 1995: 65). At *Kaminoudhia*, such debris

accumulated in the passageways just outside the houses, sometimes (Area B, Unit 13) to a height of over a half-metre (Swiny et al. 2003: 37). Webb (1995: 68) regards such aspects of curate and discard behaviour as a radical change from those of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods, when abandoned, remodelled, or ceremonially-closed domestic structures regularly were found with abundant in situ artefactual remains on their floors (e.g. Peltenburg 1993: 10–16). The different discard patterns observed at Marki and Kaminoudhia may themselves result from using different building materials: at Marki a destroyed house was essentially a pile of mud that could be smoothed out or dumped elsewhere, whereas at Kaminoudhia a destroyed house was a pile of fieldstones (with only a little mud mortar) that could be reused in other constructions (personal comm., Stuart Swiny).

In examining some other artifactual evidence (zoomorphic or anthropomorphic figurines) and behavioural traits (curate and discard strategies), Frankel *et al.* (1996: 47) concluded that such items, on their own, might be overlooked or dismissed as minor or irrelevant. Taken together with the suite of other Anatolianizing elements and objects, however, these too should be seen as indicative of foreign influence or mixing. Indeed, the ways that people handle and use material culture items, and discard them within or beyond sites, may tell us a great deal about social practices, ideologies and identities (various papers in Schuyler 1980). Webb (1995: 68) suggests that the curate and discard patterns we see in the PreBA archaeological record involve 'structurally inherent forms of behaviour and attitude or style' that may be more important than changes in pottery styles and metal types for understanding the dynamics of the transitional Late Chalcolithic–Early Bronze Age era (PreBA 1).

Indeed, Frankel and Webb have argued consistently that we can best understand all the changes taking place during the transition from the Chalcolithic to the Bronze Age by accepting: (1) that there was a focal ethnic migration to Cyprus from southwest Anatolia, and (2) that the material record reflects two different behavioural, technological, and economic systems—two different archaeological cultures if you will—at work on the island during the PreBA (Webb and Frankel 1999: 38–43). For much of this period, they argue that:

indigenous Chalcolithic communities and incoming Philia people lived in separate settlements and maintained mutually exclusive behavioural systems which have left distinctive residues in the archaeological record. These contrasting behavioural systems are both archaeologically visible (i.e. they are viable archaeological constructions of identity) and attributable to past entities with meaningful social boundaries (i.e. they mesh with instrinsic structures of corporate identity). (Frankel and Webb 1998: 11)

In their ongoing attempts to define the material markers of these distinctive archaeological cultures, Frankel and Webb (2004: 6-7; 2006a: 242-3) have recently discussed the spurred annular pendant (picrolite and shell examples) as a diagnostic Philia-phase marker. These items derive mainly from tombs but also from the PreBA settlements at Marki Alonia and Sotira Kaminoudhia as well as at Late Chalcolithic/Philia (period 4) Kissonerga Mosphilia, Interestingly they maintain that these symbolic pendants 'appear to have crossed the permeable boundary between the two groups' (Frankel and Webb 2004: 6). Peltenburg (1991b: 118) has argued for a breakdown in the production and exchange of picrolite at the end of the Chalcolithic period in southwest Cyprus, but Frankel and Webb suggest that it continued to be distributed and valued in the centre of island, citing picrolite pendants and other items at Philia Laksia tou Kasinou, Nicosia Ayia Paraskevi, Sotira Kaminoudhia, and Marki *Alonia*. Frankel and Webb (2004: 6–7; also Webb and Frankel 1999: 41) thus suggest an overlap in the exchange networks of indigenous Chalcolithic communities and intrusive Philia groups. They maintain that the migrant groups appropriated the indigenous use of picrolite as a prestige good 'at the same time that the individual artefacts, modes of behavior, and technologies were moving from migrant to indigenous communities' (Frankel and Webb 2004: 7). The spurred annular pendants, then, are seen to have played a crucial role in proclaiming an (intrusive) 'Philia identity'. Moreover, the manufacture of shell annular pendants in Period 4 at Mosphilia suggests to them that indigenous Chalcolithic communities were appropriating personal Philia identity markers, thus indicating 'bidirectional interaction' and 'localized processes of acculturation'. This thoughtful interpretation offers another striking example of the material, social and cultural mixings and ambiguity involved in the hybridization process.

Frankel and Webb have always pointed out that their adoption of, first, a colonization model and, later, a ethnic migration model, was based on the results of their excavations at Marki *Alonia*, and on their attempts to understand the range and diversity of material uncovered there. Virtually all of the differences they see between the lifeways of an intrusive Philia group and those of the indigenous (Chalcolithic) communities of Cyprus are necessarily based on stratigraphic evidence from Marki *Alonia* and Kissonerga *Mosphilia* (Webb and Frankel 1999: 40). The excavations at *Mosphilia* provide stratigraphic evidence for the latest Chalcolithic sequences, in particular three short stages (4a, 4b, and 5) in which Philia traits begin to appear (Peltenburg *et al.* 1998: 256–9). Excavations at Marki provide good stratigraphic evidence for the Philia-Early Cypriot sequence. The overlapping sequences at *Mosphilia* (disturbed top of site) and Marki (preserved base of site) were both shortlived, at least compared to their much longer Chalcolithic (*Mosphilia*) and EC

(Marki) levels. No settlement site, then, offers good stratigraphic evidence for the full transition from the latest Chalcolithic to the Early Cypriot sequence (although the TÆSP-recorded site of Phlasou *Koutroullis*, discussed above, p. 116, holds out some potential in this regard). Strictly speaking, without fuller stratigraphic evidence from settlements, we can do no more than postulate, and debate, the social, economic, and demographic factors that led to the arrival of Anatolian peoples or practices on Cyprus.

The social, cultural, behavioural, and technological markers Frankel and Webb see as distinguishing intrusive Anatolian (Philia) migrants have no direct manifestations in the archaeological record: what we are seeing must be several generations removed from the original colonists/settlers. For them, the diverse and wide-ranging behavioural markers—pottery and metal forms, spindle whorls, hobs, figurines, and discard practices, spurred annular pendants, the built environment—that distinguish this intrusive Philia group from the indigenous Cypriotes are 'the result of a tranformation process of acculturation and adaptation to new geographical, ecological, and social circumstances' (Webb and Frankel 1999: 40). If, however, we understand these changes in terms of hybridization—of the meeting and mixing of different cultural groups that resulted in entirely new material forms and social practices, without assuming any form of technological (or cultural) superiority, with no need to rationalize the fact that we are missing direct evidence of foreign presence, with no demand to produce the material equivalents of conflict, domination or resistance—we should be able to turn our attention to other ways of understanding this complex period of transition.

Because one primary goal of this section has been to resolve the long-standing debate over the origins of those people responsible for the multiple cultural transformations of the PreBA, and about the social processes involved, I want to close this section with a quotation concluding one of Webb and Frankel's most detailed considerations of these issues and the material culture involved. Although some differences will remain in specific nuances of interpretation, I am overall in agreement with this statement but have taken the liberty of changing one word (using 'hybridization' instead of 'acculturation') and adding two words—all three in italics—in that quotation (Webb and Frankel 1999: 43):

Bidirectinal processes of interaction and *hybridization*...led to extensive diachronic changes in both incoming and indigenous groups. In the longer term the cumulative integration of new technologies and other intrusive elements by indigenous *and intrusive* communities resulted in a transmutation of both preexisting and Philia systems into the more widespread phenomenon characterized as the Early Cypriot Bronze Age.

## Migration, Hybridization, and Identity

Looking both theoretically and empirically at the array of evidence and innovations for the PreBA 1 period, I have long argued (e.g. Knapp 1990a) that intensified agriculture—based on adoption of the plough and other products associated with the secondary products revolution—and the specialized, surplus production of copper by an internal elite, transformed society in the north and northwestern part of Cyprus. The innovations seen in the PreBA 1 material record thus were seen as the result of internal social developments orchestrated by an incipient elite responding to external demand for copper (within a prestige goods economy—Manning 1993) and at the same time promulgating a new, elite island identity.

Although I now regard the material markers patiently marshalled and extensively published by Frankel and Webb to be compelling evidence for a foreign presence on Cyprus at this time, I remain at odds with their interpretation of this material as the ultimate result of a focal ethnic migration from Anatolia. Moreover, I question the proposed acculturation process in which the Cypriotes are portrayed, even if implicitly, as the beneficiaries of a technologically more competent ethnic group from Anatolia. In particular, I believe the process of acculturation that Frankel (2000, 2005) discusses is flawed, and that the wealth of material he and Webb have cited to support that process is much more readily understood in terms of hybridization practices.

When people migrate to or colonize an area, they naturally cling to certain aspects of the culture, dress, cuisine, and other material trappings linked to their homeland and expressive of their identity. Whatever else they may have to sacrifice in order to mix and integrate (Martín de la Cruz and Lucena Martin 2002: 161), they do not willingly abandon their identity, ideology, or beliefs. Like Aeneas who left Troy for Rome, they bring along their gods, since religion (or ideology) is part of heritage—it helps to mark identity (van Der Toorn 1995: 365).

The prehistoric Bronze Age was marked by major shifts in traditional lifeways, involving changes in residence, the means of production, social networks and institutions, and multiple aspects of material culture. New patterns of group affiliation emerged, leading to new ideas and images of group or individual identity. During such 'social mobilization' processes (London 1989: 51), people become involved in non-traditional, intermixed regional groups; they develop a social system capable of generating and absorbing continuous change. Such changes continue to characterize the material record of PreBA Cyprus until the very end of that period. By that time, the intensification of metallurgical and agricultural production alike began to promote new island identities and a new social order, structurally

very different from that which had characterized the Chalcolithic and earlier periods, but one still solidly Cypriot in origin, outlook and makeup.

In this chapter, I have discussed several thematic issues that, collectively, offered the scope to present a social perspective on Cyprus's PreBA. These include spatial organization, economic orientations, production and exchange, mortuary practices, representations, individuals in archaeology, migration, and hybridization. All these issues must be seen in the wake of developments involving the secondary products revolution, and the closely linked, emergent stages in indigenous copper production, distribution, and consumption. Below, in Chapter 7, I synthesize and discuss further the social implications of all these factors as they relate to the broader themes of this study: insularity, connectivity, and island identities

# Protohistoric Bronze Age Cyprus (ProBA): A Sociohistorical Approach

During the second millennium BC, and especially during the Late Bronze Age (about 1650–1050 BC), ruling polities in the Aegean, the Levant, Cyprus, and Egypt—along with their merchants and other, independent entrepreneurs increasingly became involved in the production, exchange, and consumption of raw materials, utilitarian products, and luxury goods. These included copper, tin, silver, and gold, metal artifacts, glass, pottery, precious and semi-precious stones, ivory, and a range of organic items (olive oil, wine, honey, spices) (Knapp 1991; Sherratt and Sherratt 1991; various papers in Cline and Harris Cline 1998; Palmer 2003; Yon 2003). Aegean and Cypriot pottery has been found in an area extending from Egypt and the southern Levant in the east (Leonard 1994; Maguire 1995; Leonard and Cline 1998; Snape 2003; Bergoffen 2005) to Sicily, Lipari, and Sardinia in the west (most recently, Vagnetti 2001; Jones et al. 2005). Some sherds of Mycenaean pottery have even turned up in stratified contexts at two Spanish sites, Llanete de los Moros (Montoro, Córdoba) and La Cuesta del Negro (Purullena, Granada) (Martin de la Cruz and Lucena Martin 2003: 155–6). Copper oxhide ingots, which served as at least one medium for exchange in the Mediterranean Late Bronze Age, have been found in sites extending from the Black Sea and Babylonia to Sicily, Sardinia, Marseilles, Oberwilflingen in Germany (Muhly et al. 1988; Lo Schiavo 1998, 2003: 23-5; Primas and Pernicka 1998; Knapp 2000; Domergue and Rico 2002: 141–4) and now on Corsica (unpublished).

Several recent, quite remarkable excavations and finds have altered entirely our understanding of the nature, scope and extent of Mediterranean trading systems in the Middle–Late Bronze Ages. Most prominent amongst them is the rich and diverse cargo—with goods from the Aegean, Egypt, the Levant, and Cyprus—recovered from the underwater excavation of a Late Bronze Age shipwreck found at Uluburun along Turkey's southern coast (Pulak 1998; 2001; Hauptmann *et al.* 2002). Equally important are fragments of wall-paintings found at Tell ed Dab'a, a Middle-Late Bronze Age palace in the eastern Nile Delta (e.g. Morgan 1995; Brysbaert 2002; Bietak 2005) and from

Tel Kabri, a Middle Bronze Age palace in Israel (Niemeier and Niemeier 2000; Negbi and Negbi 2002). Both groups reveal iconographic and design elements reminiscent of Aegean or Cycladic wall paintings, although their origin and the direction of influence remain issues of intense debate (Sherratt 1994a; Knapp 1998a; Niemeier and Niemeier 1998; Brysbaert 2004). The abundance and diversity as well as the design and quality of such goods indicate the deployment of merchants, mariners and craft specialists in an interregional system that linked ideology, iconography, and traded goods with social and political status (Feldman 2002, 2006).

Many current perceptions of Bronze Age Mediterranean trade are imbalanced in terms of quantifying the production and distribution of 'exotic' imports, rather than their consumption in localized contexts (Manning and Hulin 2005). Port cities and palatial centres throughout the Mediterranean nevertheless took part in closely linked networks of international trade. Minoan Crete, Mycenaean Greece, Cyprus, Egypt, the city-state kingdoms of the Levant, and certain key ports in the central Mediterranean all seem to have been engaged in interregional communications, contacts, and exchange. Some of the best-known trading centres were Ugarit (Syria), Byblos (Lebanon), Enkomi, Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke and Kalavasos Ayios Dhimitrios (Cyprus), Akko and Tel Nami (Israel), Troy (Antaolia), Kommos (Crete), Mycenae and Pylos (Greece), Thapsos (Sicily), Lipari (Aeolian islands) and Nuraghe Antigori (Sardinia). Sea-borne trade throughout the Bronze Age Mediterranean was complex in nature and diverse in structure, encompassing state-dominated and entrepreneurial aspects as well as royal gift exchange (Knapp and Cherry 1994: 126–51). The Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world had so many different kinds of resources and types of transport, and its merchants peddled so many different kinds of (luxury as well as utilitarian) goods, that no single system of trade or exhange could ever have prevailed. On present evidence, we can only assume that ships from Egypt, the Levantine city-states, Cyprus, Anatolia, and the Aegean, if not the central Mediterraean, were actively involved, while the mechanics of trade were bound up with factors such as sociopolitical and economic status, mercantile cooperation and competition, the nature and types of goods traded, as well as the ideology of exchange (e.g. Webb 2005).

How was Cyprus involved in these and other social, spatial, and politico-economic developments of the later Middle and Late Bronze Ages? Protohistoric Bronze Age (ProBA) society on Cyprus—whilst retaining the agro-pastoral base that had crystallized during the PreBA—became increasingly industrial, town-centred, and oriented to the wider Mediterranean and Levantine world. The exchange of bulk goods, luxury items, organic products, and raw materials with other, often historically-dated cultures of the eastern Mediterranean (Egypt, the Levant) and with Minoan Crete and Mycenaean Greece, has made it possible to

establish a relative chronology for the ProBA, with broad temporal controls (*c*.1650–1050 BC—see Table 3; Merrillees 1992b, 2002). These dates conform reasonably well with a recent, methodically established absolute chronology, in which the beginning of the LC IA period is assigned to about 1660/1650 BC and the duration of the LC IIC period to 1340/1315–1215/1185 BC (Cadogan *et al.* 2001: 85–88; Manning 2001; Manning *et al.* 2001).

As had happened during the PreBA, several striking changes appear in the archaeological record of the ProBA (for detailed references, see Knapp 1986a; 1994: 282–90; Knapp *et al.* 1994: 224–9; Steel 2004a: 149–86):

- (1) town centres with monumental architecture appear throughout the island;
- (2) burial practices reveal clear distinctions in social status;
- (3) writing (Cypro-Minoan) is first seen on clay tablets, cylinders and other materials;
- (4) the production and export of copper becomes more intensified and widespread;
- (5) extensive regional and inter-regional trade develops;
- (6) newly built fortifications, large stocks of weaponry in burials, and warriors depicted on pottery suggest some form of intra-island conflict.

This transformation in Cyprus's material record indicates that Cypriot society was no longer egalitarian, isolated, or village-oriented but rather had become socially stratified (whether heterarchical or hierarchical), international and town-centred (Keswani 1996; Webb 2005). The commercially successful exploitation, production, and trade of Cyprus's copper resources, together with the generation of agricultural surpluses, suggest that political authority had become centralized (Knapp 1988, 1996b), at least initially at Enkomi (Muhly 1989: 299; Webb 1999: 292–4). Eventually, the intensified production and trade of copper made Cyprus the key purveyor of this metal throughout the Mediterranean region, if not the Levant and parts of the Near East—a situation that continued for some two thousand years, at least until the fall of the Roman Empire.

Table 3. Protohistoric Bronze Age (ProBA) Cyprus: Chronological Schema

Revised	Traditional	Dates вс
ProBA	(MC III–LC III)	1650–1100
ProBA 1 ProBA 2 ProBA 3	Middle Cypriot III–Late Cypriot I Late Cypriot IIA–IIC early Late Cypriot IIC late–IIIA	1650–1450 1450–1250 1250–1100

#### SETTLEMENT TRENDS

Toward the end of the PreBA, such settlement evidence as we have indicates that sites were concentrated in the foothills along either side of the Kyrenia range, and at prime, arable locations in the river valleys of the Troodos, where they entered or crossed the *Mesaoria* (Figure 22). Along the northern rim of the Troodos were the sites of Katydhata *Laonarka* (Boutin *et al.* 2003), Marki *Alonia* (Frankel and Webb 1996a, 2006a), a cluster of sites near Ayios Sozomenos (Fortin 1995; Frankel and Webb 1995) and others around Politiko village (Masson 1964b: 202–4; Given and Knapp 2003: 266; Falconer *et al.* 2005). Along the southern rim of the Troodos were sites such as Episkopi *Phaneromeni*, Anoyira, and Evdhimou (Swiny 1981, 1986b). Along the eastern rim of the Troodos lay Alambra *Mouttes* (Coleman *et al.* 1996), with Kalopsidha situated farther east (Åström 1966; Sjodin 1988). In the northeastern Karpass peninsula, sites such as Galinoporni, Rizokarpaso, and Korovia *Nitovikla* were established (Gjerstad 1926: 11; Åström 1960; Catling 1962: 159–60, 168; Merrillees 1971: 64–5; Hult 1992).

The general patterning of these settlements, together with the nature of their finds, seems to indicate a breakdown in earlier patterns of regionalism. The concept of regionalism on Cyprus has been crucially important in revealing the contemporaneity of sites with differing pottery traditions, particularly so within the ProBA 1 period (Merrillees 1971). Although regional factions or polities certainly existed during both the PreBA and the ProBA, the primary criterion used to identify them has been the identification and classification of ideal pottery types (e.g. Merrillees 1971; Peltenburg 1978; Bolger 1989). Without denying the importance of regionalism, in particular for relative chronology, it must be emphasized that such an approach blurs the more dynamic aspects of production (ceramic, metallurgical or otherwise), and tends to overlook broader social or spatial patterns. In terms of the material culture characteristic of PreBA 2 (ending about 1650 BC), there is a great degree of similarity in everything from household goods to mortuary practices, all of which no doubt points to shared beliefs, political alliances and economic activities, in particular the burgeoning trade in copper and the expansion in intra-island communications (Frankel 1974: 10-11; Herscher 1991). By the end of the PreBA, however, the location of settlements had begun to change in very telling ways.

Of more than 300 known ProBA sites (Catling 1962: 160–9; Knapp 1997b: 46–52), several—e.g. Enkomi, Kition, Alassa, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni *Vournes*, Hala Sultan Tekke—have been exposed by broad horizontal

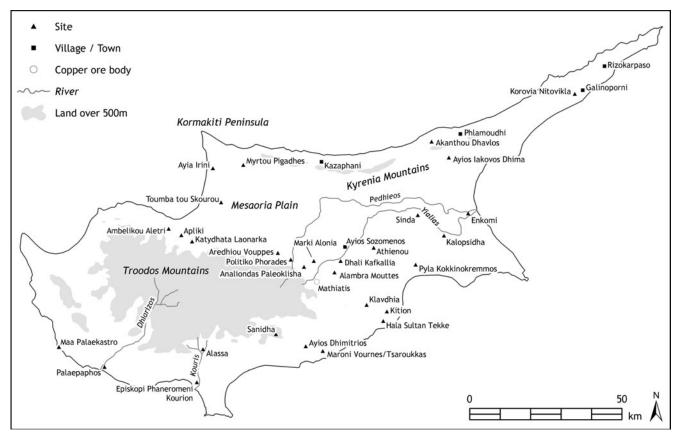


Figure 22: Protohistoric Bronze Age Cyprus: sites, (modern) towns, and other areas mentioned in the text.

excavations that produced detailed if occasionally disputed stratigraphic sequences (Ionas 1984; Kling 1987: 104–5, 1989: 75–9). The ability to draw upon such an extensive body of excavated material, as well as new evidence from regional survey projects, allows us to paint a comprehensive material picture of cultural and spatial developments during the ProBA, and to draw some meaningful social conclusions.

During the ProBA 1 period, several prominent new settlements were established on or very near the coast. These include Morphou Toumba tou Skourou (northwest), Episkopi (Kourion) Bamboula and Kouklia Palaepaphos (south), and Enkomi Ayios Iakovos and Hala Sultan Tekke Vyzakia (east and southeast) (Keswani 1996; Knapp 1997b: 46–8). A quantitative spatial analysis indicates that proximity to both copper ore sources and the sea was a crucial factor in the location of these sites (Portugali and Knapp 1985: 50–61). Such an orientation towards the sea and overseas contacts suggests that all these coastal settlements functioned at least in part to answer foreign demand for Cypriot copper and other goods, and to bring prestigious 'oriental' and Aegean goods into Cyprus (Merrillees 1965: 146–7; Knapp 1998; Crewe 2004: 271–8). These sites, together with the rich and diverse types of material found in them, help to demonstrate the motivation of Cypriot elites in establishing politico-economic and ideological alliances with more powerful polities and factions in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean (Keswani 1989b; Manning et al. 2002; cf. Manning and Hulin 2005).

The only district of ProBA Cyprus that seems to have remained underpopulated at this time was the mountainous zone of the Troodos, although it too may have been exploited for its timber and other resources, as in later periods (Given 2002). Along the northern coast, east of Kyrenia, there is some limited evidence—from Kazaphani (Nicolaou and Nicolaou 1989), Phlamoudhi (al-Radi 1983; Smith n.d. and http://www.mcah.columbia.edu/ phlamoudhi/), Akanthou, and Dhavlos—that commercial traffic from abroad also touched these shores. In the northwest, Morphou Toumba tou Skourou (Vermeule and Wolsky 1991), Myrtou Pigadhes (Du Plat Taylor 1957) and the settlement associated with the cemetery at Ayia Irini (Pecorella 1973, 1977) indicate that population in and around the Kormakiti peninsula grew significantly. Along the northern and eastern rim of the Troodos, evidence old and new reveals the workings of the productive sector of society, in particular at smaller agricultural settlements or mining sites (e.g. Ambelikou Aletri, Apliki Karamallos, Politiko Phorades, Aredhiou Vouppes, Analiondas Paleoklisha— Knapp 2003, with further references). In the southwest, new sites arose along the Kouris River Valley (e.g. Episkopi Phaneromeni 'A', Alassa Pano Mandilares and Palaeotaverna) and within the Dhiarizos River Valley (Kouklia Palaepaphos, several nearby cemeteries) (Maier and Karageorghis 1984; Swiny 1986b; Hadjisavvas 1989, 1994; Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavva 1997; Maier 1987). New town centres in the south arose around Maroni *Vournes/Tsaroukkas* (Cadogan 1989; 1992; Manning and De Mita 1997; Manning *et al.* 2002) and Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (South 1997, 2000), whilst a pottery production village was established in the nearby foothills at Sanidha *Moutti tou Ayiou Serkhou* (Todd 2000; Todd and Pilides 2001). In the east and southeast, some of the best known and most prosperous towns of the ProBA period—Enkomi, Kition, and Hala Sultan Tekke—were established (Schaeffer 1971a, 1984; Dikaios 1969–71; Karageorghis and Demas 1985; Åström 1983, 1998a; Åström *et al.* 1989, 2001). The overall constellation of sites, and the array of material culture—exotic and local—found within them, suggest that a maritime location, the intracacies of political alliances, and an emerging overseas market orientation had become at least as important as resource orientation in ProBA social development and change.

Keswani (1996; 2004: 154-6) suggests that patterns of town life and the internal organization of the earliest coastal centres (Enkomi and Toumba tou Skourou), as well as those of the larger town centres at Kition and Hala Sultan Tekke, may have differed from those of southern and southwestern centres such as Maroni, Avios Dhimitrios, and Alassa Paleotaverna. The first four sites, in her view, may have been settled by different groups from outlying communities. They exhibit some degree of 'social distance' between residential groups, e.g. in Toumba tou Skourou's multiple mound configuration (Vermeule and Wolsky 1990: 14-15) or in Enkomi's open-space configuration, seen in its earliest domestic and industrial complexes (Courtois 1986: 5). As more people settled in these towns, real differences in access to productive resources may have fostered differing hierarchical social relations. In contrast, because the nucleated town populations of sites in the south and southwest may have been local in origin, their administrative structures appear to be more centralized in makeup, perhaps the result of easier access to and control over copper ore sources and metals production. Smaller centres founded much later (13th century BC) may have been outposts of these larger urban centres: e.g. Maa Palaekastro as a possible outpost of Kouklia or Pyla Kokkinokremmos as an outpost of Kition (see also Caraher et al. 2005: 262). Such a suggestion circumvents some of the problems in interpreting these sites as defensive structures linked to an Aegean 'colonization' of Cyprus (Karageorghis 1998a: 127–30). In this same way, however, we might also think of Kourion, the smallest of the town centres, as an administrative outpost of Alassa Palaeotaverna (further discussion below).

Building on earlier work by Catling (1962) and Keswani (1993), and based on an extensive corpus of spatial and archaeological data from across the island, I presented a detailed argument for a ProBA settlement hierarchy (Knapp 1997b). Here I summarize that account and update the information

where relevant. In what follows, it must be remembered that the archaeological evidence available remains much more abundant for the centuries between 1450–1200 BC than it is for those between 1650–1450 BC. Consequently, the analysis of Late Bronze Age settlement patterns and politicoeconomic systems largely pertains to and is better substantiated for the 13th century BC. The differences between these two periods will be treated at length below.

The settlement evidence currently available (Knapp 1997b: 53–61, fig. 5, table 2) indicates a four-tiered settlement hierarchy, which is distinguished by the proposed functions of different sites and which would seem to reflect hierarchical social or political structures (see further below):

- (1) coastal centres (commercial, ceremonial, administration, production);
- (2) inland towns (administrative, production, transport);
- (3) smaller inland sites (ceremonial, production, transport, some storage);
- (4) agricultural support villages (production, storage, transport); mining sites and pottery-producing villages (production).

Conceptualized in a slightly different manner, this site hierarchy can also be viewed as a model of the agricultural, metallurgical, and social processes that characterized the ProBA landscape (Figure 23).

Classified according to size (standing remains and surface scatter) (Figure 24), location, and the presence or absence of certain key elements (e.g. ashlar masonry, prestige goods or imports, metallurgical products, impressed pithoi, Cypro–Minoan inscriptions, seals or weights), most primary coastal centres were approximately 12 hectares or greater in extent and located on or very near the coast. Whilst Merrillees (1992a: 316–19, 328, Appendix 1) coordinated information on the approximate size of ProBA settlements, he discounted size as a factor that might help to explain political organization on ProBA Cyprus. If the politico-economic structure and cultural status of each autonomous polity or faction on ProBA Cyprus were largely independent of site size, then site location may have assumed strategic and commercial importance, as Merrillees (1992a: 318) maintained. These primary centres may have exercised some economic if not political hegemony over at least a limited number of sites in their immediate hinterlands, an alignment first suggested by Stanley Price (1979: 80). Beyond that, the level of centralized production in these coastal towns would have served an elite strategy to maintain the cooperation and to control the output of the rural sector (agricultural, mining, and pottery-producing villages). In turn, this strategy would have increased the rural sector's dependence on specialized goods and services available only in the town centres (Aravantinos 1991: 62). The

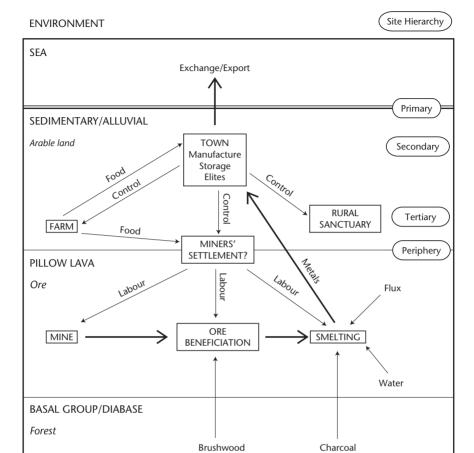


Figure 23: Model representing agricultural, metallurgical, and social processes within the Protohistoric Bronze Age landscape, with site hierarchy indicated.

variety and quantity of local and imported goods found in these coastal or near-coastal centres, combined with dramatic differences in site size, serve to distinguish them markedly from all other sectors in the site hierarchy.

The secondary (primarily administrative) towns and tertiary (primarily ceremonial) sites were typically situated at strategic communication nodes where the production or flow of copper, agricultural products and exchanged goods could be controlled. We cannot determine unequivocally whether these sites were administered by the primary centres, or by local elites in alliance with their coastal counterparts. However, one way that elites establish control over a given region is to situate fixed points of the economic infrastructure

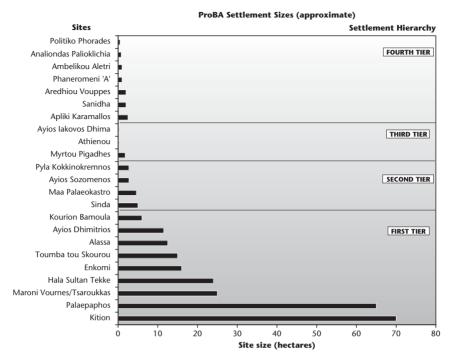


Figure 24: Approximate settlement/site sizes of Protohistoric Bronze Age.

where transport and communication costs may be minimized (Paynter 1983: 265). These secondary and tertiary centres thus would have served at least in part as transshipment points where local production and trade articulated with broader regional systems. The location of sites such as Sinda Siri Dash, Ayios Sozomenos Ambelia, or Athienou Bambourlari tis Koukkouninnas on routes between the mining areas and the coastal centres suggests that elite ideology, perhaps expressed through local media, would have served to articulate relationships between the inland production zone and the coastal zone, the latter oriented around distribution and consumption. The location of 'sanctuaries' in these rural landscapes may have served to demarcate regional territorial claims or a ritually defined social space (Alcock 1993: 202).

Mining sites, pottery-producing villages, and agricultural support villages—the final tier in the site hierarchy—tend to be concentrated in or near the igneous zone of the Troodos foothills, or in the *Mesaoria* close to the igneous/sedimentary interface. Agricultural villages like Analiondas *Paleoklichia* and Aredhiou *Vouppes* (Webb and Frankel 1994; Knapp 2003: 572–3) typically are littered with *pithos* (storage jar) sherds and groundstone implements. Individual farmsteads as defined by Swiny (1981), thus far quite thin on the



Figure 25: The ProBA smelting site of Politiko *Phorades*—excavations, with *Kokkinor-otsos* ore source in background.

ground, may also be included in this category. Mining villages like Apliki Karamallos and smelting sites like Politiko Phorades (Figure 25) were always situated in close proximity to the rich copper ore deposits of the Lower Pillow Lavas. They are characterized by a range of industrial equipment (tuyères, crucible and furnace fragments, stone hammers, etc.) as well as the slag heaps associated with them (Du Plat Taylor 1952; Muhly 1989; Knapp 2003). The pottery-producing site of Sanidha Moutti tou Ayiou Serkhou lies in the upper Vasilikos Valley close to Kellaki, an area specifically mentioned by Courtois (1970: 83) as a likely source of the clays used in White Slip wares. Evidence for pottery production at Sanidha is indisputable and includes slipped and painted wasters, highly-burnt clay 'bricks' from kilns or ovens, unslipped sherds resembling White Slip shapes and fabrics, and other, related debris (Todd and Pilides 1993, 2001; Todd 2000). Excepting some agricultural sites like Phlamoudhi Sapilou (Catling 1976), characterized by its typical Late Cypriot wares, grinders, and quantities of pithos sherds, and located near the north coast, or Episkopi Phaneromeni 'A', situated on the southern coastal plain (Swiny 1986b), most sites involved in production activities are situated in the inland periphery, in or near the mineral zones of the Troodos. They are thus differentiated both spatially and materially from the primary coastal centres as well as the secondary administrative centres.

The hierarchical settlement system proposed for ProBA Cyprus does not provide a perfect fit (noted emphatically by South 2002: 62–7). Some primary centres like Kalavasos Ayios Dhimitrios and Alassa Pano Mandilares/Paleotaverna, for example, not only served multiple functions overlapping with those of secondary and tertiary centres, but also had inland locations that were closer to the mines than the coastal towns. Such sites must have been crucially important in the politico-economic system of ProBA Cyprus: they would have exercised some level of control over the mining, production, and transport of copper, were involved in agricultural production (olive oil), and functioned commercially as administrative and transshipment points. These factors, coupled with detailed petrographic analyses, have led Goren et al. (2003: 248-52) to identify the 14th-13th century BC political centre of Alashiya with either Ayios Dhimitrios or Alassa (discussed in detail below, Chapter 6). If these sites were more strictly involved in administrative, metallurgical and ceremonial matters, then their commercial functions may have been served by Maroni Tsaroukkas or a still-unidentified port at the mouth of the Vasilikos Valley (for Kalavasos), and by Episkopi Bamboula (for Alassa). Smith (1994: 316), however, notes that the functions and contexts of sealimpressed pithoi from Bamboula and Alassa seem to be quite different; those at Alassa indicate centralized control over storage facilities whilst those at Bamboula suggest more individualized control. Episkopi Bamboula is by far the smallest town centre, and its near coastal location may have been the most decisive factor in its function.

The coastal or near-coastal sites of Maa *Palaeokastro* and Pyla *Kokkinokremmos*, if they actually served defensive functions (Karageorghis 1998a: 127–30), likewise do not sit well in the proposed settlement hierarchy. Keswani (1996: 234; 2004: 155) suggests that Maa and Pyla may have served as outposts (secondary tier of settlement) of Kouklia and Kition. Smith (1994: 274) suggested that Maa might have been a centralized facility for both local and regional storage, whilst Steel (2004: 188–90) is inclined to think that both Pyla and Maa were local 'strongholds'. Pyla's function would thus have been to secure the movement of traded goods from coastal ports to inland settlements. Long ago, Stanley Price (1979: 80–1) suggested that sites like Pyla, in the Larnaca hinterland, could have served as support settlements for a nearby port. Indeed, recent geomorphological investigations in the lowland around Pyla revealed 'the definitive characteristics of a prehistoric to historic harbour' and a palaeocoastline approximately 150m inland from the present-day beach (Caraher *et al.* 2005: 246–8).

Adopting another perspective on site patterning during the ProBA, Merrillees (1973: 47–8) pointed out that the general spatial configuration of settlements, cemeteries, and sanctuaries had changed by this time. Wherever solid evidence is available for ceremonial structures ('sanctuaries') in non-urban contexts, these sites are characterized by their relative isolation in the landscape and by their placement on some topographic prominence (Wright 1992b). Moreover, the presence of some imported goods not just at inland centres (second tier in the hierarchy), as might be expected, but also at sanctuary sites and remote agricultural villages (third and fourth tiers), for example at Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas* (Mycenaean pottery—Dothan 1993: 132–3) and at Mathiati (Mycenaean pottery, finished metal products—Hadjicosti 1991), suggests that wider regional networks of exchange touched these sites. Alternatively, imports may have reached those sites more indirectly (Merrillees 1965: 146–7; Webb and Frankel 1994: 17; Webb 2002b: 130).

Examining settlement patterns in terms of storage facilities provides further insight. There is evidence of supra-household, if not supra-site storage throughout the settlement hierarchy, except at the four coastal emporia of Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, Enkomi, Kition, and Hala Sultan Tekke. Keswani (1993: 78) suggests that the nature of the archaeological record may explain some of these situations, for example the absence at Enkomi of storage facilities in any of the elite, administrative, or ceremonial buildings within this extensively excavated site. The prominence of storage facilities in agricultural support villages and inland sites, as well as in the primary centres of Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni *Vournes* and Alassa *Paleotaverna* (Webb 2002b: 130–1), portrays an uneven distribution of these features within the settlement hierarchy. Such a configuration may hint at the existence of an economic system in which agricultural products were grown and stored in the hinterland, then redistributed on demand to specialized producers and governing elites.

Keswani (1993) explained the settlement system with reference to institutional structures, subsistence needs and staple/wealth finance systems (also Webb 2002b: 128–31). Surely, however, we must also to take into account the complex and ever-changing factors of production and consumption, as well as relations of exchange—all subject to the motivations of individual or collective human action—that linked sites of different size, function, and location on ProBA Cyprus. Any attempt to establish political alliances or to impose economic hegemony would have involved not only the ability to control access to resources in demand but also the capacity to manipulate social relations. Factors of transport as well as issues related to internal vs. external communications are still poorly understood, and these too will have impacted on any perceived or real hierarchy, whether in settlements or in society more generally. Such factors provide important clues for understanding better the political and

ideational shift that resulted in Cyprus's transformation from an insular polity to an international player, and for dileneating how the economy expanded from a village-based, staple finance system to a more competitive and comprehensive, urban-rural wealth finance system. The existence of 'all these imponderables' (Merrillees 1992a: 324) does not preclude the possibility of assessing political alliances or economic structures, or of proposing socio-historical reconstructions, a task to which I now turn.

### SOCIO-POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Currently there exist several differing perceptions of the political economy and the related social structures of ProBA Cyprus. The transformations that took place within Late Cypriot society have been attributed variously to processes of intensified production and foreign exchange, urbanization, heterarchical or peer polities, secondary state formation and/or the archaic state model. Any attempt to theorize or interpret the long-term socio-political organization of ProBA Cyprus necessarily is constrained by a body of archaeological evidence that derives chiefly from settlements and mortuary evidence dated to the period between about 1400-1200 BC, and especially to the LC IIC phase, between 1300–1200 BC. Because the material record of the 13th century BC is not only more abundant but manifestly richer and more diverse than that of the previous centuries, the settlement hierarchy discussed above, for example, in large part reflects this later stage. Moreover, in attempting to discuss the sociopolitical structure(s) of the ProBA, evidence from the 13th century BC should not be extrapolated directly back to the ProBA 1 period (1650–1400 BC). We need to be cautious in this regard because the dramatic 'urban' expansion of the 13th century BC could suggest another level of political change, what Peltenburg (1996: 28) viewed as a 'devolution of central authority, perhaps related to the increasing pre-eminence of Aegean traits in Cyprus'. As will become apparent, however, Peltenburg's view is not one to which I subscribe.

Citing evidence ranging from settlement patterns, architecture and iconography to mortuary practices and storage jar capacity, Keswani (1993, 1996) questions the existence of any single centralized authority on Cyprus at any stage of the ProBA. Enkomi, she notes, may have risen to prominence early but was later dwarfed by polities like Kition or Hala Sultan Tekke (Keswani 1996: 234). She maintains that society was heterarchical in organization, with several regional polities operating in tandem rather than separately. Each of these polities would have been responsible for the movement of goods and services between sites or regions. Viewed in terms of the organization of

copper production and the distribution of the town-centred metallurgical refining sites, Stech (1982: 103, 1985: 112–13) maintained, similarly, that there was no centralized authority directing the copper industry of the ProBA, and that different towns exercised either secular or 'religious' control over copper production and exchange. Smith (1994: 163–4, 314–15) has also concluded, based on her detailed study and analysis of seals, that ProBA 2–3 Cyprus comprised a series of 'complex chiefdoms' lacking administrative records and controls. On a more general level, South (2002: 65–8) also believes that the Late Cypriot polities were independently organized, of approximately equal size and complexity.

The competing factions envisioned elsewhere by Keswani (2004: 154–7) would have formed initially during the ProBA 1 period in order to gain access to resources in demand or to control routes of transport and trade critical to their own polities. Such independent polities, Keswani argues, would have been integrated through corporate alliances, sanctions, and tributary or gift relations. Alternatively they may have been maintained by a quasi-independent central authority and linked by market-oriented exchange. In terms of the production and transport of copper, Keswani (1993: 76) suggests that the mechanisms involved may have centred on politically organized exchange systems in which copper was mobilized as tribute by communities using either coercive or ideological sanctions. And, as noted above, Keswani (1996: 236–7; 2004: 154–5) distinguishes between those (mainly coastal) ProBA town centres founded in newly occupied territories (e.g. Enkomi, Toumba tou Skourou, Hala Sultan Tekke, and perhaps Kition) and those (mainly inland) centres established in areas that had long sequences of prior occupation (e.g. Maroni, Avios Dhimitrios, and Alassa). The former towns would have emerged as heterogeneous kin groups from other communities, near and far, and converged at a locale advantageous for exploiting foreign trade: in these centres Keswani envisions the presence of diverse and perhaps competing elite groups. The latter towns, in contrast, are seen to reflect the replacement of PreBA corporate identities by new urban identities and within-group competition, whose populations were drawn from a highly localized pool: in these centres Keswani sees a more centralized, singular elite that enjoyed high social prestige and had no political or economic peers.

In contrast, Merrillees (1992a) maintains that economic, not political elites dominated the government and administration of ProBA Cyprus, a view shared by Hadjisavvas (2002) albeit in a much more generalized form. Like Keswani, Merrillees denies any possibility of a unitary state, and suggests instead that various sectors of the island were dominated by autonomous settlements differentiated by size and wealth, both factors dictated by the level of a settlement's commercial activities. The differentiation Merrillees makes

between the economic and political sectors may well have had some basis in social reality. By assuming a close correlation between the economic and settlement systems (or settlement size), however, Merrillees fails to consider why one pattern—economic or political—should assume precedence over another. If local elites (proposed by both Keswani and Merrillees albeit in very distinctive ways) were involved in long-distance trade in different ways, or if entrepreneurial, foreign polities or professional merchants exercised a controlling interest in this trade (Manning and De Mita 1997: 107–8), we would expect to see functional, organizational, material, and size differences within the settlement system (Johnson 1977: 492–3). This holds true to a certain extent (see preceding section). The distinction Merrillees draws between economic and political elites, however, is problematic (cf. Knapp 1986a; 1994: 282–90). It is grounded more in an appeal for further data and less theory, and in scepticism over attempts to determine the geopolitical configuration of ProBA, than in any constructive analysis toward that end.

If there were a number of polities, or foreign merchants, that held sway in different phases of the ProBA, within different primary centres, we might also expect different politico-economic strategies to have provided alternative solutions to securing resources, creating surpluses and maintaining alliances. How such strategies and solutions might appear in the archaeological record is never made explicit by Keswani, Merrillees, or Manning and De Mita (see Hayden 2001: 254–65 and fig. 7.10 for several possibilities).

Adopting an 'archaic state model', Webb (1999: 305–8) contests Keswani's (and by implication Merrillees's and Smith's) argument, in particular the suggestion that no unified administrative complex—i.e. no coherent iconographic system or co-ordinated ceremonial practices—existed at any time during the ProBA period. Manning and De Mita (1997: 108–9) also maintain that there were no organized bureaucrats, no elite iconography, and no dominant ideology on ProBa Cyprus. Rather, entrepreneurial foreign merchants, 'aggrandisers' in their view, were the administrative 'master-minds' who organized production and distribution in each region. Webb (1999), however, points out several material indices of a common iconographic system as well as coherent ritual or ceremonial practices, from the 15th century BC onward: (1) Base-ring bull rhyta in mortuary contexts; (2) standardized female terracotta images in both settlement and mortuary contexts (see below, Gendered Representations); and (3) substantial commonalities in the style and content of seal iconography (14th–12th centuries BC), with specific motifs and 'deities' repeatedly depicted. Seals are highly mobile devices that often serve as mechanisms for organizational control in the kind of dispersed regional systems that typify the archaic state (see further below; Webb 1999: 307). Their common symbolic elements may also be related to centralized expressions of power and prestige. Webb envisions archaic state formation on ProBA Cyprus as having been somewhat abrupt, triggered by profit-motivated, entrepreneurial, long-distance trade in Cypriot copper and foreign exotic goods.

Focusing on the ProBA 1 period (c.1650–1450 BC), Peltenburg (1996: 27–37) also argues for the punctuated emergence at this time of a secondary state (i.e. modelled on other state systems that surrounded Cyprus). His argument engages the major discontinuities apparent in the archaeological record, in particular at Enkomi where the record for this earliest phase of the ProBA is most complete. Enkomi's large (600 sq m) 'Fortress' (for which see Figure 43, below), with its very early (Level IB) evidence for large-scale copper production (Dikaios 1969: 21-4), represents a major labour investment 'by a centralized authority intimately concerned with copper production' (Peltenburg 1996: 29; also Muhly 1989: 299). Crewe (2004: 281), however, questions Enkomi's primary role in exporting copper. Citing the extensive use of metal artefacts in north coast tombs, she suggests that copper was most likely exported from this region during the ProBA 1 era. Bolger (2003: 47) links monumental architecture, and particularly the Late Bronze Age 'Fortress' at Enkomi, to the rise of state-level society on Cyprus. Even Keswani (1996: 222) acknowledges the prominence of the Enkomi 'Fortress' and suggests that it may have been involved in 'a centralization of exchange transactions'. At least one mortuary deposit (Enkomi Tomb 1851, LC I in date) just outside the fortress contained evidence—a balance pan, a rock crystal weight, an 'exotic' ostrich egg—that directly relates the production of metals to luxury imports (Lagarce and Lagarce 1985: 8, 47-8).

Because the copper that Enkomi sought and on which its economic wellbeing relied had to be acquired from ore sources that lay up to 60 km inland, some sort of regional infrastructure (e.g. security network, communications, staging posts) would have been necessary to ensure the safe delivery of ores from the mining district to the final processing and transhipment point(s). In Peltenburg's (1996) view, this was achieved by a strategy of direct procurement from the hinterland, underpinned mainly by a network of forts established along the Alikos and Yialias River valleys. These forts would have maintained the security of the west-east route from the mines to Enkomi, and enforced the cooperation of local groups along that route. At the same time, the configuration of settlements in the countryside was reorganized 'by expansionary Enkomi' (Peltenburg 1996: 35) to mobilize specialized production, in particular agricultural surpluses used to support all the industrial specialists and personnel required to maintain this elaborate system. At the very least, we can say that from the early 16th century BC until the mid-14th century BC, when the Amarna letters from Alashiya document the existence of a single king on Cyprus, Enkomi offers solid evidence for uninterrupted and intensified copper production, and for the consumption and emulation of imported prestige goods from Egypt and the Levant (Keswani 1989c; Knapp 1998; Peltenburg 1996: 35–6).

Beyond Enkomi, excavations at other major sites—Hala Sultan Tekke *Vyzakia*, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, Episkopi *Bamboula*, Kouklia *Palaeopahos*, Alassa *Paleotaverna*, and Maroni *Vournes*—have revealed limited exposures of ProBA 1 settlement levels as well as numerous ProBA 1 tombs. At Episkopi *Bamboula*, for example, there are several tombs from the LC I period (Benson 1972: 5), as well as architectural traces of LC IA occupation (Weinberg 1983: 4–5, 52–3); a walled settlement probably existed here throughout the ProBA. At *Toumba tou Skourou*, founded in MC III (based on tomb evidence), the earliest phases of the settlement are represented by a large terrace or retaining wall and a series of successive earth-stamped floors (LC IA), followed by a set of brick and clay floors covered by patches of lime plaster (LC IB) (Vermeule and Wolsky 1990: 9, 23–9). Eriksson (2001: 55) reports briefly on the Proto White Slip and White Slip I wares from *Toumba tou Skourou*, confirming the relative dates proposed.

At Kouklia *Palaepaphos*, any ProBA settlement evidence has been obscured by multiple constructions of later historical periods. The area around Kouklia, however, has revealed evidence of MC tombs and settlement (Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 46–7; Rupp *et al.* 1992: 290; Sorensen and Rupp 1993: 6–7) and there are several tombs with LC I–II material (Catling 1979b; Maier and von Wartburg 1985: 146–8; Åström 2001a). At Hala Sultan Tekke, some trial trenches made in 1972 (Åström 1989: 49–50), followed up by fuller excavations in 1999 (Åström and Nys 2001), revealed abundant ProBA 1 sherds, including Proto White Slip and Bichrome Wheel-made wares and Canaanite jar fragments (Åström 2001a: 50). Over the years, the excavator has reported three (plundered) LC I–II chamber tombs (Åström *et al.* 1983: 145–54) and some LC II walls (Åström 1986: 15) contemporary with the earliest deposits containing copper (Åström 1982: 177). Åström and Nys (2001: 61) concluded that the abundant, mixed MC III and LC I material (from trenches 15 and 15A) indicates a ProBA 1 settlement at Hala Sultan Tekke.

At the two (primary) sites proposed by Goren *et al.* (2003) as the possible political centre of *Alashiya* during the 13th century BC, there is also clear evidence of earlier occupation. From Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, South (1997) reports good stratigraphic and architectural sequences beneath and west of Building X, extending back to LC IIA:2 (beginning *c.*1400 BC), when two tombs (11, 13) also were in use. Both tomb and settlement evidence reveal PreBA (EC–MC) occupation in the Vasilikos Valley where *Ayios Dhimitrios* is situated (Karageorghis 1958; Todd 1985, 1988; 1993). At least ten further sites

have produced LC IA pottery, most prominently in tombs from the cemetery at Kalavasos village (Pearlman 1985; South and Steel 2001: 65–6). At Alassa, the earliest tombs (*Pano Mandilares*) are dated to LC IB and LC IIB, whilst the foundations of the large ashlar structure, Building II (*Paleotaverna*), were laid in LC II (Hadjisavvas 1991: 174, table 17.1; 1994: 110). At Kition, ProBA 1 remains are extremely limited but there are PreBA tombs and at least one LC IIB tomb that may indicate some level of ProBA 1 occupation in and around this site (Karageorghis 1974).

The widest range of evidence comes from Maroni, where two ProBA 1 tombs have been excavated at the location *Kapsaloudhia* (Herscher 1984), and where several other tombs from LC I–IIB (into the 14th century BC) are attested throughout the lower Maroni valley (Johnson 1980; Manning 1998a: 42; Manning and Monks 1998). At Maroni *Vournes*, LC IA walls, floor levels and pottery (including Proto-White Slip and imported Late Minoan IA and Levantine Middle Bronze IIC sherds) have been excavated (Cadogan 1992: 51–53; Cadogan *et al.* 2001: 77–81). Near Maroni *Tsaroukkas*, a range of very early LC wares as well as late Middle Bronze Canaanite storage jars were recovered from an offshore seabed deposit (Manning *et al.* 2002).

With the exception of Maroni *Vournes*, whose long habitational (especially pottery) sequence led its excavator to suggest that it was 'a leading settlement of Late Cypriote I' (Cadogan *et al.* 2001: 77), the limited material remains from early levels at most ProBA town centres make it quite difficult to assess their possible political or economic relationships to Enkomi. For the same reason, we cannot state unequivocally that Enkomi was the primary town centre of the ProBA 1 period.

In addition to these primary, largely coastal centres of the ProBA, several inland settlements, sanctuaries, 'fortifications', and production sites also have evidence for occupation during ProBA 1. At Kalopsidha, situated in the *Mesaoria* some 10 km southeast of Enkomi, the locality at *Koufos* (Åström 1966) and at least two structures at *Tsaoudhi Çiftlik* (Gjerstad 1926: 27–7; Åström 2001b), demonstrate occupation during ProBA 1. Pottery from Trench 9 at Kalopsidha *Koufos* indicates that people continued to live here at least throughout LC IIA (Åström 1966: 142). The faunal, ceramic, and archaeometallurgical material from Trench 9, as well as the spatial situation of *Koufos*, may indicate that it was a sanctuary site (Webb 1999: 113–16). Some 25 km southwest of Kalopsidha lay Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*, a settlement and sanctuary site (sanctuary only in Stratum III/LC II—Webb 1999: 29, 285). Some patchy evidence from shallow pits (Stratum IV) provides ceramic indicators of ProBA 1 occupation (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983: 139).

Three sites near the base of the Karpas peninsula, Phlamoudhi *Melissa* and *Vounari* on the north side of the Kyrenia range (Al Radi 1983; Smith n.d.) and

Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: 355–61, plan XIII) on the south, also contain indisputable evidence for ProBA 1 occupation or use. The function of these sites is a matter of debate: Symeonologlou (1975) and Al-Radi (1983) consider Phlamoudhi *Vounari* to be a sanctuary site whilst Webb (1999: 135–40; following Catling 1962: 168) suggests that it may have had a defensive function. The remains from *Melissa*—some five km to the southwest—are unpublished but almost certainly represent a settlement. The main site at *Dhima* (on the second, LC I deposit nearby, see Hult 1992: 42–3) has always been regarded as a rural sanctuary (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934; Wright 1992b: 269–70, fig. 1; Knapp 1996b: 88). Webb (1999: 29–35, fig. 6), however, felt that it had a much more limited use, albeit also ceremonial or mortuary in nature.

There is no debate over the ceremonial ('sanctuary') nature of Myrtou *Pigadhes*, located in northwest Cyprus just south of the westernmost edge of the Kyrenia range. Some limited remains of the earlist periods (I and II) at *Pigadhes*—pottery, a single wall, some pits and floor deposits—are dated to ProBA 1 (Du Plat Taylor 1957: 4–7). About 10 km west of Myrtou near the village of Ayia Irini lay a group of ProBA 1 settlement sites (Catling 1962: 161) and a LC I cemetery, at the locality *Paleokastro* (Pecorella 1973, 1977). At least one copper smelting site, Politiko *Phorades* (Knapp *et al.* 2001, n.d.), and one (White Slip) pottery production site, Sanidha *Moutti tou Ayiou Serkou* (Todd 2000; Todd and Pilides 2001) are dated to the ProBA 1 period, *Phorades* exclusively so. Finally, a series of fortresses—including Korovia *Nitovikla* (Hult 1992), Ayios Sozomenos *Glyka Vrysis Nikolidhes* (Gjerstad 1926: 37–47) and Dhali *Kaflallia* (Overbeck and Swiny 1972)—also date to the ProBA 1 period.

As we have seen, these fortified sites along the northern flanks of the Troodos and southern flanks of the Kyrenia ranges may have beeen established by Enkomi as part of a security system designed to procure copper and to prevent north coast sites from doing so (Peltenburg 1996). Crewe (2004: 131–4) argues that the distribution of the forts may signal a series of regional responses to both external and internal pressures, which at once strengthened older regional ties and helped to establish solidarity with the new, mainly coastal town centres. Crewe's interpretation thus supports her wider thesis that no single site (i.e. Enkomi) established centralized control over the island's production and distribution system(s) during ProBA 1. Whilst various architectural similarities between the LCI fortresses at Enkomi and Ayios Sozomenos *Glyka Vrysis Nikolidhes* offer some support for Peltenburg's argument, none of the fortresses along the southern Kyrenia range has ever been excavated, so there is no real evidence to link them with Enkomi as opposed to the sites around *Toumba tou Skourou* or Ayia Irini near the west coast (Keswani and Knapp 2002: 219).

On the basis of the archaeological record of ProBA sites as it exists today, most scholars have concluded that, during the 17th–16th centuries BC, a

single pre-eminent polity emerged at the site of Enkomi on the harbour-rich east coast of Cyprus, ideally situated for foreign trade with the Levant and Egypt, Based on an extensive reanalysis of handmade and wheelmade wares from Enkomi, the eastern *Mesaoria* and the Karpas peninsula, as well as imports into those areas, Crewe (2004: 271-83) accepts that, during the ProBA 1 period, Enkomi may have served as a 'gateway' town for exports to and imports from the Levant and Egypt. The intricate pottery analyses she conducted, however, led her to suggest that Enkomi could not have served as a unifying force on the island before the LC II period, i.e. after about 1450 BC. She thus proposes a political situation best characterized as heterarchical (like Keswani 1996) or perhaps more in line with Renfrew and Cherry's (1986) peer polity interaction model. Crewe's thesis takes a minimalist approach, and calls into question most earlier viewpoints—not just on Enkomi's importance in the transformations that characterized the ProBA 1 era, but also on matters ranging from the emergence of social complexity, to state formation, to the importance of copper production (especially at Enkomi). Her close reliance on pottery—its production, distribution, classification, and analysis—to reach conclusions about social organization at times places more weight on the ceramic evidence than it can bear, and leads to a softer focus on other relevant aspects of the material record.

All of this evidence, along with Crewe's crucially important study of materials from ProBA 1 Enkomi, makes it uncertain whether Enkomi's authority or influence extended to the entire island at this time. Yet it is clear that whoever controlled the polity centred at Enkomi was instrumental in developing foreign trade during ProBA 1, and played a key—even if not exclusive—role in the intensified mining, transport, refining, and export of Cypriot copper. When we move beyond the body of evidence utilized by Crewe, however, a different picture of Enkomi emerges. Webb (2002b: 140), for example, points out that with its more than 200 cylinder seals and many more stamp and signet rings, Enkomi has the only substantial claim to being a centre of glyptic production throughout the ProBA. Such seals and symbols, as mobile devices produced by specialists and distributed by central authorities, would have served as mechanisms for (centralized or regionally-based) ideological and organizational control (Webb 2002b: 139). Elites at Enkomi thus not only dominated the local production and overseas distribution of copper, they also had direct access to foreign markets, merchants, and the luxury goods that began to trickle into the island at this time. Such direct interactions with exotic polities, factions, communities, or individuals in the Levant and Egypt would have helped to legitimize and enhance elite positions of power (Knapp 1998, 2006) and to establish a distinctive new identity for the island's elite(s).

By the 14th-13th centuries BC (ProBA 2), the existing geopolitical configuration had changed, although the details of this change are widely debated (Merrillees 1986a; 1992a; Wachsmann 1986; Keswani 1993, 1996; Knapp 1994: 290-3; Webb 1999; 2002b; Negbi 2005). Most specialists involved in the study of ProBA Cyprus seem to agree that even if Enkomi once held preeminent status, its dominance finally gave way (by the 13th century BC at the latest) to a series of local polities administered by elites who had gained control over regional copper production and distribution. In this scenario, the unprecedented urban flourishing of the 13th century BC (LC IIC) is seen to reflect widespread political fragmentation, and the disappearance of centralized rule (Muhly 1989: 301-3; Peltenburg 1996: 28, 36; Knapp 1997b: 66-8). In turn, regional elites are thought to have mobilized agricultural goods and surpluses to support industrial, artistic, and other specialists, and to have commanded other material and symbolic resources (Webb 2005). Others, as we have seen, interpret the archaeological record of the entire ProBA as one that reflects a number of heterarchical or peer polities (Keswani 1996; Manning and De Mita 1997; South 2002; Crewe 2004). Bolger (2003: 194) likewise concluded that '[no] single authority ever managed to exercise control over the entire island at any time during the LBA [Late Bronze Age]'.

An alternative to all these positions has arisen from an entirely unexpected source. Based on the results of petrographic and chemical analyses of the Amarna letters from Alashiya and another letter sent from the king of Alashiya to the king of Ugarit, all written in Akkadian (the diplomatic language of the day), Goren et al. (2003; 2004: 48-75) maintain that either Alassa Paleotaverna or Kalavasos Ayios Dhimitrios must have become the political and administrative centre of Alashiya (Cyprus) during the 14th–13th centuries BC. Moreover, recently published cuneiform documents from Ugarit pertaining to Alashiya (Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995: 445; Malbran-Labat 1999) show that high-level, royal, and diplomatic exchanges between the political centres of the eastern Mediterranan, already known from the Amarna correspondence of the mid-14th century BC, continued into the late thirteenth century BC. Unless centralized rule broke down at the beginning of the 13th century BC only to re-emerge at its end, the new documentary evidence from Ugarit seems compelling and clear, and likewise challenges the existing interpretations of the situation on ProBA 2 Cyprus, As Goren et al. (2003: 252) propose, we must now reconsider the prevailing view of political fragmentation on 13th century BC Cyprus. It may be that the king of Alashiya headed a number of competing regional factions or a 'federation' of independent polities during the 14th-13th centuries BC, or it may be that the reading from the material record of regional, heterarchically organized polities is incorrect or exaggerated. In Chapter 6, I address all these new strains of evidence, reassess fully the entire corpus of relevant documentary evidence pertaining to *Alashiya*, and offer a new interpretation of the geopolitical configuration of 14th to 13th-century-BC Cyprus in its eastern Mediterranean context.

## Seals, Sealings, and Socio-political Organization

We remain less clear about the organizational strategies that coordinated society and polity on ProBA Cyprus, and facilitated the production, distribution, and consumption of resources amongst the island's people. Seals and a very limited number of sealings, however, offer a way of looking into possible mechanisms of socio-political organization and ideology (Webb 1992a, 1999, 2002b; Smith 1994). Even though nearly 1000 cylinder and stamp seals are known from the ProBA (16th–12th centuries BC), the only impression from a locally engraved stone seal ever found on Cyprus derives from a LC IIC/IIIA floor construction level in the 'Ashlar Building' at Enkomi (Webb 1992a: 114; 2002b: 126–7). A clay sealing originally discovered late in the 19th century at Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi* (Ohnefalsch-Richter 1893: 439, plate CXXVIII.5) and impressed with a 'mistress of animals' scene, cannot now be located (Smith 1994: 167, 169 fig. 32).

Given their importance in organizational and administrative practices elsewhere in the Bronze Age Aegean and western Asia (e.g. Collon 1997; Palaima 1990; Teisseir 1996; Krzyszkowska 2005), the virtual absence of sealings on Cyprus may seem, *prima facie*, difficult to explain. Yet Cyprus repeatedly fails to conform to expectations derived from Aegean or Near Eastern archaeology (see Chapter 3: *Archaeological Constructions*). Moreover, although seals began to appear on Cyprus in the latest phase of the Chalcolithic, scarcely any are attested during the PreBA. The use of cylinder seals was only introduced to the island at the outset of the ProBA (late 17th century BC) in the form of isolated imports (Webb 2002b: 113), with local manufacture commencing soon thereafter.

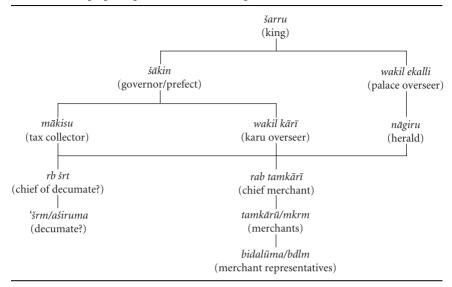
Seals of all classes were small, durable, very mobile items of material culture that had high intrinsic value and symbolic purchase. Cylinder and stamp seals alike were commonly used as votives or amulets and as personal ornamentation; equally they could be used as markers of status or identity, and for administrative control over production and storage, especially toward the end of ProBA 2 (Webb 1992a: 117, nn. 19–21; Knapp 1986b: 37–42; Smith 2002a: 10–16). Smith's (1994) overall analysis of seal use, sealings and Cypro-Minoan inscriptions shows a great deal of variation between sites, and offers some support for the notion of decentralized, regional polities during the ProBA 2 period.

Webb has argued persuasively and repeatedly (1999: 243–7, 262–81; 2002b; 2005) for elite control over the production and distribution of these seals, and in turn for their use as symbolically charged devices intended to establish, sanction, and maintain ideological ('religious') authority (also Graziadio 2003: 61–3). Smith (2003: 292–3), however, maintains that the production, distribution, and use of the more elaborate, 'international style' Cypriot seals (made on Cyprus) were associated primarily with widely travelled merchants and traders rather than with the elites ('bureaucrats') who may have controlled at least some of their activities. Similarly, Manning and De Mita (1997: 108–9) suggested that independent foreign merchants provided the organizational force behind production and distribution in each region.

Ugarit's merchant houses were singled out by Smith for comparison, and to substantiate her argument. The situation at Ugarit, with which Cyprus had extensive exchange relations throughout the Late Bronze Age, cannot resolve the issue of who dominated trade in Cyprus (or who controlled the manufacture and use of seals). Nonetheless, cuneiform documentary evidence from this Levantine coastal site, especially in relation to trade, is rich and informative. Several early studies of Ugarit's documentary sources focused on the issue of trader-state relations there (most importantly Liverani 1962; Rainey 1963; Astour 1972; Heltzer 1982, 1999). Moreover, at least two recent Ph.D. theses have tackled that issue in part (e.g. Monroe 2000; Schloen 2001). Elsewhere I synthesized and discussed some of this literature (Knapp 1991: 48–9; Knapp and Cherry 1994: 135–7). Like all Bronze Age palatial institutions, that of Ugarit was complex and multi-layered. Economic transactions at Ugarit were not conducted by the ruler, but rather were overseen by officials such as the šākin ('governor') or wakil ekalli ('palace overseer'), under whom were other officebearers, including the rab tamkārī ('chief merchant') and a series of other merchants (tamkārū, tamkārū ša mandatti, tamkār ša šepīsu, tamkār ša šarrat *Ugarit*), merchant representatives (*bdlm*) or merchant groups (*aširuma*).

One possible scheme of this bureaucratic hierarchy is presented by Monroe (2000: 202, fig. 5.1, 178–223) (Table 4), who also provides a sober discussion of the diverse cuneiform sources. All this evidence indicates that some merchants at Ugarit (e.g. Sinaranu, Rašap-abu, Rapanu) played multiple roles within the politico-economic system, sometimes serving under palatial contract or scrutiny, at other times operating on what appears to be an entrepreneurial basis. The king at Ugarit, for his part, never attempted to control the variety of trade activities conducted by these merchants, but certainly sought to realize profits from that trade, and at times seems to have depended on services provided by entrepreneurial (but palace-linked) traders. At least some of the wealthier merchants of Ugarit, in particular a group called the *mzrģlm*, were members of the formidable (military) elite class, *maryannū* (Astour 1972). In the case of Ugarit, then, we have an exception

Table 4. Managing Long Distance Trade at Ugarit



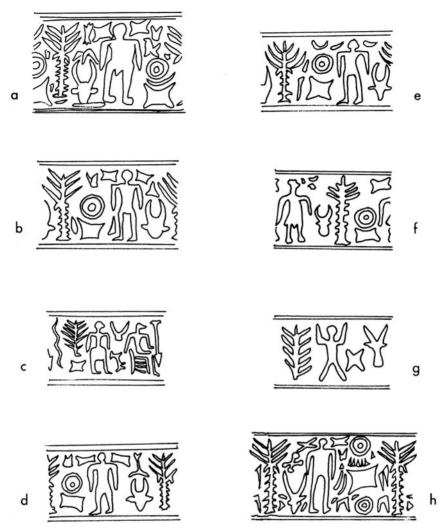
to the belief that merchants and traders in many prehistoric or protohistoric societies 'were usually not of high status' (Manning and Hulin 2005: 271; Trigger 2003: 349–50). Certainly some of Ugarit's merchants were, as Smith argued, directly involved in administering their own trading activities. It is impossible, however, to state whether they, their scribal assistants, or the palatial officials who oversaw them all were responsible for producing the tablets and associated seals and sealings related to the multiple and diverse exchange relations that characterized Ugarit's palatial elite. Even less are we able to project such an intricate web of economic activities and socio-political relationships onto the situation in Cyprus.

Adopting an explicitly socio-political perspective, Webb (1992a: 118–19; 2002b: 117–26, 135–8) has reassessed and 'streamlined' the detailed stylistic, iconographically based groupings of ProBA cylinder seals (Porada 1948; Smith 2003: 294) into Elaborate, Derivative, and Common styles. As the names suggest, the finest, more intricate and individualizing engraving was done on Elaborate style seals (made of hematite), whilst more schematic and recurrent compositions were made predominantly on Derivative and Common style seals (made of chlorite or other, softer stones). The iconography of both Elaborate style (sphinxes, lions, and griffins, attending winged or double-headed deities) and Derivative style seals (lions, griffins, or caprids either held on a leash by heroic and semi-divine figures or engaged in ritual performances) is entirely foreign in derivation but not necessarily unrelated to indigenous ideological and political constructs. Almost certainly such seals

were linked to social controls over the acquisition and consumption of other foreign and prestige goods, and to elite socio-political alliances both within and beyond the island (Webb 2002b: 137). Graziadio (2003: 63) argues that those Elaborate and Derivative style seals depicting (oxhide) ingots made explicit the social rank and role of their owners within the metallurgical production system (Figure 26). The iconography of the Common style seals (schematic human figures and real animals such as bulls or snakes in cultic or similar compositions) also seems ideologically charged and related to social power, but more in acknowledging authority or representing management, in particular that of the copper industry. Graziadio (2003: 63) suggests that individuals of lower social rank may have commissioned such seals. The repeated appearance of a human figure, bucranium, (copper) ingots and a stylized palm tree on these Common style seals most likely served to mark the ideological basis of elite authority, by accentuating links between copper production, human labour, and 'divine' authority (Knapp 1986b: 37–42; Webb 1992a: 118–19).

Elaborate style seals were carved by highly skilled specialists, almost certainly attached to elite organizations or institutions. They may have been acquired through long-distance exchange mechanisms. Derivative and Common style seals, on the other hand, were clearly produced locally, perhaps under elite sponsorship but by less specialized or less experienced artisans (Webb 2002b: 134). The images that appear on Elaborate style seals (divine beings, mythical animals) seem to be based on and derive their authority from the suprahuman world. In contrast, the images on Derivative (heroic figures and dependent animals) and Common style seals (humans and animals, cult symbols, talismanic and apotropaic motifs) are based in the real world and are associated with human authority and ritual performance (Webb 2002b: 135–6).

Given the prominence of Aegeanizing elements on some seals, it is instructive to consider them alongside Aegean pottery or metal imports, and the Aegean-style motifs seen on locally-made pottery (White Painted Wheelmade III ware) (Karageorghis 1990: 27), what Sherratt (1992: 323) terms 'luxury import substitution'. Webb and Frankel (1994: 19–20) regard the adoption of such elements as 'a deliberate act of self-definition, designed to proclaim and maintain the economic and organizational preeminence of elite groups within a highly stratified society'. Such decisive symbols of solidarity within a social group often appear in conditions of regional competition, and serve to create bonds between leaders and followers (Brumfiel 1994b: 11). The deliberate use of Aegean elements in the iconography of at least some Cypriot elites, and an elite monopoly over imported Aegean pottery and other prestige goods, would have served as a strategy to enhance and consolidate political authority, to symbolize elite identity, and perhaps also to establish interregional political alliances. As Webb (2005: 180) has so usefully summarized:



**Figure 26:** Protohistoric Bronze Age cylinder seal impressions from various sites depicting oxhide ingots. Original drawings by Christina Sumner; re-drawn by Luke Sollars (after A. Bernard Knapp 1986b: 38–9, table 2).

a = Kourion; b–e = Enkomi; f–g = Nicosia Ayia Paraskevi; h = Hala Sultan Tekke Vyzakia Tomb 1.41.

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 legitimisation and negotiation were directed to lesserand non-elites to secure their compliance in the mobilisation of labour and to provide authority for the allocation and redistribution of surplus production.

In order to consider more fully how all these mechanisms may have worked, and how they might be represented in the archaeological record, the next section (*Production and Exchange*) treats explicitly factors of production and exchange, within and beyond the island.

## Socio-political Organization and Identity

Seals and sealings provide conspicuous material markers of identity during the ProBA. The overwhelming prominence of cylinder seals as well as stamp and signet rings at ProBA 1 Enkomi points to a centralized, elite authority and close interactions with overseas polities and individuals. At the same time, these seals and rings symbolize a distinctively new, elite island identity. Elaborate style seals were manufactured in limited numbers and within restricted spheres of exchange; most likely they marked out certain elites and were used for specific transactions. Cypriot elites involved in wider economic exchanges or linked to overseas political alliances, especially with the Aegean realm, during ProBA 2 may have used the Aegeanizing seals to signal their identity. The Derivative and Common style seals, in contrast, are less distinctive and would have been used for more generalized transactions. Webb (2002b: 135) suggests that they may have functioned as institutional or corporate seals to signify group identity or affiliation. Alternatively, I believe we might consider the Elaborate style seals and those that displayed Aegean iconography as 'white-collar exotica' linked to managerial elites who manipulated these items in order to enhance their authority, establish their identity and increase their own prestige within and beyond ProBA society. The Common style seals, conversely, would have served as 'blue-collar icons', identity markers for the labourers and producers in ProBA society (Knapp 1986b: 80).

The elites involved, whether a single dominant lineage or their more diverse regional counterparts, were widely and intensively engaged in establishing new mechanisms and ideological sanctions that would have solidified their authority, promulgated their identity, motivated trade, and ensured compliance amongst the various sectors involved in the mining, smelting, and transport of copper. Certain types of seals and specific iconographic images linked to different social groups suggest that these objects served as identity markers, in part to meet the economic needs of elites and to help structure the

social organization dictated by them, and in part to facilitate the cooperation of, if not control over other social groups. In other words, these elites sought to integrate society more closely than in the past, to resolve ambiguities (especially in the case of regional or federated, perhaps socially or economically unequal polities), and to restructure social relationships in a manner that clarified their identity beyond doubt and helped to perpetuate their rule.

### PRODUCTION AND EXCHANGE

During the ProBA, and especialy within the centuries between 1500–1200 BC, archaeological data from the Aegean and the eastern Mediterranean demonstrate a quantum leap in the production and trade of a very diverse range of goods. These include Cypriot and Aegean pottery, and Canaanite storage jars; copper oxhide ingots and metal goods of all kinds; glass products; more rare, luxury items made of ivory, gold, amber, and faience; and all manner of organic goods. Concerning the last, the excavation of the Uluburun shipwreck alone produced the remains of coriander, caper, safflower, fig and pomegranite seeds; olive pits; cereal grains; almond shells; and terebinth resin (Haldane 1990, 1993). Such organic products formed part of a largely invisible trade in resins, oils, fibres, wine, and other foodstuffs, the demand for which helped to fuel the subsistence economies of Cyprus and other eastern Mediterranean polities (Knapp 1991; Ward 2001; Palmer 2003). The type and quantity of traded goods available may have fluctuated as new opportunities or distinctive products presented themselves. This burgeoning, international system of Late Bronze Age trade brought prestige goods to ruling elites, raw materials to craftspeople, and food supplies and basic products to rural peasants and producers. Even if powerful elites controlled local economies, the dynamics of production, distribution and consumption freed up resources for entrepreneurial or individual enterprise within a political economy that was less rigidly structured.

The notable increase in interactions amongst both Near Eastern and Aegean state-level polities also embraced Cyprus. Already during the ProBA 1 period, new social groups began to define themselves through displays of elaborate military equipment, in particular the use of metal weapons—e.g. bronze 'warrior' belts and bronze socketed axeheads, both common in Levantine burials—found in mortuary deposits at Dhali *Kafkallia*, Politiko *Chomazoudhia*, Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi*, Klavdhia *Trimithios*, Kazaphani *Ayios Andronikos*, Ayios Iakovos *Melia* and elsewhere (Overbeck and Swiny 1972: 7–24; Masson 1976: 153–7; Keswani 2004: 80, 121–4). Such bronzes may have been produced locally but they were clearly inspired by Near Eastern

prototypes (Philip 1991: 78–83). Equid burials from Politiko *Chomazoudhia* Tomb 3 (Buchholz 1973), Kalopsidha Tomb 9 and Lapithos Tomb 322B may also reflect the impact of Levantine and Near Eastern ideas and ideologies (Keswani 2004: 80). Syrian and Old Babylonian cylinder seals, imported faience ornaments, and various other exotic items (worked bone and ivory, ostrich eggs, gold jewellery and other precious metal objects, semi-precious stones) that first appear during the ProBA 1 period (Courtois 1986; Merrillees 1989; Keswani 2004: 136) certainly served as important markers of status, exotica that would have been used to negotiate new island identities.

By the ProBA 2 period, Cypriot elites began to wear or display imported ivory, gold, and faience objects, and to use ceremonial *rhyta* acquired from or imitating those of their Near Eastern and Aegean counterparts. An Akkadian document (Kbo I 26) from 14th or 13th century BC Hattusha (Boğazköy) in Anatolia lists several items, including fine golden utensils and *rhyta*, that were somehow exchanged between Cyprus and the Hittite court (Knapp 1980; Beckman in Knapp 1996a: 29). These items might well have been used by Cypriot elites as a means to identify themselves and to legitimize their social roles. The relationship between craft specialists manufacturing luxury goods and emergent elites is well documented, and reflects a conscious strategy to enhance one's status and affirm one's authority (Brumfiel and Earle 1987; Peregrine 1991; Costin and Wright 1998). During the ProBA 2 period, a veritable wealth of rare and imported goods and materials exhibits exclusive, exotic iconographies, and serves to illustrate the types of craft specialization promoted by elites (Steel 2004a: 165, with further references).

The 'cosmic symbolism' of several gold, metal, stone and glyptic items from Enkomi, decorated with sphinxes, real animal motifs, hieroglyphic signs and other images, as well as the intricate iconography of several carved ivory objects, suggest 'a closer identification with, or a more sophisticated manipulation of the Near Eastern ideology of kingship and political legitimacy' (Keswani 1989c: 69-70). The elites of the ProBA adapted and assimilated many aspects of foreign technologies and iconography, and the hybridization of local and imported motifs and symbolism forms a striking aspect of the contemporary material culture repertoire. This is particularly the case with the imagery portrayed on ivories, faience vessels, and cylinder seals (Steel 2004a: 169). The changing iconography and design of several Cypriot artefacts, closely related to those seen on imported prestige goods, have been associated with the actual presence of Near Eastern or Aegean craftspeople. Alternatively, they have been attributed to invaders and migrating groups such as the Lycians, Hittites, or 'Sea Peoples'. Keswani (1989c: 70) demures, and argues that more fundamental politico-ideological transformations were at work, characterized by foreign representations of power and authority. Various artistic, iconographic, and architectural elements of Near Eastern, Egyptian and Aegean political systems and 'religious cosmologies' were incorporated and adapted into Cypriot symbolic and ideological systems (Keswani 2004: 136–139, 157). These items and elements served both to legitimize new power differentials within Cypriot society and to mark out and establish the social identity of the ruling elite.

From a very different perspective but one that also links luxury items with social power, Feldman (2002, 2006) has reassessed comprehensively the meaning and relevance of a small number of prestige goods from Ugarit. Made of ivory, alabaster, gold, and faience, these items share hybrid motifs and compositional devices, and arguably served as symbolic resources that helped to establish the identity and enhance the status of royal elites throughout western Asia and the Levant, as well as on Cyprus and in the Aegean. Feldman has redefined the 'International Style' of a commonly shared repertoire of motifs found on luxury goods throughout this region (e.g. Kantor 1947; Vercoutter 1956; Smith 1965; Poursat 1977; Crowley 1989). She perceives the International Style as 'a more narrowly bounded visual expression of specific cultural circumstances that coexisted with other artistic modes' (Feldman 2002: 7; cf. 2006: 29-31). Some of the gold, ivory, and alabaster items that Feldman analyses share certain designs and motifs with those presented by Keswani and discussed by Steel. Feldman, however, isolates two basic thematic categories: (1) combative themes represented by lions, griffins, sphinxes, and bulls, all in states of extreme motion; and (2) heraldic themes with more orderly renderings of goats, bulls, leonine creatures, and palmettes, rosettes or other flowers. In Feldman's (2002: 17–23) scheme, the combative themes reflect martial prowess whilst the heraldic scenes represent fertility and prosperity under divine auspices. Both themes resonate deeply with an iconography based on the ancient Near Eastern concept of kingship, in both its military and protective aspects.

In discussing the International Style luxury items from Ugarit, Feldman cites several ivory objects or faience pieces from Cyprus that share similar themes and compositions. A polychrome faience vessel from Kition *Bamboula*, for example, depicts hunting scenes with lions and gazelles (?) on the shoulder and goats flanking a series of voluted palmettes on the body (Yon and Caubet 1985: figs. 33, 35). The frequently illustrated LC IIC faience conical *rhyton* from Kition *Chrysopolitissa* (Figure 27) is decorated with hunting scenes, bulls, a goat, stylized flowers, and two hunters with short kilts and tassled headdresses (Peltenburg 1974: 116–26, pl. XCIV). The combination of Aegean, Egyptian, and 'Orientalizing' motifs distinctively marks this vessel as belonging to the International Style. A ProBA 3 (LC IIIA) ivory gaming board from British Tomb 58 at Enkomi (Figure 28) portrays various horned and hoofed animals, in flying gallop, fleeing before a chariot holding an archer, as well as a large bull with



**Figure 27:** Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 faience conical *rhyton* from Kition.

lowered horns facing the chariot (Murray *et al.* 1900: 12–14, pl. I). Feldman compares the bull and the vignette of a hunter spearing a charging lion on this ivory piece with similar details on a gold offering plate from Ugarit (Schaeffer 1949: 5, pls. II–V, VIII; Feldman 2006: 65 and pl. 8). The Enkomi ivory thus reveals not only direct iconographic links to luxury items from Ugarit, but also to the wider eastern Mediterranean sphere of luxury goods.

Once again, Enkomi looms large in any consideration of exchange activities during the ProBA. Moreover, based on multiple quantitative and contextual analyses of Mycenaean and Cypriot pottery found in the ProBA 2 Levant, Bell (2005: 366, 368) concludes that Enkomi was one of the principal Cypriot gateways for Aegean wares travelling to the Levant, in particular to Ugarit. In addition to Enkomi, however, other ProBA port towns such as Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström 1986, 2000), Maroni *Tsaroukkas* (Manning and De Mita 1997; Manning 1998a; Manning *et al.* 2002) and Kition (Karageorghis and Demas 1985) were intimately involved in trade and prospered as their populations



Figure 28: Protohistoric Bronze Age 3 relief-carved ivory gaming box from Enkomi, British Tomb 58.

grew. Cuneiform letters sent from *Alashiya* to the Egyptian pharaoh and to the king of Ugarit (see Chapter 6) indicate that the ruler of Cyprus regulated and exercised firm control over the production and trade in copper (Knapp 1996a: 21–4).

Alongside these specialized developments in urbanization, metallurgical production, and international trade, Cyprus's mixed farming economy also underwent changes, particularly with respect to storage. Extensive, centralized storage facilities at Ayios Dhimitrios, for example, include some fifty massive, terracotta pithoi that would have held up to 50,000 kilos of olive oil (Keswani 1992). At Maroni Vournes, the massively built (30 by 20 m) Ashlar Building contained an olive press with several large pithoi and stands for others, as well as two rooms at the rear of the structure with stone drains built into the wall and designed to move liquids from the inside out (Cadogan 1986: 16–17). At Alassa Pano Mandilares, the courtyards of several habitation units contained pits that were likely used as receptacles for storage pithoi or basins (Hadjisavvas 1996: 25). In the upper part of the same settlement, at Alassa *Paleotaverna*, a spacious storage area in the northern sector of the large, 1600 sq m Ashlar Building II contained the remnants of at least 16 enormous pithoi and stone bases for pithoi (Hadjisavvas 2001b: 212) (see Figures 41a, b below), as well as a storage cellar—between the north wall and the verticallycut bedrock—with four more pithoi on stone bases. To the east of Building II, quantities of pithos fragments from Building III—as well as a long narrow room typical of storage magazines in its northern sector—suggest that this structure served as a storage facility (an annex to Building II?), although it also contained an olive oil (or grape-crushing?) press (Steel 2003-4: 97). Partly on the basis of these extensive storage areas, Hadiisayyas (1989: 40–1; 2000: 676-7; 2001a: 62) has interpreted Building II as the town's administrative centre. The striking presence of *pithos* sherds documented through survey work at agricultural support villages such as Analiondas Paleoklichia or Aredhiou Vouppes (Webb and Frankel 1994; Knapp 2003: 572–3) has already been noted. More than 50 impressed pithos sherds are known from Alassa Paleotaverna (see below), with 38 more sherds attested at eight other sites (Hadjisavvas 2001a: 61; 2001b: 213). Such impressions not only provide evidence of elite storage, they also point to the likely transport of grain or olive oil between production sites and consumption centres, and may have served to identify the contents of the pithoi (Smith 1994: 282-9), if not the identity of those involved in such transactions.

Subsistence production on ProBA Cyprus has been discussed at length and with full documentation elsewhere (Knapp 1994: 283–7 and fig. 9.5), but the still limited nature of the evidence means that only provisional conclusions may be drawn. The faunal and palaeobotanical records are less dramatic than

the evidence for storage facilities, and reveal no components or strategies inconsistent with an agro-pastoral economy. The concentration of population in the new town centres of the ProBA must have required an intensification in both crop production and animal exploitation. The faunal record, however, reveals only that sheep and goat predominated, whilst domesticated cattle were kept at several different sites, pigs much less so than in earlier periods (Croft 1988, 1989). Deer were still hunted (Halstead 1977) as in the PreBA, and equids (horse, donkey) were used as draft animals. Alongside the meat and secondary products (milk, wool, traction) provided by these animals, domesticated cereals, pulses, nuts, and fruits were also key staples of the ProBA Cypriot diet (Hjelmqvist 1979; Miksicek 1988; Hansen 1989). Unsurprisingly, olive oil production is widely attested (Cadogan 1987: 83–4; Hadjisavvas 1988; 1992: 21–6; Keswani 1992).

As was the case during the PreBA (Keswani 1994: 268–72), we also need to keep in mind the consumption of animals in social exchanges, feasting, ritual, and mortuary practices, and to realize the potential ceremonial and symbolic significance of cattle and ovicaprines. There is an apparent scarcity in the type of large animal sacrifices that have been associated with ritual feasting in PreBA mortuary contexts (Keswani 1994: 259). However, such faunal remains as there are (e.g. sheep, goat, fish, and birds at Ayios Dhimitrios—South 2000: 361; sheep, goat, and deer in contexts with ash and charcoal at Toumba tou Skourou-Vermeule and Wolsky 1990: 169, 245), when taken into account with the variety and prominence of jugs, bowls, and kraters (Mycenaean Pictorial kraters were particularly prominent in wealthier grave groups— Steel 1998: 291–2), indicate that feasting continued to play a key role in ProBA mortuary rituals (Steel 2004a: 174). Moreover, most 'sanctuary' sites and ceremonial areas have notable faunal components. Enkomi and Kition in particular but Myrtou Pigadhes above all (Webb 1999: 44–53). At the last site, in and around the well-known 'horns of consecration', were found the antlers of at least 41 fallow deer, almost certainly the remnants of feasting or ritual activities (Zeuner in Du Plat Taylor 1957: 97-101; Webb 1999: 47, 53, 250-2). A thorough contextual analysis of faunal evidence from the ProBA is essential if we are to understand how the differing commensal configurations might reflect either elite or other dietary preferences (and so distinctive social identities?), or how social ideologies affected feasting amongst the living and provisioning for the deceased.

Overall, the system(s) of production and social reproduction had to be flexible enough to feed and support the specialists who made up such a key component of the ProBA urban-oriented economy. The scope of specialist activity—whether involving attached, independent or itinerant workers and craftspeople—expanded greatly in the ProBA: there is evidence of miners and metalworkers, builders and masons, potters, seal cutters and ivory carvers, merchants and sailors, perhaps even winemakers and cooks. Overall, their

activities and products served to diversify a new regime and new modes of production and consumption, creating new commodities for exchange but also meeting new, elite demands for surplus subsistence goods and luxury items (Keswani 2004: 156).

In order to explain how subsistence goods, metals and luxury items were produced, distributed, transported, and administered under this new regime, Keswani (1993) adapted a redistribution model of staple and wealth finance (based on D'Altroy and Earle 1985). Staple finance, she argued, involved the collection, storage, and redistribution of subsistence and utilitarian goods—bulk goods such as agricultural produce, raw materials, plain-ware pottery and tools—between inland centres and the more remote production sites. Wealth finance, in contrast, involved the exchange of portable and convertible prestige goods—finished metal products, imported or fine-ware pottery, seals, ceremonial paraphernalia—amongst the coastal centres, and/or the redistribution of these prestigious goods between the coastal and inland centres in exchange for agricultural produce, copper ores, wood and charcoal. Staple and wealth finance systems thus differ not only in the type of goods exchanged and in the ways these goods are stored and transported, but also in the ideological relations that existed between exchange partners or factions.

Wealth finance systems involve a prominent ideological component, in particular the capacity to use or display prestigious luxury goods, from near or far, both to enhance socio-political status and to establish elite social identity. On Cyprus, Keswani (1993) would argue, the appearance at inland centres or in rural sanctuaries of items such as miniature ingots, Aegean-style pottery and seals, or specialized vessels for feasting, would have helped to legitimise local elites' status, not least by underscoring their links to wider regional or overseas elites and power centres. These inland centers, in addition to functioning as transshipment points in an inter-settlement transport system, also would have served as places where agricultural products and surpluses were collected and redistributed. Some of these subsistence goods would have supported local elites or their dependants; others would have supported those who lived or worked within the resource-rich, agriculture-poor mining districts—miners or charcoal producers, potters, carpenters, and toolmakers.

In general, and at least *prima facie*, the system of staple and wealth finance proposed by Keswani for ProBA Cyprus seems compelling, reassuring in its capacity to explain the organizational diversity in the administrative or production sectors of primary centres such as Enkomi, Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Alassa, and Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, as well as the inland centres and production sites that supported them. Webb (2002b: 130–1) suggests that the archaeological correlates of a staple finance system may be seen not only in the storage facilities found at primary centres but also in agricultural support

villages. Alternatively, the material markers of a wealth finance system might be seen in evidence for the specialist production and restricted circulation of prestige goods, or in the movement of such goods between the primary centres and other, inland settlements, sanctuaries, or production sites.

Does the configuration of such an economic model provide any insight into the debate over the issue of centralized vs. regional authority structures on ProBA 2 Cyprus? Clearly a wealth finance system such as Keswani envisions would have necessitated major modifications to the agropastoral economy that had served the needs of PreBA villages. Despite the appeal of Keswani's (1996) argument, I am still inclined towards an earlier suggestion (Knapp 1993a: 98–100) that some type of staple finance system characterized the PreBA economy with its dispersed, localized endeavours, whilst a wealth finance system facilitated the more urban, centralized and commercialized activities of the ProBA political economy. At the same time, it would have addressed better the specific needs of producers and consumers alike. In the ProBA period, when complex, regionally-integrated or nucleated networks of metallurgical and other specialized aspects of production and exchange emerged, the labour pool had to be expanded and agricultural production had to be increased to create surpluses. Keswani's suggestion that the inland centres functioned at least partly as points where surplus agricultural produce was stored and redistributed to mining sites or to coastal centres thus assumes some importance, not least because agricultural support villages now have been identified in the archaeological record (Webb and Frankel 1994; Given and Knapp 2003: 179–82).

Further consideration of the role of seals and the infrequent use of sealings may shed some light on the politico-economic organization of production and exchange. I have already discussed, in the previous section, the use of both stamp and cylinder seals in administrative contexts and as status markers, and summarized Webb's (2002b) discussion of Elaborate, Derivative, and Common style cylinder seals. Most of the rarely attested seal impressions were produced not from stamp or cylinder seals but by large (wood or ivory) rollers that, on average, would have been twice the height (4–5 cm) and four times the diameter (4 cm) of the stone cylinders. From a corpus of seal-impressed pithos fragments that now numbers almost 90 (Hadjisavvas 2001a: 61), Webb discussed more than 40 impressions from at least 27 different vessels, dated to ProBA 2–3 and found at the centres of most presumed regional polities of the 13th century BC: Hala Sultan Tekke, Enkomi, Kouklia Palaepaphos, Kition, Episkopi Bamboula, and Alassa Paleotaverna (Webb 1992: 114-15 and n. 7; 2002b: 127-8 and n. 43). They have also been found at Athienou Bamboulari tis Koukounninas, Maa Palaeokastro, Analiondas Paleoklichia (Smith 1994: 238–313), and most recently in the renewed excavations at Episkopi Bamboula (Steel 2003-4: 99 and fig. 9).

Most seal impressions derive from Alassa *Paleotaverna* or Maa *Palaeokastro*, and it is worth emphasizing that none have been found at Maroni or *Ayios Dhimitrios* (Smith 1994: 234–89; Webb and Frankel 1994: 12–14, 17–19). This system of sealing use was more or less contemporary with the emergence of large-scale storage facilities (discussed above), which itself necessitated some sort of centralized or regional organization. Webb (2002b: 131; also Webb and Frankel 1994: 18) suggests that the sealings might have been linked to large-scale, supra-household, perhaps ceremonial storage of staple foodstuffs within these sites. Equally, these impressions could have been used as markers to identify (elite) consumers and/or the locus of *pithos* production. Perhaps, too, they were linked to the inter-site transport of whatever was contained in the *pithoi* and thus would have served to channel surplus production throughout the settlement system. Hadjisavvas (2001b: 218) points out that the seal impressions from Alassa typically were impressed on a band of clay lighter in colour than that of the *pithoi*, and thus served to highlight the contents of the vessel.

Keswani's wealth finance system would have been involved more with the production and controlled distribution of highly specialized goods (e.g. precious metals, ivory, engraved cylinder seals) than with subsistence or utilitarian goods (e.g. pottery, grains, olive oil, raw materials). Within a wealth finance system, the individualized ownership or use of Elaborate style seals may have been restricted to (regional or centralized?) elites, providing them with specialist goods and services, symbolizing their access to power and authority, articulating their social status and identity, and at the same time helping to integrate the managerial sector in Cypriot society. The Derivative or Common style seals, in contrast, may have been corporate or institutional (as opposed to individualized) in nature and purpose, and would have been used for controlled (re-)distribution of goods or services to lesser elites (Webb 2002b: 134–5; 2004).

Given the restricted number but widespread distribution of seal impressions, Webb (2002b: 131) feels that they may have functioned to mark out the contents of certain *pithoi* for managerial elites, or for a specialist labour force and 'sanctuary' personnel, at sites where production and storage were linked to ideological sanctions. Whether the surplus grain or olive oil stored in the *pithoi* involved some form of tithe (Cadogan 1988: 230; 1989: 50; Webb and Frankel 1994), tribute (Keswani 1993), gift exchange or simple redistribution cannot be demonstrated one way or another. If, however, the *pithos* impressions served an administrative function within a tithe or tribute-based system of interregional production and exchange, they would provide material indicators of spatial or political spheres of influence.

Virtually all seal impressions were made on storage jars of Plain White Handmade ware, and portray scenes such as fighting bulls, chariot hunts, or animal compositions rendered in a distinctively 'Aegeanizing' style. From Analiondas *Paleoklichia*, for example, one well known seal impression—found on two different *pithos* sherds (Catling and Karageorghis 1960: 122–4; Webb and Frankel 1994a: 12–14, fig. 5), perhaps from the same vessel although found some forty years apart—depicts an Aegean-style chariot hunt (Figure 29a). From Alassa *Paleotaverna*, three further *pithos* impressions depict (1) a horse-drawn chariot with the charioteer hunting bulls (Figure 29b), (2) a standing warrior slaying a lion and another warrior stabbing a rampant lion, and (3) a kneeling figure with dagger and spear facing a lion, behind which is a bull and another, standing figure holding a spear (Hadjisavvas 1994: 111–12, pl. XIX.1; 2001a: 64–5, figs. 4–6; 2001b: 214–17, 226–8, figs. 6–8). Six further *pithos* sherds impressed with chariot scenes have been found in three separate structures at Maa *Palaeokastro* (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 115–17; Smith 1994: 268, 273–5).

All these examples exhibit aspects of Aegean iconography but also reveal possible Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and Syrian influences (Hadiisayyas 2001a: 64; Smith 2003: 298). The *Paleotaverna* seal with the warriors, griffin, and lion scene has elicited comparisons with a Mycenaean-style ivory mirror handle from Kouklia (Catling 1968: 168). All these seal impressions should be seen as hybridized products and are reflective of the real mixture of different cultural elements within ProBA society. Based on contextual evidence, Webb and Frankel (1994a: 17-20; Webb 2002b: 131) suggest that the designs on Aegean-style seal impressions like those from Analiondas Palioklichia, Alassa Paleotaverna and Maa Palaeokastro indicate political and economic authority of the highest order. The use of predominantly Aegeanizing designs on the impressed pithoi also suggests that local elites sought to identify themselves and their goods more widely with the West, as well as the East, by the 13th century BC. Quite how we are to understand the Theban hoard of mainly Near Eastern seals, some of which were re-cut in Cyprus, is another matter entirely, and one that need not detain us here (but see Porada 1982).

We may, however, reconsider four other sealings that were found outside Cyprus but nonetheless bear the impressions of Cypriot style seals. From the palace at Knossos comes one sealing (14th century BC) that bears the impression of a Cypriot Elaborate style seal. From Ugarit on the Syrian coast come another seal impresseion or label with a cuneiform inscription and bearing a Cypriot style 'mistress of animals' scene, and two mid-13th century BC Akkadian legal documents bearing Cypriot style seal impressions (Smith 1994: 173–81; Webb 2002b: 127 and n. 42).

The well-preserved Knossos sealing is impressed with a 'mistress of animals' scene as well a sign in the Cypro-Minoan script (Evans 1935: 598); it belongs to the Derivative style of Cypriot seals (Porada 1948: 184–8; Smith



**Figure 29a:** Analiondas *Paleoklichia* seal impression depicting an Aegean-style chariot hunt.



**Figure 29b:** Protohistoric Bronze Age seal impression from Alassa *Paleotaverna* showing a horse-drawn chariot in bull hunt.

1994: 173 and nn. 145–7). Found in the Archives Deposit of the Knossos palace, it seems likely that this sealing was used on an object (as were all other sealings in the deposit—Weingarten 1988: 21) imported from Cyprus, and thus may reflect some sort of administered exchange between Crete and Cyprus. Although other Cypriot seals have been found on Crete (Pini 1980), this cylinder seal impression itself and the fact that it was rolled (not stamped) on the clay are unique occurrences, and Smith (1994: 174–5) concludes that it almost certainly originated on Cyprus.

The clay sealing or label from Ugarit (Schaeffer 1934: 118, 123, fig. 8b; van Soldt 1989: 376, no. 4) has an Ugaritic cuneiform inscription, which suggests that it was made and used in Ugarit. The inscription reads simply: 'ten *ktt* (dry measures), 15 *lg* (liquid measures)'. The impression of a Cypriot cylinder seal on this label may seem puzzling, but given the widespread links between Ugarit and Cyprus, in particular with Enkomi, throughout the ProBA (e.g. Knapp 1983; Knapp and Cherry 1994: 135–7; Buchholz 1999; Yon 2003), we may at least conclude that it provides evidence of administrative exchanges, if not supplementary evidence for the presence of a Cypriot merchant or official in the Ugaritic court (Smith 1994: 167, rightly notes that it tells us nothing about seal use on Cyprus itself).

Two Akkadian legal documents from Ugarit (RS 17.36 and RS 17.149), dealing with the sale or transfer of land and property, are the only known tablets from that site bearing impressions from Cypriot style cylinder seals (Nougayrol *et al.* 1968: 9–11). The cylinders were rolled over the top of these tablets prior to being inscribed, as the cuneiform signs on RS 17.149, at least, have obscured the lower part of the seal design (Smith 1994: 178). Most offical documents found at Ugarit, when sealed, were impressed with the ruler's dynastic seal, making these Cypriot seal impressions entirely atypical. Repeating the design found on the Knossos sealing and the Ugaritic label, both seals were carved with the 'mistress of animals' motif. Smith (1994: 181, n. 157 with refs.) notes that this scene has stylistic parallels on Cypriot cylinder seals found frequently at Ugarit and on Cyprus, less so in the Aegean (Thebes, Knossos). She suggests that these impressions may signal the presence of Cypriot administrative officials or merchants during the ProBA 2 period, notably at Ugarit.

To summarize: for presumably official reasons, seals with a common Cypriot design were used to impress two documents written in Akkadian—the *lingua franca* of the time—and concerned with the transfer of private property belonging to the family or clients of one Rashap-Abu, the harbourmaster ( $wakil \, k\bar{a}r\bar{\imath}$ ) of Ugarit (Nougayrol  $et \, al. \, 1968: 1$ ). The scribe who wrote RS 17.149 was named Munaḥimu, and palaeographic similarities suggest that he is the same scribe who drew up ten royal acts issued by Ammishtamru II

during the mid-13th century BC (Nougayrol et al. 1968: 1). Less is known of Ili-Shapash, the scribe of RS 17.36 (but see van Soldt 1989: 21, 29). The seals may have been owned either by Rashap-Abu (acquired as an import?), or by the scribes themselves. In the same structure that contained the archives of Rashap-Abu (his office or residence?), other foreign imports were found, including Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery (Schaeffer 1968: 629) and, on the surface above this structure, a small clay tablet bearing a Cypro-Minoan inscription (RS 17.06; Schaeffer 1956: 228). Because Rashap-Abu's office required him to deal with all ships and merchants entering or leaving the harbour (Maḥadu) of Ugarit, the presence in and around his archives of foreign goods is not unexpected.

Smith (1994: 187), whose in-depth study and documentation of these materials has made possible the present discussion, asks whether the presence of Cypriot imports, a Cypro-Minoan tablet and two Akkadian documents impressed with a Cypriot sea indicates any link between Rashap-Abu and Cypriot record-keeping, Although Smith (1994: 193) feels that these seal impressions are in accord with what we know of record keeping at Ugarit and tell us nothing about Cypriot sealing practice (also Webb 2002b: 127), a contextual interpretation of all these materials suggests otherwise. We may be seeing, for example: (1) the presence of Cypriot merchants or officials at the Ugaritic court; (2) the involvement of individual if not state-attached Ugaritic officials in transactions somehow concerned with Cyprus; or, at the very least, (3) the exchange and use of Cypriot material culture amongst the elite strata of Ugaritic society. Like the Knossos sealing and the Ugaritic label, these seal impressions from Ugarit bear the 'mistress of animals' logo, and thus identify Cypriot officials or merchants and link them closely with their overeas counterparts. They portray in vet another medium the widespread involvement of Cyprus in the international exchanges of the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean, in particular with Ugarit. Equally compelling evidence for the close links between Cyprus and Ugarit is provided by some late 13th-century BC cuneiform documents recently recovered at the Syrian site (Malbran-Labat 1999; Yon 2003: 47–8); these are treated in detail in Chapter 6.

## Production, Exchange, and Identity

During the course of the ProBA 1 period, new social groups on Cyprus began to use or display elaborate and unprecedented types of military equipment, imported goods (cylinder seals, faience ornaments, ivory, ostrich eggs), gold jewellery and other precious metal objects, and semi-precious stones. Such items served not only as status markers but also as a means to establish new

elite island identities. In the ProBA 2 period, Cypriot elites wore or displayed Near Eastern, Egyptian, and Aegean artistic and iconographic elements—imported ivory, gold, and faience objects, and ceremonial *rhyta*—in order to emulate their overseas counterparts, to mark out their identities and to legitimize new power differentials within Cypriot society. Amongst these were various gold, faience, ivory, and alabaster objects in the 'International Style'—symbolic resources that served to identify and enhance elite status throughout the Aegean, eastern Mediterranean, and ancient western Asia.

In terms of locally produced objects and materials, the ninety or so seal impressions on *pithos* sherds relate not only to aspects of production, transport, and consumption but also, and more likely, to the identity of those who managed the system and consumed these products. The limited number and broad distribution of these seal impressions led Webb (2002b: 131) to suggest that they were used to allocate certain *pithoi* to managerial elites or to specialized personnel who served at ceremonial centres where production and storage were linked to elite ideology. The prominent use of Aegean designs on the impressed *pithoi* indicate that new island elites emulated and identified themselves with their Aegean counterparts.

The symbolic-laden sealings, seal impressions, and labels from Knossos and Ugarit, as well as the documentary evidence associated with them, functioned as validating devices (Webb 2002b) and served as identity markers for local island elites. All of these objects and images point to an efficiently organized, highly specialized politico-economic system characterized by its product diversity, shipping capacity, and elite-level, prestige goods exchange (Sherratt and Sherratt 1991; Knapp and Cherry 1994: 123–55; Knapp 1998, 2006; Feldman 2006: 168–9). Before drawing all this evidence into a more detailed and nuanced social interpretation, I turn first to consider other material aspects of ProBA Cyprus.

## GENDERED REPRESENTATIONS

As a fulcrum upon which people often balance their social lives, gender has come to serve as an important focus of archaeological analysis and interpretation. In this respect Cypriot archaeologists are no exception (e.g. Bolger and Serwent 2002; Bolger 2003). Sex and gender are fundamental to the ways that people work, dress, perform and identify themselves, how they function in the family, household, social group, and community. Gender also dictates to some extent how people cope with authority, class, age, and race; how they experience space, place, and landscape; how they make or modify their

histories and construct their identities. Current archaeological research treats gender as a crucial aspect of a person's identity, and has reconceptualized issues of sex, sexuality, and the body—in terms of agency, individuals, the biography, and sexual coding of objects—to examine women's and men's roles and statuses in the past. Because gender is so central to most people's lives, archaeologies of gender can help us to examine the material remnants of the past in their total social context, and thus to reintroduce people, their beliefs, their bodies, and their sexuality—indeed their very identity—into a more coherent and reliable framework of understanding and interpretation.

But just how does gender in Cypriot archaeology fare with respect to this wider vision? Despite inauspicious beginnings (outlined by Webb and Frankel 1994b), many Cypriot archaeologists have nurtured a keen interest in genderrelated issues. Prior to the 1990s, and even during that decade, research related to sex and gender focused on the description and classification, less so the interpretation of female anthropomorphic figurines (e.g. Merrillees 1988; Begg 1991; Goring 1991; a Campo 1994). Subsequent work has treated a range of relevant topics, including gender bias in Cypriot archaeological practice (Webb and Frankel 1995), the archaeology and ethnography of fertility (Bolger 1992, 1993, 1996), female roles and status (Bolger 1994), and the role of feminist theory in a gendered archaeology (Frankel 1993; Knapp 1998b). More recently, we have the proceedings of a conference devoted to gender in Cypriot archaeology (held in Nicosia, March 1998-Bolger and Serwent 2002), and one of that conference's organizers has published a comprehensive study of gender and gender-related issues in Cypriot archaeology, from the earliest settlement of the island through the Bronze Age (Bolger 2003).

Papers in Bolger and Serwent (2002) focus mainly on women, women's work, and lifeways, and thus overlook men or masculinist research as well as queer theory, sidelining any consideration of the widespread biases inherent in a gynecentric approach (Knapp 1998b). Nonetheless, several studies in the Engendering Aphrodite volume have clear relevance for various issues under consideration in the present study. Webb (2002a), for example, cautions that recent research proposing that gender relations underwent a radical change at the time of the Chalcolithic-Bronze Age transition—leading to the emergence of a patriarchal order in society (e.g. Peltenburg 1994, 2002; Bolger 1996)—is evolutionary, essentializing and attempts to link gender directly to social stratification and complexity. Webb herself, however, associates with women certain PreBA artefact assemblages from Marki Alonia in an unproblematized manner, viewing women's work primarily as household related, and men's labour as mainly agricultural or industrial in nature. Frankel (2002), similarly, suggests that if pottery production during the PreBA was organized primarily at the household level, then it must necessarily have been in the hands of women. More salutary and critical papers by Talalay and Cullen (2002) on plank figurines, and Ribeiro (2002) on scenic compositions, have already been discussed (above, pp. 91, 97–100). Finally, McCartney, eschewing the standard dichotomy of domestic=female and public=male, argues that the production and utilization of Neolithic chipped stone tools took place within domestic contexts, and that organizational differences indicated by Cyprus's stone tool technology suggest gender integration rather than exclusively male or female activities.

Bolger's (2003) comprehensive study represents an unprecedented attempt to highlight the role of women *and men* in reconstructing the Cypriot past. Gazing both broadly and in-depth into gendered relations and gendered identities on prehistoric Cyprus, she treats issues such as domestic space, the life cycle, labour and technology, ritual performance, social agency and sexual ambiguity. Whilst one might contest some of the individual conclusions that Bolger draws for the PreBA (see above) as well as the ProBA (see below), overall she covers a span of nearly 8,000 years of Cypriot prehistory with fluency and competence, and engages with issues relating to gender, sex and the body in a compelling manner. On the negative side (see Knapp 2004 for a critical review), Bolger's study occasionally takes contradictory stances on such crucial issues as unilineal evolutionary trajectories, the existence of the state, essentialist or binary approaches to gender, and the role of individuals in Cypriot pre- and protohistory.

There are several other areas where archaeologists working on Cyprus have developed, or could develop further, the study of engendered practices: textile production (Smith 2002b; Bolger 2003: 73–6); metallurgy (Manning 1998b: 53–4; Bolger 2003: 76–80); the role of children and the practice of cranial deformation (Lorentz 2002; Bolger 2003: 140–4); images of women on pottery and other media (Steel 1994, 1998; Bolger 2003: 91–3), the last discussed below (*Mortuary Practices*). Issues related to gender imagery, representation, and symbolism should not be seen as marginal pursuits in archaeology, nor are they predetermined by the inherent nature of archaeological data. Materially and symbolically, representations of people, individuals, divine beings, plants, animals and artifacts mesh in archaeological contexts that conjoin architecture, ritual imagery, belief systems, gender constructs and social identity. The abstractions and representations of prehistoric people were not separate and intangible but rather formed an integral part of the material factors of everyday life (Barrett 1991: 6).

Whilst archaeologists working on Cyprus have devoted some attention to the ways that gendered representations may have impacted on ProBA society, they have yet to consider the link between such representations and social identity. Here, taking an obvious example, I consider the corpus of Late Bronze Age anthropomorphic clay figurines, whose iconography, form and function, for the most part, appear to be quite different from those of their PreBA (or Chalcolithic) counterparts. The earliest, 'spindle shaped' examples (Karageorghis 1999a: 84–90, figs. 57–61; Karageorghis and Karageorghis 2002a: 270, figs. 13-15; Budin 2003: 131-2), dated to the ProBA 1 (MC III) period, are mainly Plain Ware but also include Red Slip and Black Polished figurines. On the one hand, these early examples hearken back to certain Red Polished and White Painted plank figurines of the PreBA (e.g. Karageorghis 1991a: 49-66, 170-80; Karageorghis and Brennan 1999). On the other hand, they presage later ProBA styles and depict—unlike the plank figurines naked women with emphasized sexual features, perforated ears, tight necklaces, and hands positioned on the body beneath the breasts. Most Late Bronze Age anthropomorphic figurines are dated to the ProBA 2 (LC II) period; they portray nude females and other features seen on the ProBA 1 examples. They were manufactured in a fabric similar to Base-ring ware that Karageorghis and Karageorghis (2002: 271) term 'Brown ware' (for the figurines, see Åström and Åström 1972: 512–14; Morris 1985: 166–74; Karageorghis 1993: 3–14; Webb 1999: 209–15; Budin 2003: 140–5, 232–41).

There are two basic types of figurine, termed Type A and Type B by Karageorghis (1993; see also J. Karageorghis 1977: 72–85). Both types are often dubbed 'Astarte' figurines (or 'pubic triangle figurines'—Morris 1985: 166). Despite the stylistic affinities of the Type A examples with Levantine Astarte figurines (see further below), both Merrillees (1988: 55) and Karageoghis (1993: 21) emphasized their wide distribution on the island and thus argued for a Cypriot origin. Budin (2003: 140), whilst acknowledging their Cypriot origin, maintains that Type A figurines 'show clear derivation from Near Eastern images that are explicitly divine'. Specifically, Budin (2003: 143–4, following Badre 1980) proposes that the Cypriot versions were modelled on figurines from the Orontes region in northern Syria, dated to the mid-second millennium BC when the trade in pottery between Cyprus and Syria become more intense.

Type 'A' figurines portray women with a small, severely beaked (bird-type) nose, vertically-placed ears and large earrings, arms placed on, below, or between small pointed breasts, and genitals marked by (unpainted) incised or punctured patterns (Figure 30). One common variant (Type Aii) holds an infant (Morris 1985: figs. 280–287, pls. 194–198; Merrillees 1988; Karageorghis 1993: 3–10, pls. I–VII). Webb (1999: 209 and 235 n. 28) tallies and provides references for 48 known examples depicted with an infant and 65 without. Budin (2003: 143) sees some continuity with certain PreBA female figurines in the emphasis on incised decoration, prominent nose and ears, and on earlier tendencies toward three-dimensional portrayals and emphasized sexual attributes. Those examples holding infants call to mind a similar category



**Figure 30:** Type A, bird-faced, nude female figurine, holding an infant, Protohistoric Bronze Age 2.



Figure 31: Type B, normal-faced, nude female figurine with grooved and painted pubic triangle, Base-ring ware, Protohistoric Bronze Age 2.

of PreBA plank figurines, but Morris (1985: 166) finds the later figurines much less individualistic. Begg (1991: 11–12) too finds them very schematic, whilst Karageorghis (1993: 1, 21) feels that their manufacturing technique and decoration are so similar that they must have been mass produced, and perhaps reflect some commonality in religious beliefs. In Merrillees's (1988: 56) view, there are clear differences in the modelling and finish of the figurines holding an infant, which suggest production over a wide area, and within a closely defined period of time (15th–14th centuries BC).

Type 'B' figurines are of similar overall form to Type A, but stylistically are quite different (Karageorghis 1993: 22) (Figure 31). They may have been modelled on the style of Mycenaean *tau*, *phi*, and *psi* painted figurines rather than on Levantine statuettes (Karageorghis and Karageorghis 2002: 272; Budin 2003: 145). The women depicted have triangular, flat-topped heads, pointed-down ears, painted facial features, pierced navels and (sometimes painted) genitals with the same incised or punctured patterns; only one example holds an infant (Morris 1985: figs. 269–279, pls. 191–193; Karageorghis 1993: 10–13, pls. VII–X). Webb (1999: 209–11), following J. Karageorghis (1977: 83–4) and Courtois (1984: 79–80), dates the Type B figurines primarily to the 13th century BC, with continuity on a smaller scale into the 12th and perhaps even 11th centuries BC. She tallies 100 standing examples, 20 seated examples, and 23 fragments of uncertain variety (see Webb 1999: 256 n. 31 for refs.).

In terms of context, the picture is bewildering. Karageorghis (1993: 21; also J. Karageorghis 1977: 72, 78) and Orphanides (1983: 45–8, 1991) suggest that most Type A and B figurines were found in LC II mortuary contexts. Merrillees (1988: 55) is more cautious, noting that all Type Aii figurines (those holding an infant) 'from controlled excavations' were found in tombs, with one exception. The picture becomes less certain in the view of Begg (1991: 24–33), who proposed to conduct a contextual analysis of all LC II figurines. His tables (Begg 1992: 92-3), however, reveal a high degree of selectivity, contravening virtually all of Merrillees's (1988: 42) caveats concerning terminology, classification, and listing of examples. Begg states that only 11 of his 'Type II' (= 'Astarte') whole figurines were found in mortuary contexts, whilst 16 fragmentary examples were found in settlement contexts. Courtois (1984: 75-82), meanwhile, listed several examples from settlement contexts at Enkomi, whilst Webb (1992b: 90; 1999; 211) disputed any use of Type A and B figurines in mortuary rituals; she pointed out that they accompany less than 5% of LC II burials. Keswani (1989a: 555-6) also questioned any exclusive mortuary use of these figurines. At least some of Keswani's examples occur in very high status tomb groups (e.g. Enkomi tombs B67, B93, B47), whilst others turn up in less sumptuous burials that nonetheless contain at least some high status goods (e.g. Enkomi tomb C19) (Keswani 2004: tables 5.9b–5.9d, 5.11 and 5.13). Webb (1999: 211) lists only six examples from residual cult assemblages at the sites of Kouklia, Enkomi, Idalion and near Myrtou *Pigadhes*, but Karageorghis (1993: 21–2) states that none were found on the floors of 'sanctuaries'. On the basis of their paucity in 'ritual' contexts, Begg (1991: 53) argued that they might have been used as personal charms, but Webb (1999: 211) noted that the more prominent use of these figurines in domestic contexts doesn't rule out the possibility that they were somehow related to the deity or deities 'worshipped in communal cult buildings'.

It would seem that those who have studied these figurines most carefully lack any consensus on either their contextual associations or their meaning(s) and function(s) in Late Cypriot society. The notion that these figurines were manufactured as grave goods perhaps stems partly from the overwhelming funerary bias of the Cypriot archaeological record (Talalay and Cullen 2002: 184) and partly from the fact that most of the earlier, PreBA 2 figurines, at least those with good provenance, were recovered from burials (Frankel and Webb 1996a: 188). When exact numbers are provided (Webb 1992b: 90, 1999: 211), it seems clear that the ProBA figurines under discussion were used and discarded in settlement (rarely 'ritual') contexts, and at least occasionally were deposited in (sometimes very sumptuous) mortuary contexts. Thus they were most likely used in life as well as in death, and should be regarded as valued possessions of those who owned, used or displayed them.

When it comes to the function and meaning of these figurines, most scholars (but cf. Morris 1985; Budin 2003: 140) presume that both Type A and Type B figurines represent some sort of goddess (or goddesses) of fertility that was worshipped in households, sanctuaries, and cultic buildings (also Masson 1973a), or placed in tombs as part of mortuary rituals. Both Webb (1999: 211, with refs.) and Budin (2003: 156-9, 215) include in their more detailed arguments the Bomford Figurine (Catling 1971b; Hulin 1989) (Figure 32) and other 13th–12th century BC nude bronze female figurines. Catling's (1971b: 29) interpretation of the Bomford Figurine clearly provided a crucial source for all subsequent attempts (most recently, Karageorghis 2003) to understand these figurines as a class: 'I believe we should identify the Bomford statuette as the 12th century B.C. version of a long-established Cypriot female deity whose origins are ultimately to be found in the Near East...In her Bronze Age manifestation, she was doubtless a goddess of fertility'. Such a notion is quite untenable: Bolger (2003: 97–100) points out that even as the presumed consort of the Ingot God from Enkomi (regarded as the divine controller and protector of the copper industry), she seems to control nothing except the possible productive output of the mines (Catling 1971b: 30-1—'the fruitfulness of the mines'), thus lacking any political or personal position of relevance. Budin (2002), likewise, strongly disputes the



**Figure 32:** Bomford nude bronze female figurine, standing on oxhide ingot, probably Protohistoric Bronze Age 2.

association of this goddess (if such she was) with fertility, as well as Morris's (1985: 166) more secular interpretation of these figurines as sexual playthings. The result, Budin (2002: 316) exclaims, is that we either have a divinity whose sexuality is intended to insure a good harvest, or a human representation whose sexuality is geared to insure a pleasant trip to 'Nirvana'. For Budin, this ancient goddess embodies sexuality in its own terms, as power and pleasure, not as maternity and fecundity.

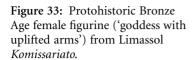
Like others before her (Keswani 1989a: 555-6; Webb 1999: 209), Budin (2002: 317; 2003: 237-41) maintains that there are certain stylistic affinities between the Type A figurines and Syro–Mesopotamian 'Astarte plaques' (also Karageorghis and Karageorghis 2002: 272). A casual examination of several Astarte plaques (e.g., Budin 2002: 318, fig. 2, a gold plaque from Ugarit; or see Riis 1949, who illustrates numerous Bronze Age and Iron Age examples) reveals certain typological affinities—e.g. naked females, hands on the body under the breasts, holding animal or floral motifs—between the Levantine plaques and the Cypriot figurines. On that basis alone one might question any close association between them. Budin (2003: 199–241), however, describes at great length both the iconographic similarities and the possible literary associations between various Levantine goddesses and the Cypriot figurines. She links the mention of Ishtar and Ishara in Akkadian texts from Alalakh levels VII and IV to the floruit of Type A figurines in Cyprus and concludes that the bird-faced figurines from the area around Alalakh represent Ishtar or Ishara (or both) and that it was these goddesses—and their representations that give rise to Cyprus's bird-faced figurines (Budin 2002: 317; 2003: 241).

Beyond the stylistic similarities seen in the Cypriot figurines and the Astarte plaques, we may also refer to an Ugaritic text from Ras Shamra (RS 18.113A, PRU 5, no.8—Virolleaud 1965: 14–15; Knapp 1983, 1996a: 36, no. 47). This letter, from an official to the king (of Ugarit?), deals with the sale of ships and invokes 'the gods of Alashiya'—Ba'al, Shapsh, Athtart, and Anat. Noted by Budin (2003: 133-4) but in another context, this document pointedly suggests that Athtart (i.e. Astarte) was regarded by one Ugaritic official as a local Cypriot deity. It has also been seen as indicating some level of syncretism between Cypriot and Levantine deities (e.g. Karageorghis and Karageorghis 2002: 273; cf. Budin 2004—discussed further below, pp. 320–1). Whether these (to us) most peculiar bird-headed figurines (Type A) and their less avian (Type B) counterparts have anything to do with a deity, however, rather than a mother, priestess, dancer, celebrant, or other functionary, remains a question that demands closer consideration and more focused contextual analysis. Bolger (2003: 99) rightly observes: 'The continual insistence by scholars that these figurines represent deities has until recently prevented the consideration of alternative interpretations'.

It is unacceptable to use modern religious concepts when discussing prehistoric Cypriot society, or to see temples in every distinctive ashlar structure, or to identify gods and goddesses in every remarkable statuette (Knapp 1986b, 1988, 1996b, 1996c; Bolger 2003: 99–100). With respect to the figurines, we should try to interpret them in their spatial and social contexts, acknowledging the links between social space, political (*not* religious) ideology and economic structures. In the present case, like Bolger and (for different

reasons) Budin (2002: 321-2; 2003), I am concerned about an uncritical assumption made by almost everyone who has examined these figurines namely that both Types A and B represent a goddess of fertility, whether Astarte/Ashtart/Ashtart/Ishara as worshipped in the Levant, Hathor/Isis in Egypt, or Ishtar/Inanna in Mesopotamia, one who may have served as a precursor to or model for Aphrodite (e.g. Washbourne 1999). Like Bolger, I am sceptical whether most of these figurines represent a deity at all. The Bomford statuette seems exceptional, rendered in a different medium, fully modelled in the round, nude and with sexual attributes somewhat less explicit than those of the terracotta figurines. Although Budin (2002: 319-20) highlights the sheer sexuality of the Bomford figurine, as a corrective to those who emphasize only its fertility, my own understanding of it remains firmly in the realm of the ideological rather than the sexual. Taken together with the Ingot God from Enkomi, and a range of other ideological paraphernalia, I continue to regard the Bomford statuette as representative of the political elite who manipulated and legitimized their domination over copper production and exchange by adopting and using these socially and culturally charged symbols (Knapp 1986a: 4). Whether these striking metal figurines represent human beings or divine guardians, they stand as symbols of authority that helped to forge the urban expansion, and to establish the political position and distinct identity of a dominant elite (or elites) during the ProBA. I return below to consider more closely the social identities, gender relations, and political realities of the ProBA.

First, however, it is necessary to discuss at least briefly another new type of figurine (Figure 33) known as 'the goddess with upraised arms' (Karageorghis 1993: 1, 58–61, Type GA[i]; Webb 1999: 213–14; Karageorghis 2002c: 138, fig. 297). Morris (1985: 174-81, figs. 288-292; pl. 200) calls them 'snowman figurines', and many of the types he discusses belong to the Iron Age. Given its similarity to Cretan examples, this class of figurine is thought to have been introduced to the island from the Aegean during the late 12th-11th centuries BC (Nicolaou 1979: 250–2). Almost all examples are (Mycenaean-type) psi figurines, at least eight (fragmentary) examples of which appeared in earlier contexts (Floors IV, IIIA at Kition, dated LC IIC/IIIA—Karageorghis 1985: 98, 103, 105; pls. CIX, CX). The earliest, Proto-White Painted figurines have cylindrical bodies, arms raised to either side of the head, painted hair, jewellery and clothing, with eyes, nose and breasts rendered in relief. A remarkable concentration of over 150 smaller, more fragmentary examples was found in the western sector of the 'sanctuary' of the Ingot God at Enkomi, far fewer in various areas at Kition (Webb 1999: 213 provides refs.). Designated Type GD by Karageorghis (1993: 64-5), these smaller types have cylindrical bodies, upraised arms, painted clothing and jewellery, with





indented eyes and mouths. The majority depict females with disc-like, flattened heads, whilst a few portray males wearing pointed caps or helmets. Webb (1999: 213–14) has presented differing views on the dating and floruit of these figurines; she concludes that they had become common by the end of the 12th rather than the middle of the 11th century BC.

Once again, interpretations of these figurines are fraught with contradiction. Begg (1991: 15–16, 18, 26), for example, attempts to distinguish between the meaning and function of imported *psi*-type figurines and locally made Astarte figurines. The local, 'portable and personal' LC II anthropomorphic figurines, Begg suggests, were found mainly in 'ordinary' contexts, whilst the imported, free-standing (and thus non-portable or 'permanent') LC IIIA–B *psi* figurines, intended for display, were found mainly in 'high status' or 'cultic' contexts. Given the non-standard terminology and the very limited sample of figurines that Begg used in his analyses (the maximum number appears to be 86, which is about 20% of the known 256 Type A and Type B examples, and over 200 *psi*-type examples—Webb 1999: 209–214), it is

difficult to evaluate his interpretations. Yet he rightly calls into question the predominantly ritual or cultic interpetation of the Astarte-type figurines. Begg seems to suggest that the Astarte figurines are found primarily in 'ordinary' contexts whilst the *psi* figurines are found mainly in 'cultic' contexts (Begg 1991: 26, 92, table 3). Karageorghis (1963: 1, 60–1), however, suggests that the *psi*-figurines may have been used as votive gifts for the dead or votive offerings to a divinity (representing either a goddess, or a priestess mediating between a worshipper and a divinity). Webb, in turn, suggests that the larger (earlier) examples of the *psi* figurines may represent deities, the smaller (later) examples priestesses or priests, worshippers or dancers, presumably in some cultic or ritual activity.

Archaeologists clearly have found all these LC II-III figurines extremely difficult to analyse as a group, in terms of distinguishing between them contextually (whether in households, burials, or ritual compounds), or of interpreting them in a consistent and meaningful way. Webb's (1999: 209–15) discussion is the most coherent, and will remain so until somebody undertakes more focused contextual and quantitative research on all this material. Webb concludes that, prior to LC IIIB (and the widespread use of psi figurines), none of the LC terracotta female images played a significant role in public cult: 'Their low incidence in LC II residual assemblages [i.e. the Type A and B figurines] suggests no more than occasional use as votives' (Webb 1999: 215). She suggests that the increasing prominence of figurines with upraised arms in LC IIIB and Cypro-Geometric I contexts indicates a change in both the iconography and function of anthropomorphic figurines, and that both male and female representations by then played a more integral role in cultic practice, as divine images and in ritual performances involving music and dance. Finally, because no anthropomorphic figurines of any type have been found in 'sanctuaries' thought to have been devoted to male divinities (Enkomi's Horned God Sanctuary and the northeast room of the Ingot God Sanctuary), she suggests that the use of these figurines and the rituals they depict were restricted to the worship of one or more female deities (also Karageorghis 2003: 216).

All such interpretations beg a whole series of questions regarding gender, iconography and anthropomorphic imagery. For example:

- How clearly or intentionally were these images coded sexually?
- Who created them, and who used them?
- Did men and women see or use these depictions differently?
- What kinds of gender information are broadcast by the gestures, postures, dress, ornamentation, size, media, and colour used in these images?

- Were certain sexed (or unsexed) figures reserved for use in designated domestic, public, private or ritual contexts?
- Which kinds of activities devolved to men or women?
- What happens when we reassign the sex of images that have long been identified as male or female, but are, in fact, still undetermined?

We need to develop a fuller awareness of these figurines' possible *performative* roles in ProBA Cypriot society (Talalay 2005). Clearly they were produced, used and displayed in a variety of contexts, part of the discursive apparatus of society. Yet the very diversity of contexts in which the Cypriot *psi*-figurines have been found argues against any single function or use. Nor can we simply transfer contextual meanings of the same types of object from one country or culture to another. Thus, although the large, elaborately decorated *psi* figurines found in Postpalatial centres on Crete are typically considered to represent divinities or at least priestesses (e.g. Gesell 1985: 47–9), there are no true 'palaces' on Cyprus (see below on *Architecture, Monumentality, and Memory*).

Representations of human or divine beings can serve to reinforce, transform, obviate or call into question a whole range of ideas, strategies, or rules of social and ceremonial behaviour. Talalay (2005) presented several relevant examples in her recent assessment of gender and iconography in the prehistoric Mediterranean:

- Rehak (2002) interprets the Xeste 3 frescoes at Akrotiri on Thera as depicting a female rite of passage, reflecting and fostering same-sex relations and so underscoring a homoerotic element in prehistoric Cycladic society.
- Hitchcock (2000) argues that the famous 'Priest-King' (or 'Priestess-Queen') fresco from Knossos depicts attributes associated with both males and females in Minoan society, and suggests that the dominant ideology may have been empowered by subsuming both sexes in the official iconography.
- Brumfiel (1996), in her study of Late Post Classic figures from Mexico, demonstrates that different types of anthropomorphic images can convey multiple if not contradictory messages, depending on who made them, who viewed or used them, and who controlled their use.

We should no longer think of the Cypriot figurines in simple sexual terms, and certainly we should not be assuming that all of them were somehow involved in unspecified and unknown 'religious' or 'cultic' practices. Most of the LC II—IIIB figurines depict females, but males are also represented. A thorough and focused analysis would almost certainly reveal hybrids or more ambiguous, third gender representations, or images that moved in and out of traditional sexual categories—in other words the same kind of multiple or ambiguous genders that we see during the PreBA and indeed in earlier prehistoric contexts (as discussed in previous sections).

## Gendered Representations and Identity

Engendering material objects is an exercise fraught with difficulties, and the use of binary or essentialist categorizations (e.g. male/female, public/private, domus/agros) is unlikely to enhance our understanding of prehistoric or historic societies. The link between gendered representations and social identity may seem obvious, yet the archaeologists who have devoted the most attention to ProBA figurines seem to be far from any sort of consensus about their purpose or function in Late Bronze Age Cypriot society. Until we have a better understanding of their contextual associations, and hence of who made and used or viewed them, it is difficult to say whom they represent: cultic practitioners, dancers, sexual objects or divine images. The metal examples—the Bomford Figurine, the Ingot and Horned 'gods'—almost surely symbolize some level of social or political authority and point to a dominant elite identity on ProBA Cyprus. Each one of the images or individuals—human or divine represented on the LC II-III anthropomorphic figurines would have served somehow to reflect and shape gender ideologies, practices and performances within society, whether on an everyday, seasonal or episodic basis. Understanding the role and relevance of ProBA Cypriot coroplastic art, and how these figurines were formed and maintained, can provide crucial insights into gendered practices, social identities and political formations, and help us to distinguish between local enterprise and foreign inspiration, acculturation or hybridization. Perhaps, too, they can help to adjudicate between the debate over the political formation(s) of the ProBA: centralized hierarchy vs. regional heterarchies. I return to consider these issues below, in Chapter 7.

## MORTUARY PRACTICES

Several recent publications offer diverse perspectives on ProBA Cypriot mortuary practices, and on the variety of new tomb types involved (Goring 1989; Manning 1998b; South 2000; Bolger 2003: 165–82; Keswani 2004: 84–144, 154–60). Keswani (2004) is by far the most comprehensive, and I refer to her work frequently in the following discussion.

Some of the large extramural cemeteries of the PreBA continued in use. These include Dhenia (Åström and Wright 1962; Frankel *et al.* 2003: 13) and Katydhata (Åström 1989; Boutin *et al.* 2003) (Figure 34). Several new ones also were established in the ProBA, e.g. Ayia Irini *Paleokastro* (Pecorella 1977), Myrtou *Stephania* (Hennessy 1964), and Akhera *Çiflik Paradisi* (Karageorghis 1965a: 71–138). Older practices of secondary treatment and collective burial



Figure 34: Katydhata Laonarka with tombs along and over the ridge at the left.

persisted throughout ProBA 1–2, but on a much larger scale, for example at Ayios Iakovos *Melia* (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: 325–34, 337–40, 349–55), Pendayia *Mandres* (Karageorghis 1965a: 14–70) and Enkomi Swedish Tombs 6 and 18 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: 491–7, 546–9). Another, perhaps unique situation may be seen at Korovia *Nitovikla*, where a walled area just east of the 'fortress' contained at least 15 tombs (Sjöqvist in Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: 407–15; Hult 1992: 43–7). By the ProBA 3 phase, shaft graves intended for a much smaller number of burials, or even for single use, made their appearance. These include Enkomi Swedish Graves 11a, 15 and 16 (Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: 510–25, 537–40) and Enkomi Cypriot Grave 24 (Dikaios 1969: 433–4; see also Niklasson-Sönnerby 1987). Even though the wealth of certain elite burials in the shaft graves is well beyond the ordinary (gold jewellery; silver, ivory, and faience objects; semi-precious stones), overall there was a decrease in other types of mortuary expenditure (e.g. tomb construction) and a decline in the number of valuables interred with the dead (Keswani 2004: 85, 119–20).

One obvious change from all earlier periods is the multiplicity of tomb types that characterize the ProBA. Variability in tomb construction is evident not only between sites, but even within sites, perhaps best exemplified at Enkomi (Keswani 1989c: 52–6) (Figure 35). Whereas rock-cut chamber tombs are the most common,

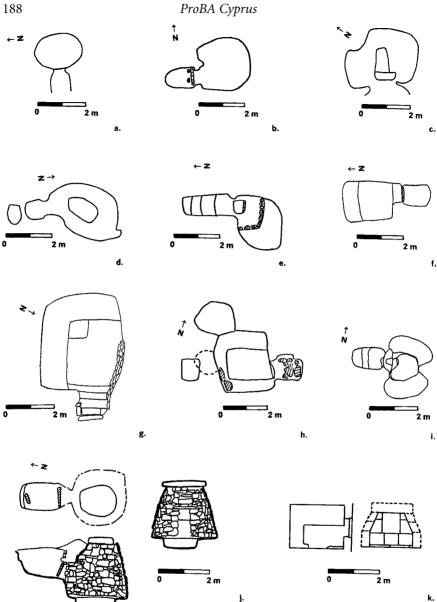


Figure 35: Multiple Protohistoric Bronze Age tomb types as represented at Enkomi. a. Cypriot Tomb 21; b. Swedish Tomb 2; c. French Tomb 10 (1934); d. French Tomb 12 (1934); e. Swedish Tomb 8; f. Cypriot Tomb 19; g. French Tomb 2; h. Swedish Tomb 18; i. French Tomb 1851; j. Swedish Tholos Tomb 21; k. British Ashlar Tomb 66.

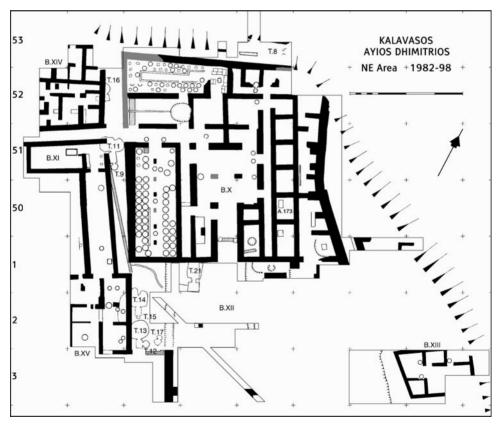
there are also four or five *tholos* tombs (ProBA 1–2 in date—Gjerstad *et al.* 1934: 570–573; Johnstone 1971; Courtois *et al.* 1986: 49–50), five rectangular ashlar-built tombs (partly corbelled, all ProBA 2 in date—Courtois *et al.* 1986: 24–6), pit graves, infant burials in pots, and shaft graves (ProBA 3 only) (Keswani 2004: 93).

The only ashlar-built tomb found intact (Enkomi British Tomb 66 = French Tomb 1322) contained a wealth of gold, bronze, faience, and other exotic items, whilst fragmentary finds from the remaining ashlar tombs suggest that they too contained exceptional contents. All of the *tholos* tombs had been looted before excavation, but fragmentary gold finds from two of them (Enkomi Swedish Tomb 21, British Tomb 71) hint that they too may have held people of high status. Whereas the *tholos* tombs resemble the famous *tholoi* from Mycenae and elsewhere in the Aegean (e.g. Darcque 1987; Cavanagh and Laxton 1988), they are smaller in size and more irregular in construction than their Aegean (or even Levantine) prototypes (Keswani 2004: 115) or, more likely, a variation on the standard Cypriot rock-cut chamber tomb. These *tholoi* were situated in various parts of the town at Enkomi, and thus are unlikely to represent the burials of any specific residential, kin, or other social group.

The ashlar-built tombs, by contrast, were all constructed in Quartiers 3E and 4E in association with well-built residential structures, leading Keswani (2004: 115) to suggest that they may have belonged to a single elite group that lived in this area. These burial constructions are often associated with the elaborate ashlar tombs found beneath elite households in Ugarit (Salles 1995), but once again the Enkomi examples are somewhat smaller and of less elaborate construction than their fully corbelled Syrian counterparts (Schaeffer 1939: 91; Karageorghis 1966: 344). Both the *tholos* and ashlar-built tombs may have been inspired by the mortuary constructions of foreign elites (Keswani 2004: 115). Even if that were the case, it seems clear that these tombs were adapted to Cypriot social concerns and locational constraints. Moreover, various rock-cut chambers tombs in other parts of Enkomi—French Tomb 2 (Schaeffer 1952: 111–35), British Tombs 19, 67, and 93 (Murray et al. 1900) and Swedish Tomb 8 (Gjerstad et al. 1934)—have comparable or even wealthier material assemblages than their foreign counterparts, making it clear that neither the tholos nor the ashlar-built tombs were the exclusive choice of the elite(s).

Perhaps the most crucial change in the ProBA mortuary record, and the one that distinguishes it most clearly from that of the PreBA, is the occurrence of intramural tombs in diverse residential, administrative, or even workshop contexts in most excavated settlements (Keswani 2004: 85, 87–8). For example, at Alassa *Pano Mandilares* (Hadjisavvas 1989: 35, 39–40; 1991: 73–6 and fig. 17.3), Enkomi (Dikaios 1969: 418–34) and Episkopi *Bamboula* (Benson 1972: 3–4, 9), several tombs were located either in domestic courtyards or beneath

streets. The four elite tombs at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*—nos. 11, 14, 13, and 21—were situated beneath a N/S running street, just west of an elaborate public structure, Building X (South 1997: 161; 2000: 348). These burial constructions were oriented to the south, and arranged more or less in a line, from Tomb 11 in the north to Tomb 13 in the south (Figure 36). Although they date, variously, from LC IIA–B, whilst Building X's latest and best preserved level dates to LC IIC, excavations have shown a continuous stratigraphic and architectural sequence throughout LC II (A–C): this suggests that the alignment of elite tombs and the elite public structure was a planned operation. Bolger (2003: 172) suggests that the regular (N/S) orientation of these tombs, the Mycenaean kraters found in them (Tombs 11, 13, and 14) and the segregation of male and female burials (infants might be buried with either) point to a 'common burial program of a distinct and spatially differentiated group of elites'.



**Figure 36:** Elite tombs at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* situated beneath a N/S running street to the west of monumental Building X.

The mortuary practices of the ProBA may have been linked to the social circumstances involved in the founding of new population centres (Keswani 1996: 236-7; 2004: 87-8). Thus frontier coastal towns like Enkomi, Toumba tou Skourou, and perhaps Kition would have been settled by kin groups from different 'ancestral' villages who 'may have lacked the sense of corporate identity associated with communal, extramural burial grounds' (Keswani 2004: 87). Such heterogeneous descent groups, Keswani suggests, established their burial grounds in close proximity to their own houses or workshops, thus setting themselves apart from other, unrelated groups in the new community. In some inland towns, situated in areas with continuous sequences of prior occupation, residents either built new ashlar structures directly above earlier tombs (Maroni Vournes, Kalavasos Avios Dhimitrios), or else constructed new tombs in streets and open areas in everyday use (Episkopi Bamboula, Alassa Pano Mandilares). Keswani (2004: 88) suggests that this practice may be associated with 'widespread "privatization" of the ancestors in the context of increasing inter-familial, as opposed to inter-community competition', thus stressing and validating rights of ownership or control over land and production facilities. In both cases, these groups seem to have fostered a strong sense of their own social identity, as the tombs of their elite ancestors—testaments to their hereditary legitimacy—would have been encountered on a daily basis.

One of the most striking examples of such tombs, and certainly one of the richest tombs ever uncovered on Cyprus, is Tomb 11 at Ayios Dhimitrios (Goring 1989; Mover 1989; South 1997: 159–61, 2000: 349–53). Bolger (2003: 172) emphasizes a recurring pattern of sexual segregation in the mortuary deposits of Avios Dhimitrios, and states that Tomb 11 in particular 'can justifiably be regarded as the most prestigious female mortuary facility known from prehistoric Cyprus.' In it were interred three young women (respectively 17, 19-20, 21-24 years old), the bones of a 3-year-old child, and three new-born infants, the last burials deposited in the tomb (South 2000: 352). The women's remains had been placed on two bed-sized benches cut into the rock on either side of the entrance to the tomb chamber; the bones of the child and infants were placed on the floor, near the benches. The 19- to 20-year-old female rested on the wider (western) bench, her skeleton fully articulated and bedecked with gold, silver and glass jewellery of the most luxurious type. The skeletons of the other two women were disarticulated and incomplete, but they too had been adorned with jewellery, ivory and other precious goods. A small oval chamber of less than 1 m sq (Tomb 9), near the entrance to the tomb, contained a nearly complete infant's skeleton and a few ivory fragments. A niche on the eastern side of the dromos to Tomb 11 contained the very incomplete skeletal remains of a 2- to 24-month-old infant and 17- to 25-year-old adult, along with a large bronze ring and a single Base-ring I juglet (South 2000: 352).

The configuration and preservation of all these remains clearly indicate secondary burial practices. In Tomb 11, the most recent interment was placed on the wider (western) bench, at which point earlier remains were removed to the narrower (eastern) bench. The bones of the new-born infants, however, were the latest to enter the tomb: they had been placed atop a layer of silt that covered the chamber floor and the grave goods of the earlier burials, and were found in a cluster, perhaps indicating their original placement in a basket or other organic container that has since disintegrated. Most likely some sort of ceremony accompanied the moving of an individual's bones to a new resting place. At the very least, the secondary treatment of these skeletal remains involved the purposeful and preferential transferral of the skull and long bones (Goring 1989: 100; Steel 2004a: 174). One can only speculate whether the infants were the offspring of one or more of the women. If they were, they had been kept elsewhere for some time, after which their bones were collected together and mixed up together with some bird and fish bones before being placed in Tomb 9 (South 2000: 352). There they lay in close proximity to the women but on the floor rather than on the benches. The spatial configuration seen in Tomb 11 also indicates special treatment of these infants. Elsewhere, in Enkomi for example, infants were typically buried in (imported, 'Syro-Palestinian') jars or amphorae beneath floors in various rooms (Dikaios 1969: 109, 115–16), although at least one infant and one child were interred in two different (LC IIIA) shaft graves (Dikaios 1971: 518).

The grave goods found in Tomb 11 (Figure 37), the only intact and sealed tomb group found at Ayios Dhimitrios (South 2000: 353), are exceptional and have been singled out for comment by everyone who writes about this site (e.g. Goring 1989; South 2000: 352-3; Bolger 2003: 172-3; Steel 2004a: 174). Amongst the 177 registered items were such exotica as: 'sets' (of 2) Mycenaean kraters and piriform jars, pedastalled Base-ring bowls, almost identical Basering bull-shaped vessels, Egyptian glass jars, ivory duck-shaped vessels, and a set of 3 very similar WS II bowls; at least 17 Red Lustrous spindle bottles and five lentoid flasks; 12 gold earrings (six each found with the women on the two benches), two gold finger rings with Cypro-Minoan signs and other motifs on bezels, two silver toe rings, four gold spirals, and a double-sided stone stamp seal. In studying the gold jewellery, Goring (1989: 103-4) noted that the 12 gold earrings were nearly standardized in weight (10.8 grams) and thus might have served as some sort of 'convertible currency', perhaps even as part of the women's dowries. The women buried in Tomb 11 were accompanied by some of the most sumptuous grave goods known from prehistoric Cyprus. The fact that much of the gold dewellery showed signs of prior use



Figure 37: Grave goods (miscellaneous gold objects) accompanying burials in Tomb 11, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*.

indicates they may have worn these items in life as well as in death, perhaps to highlight their status and to signal their elite identities.

Tomb 11 at *Ayios Dhimitrios* is not the only exceptional and luxurious female burial of the ProBA. Swedish Tomb 18 at Enkomi, for example, another rock-cut chamber tomb, contained the skeletal remains of a 36-year-old female interred with an array of gold jewellery (earrings, necklace, finger and toe rings, a diadem, and mouthpiece), a bronze mirror and some bronze vessels, several fragments of an ivory box and an ivory comb (Fischer 1986: 36–7; Bolger 2003: 170; Keswani 2004: 126). At Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, the latest chamber in a multiple-chamber tomb of ProBA date contained a single, 25-year-old female (Vermeule and Wolsky 1990: 247–8) whose remains were found in context with gold beads, fragments of ivory boxes, a lapis lazuli cylinder seal with gold foil caps and Mycenaean pottery. The remains of earlier burials in this tomb had been cleared to make way for this burial, the most sumptuous one uncovered at the site.

Despite the quantity and diversity of luxury goods found in ProBA tombs, Keswani (2004: 85–6) believes that ProBA burial practices reflect new urban

attitudes to mortuary rituals, where 'status differentials were no longer primarily created through periodic, ritualized exhibitions among competitive kin groups but were instead increasingly based upon differential access to copper, trade goods, and positions attained within a variety of court and temple institutions'. In this light, it is worth noting that a recent contextual analysis of goods imported into ProBA Cyprus found the fall-off in the amount of gold in LC IIC—IIIA mortuary contexts at Enkomi (Keswani 1989c: 66) to be offset by an increase in gold items in settlement, and specifically in ceremonial contexts in Area I (=Level IIIB) (Antoniadou 2004: 174 and tables 156, 160). Mortuary rituals, in other words, remained crucial for expressing social identity and reproducing status differentials, but the actual mortuary practices ceased to be the only way, or the prime venue, for such expressions.

Based on his work at Maroni *Vournes* and *Tsaroukkas*, Manning (1998b; also Manning and Monks 1998) sees this process unfolding rather differently. He argues that as new production, craft, and storage facilities developed at the larger Maroni settlement complex during LC IIC, several tombs that had been used by one or more elite lineages throughout LC IIA–B were emptied, destroyed, or built over by new structures (e.g. Buildings 1 and 2 at *Tsaroukkas* 

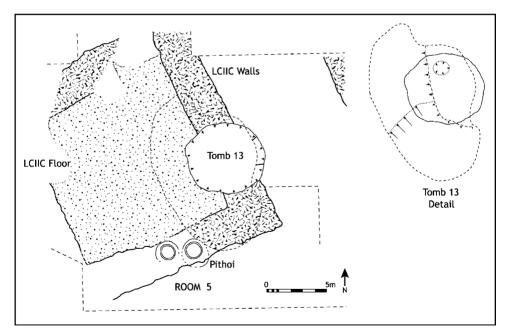


Figure 38: Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 (LC IIA-B) Tomb 13, built over by new structures (Building 1) at Maroni *Tsaroukkas*.

and the 'Ashlar Building' at *Vournes*) (Figure 38). Manning (1998b: 48–53) interprets these changes as the deliberate erasure of earlier memories by those who constructed these new buildings, a strategic appropriation of ancestral authority and the deliberate suppression of the prevailing, and competing, modes of prestige display. Webb (1999: 287-8) interprets the maintenance or destruction of ancestral burial plots such as those at Vournes or Tsaroukkas, and the 'conspicuous consumption' that such a process entails, as reflecting the interplay of domination and resistance between competing elites striving to establish political legitimacy. In Manning's (1998b: 51-4) scenario, one successful lineage group or its head may already have been asserting a 'chiefly' identity during LC IIA-B, but with the new LC IIC constructions over earlier tombs and buildings, the social authority and salient identity linked with various ancestral groups now came under the control of a single ruling family headed by a 'key individual in Cypriot prehistory'. He suggests that individual may have been the king of Alashiya mentioned in diverse, contemporary (14th–13th centuries BC) cuneiform documents.

Bolger's (2003: 165–82) perspective on the multiplicity of ProBA mortuary practices follows the original research of Keswani (1989a), and highlights various gendered patterns and practices associated with burials (Keswani 2004: 26, 31, 132, 141). Bolger maintains that men's and women's roles became much more sharply differentiated during the ProBA than in any previous period. Below, in Chapter 7, I consider the overall impact of gendered mortuary practices on social identity in ProBA Cyprus. Here I simply summarize the points Bolger raised:

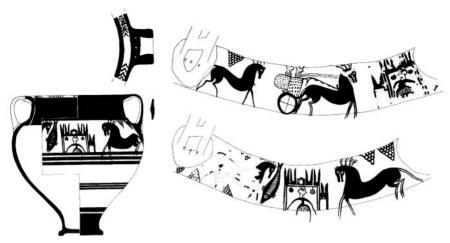
- Some ProBA tomb groups (Ayios Iakovos *Melia*, Kourion *Bamboula*, Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos*) reveal a disproportionate, 2:1 ratio (nearly 4:1 at *Ayios Iakovos*) of male to female osteological remains (based on Keswani 1989a; see also Keswani 2004: 31, 220 table 5.3; Fischer 1986: 12).
- The practice of post-bregmatic cranial deformation, which Bolger (2003: 140–4, 151–2) sees as related to social status, was rarely applied to females (except at Enkomi) (Keswani 2004: 26 notes such practice only as a preoccupation of most previous mortuary analyses).
- The spatial segregation of males and females into different tomb groups (Akhera *Çiflik Paradisi*, Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*).
- The contrast between certain sumptuous, high-status, female burials (especially at *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Enkomi, and *Toumba tou Skourou*) and the apparent lack of lower-status female burials.
- The possible existence of five or six third gender or 'transgendered' burials at Hala Sultan Tekke (Tomb 23), Enkomi (Swedish Tomb 17), Ayios

Iakovos (Tomb 13), *Ayios Dhimitrios* (Tomb 14), and Lapithos (Swedish Tomb 29).

The multiplicity of burial practices and the rituals and beliefs associated with them clearly became more diverse as the communities of ProBA Cyprus opened up to wider regional and external horizons, and in so doing became more heterogeneous and socially complex (Keswani 2004: 103–4). As a further and perhaps related development, primary inhumations (during ProBA 3) in shaft graves became more common, emphasizing the role and status of certain individuals within or beyond their communities. It is by no means certain that shaft graves became the normative type of mortuary practice during ProBA 3. Although they required less effort to build than chamber tombs, the shaft graves were not destined exclusively for lower status burials, nor were they the result of hasty, less attentive burial practices (Niklasson-Sönnerby 1987). Some shaft graves—e.g. Enkomi French Tombs 13, 15, and 16—contained gold jewellery and were most likely used by groups and individuals of varying wealth and social stature (Schaeffer 1936: 141–2; Keswani 2004: 97).

The prominence of other luxury goods, imported or locally made, in ProBA burials the island around indicates that mortuary practices and rituals indeed continued to serve an important function for establishing social hierarchies, consolidating individual or group identity, and maintaining the memory and power of ancestral groups. From lavish arrays of gold jewellery (earring, hair-rings, finger rings, necklaces, diadems, etc.—Goring 1989), to the proliferation of Mycenaean pottery vessels holding scented oils (Leonard 1981; Steel 1998: 294-6), to the myriad examples of metal goods (bronze spatulae and mirrors, silver bowls) and ivory, glass, faience, and ostrich egg containers, we can understand how bodily ornamentation, dress, and serving paraphernalia may have enhanced elite images within society and served as an important means to construct elite identity. Although some jewellery may have been made exclusively for funerary consumption (e.g. Lagarce and Lagarce 1986: 117-22), most examples show indicators of long term use, even if only at festive or ceremonial events (Keswani 2004: 138). Less striking but equally prominent sets or single occurrences of balance weights—found in ProBA 1-2 tombs at Enkomi, Maroni, Toumba tou Skourou and Ayia Irini Paleokastro (and in Building III at Ayios Dhimitrios)—suggest some association with metallurgical production. Moreover, because these weights belong to Levantine, Anatolian, and even Babylonian measurement systems (Courtois 1983, 1986; Petruso 1984), they may well demonstrate some links to the interregional trade in metals.

The elaborately decorated Mycenaean chariot kraters found in high status tombs may have formed part of elite drinking sets (Steel 1998). A scene on



**Figure 39:** Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 krater from Tomb 13 at *Ayios Dhimitrios*, showing a woman looking from a building.

one of these kraters (from Tomb 13 at Avios Dhimitrios—Figure 39) shows a woman standing in a building and looking upon a chariot group, horses, and fish flanking a structure (a 'shrine') topped by five pairs of 'horns of consecration' (Steel 1994). From Kourion Bamboula comes a very similar krater on which a group of women also peer through a window to gaze upon another chariot scene (Karageorghis 1957). Another Mycenaean krater (from Tomb 21 at Avios Dhimitrios) unusually depicts women only, and was found in context with ivories, five gold diadems (or mouthpieces?), and some local pottery (South 2000: 362). Other imported Mycenaean alabastra or stirrup jars, as well as local Red Lustrous ware spindle bottles or arm-shaped vessels frequently found in mortuary contexts, may all be linked to various rituals that involved anointing the body or the pouring of libations (Steel 1998: 294–6, 2003: 175; cf. Webb 1992b: 89). Vaughan (1991: 124) has also suggested that Base-ring jugs and carinated cups—both common in mortuary and ritual contexts—could have been used in libation ceremonies. When this array of kraters (prominently featuring women in various settings), stirrup jars, jugs, cups, and specialized vessels are taken into account alongside the faunal remains found in tombs at Ayios Dhimitrios (South 2000: 361) and Toumba tou Skourou (Vermeule and Wolsky 1990: 169, 245), there is little doubt that ceremonial feasting and libations played a prominent role in ProBA mortuary rituals (Steel 2004a: 174), and that women were intimately associated with such activities.

Another key component of elite prestige symbolism and competitive display may be seen in the array of exotic vessels (Base-ring bull *rhyta*, faience

zoomorphic *rhyta* and cups, Mycenaean conical and zoomorphic *rhyta*, Red Lustrous wares) found in both ceremonial and mortuary contexts (Keswani 2004: 137). Hittite and Akkadian texts reveal the symbolic significance involved in the *rhyta* particularly: silver and gold examples were exchanged as gifts between Hittite and Egyptian courts, if not others, and the Hittite king requested rhyta (bibrû) from the king of Alashiya (Liverani 1979; Knapp 1980; Zaccagnini 1987: 58). In Amarna letter 34, the king of Alashiya asks pharaoh to send him a chariot with gold fittings and two horses (Moran, in Knapp 1996: 21). The unusual LC IIC faience rhyton from Kition Chrysopolitissa (Figure 27) (found near partially looted tombs) depicts hunting scenes, bulls, a goat, stylized flowers, and two hunters with short kilts and tassled headdresses, combining Egyptian, Orientalizing, and Aegean motifs (Peltenburg 1974: 116–26, pl. XCIV). Chariot scenes, whether depicted in seal impressions (see above, pp. 168–9), on Mycenaean kraters (Steel 1990), or on an ivory gaming box, were closely associated with Near Eastern as well as Aegean (not to mention Homeric) elites (Moorev 1986; Littauer and Crouwel 1996; Drews 2004). The LC IIIA ivory gaming box from British Tomb 58 at Enkomi (see above, p. 163) depicts various horned and hoofed animals in flying gallop, fleeing before a chariot driven by an archer; a large bull with lowered horns also confronts the chariot (Murray et al. 1900: 12–14, pl. I). The bull as well as a vignette of a man spearing a rearing lion to the left of the hunting scene are parallelled by similar details on a gold bowl and gold plate from Ugarit (Schaeffer 1949: 5, pls. II–V, VIII; Feldman 2006: 65–6, pl. 8). There is every reason to think that chariots represent an elite mode of transportation, and thus served in part to signal elite identities on ProBA Cyprus.

It seems evident that such prestige-laden luxury items—virtually all dated to the ProBA 2 period—were steeped in the royal imagery of various Near Eastern, Egyptian, and Aegean polities (Keswani 1989b; 2004: 139). These objects reflect close links to distant ideologies of kingship or political legitimacy, and show that Cypriot elites were manipulating such images to legitimize their rule. They were also displaying these icons from afar, in order to ground their own identity firmly in easily recognizable symbols of both oriental and occidental authority and power. The material assemblages of ProBA 1-2 burials show notable disparities between social groups in the distribution of gold jewellery and other luxury items. The concentration in the richest ProBA tombs of 'higher order', icongraphically complex prestige goods—richly worked gold jewellery, Mycenaean pictorial craters, bronze vessels, tools, personal items (tweezers, mirrors), and weaponry—clearly demonstrates the existence of a stratified social order, with status differences closely linked to tomb (descent?) group affiliation and hereditary social rank (Keswani 2004: 142).

Looking at the broader implications of the distribution and material makeup of elite burials in ProBA town centres, Keswani (2004: 143) argues that mortuary assemblages from Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Avios Dhimitrios, Kourion, Kouklia Palaepaphos, Toumba tou Skourou, and Avia Irini Paleokastro contain luxury goods of comparable (symbolic and iconographic) quality to those from Enkomi, albeit in smaller amounts. This observation, of course, supports her (and Crewe's 2004) contention that none of these sites were subordinate to Enkomi in ProBA 2 (and by extrapolation not in ProBA 1 either). Keswani (2004: 143) does see a disparity between the range of luxury or imported goods found in urban burials and those from inland communities, whether in rural agricultural sites (e.g. Ayios Iakovos, Nicosia Ayia Paraskevi), in tombs situated in the mining (industrial) zone (e.g. Akhera, Politiko, Katydhata), or in the industrial sites themselves (e.g. Politiko Phorades, Sanidha). Finds from LC IIB Politiko Tomb 6 (Karageorghis 1965b), whilst very similar to those from the LC IIC Akhera Ciflik Paradisi Tombs 2 and 3, are quite different from urban tombs; there are several local pottery types, a few Mycenaean vessels (containers), a few small finds of ivory and faience, two locally made cylinders, and some bronze weapons, ornaments and other small objects. The recovery of a gold Hittite seal from Politiko Lambertis (Buchholz and Untiedt 1996: 71, fig. 14a) and a fragment of a large Mycenaean IIIB krater from nearby Pera Kryphtidhes (Åström 1972: 317) only serve to punctuate the relative scarcity of higher order ProBA valuables in rural tombs. It would appear, then, that most prestige goods flowing into the hinterland were not equivalent to those used by the highest status groups in the coastal centres (Keswani and Knapp 2003). Inland production sites or distribution nodes thus were not involved in equal but rather in subordinate exchange relationships, even if some individuals occasionally were buried with higher order valuables.

## Mortuary Practices and Identity

During the course of the ProBA, divisions between social groups sharpened. Elites in different urban centres established their hereditary legitimacy and perpetuated their own social identity by constructing ancestral tombs clearly visible alongside or beneath streets, residences, and workshops. The sumptuous grave goods interred with the women in Tomb 11 at *Ayios Dhimitrios* emphasized their social status and at the same time highlighted their elite identity. The reconstruction of ancestral burial plots at Maroni *Vournes* and *Tsaroukkas* may indicate the emergence of a new elite group asserting its identity and authority over those of other lineages or social groups. The imagery portrayed on the

Mycenaean kraters that accompanied various burials highlight some women's elite identity, and suggest that chariots were used or displayed by other elites to signal their identity. More generally, the prominence in ProBA burials of luxury goods, precious metal objects, imported ivory, glass, faience, or ostrich egg containers—many of them displaying Near Eastern, Egyptian, and Aegean royal imagery—demonstrates that mortuary practices and rituals served to establish social hierarchies, perpetuate the memory and power of ancestral groups, and above all to accentuate elite identities.

Whereas mortuary rituals continued to reproduce status differentials and remained crucial for expressing one's social identity, mortuary practices themselves no longer served as the sole means or the preferred venue for such social reproduction and expression. The centralization of political authority on the island at this time likely opened up the possibility of using other means and media—monumental architecture, seals and sealings, elite representations—for expressing social status, wealth, and power. As the economic and politico-ideological bases for earlier mortuary practices were eroded, secondary treatment and collective burials not only seem to have diminished, but at times even fell into disuse as the social identity and community position of earlier lineage groups was displaced by new ruling lineages (or perhaps even a single lineage).

By the transition to the ProBA 3 period (LC IIC-LC IIIA) towards the end of the thirteenth century BC, when production, trade, and monumental building construction (see following section) had expanded in an unprecedented manner, small burial groups or even single individuals typically were interred in earthen or stone-lined shaft graves (Keswani 2004: 159). Most of these burials show considerable variation in wealth but it is clear that some individuals of high status were interred in them. This new trajectory in mortuary practice perhaps was inevitable as traditional economic links and prevailing socio-political patterns broke down in the collapse that impacted so severely on most of Cyprus's neighbours in the Aegean and the Levant. These same events, however, also created new opportunities for establishing social status, accumulating wealth and formulating one's identity. By LC IIIB and the start of the Cypro-Geometric period, well after the urban collapse of LC IIIA, the use of extramural cemeteries once again became common, whilst new and more elaborate forms of chamber tombs appeared. Mortuary practices now included cremation as well as inhumation; communal burial grounds seem to have taken on renewed importance; and large deposits of metal, ceramic and luxury goods were once again deposited within these burials (Steel 1995; Raptou 2002; Keswani 2004: 160). Mortuary rituals and display, in other words, seem to have assumed crucial importance once again in negotiating island identities during the Early Iron Age, and in establishing a new social and political order at that time (see further below, *The Earliest Iron Age, LC IIIB*).

## ARCHITECTURE, MONUMENTALITY, AND MEMORY

in general and functionalist terms.... as societies grew increasingly inegalitarian, monumental architecture loomed larger in the archaeological record. (Trigger 2003: 564)

The concept of monumentality embraces several types of built structures: palaces, elite residences, administrative complexes and political centres; ceremonial centres and 'temples'; fortifications and defensive compounds; and tomb constructions. Here I focus primarily on monumental architecture (Trigger 1990; 2003: 564–82), without excluding other types of monuments. A social analysis of the construction, elaboration and significance of monuments (Bradley 1998), and in particular monumental architecture, offers archaeologists another means of conceptualizing island identities and of unpacking the intracacies involved in establishing ideological or political authority.

Monumental structures can express power as well as mask it; they may serve as physical manifestations of social order and collective will (Lefebvre 1991: 143; Parker Pearson and Richards 1994: 3). The task of building such large and complex structures—e.g. the megalithic 'temples' of Late Neolithic Malta or the palatial compounds of Bronze Age Crete—required a long-term commitment as well as the ability to control resources and coordinate substantial investments of labour (DeMarrais et al. 1996: 18-19, 31). These undertakings cannot have failed to create a sense of group identity (Bradley 1998: 71-2), or even of distinct identities, e.g. between those who built and those who inhabited or used these structures. Robb (2001: 188-92), in fact, argues that Malta's unique monumental architecture may be understood as the cultural construction of difference, a unique means of establishing an island identity and 'becoming Maltese'. In Tilley's (2004: 89) view, these same structures eventually led the Maltese to create 'an interiorized world' where the notion of an insular identity 'became imploded into the very form of the monuments themselves'.

Once built, monumental structures set the stage for particular kinds of human action, where people use and deposit distinctive kinds of material (Bradley 1991: 136). Unlike most other facets of material culture that archaeologists study, monumental buildings are culturally constructed *places*, enduring features of the human landscape that actively express ideology, elicit memory and help to constitute identity. Architectural complexes encode and

embed certain meanings in society by manipulating or controlling people and their encounters with the world (Hodder 1994: 74). At the same time they communicate and reproduce those meanings, and thus may actively shape relationships of power and inequality between those who dwell in or use such buildings and those who visit or simply pass by them (Fisher 2006: 125).

Buildings, then, are not just accumulations of materials, shapes, and designs but also expressions of specific human activities experienced both during and after their actual construction (Given 2004: 105). In their durability as well as their (often public or centralized) setting, monumental structures express how ancient builders combined materials, human labour and specialized knowledge to create something greater than the sum of their products (Kolb 2005). As such, they would have remained in people's minds whether or not they were in active phases of use, modification, renewal, or reuse, however much they were remembered or forgotten at different points in time, however free or restricted access to them may have been. As Alcock (2002: 31) notes, 'Tracking the lives and afterlives of monuments, then, might testify most immediately to alterations in what was deemed commendable to remember or wise to forget'.

The meanings of major monumental buildings are directly linked to the material conditions of their production (Hodder 1994: 74). Such monuments embody not just the earth or stone from which they were built, but the people and experiences involved in their construction: they thus hold a special place in human memory, in individual or group identity. Social memory may entail a specific link to a certain group's ancestral traditions (Gosden and Lock 1998; Hodder and Cessford 2004: 32) or it may involve more general links to a dimly remembered past stemming from the reinterpretation of monuments or landscapes (Alcock 2001; van Dyke 2004: 414). In such memories, various aspects of the past may be deliberately highlighted, obliterated, or subsumed under current ideas and ideologies (or resistance to them). Rowlands (1993: 144) argued that durable monuments 'assert their own memories... and come to possess their own personal trajectories' (similarly Richards 1996). Over time, therefore, their origins and significance invested such monuments with unique histories, not unlike the 'life histories' of houses (Tringham 1994) or the cultural biographies of more portable things (Kopytoff 1986; cf. Bradley 1998: 72). Monumental buildings, moreover, typically inspire diverse if not conflicting memories, what Lefebvre (1991: 222) called a 'horizon of meanings'.

Because different people bring different experiences to bear on different monuments, and because such experiences or expectations change over time, Alcock (2002: 30) argues that the meanings of monuments are quite slippery. Archaeologists need to control the testimony of monumental structures by always situating them in their cultural or historical context, and by allowing

for the possibility of multiple meanings and layers of dissonance. People may use social memory to establish or support a sense of individual and community, or to create the notion of a socially integrated, legitimate authority (Van Dyke 2004: 414). Day and Wilson (2002), for example, have shown how the environs of Kephala Hill at Knossos in Crete, where the monumental 'first palace' was constructed during the Middle Minoan IB period, had already became an 'arena for memory'—associated with various feasting ceremonies and acts of consumption—during the Early Minoan period. Set within a landscape that shaped and served to express power relations during the Prepalatial period, the Knossos site—as a focus for veneration, celebration, and memory—provided fertile ground for the political authority involved in building the first palace. As such monuments are modified or rebuilt, the understanding and experience of them will change: thus they 'feed off [their] associations' with place, time, and other monuments (Bradley 1993: 129).

Mortuary complexes are obvious places where ancestral memories are venerated and maintained over long periods of time. The monumentalization of (Middle Helladic) Grave Circle A at Mycenae and its use by elites during the Late Helladic IIIB period would seem to be a case in point. Laffineur (1995) summarizes the debate but suggests that the LHIII rulers were, at most, only vaguely aware of the occupants of these shaft graves. Although Laffineur's position may seem to make this particular case somewhat equivocal (he sees no direct ancestral link to or memory of those who were buried in the shaft graves), the later rulers of Mycenae expended a great deal of effort, as well as resources, to monumentalize and incorporate the grave circle within the city walls. Even if they had no specific memory of the individuals involved. they must have had some sense that the occupants of these graves—earlier rulers or heroes about whom they perhaps knew very little—played important roles in Mycenae's past. Drawing upon what was already a very vague knowledge of their city's past, then, the rulers or elites of LH IIIB Mycenae revamped and reconstructed Grave Circle A, in the process constructing or even inventing memories or myths, at least partly in order to emphasize and legitimize their social position and political power.

Monumental buildings not only reverberate with meanings and memory of the past, they also help to consolidate the social fabric of the present and often are directed toward the future. And yet, as Bradley (2002: 82–6, 109–11) has argued, attempts to influence future memories—even if there was some original consensus of purpose—seldom succeed, because the meanings and understandings of monuments change, defying or obfuscating the intentions of those who built them. In fact, the more durable the media in which monuments were constructed, the more likely it becomes that future generations will develop alternative interpretations and understandings, even

memories of them. Whereas certain monumental constructions could at least serve to remind later generations of the works and projects of their distant or remote ancestors, the changing circumstances of, and adaptations to, social space meant that a single or intended interpretation could never be assured or enforced.

Within hierarchically organized societies, labour investment in monumental constructions reflects in part the ways that elites and their subjects negotiate relationships of dominance and consent (Kolb 1994: 521). Although monument building is an inherently elite practice, typically motivated by the pursuit of social status and political power, built form in and of itself need not be inherently oppressive. Moreover, the power embedded in monumental structures is actively mediated through them and expressed in several possible dimensions, such as public/private, access/segregation, or identity/difference (Dovey 1999: 1, 15–16; Fisher 2006: 124–5).

Given (2004: 105–15) has asked what effect massive construction projects such as the Giza pyramids of Old Kingdom Egypt or the Nazi building programmes in Berlin and Nuremberg had on the labourers who built them and the society that experienced and used them. One answer is that the construction of all sorts of monuments portrays an elite capacity to deploy surplus labour, skilled craftspeople, and material resources toward specific social and ideological ends (Trigger 1990: 122; DeMarrais *et al.* 1996: 18). Another is that whilst monumental complexes, or indeed even entire urban centres, may represent elite intentions in promulgating or memorializing the past, their accessibility and populousness might result in multiple and even contradictory 'horizons of meaning' (Alcock 2002: 177).

By making elite authority so prominent and visible, monumental architecture not only symbolizes but actually becomes power (Trigger 1990: 122). Moreover, by working to erect monuments that help to establish elite identity and maintain elite authority, labourers and craftspeople inevitably become aware of their own subordinate status. Access to palaces and temples, however, would have been monitored or restricted, and commoners or nonbelievers routinely would have been denied access to the feasting, rituals, and ceremonies carried out in such elite domains (Kolb 1994). In the case of Late Neolithic Malta, the jury is still out on this matter: Stoddart *et al.* (1993; also Bonanno *et al.* 1990) maintain that these monuments were the exclusive domain of an elite priesthood, whilst Grima (2001; also Evans 1996) argues that full access to the 'temples' formed a crucial part of everyday ritual practice and served to encapsulate Maltese island identity.

Within early states, monumental architecture served symbolically to express unity, identity and power revolving around, variously, the community, the ruler(s), or the elite (Trigger 2003: 576–7). Moreover, the location and

organization of ceremonial space ultimately reflected and perpetuated the socio-political environment. Temples or sanctuaries closely linked to a polity's political or economic institutions embrace the symbolic or ideological value of such ritually defined sacred spaces. Property or inheritance rights, the veneration of ancestors, and mortuary rituals all demonstrate the active nature and social significance of monumental tombs (Patton 1993: 128–60; Hodder 1994: 84–5). Monumental structures actively express socio-ideological power and elite identity, and at times may involve people in acts of domination or resistance (DeMarrais *et al.* 1996). Elaborations in monumental sophistication or grandeur, and thus in the iconography of social power, may mark shifts in the ways elites signalled their identities, or expressed their control over divine forces as well as material resources (Knapp 1988: 148–55). Once again it is evident that social relationships, and indeed social identities, have clear spatial and material referents.

The use of monumental architecture to express elite identities or power relations may be most prominent during the formative stages of a state or other complex polity (Trigger 1990: 127; 1993: 74–81). Moreover, monumental public or ceremonial facilities tend to appear earliest in the regional centres of a settlement system or hierarchy (DeMarrais *et al.* 1996: 19). As we shall see, both these tendencies characterize the situation on ProBA Cyprus. Where individuals, factions or special interest groups seek to establish or consolidate social hierarchies and a single political authority with a coherent ideological base, the use of monumental constructions, impressive defensive walls, fine ashlar masonry, or elaborate mortuary complexes can help to highlight elite identities and to stabilize the collective or corporate power of elites.

Kolb (1994), for example, demonstrates that the construction of large public monuments on pre-contact Hawai'i served to establish a common elite ideology and identity. As unequal social systems developed, and as elites sought to establish their identity and authority, monumental constructions became a prominent, at times even a dominant material component of the landscape. Once elite identities have been established, and centralized authority becomes stable, elite attention may be directed to other strategies of production, consumption, and wealth display, all of them more finite or subtle than monumental architecture. In the Hawaiian case, after the island of Maui was unified, elites began to stress their role as mediators with the divine and enhanced their status not through monumental constructions but through displays of very different kinds of material wealth (Kolb 1994: 533). In other words, as the social relations of power changed, so too did the scope and extent of monumental undertakings.

Is there any correlation between monumentality and insularity? Kolb (2005: 173) suggests that monumental constructions on the Mediterranean

islands of Malta, Crete, Sardinia, Corsica, and the Balearics—all more than 48 km from the nearest mainland and all with a land area of over 200 km may have served as territorial markers (Renfrew 1976), as symbols of religious or ideological control (Stoddart et al. 1993) or simply as structures reflecting the elaboration of peculiar, local monumental styles (Evans 1973; Patton 1996). Kolb prefers to see these insular settings not so much as isolated but rather as circumscribed environments, where social competition for limited land increased as populations multiplied, resulting in locally diverse but regionally similar expressions of monumental elaboration. At about the same time that monumental architecture made its appearance in these Mediterranean islands, the archaeological record also shows clear indicators of economic intensification and social inequality. Kolb (2005: 174) maintains that such monuments reflect a corporate-based strategy, emphasizing collective unity rather than personal aggrandisement in the attempt to establish and maintain social power. Such corporate strategies at times serve to suppress economic differentiation (e.g. Feinman 1995) and enhance social power. In turn, the labour invested in architectural elaboration reinforces cooperation in food production, ceremonial rituals, and boundary maintenance. Finally, Kolb (2005: 172) suggests that the architectural progenitors of monumental elaborations on the islands of the western Mediterranean may be seen in megalithic chamber tombs, funerary monuments used during the Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age for communal burials, and often containing unique or special grave goods.

When we turn to consider monumental elaboration on Bronze Age Cyprus, we also need to bear in mind issues related to origins, multiple functions and social impact, as Kolb has done for these other Mediterranean islands. Moreover, we need to consider how individual agents—whether elites or non-elites—may have used monumentality in constructing their identity, and how performances and experiences in ceremonial structures helped them to make sense of their world.

## The Case for Cyprus

There is no dearth of published work on the monumental architecture of prehistoric Cyprus (e.g. Dikaios 1960; Wright 1992a; Webb 1999; Steel 2004a: 175–81, 201–6). In addition, an unpublished doctoral thesis has been devoted to Cypriot military architecture (Fortin 1981; also Fortin 1983, 1995). None of these treatises, however, offers a specifically social analysis of the construction, elaboration, and meaning of monumental architecture (cf. Fisher 2007), although Webb (1999) certainly goes some way down this road. The distinctions

that have been drawn between monumental public and ceremonial structures (including Knapp 1996b) seem at times ad hoc, largely based in functionalist thinking, and typically conditioned by preconceptions associated with Minoan 'palaces' or Near Eastern 'temples'. Wright (1992a: 258-79), well grounded in this broader, comparative tradition, argues on architectural grounds for the existence of 'palaces' and 'urban temples' in ProBA Cyprus, and at one point (p. 278) even suggests that there were no 'non-religious public buildings' on Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Yon (2006), although steeped in the same tradition, finds no evidence for palaces on Late Bronze Age or Early Iron Age Cyprus, despite expectations of such based on documentary evidence. Webb (1999: 157–258) provides the most comprehensive analysis, focusing on the 'ritual architecture' of ProBA Cyprus, and taking into account a combination of factors to assess the cultic function of the relevant sites and structures: location, plan, architecture, furnishings, and finds. Of 38 sites, structures, or installations usually thought to be cultic in nature, Webb (1999: 157) contends that only 16 may be securely identified in that way. Given that the time expanse we are concerned with amounts to nearly 500 years, during which over 300 different 'sites' are known, either we are dealing with truly exceptional constructions, or else the sample involved may not be truly representative of all the possible meanings that could apply to monumental constructions.

In an earlier study (Knapp 1996b), on analogy with Marinatos's (1993) interpretation of the Minoan palaces as the 'missing temples' of palatial Crete (presided over by an elite in control of political-economic as well as religious activities), I suggested that all ProBA Cypriot 'temples' or 'sanctuaries' ought to be regarded as secular, or public structures (although not 'palatial' buildings in the usual sense of that term). The distinction I sought to make was between public structures (by which I meant the administrative quarters of a ruling elite, 'city hall' if you will) and ceremonial structures (by which I meant cultic or religious quarters, a 'temple' or 'sanctuary' if you wish). That argument, based on a more narrow consideration of far fewer buildings than I present here, was largely functionalist, and attempted to separate not only public from private but also public (=secular) from cultic (=religious). The fundamental premise that underlay my argument, following on from even earlier work (Knapp 1986b; 1988), was that secular, not 'religious' elites decreed and sponsored the monumental constructions that characterized the ProBA from its outset. At the same time, these elites controlled copper production in all its stages (from the mines to the metallurgical workshops identified in monumental buildings at Kition, Enkomi, and elsewhere), and oversaw the processing and storage of olive oil (in monumental or specialpurpose buildings such as those at Avios Dhimitrios, Maroni Vournes, Apliki, and Athienou). These factors of production or distribution were crucial for both the Cypriot economy and the role of Cypriot society within the larger eastern Mediterranean system.

Increasingly it has become apparent that attempts to distinguish between 'public' and 'private' (e.g. Bolger 2003: 37, 49–50) are fraught with difficulties: we should question whether the ancient Cypriotes themselves would have made any such distinctions. Crone (1989: 114) argued that elites in preindustrial societies seldom distinguished between their public roles and private lives. Various factors tend to break down what contemporary scholarship deems to be divisions between public and private. For example, esoteric rituals conducted in cloistered temple or palace halls represent 'private', often exclusive behaviour, geared to enhance elite reputations, or even to reaffirm elite identities (Baines 1989: 480). If or when such behavior assumed 'public' status, the intention may have been to bolster elite identities even further, to demonstrate the power and ability of elites to expend whatever energy resources they deemed necessary (Trigger 1990: 126), or to establish more individual and focal forms of control. The dichotomies that appear to separate communal from private activities may in fact conceal a single institution with both public and private components (Kolb 1994: 544). Alternatively, they may indicate a multiplicity of functions along a continuum that only we, in the modern era, distinguish so readily as public or private. Finally, even in those cases where public and private power structures have become highly integrated, the social and personal dynamics that dictate how one may dominate the other vary widely across time and through space.

The attempt to separate monumental 'public' or administrative buildings from 'cultic' or ceremonial ones is equally challenging for archaeology, and typically gets entangled in terminological misunderstandings. Wright (1992a: 89), for example, seeking to establish pragmatic parameters to define a public building, states: 'finely dressed stone masonry is only found in public building, sacred or profane (or in a society where great inequality in wealth has developed)'. Despite its architectural pedigree, this statement obfuscates (or perhaps just exemplifies) the already vague and impressionistic literature on the topic. Binary concepts like public/private, or the distinction between public and ceremonial architecture, form an integral part of Western metaphysics, not least the classical tradition of ancient art and architecture that has characterized every generation of scholarly thinking about the role and place of monumental architecture in protohistoric Cyprus. Such distinctions often contain, intentionally or unintentionally, an oppositional bias that privileges one side of the equation at the expense of the other. In prehistoric and pre-industrial societies, not unlike any other human context, multiple variations of public/private and cultic/ceremonial could have existed. Accordingly, and particularly in the case of protohistoric Cyprus, it has proven very difficult to distinguish, on material grounds, between public and ceremonial space. From the detailed discussion of monumental structures that follows, it should become clear that there is almost no building or building complex that conforms securely to such a binary categorization. Most of the structures, in fact, are not only architecturally complex but also seem to have served multiple purposes, ranging from residential through administrative and industrial, to ceremonial and cultic.

In discussing monumentality, memory and island identity on ProBA Cyprus, it is important to keep in mind the following questions: (1) how and why do social, economic or ceremonial elaborations assume monumental proportions? (2) what sort of power base was associated with the construction of ProBA Cyprus's more elaborate monuments? (3) how was monumentality linked to social memory and identity on ProBA Cyprus? It is equally important to people the monumental landscapes of ProBA Cyprus, to look beyond social forces and ideological constructs and to consider how islanders used monumentality and memory in constructing their identity and making sense of their world. Moreover, we need to engage with Bolger's (2003: 49) attempt to adopt a gendered perspective in analysing the architectural innovations of this period: free-standing rather than agglomerative structures; increasing standardization in construction methods and building plans; the apparent segregation of work areas in some special-purpose, ashlar-built structures. Some buildings show more standardization than others, and some aspects of industrial production (spinning, weaving, pottery) were carried out in nondomestic contexts. For Bolger, such factors signify crucial social changes: the emergence of a ruling class, the prevalence of working space in both domestic and non-domestic structures, and increases in the gendered division of labour. Although evidence for a gendered division of labour is apparent already in the PreBA (Webb 2002a), the organization of industrial production indicated by workshops in ProBA sites such as Kition, Enkomi, Avios Dhimitrios, and Hala Sultan Tekke (see next section) would have been supported by a different level and greater specialization in gendered labour.

During the earliest stage of the ProBA (1700–1400 BC), when the dynamics of Cypriot society became altered irrevocably, there is irrefutable evidence for unprecedented forms of monumental architecture in coastal towns as well as in some rural centres. Webb (1999: 289) contends that such constructions were not visible before the 13th century BC (i.e. end of ProBA 2). In at least some cases, however, the foundations of these later buildings that form the main component of the archaeological record have antecedents, often patchy remnants, in levels of the 15th or even 16th centuries BC. Currently it cannot be demonstrated that these antecedents were equally monumental in character or that they had the same form or function. Nonetheless, given the long-term development of most ProBA settlements, we can at least suggest that some

significance must have been attached to the specific places where monumental buildings were erected. Moreover, the spatial patterning of most settlements, 'sanctuaries' and cemeteries had changed by the onset of the ProBA: virtually all burials and most major monumental structures were now situated within the town centres themselves. Merrillees (1973: 50) maintains that this new alignment resulted in a more integrated social unit than that which had existed in the PreBA or in earlier prehistory.

One may question, however, whether any of the new town centres of ProBA Cyprus, or the monumental structures within them, marked out a sacred or sanctified space (Knapp 1986b: 67–9; Wright 1992b: 270). Nonetheless, such monuments clearly dominate the landscape—particularly in the case of Enkomi, a formally designed, grid-based town. This symbolic domination may well be associated with cosmological or even socioeconomic principles (i.e. an urban-rural antithesis), and was definitively linked to the formation of an elite identity (Kevin Fisher, personal comm.). These new administrative centres, with their monumental buildings and building complexes, rapidly became focal points for the production (and often the storage) of agricultural products and metal goods (including 'oxhide' ingots), terracotta figurines, textiles, votive juglets, and other specialized products, some of which were made from imported raw materials such as ivory, lapis lazuli, or carnelian (e.g. Courtois 1969; Catling 1984; Keswani 1993; Smith 2002b).

In order to amplify further discussion (below), I consider next a representative but by no means exhaustive sample of monumental and/or specialpurpose, elite-designed or elite-built structures in the coastal towns and inland centres of ProBA Cyprus (fuller treatments in Wright 1992a; Webb 1999). In discussing these sites and structures, I define monumentality narrowly as involving the construction and use of large (ranging from 150 to nearly 1500 sq m in size), multi- or special-purpose, usually ashlar-constructed buildings or building complexes. Some sites (e.g. Maa Palaeokastro and Pyla Kokkinokremnos) are included not because of their monumental or ashlar-based architecture but rather because they reveal various facilities that were almost certainly used for elite administrative activities related to production, distribution, storage and, perhaps, defense. Others, such as the 'ritual' or 'cultic' structures at Idalion Ambelleri or Ayia Irini, are not included because they are equally if not better exemplified by other buildings that I do discuss; in any case it is difficult to improve on Webb's (1999: 53–8, 84–91) detailed discussion and presentation of those particular sites. Still other sites, like the enclosure at Ayios Iakovos Dhima, have been treated elsewhere in this study (above, pp. 149-50). In addition, various features of these sites have been discussed in some detail above (Settlement Trends, Socio-political Organization, Production and Exchange).

Because the permanence of elite status, that is, the position of elites in society, is in no way fixed but rather ambiguous and contingent in historical experience (Herzfeld 2000: 232–4), one prominent way in which elites seek to perpetuate their power, as well as their identity and memory, is through monumentality (buildings) or by monumentalizing the past (tombs, mortuary rituals). Most of the structures discussed below are notable for their monumentality, and for the use of ashlar masonry, both of which served as powerful and permanent elements of Cypriot elite identity. In order to contextualize the specific structures presented here, I include in each case a brief description of the overall town site and its geographic setting.

## Monumental Structures of the ProBA

Kalavasos Ayios Dhimitrios: Set in a widening plain at the mouth of the Vasilikos River Valley, *Avios Dhimitrios* was a sizeable town by any prehistoric standard. Because many buildings in the widely spread out excavation areas (over 11–12 hectares) are more or less aligned on the same orientation, it is possible that Avios Dhimitrios, like Enkomi, had an overall gridded plan (Wright 1992a: 115). At least two sections of a 4-metre-wide north/south running street have been cleared in the southern part of the site (South 1980: 34-6, figs. 3-4; Steel 2003-4: 104), and a series of narrower streets (maximum 3 m in width) have been identified around Building X in the northeastern part (South 1997: 156-7). Building IX (Southeast Area) is thought to have been a coppersmith's residence and workshop; it contained slag, crucible, or furnace-lining fragments, bronze tools and implements, scrap metal, oxhide ingot fragments, a bronze bull with yellow ochre, a bronze cylinder seal and a hematite weight (South 1989; 320). Eleven bronze and three hematite weights were recovered from Building III, some 50 m north of Building IX (Courtois 1983). Although South (1996: 41) feels that all these remains indicate no more than small-scale, localized metallurgical activity, she nonetheless maintains that copper production and export were instrumental in the accumulation of elite wealth at this site (South and Todd 1985; South 1989; 322; 1996; 41–2).

Building XV (about  $16\times10$  sq m), originally dressed in ashlar masonry and containing at least one large room (A.190) with several large and medium-sized *pithoi*, likely served for the processing and storage of agricultural products (South 1997: 159). In terms of size, construction and contents, however, by far the most impressive and indisputably monumental structure at *Ayios Dhimitrios* is ashlar Building X in the Northeast Area (about  $35\times30$  sq m): Wright (1992a: 276) considers this building to be a 'palace' (but cf. Yon 2006: 81–2) (see Figure 36 above). Here the production as well as the

storage of olive oil was a primary activity. Based on the discovery of a large, stone tank used for olive oil processing in Building XI, just west of Building X (South 1992: 135–9), the excavator now argues cogently for the existence of another, similar stone tank in the northwest corner of Building X (A. 176— South 1997: 154). The approximately 50 large, highly standardized storage jars from the 'Pithos Hall' (A. 152), together with some smaller examples from another storage area at the northern end of building, had a total capacity estimated at 50,000 litres (South 1996: 42; Keswani 1993: 76 estimates 33,500 litres for the Pithos Hall alone). Gas chromatography analyses indicate that olive oil was the principal, if not the only product stored in these pithoi (Keswani 1992). Building X also contained imported Mycenaean table wares, a concentration of stamp seals and several Cypro-Minoan inscriptions (South 1996: 42). Another large (at least 14×24 sq m) ashlar-faced structure, Building XII, was situated just south of Building X (Steel 2003–04: 104). Tomb 11, immediately west of Building X, and other recently-excavated but not quite so lavish tombs to the south, contained an abundance of gold jewellery, imported goods, and luxury items that demonstrate the wealth and international connections of the local elite at this site (South 2000). Most interpretations of these buildings and tombs regard them as elite structures, and the contents, size, and layout of Building X suggest that it served, at the very least, centralized administrative and storage functions.

Maroni Vournes: In the midst of a spreading coastal plain in the lower Maroni River Valley, just east of the Vasilikos Valley, lay the town complex of Maroni, made up of various domestic and industrial structures, an agricultural component (Aspres), an elite, monumental area (Vournes), a port/craft area (Tsarroukas), and multiple tombs (Kapsaloudhia, Vournes, Tsarroukas), all of which have been recorded and at least partly excavated (Cadogan 1989; Manning 1998b; Manning et al. 2002). Discussion here focuses upon Vournes, which sits atop a low knoll marked out by two monumental buildings and some minor, associated structures (Figure 40). The massive (30.5×20 m) 'Ashlar Building' at this site, with walls up to 2 m thick, has already produced evidence, on varying scales, of storage, weaving, writing, and metalworking (Cadogan 1989, 1996). The plan of the Ashlar Building is essentially tripartite, and includes a room with an olive press (fire in this area left many carbonized olive pips), a construction with a sunken pithos, and a central area with further evidence for storage (two sunken pithoi plus stone stands for others). In the rear of the structure were two rooms whose walls had stone drains designed to carry liquids—presumably olive oil—into an external basin (Cadogan 1996: 16). The Ashlar building was 'designed to impress' and, standing on a low hillock, would have been visible far and wide (Cadogan 1986: 16-17).

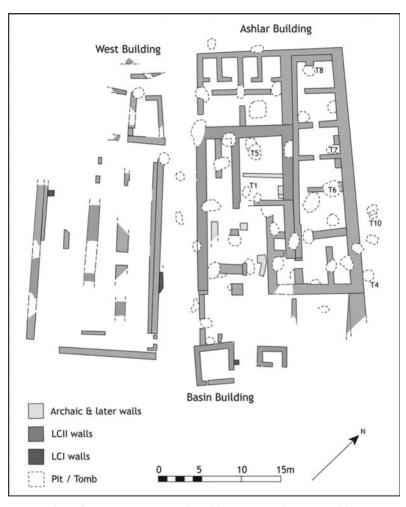


Figure 40: Plan of Maroni Vournes with Ashlar, West, and Basin Buildings.

The aisles and the pithos sherds uncovered in the nearby, ashlar-constructed 'West Building, with an annexe to the northwest, suggest that it may have served as a storehouse. Evidence of metalworking includes copper and bronze debris and scrap metal, tools, various objects (knife, bracelet), and pieces of furnace charge. The nearby 'Basin Building' is named after its sunken construction, which for Cadogan (1996: 16) recalls the ritual 'lustral basins' of Minoan Crete; he also notes, however, its possible industrial function, based on the copper debris found within the basin. Both the Ashlar and Basin Buildings were constructed during ProBA 2 in areas previously used as cemeteries; Manning (1998b: 51) sees this as the material expression through the medium of impressive, monumental architecture—of a dominant lineage seeking legitimization by building over the tombs of competing lineage groups and thus appealing to ancestral authority. He also suggests that construction and design of these impressive buildings, and the conspicuous consumption seen in funerary practices, provide evidence for formal 'cult' activities by competing power groups in establishing ritualized authority. Manning (1998b: 53-4) concludes that a 'key individual in Cypriot prehistory' (i.e. the king of *Alashiya*) may have been based at Vournes (see also Cadogan et al. 2001). Once again, all these buildings and the tombs beneath some of them must be seen as elite constructions that served administrative, industrial, storage, and possibly cultic/ritual functions.

Alassa Paleotaverna: Lodged in the southern foothills of the Troodos Mountains alongside the Kouris River, the ancient site of Alassa is represented by two separate sectors. The lower area, Pano Mandilares, contains some evidence for metallurgical production and storage (pithoi), as well as assorted prestige goods (miniature ingot, bull figurines, hematite cylinder seal, etc.) and several burials (Hadjisavvas 1989). The upper area, Paleotaverna, lies about 250 m to the northwest, and is distinguished by a 4.30-metre-wide 'street' and some remarkable ashlar buildings (Hadjisavvas 1994, 1996). Building I is poorly preserved, but some remnant blocks once may have held pillars for a columned hall, perhaps not unlike Building X at Avios *Dhimitrios.* Building II, a massive  $(37.7 \times 37.7 \text{ sq m})$ , square,  $\Pi$ -shaped structure with north, south, and west wings enclosing an inner courtyard and portico, was constructed of very large, well-preserved ashlar blocks, not unlike those used in buildings at Enkomi and Kition (Figure 41). The northern outer wall is the best preserved, and contains two courses of ashlar orthostats, with towing bosses, still standing on the plinth, which itself projects outwards a few centimetres, providing a decorative element that compliments the drafted margins (Hadjisavvas 2003b: 31–3 and fig. 2). Building III, a large (25×16 sq. m) structure with 1.1 m thick walls, lay directly east of Building II and appears to have been in direct contact with it. This structure was built on terraces into the hill behind it, and each of the three, large rooms excavated lay

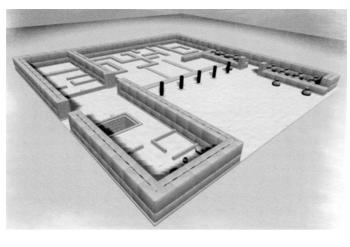




Figure 41a, b: Plan and isometric reconstruction of Alassa Paleotaverna Building II.

on a different level. A long narrow storage room in the northern part of the structure, quantities of *pithos* sherds (some impressed with bull and chariot scenes) and a wine press may indicate that Building III functioned as a production and storage annexe to Building II (Steel 2003–4: 96–7). A 2.6 m-deep pit within Building III contained typical Cypriot wares, some bulls' horns and fragments of a stone basin. The wine press—a semi-circular structure lined with *pithos* sherds and linked to a rock-cut channel leading into a (1.2 m-deep) pit—was found in the east room whilst to the west were smaller rooms, perhaps for domestic use.

The internal arrangements of Building II—and its direct link to Building III are unique amonst the excavated remains of ProBA Cyprus. In the south wing was a pair of small rooms symmetrically attached to the north wall, the easternmost deemed to be a bathroom and containing a crushed bathtub found on top of a possible well (pit). These two rooms opened onto a court-like rectangular space termed the 'Hearth Room', the largest interior space in the building (Hadiisayyas 1996: 32; 2003b: 33; Hadiisayyas and Hadiisayya 1997: 145). The area contained a monolithic square block (the hearth) and the remnants of fine, slender pillars; just to the east was a sunken, rectangular construction of unknown purpose. The north wing contained a long rectangular storage area with a double row of pithoi resting on stone bases set in circular depressions in the floor; further storage areas existed just outside (north) of Building II, and in Building III to the east (Steel 2003–4: 96–7). In the west wing were several small rooms and passageways, along with an elaborate stone drainage system designed to carry (waste? rain?) water outside the building. The interior courtvard between the north and south wings was filled with pits in its northern half, probably to support additional pithoi. Several impressed pithos sherds bearing chariot and hunting or combat scenes have been recovered from Building II (see above, pp. 168-9). Hadjisavvas (1994: 113; 1996: 32) believes that Building II may have been a 'public' structure whose occupants were involved in the regional administration of an area stretching from the copper-bearing Troodos foothills to a likely harbour near Kourion. Part of this public function included the extensive, almost certainly centralized storage facilities, demonstrated by the quantity of pithoi as well as the bases and floor depressions designed to hold them. The monumental structures at Paleotaverna clearly served multiple functions: administrative, storage, industrial, and possibly domestic.

Enkomi *Ayios Iakovos*: In the easternmost *Mesaoria*, just north of the Pedhaios River and immediately below (west of) the scarp of a ridge that embraces the modern village of Enkomi, lies the locality *Ayios Iakovos*. Unpromising in defensive terms, and today situated some 4 km from the sea (it may have been closer in the Bronze Age), the location can be explained in part by its proximity

to the river, and the direct communications it would have offered with the north and east coasts alike. Excavated extensively by various British, Swedish, French, and Cypriote teams from 1896 until 1974, Enkomi has proved to be a key site in all discussions of the ProBA, from town planning and origins to international connections to monumental architecture (Wright 1992a: 85–6) (Figure 42).

Amongst the last, the massive  $(45\times13 \text{ m})$  freestanding structure situated at the northern end of the site in Area III (Quartier 1W)—defined by Dikaios (1969: 16–32) as a 'fortress'—is the most prominent building. First built in LC IA (=ProBA 1), this two-storey structure consisted of several interconnecting rooms (Level 1B), later redesigned with some 18 rooms organized around a central court (Level IIA). By Level IB at the latest there is clear evidence for

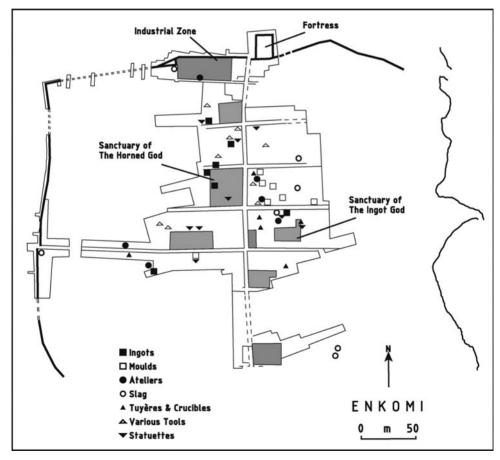


Figure 42: Enkomi overall site plan showing various monumental, architectural, and archaeometallurgical features.



Figure 43: Plan showing 'devolution' of the Enkomi 'fortress', Protohistoric Bronze Age 1–2: from top, Levels IB, IIA, IIB, IIIA.

copper working on a major scale (Dikaios 1969: 21-4; Muhly 1989: 299), prompting Fortin (1989) to suggest that the 'fortress' might more appropriately be termed an industrial complex. Wright (1992a: 87) thought it more akin to a 'seigneurial dwelling'. Whatever archaeologists have termed it, this imposing edifice continued to dominate the northern sector and entrance to the town until the 13th century BC (ProBA 2). At that time, in the midst of some momentous social or political change, its coherence gave way to a series of 'independent but contiguous structures' (Pickles and Peltenburg 1998: 88-9 and fig. 2), with about 50 densely packed rooms and corridors comprising almost 1500 sq m, and a vastly expanded metalworking area in the western sector (Dikaios 1969: 46-66; 1971: 510-11). Wright (1992a: 90) describes this as 'an urban style residential and administrative complex', but Peltenburg (1996: 29) has better captured its essence: 'This enormous building and its contents is a material isomorph of an hierarchically organized society, profoundly at odds with the architectural remains from preceding small-scale settlements on the island'.

Two other prominent, monumental buildings in the heart of the excavated area and close to the meridional north/south running street are the 'Ashlar Building' in Quartier 4W (Dikaios's Area I) and Schaeffer's 'Batiment 18' in Quartier 5W (Schaeffer 1952: 239–369; Dikaios 1969: 171–220; Courtois *et al.* 1986: 18–20). Both buildings had a similar general schema—a central entrance suite with spacious rooms on either side—and both have been interpreted as princely or patrician dwellings (Wright 1992a: 87, 103). In its current form, Batiment 18 (about 1800 sq m) likely belongs to the very end of the 13th century BC, when its rebuilders incorporated much finely dressed stone masonry into the structure (Courtois *et al.* 1986: 20).

The Ashlar Building (32.5 × 28.5 m), so-called because of its extensive use of cut-stone masonry, was rebuilt in the form that prompted this designation during LC IIIA (=ProBA 3). The precise date of this structure within the ProBA 3 period is a matter of ongoing debate, ably summarized by Webb (1999: 91–2; 2001: 77–80). Based on space-syntax analyses ('access analysis') of the rooms, doorways, stairwells, and walls of the level IIIA Ashlar Building (Figure 44a), Fisher (2006: 127–8) suggests that the fully ashlar-built, residential and official (administrative) sectors of the Ashlar Building were grouped around a central hall (Room 14) that contained a large, formal hearth, itself surrounded by some wooden columns (solid evidence for only 1 or 2 columns) that Dikaios (1969: 175) found to be reminiscent of a Mycenaean megaron hall. Room 3 at the south end of the building, defined by Dikaios (1969: 182) as a residence, was built of finely carved ashlar masonry and contained various luxury goods (e.g. an ivory comb, a mould for gold ornaments) indicative of an elite residence. The high accessibility of Rooms 45 (just southwest of the central



Figure 44a: Isometric plans of Enkomi Ashlar Building: Level IIIA.

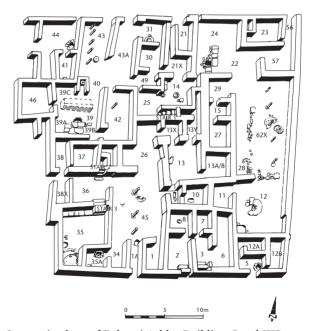


Figure 44b: Isometric plans of Enkomi Ashlar Building: Level IIIB.

hall) and 46 (northwest part of building) indicate to Fisher that they may have served as reception rooms, whilst their large central hearths suggest food preparation and consumption. The level IIIA Ashlar Building was eventually destroyed, but immediately rebuilt with major structural alterations. In these later (IIIB–IIIC) levels, the large central hall (Room 14) was divided up and lost its official character, whilst sectors in the north and west were given over to residential usage (Webb 1999: 92). New patterns of accessibility become apparent in the IIIB phase (Figure 44b), and the focus of social interaction may have shifted to the southern end of the complex, where a new main entrance was constructed (Fisher 2006: 129). Two suites of rooms in the south (Sanctary of the Horned God) and east (Sanctuary of the Double Goddess)—named after two figurines found within them—were given over to 'cultic' activities (Dikaios 1969: 194–200).

The main architectural components of the Level IIIB Horned God sanctuary (or 'West Megaron') were a large pillared hall (Room 45—8.75×6.75 m), with three columns on the north-south axis presumably supporting a roof. This central hall, its entryway to the south, and other subsidiary rooms were embellished with hearths and wells. Leading off the main hall to the east were two interconnected rooms (9, 10), the latter and easternmost of which contained, in its southwest corner, two stone slabs whose edges had been cut to form a semi-circular niche corresponding with a slight depression in the floor. Dikaios (1969: 196-8) believed that the statue of the Horned God originally stood on a pedestal in this small niche in the southwest corner of Room 10, on (earlier) Floor III of Level IIIB, but in Level IIIC had been ritually buried or hidden in another pit in the southeast corner of the room (Dikaios 1969: pl. 280:8). Webb (1999: 98-9 and fig. 40) recreates the setting differently. The statue originally stood upright where it was found (open pit in Room 10's southeast corner), with its feet on or just above Floor II (also Level IIIB), its back against the east wall of Room 10, and its head and horns protruding just above the base of Floor I (Level IIIC), facing anyone who entered Room 10 from the west (Room 9) (Figure 45). Alternatively, if direct access to Room 10 was somehow restricted, the statue would still have been visible from Room 9, through the wide portal that gave entry to Room 10 (Fisher 2006: 130). Based on the finds recovered from Levels IIIB and IIIC throughout the 'sanctuary' (most prominently 15 oxen skulls and other bones, three golden ox horns, bronze and terracotta bull figurines), or even on the finds limited to the Level IIIC pit of Room 10 in which the statue was found (bronze pin and ribbon, miniature bronze sickle), some special purpose for this West Megaron seems obvious.

Immediately east of Room 10 but unconnected to it lay Room 11, which led into the large 'East Megaron' (Room 12) also known as the 'Sanctuary of the Double Goddess' (Dikaios 1969: 199–200). At some point during Level IIIB,

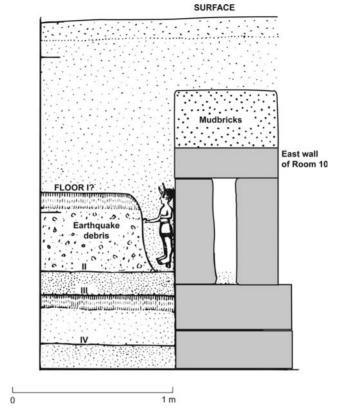


Figure 45: Possible locus of the Horned God within Enkomi's 'Sanctuary of Horned God'.

contemporaneous with the reconstruction in the West Megaron, a circular hearth platform (1.7 m in diameter) was constructed near the centre of Room 12 (in its southern part, directly east of Room 11). Immediately adjacent to this hearth lay a rectangle of three stone slabs, either supports for wooden roof columns (Dikaios (969: 200) or a low table for offerings (Webb 1999: 100). In addition to an array of local fine-ware pottery, Room 12 contained a fragmentary terracotta female figurine with upraised arms (Dikaios 1971: 720, no. 253, pl. 170.3; Webb 1999: 214, fig. 75.4). From a shallow pit in Room 11 came a small (5.5 cm high), double-sided bronze statuette depicting a nude female with hands held to her breasts (the 'double goddess') (Dikaios 1971: 721, no. 271, pl. 171:52; Webb 1999: 233, fig. 80.4). Elsewhere in Room 11 various small bronze objects and a piece of a golden leaf were recovered.

The two 'sanctuaries' in the reconstructed Ashlar Building of Levels IIIB-C have a similar symmetry, and are almost reverse images of each other, giving access to two different streets on the north and south of the main structure (Webb 1999: 100-1). Moreover, their location within this larger complex is thus far unique with respect to Late Cypriot ceremonial buildings, leading Webb to ponder whether the sanctuaries might have been domestic ('private') rather than 'public' in nature (ultimately she rejects this possibility), or whether the entire complex may have provided housing, support, and subsistence for cult personnel. Dikaios always believed that the Level IIIB building was residential in nature, with the cultic areas serving Mycenaean residents as a domestic shrine. Other sectors of the Ashlar Building contained domestic and utilitarian objects in most of the main floor rooms. Interestingly, some evidence of a metallurgical workshop in the western sector of this structure was revealed during 1971 excavations at Enkomi (Pelon et al. 1973: 103). Moreover, in Ouartiers 5E and 4E, immediately east and southeast of the Ashlar Building, were two bronze workshops containing considerable quantities of slag, a crucible fragment, moulds, pieces of oxhide ingots, a pot containing bronze swords and tools, and other materials that highlight the prevalence at Enkomi of metallurgical activity in close proximity to the 'sanctuaries' (Courtois 1982: 161–2; Courtois et al. 1986: 26–7, 30–9).

Enkomi's main locus of metallurgical production, however, was located in Quartier 1W (Dikaios's Area III), approximately 100 m north of the structure that housed the Horned God (Dikaios 1969–71: 18–34; Courtois 1982: 155–8; Courtois *et al.* 1986: 8–13). Various other indicators of metallurgical activity—crucibles, slag, a small hollow in the rock lined with 'cement'—were found in Quartier 5E, in association with the Sanctuary of the Ingot God. Quartiers 5E (Sanctuary of Ingot God) and 4W (Sanctuaries of the Horned God and Double Goddess), it may be noted, are situated only about 50 m from each other, but on opposite sides of the main north—south arterial that traverses the site of Enkomi (see Figure 42 above).

Centrally situated in Quartier 5E, the Sanctuary of the Ingot God was erected during ProBA 3 (the exact date is again a matter of debate—see Webb 1999: 102; 2001: 77–80) above an earlier building of equally substantial construction, perhaps also devoted to ceremonial use and practice (Courtois 1971, 1973; Courtois *et al.* 1986: 32–7; Schaeffer 1971b: 506–10, 525–33). During the main phase that concerns us here (Sol III, LC IIIB), this building consisted of a large rectangular hall or courtyard  $(16.4 \times 9.6 \text{ m})$  oriented eastwest, with a small, almost square  $(2.0 \times 1.9 \text{ m})$  room in the northeast corner ('Northeast Adyton') and a second, larger  $(2.5 \times 3.5 \text{ m})$  room situated off the main hall to the west ('West Adyton'). This building had two entryways, in the southwest (giving onto a street) and in the northeast (giving onto a large

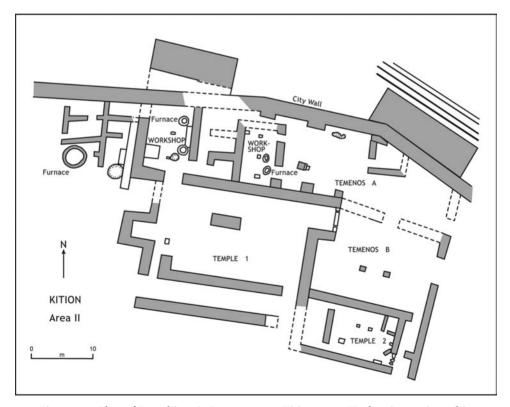
porch or courtyard). A small annexe in the southeast contained a stone-built well. Unlike the Ashlar Building, all walls in this structure were of rubble construction, and rubble benches lined the north, south, and west walls.

The special-purpose nature of this building is based more on its contents and elite associations than on its building materials and size. Near the centre of the hall was a large stone block identified as a sacrifical table, and just northwest of it a pierced block thought to have been used for tethering sacrificial animals. Of these animals there was no shortage of evidence: the Sol III level produced large quantities of ox skulls and horns, as well as many small animal bones and teeth. Webb (2001: 69) observes that the principal floor (Sol III) of this structure produced the largest and most diverse array of objects—local and imported pottery, a cylinder sea, bronze, and iron objects, gold leaf, and an array of animal bones—of any 'cult building' excavated on Cyprus. The best-known object, however, and the one after which the structure was named, is the statue of the Ingot God (see Figure 59, below), found in an upright position on Sol III immediately inside and to the right of the entrance to the 'Northeast Adyton' (Webb 2001: 74, fig. 5a, 76). Based on the hundreds of terracottas (mainly small, solid, female figures with cylindrical torso and upraised arms) found only in the West Adyton, on a bench running along the western wall of the sanctuary and in the western part of the courtyard, Webb (2001: 76) suggests that the sanctuary may also have been dedicated to a female deity. The rich variety of materials and objects found in the Sol III horizon of this structure, alongside extensive evidence of animal sacrifices, led Webb (2001: 78) to conclude that 'ritual practice was in the hands of an established urban elite intent upon conspicuous display and the manipulation of unique objects and images'.

In sum, the excavations at Enkomi have produced a wealth of monumental and special-purpose structures that served multiple functions. Of at least ten structures (or suites of rooms within a structure) that have been interpreted as 'sanctuaries', Webb (1999: 91–149) argues that only the three discussed above (Horned God, Ingot God, Double Goddess) can be identified reliably as such. Within these complexes, the large formal hearths indicate food preparation and consumption, whilst the larger monumental structures in which they were situated also had residential/domestic and administrative quarters, all of which can be associated with Enkomi's elite(s). Both the Ashlar Building and Baitement 18 have been interpreted as princely or elite dwellings, whilst the 'fortress' is thought to have served administrative, domestic (elite), and industrial functions. No excavated site exemplifies better the multiplicity of elite functions served by the monumental structures of ProBA Cyprus.

Kition Kathari: Kition is a major ProBA 2–3 coastal site located within the modern-day town of Larnaca. Its monumental architecture is imposing,

extensive, and quite complex. A series of occupation levels (Floors I–IV) were identified in both main sectors of the excavation (Areas I and II). Whilst Area I, first occupied toward the end of ProBA 2 (Floor IV), produced evidence of residential and industrial use (Karageorghis and Demas 1985[I]: 4–10), Area II has been singled out as a sanctuary complex, its 'sacred area' having been reorganized extensively at the outset of ProBA 3 (Floor IIIA, early 12th century BC). Here too the excavations produced widespread evidence of industrial activities, both metalworking and textile manufacture (Figure 46). Just beyond the northern wall of 'Temple 1' and west of 'Temenos A' lay four rooms (the 'northern workshops') with a series of pits, furnaces and likely storage areas associated with copper production or perhaps the manufacture of bronze figurines (Karageorghis and Demas 1985[I]: 253–4; Stech *et al.* 1985). Rooms 12, 13–15, and 16 (western part of Temenos A) also contained quantities of copper slag, thick layers of ashes, pits with slag, tuyère and



**Figure 46:** Plan of Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 Kition, Area II, showing main architectural features and archaeometallurgical installations.

crucible fragments, and furnaces filled with ash (Karageorghis and Demas 1985[I]: 81–4). Pits containing bone ash (a possible fluxing agent) and a kiln that may have been used to roast bones, were located directly west of Room 12 in the northern workshops (Stech *et al.* 1985: 393–5). There appears to have been direct access from these workshops to Temenos A in the east, and (from Room 12) to the courtyard of Temple 1 in the south. West of Temple 1 and Room 12, and connected with the latter through an opening in the north, lay a series of other rooms—the 'western workshops'—containing clay reels, loomweights, spindle whorls, and other tools, all associated with weaving and textile manufacture (Karageorghis and Demas 1985[I]: 77–81, 112–15; Webb 1999: 66, fig. 22, 76; Smith 2002b; Rahmstorf 2005: 149–50). Clearly both workshop areas were associated with Temple 1 and Temenos A but the nature of that association remains elusive.

In terms of monumental structures, the ProBA 3 (LC III) 'sacred precinct' at Kition—spread over more than half a hectare of ground (c. 5500 sq m) embraces 'Temples' 1, 2, 4, and 5, as well as 'Temenos' A and 'Temenos' B (Floors IIIA, III, and II—Webb 1999: 66, fig. 22 provides a useful illustration). I note only in passing the existence of 'Temple' 3, an earlier (LC IIC), much smaller structure (approximately 5.5×3 m) built of mudbrick on a rubble socle. The range of small finds from all the other structures is noteworthy and includes everything from local and imported pottery to ivory, faience, metal jewellery and implements (silver, gold, bronze), a cylinder seal, an inscribed clay ball and fenestrated cylindrical vessel, loomweights and spindle whorls, figurines (female, bull), groundstone tools, stone and lead weights, various types of bone, a bone tool (probably for weaving rather than a stylus for writing), a glass bead and two glass bottles, ostrich egg-shells, and conch. cowrie, and *murex* shells, amongst other species. Temples 1 and 2 were both ashlar-based or enhanced constructions, with Temene A and B forming an integrated unit in the western sector of this precinct (Karageorghis and Demas 1985[1]: 38-65). Temple 1 (27.85×18.5 m), oriented east-west, comprises a main rectangular hall with three narrow rooms to the west and a long narrow room ('Passage A') to the south. Smaller entries to this structure are evident in the southeast (leading to a street) and northwest (leading to the northern workshops), but the main, much grander, ashlar-embellished entryway lay in the northeast corner, with access (via an open area) to Temenos B.

Callot's elaborately detailed reconstruction of this structure (in Karageorghis and Demas 1985[I]: 165–239, esp. 237 fig. 67)—however illustrious its architectural pedigree—looks more like a Classical Greek temple than any Bronze Age building, and pushes the artistic licence of reconstruction beyond an acceptable limit. Incised ashlar blocks along the south side of this structure depict sailing ships, which Basch and Artzy (in Karageorghis and Demas

1985[I]: 322-37 and figs. 1-6, 8) interpret as representations of both mercantile (round boats) and martial (long boat) vessels (see also Artzy 1987; 1988; 2003; 239, 244-5). Temenos A (35.5×10 m), already mentioned as being directly linked to the northern workshops, was situated northeast of Temple 1 and between (north of) Temenos B and the city wall. It was linked directly to Temenos B and via its entryway to Courtvard A (east). In the area just north of Temple 1 was found a burnt deposit (Area 21) located over an earlier hearth, two stones identified as 'offering tables' and, a few metres farther north, a plaster hearth ('Altar F') (Webb 1999: 72, fig. 26). Temenos B (19.5×13.5 m), immediately south of Temenos A and providing access on its west to Temple 1, consists of a large open courtyard with three apparent pillar bases running down its centre, and a grand porch to the east enclosed by ashlar walls and threshold. To the southeast was a small doorway leading to Temple 2 (Callot's reconstruction shows two large doorways leading to that structure). A pair of stone 'horns of consecration' recovered from post-Bronze Age levels originally may have belonged to this level, as would another from Temenos A (Karageorghis and Demas 1985(I): 255). Temple 2 (Floor IIIA, 17.5×7.7 m) is another ashlar structure, and like Temple 1 has a large main hall with a narrow inner room to the west and two small rooms on the east, the northernmost (24A) leading into Temenos B and the southernmost (24B) giving access to a street. Farther west, up against the wall of inner Room 23, was a hearth, a small pit and some stone slabs; a couple of metres to the south lay a rubble structure with an ashlar block defined as an offering table.

Temples 4 and 5 were situated in the eastern sector of this precinct, and were separated from it by a street and a large open area (Courtyard A) just inside the northern city wall (Karageorghis and Demas 1985(I): 65–77, 108–12). Built directly against the city wall, Temple 4 (14×9 m) is yet another monumental ashlar structure, oriented east—west with a large central hall in the west and three smaller rooms to the east; a T-shaped alignment of five columns supported the roof. A small doorway in the southwest corner gave onto Courtyard A, whilst another in the southeast led to Room 39, a large open area paved with stone slabs. In its northwestern sector, Room 39 contained a well and evidently a hearth, matching the same configuration (hearth and well) in the main hall's western sector. Like the walls themselves, benches placed against the northern and southern walls of the main hall were made of ashlar. In the northwest corner of the main hall, two bronze ploughshare castings and a large bronze peg may have formed part of a foundation deposit (Knapp *et al.* 1988: 249).

Just south of Temple 4 lay Temple 5 ( $29 \times 9$  m) which, during ProBA 3 (Level IIIA), consisted of another large, main hall (Room 58), a narrow inner room (Room 58A) to the west, as well as three small subsidiary rooms (58B-D) in the

southwest, outside the main southern wall of the structure. The main entry seems to have been in the north, via a street running between Temples 4 and 5; another doorway in the southeastern corner opened onto Courtyard F, a large open area fronting the entire east end of Temple 5. The main hall was divided into three sections by two rows of four columns (presumably supporting a roof), and contained a large, almost square stone base (an 'offering table') along with four heavily burnt, circular areas in the very centre, thought to be hearths. Rubble and mudbrick benches lined the northern and southern walls of the hall.

On the basis of finds such as female and bull figurines, the excavators identified both Temples 4 and 5, as well as Temples 1 and 2, as 'twin shrines', one dedicated to a female fertility goddess, the other to a male divinity also associated with fertility. Webb (1999: 76, 83–4) has pointed out one problem with such a conclusion: female and bull figurines often appear elsewhere in a single assemblage and, in the case of Temples 4 and 5, both types are found in the same structure. Moreover, as already argued (above, pp. 181–2), the identification of female figurines with a goddess lacks a firm basis, and largely reflects the interpretative bias of an entire generation of archaeologists weaned on 'mother goddesses' (Meskell 1995), Near Eastern divinities or Classical Greek temples. Many of these scholars fail to distinguish between religion and ideology, and seek the divine even in the most mundane objects. Others reveal their biases quite plainly: 'In the thirteenth century, the newly developed towns [of Cyprus] were provided with temples based on a type known equally from Palestine to Mycenaean Greece' (Wright 1992a: 271). As far as Kition is concerned, the special-purpose, elite nature of the entire 'sacred precint' (Area II) seems clear enough. It is equally clear, however, that it also served industrial (copper refining, weaving) if not administrative functions, whilst nearby Area I was devoted to both residential and industrial uses.

Kouklia *Palaepaphos*: Located on a low, flat-topped limestone hill that rises gently from Cyprus's southwest coastal plain, not far from the mouth of the perennially-running Dhiarizos River, the site of *Palaepaphos* today is situated some 3 km from the sea (this plain may have been infilled since the Bronze Age, placing *Palaepaphos* much closer to the sea, but cf. Rupp 1981: 256). The settlement itself seems to have spread from the locality *Evreti* in the south through *Asproyi*, *Kaminia*, and *Mantissa* to the plateau at *Marcellos* in the north, a distance of over 1 km, and perhaps from there westward some 800 m to Sanctuary I, as the monumental structure of ProBA 3 (LC IIC–IIIA) is known (Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 53 fig. 28; on the LC IIC foundations for this structure, see Rupp 1981: 256; Maier 1986: 313; Negbi 1986: 110). The excavators (Maier and von Wartburg 1985: 147–8) suggest that the *Evreti-Asproyi* area formed the centre of the Late Bronze Age town, which must have extended farther west and northwest. Maier (1997: 101) nonetheless thinks it

unlikely that the entire area between *Asproyi* and Sanctuary I would have been inhabited. The 'sanctuary' itself was first excavated to modern standards by a Swiss-German team between 1973–78 (Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 81–102; Maier and von Wartburg 1985: 149–50). This structure was extensively robbed for its large limestone blocks during both the Roman era (for use in the 'Temple of Aphrodite', or Sanctuary II, nearby) and the Medieval period (for the construction of a sugar refinery).

The sparse remains of this monumental complex are visible today alongside the exposed bedrock, but they have no real stratigraphic associations. The remnants of Sanctuary I comprise two rectangular units. To the north was a hall (21.5×11.5 m) with two parallel rows of six square stone bases (only two survive today), which most likely served as pillars to support a roof. Whilst the north wall is visible only as a cutting in the rock, the south wall (or at least 11.5 m of it), made of drafted ashlar blocks, is fully preserved. Within the hall, the only remaining features were two rock-cut pits and a rectangular basin. To the south was an open courtyard (25.5 m north–south, and at least 15.5 m east–west) enclosed by a substantial western wall of very large (up to 5 m long and 2.2 m tall) dressed limestone orthostats raised on a pediment of rectangular blocks (Figure 47). One gained access to the courtyard either through a stepped



**Figure 47:** Sanctuary I, Protohistoric Bronze Age 3 Kouklia *Palaepaphos*, showing the dressed limestone orthostats of the courtyard.

entry in the western wall or another in the northwest, just where the courtyard intersects with the covered hall. The southern and eastern walls of the courtyard are almost entirely missing, whilst the northern wall (if there was one) seems to have been co-equal with the southern wall of the hall (see the two possible reconstructions of the entire complex in Webb 1999: 59–60, figs. 19–20).

The only intact feature in the courtyard was a shallow limestone basin, in direct alignment with the western entry. The few other *in situ* finds included three whole and two fragmentary stepped capital blocks (probably associated with the pillars in the hall), two pairs of horns of consecration, a terracotta basin, a large *pithos* with wavy-line decoration and a seal-impressed handle, some local pottery and a small Canaanite jar. Maier and von Wartburg (1985: 150 and pl. V:3) report a few terracotta female figurines (Type 'B'—Karageorghis 1993: 22) from the sanctuary itself, whilst excavations some 35 m to the west, beneath the foundations of a Roman-period house, produced three further Late Cypriot female figurines, along with some LC IIC–IIIA sherds and copper slag (Webb 1999: 61).

The long association of the southwestern part of the island with the Greek goddess Aphrodite, including the foundation of her temple by the mythological founder-hero of *Palaepaphos*, Kinyras (also the first high priest of the goddess—Maier 1986), ensured that the site's main monumental structure would become known as a sanctuary. The sparse finds and limited number of features recovered from this complex only hint at its possible functions: industrial, storage, and 'cultic'. Nonetheless, Sanctuary I at *Palaepaphos*—built of fine ashlar masonry and incorporating various monumental features (the dressed limestone orthostat blocks of the courtyard, pillared hall)—reveals architectural elements that are as impressive as those used in any of the other monumental structures on ProBA Cyprus.

Myrtou *Pigadhes*: Situated in a small upland plain where the narrow Aloupos River Valley running south from the modern village of Myrtou broadens out, at some distance from the sea (10 kms to west, 6 kms to north), Myrtou *Pigadhes* is thought to have been the largest settlement in the northwestern Kormakiti Peninsula, with the possible exception of Ayia Irini (Pecorella 1973, 1977). The nearest known contemporary cemetery, at *Stephania* (Hennessy 1964), is situated north of the modern village, some 3 kms distant, whilst the nearby, ridge-top cemetery of *Kafkalla* produced only Chalcolithic, Iron Age, and Hellenistic sherds (Du Plat Taylor 1957: 1). Excavations carried out between 1949–51 in a limited sector of this approximately one-half hectare site uncovered a small complex of rooms (CD1–CD6) with mudbrick walls built on stone foundations, dated to the ProBA 2 period (LC IIA–IIB), and a larger complex with a major courtyard area and adjacent rooms, identified as a 'sanctuary' and cult centre, dated to the ProBA 3 period (LC IIC–IIIA) (Du

Plat Taylor 1957: 3–23, 103–12; Webb 1999: 35–7, 44–53, figs. 8, 13–14). Based on the presence of a large rubble podium in CD3 (rising 0.4 m above the surrounding floors), a wide range of pottery not at all atypical for the period, and a few unremarkable small finds (a stone axe, some groundstone and metal objects, a couple of bull figuines, and a pair of goat horns), the excavator and others have hesitatingly suggested that the earlier series of rooms (CD1–CD6) might also have been a sanctuary (Du Plat Taylor 1957: 114; Al-Radi 1983: 81–2; Wright 1992a: 118). If it were, it would be Cyprus's earliest known intra-mural 'cult' complex.

At some point in the 13th century BC (LC IIC early) the earlier rooms were levelled for the construction of a new monumental, but essentially rubble-built complex, situated at what seems to be the intersection of two streets (Du Plat Taylor 1957: 11, fig. 7; Webb 1999: 45, fig. 13) (Figure 48). On the western side of a north–south running street, a large rectangular courtyard  $(14 \times 16.5 \text{ m})$ , surrounded by a series of smaller rooms, was built directly over rooms CD1–CD6. The main access to this courtyard lay in the northeast via an east-west running street. A rubble bench lined the poorly preserved east wall of the court area, and a partly paved drain ran parallel to the wall.

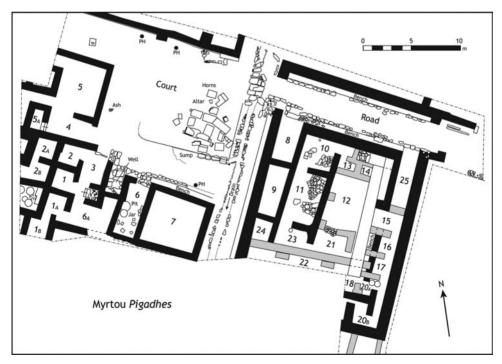


Figure 48: Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 'Sanctuary' at Myrtou Pigadhes, Periods V-VI.

Another bench lined the southern wall of the courtyard and terminated in a small recessed area in the southwest that enclosed a well surrounded by a stone platform. To the west and south of the recessed area lay a series of small rooms accessed from the court; to the east were two rooms (6 and 7) that seem to form the southern limits of the court complex.

Near the eastern end of the court was situated its most important feature a monumental, stepped stone, ashlar-dressed construction identified as an 'altar' (Du Plat Taylor 1957: 12–18, figs. 8–11; Webb 1999: 172, fig. 66, 2–3) and crowned with a (reconstructed and hypothetical) set of horns of consecration (Ionas 1985 questions the reconstruction but not the function of the altar). Just northeast of this feature, the excavations produced a notable concentration of antlers from at least 41 deer (Dama Mesopotamica), along with the horns of two goats and a moufflon (Cypriot wild sheep). To the east of the courtvard lav a large, freestanding, and multi-roomed but integrated structure, approximately 16×20 m in size. Bordered by the street to the north and by large rubble walls to the east, west, and south, this structure underwent multiple phases of reconstruction during its existence (Webb 1999: 51–3, details the longstanding debate over the LC IIC or LC IIIA dating of the entire complex at Pigadhes; see also Knapp 1986b: 33-4 on the 13th century BC dating of the bronze stands). In general, this eastern sector of the complex was centred on an internal courtyard (Rooms 12–14, 21), entered via a corridor to the east (Rooms 25, 15) and divided by a partition wall from three other rooms (10, 11, 23) to the west. In another building phase, a buttressed wall was added to form the southern limit of this structure (rooms 17, 21, 23, and 24, running east to west).

The finds in both the eastern and western sectors at *Pigadhes* are striking, and include various signs or very short inscriptions in the Cypro-Minoan script (Du Plat Taylor 1957: 95-6, fig. 35). Here I list only a selection of the other finds (Webb 1999: 47-53 again provides the most useful summary, with further references). From the western sector, in addition to a range of local pottery and a few Mycenaean IIIB/C imports, came a small bronze bull, two whole terracotta bulls and a fragmentary one, many wall brackets, three cylinder seals (one Mitannian style), a fragmentary 'offering stand', a faience bowl, several groundstone tools, two bronze daggers and two bronze knives. From the eastern sector, one room (16) contained some limited evidence for metallurgical activity: two lumps of fused copper, some slag, and a bronze shovel with traces of carbonized wood (Du Plat Taylor 1957: 20, fig. 12). Muhly (1989: 302) mentions the existence of furnace conglomerate amongst the material from Pigadhes stored in the Cyprus Museum but gives no contextual information. Other finds from this area included a typical range of pottery vessels and a few Mycenaean imports (including a *rhyton* with floral motifs), several groundstone tools, a female figurine, some fragmentary terracotta bulls, two complete 'offering stands' and the base and fragments of two others, two cylinder seals and a stamp seal, three bronze tripods and two engraved tripod rings, a bronze knife and two bronze pins, several ox scapulae, and a few wall brackets.

Quite how we might interpret the monumental remains at this distinctive ProBA 2–3 settlement, which I have classified elsewhere as a 'tertiary' (of four levels), inland town and rural sanctuary (Knapp 1997: 58–9), poses a real challenge. The size of the overall site of *Pigadhes* would seem to preclude it from being a primary centre (Webb 1999: 287). Virtually everyone who has studied *Pigadhes* in any detail (Du Plat Taylor 1957: 107–12; Wright 1992a: 118; Webb 1999: 37, 216–19) has made much of a native Cypriot 'bull cult', based largely upon untested assumptions associated with the typical ceramic bull-shaped figurines (Karageorghis 1971a, 1999b; Hadjisavvas 2001b: 209–10; Flourentzos 2001; cf. Kenti 1990). At most, bulls may have been used as sacrificial animals (Loullopis 1979; Åström 1988: 10).

Du Plat Taylor (1957: 23, 115) suggested that the dismantling of the altar blocks and the destruction of the altar itself may have been a deliberate act, and that the concentration close by of deer antlers and goat/moufflon horns cannot be fortuitous (also Webb 1999: 53). Moreover, given the wide array of local goods and several exotic imports, as well as the grand stepped-stone construction, the ProBA 2–3 monumental complex at Myrtou *Pigadhes* clearly must have served some special function, or more accurately functions. Wright (1992a: 119) insisted that it was a 'public' building complex with 'religious' associations. Evidence for storage and industrial activities are also evident; in addition to the metallurgical finds, Hadjisavvas (1992: 21–3, fig. 38) argues that Room 27, one of a series of rooms lying just south of the eastern sector, housed an olive oil press. Given these industrial, storage, and—considering the location—transport and administrative functions, Myrtou *Pigadhes* cannot be regarded exclusively as a sanctuary.

# Special-Purpose Sites and Structures of the ProBA

Atheinou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*: Excavations in 1971–2 by Dothan and Ben-Tor (1983) uncovered an architectural complex some 2,500 sq m in extent, situated on a low hillock rising about 2 m above the surrounding inland plain, some 20 km northwest of Kition (Larnaca). This site appears to have been a special-purpose complex not unlike that at Maroni *Vournes*, although at Athienou the associated settlement has never been located (a Late Cypriot cemetery exists about 100 m south of the site). Of four largely disturbed occupational levels (Strata I–IV), we are concerned here primarily

with Stratum III (ProBA 2) and Stratum II (ProBA 3). Within Stratum III, a large rectangular court (about  $20 \times 16$  m) was built, flanked by two smaller rooms to the northwest and northeast, perhaps with an entryway between them. Only part of the eastern wall survives from this level; beyond it were found some pits and metallurgical debris. Within Stratum II, the same complex continued in use but with various structural modifications, including a suite of three rooms along the northern side (closing off the former entryway?), and platforms to the east and northeast which the excavators believed to be copper working installations (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983: 140; cf. Maddin et al. 1983: 137). On or near the eastern platform, however, were found at least 11 large pithoi and evidence of severe burning in the same area, all of which suggests the presence of an olive oil storage area. Indeed, Keswani (1993: 78) maintains that olive oil storage (up to 11,000 litres) at Athienou may have played a major economic role and served the needs of those who managed the 'sanctuary' and perhaps those of the local miners and metalworkers as well.

Within the courtvard and small northwest room of Stratum III, at least 2000 intact pottery vessels, and fragments of up to 8000 more were found. Although full-sized (most commonly Base-ring I jugs and White Shaved juglets) as well as miniature vessels were recovered, the miniatures predominate, with a small group imitating normal Late Cypriot and Mycenaean types but a much larger group comprising hand-made juglets of thick coarse ware that have no counterparts amongst typical Late Cypriot wares (Webb 1999: 22). Metallurgical debris—e.g. spillage, nodules of copper slag, chunks of chalcopyrite waste and scrap bronze, the bulk of which belongs stratigraphically to Stratum II—was recovered from the courtyard (one large pit and concentrations to the north of it), under the northeastern platform and in an area east of the eastern platform. Maddin et al. (1983: 136–8; also Stech 1982: 107) argued that the primary smelting of copper did not take place at Athienou but rather in the mining areas nearby (Troulli at 8 km distance, Sha at 20 km); thus only secondary processing and refining would have been carried out at Athienou. If this is correct, we might conclude that Stratum II at Athienou served primarily an industrial function (as the site was situated close to both ore sources and the trees needed for fuel). Muhly (1985: 33 nn. 91-2), however, pointed out that none of this archaeometallurgical material was recovered in its primary context: rather it may have been dumped in and around the drainage channels of the northeastern platform—where most metallurgical production is thought to have been carried out (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983: 140)—at a time when that platform area was no longer in use.

More important in the present context, however, is the possible association between metalworking and 'cultic' activities at this site, and here the discussion must be limited strictly to Stratum III (ProBA 2). Accepting that the fine

points of chronology were perhaps not fully explored by the excavators, it nonetheless seems clear that the bulk of metalworking activity at Athienou took place during ProBA 2, less so during ProBA 3, a situation that holds true the island over (Muhly 1985b: 34 and nn. 93-8; cf. Webb 1999: 29, who suggests that the Stratum II complex was entirely given over to the secondary processing and refining of copper, as well as agricultural storage). Be that as it may, there is a concentration in Stratum III at this small site of thousands of pottery vessels, the majority of them miniature votives, in association with such specialized objects as an offering stand, the leg of a large zoomorphic vessel (bull-shaped?), other bull-related paraphernalia and the bronze model of a chariot (Schaeffer 1969: 276, pl. 21b). Moreover, from pits to the east of the main complex came an elaborately decorated ivory *rhyton*, a perforated tube-shaped ceramic object, cylinder seals, an Egyptian scarab, a fibula and a situla handle, and beads of faience, carnelian, and steatite (amongst many others). Åstrom (1987) suggested that the votive vessels might have been used in conjunction with ritual feasting, citing large concentrations of small concial cups found at Bronze Age sites in the Aegean (e.g. Hägg 1968: 58; Säflund 1980; see now also Hägg 1990; Wright 1995: 16; Galaty 1999: 50-1 notes that fragments of up to 4,000 kylikes were found at Pylos).

All these finds suggest some special function for the main complex at Athienou, whereas the large amounts of metalworking debris may indicate an industrial function during ProBA 2, with diminished evidence for both functions during the subsequent, ProBA 3 period. As is the case with most other 'sanctuaries' discussed above, it is the nature and quantity of the special finds, and their depositional context, that have led to the identification of the Stratum III complex as a cult place (Knapp 1986b: 83–4; Webb 1999: 28). And, as is the case with Enkomi, Kition, and perhaps even Kalopsidha *Koufos* (Åström 1966: 115; 1987), the spatial association between metallurgical installations and special-purpose structures seems hard to deny (Knapp 1986b: 43–56).

Hala Sultan Tekke *Vyzakia*: Situated on the innermost shore of today's Larnaca Salt Lake and almost certainly directly accessible from the sea during the ProBA, the site at Hala Sultan Tekke was one of prehistoric Cyprus's most prominent international harbours (Figure 49). Imported goods from the Aegean, Anatolia, the Levant, and Egypt demonstrate its connectivity and economic importance within the eastern Mediterranean (Åström 1996). Excavations at the site (mainly Area 8) thus far have uncovered no evidence of major monumental structures but do reveal a carefully planned ProBA 2–3 settlement, some  $600 \times 460$  m in extent and laid out on a grid system (Åström 1986: 8 and figs. 1–2; Åström *et al.* 1989, 2001). Several structures open onto a four-meter-wide, north/south running street. At least one communal well was



**Figure 49:** View over Hala Sultan Tekke *Vyzakia*, with modern town of Larnaca in background (October 2004).

accessible from the street, yet many structures seem to have had their own wells (Åström 1996: 10). Some structures, like 'Building B', had a central courtyard surrounded by rooms, a domestic building type that may be seen at several other ProBA sites, including Enkomi, Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou* and Alassa *Pano Mandilares* (Bolger 2003: 43). 'Building A' had a well-cut ashlar floor with a 'toilet' in one corner (Åström 1986: 10–11 and fig. 6).

There are sections of ashlar used selectively in some structures, but 'Building C' (approximately 15×9 m) is the most prominent amongst them and appears to be larger than the buildings that surround it. This structure had a large forecourt (with a well) that gave access to an inner courtyard onto which rooms opened from the south and west. The full building complex contained a range of imports (Mycenaean and Canaanite pottery) and other distinctive items (lead ingots and plaques, a bronze arrowhead, crushed murex shells); a silver bowl with an Ugaritic inscription was recovered nearby (Åström 1985; 1986: 11–13, figs. 11–14). Åström (1996: 12) recently suggested that Building C may have been a merchant's house. Evidence of metalworking activity is widespread throughout the site: this includes quantities of copper slag, several tuyères, a stone mould, bronze objects, a charcoal shovel, a trident and a pruning hook (Åström 1986: 14–17 and figs. 23–24; see also Åström 1982). Excavations during 1996–7 uncovered—in Room 94N of a structure opening

onto the main north/south street—what Åström (2000) believes to be a coppersmith's workshop (stone and terracotta moulds, seven tuyère fragments, two mudbrick ovens, and several fragmentary bronze pieces). In sum, then, although the domestic, industrial, and perhaps mercantile nature of most structures in Area 8 at Hala Sultan Tekke is evident, two room complexes—one immediately west of Building C, the other in the southernmost part of Area 8—have been singled out as possible 'sanctuaries' (Webb 1999: 127–30 provides a succinct discussion).

Maa Palaeokastro and Pyla Kokkinokremos The excavator of both sites, Vassos Karageorghis, believes that they served defensive functions in an era of political instability (Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 28–32; 1988: 261–6; Karageorghis 2001b: 3). Situated on a long promontory with abrupt and steep cliffs washed by the sea, Maa's location lends some credence to this suggestion. Formidable walls that could well have served defensive purposes were built at both the landward and seaward extremities of the site (Figure 50). Four main structures were excavated at Maa, and Wright (1992a: 322) believes they were all specialized 'public' buildings. Of the four, only Building I (Area II) is constructed of ashlar,



Figure 50: Landward (eastern) wall at Maa Palaekastro (November 2004).

but its size and construction are quite different from the ashlar buildings at other Cypriot sites (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 262). Various luxury items and signs of wealth (seals, faience vessels, Mycenaean pottery, weights, use of Cypro-Minoan) are evident at Maa, as is small-scale, probably localized metallurgical activity. Building III, which contained several impressed *pithos* fragments (17 of 24 found at the site), has been identified as a major industrial (olive oil) and storage facility (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 33, 62). Building II (Area III), approximately  $8 \times 10$  m in size, on the opposite side of an arterial street, has been singled out as a possible elite residence (Wright 1992a: 322). The excavated structures at Maa thus filled storage and industrial needs, and some most likely served as (elite?) residences. Yet they lack the monumental features seen at most other ProBA sites and cannot really be compared with administrative centres such as *Ayios Dhimitrios* (Karageorghis 1990: 23).

Like Maa, Pvla *Kokkinokremos* was a relatively short-lived site (ProBA 2–3), and is argued to have been defensive in nature (Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 68–75; cf. Dikaios 1971: 896–907). Located on a table-top plateau that rises sharply from the surrounding lowland, Pyla overlooks Larnaca Bay, now some 1 km distant although much of the lowland area may have been underwater during the Bronze Age, forming a large natural harbour (Caraher et al. 2005: 246-8). Wright (1992a: 242-3) maintains that the excavated structures do indeed have defensive properties, must have been carefully planned and built, and were located in an obviously strategic region. The site contains both domestic structures of a type seen at other ProBA sites, and what has been identified as a possible fortification wall that doubled as the outer wall of the houses (Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 23-4). Wright (1992a: 243) notes that this wall would have been structurally unstable without the domestic constructions to buttress it. All construction was of traditional rubble type, and no ashlar masonry is evident in the area that was excavated. An accomplished level of metallurgical activity at Pyla is represented by a remarkable gold hoard as well as a bronze hoard and two silver ingots (Karageorghis et al. 1983; Schoonheyt 1992). Given the very limited scale of the Pyla excavations (about 400 sq m) on a much larger plateau (about 8 ha in extent) that survey work shows to have been fully inhabited at the time (Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 4-5), Wright (1992a: 242) maintains that we cannot really judge the function(s) of the entire settlement.

Pyla, like Maa on the west coast with which it is often compared, may well have had industrial, residential and administrative (rather than purely defensive) functions in this densely populated, southeastern region of Cyprus. Thus it could have served as a support settlement for a port near Dhekelia (Stanley Price 1979: 80–1) (Figure 51), or as one part of a settlement complex that utilized a land-locked harbour in the marshy area just south of the site

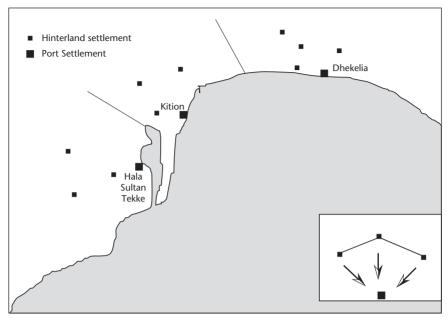


Figure 51: Gateway community model of Larnaca Bay sites, showing possible port settlement for Pyla (Dhekelia).

(Megaw 1953: 134–35; Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 5; Caraher *et al.* 2005: 246–8). Sherratt (1998: 300–1 n. 15) suggests that Pyla and Maa may have been bypass and outflanking centres' serving the needs of mercantile elites who had broken away from the nearby coastal centres (respectively Kition and Palaepaphos) in an attempt to set up their own power bases. Steel (2004a: 188–190) notes several factors (location, date, economic prominence) which indicate that both Pyla and Maa may have been local strongholds rather than settlements established by Aegean immigrants. And Pyla, at least, was intended to protect and ensure the movement of traded goods (especially metals) from the coastal ports to the inland settlements (South 1984: 16–17). With the possible exception of Building I at Maa, however, the excavated buildings at both Pyla and Maa lack the typical monumental features seen at other ProBA sites.

# Monumentality, Memory, and Identity

Monuments, including monumental architecture, are designed and built for multiple purposes. They embody different intentions, typically take different architectural forms and are established in different locales (Richards 1996: 202). Some may refer back to earlier monuments or structures, to remembered places, eliciting a memory of landscape or recalling ancestral traditions. Others are built in new settings that both draw upon and alter the meanings of the landscape. Monumental buildings and public monuments can help to form and express a long-term link between the social memory or ideology of an elite group and a certain place; they also serve to represent and promote that group's identity, power, and authority (DeMarrais *et al.* 1996: 18–19).

On Cyprus, Webb (1999: 157-61) argues that 'ritual' monuments and buildings had assumed their own, distinctive traditions and style by the ProBA 2 period (LC IIA). These monumental structures, which reveal their clearest form in Cyprus's town centres during the ProBA 3 period (e.g. Kition 'temples'; Enkomi's 'sanctuaries'), were rectangular buildings (some freestanding) situated within or next to an open, unroofed courtyard, often termed a 'temenos'. These courtyards are thought to have served multiple functions, e.g. separating the sacred from the profane, providing access to the actual 'sanctuary' or 'temple'. Alternatively, they may have served as a meeting place (for specific social occasions) or as a gathering place (for more transient, incidental exchanges on the distinction, see Fisher 2006: 125). Most of the so-called sanctuaries are two-roomed structures, with a roofed hall and another roofed room (termed an 'adyton' or 'cella' and referring to a small space where the image of a deity and/or other related cult apparatuses were stored). Webb also notes the existence of three-, four- and even five-room 'sanctuaries', the other rooms usually defined as 'vestibules' or additional adyta. At times, the general characteristics of Late Cypriot cult buildings discussed by Webb seem to have as many exceptions as rules. Moreover, she consciously seeks to establish her case for ritual architecture by the repeated use of terms (rendered in quotation marks here) that define classical Greek temples (Webb 1999: 8-9). Such terms have nothing to do with these Bronze Age structures. The distinctive features of all these 'ritual' buildings are better defined as rectangularity, autonomy, external unroofed courtyard, internal roofed hall and subsidiary room(s).

Tellingly, Webb (1999: 161–2) notes that urban cultic buildings were similar to public structures in size, location, use of ashlar masonry, and proximity to or association with craft or industrial activities. The 'cultic' structures, however, lack large-scale storage facilities (but see below). She notes that whilst Kition's Temple 1 and Kouklia's sanctuary are the most monumental structures, the administrative buildings at *Ayios Dhimitrios* (Building X), Maroni *Vournes* (Ashlar Building) and Alassa *Paleotaverna* (Building II) were likewise impressive in their monumentality. In the end, then, the primary distinguishing features of a 'cultic' structure prove to be their function (housing a deity) as well as the specialized paraphernalia that differentiate them from typical household or public building assemblages.

Storerooms, workshops, and quarters for cultic personnel, Webb argues, typically appear only as distinct architectural units.

Sanctuaries, then, have been distinguished from public structures on the basis of specific kinds of materials and installations found within them: e.g., bucrania and other animal bones ('sacrifices'), bronze or terracotta statuettes ('cult' images), 'cellas' or *advta*, ceramic 'offering stands' and bronze tripods, 'altars' and 'horns of consecration', and specialized prestige goods including imported Mycenaean kraters used in feasting activities. Public buildings, by contrast, contained gold jewellery or other luxury goods, bronze tools, weapons and weights, metal hoards, storage areas with large pithoi, olive oil presses and olive pips, various types of shells, imported table wares and other domestic pottery, bathrooms, wells and 'lustral basins'. With the exception of Myrtou Pigadhes and Athienou Bamboulari tis Koukounninas, Cypro-Minoan inscriptions were also much more common in public buildings. Evidence for industrial installations devoted to copper, olive oil/wine, textile or pottery production appeared in both types of monumental structures. Athienou, typically cited as a specialized cultic area involved in copper production at some point in its existence (or at least as a locale for mobilizing labour in an extensive transport system based on movement of copper from the Troodos to the east coast), also served as a storage and collection centre for agricultural produce, especially olive oil (Keswani 1993: 76-9). Evidence for large-scale storage or production of olive oil is attested mainly in public structures (Kalavasos Ayios Dhimitrios, Maroni Vournes, Apliki Karamallos, Alassa Paleotaverna, and perhaps also Maa Palaeokastro—Webb and Frankel 1994: 18). Some forms of storage (usually pithoi), however, are also attested in 'sanctuaries' at Kition, Kouklia, Enkomi, Myrtou Pigadhes, and Athienou.

Whereas long lists of material traits and architectural features may be suggestive of an individual structure's function, none is ever going to distinguish satisfactorily between what archaeologists working on Cyprus deem to be public and cultic buildings, or the rooms within them. However much we may wish to disentangle secular (elite) from religious (divine) initiatives, administrative from ceremonial functions, or ideological from cultic purposes, it is unlikely that we will ever be able to distinguish satisfactorily between all these deeply entwined, closely inter-related aspects of ProBA Cypriot society. Moreover, it is unlikely that Cypriot elites themselves, or even the people passing by, would have regarded them as distinct.

In prehistoric societies generally, the secular or domestic domain and ritual or cultic behaviour tend to be infrastructural in nature, and the dichotomy we make between them might be dissolved by placing the political economy at the centre of the discussion (Diaz del Rio 2004: 378). The costs of constructing a monument (or hosting feasts within it) serve to embed an elite ideology

within the economy and make it a key element of political strategy. An elite group that has the resources to extend its ideology through such acts of materialization can promote its objectives and legitimacy at the expense of competing groups who lack such resources (DeMarrais *et al.* 1996: 17). By giving ideology a material, monumental form, an elite is attempting to establish its unique identity, and to legitimize and institutionalize its authority in a society where people may have multiple or divergent identities, ideas, and beliefs. The costs involved in erecting monumental structures ('materializing ideology') limited the number of people who would have had access to sources of socio-political power (DeMarrais *et al.* 1996: 31). By controlling key resources, ruling elites would also have been able to restrict the use and transmission of various ideas and symbols—the paraphernalia of power found in ProBA Cypriot 'public' and 'ritual' monuments alike—and ultimately to employ both materials and monumentality as important sources of social power and identity construction.

We need to approach the dilemma of distinguishing between 'public' or 'ritual' monuments in other ways, situating these buildings in their historical context, and allowing for the likelihood of multiple functions or meanings. Moreover, we need to establish the links that existed between monumentality and identity, to determine the basis of politico-economic power associated with the more elaborate monumental constructions of the ProBA, and to consider why the social elaborations of the ProBA assumed such monumental sophistication and grandeur.

In terms of the historical and temporal context, during the ProBA 1 period (c.1650-1450 BC) the archaeological record reveals many aspects of the materialization of elite ideology and identity. Differential burial practices, monumental constructions, differences in site size, location, and function, storage facilities, exotic or prestige goods, evidence of literacy (Cypro-Minoan writing, seals) and copper oxhide ingots (Knapp 1996b: 76–7, tables 1–2) all signal the intensification of production, the expansion of settlement, the existence of different social factions, the emergence of social inequalities and elite identities, and the centralization of politico-economic power. In terms of monumentality, on the one hand the overlay of later monumental constructions makes it difficult to trace the full extent of architectural elaboration in ProBA 1 buildings at sites such as Alassa Paleotaverna, Maroni Vournes, Kouklia Palaepaphos, Myrtou Pigadhes, and Athienou Bamboulari tis Koukounninas. Furthermore, we need to bear in mind when we view today the bare elements of these monuments, that their decoration, colour, and adornment would have transformed their imagery completely at the time they were in use (Richards 1996: 206). On the other hand, it is clear that the monumental, free-standing 'fortress' at Enkomi was erected at the outset of the ProBA 1 era, and flourished throughout that period. I would argue that this structure served as an economic and administrative centre in which newly emerging elites sought to establish their authority and to create a distinctive intra-island identity. The actual construction of the fortress clearly entailed an extraordinary labour investment, one imbued with meaning and holding a special place in human memory, and thus one around which its builders may have created their own sense of group identity.

During this crucial transitional era, therefore, monumental construction became a prominent material feature of the landscape. The dominance of such monuments would have overshadowed daily tasks and practices, and would have assumed special significance in the 'created landscape' (Richards 1996: 206). At the same time, other insignia of authority assumed prominence in the archaeological record, new politico-economic roles emerged and new social identities—necessitating new types of information, ideology, and materiality—were established. On the basis of an archaeological record heavily skewed toward the later, ProBA 2-3 periods, we can at least postulate that political power was established and centralized at Enkomi during the ProBA 1 period. Elite enterprise and politico-economic ideology henceforth became ever more closely intertwined, as the social rift between elites and non-elites widened. To organize and secure control over an island (or certain parts of it) where authority traditonally had been decidely local in scope and purpose, emergent elites erected unprecendented and elaborate monumental structures, and adopted diverse insignia and iconographica (seals, Cypro-Minoan writing, metal goods and exotic imports, high-status burials) that enabled them to co-opt goods and labour for their own political, economic and ideological ends. Mortuary rituals, moreover, were used to reaffirm elite status and to establish links with ancestral power groups (Webb 1992b; Keswani 2004: 140-3).

By the subsequent, ProBA 2 period (1400–1200 BC) at the latest, monumental ashlar-built structures were erected in several other urban centres: Kition, Alassa *Paleotaverna*, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, and Maroni *Vournes*. Building X at *Ayios Dhimitrios* must have played a prominent, almost certainly administrative role in the community life of the town and surrounding region. The Ashlar Building at Maroni *Vournes*, and two other, adjacent structures reveal good evidence for a range of storage and production activities (metalworking, olive-oil processing and weaving) whilst the tombs may provide evidence of competing power factions. At Alassa *Paleotaverna*, Buildings II and III reveal indisputable evidence for the production of wine and the storage of olive oil, whilst their impressive size and layout suggest administrative functions. Hala Sultan Tekke *Vyzakia* and Kition *Kathari* both seem to have been major ports, but situated in such close proximity that, once again, we need to think of multiple functions or

meanings for them. Whereas Kition exhibits the most extensive evidence for monumentality, Hala Sultan Tekke—with only one notable ashlar structure (Building C) in the area excavated—stands as a well-organized, grid-planned settlement with distinctive houses, not unlike Alassa *Pano Mandilares* or Morphou *Toumba tou Skourou*. Neither Pyla *Kokkinokremos* nor Maa *Palaeokastro* produced truly monumental structures, although some buildings at Maa are regarded as elite residences. Both sites may have served as strongholds (or, in the case of Pyla, a port)—whether of local elites or intrusive merchants—designed to ensure the coastal to inland movement of imported goods.

The monumental, ashlar structures at Kition, Enkomi, and Kouklia Palaepaphos certainly mark the presence of elites. At Enkomi in particular, the Ashlar Building in Ouartier 4W and Schaeffer's Batiment 18 in Quartier 5W have been interpreted widely as elite dwellings. The workshops or industrial and storage areas within various monumental structures at Enkomi, Kition, Kalavasos Ayios Dhimitrios, Alassa Paleotaverna, and Maroni Vournes arguably signal elite control over various aspects of production (especially metals and olive oil), and perhaps indicate a gendered division of labour different from that which had existed in the PreBA. Catling (1984: 88-90) proposed that metalsmiths in the Enkomi workshops may have produced bronze stands for use as 'sanctuary furniture', whilst Muhly (personal comm.) suggests that the main function of the workshops could have been to manufacture the votive offerings (e.g. clay figurines and miniature juglets; bronze statuettes, stands, cauldrons) found in nearby rooms (cellas, inner sancta, or temene). At Athienou, a site whose excavated remains defy easy interpretation, we nonetheless see evidence for some association between metallurgical installations and special-purpose structures. This spatial juxtaposition instead may have symbolized the association between managers and producers, or between the forces and social relations of production (already spelt out in Knapp 1986b: 81). Drawing an analogy with olive oil production on Cyprus from the Byzantine period into the twentieth century (Knapp 1986b: 43–4; Hadjisavvas 1992: 121-2), it may be noted how the Orthodox church of Cyprus wielded substantial power and influence over the production of olive oil for community use in urban basilicas.

At Enkomi, Kition, and Kouklia *Palaepaphos*, the distinctive nature of various monumental structures seems clear, but such distinctiveness does not necessarily mark out a sacred precinct, a sanctuary or temple, or an inner cella to sequester the divine. Likewise, the monumental complex at Myrtou *Pigadhes* served multiple special functions—storage, industrial (metallurgical, olive oil), and transport—and it would be too restrictive to define that complex soley as a sanctuary. Keswani (1993: 81 n. 4), in fact, argued that *Pigadhes* may have served as an copper ore transshipment point on the route

from the Troodos to the north coast coast. Webb (1999: 287), moreover, argues that its (13th century BC) monumentality, diversity of finds, and 'cultic' equipment etc. instead may point to a possible primary centre, its inland location comparable to that of *Ayios Dhimitrios* and Alassa *Paleotaverna*.

The 'urban expansion' (Negbi 1986; 2005; Wright 1992a; 84) of the ProBA 2 period formed part of a distinctive settlement hierarchy characterized by site size, location, and (presumed) function (Keswani 1993; Knapp 1997b: 53–63) (see Figure 23). The secondary and tertiary centres, with their administrative, transport, production, and storage functions, helped to coordinate the production or flow of copper and traded goods, thus serving as transshipment points where local officials and workers articulated with regional or interregional polities. The location of many secondary or tertiary sites on routes between the copper mines and the coastal ports indicate that a centralized elite ideology helped to integrate the production-oriented periphery (inland) with the consumption- or distribution-oriented core (coastal). The placement of such rural centres may have served in part to demarcate regional territorial entities. At the very least, all these factors suggest an elaborated political hierarchy or, in Keswani's (1996) view, a devolving heterarchy in which local or regional elites linked themselves to specific territorial units, thus signalling new or at least distinctive elite identities. Manning (1998b: 53), too, argues for competing elite factions in different regions, each of which asserted their status through monumental constructions, elaborate mortuary endeavours, industrial and agricultural production practices, and access to foreign goods and ideas.

Countering the notion of heterarchical organization, it may be pointed out that the primary urban centres of 13th century BC Cyprus (Alassa Paleotaverna, Kalavasos Avios Dhimitrios, Maroni Vournes, Enkomi Avios Iakovos, Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke) shared a very similar material culture, were involved in similar production ventures, erected similar monumental buildings largely standardized in plan and construction methods, and made use of widely-accepted insignia of group identity (e.g. common and elaborate style cylinder seals, Aegeanizing motifs on pithos seal impressions, depictions of oxhide ingots on various media, gendered representations in figurines, etc.). Webb (1999: 307) adds that, throughout the ProBA, a coherent iconographic system reflecting a centralized authority may be seen in an array of ritual or ceremonial practices (e.g. the use of standardized female terracotta images in both domestic and mortuary contexts, the incorporaton of Base-ring bull rhyta in mortuary deposits). Commonalities in the style and content of seal iconography, as well as in both local and imported vessels used in feasting activities (wine-drinking, pouring libations), are likely to have served as powerful, symbolic mechanisms for exerting and expressing centralized control over what may have been dispersed regional polities.

The people of ProBA 2 Cyprus, commoners and elites alike, invested a great deal of time and energy in monumental construction, with the elite directing further expenditure into creating diverse but coherent insignia of their identity and authority. We should also consider the possibility that the 'community' may have emerged at this time as a distinctive conceptual if not necessarily spatial unit (Knapp 2003). The forces that produce social change are generated within the 'matrix of interaction' (Peterson and Drennan 2005: 5) between people, households, settlements and a centralized political structure. Feinman (1995) suggests that such 'corporate' strategies may suppress economic differentiation, whilst the labour invested in architectural elaboration promotes cooperation in food production, ceremonial activities, and boundary maintenance. On Cyprus, elite activities now became focused not solely on monumental constructions but also on procuring resources and exotica, developing diverse paraphernalia of power, and producing durable goods for internal consumption and external exchange. Work areas were established in some special-purpose, ashlar-built structures, and some aspects of industrial production (spinning, weaving, pottery, and shell manufacture) were henceforth conducted in non-domestic contexts, perhaps reflecting a gendered division of labour. Such developments point clearly to the diversification of economic and ideological authority; elsewhere they have been taken to reflect a strategy that diverged from controlling human labour to monitoring economic productivity through the creation of demand for certain goods and services (Kolb 1994: 530). And yet, at least toward the end of the ProBA 2 period, any communal or wider participation in elite activities became increasingly restricted as the entries to monumental structures were closed off or hidden, and as open courtyards were walled off (e.g. at Myrtou Pigadhes, Kouklia Palaepaphos and Kition).

During the ProBA 3 period (ca. 1200–1050 BC), several of these monumental structures were destroyed (Kition, *Palaepaphos*, Enkomi, Myrtou *Pigadhes*, Maroni *Vournes*, *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Alassa *Paleotaverna*). At the same time, many town centres were abandoned (*Vournes*, *Ayios Dhimitrios*, *Paleotaverna*, Hala Sultan Tekke, *Toumba tou Skourou*, Maa *Palaeokastro*, Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, Myrtou *Pigadhes*, Athienou) (for references see Knapp 1997b: 54–5, table 2). All of this clearly indicates a breakdown in politicoeconomic organization on Cyprus. Competition amongst different factions or the fragmentation of an overarching island polity may have become more intense, with a resulting increase in elite coercion and the resurgence of social upheaval. The wider collapse of the elaborate eastern Mediterranean politicoeconomic system, and the iconographic *koine* that symbolized its intricate

connectivity (Feldman 2002, 2006), clearly affected Cypriot elites who had depended on that system for access to exotic goods, contacts, and ideologies, and to the raw materials that followed in their wake. Equally, Cypriot elites could no longer bank on external demand for copper, which must have impacted negatively on the entire social system. The same factors that brought down so many coastal and inland centres would also have disrupted life in mining communities, pottery production sites and agricultural villages, thus destabilizing the economic, ideological, and productive bases of ProBA Cypriot society. All the interlinked components of a hierarchical settlement system were altered dramatically as managers and producers alike sought to adjust to new social, political, and economic realities.

Despite these obvious disruptions to Cypriot society, we can see an overall cultural continuity on Cyprus during the 13th and 12th centuries BC (ProBA 2–3), as economic and industrial activity actually intensified at this time. Sherratt (1992: 326–8; 1998: 296–306) believes that most of the large coastal centres, and more specifically the regional polities seen in the linearally organized (extraction, production, administrative, and distribution sites) southern river valleys, faded from power by the end of the 13th century BC. Based on an economic system that promoted diversification in the mass production of wheelmade pottery for internal and external consumption, an intensified manufacture of finished metalwork (especially bronzes, which involved widening use of the scrap metals seen in hoards of ProBA 3 date), and the development and use of iron tools and weapons (Sherratt 1998: 297–300), at least three key centres—Enkomi, Kition, and *Palaepaphos*—survived the destructions and abandonments at the end of the Bronze Age. These centres thus would have been able to stabilize if not centralize their authority over the surrounding regions.

Webb (1999: 292) believes that the scale and complexity of the monumental structures at Kition (Temple 1) and Kouklia (Sanctuary I) during LC IIIA (=ProBA 3) indicate a strong centralized authority, the 'embodiment and manifestation of power'. These enduring town sites would have displaced the previous regional centres (or the pre-eminent island centre), and perhaps overseen at least some aspects of newly emerging Cypriot contacts overseas, from the Levant to the central Mediterranean. Long distance trade, increasingly decentralized, involved the industrial production of olive oil, textiles and pottery, finished bronze and iron objects, the acquisiton of silver as a medium of exchange, and the continuing export of copper to the central Mediterranean, especially Sardinia (Knapp 1990b; Kassianidou 2001). Sherratt (1998: 305) defines this phenomenon as 'an intensive, irrational "coals to Newcastle" maritime trade' based on 'value-added' products. By 1100–1050 BC at the latest, however, the settlement patterns and centralized political organization(s) that characterized much of the Late Bronze Age had ended, as

new social and politico-economic configurations led to the establishment of new population and power centres on Early Iron Age Cyprus.

Although archaeologists typically discuss 'ritual activities' with reference to a series of highly visible monumental constructions, most analyses concentrate on the functions of the monuments rather than on the residues of human activity involved in their construction and use (Bradley 1991: 135). Ritual is thus seen as a unitary phenomenon and typically is identified or explained in accordance with a strictly functionalist logic. The time and energy invested in monumentality, tomb constructions, mortuary practices, feasting, and the production and consumption of exotic goods reflect the crucial importance to Cypriot elites of establishing and maintaining a corporate identity, and of perpetuating the group's social memory. Conversely, the builders or craftspeople who made up the main producers in Cypriot society may have had limited, if any, access to the ceremonies, feasts, or 'rituals' conducted in such elite domains.

Webb's (1999) thoroughgoing analysis of Late Bronze Age 'ritual' architecture, artefacts, iconography, and *practice*, and her attempt to understand them in terms of contemporary 'cult', ideology and politics, not only represent a very welcome alternative to the usual functionalist approaches, they have also had a profound influence on my own analysis of monumentality, memory, and identity. Where we have differed is in our understandings of a 'ritual system', which she links to a (religious) 'belief system', and which I link to a (political-economic) ideological system. Even then, it seems to be a matter of emphasis, and it is worthwhile to quote Webb (1999: 2) on this point (emphasis added):

Ideology may be defined as the use of religious and other symbolism for political and social purposes, or *more specifically* as 'the capability of dominant groups or classes to make their own sectional interests appear to others as universal ones' (Giddens 1979: 6).

Webb subscribes to the general definition whilst I follow the more specific one. I still believe it is crucial to assess the differences between *religious* and *ideological authority* on ProBA Cyprus, but I'm much less confident that even detailed analyses of monumental architecture on their own can resolve or clarify those differences.

Viewing monumentality in terms of social identity and social memory, however, may provide some insight into the nature of political authority on ProBA Cyprus. The material correlates of ideology include: (1) labour intensification as represented by monumental architecture; (2) the development of specialized crafts (elaborate pottery, precious metalwork, ornate textiles, etc.) and the support of the craftspeople involved (Adams 1992: 216–18); and (3) the production and consumption of exotic goods. Certain places that people collectively develop and maintain through 'ritual' or symbolic activities are

important in establishing and expressing social identity, creating social memory, wielding economic power and ideological authority, and reinforcing social institutions. Like sanctuaries or shrines, tombs and monuments—including monumental buildings—serve as social spaces where ritual or ceremonial activities are carried out, memories are established, social identity is made manifest, and local history is maintained. Such places may be mythologized, ritualized, or socialized (Bender 1993: 258); they are creative *of* specific social, historical, and politico-economic configurations.

Ideology, like memory and identity, forms a crucial part of an individual's social reality. Not all members of a society share the dominant ideology, and people's identities, memories and practice may further divide different segments of society. In most prehistoric societies, it is difficult to determine how a particular ideology or a distinctive identity was generated and perpetuated. Amongst the material markers of ideology, memory and identity, archaeologists have singled out monumental architecture and elite pottery styles (Trigger 1990; Kirch 1990; Kolb 1994), as well as textiles, costumes, regalia, and colour symbolism (in narrative sculptures, wall-paintings or even metals) (Barber 1991: 205 n. 7, 373-6; Hosler 1995; Jones and MacGregor 2002: 12-15). Such representations reveal how symbolic referents and material design conjoin in archaeological contexts linking monumental architecture, ideological imagery and human action in creating social memory and marking social identity. In Cyprus, elite identity and elite ideology were closely linked to monumentality, tomb construction, mortuary ritual, and the consumption of exotica. Moreover, much of the symbolism we see—on figurines, seals, bronze artefacts, and pottery relates to the production and distribution of copper (oxhide ingots, miniature ingots, ingot-bearers). All of this material practice, from the use of seals and figurines, to the productive output of metallurgical, olive oil, and textile workshops, to the erection of monumental buildings and tombs, formed part of ProBA Cypriot social memory and fed into the construction of insular identities. This is how individuals, whether as members of corporate groups or distinctive communities, negotiated their differing interests and manipulated their sociospatial world, and in the process formulated a uniquely Cypriot social identity.

# MIGRATIONS AND THE AEGEAN 'COLONIZATION' OF CYPRUS

The whole question of seeking 2nd millennium ethnicities in material remains such as pottery raises much broader and more complex issues of the relationships between various aspects of material culture, language, and conscious group identity which,

outside the concept of the modern nation state (and even often within in), rarely prove straightforward. (Sherratt 1998: 294)

Greek-speaking people settled in Cyprus in the period after the collapse of the Mycenaean palace economy (twelfth century). Irrespective of variations in the interpretation of the process and irrespective of its duration, the historical event thus described retains the validity of a fact on the basis of the evidence of the particular Greek dialect of Cyprus and the syllabic script which was employed to write it. One need only turn to the archaeological evidence to clarify the process.... (Iacovou 1999b: 1–2)

These quotations reveal that—once again—archaeologists working on Cyprus are sharply divided over the reality of a migrating ethnic group, the viability of arguments using specific types of material culture to identify such a group, and the extent to which such peoples may have imprinted cultural developments of the succeeding era, in this case the Early Iron Age. Like the proposed migration of an Anatolian ethnic group to Cyprus at the outset of the Bronze Age, the purported Aegean 'colonization' towards its end needs to be reassessed.

In order to unravel the conflicting threads of this debate, and before proposing an alternative, I discuss here the main opposing positions, and the material evidence upon which they are based. Given the overwhelming support that has been expressed over the past 100 years in favour of an Aegean (or 'Achaean' or 'Mycenaean') colonization of Cyprus at some point during the 12th and 11th centuries BC (LC IIIA, IIIB), the differing positions on this issue have really only arisen in the past two decades. What follows represents to some extent an argument from the 1980s, now largely resolved in the eyes of some, in particular those who see an overwhelming 'Greek' influence as the main contributing factor to the Iron Age culture(s) of Cyprus. From my perspective, however, there is a great diversity of material evidence that reveals complex and ambiguous mixtures of form, style, motifs and manufacturing technique, all of which can be interpreted more meaningfully and parsimoniously in terms of hybridization practices. For that reason, it is crucial to reexamine the evidence anew, however well known it may be to those involved in this debate.

Stated baldly, the two opposing positions are:

(1) the colonization narrative (after Leriou 2002a): currently, this narrative sees two successive waves of Aegean immigrants coming to Cyprus, the first (LC IIC–IIIA) somewhat subdued but nonetheless responsible for several site destructions or abandonments, the second (LC IIIB) more permanent and indelible, when new pottery styles and tomb types, fortifications, architectural elements, and metal goods, items of personal

- adornment, and a transformed settlement pattern become prominent in the archaeological record (Catling 1975: 207–13; Karageorghis 1990, 1994, 2001b, 2002b; Iacovou 1999b, 2003, 2005, 2006; Åström 1998b).
- (2) the politico-economic argument: the manifold changes evident in Cypriot society after the collapse of the interconnected, elite-based exchange system(s) of the Late Bronze Age—from Sardinia through the Levantine seaboard—are seen as the result of new patterns of Mediterranean maritime trade, small in scale, entrepreneurial in motivation, with roots in the wealthy but decentralized Cypriot polities of the 13th century BC (LC IIC) (Sherratt 1992, 1994b, 1998, 2001, 2003a). Artzy (1997, 1998) discusses how such 'economic mercenaries' might have evolved from being intermediaries in a patron/client relationship with various city-states in the eastern Mediterranean, to becoming entrepreneurs and economic competitors of those same city-states. Various studies by Kling (1989a, 2000) and Steel (1993, 1998, 2001, 2004b) tend to supplement and support the specifically pottery-based elements of this position. Maier (1986: 317) lends methodological support, critiquing the notion that pottery by itself can provide evidence for ethnic migrations.

Leriou (2002a) depicts the Aegean colonization and the subsequent Hellenization of Cyprus during the transitional ProBA 3 period as an 'archaeological narrative', a series of 'factoids' (Maier 1985) that—despite disputed methodological, material, and interpretative issues—still seem to be accepted by many archaeologists and ancient historians working on or writing about Cyprus. She lists a long series of archaeological and historical studies, dated between 1949–98, all of which discuss or attempt to refine the narrative of Cyprus's Hellenization by Aegean immigrants during the LC IIC–IIIA periods (ProBA 3). Maier (1986: 314–16 and fig. 1) too singled out a group of scholars writing between 1926 (Gjerstad) and the mid-1980s (Karageorghis), all of whom repeatedly refer to the same previous research in reconstructing this colonization. According to Maier's schematic 'family tree', all reference lines converge upon Gjerstad and Furumark, although he might have added John Myres as well. Maier's opinion of the colonization is worth quoting in this context:

The current reconstruction of the Achaean colonization of Cyprus rests on a number of hypotheses and surmises which appear—to say the least—questionable. Excavation results alone can, for obvious reasons, neither prove nor disprove the validity of that kind of theories [sic] which are used in their historical interpretation. (Maier 1986: 314)

In addition to Maier and Leriou, other archaeologists have questioned the impact (or even the identity) of Mycenaeans, and of Mycenaean palatial influence, on Cyprus's politico-economic and social development during

ProBA 3 (e.g. Kling 1989a; Sherratt 1998, 1999, 2001; Steel 1998, 2001; Antoniadou 2004, 2005). Some dispute any likelihood of an Aegean colonization of Cyprus at this time. Others dispute the time when, or the extent to which Greek-speaking peoples, or their political institutions, become prominent or pre-eminent on Cyprus (Steel 1993; Rupp 1987, 1998; Petit 2001). Baurain (1984: 355) maintained that the island had been colonized by groups from Anatolia (Trojans and perhaps Lukka) alongside 'Achaeans', whilst Vanschoonwinkel (1991: 454) suggested immigrants from the Aegean and Anatolia with an undeniable Oriental influence (i.e. the 'Sea Peoples'). Negbi (1992; 2005) has always seen a strong Levantine element in the material culture of 12th century BC Cyprus, and believes that both Aegean and Levantine (Phoenician) ethnic groups migrated to the island during LC IIIA. To round out the picture, Sandars (1978: 153-5) argued that refugees from Ugarit (also Catling 1975: 210), and perhaps also from Anatolia (Lukka, Carians, Mycenaeans from Miletos), formed part of the 12th century BC demographic mix on Cyprus, whilst Åström (1985; 1998) covers all possible options, suggesting an amalgamation of Minoan, Mycenaean, Syro-Palestinian, and Anatolian ethnic elements.

Not surprisingly, and leaving aside various arguments (for the colonization) that revolve exclusively around later, classical Greek foundation myths (Gjerstad 1944; Leriou 2002a), these opposing arguments—based primarily on Mycenaean pottery—can be seen as a thread running through the archaeological debate from its inception late in the 19th century. Myres supported the colonization narrative, inasmuch as Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus was seen to equal Mycenaeans on Cyprus (Myres and Ohnefalsch Richter 1899: 40, 180–6; Myres 1914: xxx–xxxi, 45–6, 374). In contrast, Gjerstad (1926: 310–29) supported the economic argument, in the sense that Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus was seen to equal Aegean trade with Cyprus. Although the British Museum excavations at Enkomi (1896) in particular, but also at Kourion (1895), and Maroni (1897), had established an umbilical link between Late Bronze Age Cyprus and the Aegean world (Murray et al. 1900), it was only as a result of Myres's publications that 'the equation of Mycenaean pottery with a Mycenaean colonization of the island became central to twentieth century discourse on the Late Cypriot period, in an archaeological commentary on both the Greek foundation legends of the classical period and the island's linguistic inheritance' (Steel 2001: 161).

Myres (1914: xxx), perceptively but in the end controversially, felt that all Mycenaean pottery found on Cyprus had been produced locally and provided tangible proof for an Aegean colonization of Cyprus around 1400 BC, when the high period of Minoan culture was fading. Gjerstad (1926: 326–7), in contrast, felt that virtually all Mycenaean pottery of the 14th–13th centuries

BC (ProBA 2) had been imported from Greece and demonstrated not just an Aegean orientation but 'a drawing [of Cyprus] into the Mycenaean sphere of commercial influence'. Based on the distribution of Mycenaean chariot kraters at mainland Greek centres such as Mycenae and Tiryns, on the one hand, and those found in Cypriot coastal towns, on the other, Gjerstad (1926: 327) argued that Mycenaean 'factories' along the coast of Cyprus served as reception points for Mycenaean goods. In time, more detailed work by Gjerstad's Swedish colleagues Sjöqvist (1940) and Furumark (1944) enabled them not only to distinguish between locally produced and imported Mycenaean pottery of the 14th and 13th centuries Bc, but also to see a fusion of Aegean and Cypriot elements in the Mycenaean pottery of the 12th and 11th centuries Bc. These factors led them to argue, each in their own way, for an 'Achaean' colonization of Cyprus during the latter two centuries (Gjerstad 1926: 326–9; 1948: 428–9; Sjöqvist 1940: 207–9; Furumark 1944: 262–5).

Sjögvist (1940: 183-4, 201-2; also Casson 1938: 46) came to understand Gierstad's factories, particularly those at Enkomi and at Ugarit on the Levantine coast, as Mycenaean emporia in whose artisans' quarters the 'Levanto-Helladic' (Mycenaean or Late Helladic [LH] IIIB) pottery was being produced, and where some isolated Mycenaean settlers had taken up residence. Although Sjögvist shunned the use of the word colony or the concept of Mycenaean colonists on Cyprus, Daniel (1942: 290-1) read the Swedish scholar's words as complicit with his own (and Myres') view that Mycenaean colonists had settled on 14th-13th century BC Cyprus (Daniel 1940), even if 'the English word colony does not necessarily imply, as Sjögvist seems to think, the complete numerical and cultural ascendancy of the colonizing people'. Gierstad (1926: 328), always perceptive, first regarded the changed material record of 12th century BC Cyprus as indicating the cultural 'assimilation' of native Cypriotes and Achaean colonists. In later publications, however, he came to see the Mycenaean colonists as conquering lords who dominated the native Cypriotes in the coastal centres, but not in the interior, where 'there were "barbarian" (i.e. Eteocyprian) cities at least down to the Classical period' (Gjerstad 1948: 429; Leriou 2002a quotes the passage in full, discussing Gierstad's political and cultural beliefs in the context of the contemporary British colonial regime).

The growing corpus of Mycenaean pottery found in the Levant and Cyprus enabled Stubbings (1951) to make more finite chronological divisions. He concluded that, during the 15th century BC, Mycenaean pottery had been imported to Cyprus, perhaps in its role as a staging-post for Aegean trade with the Levant. By the later 14th century BC, not only had the quantity of Mycenaean pottery found on Cyprus increased, it had also developed local stylistic features that distinguished it from Mycenaean pottery in mainland

Greece. Such a development implied to Stubbings that Mycenaean pottery was being produced on the island and that direct trade between Greece and Cyprus had diminished. Stubbings felt that, by the 13th century BC, much of the Mycenaean pottery found on Cyprus was of local manufacture, and could serve as evidence of Mycenaean colonies acting as intermediaries in Aegean trade with the Levant. In a later, more general study of prehistoric Greece, Stubbings (1972: 61–3) modified his opinion, stating there was no Mycenaean conquest or colonization during the 14th-13th centuries BC, only some possible Mycenaean residents involved in trade or Mycenaean potters who supplied goods to meet local demand. During the 12th century BC, however, when the new Mycenaean IIIC style appears at Enkomi, along with 'fine new buildings' and Mycenaean-influenced metalwork, Stubbings (1972: 63) felt that there had been 'a substantial immigration to Enkomi of Mycenaean Greeks'. Like Sjövist before him, Stubbings used detailed typological, chronological and distributional analyses of the Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus to posit historical relations between the Aegean, Cyprus, and the Levant. He was also one of the first to argue that scientific analyses might facilitate more objective studies on the production and trade of Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus and its influence on local Cypriot traditions (Stubbings 1951: 25-44). Equally important, he called for more settlement excavations, which could provide contextual evidence for the function and use of Mycenaean pottery on the island (Stubbings 1951: 32). His call was already being answered, in particular at Enkomi and Sinda.

The excavation of Late Cypriot settlements at both Enkomi and Sinda resulted in a large amount of locally produced Mycenaean (LH) IIIC:1b pottery in LC IIIA reoccupation levels that covered extensive LC IIC destruction deposits (Furumark 1965: 100, 107; Dikaios 1967: 43–5; 1969–71: 509–23; Furumark and Adelman 2003: 62–4). Furumark (1965: 109–12) never argued specifically that the Mycenaeans were directly responsible for the destruction levels (nor did Adelman—see Furumark and Adelman 2003: 66), but clearly felt that Aegean people were instrumental in the subsequent rebuilding and (political, economic) reorganization of these towns. Dikaios (1967: 47–8) was less circumspect, maintaining that 'Achaean-Greeks' were responsible for the destructions at Enkomi, reflecting the circumstances in which the Achaean heroes, following the Trojan War, arrived on Cyprus as colonists. As a result, the colonization narrative gained further credence, this time based on archaeological field excavations (albeit still exclusively pottery-based evidence) combined with the mythological tradition.

Dikaios's use of archaeological evidence from excavated Late Cypriot settlements to substantiate the notion of an Aegean colonization of Cyprus was developed more vigorously as a result of Karageorghis's excavations at

Kition (Karageorghis and Demas 1985), Maa Palaeokastro (Karageorghis and Demas 1988), Pyla Kokkinokremos (Karageorghis and Demas 1984) and Palaepaphos Skales (Karageorghis 1983). Whilst a burial at Skales produced an obelos (skewer) with the first secure attestation of the use of the Greek language on Cyprus (although written in a local script—Masson and Masson 1983), the sites at Pyla and Maa were seen as the earliest defensible settlements established by Aegean colonists on Cyprus (Karageorghis 1984; 1990: 7-10, 21-6; 2001b: 3). At Kition, several features—'Cyclopaean' fortification walls, monumental (ashlar) architecture, hearths and bathtubs, LH IIIC:1b pottery, Handmade Burnished Ware, horns of consecration, bull figurines and cult practices generally—were all defined as elements of an Aegean cultural package introduced into Cyprus during the ProBA 3 era (e.g. Karageorghis 1998b; 2002b). Despite several objections to various aspects of his arguments, especially concerning the use of archaeological data to establish a historical framework for the LC IIC-IIIA transition (Majer 1986; Kling 1989a; 174-6; 2000; 286-9), Karageorghis's numerous publications, as well as a long series of key conferences organized around the theme of Aegean-Cypriot relations (e.g. Karageorghis 1973, 1979a, 1986a, 1991b; Christou 1997), have held sway and further strengthened the colonization narrative. Karageorghis (1990: 29-30) himself eventually conceded that the Aegean colonization of Cyprus must have been a long and drawn out affair, and later even acknowledged, following Baurain (1989), that the term colonization was inappropriate for the situation on Cyprus during the LC IIIA period (Karageorghis 1992: 82). By this time, however, the colonization narrative had assumed canonical status, and has proved resilient despite disclaimers from one of its foremost adherents.

The keystone in this overarching argument for a LC IIC–IIIA (ProBA 3) Aegean colonization of Cyprus has been, and in many respects still remains, the Mycenaean pottery found on Cyprus (e.g. Figure 52): its origins, development, and the transition to local forms of production, the last of which became predominant during LC IIIA. The main concentrations of Mycenaean pottery on Cyprus have been recovered in excavations at town centres along or near the south and east coasts: e.g. Enkomi, Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Maroni, Kalavasos, and Kourion (Steel 2004b: 71–2); it is also widely distributed in the island's interior but in much smaller amounts (Pacci 1986). Imported Mycenaean wares are most commonly found in mortuary or ceremonial contexts, both in the coastal towns and at inland 'sanctuary' sites such as Myrtou *Pigadhes*, Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukounninas* and Ayios Iakovos *Dhima* (Steel 1998: 286; 2004b: 74–8). Mycenaean wares (LH I–IIA) had been imported to Cyprus from at least the late 16th century BC (ProBA 1) and continued to increase during the 15th to early 14th centuries BC (LH IIB–IIIA1). Only in the 14th to 13th centuries BC



Figure 52: Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 (LH IIIA2) krater from Pyla Verghi, Tomb 1, no. 36.

(ProBA 2), however, did the earlier 'trickle' become a 'flood' (LH IIIA2, LH IIIB) (Catling 1975: 199–200; Cadogan 1973: 168–9; 1993; Steel 2004b: 70).

Despite the notable quantity of Mycenaean pottery found on Cyprus, Steel (1998; 2004b: 74–5) has emphasized that such finds must be seen in relation to the overall Late Cypriot ceramic repertoire. At Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, for example, the Mycenaean component tallies less than 1% of the total pottery corpus (Steel 1998: 286 and n. 5; see also South and Todd 1997: 72–5); Steel maintains that a similar pattern prevails at other LC sites islandwide. Manning and Hulin (2005: 282–6) also have cautioned Mediterranean archaeologists about drawing major implications for trade from disproportionate types of evidence. In particular, they question whether the quantities of Mycenaean pottery found in the eastern Mediterranean have any bearing on the scope or extent of *Mycenaean* trade, or the presence of *Mycenaean* merchants (as opposed to Cypriot or Levantine trade and merchants—see also Hirschfeld 1992, 2004).

Sherratt (1999: 164–8), one main proponent of the politico-economic narrative, has underlined the long-standing tension between: (1) those scholars who see pottery as evidence of trade (from Gjerstad to Steel) and (2) those who see it as an 'ethno-cultural' indicator of large scale migrations

or smaller scale movements of individual potters, merchants or refugees (from Myers to Karageorghis). Although the former viewpoint tends to hold sway today, the latter is still demonstrably robust in cases where the local production of previously imported wares and types can be demonstrated, which is precisely the case for Aegean-style pottery found in Cyprus and the Levant during the 13th and 12th centuries Bc. Here, of course, the migration argument is bolstered by reference to contemporary documentary accounts of the Sea Peoples' movements (Cifola 1994; Gitin *et al.* 1998; Oren 2000), or to later, classical Greek foundation myths (Gjerstad 1944; Dikaios 1967; Tsakmakis 2006: 4–7).

Steel (1998: 290–2; 1999) raises a further issue with respect to imported Mycenaean pottery. Elaborate 'drinking sets'—kraters, jugs, tankards, large spouted bowls, and other drinking vessels—of White Slip, Base-ring, and Bichrome Wheelmade wares became prominent in Cypriot burials of the 16th–14th centuries Bc. In LC II funerary contexts, Mycenaean pictorial style imports of the 14th–13th centuries Bc were widely adopted as drinking sets, to a large extent replacing the use of the local wares. Imported Mycenaean pottery of the 14th–13th centuries Bc obviously made a crucial impact on both the material culture and social practices of the ProBA 2 period. Yet is it clear that these imports had been integrated into an existing (elite) funerary custom, and thus provide no evidence for a dominant Aegean presence on Cyprus at this time. Instead they portray one striking example of the hybridization of material and cultural practices.

By the end of the 13th and throughout the 12th centuries BC, the number of Mycenaean imports decreased markedly whilst the local production of Mycenaean-type pottery increased dramatically. This pottery includes a range of wares (Rude or Pastoral Style, LH IIIB, LH IIIC:1b, Decorated LC III) that specialists now more or less agree should be termed White Painted Wheelmade III (Åström 1972: 276; Kling 1991: 183; 2000: 281-2; Sherratt 1991: 186-7; 1992: 319-20; Steel 1998: 288). This realignment and combining of formerly separate pottery types, in fact, led archaeologists to realize that the local production of Mycenaean-type wares on Cyprus could be dated as early as the 13th century BC (LC IIC), more or less the same time that such wares were being produced locally elsewhere in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean (Cadgoan 1973: 169-70; Sherratt 1982). More importantly, as Kling (2000: 287) recently clarified, the classification of Aegean-style pottery produced on Cyprus was not based on clearcut typological distinctions but instead on its assumed chronological and historical contexts. Thus pottery found in LC IIC contexts was defined as LH IIIB, whereas in LC IIIA contexts it was defined as LH IIIC or Decorated Late Cypriot III, even though some of these different types were in fact identical, and in Aegean terms could be either LH IIIB or IIIC.

The outcome of this terminological debate remains uncertain. Meanwhile, the identification of what has traditionally been defined as locally made LH IIIC:1b pottery in post-LC IIC destruction deposits—not just at Enkomi and Sinda but also at Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, Palaepaphos, Maa *Palaeokastro* and Alassa *Paleotaverna*—has propped up conventional arguments that see these deposits in terms of an event marking the arrival of Aegean colonists. Moreover, given its prior appearance in the Aegean world, the discovery of a distinctive, coarsely made pottery type, Handmade Burnished Ware (HBW), in LC IIIA contexts (and associated with locally-made LH IIIC:1b pottery) at Maa *Palaeokastro*, Kition, Enkomi, Sinda, and Hala Sultan Tekke (Pilides 1992; 1994: 49–67), has also been attributed to displaced Aegean settlers on Cyprus (e.g. Karageorghis 1986b).

It must be reiterated, however, that Mycenaean pottery, like the HBW, makes up 'a statistically insignificant percentage of the total LC ceramic repertoire' (Steel 2004b: 74), and accordingly cannot be used to argue for an Aegean colonization of Cyprus. In several papers, Kling (1987, 1989b, 1991, 2000) has argued against such an historical scenario and the potterydriven methodology used to establish it. As a pottery specialist, Kling emphasized the continuity in various features, even in shapes (e.g. shallow conical bowls), between LC IIC and LC IIIA, and more importantly 'the existence in the painted pottery of LC IIIA of stylistic hybrids that combine local, Aegean and Near Eastern elements' (Kling 1991: 182, emphasis added; see also Sherratt 1992: 319-20). White Painted Wheelmade III pottery, in general, became increasingly standardized and may even have been massproduced, in tandem with increased craft specialization and other urban developments that Sherratt (1991: 191) thought might reflect a centralized (political) administration. Handmade Burnished Ware, by contrast, might have resulted from small scale, household production (Steel 2004a: 195), or part-time production for wider exchange (Small 1990).

All these factors militate against equating LC IIC–IIIA destruction horizons with the arrival of Aegean colonists or the dominance of Aegean cultural traditions over local Cypriot traditions. Rather they offer multiple strands of evidence for complex and ambiguous modes of social interaction, changing internal dynamics, and internal as well as external economic developments. In terms of the pottery, what we are seeing is the hybridization of diverse local and foreign pottery types, motifs, shapes, and production techniques.

### Other Aspects of Material Culture

Beyond the realm of pottery, several other material culture features are thought to have been introduced to Cyprus by Aegean peoples, whether migrants or colonists, during the 12th century BC. In his most recent statements on the subject, Karageorghis (2001c; 2002b: 36–7; 2002c: 71–140) argues that the use of the central hearth (at Maa, Enkomi, Alassa, Hala Sultan Tekke) as known from Mycenaean megara is inexplicable unless we accept that Mycenaeans had settled on Cyprus by 1200 BC. He also points to changes (LC IIIA) in metallurgy (weaponry, fibulae), architecture (ashlar masonry, Cyclopaean walls, the 'dog-leg' gate), coroplastic art, utensils (clay loomweights, torches), and household items (clay or limestone baths and bathtubs). Karageorghis, having grown more cautious, now reasons that these features do not entail a full Hellenization of the island, since Cyprus had its own robust and flourishing culture. Thus, for the course of the 12th century BC (LC IIIA), Cypriot culture is argued to have developed on Aegean models, without abandoning local tradition.

Most of these objects, styles or features, however, have such complex biographies that it is difficult to link them exclusively to the Aegean region. New metal weapons, for example, which include the 'cut-and-thrust' (Naue II type) sword, socketed spears, and greaves, ultimately derived from northern Europe (Desborough 1964: 69–72; Sandars 1978: 186–9; Muhly 1984: 41–3), even if they had already been adopted into the Mycenaean martial repertoire and, perhaps, thence came to Cyprus. Molloy (2005) has pointed out that the Naue II type sword was adopted in the Aegean world over a long period (13th–11th centuries BC), and that Aegean smiths were constantly adapting their own sword-making traditions to accommodate both functional needs and social circumstances. Steel (2004a: 196) suggests that the adoption of such military equipment may reflect no more than a response by elite Cypriot warriors to changing military tactics, and/or the appropriation by such warriors of high-status, exotic weaponry to enhace their military prowess in a changing complex of prestige symbolism.

The violin-bow fibula found in sites such as Enkomi, Kition, and Maa *Palaekastro* (Giesen 2001: 40–55) may indicate new types of clothing, in particular the use of a garment (originally for colder climates?) that had to be pinned together. Desborough (1964: 54–8) suggested that such fibulae may have originated somewhere to the north of Greece, but notes that they are also common in the Balkans and Italy, and were not in regular use in the Aegean before the 12th century BC (LH IIIC), more or less at the same time they appeared in Cyprus. Catling, who once emphatically championed the Aegean

origin of most 12th century BC Cypriot bronzes (1964), eventually modified his position, noting the pervasiveness of Levantine and Egyptian elements, as well as the 'amalgam of Cypriot, Near Eastern and Aegean features that is so much easier to sense than to understand and explain' (Catling 1984: 78; 1986: 99).

With respect to architectural elements, Dikaios (1969-71: 514-23), based on his work at Enkomi, attributed the ashlar facades and features found on monumental buildings of the LC IIIA (ProBA 3) period to 'Achaean' colonists. Ashlar masonry, however, had much earlier antecedents in Cyprus: in the MC III-LC I fortress at Nitovikla (Hult 1983: 15; 1992); in LC IIA-B built tombs at Enkomi (Courtois et al. 1986: 24-30); in LC IIC monumental buildings at Maroni Vournes (Cadogan 1989: 43-7), Kalavasos Ayios Dhimitrios (South 1988: 223–5), Alassa Paleotaverna (Hadjisavvas 1994: 107–11) and Enkomi (Courtois et al. 1986: 18-20); and in an array of fortifications, domestic buildings, 'sanctuaries', and tombs dated throughout the ProBA (Hult 1983: 1-20). In a comprehensive study of ashlar masonry and architecture on Cyprus, Hult (1983: 88-90) concluded that the use of ashlar became widespread on the island towards the end of the 13th century BC, most likely as a result of ongoing contacts with the Levant, and in particular Ugarit. The closest links to Aegean traditions are with Minoan Crete, not Mycenaean Greece. Ashlar masonry in mainland Greece (found in tholos tombs and architectural elements) was used in contexts different from those on Cyprus (as a building material for monumental facades, internal pillars and pilasters) (Steel 2004a: 198-9). Hult (1983: 90) concluded: 'Judging by the ashlar architecture, there is no reason to exclude the Cypriotes themselves as being the main creators of the prosperous LC IIIA:1 towns'.

Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavva (1997) proposed that various architectural features at Enkomi, Kition, and Palaepaphos—megara-like halls, hearths, and bathrooms—indicate Aegean influence, whilst Karageorghis (1998b) sees them as part of the widespread cultural changes introduced into Cyprus by 'newcomers from the west' during the transitional ProBA 3 (late LC IIC-IIIA) era. Within the large and exclusively ashlar-constructed Building II at Alassa Paleotaverna (LC IIC) (see Figure 41), Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavva see influences from Minoan palaces in the Hearth Room (the arrangment of the hearth surrounded by slender pillars; a sunken rectangular construction) (Figure 53); from Knossos in the drainage system and its proximity to a staircase and light well; and from Mycenaean palaces in the south wing (courts on both sides of a central hall; bathroom opening onto a court). They conclude that the central hall with free-standing hearth surrounded by pillars and associated with various secondary rooms is a new architectural concept 'due to a migration from the West, most probably associated with the Sea Peoples' (Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavva 1997: 146-8).



**Figure 53:** Alassa *Palaeotaverna*: sunken rectangular feature in south wing, Building II, with ashlar walls behind (October 2004).

Large rooms with a central hearth—found not just at Alassa but also at Enkomi, Kition, and Maa *Palaeokastro*—most likely served as venues for elite gatherings and communal feasting in both Cyprus and the Aegean (Steel 2004a: 199). These Cypriot architectural elements, however, demonstrate only superficial affinities with the typical Mycenaean megaron unit (porch, vestibule, and hall), whilst the form and construction of Cypriot hearths vary regionally (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 60–2). Moreover, closely similar architectural units can also be found at Tarsus in southern Anatolia and at several Philistine sites in the southern Levant (Karageorghis and Demas 1988: 60–1; Steel 2004a: 199 and n. 79). Whilst the specific social circumstances surrounding the adoption of halls and hearths on Cyprus remains elusive (Steel 2004a: 199), it seems inappropriate to regard them as material signposts to an Aegean colonization of the island.

LC IIIA towns or settlements at Enkomi, Kition, Sinda, Maa *Palaeokastro*, and Lara were partly surrounded by walls of 'Cyclopean' construction, also known as casemate walls (Furumark 1965: 104; Dikaios 1969–71: 68–70; Fortin 1978; Karageorghis and Demas 1985: 86; 1988: 63–4). Such walls represent an

intrusive feature in Cypriot Bronze Age architecture and comprised two rows of large uncut stone blocks filled with a rubble core. Both Dikaios (1969–71: 910) and Furumark (1965: 105, 112) regarded such constructions as Anatolian in origin, citing specific parallels at the Hittite fortified towns of Boğazköv and Alishar. Alternatively, Fortin (1978: 67; 1981: 553), as well as Karageorghis and Demas (1988: 63), suggested the possibility of Mycenaean influence or of intrusive Aegean elements (also Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 110-13). Wright (1992a: 253) states that Cyprus's Cyclopean fortifications and the dog-leg gates uncovered at Maa Palaeokastro and Lara recall similar constructions at Boğazköv in Anatolia, Mycenae and Tiryns in Greece, and Shechem in the southern Levant; he associates their appearance with the 'age of migrations and disturbances in the latter half of the 13th century'. Rather than seeing these walls as a uniquely Aegean phenomenon, then, we should regard them—like the halls and hearths discussed above—as representing a broader, eastern Mediterranean tradition, one perhaps signaling the general unrest that accompanied the end of the Late Bronze Age in this region.

Two other novel architectural elements are argued to be of Aegean or, more specifically, Minoan origin or inspiration: (1) the so-called horns of consecration found at Kition, Palaepaphos, Myrtou Pigadhes, and Pyla Kokkinokremos (the last in relief on a limestone trough); (2) the stepped capitals found at Kition, Enkomi, Kouklia Palaepaphos, Myrtou Pigadhes (Loulloupis 1973; Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1992; Papadopoulos 1997: 176; Karageorghis 2000: 261) and most recently at Erimi Pitharka (Steel 2003-4: 100). The horns of consecration are treated in the following section (Hybridization and the ProBA). With respect to the stepped capitals, Karageorghis (1971b) once regarded them as Mycenaean in origin, linking their first appearance on Cyprus, around 1200 BC. to Aegean immigrants. In none of his more recent compilations of Aegean or Sea Peoples' innovations on Cyprus, however, has he mentioned them (Karageorghis 2000; cf. Karageorghis 2002c: 94, fig. 184), and with good reason: they have no true parallels in the Aegean world, and should probably be seen as integral structural elements of monumental ashlar buildings, which if anything are related to Levantine, not Aegean architectural traditions (Webb 1999: 179-82).

In the realm of coroplastic art, Karageorghis (2000: 258–9; 2002c: 92) sees profound changes in certain anthropomorphic and bull-shaped figurines that he believes were either imported from the Aegean or produced in imitation of Aegean types. Most of the bull figurines are small, solid, and handmade, with painted linear decoration. There are also some examples of larger bull-shaped figurines (from Myrtou *Pigadhes*, Enkomi, Alassa *Pano Mandilares* and possibly Ayia Irini) that have a hollow, wheelmade body and painted, incised, or impressed decoration similar to Minoan and Mycenaean types (Karageorghis 1993: 35–43; Webb 1999: 218). With respect to the

anthropomorphic figurines, the earlier (ProBA 2) nude, female, mainly Basering ware figurines (of 'Astarte' type) decline and then go out of use, whilst Mycenaean-type *psi*-shaped figurines begin to appear (increasingly so during the subsequent, LC IIIB period). The latter include many more male examples than in the preceding period (Karageorghis 1993: 26–32). It is impossible to confirm or deny the belief that these anthropomorphic figurines represent 'a new economic elite' of Aegean origin (Karageorghis 2002c: 92). It should be noted, however, that similar, Aegean-type figurines are also known from several 12th century BC Philistine sites (Dothan 1982: 234–49), and that the earlier 'Astarte' figurines were, on stylistic grounds and as their name indicates, typically assumed to be of Levantine origin or derivation (see full discussion above, *Representations* pp. 181–2).

Concerning baths and bathtubs, Karageorghis (1983: 437–8) long ago suggested that such items should be associated with the arrival of new Aegean ethnic groups on Cyprus. He has now elaborated on this suggestion (Karageorghis 2000: 266–74), discussing their occurrence in both domestic contexts and in monumental public structures at ten Late Cypriot sites. It should come as no surprise to learn that bathtubs and bathroom complexes are known from both palatial and domestic contexts in Mycenaean Greece (e.g. Tiryns, Pylos), Minoan Crete (e.g. Knossos, Phaistos) and the Levant (e.g. Akko, Ashdod, Tel Miqne) (Karageorghis 2000: 272–4), but I can see no reason—nor does Karageorghis provide one—why such a common household feature should be regarded as 'yet another innovation that came from the Aegean'.

Looking at the presumed Mycenaean colonization of Cyprus from the perspective of the post-Palatial period in Greece, Deger-Jalkotzy (1994: 17) states: 'it seems very doubtful that the destruction of Cypriot sites at the transition from LC IIC to IIIA, as well as the novel features of the LC IIIA material culture were caused by Mycenaean refugees who had fled after the collapse of the palaces' (see also Deger-Jalkotzy 1998: 117, 122). The pottery chronology does not fit, and it is difficult to link any of the presumed Mycenaean elements of LC IIIA directly to any former palatial regimes of mainland Greece or Crete (although Iacovou 2006b: 322-8 makes an ingenious attempt to do so). In any case, features such as megaron-type buildings, central hearths, and Cyclopaean walls had spread to areas such as Euboea, central Achaia, eastern Attica, the Cyclades, Crete, and Rhodes already during the 13th century BC (LH IIIB). Moreover, Mycenaean mortuary and ceremonial practices were absent from LC IIIA deposits, and there is no indication of the use of the Greek language on Cyprus before the 11th century BC. Finally, various LH IIIC 'noble vases' that had circulated in the Aegean as prestige goods, whether for diplomatic or commercial exchanges, failed to reach Cyprus; they have, however, been found as far afield as the Levant and southern Italy. Despite such obvious problems for the colonization narrative, its deeply felt hold over Cypriot archaeology led Deger-Jalkotzy to conclude that the Aegean aspects of LC IIIA material culture cited by Karageorghis and others indicate that the newcomers of the 12th century BC had either been natives of the Aegean or somehow had been acculturated to Mycenaean society and culture: 'they may well have laid the foundation of the intensified and continuous contacts between Cyprus and the West throughout the 12th century B.C.' (Deger-Jalkoty 1994: 19).

#### MIGRATION AND HYBRIDIZATION IN THE PROBA

The complex process that resulted in an amalgamation or 'cultural assimilation' or 'fusion' of Cypriot, Aegean, and Levantine material culture elements during the 12th century BC has long been recognized in Cypriot archaeology (e.g. Catling 1973; Sandars 1978: 144-8; Sherratt 1994: 35). Gjerstad (1926: 328), in his earliest statement on the subject, suggested that the cultural assimilation of native Cypriots and 'Achaean' colonists could explain all of the innovations seen in the material record of 12th century BC Cyprus. Sjögvist (1940: 97), in turn, described what he termed 'painted Submycenaean ware' (White Painted Wheelmade III) as showing 'a fusion of elements from both the Cypriote Plain Wheel-made ware I and Mycenaean pottery', and as being distinctively different from Submycenaean ware on the Greek mainland. Catling (1980: 22–3) stressed that LC IIIA (12th century) material culture overall should be seen as a fusion of Cypriot, Aegean, and Levantine elements: town planning, monumental architecture, burial customs, metalwork, and especially glyptic all suggested to him an amalgam of Near Eastern and Aegean characteristics so distinctive that 'we must admit the emergence of something entirely new as the result of the amalgamation' (emphasis added; see also Catling 1986: 99). He also remarked that the people involved, if they were Aegean colonists, must have undergone a 'sea-change' on their way to Cyprus (Catling 1980: 23).

More recently, others have pointed to 'hybrid potters' (Sherratt 1992: 320) or 'stylistic hybrids' (Kling 1991: 182) in discussing the painted pottery of LC IIIA Cyprus. Mountjoy (2005: 209–10) defines the locally-made 'LH IIIC1b' pottery of the 12th century BC as 'a hybrid style, combining Mycenaean, Minoan and Cypriot elements'. Antoniadou (2005: 74–5), in discussing various 'hybrid products' (ivory and gold objects, weaponry, locally made Mycenaean style pottery) widely distributed in diverse contexts at LC IIC–IIIA Enkomi, concludes that exogenous materials and traits had become well integrated into local practices, and indeed had impacted on the local

Cypriotes' social identity. Steel (2004a: 193–4, 204) perhaps comes closest to the perspective adopted here when she states that hybridization was characteristic of Late Cypriot craftsmanship generally, and suggests that certain elements of LC IIIA 'cult furniture' (horns of consecration, totemic use of bucrania, bull representations) indicate the hybridization of Aegean, Cypriot, and Near Eastern iconography and material culture. As we shall see, such elements pervade the material record of the LC IIIA period (and indeed of LC IIIB as well), and a careful reconsideration of them may enable us to gain a new perspective on this endlessly debated transitional era.

As already discussed above (Chapter 2), ambivalence and ambiguity are two factors inherent in both modern and ancient contact and colonizing situations. Concepts such as transculturation, creolization or hybridization have been adopted, albeit sparsely, in various archaeological interpretations of migration and colonization. Hybridization refers specifically to the social agents and interactions that occur in any contact situation. Moreover, the meanings and perception of the archaeological record may be altered and enhanced by viewing certain contexts of cultural contact in terms of hybridization practice or as hybrid constructs. Many of the objects and activities involved in contact situations undergo various types of change or mixture, and thus become recombined into new elements and features of material and social practice. In situations of cultural contact—from ritual to domestic activities, from production to consumption, we often see the original connotations of materials, and practices superseded by new meanings, based on the 'in-betweeness' and reinterpretation of local goods, materials, and ideas. In other words, rather than viewing prehistoric (or historical) cases of migration and colonization in terms of technology transfer, invasion, innovation, or superior vs. inferior cultures, we might better focus on local contexts and local traditions, on processes of negotiation within interaction, on the ways that hybridization is given material expression, and how the mixing of material and social practices resulted in entirely new forms and meanings of the objects involved.

To reconsider ProBA 3 (LC IIC—IIIA) material culture from a postcolonial perspective, I begin with pottery, the material that has been cited above all others throughout the past century to establish and bolster the colonization narrative. Whilst certain shapes (e.g. shallow conical bowls, bell and amphoroid kraters, stirrup jars, squat jugs with tubular spouts) show full continuity between LC IIC and LC IIIA (Kling 1989b; Mountjoy 2005), some new wheelmade pottery wares imitate earlier handmade forms: e.g. Wheelmade Plain ware carinated cups from Enkomi imitating canonical Base-ring II forms (Courtois 1971: 254—5; Steel 2004a: 194). More importantly, some conventional shapes now bear motifs of foreign derivation: e.g. low hemispherical

bowls with wishbone handles from Kourion, decorated with panels of abstract Aegean design (Furumark 1944: 239); bell kraters from Enkomi with Levantine and Aegean motifs (Dikaios 1969–71: 852; Kling 1989a: 124–5); an amphoroid krater from Kition, decorated in panels with Aegean-style geometric designs, birds and fish (Karageorghis 1977); Aegean-based wavy line decoration used on locally made LH IIIC: 1b wares (Dikaios 1969–71: 853–5; Iacovou 1988: 11). Other forms came to be decorated with a combination of local and foreign motifs: e.g. a strainer jug from Kouklia with Aegean- or Levantine-style birds and Cypriot Rude (or Pastoral) Style bulls (Kling 1988: pl. 37 (Figure 54).

Kling (1989a: 171-3; 2000: 282-6) summarizes a wide range of LC IIIA pottery wares and decorative features that combine, in an ecletic and inventive manner, local Cypriot, Aegean, and Levantine elements. For example, strainer jugs from Alassa Pano Mandilares (Hadjisavvas 1991: 175–7, figs. 17.1-2, 17.4-5) bear a range of motifs (spirals, net patterns, and geometric designs) linked to Aegean-style decoration, whilst one of the shapes (tall, ovoid strainer jug) is unparalleled in LH IIIC:1b and related wares on Cyprus, and ultimately may have derived from the Levant (Dothan 1982: 191-218; Kling 2000: 282, 286). Commenting on Catling's (unpublished) description in her own paper of the strainer jug from Kouklia, Kling (1988: 272) suggests that 'it was produced during that period [LC IIIA] and displays a hybridization of strains operating in Cypriot ceramics at that time'. In preference to Kling's passive use of hybridization, seen as 'operating' in pottery styles, I would say that these vessels reveal the mixture or 'in-betweenness' that must have been involved in many social interactions during this transitional period: they relate actively to those potters who were producing new material and and embracing current socio-cultural traditions.

Sherratt (1994b: 37–9), noting multiple aspects of shape and decoration on various LC IIIA pottery wares and shapes, suggests that these hybridized products may have originated on Cyprus or in the Dodecannese and spread from there to the Aegean (rather than vice-versa, which is the usual understanding). As an example, she cites a one-handled semiglobular bowl, derived from a 'Levanto-Helladic' shape and attested at Kouklia *Mantissa*, Tarsus in Cilicia, and several coastal sites in the Cyclades, Euboea, and Attica. Moreover, Sherratt (1994b: 39–41 and fig. 1) feels that some of the new pottery shapes (e.g. strainer jug, high cylindrical *pyxis*, *kalathos*) and geometric motifs (e.g. elaborate triangles, concentric semicircles) emerging during LC IIIA may have resulted from Dodecannese influence or design. At the same time she plots the distribution of 13 ceramic features (shapes, motifs, and stylistic elements), more than 30% of which were shared between the Aegean, the Dodecanese, and Cyprus. Elsewhere, she notes that the growing use of geographically



**Figure 54:** Strainer jug from Kouklia (Tomb KATI) with (a) hybridized Aegean- or Levantine-style birds and (b) Cypriot-style bulls (Kouklia Museum, Cyprus).

diverse Aegean pottery shapes and decorative motifs on 12th century BC Cyprus was a gradual rather than a sudden process, one that 'gives the impression of selective eclecticism mixed with a healthy dose of local improvisation, rather than the transferred ceramic packages of any discrete groups of people' (Sherratt 1998: 298). Viewed from a hybridization perspective, I would say that the people involved in this particular contact situation of production and consumption recombined in their pottery a mixture of diverse elements, and thereby gave material expression to new social practices imbricated in a changing demographic situation.

Such a situation is nicely illustrated, albeit in an earlier (ProBA 2) context, by the changes associated with the elaborate drinking sets identified by Steel (1998: 291–2 and n. 43). During the 16th–15th centuries BC, typical drinking sets (kraters, jugs, tankards, and the like) in a variety of different wares were deposited together in mortuary contexts. Some Base-ring shapes in particular appear to imitate metal vessels, which suggested to Steel that metal drinking and dining sets may have been used in elite settlement contexts, but were replaced in burial context by their ceramic counterparts. In any case, during the 14th-13th centuries BC, Mycenaean pottery, and in particular shallow cups, chalices, and kraters, became so popular as drinking sets that they frequently replaced the use of local wares in mortuary contexts. The kraters, especially those decorated in the pictorial style with chariot scenes, are frequently found in elite burials in Cyprus's large town centres, but only rarely as part of the funerary goods on the Greek mainland (Mountjoy 1993: 73). Following Steel, one might see this case as the appropriation by an elite Cypriot group of a status-laden foreign custom and a restricted luxury import (the Mycenaean pottery) into a pre-existing funerary ritual. Alternatively, we might think of these drinking sets as a material reflection of a social practice (Cypriot elite burials) in which one class of objects (Mycenaean chariot kraters) were given an entirely different meaning and relevance than they held in their original (Greek mainland) context. Of course, this presupposes that Mycenaean Greeks and local Cypriots were in an intimate contact situation at least one or two centuries prior to the presumed Aegean colonization of the island.

### Other Aspects of Material Culture

Beyond pottery, several other aspects of ProBA 3 material culture also demonstrate the likely hybridization of local Cypriot, Aegean, and Levantine elements: ivory, bronzework, glyptic, coroplastic art, tomb types, and various items of 'cultic' equipment (shells, bull representations, and bones, etc.).

Ivory provides some of the most striking cases. Whilst the sources of ivory used in the eastern Mediterranean are well known (the Levant, Egypt, Africa), the nature and direction of the trade in ivory remain uncertain. Moreover, the style and iconography of the finished products are still widely debated (Rehak and Younger 1998: 230-1). Many of the objects and pieces of ivory found in Cyprus fuse Aegean and Levantine styles with local elements. One of the most unique ivory objects recovered on the island is the rhyton from Athienou Bamboulari tis Koukounninas. Although the excavators assigned the pit (637? or 552?) in which the *rhyton* was found to Stratum III (ProBA 2), they noted that the outlines of this pit were still discernible in Stratum II (ProBA 3) (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983: 15 plan D, 20). The chronological placement of these pits, as well as their purpose, are problematic, and thus the actual dating of the *rhyton* is uncertain (but see below). The *rhyton* has four bands of decoration (similar to Aegean rhyta), which depict stylized, bird-like human heads (Mycenaean iconography), antithetically placed birds (Levantine element), two horned animals, vertically-placed fish (paralleled at Ras Shamra in the Levant but also known from the Aegean), and stylized plants (Dothan and Ben-Tor 1983: 123-5 and fig. 56). Overall, this rhyton reveals local inspiration but encapsulates diverse elements of Aegean and Levantine iconography and design that have been transformed into a uniquely new, hybridized Cypriot product. As such, and given that most of the other hybridized objects discussed in this section date to the very end of the 13th or the 12th century BC, we might suggest the Pit 637 (or 552?) at Atheniou was still in use in Stratum II.

Several other hybridized ivory objects dated to the transitional (ProBA 3) period are known from Enkomi, Kition, and Kouklia Evreti. At Kition, the lower burial in Tomb 9 contained a flat ivory disk, engraved with a tree motif and the head of a lion (Karageorghis 1974: 42–3, 61, pls. 65, 150); the upper burial contained an ivory pyxis rendered in the shape of a miniature bathtub (Buchholz and Karageorghis 1973: 163, 479 pl. 1742; Karageorghis 1974: 91, pls. 87, 170). The excavator dated this tomb to the very end of LC IIC, just before 1200 BC (Karageorghis 1974: 93–4). Such compositions portraying lions (see further below), including an ivory plaque from Kition with a lion shown in the flying gallop design (Karageorghis 1985: 331–2, pl. 122), as well as the miniature bathtub-shaped pyxis, betray Aegean influences (Poursat 1977: 161–2; Karageorghis 1982: 109). Excavations in Tomb 9 (upper burial) at Kition, it may be recalled, also uncovered the famous polychrome faience rhyton (see Figure 27), inspired by an Aegean shape but decorated in a Levantine style and produced in a technical fashion that appears to be Egyptian. Peltenburg (1974: 134), in the original publication of this vase, noted that the conjunction of Egyptian technique and Levantine style hampered any attempt to pinpoint its origin, but he concluded that its most likely centre of production was either the Syrian coast (Byblos in particular) or the southern part of Cyprus.

The ivory handle of a bronze mirror found in the chamber of Swedish Tomb 19 at Enkomi (Gierstad et al. 1934; vol. I: 565 no. 91, 568; pls. 92.2, 152.7) was made in the form of a nude woman grasping her breasts, a concept redolent of artwork in both Egypt (L. Åström 1972: 612) and western Asia (Kantor (1947: 89-90). Whereas complete nudity in any art form is exceptional in the Aegean, Kantor (1974: 89) assigns this object, on technical grounds, to a Late Helladic class in which the mirror proper was set into a small square haft. Holes for attaching this handle to its mirror with metal studs are preserved, reflecting a technique used on Mycenaean mirror handles (L. Åström 1972: 612; cf. Catling 1964: 225). Thus, although the source of inspiration for the design of this ivory handle remains uncertain, it stands as another superb example of a hybrid product. Technically and typologically it reveals Aegean inspiration, but the design of the figure on the handle may have been derived from a Levantine school of carving, with the whole composition possibly stimulated by Egyptian mirror handles that typically take the form of nude females (Kantor 1947: 90 and nn. 75-7).

Two other ivory mirror handles, one from Kouklia Evreti (Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 68, 74-5, figs. 55, 58) (Figure 55) and the other from Enkomi (Murray et al. 1900: 31, p. II, 872a), depict armed warriors in Aegeanstyle kilts slaying a rampant lion (Kouklia) and a griffin (Enkomi). This motif of warriors slaving agitated animals, real or mythical, has a long tradition in Near Eastern art (Maier and Karageroghis 1984: 68; Feldman 2002: 17-23). On the reverse side of the Enkomi mirror handle (Murray et al. 1900: 31–2, pl. II, 872b), on an ivory pyxis lid from Kouklia Evreti Well TE III 165 (Maier 1969: 41, pl. V.4), and on a very fragmentary ivory plaque from Kition (Karageorghis 1985: 332–3, pl. 175 no. 4097), a lion is represented attacking a bull, a motif well known from Aegean and in particular Minoan art (Kantor 1947: 98). Lions and other animals depicted on ivory pyxis lids, disks or plaques, and classified by Kantor in her often hard to delimit 'Levanto-Aegean Outline Style', are well represented in examples from Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, and Kouklia Evreti (Poursat 1977: pls. XV.3-6; XVI.1; Karageorghis 1985: 336, pl. XVII no. 874; Rehak and Younger 1998: 251 and n. 207).

An ivory plaque from Temple 4 at Kition (Karageorghis 1985: 329–31, pl. 124), thought to represent the Egyptian god Bes, imitates several Egyptian examples and reveals Egyptian iconography (e.g. the panther skin worn by the figure). Similar plaques representing Bes, however, are known from both Mycenae (Poursat 1977: 232) and Megiddo (Wilson 1975: 84 and n. 75). Interestingly, this thoroughly hybridized object has five Cypro-Minoan signs engraved on its lower tenon (good photograph in Karageorghis 2002c: 107

**Figure 55:** Ivory mirror handle from Kouklia *Evreti* Tomb KTE VIII, depicting Aegean-style clad warrior.



fig. 222). The use of the local syllabary indicates that it was produced on Cyprus, which is also suggested by the technique of *ajourée* ('cut-out') carving that influenced the panel decorations on several bronze wheeled stands of the 12th century BC (Karageorghis 1985: 331 and n. 2 for references; see below on bronzework). Finally, the widely published ivory gaming box from Enkomi depicts on one of its long sides a hunting scene with various horned and hoofed animals fleeing before a chariot holding an archer; a large bull with lowered horns faces the chariot (Murray et al. 1900: 12-15, 31, pl. I; Karageorghis 2002c: 100 fig. 205) (Figure 28, above). All the animals are depicted in flying gallop style (Aegean in inspiration) whilst the chariot scene proper is Near Eastern in inspiraton. The bull and a small scene portraying a hunter spearing a rearing lion may be compared with similar details on a gold bowl and gold plate from Ugarit (Schaeffer 1949: 5, pls. II-V, VIII; Feldman 2006: 65-6). On one of the side panels of the gaming board, two bulls lie beneath a tree, in Aegean fashion. Once again, there are no exact parallels for this uniquely crafted object which, like most other ivory pieces discussed above, reveals a mixture of styles characteristic of hybridized artisanal and social practices on 12th century BC Cyprus.

Indeed, all of these ivory pieces reveal, to varying degrees, a thoroughly mixed style with clear Aegean, Levantine, and Egyptian influcences (Schäfer 1958; L. Åström 1972: 611-12; Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 70). As Kantor (1947: 102) concluded long ago with respect to the decorative arts and to ivory in particular: 'Hybrid works embodying both Mycenaean and Asiatic features illustrate the mingling of cultures that occurred in the great ports of Western Asia'. It must be emphasized, however, that ivory carving was a flourishing local industry in ProBA 2-3 Cyprus, with evidence for workshops at Kition (Karageorghis 1985: 336-7), Kouklia Evreti (Maier 1969: 40-1; Maier and Karageorghis 1984: 68–70; Maier and von Wartburg 1985: 148), Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström 1992), and perhaps Enkomi (Dikaios 1969–71: 100). Pierides (1973: 276–7) remarked that several ivory disks found on Cyprus bear the same, unusual, decorative motif, indicating the existence of these ivory ateliers. Poursat (1977: 144 n. 1, 157, 164-5) even speculates that some of the ivory objects found in Mycenaean centres might have been produced on Cyprus. Many of the finished products are highly unique objects and offer incontrovertible evidence for the ways that hybridization was given material expression, and how hybridizing practices by Cypriot craftspeople were used in a range of different arts and technologies, giving new forms and meanings to materiality.

The hybridized Aegean and Levantine design and decorative elements (e.g. ajourée) so obvious on the ivories, as well as their manufacture by local artisans on Cyprus, are also evident in metalwork (Catling 1964: 209; Poursat 1977: 240; Karageorghis and Papasavvas 2001: 345, 347). This is especially the case with the superbly crafted four-sided bronze stands (Catling 1964: 203-11; 1984; Papasavvas 2001), and the rod- or cast-tripod stands (Catling 1964: 192–203). Local production for these stands is indicated by the discovery at both Enkomi (Webb and Courtois 1979) and Hala Sultan Tekke (Karageorghis 1989) of two moulds used in producing wax models for some of the figures that decorate them. Catling has devoted an entire monograph (1964) and two subsequent articles (1984, 1986) to an exhaustive discussion of this class of bronzework. Papasavvas (2001) has now published (in Greek) a fully up-todate monograph on stands from Cyprus and Crete, detailing their metallurgical and construction techniques as well as their probable functions. Karageorghis and Papasavvas (2001: 343-8), in turn, have presented an intricate technological argument for the local manufacture of these stands (summarizing even more elaborate treatment in Papasavvas 2001).

Even two decades after the publication of his monograph on Cypriot bronzework, Catling (1984, 1986) was still very clear about the Cypriot design and manufacture of these objects. In his opinion, the impetus came from

Aegean and Levantine population movements into Cyprus. Karageorghis and Papasavvas (2001: 348, 351), however, are adamant that the stands owe nothing in terms of technology or typology to the Aegean bronze industry, and furthermore were exported as part of an explicit commercial strategy, eventually to be copied in the Aegean, the Levant, and Sardinia, using the same technology. Papasavvas's (2001) research demonsrates beyond question that, in terms of technology, typology and design, most four-sided bronze stands are Cypriot in origin. Catling, for different reasons, maintained that all the tripod and four-sided stands were made in a limited number of specialized workshops operating on Cyprus between the last years of the 13th to the middle of the 12th century BC (Karageorghis and Papasavvas 2001: 348–9 opt for a date late in the 13th century BC). In the present context, it is worth quoting one of Catling's central conclusions (1984: 88, emphasis added):

I have suggested the stands took the forms they did as the result of historical circumstances which brought Cypriots, Levantines and Mycenaean Greeks together in Cypriot manufacturing towns with access to plentiful supplies of bronze. I suggest that the stands display the features of technique, design and style that might be expected from such a *mixture*.

The four-sided stands, in particular, portray a wide range of subjects and themes—from ingot bearers (Figure 56) and lyre players, to chariot scenes



**Figure 56:** Protohistoric Bronze Age 3 (LC IIC–IIIA) four-sided bronze stand, probably from Episkopi (Kourion).

and antithetic sphinxes, to bulls fighting with lions and griffins—that we have already seen to be engaging and mixing hybridized Aegean, Levantine, and Cypriot motifs (illustrations in Karageorghis 2002c; 98–9 figs. 198–204). Following Catling's (1964) monograph, Karageorghis (1979) published another four-sided bronze stand, lacking provenance but now secured in the Cyprus Museum. This stand has four identically decorated panels, each divided into three registers, with (from top to bottom) a charging lion and bull; a bull charging a lion; and a charging bull and (?) griffin. I have already discussed with respect to ivory carving the Aegean inspiration behind the bull and lion theme (although here the bull seems triumphant?). Whilst the griffin is a subject common to both Aegean and Levantine art, only rarely is it seen in combat with a bull (e.g. on ivories from Byblos and Megiddo—Karageorghis 1979b: 207 n. 10). In these bronzeworks, and especially in the tripods and four-sided stands, we again see uniquely Cypriot artifacts produced under mutual, hybridized influences bearing the stylistic and iconographic imprint of the Aegean and the Levant (also L. Aström 1972: 563).

In summarizing Webb's (2002b: 117–26) discussion of Elaborate, Derivative, and Common style cylinder seals (above, pp. 155–8), I suggested that much of the iconography seen on both Elaborate and Derivative style seals was foreign in derivation but linked to local ideological and political constructs. Moreover, whilst Derivative and Common style seals were most likely produced locally, at least some of the Elaborate style examples were imported. The glyptic medium itself is foreign in derivation. Moreover, prior to the earliest import of cylinder seals in ProBA 1–2, very few of the iconographic motifs and decorative elements that characterize Elaborate style seals were used on Cyprus (Webb 1999: 276).

Pini (1979, 1980) describes 20 cylinder seals with mixed Cypro–Aegean and Cypro–Oriental characteristics, but many of these lack provenance. A large number of seals, in fact, bear prominent Aegean elements (e.g. bull, lions, stags), but many of them belong to the so-called Levanto-Aegean group, in which Aegean motifs are mixed with Cypriot or Levantine elements (e.g. a haematite cylinder seal from the French excavations at Enkomi showing a standing male figure wearing an Aegean-style kilt and holding two lions by the ears, in Levantine fashion—Karageorghis 2002c: 50 fig. 99) (Figure 57). Keswani (1989a: 69–70), moreover, has shown that several examples from Enkomi (where over 60% of all provenanced, imported cylinder seals have been found—Webb 2002b: 114–15, tables 1, 2), engraved with sphinxes, real animal motifs, hieroglyphic signs, and other cosmic symbols, may be linked to Near Eastern ideologies of kingship.

Graziadio (2004) recently has discussed eleven ProBA 2-3 Cypriot conoid and lenticular seals from Enkomi, Kourion and Maroni, or of unknown



Figure 57: Haematite cylinder seal from Enkomi, with Aegean-style clad male figure holding two lions by the ears, Levantine fashion.

provencance. The decorative motifs—bulls, aquatic birds, lions, the 'Minoan Genius', flounced dress, and breechcloth—displayed on these seals (Graziadio 2004: figs. 1–11) became assimilated into the Cypriot repertoire over a period of some three centuries, suggesting a long and gradual hybridization process. If other Aegean peoples came to Cyprus during the 12th–11th centuries BC, the ideas they brought and the influences they had on the island's material culture became assimilated with a whole series of symbolic referents seen on these earlier seals and other luxury goods (Graziadio 2004: 224–6).

Another crucial, hybridizing feature is the engraving of Cypro-Minoan signs on seals that mix Aegean and/or Levantine elements. One good example, from a private collection (Karageorghis 2002c: 51 fig. 102), is a haematite cylinder seal that depicts confronting 'genies' holding jugs with a bull's head between them (Aegean element), below which are two lions and a goat's head. Further along the field is a human figure wearing a bull's mask and a winged disk (Levantine inspiration), and along the top are four Cypro-Minoan signs with a central rosette. Another, recarved, haematite seal found at Hala Sultan Tekke (Porada 1976: 99–101, figs. 75, 78; Smith 2003: 298–9, fig. 6b) depicts a kneeling hero (combining Cypro-Aegean and Syrian elements) facing a winged griffin (Levantine element) emplaced on the opposite side of a central tree-like motif, with Cypro-Minoan signs added beyond and above the main scene. Although combining Syrian, Cypriot, and possible Aegean elements (body form of the kneeling figure), the most interesting feature of this seal is the addition of the Cypro-Minoan signs. Both these seals combine Levantine and Aegean elements in a distinctively Cypriot fashion, and add elements of the Cypriot writing system to create a uniquely new, hybridized product.

Whereas Kenna's (1972) register of Bronze Age seals numbered 661 cylinders and 128 stamp seals, Webb (2002b: 114) estimates that the total is now

closer to 1,000. Of these, fewer than 400 have a recorded findspot. In any case, both contextual and chronological information on seals must be treated with caution: they were carefully curated and used over long periods of time, but the majority (from non-mortuary contexts at least) have been recovered from LC IIC–LC IIIA (ProBA 3) contexts (Webb 2002b: 114–15, and nn. 24–6 for references). Given the recent, fully detailed and informed publications of seals and sealings by Webb (Courtois and Webb 1987; Webb 1999: 262–83) and Smith (1994, 2003), I confine myself here to discussing a few well-published, non-imported examples that reveal hybridization practices in the use of glyptic art.

From the French excavations at Enkomi (1960, inv. No. 110) came a finely engraved, haematite, Elaborate style seal divided into two horizontal registers and portraying a lion-hunting scence (upper register) and a ceremonial scene with two robed figures seated on recumbent lions (lower register) (Courtois and Webb 1987: 47-52, no. 8). The lion-hunt motif, rare in Cypriot glyptic, is more common in ivory carving and not atypical of Near Eastern art generally. In this case, however, the details of the lion-hunt seem to be based on Egyptian chariot hunting compositions: the chariot itself is a sixspoked Egyptian type and the position of the huntsman is typical of New Kingdom royal hunting scences (Courtois and Webb 1987: 48 and n. 4 for references). Egyptian iconography is also apparent in the engraving of the two seated figures, with their slender, elongated bodies depicted in profile, and the positioning of their feet—both elements are characteristic of representational art from el-Amarna. The shaggy-haired lions on which the figures are seated, however, may be derived from Syrian or Levantine iconography (Buchanan 1966: pl. 61, no. 994; Negbi 1976: 99–100, 191, nos. 1697, 1700, 1701, figs. 118–119, pls. 53–54). The dating of this seal is uncertain, but it was found associated with material of late 13th-early 12th century BC date. Courtois and Webb (1987: 51-2) conclude that it may belong to the latter half of the 14th century BC, and that its iconography suggests a seal-cutter working in an Egyptianizing tradition.

Another cylinder seal from the French excavations at Enkomi (1960, inv. no. 193), made of grey-black steatite or serpentine, is more securely dated to the 12th century BC (Courtois and Webb 1987: 52–4). The central scene is a well-balanced animal composition in which two standing lions bracket a centrally placed, composite (bull-lion) animal, depicted in profile. Smaller motifs appear in the surrounding field: a large bucranium, a small disk over a winged crescent and perhaps some planetary symbols. Animals combat scenes of similar type are not uncommon in Levantine, Aegean, or Cypriot iconography, but in this case the more formal, antithetic placement of the lions seems indebted to western Asiatic iconography, whilst their slender, elongated bodies and feline

haunches mimic Aegean stylistic elements (Courtois and Webb 1987: 54). The animals, in fact, may be compared with others—lions, a leaping goat, and a griffin—on a seal from Golgoi on Cyprus (Kenna 1967a: no. 173). Pini (1979: 122) notes that the style of the Golgoi seal is unmistakably Aegean but that certain iconographic elements (e.g. the 'Master of Animals' grabbing the lions by their tail; frontal attack of a griffin on a goat) are more common on Cyprus and in the Levant (Pini 1979: 122, nn. 6–10 for refs.).

An unprovenanced cylinder seal now in the Louvre (Delaporte 1923: 198, pl. 97:27, A.955) depicts three men, one an archer, hunting lions from a chariot, and is thus reliant on Levantine or Egyptian iconographic motifs. On this object, however, a bull and stag are also represented, and the seal overall is engraved in a strongly Aegeanizing style (Courtois and Webb 1987: 47-8). The seal has been classified, amongst others, as Syro–Cappodocian (Delaporte 1923: 198), Mitannian (Moortgat 1930: 842–3), Cypro–Aegean (Furumark 1953: 57-8, n. 39; Pini 1979: 123), and Cypriot (Kenna 1967b: 564). Porada (1947: 84-5), finally, suggested that this seal represented the work of a Mycenaean engraver situated in north Syria. This bewildering array of possible origins, proposed on the basis of a traditional art historical approach finely focused on style and clearly influenced by the different authors' areas of expertise, becomes much more explicable when viewed as just that kind of 'in-betweenness' and ambiguity expected in a socio-cultural situation where artisans are involved in hybridizing practice. As is the case, then, with various ivories, faience vessels, and bronze objects, many aspects of non-local iconography and technology were adapted and assimilated in the glyptic repertoire, again revealing a striking hybridization in the use of local and imported motifs.

Several objects of possible Aegean origin have been seen as items of 'cult' equipment transmitted to Cyprus during the 12th century BC: the statuettes of the Horned God and Ingot God found at Enkomi, bull's head *rhyta* and bull figurines, horns of consecration and the double axe symbol (refs. in Steel 2004a: 204–6).

The statuette of the Horned God (Figure 58), with its bull-like horns, has been identified most frequently with the Greek god Apollo, whilst that of Ingot God (Figure 59) has been linked to the Babylonian deity Nergal. Negbi (2005: 26) feels that the 'short-kilted youth' we term the Horned God bears witness to the mixed inspirations of Syrian, Anatolian, and Aegean art, but likely personifies a 'local shepherd deity' she regards as a Cypro–Aegean masterpiece. With respect to the Ingot God, Catling (1971b: 29–30) hinted at its association with the Greek god Hephaistos, whilst Negbi (1976: 39; 2005: 25), who sees elements of Mycenaean (greaves), Hittiite (shield), and Sardinian (headgear) iconography, regards it as essentially Levantine in inspiration and design (also Seeden 1980: 102–23; full references and discussion in Knapp



**Figure 58:** Protohistoric Bronze Age 3 (LC IIIA) statuette of the Horned God from Enkomi.



**Figure 59:** Protohistoric Bronze Age 3 (LC IIIA) statuette of the Ingot God from Enkomi.

1986b: 9–14; Hulin 1989). The eclecticism inherent in both these statuettes might better be seen as Cypriot, reflecting a material and ideological syncretism (Steel 2004a: 205) typical of this transitional era. Both stand as dynamic examples of hybridized material and social practices.

Most Cypriot archaeologists believe that bull representations of various types are indicative of a bull cult or deity, often associated with the Aegean (e.g. Karageorghis 1971a; Webb 1999: 179; Hadjisavvas 2001b: 209–10; Flourentzos 2001; Steel 2004a: 203-5). The Sanctuary of the Horned God at Enkomi is frequently cited as a material witness: it contained 15 cattle skulls, several bronze and terracotta bull figurines, and two ox horns in gold relief, possibly from a bull's head *rhyton* of Aegean type (Dikaios 1969–71: pl. 136; Webb 1999: 92, 99, and figs. 37–38). In Aegean contexts, Rehak (1995: 450–4) suggested that bull's head *rhyta* may have served as a simulacrum for animal sacrifice. I have already noted that such bull representations may be related to sacrificical or santification practices, and this may pertain to the so-called horns of consecration as well. Karageorghis (2002c; 91) regards the latter as Minoan religious symbols, introduced to Cyprus from Crete along with the double axe icon. A double axe and horns of consecration are depicted together on a White Painted Wheelmade III bell krater from Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström 1988b; Karageorghis 2000: 261, 262 fig. 13.10). Webb (1999: 176, 178 fig. 68) cites three LH IIIA-B kraters that depict horns of consecration, demonstrating that the symbolism related to these architectural elements, at least, had reached Cyprus during the 14th–13th centuries BC, long before any purported Aegean colonists or migrants. Moreover, even if the horns of consecration were derived from the Aegean world, their form differs significantly in the two areas. On Cyprus, they have flat square terminals and thus are much more geometric than their Aegean counterparts which, with their high, inward curving and pointed shapes, are more representative of actual bull's horns.

Steel (2004a: 203–4) has emphasized that bull's horns formed part of the Cypriot representational repertoire since at least the PreBA (e.g. on the *Vounous* bowl and Kotchiati model), and thus need no recourse to Aegean prototypes in the search for their origins. If anything, the horns of consecration and the multiple bucrania and bull representations found throughout the Aegean, eastern Mediterranean and Anatolian regions suggest once again the hybridization of social practices, which may have developed more intensively with the economic disruptions and demographic displacements that characterized the end of the Late Bronze Age in these regions.

In terms of the shaft and pit graves that appear during LC IIIA, only Karageorghis (2000: 263–4) sees them as 'yet another novelty in the culture of Cyprus in the LC IIIA, without excluding an influence from the Aegean'.

Iacovou (1988: 52-3) emphasizes continuity in the location and re-use of earlier tombs, whilst Niklasson-Sonnerby (1987: 224-5) suggests that the changes in funerary architecture may be due to (unspecified) external factors. Secondary burials are no longer attested (Niklasson-Sonnerby 1987: 222–3), perhaps because less time and energy were now expended in constructing the shaft graves, which also contained fewer valuables than ProBA 2 chamber tombs (Keswani 2004: 85, 159-60). The limited number of shaft graves with gold jewellery and silver items, or ivory and faience objects (e.g. Enkomi tombs 13, 15, and 16; Hala Sultan Tekke tomb 23) suggests that these burials contained people of varied wealth and social status. One exception is Kouklia Evreti tomb 8 which, given its wealth of gold, silver, and ivory and the diversity of other objects, including two iron knives and two spatulae as well as several fine bronze items, must represent an elite burial (Catling 1968; Keswani 2004: 133-4). Although the new shaft and pit graves do represent an important change in mortuary practices, Keswani (2004: 159–60) ascribes this change to internal social or political developments, in which some people may have become detached from their ancestral descent and tomb groups, whilst others would have created different contexts for accumulating and displaying wealth or social status.

Most of the other material features that have been associated with an Aegean or Sea Peoples origin—from loomweights and clay torches to the iconography of ship representations—typically reveal a mixture of Cypriot, Levantine, and Aegean elements, and are much more likely to reflect an amalgam of ideas and influences from all of them rather than proof for an origin from one any single one. Steel (2004a: 200-10) discusses various other material features and factors associated with mortuary rituals, 'religion', metal hoards and other crafts that have been linked one way or another to an Aegean colonization of Cyprus during the LC IIIA period. Although Aegean elements tend to stand out in her discussion, there are many exceptions, not least of which are the ivory boxes and mirror handles from Enkomi, whose iconography Keswani (1989a: 68; 2004: 127) associates with Near Eastern royal ideologies. Steel (2004a: 204), finally, observes crucially that there is indisputable evidence for cultural continuity on Cyprus between the LC IIC and LC IIIA periods (the ProBA 3 transitional period), and that one of the most salient characteristics of Late Cypriot social practices is the 'external referencing and hybridization of Aegean and Near Eastern iconography and equipment'.

# The Earliest Iron Age: LC IIIB

By the end of the 12th century BC and the close of the transitional ProBA 3 period, we are on the verge of a major cultural break in the archaeological record of Cyprus, nothing less than the effective end of the Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age (Steel 1993; Catling 1994; Rupp 1998: 213; Iacovou 1999b; 2001: 87, 89). With respect to this momentous event, I have been singled out as a prehistorian whose 'academically prejudiced' research interests cease all too abruptly at the end of the Bronze Age (ProBA 3, or LC IIIA), and consequently not only have been implicit in obstructing the maturation of Early Iron Age studies on Cyprus, but also have gone against the grain of a Braudellian approach (la longue durée) that I've long promoted (Iacovou 2005: 130; Knapp 1992). The sharp and admittedly artificial division that exists between what is typically seen as Cyprus's 'prehistoric' Bronze Age and its 'historical' (or 'protohistoric') Iron Age is not exclusive to Cypriot prehistoric research. Within the Aegean, Renfrew (2005: 158) suggests that 'It is time now to transcend this notional and largely fictitious barrier between prehistoric and historic', whilst Hamilakis (2005: 172) maintains that 'the division between prehistory and history has already become practically obsolete'. In what follows, I take up Iacovou's challenge to address this shortcoming in Cypriot archaeology, but at the same time dispute (in the following chapter, Alashiya and Protohistory) her erroneous notion that the 'protohistoric' era of Cyprus only begins in the 11th century BC, when the use of the Greek language is first attested on Cyprus (Iacovou 2001: 88–9 and n. 40; 2005: 129; 2006b: 320–1).

For many scholars working on Cyprus, the 11th century BC represents—indisputably—the time during which newly arrived, Greek-speaking immigrants from the Aegean orchestrated a political split from the old town centres and their indigenous rulers, established new ones, and introduced new social forms and practices 'that may thereafter have persisted without serious interruption until the time of Alexander the Great' (Catling 1994: 136). Iacovou (2005: 129), however, cautions that: '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'. By 'undefined', however,

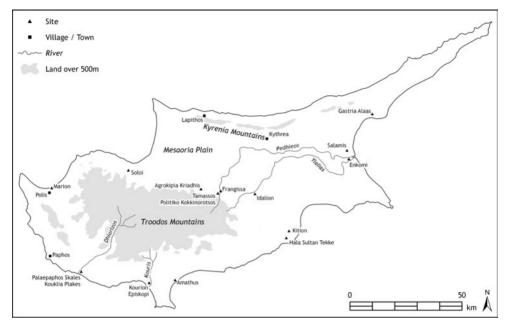


Figure 60: Early Iron Age Cyprus: sites, (modern) towns, and other areas mentioned in text.

Iacovou seems to mean non-Greek, because the *sine qua non* that drives her study (Iacovou 2005, as well as 1999b; 2006b) is the presence of Aegean or 'proto-Greek' or Greek-speaking migrants who came to dominate the island of Cyprus at this time. In contrast, Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou (2006: 67–8, 75), a historical linguist, in her recent study of those same Greek-speaking migrants, expresses scepticism over traditional views of the 'Achaean' colonization of the island, and suggests instead a more gradual process of migration. She concludes:

If I seem to be [a] sceptic about some topics [e.g. the Achaean colonization], it is partly due to the fact that nowadays the academic community is swamped under many *a posteriori* theories, much motivated by twentieth-century past or present political circumstances.

Indeed, the 'Aegean' has come to be used as an arena in the search for origins of everything from the Greek language to European civilization (Andreou 2005). In particular, it represents a quest for the origins of Hellenism, and Morris (1994: 15) has even termed Aegean prehistory the 'soft underbelly of Hellenism'.

With the exception of Sherratt (e.g. 1992), few others seem to share Iacovou's antipathy to assigning ethnic attributes to material culture features. The existing literature on Early Iron Age Cyprus—including at times that of Iacovou and Sherratt—is replete with arguments that turn on issues of ethnicity. Karageorghis (2002c: 115–17; 140–1), for example, notes material evidence for more than one ethnic element, but it is the Aegean component that remains most prominent. For Negbi (1982, 1992, 1998), it is the Phoenicians who should share or indeed take the spotlight (cf. Iacovou 2006a). For most scholars, however, the new town centres (Iacovou 1994) are seen as bastions of Greekspeaking political leaders—wanaktes (Snodgrass 1998: 12–14; Karageorghis 2002c: 125, 131–2) or basileis (Iacovou 2006b).

Iacovou (1998: 339-40; 2005: 127; 2006b) maintains that Aegean settlers established Greek as the dominant language of Cyprus (although rendering it in a syllabic script entirely unsuited to the writing of that language—Willetts 1988: 52; Palaima 2005: 36–41; Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou 2006: 69–71). These settlers from the west are also argued to have introduced a political system of warlike monarchies that evolved into the city kingdoms of the Cypro–Archaic period (Snodgrass 1988: 12). Deger-Jalkotzy (1994: 21–22), in turn, waxes eloquently about the images of warriors and hunters that begin to appear on the pictorial pottery of 11th century BC Cyprus. In particular, she highlights the depiction of a warrior wearing a Mycenaean-type 'figureof-eight' shield on an unprovenanced Proto-White Painted pyxis (Iacovou 1988: figs. 34-36) and a 'warrior-musician' depicted on a Proto-White Painted kalathos from Tomb 9 at Kouklia Xerolimni (Karageorghis 1967: 5 and pl. 1). Whilst Coldstream (1989: 331) singles out these same vessels as likely status symbols also well known in the Mycenaean repertoire. Sherratt (1992: 331-8) suggests that they may represent symbols of a 'heroic' Greekspeaking past, adopted on Cyprus by and for an élite, Greek-Cypriot group identity. Sherratt (1992: 334) thus sees these images as hearkening back to an earlier, Mycenaean era (the figure-of-eight shield) or as appropriating memory and imagery associated with the legendary Kinyras, the indigenous founder of Paphos (the warrior-musician). Deger-Jalkotzy (1994: 22) compares the same figures to warriors depicted on Mycenaean IIIC 'Middle' vases (illustrating one from Lefkandi—1994: 18 fig. 4.3), and suggests that the heroic, Mycenaeaninspired warrior equipment these vessels depict may be drawing upon imagery associated with Greek epic poetry 'which nourished and supported the "heroic" masculine ideals, as well as the retrospective character of the elitist self-awareness of the Cypriot Greek ruling class'.

In discussing: (1) the introduction to the island of the Mycenaean-type chamber tomb with a long *dromos*, (2) the *obelos* from Tomb 49 at *Skales* inscribed with a Greek name (see below), and (3) her interpretation of the

heroic background of the imagery on two Proto-White Painted vessels just discussed, Sherratt (1992: 338) suggested that 'it is only in the altered conditions of the 11th and 10th centuries that one may begin to envisage the beginnings of some form of archaeologically detectable Greek-Cypriot ethnogenesis on the island' (also Iacovou 2005: 130-1). Maier (1999: 83) strikes a more cautious note, at least regarding the *obelos*: he calls attention to problems with its dating (Cypro-Geometric I or LC IIIB?) and feels that 'one single find, despite all its intrinsic value, hardly justifies general conclusions about the ethnic character of the Palaipaphians during those centuries' (similarly Cook 1988: 32). In his study of Greek ethnicity, Hall (1997: 135-6) discusses in passing the adoption of the chamber tomb on Cyprus and the inscribed obelos (in the Arcadian dialect of Greek) in the context of the myth of Agapenor. Legendary founder of Paphos (alongside the alternative, Kinyras, the native Cypriot), Agapenor came from the Arcadian town of Tegea. Hall is unconvinced by the logic of associating Mycenaeans with the typical Iron Age chamber tombs of Cyprus, as they tend to be filled with local, Cypriot Proto-White Painted pottery groups. Equally sceptical about ascribing the obelos inscription to the arrival of a new ethnic group on Cyprus, Hall (1997: 136) suggests that these elements of material culture may instead 'represent the active attempts on the part of a certain group on Cyprus to establish links with the Greek mainland'.

Both Cook (1988) and Negbi (1998) challenge, in very different styles of argument, the significance of the Greek-speaking element in the Early Iron Age of Cyprus. They argue instead for more generalized Near Eastern influence (Cook) or a specifically Phoenician presence (Negbi) alongside Aegean and Eteocypriot ethnic elements. Citing evidence from the Skales cemetery (large hemisperhical metal bowls in Tombs 49 and 58 with protomes that recall typical Cypriot clay bowls with wishbone handles; two bronze rodtripod stands that recall forerunners from the Kaloriziki cemetery), Negbi (1998: 91) suggests (after Coldstream 1989: 333-4) that many wealthy Eteocypriotes were interred in the Skales cemetery. Iacovou (1998: 340-1; 2005: 128-9), by contrast, argued that the 'conscious projection of the Greek speakers' ethnic identity and language must have forced the diehards of the indigenous population to withdraw to the hills of Amathus' where they established their own city and maintained their own language. Karageorghis (2002c: 117, 140-1; 2005: 32-5) questions the presence of Levantine or 'Proto-Phoenician' settlers on 11th century BC Cyprus, suggesting that the several material culture elements often cited to argue for a Phoenician presence may indicate nothing more than continuing or renewed trade relations with the Levant, especially in the late 11th century BC (see also Gilboa 1998, 2005). He is clear, however, that Aegean raiders or refugees arrived in Cyprus in organized groups with aristocratic leaders who would soon come to dominate the political landscape.

Leriou (2002a: 175) raises doubts or caveats related to all the material from the Palaepaphos region, including the chamber tombs and finds from *Skales*. She concludes that the lack of any emblems that might mark off ethnic boundaries makes it 'impossible to distinguish the ethnic groups that constituted the population of LC III-CG I Cyprus'. Whilst Sherratt (1992: 325) accepts that some individuals or small groups of Aegean people migrated from the Aegean to Cyprus during LC IIIA, she argues forcefully that these migrations are archaeologically invisible. By LC IIIB, however, she allows that some of the human imagery portrayed on Proto-White Painted pottery may be emblematic of an elite identity and thus represent materially a 'Greek-Cypriot ethnogenesis' on the island (Sherratt 1992: 337–8).

For those who wish to argue convincingly for an Aegean presence on ProBA 3 Cyprus, it is crucial to know what would have been useful to them locally (e.g. access to exotica or long distance trading connections, metal resources, jewellery, feasting equipment) and to be able to distinguish and identify such preferences in the material record. Coldstream (1994: 145) suggested that the wealth of the Cypriot copper mines offered an economic 'pull' that propelled the Aegean migration to Cyprus, whilst (Kourou 1994: 214) adopts the same notion to argue that the sceptres and maceheads found in CG II-III tombs belonged to people who held a managerial function in this same, continuing, Cypriot metals industry. Iacovou (2006b: 325–8) has taken this intriguing notion one step further. She suggests that the *qa-si-re-u* of the Linear B tablets (the pa-si-le-wo-se of the Iron Age Cypriot syllabary; basileus in Greek), originally industrial (i.e. metallurgical) functionaries or administrators, had become local socio-political leaders in the Aegean world after the fall of the Mycenaean kings (wanax). For some unspecified reason, they then migrated to Cyprus 'at the head of troops of highly specialized industrial craftsmen' (Iacovou 2006b: 328), thus reinvigorating and preserving the island's major mineral asset and export industry. This ingenious scenario goes some way toward supporting Iacovou's attempts to explain what she terms this 'successful colonial enterprise to Cyprus'. Yet it would seem to contradict another recent statement (Iacovou 2006a: 40) that neither archaeological nor epigraphic evidence 'should be equated with the establishment of ethnically pure "Greek" or "Phoenician" communities at the expense of the indigenous population'.

Rather than engaging with dubious notions of ethnicity and complex processes of migration, we need to reassess the material and social contexts in which a new sense of social identity may have emerged, and how that might have occurred. Focusing once again on the concept of hybridization, I now

reconsider the diverse and complex material culture of 11th–10th century BC Cyprus, its multiple mixing and entanglements, and its possible reflection of distinctive social groups. If, as seems likely, the 11th century BC brought migrating groups from the Aegean and the Levant, then we must expect to find not only material but social and ethnic diversity in the various towns and regions of Cyprus, in the process obscuring any clear picture of discrete ethnic groups.

#### HYBRIDIZATION IN LC IIIB

The LC IIIB period offers another, compelling array of material indicative of hybridization practices and the presence of hybridized cultures. Proto-White Painted pottery (Figure 61), for example, is a truly Cypriot creation, produced in a cohesive, standardized style that represents a striking amalgamation of local Cypriot, Aegean and Levantine pottery traditions (Iacovou 1991: 204; see also Iacovou 1988; Sherratt 1992: 329–38). Phoenician vessels, imported and locally produced, are now found in cemeteries throughout southern and eastern Cyprus: Palaepaphos *Skales* and Kouklia *Plakes*, Episkopi *Kaloriziki*, Gastria *Alaas*, Amathus and Salamis (Negbi 1992: 605 and n. 31 for refs; Raptou 2002). Most towns that had been rebuilt and inhabited during LC IIIA were now abandoned or relocated (Kition and Palaepaphos continued in use but underwent major changes), and several new towns and cemeteries were established (Salamis, Idalion, Episkopi *Kaloriziki*, Gastria *Alaas*, Soloi, Marion, and Lapithos), most destined to become the centres of Cyprus's Iron Age kingdoms (Iacovou 1994).

Distinctively new mortuary practices also came into play at this time. Several intramural infant burials placed in Levantine-type storage jars at Salamis indicate new funerary rites practiced in the earliest 11th century BC levels at this site (Calvet 1980). The dead were interred with an array of new status symbols—gold jewellery, bronze vessels, military equipment, imported Levantine unguent vessels, and Canaanite amphorae (Rupp 1985; 1989; Coldstream 1989). Elsewhere, cemeteries were relocated to isolated plots of land at some distance from the new towns; the dead were mainly buried in ('Mycenaean type') chamber tombs approached through a long and narrow *dromos*; burials included cremations as well as inhumations; and generous numbers of grave goods once again accompanied the dead (Steel 1995). For Iacovou (2005: 130-1), these new mortuary patterns imply that, by the 11th-10th centuries BC, 'the foreigners [Mycenaeans] were no longer foreigners'. Or, to put it another way, the process of hybridization between Aegean, Phoenician, and native Cypriot elements in the population was now complete (similarly, Iacovou 2006a: 36-44).



Figure 61: Early Iron Age Proto-White Painted stirrup jar from the cemetery of Gastria Alaas.

Other objects and materials indicative of cultural hybridization include an entirely new class of figurine, the 'goddess with upraised arms' (see Figure 33), perhaps introduced from Crete along with models of shrines (Courtois 1971: 326–56; Hägg 1991; Webb 1999: 213–15; Budin 2003: 54–6). Terracotta zoomorphic vessels (bulls, horses, dogs, birds) also appear at this time in a new, larger-scale, wheelmade and more abstract tradition (Webb 1999: 216–19). The most striking examples are the two bicephalous human-animal hybrids (Courtois 1971: 287–308, figs. 119–127), more likely representing sphinxes than centaurs (Lagarce and Lagarce 1986: 169–70; Webb 1999: 218). Karageorghis (1993: 53, 60) points out that some of the iconographic features on these objects may have derived from the Aegean yet their fabric and decoration is fully within the tradition of Proto-White Painted pottery, with its amalgamation of Aegean, Levantine, and local Cypriot traditions. Various aspects of coroplastic art therefore also seem to have resulted from the hybridization of cultures so apparent in the LC IIIB period.

The key question that arises in the present context is the extent to which Aegean, Greek-speaking people were involved in the changes associated with



Figure 62: Bronze *obelos* with Cypriot syllabic inscription, from Palaipaphos *Skales* (Tomb 49, no. 16, Cyprus Museum).

the LC IIIB period. The now famous bronze *obelos* from Tomb 49 at Palaepaphos *Skales* (Karageorghis 1983: 59–76) (Figure 62)—inscribed with the earliest attested Greek personal name on Cyprus, Opheltas (written in the genetive, *o-pe-le-ta-u*; Masson and Masson 1983)—has come to be used as a lynchpin to argue for a Greek migration to, or Greek colonization of Cyprus during LC IIIB (e.g. Deger-Jalkotzy 1994: 11; Iacovou 1999a: 151–2; 1999b: 11–12; Karageorghis 2002c: 125–6). In turn, this *obelos* is used to support the claim that Greek-speaking people were not just present but politically and socially pre-eminent on Cyprus by this time.

Whatever archaeologists, ancient historians, and philologists working on Cyprus may think about the value of pursuing issues of ethnicity on Early Iron Age Cyprus (Iacovou 2005, 2006a; Palaima 2005), Sherratt (2003b: 226) has made a very important observation about this *obelos*. She points out that it is 'a thoroughly Cypriot artifact', and that Opheltas, whoever and whatever he may have been, was 'a member of a Greek-speaking community whose culture generally is indistinguishable from that of other contemporary Cypriots, who is using a peculiarly Cypriot form of writing in a thoroughly Cypriot, or rather non-Greek manner'. Moreover, the writing itself is being used to indicate personal ownership by writing one's name on an object, a practice completely foreign to Linear B usage, but quite common both on Cyprus and in the Levant on objects such as cylinder seals, metal bowls and tools, and gold rings (Cook 1988: 32; Sherratt 2003b: 226). Equally interesting is the fact that whoever inscribed the name on this obelos did so using both the 'common Cypriot syllabary' as well as a local, Paphian variant (signs for le and u) (Palaima 2005: 38), not the Linear B script that might be expected of a native Greek. Morpugo Davies and Olivier (2006) even suggest that this inscription may be written in a 'late example' of the Cypro-Minoan script (rather than the Cypriot syllabary); if true, then the obelos has nothing to do with the arrival of Greek-speaking people on the island. Whatever the outcome of this ongoing discussion, we have once again a clear-cut case of hybridization, notably in the mixing of language (Greek) and the script

(Cypriot) used to render it. Whilst the rest of the Greek-speaking world increasingly made use of the (Phoenician) alphabet, inscriptional evidence on Cyprus shows a steady growth in use of the Cypriot syllabary (Bazemore 1992: 70–1; Iacovou 2001: 91; Palaima 2005: 38–9; Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou 2006: 70–1). Moreover, the Cypriot syllabary continued to be used for writing the Greek language long after the Greek alphabet had been introduced to the island during the 6th century BC (Merrillees 2003: 91).

In light of all the attention devoted to this obelos, one might justifiably wonder why nobody ever cites the silver bowl from a LC IIIA context at Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström and Masson 1982)—inscribed in Ugaritic cuneiform (Masson terms it 'l'alphabet cananéen')—to argue for a Canaanite colonization of Cyprus during the 12th century BC. Certainly there is no shortage on Cyprus at that time of other Levantine material culure items or influence that could be used to support such an argument: e.g. Canaanite jars and Levantine pottery shapes; Levantine motifs on pottery, ivory, glyptic, bronzework, etc.; Levantine elements in the 'twin temples' (Temples 4 and 5) at Kition and the Sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi (Mazar 1991; Negbi 1992: 604–5; Bikai 1994; Karageorghis 2002c: 140-1). Indeed, the silver bowl itself—of a type well known in Late Bronze-Early Iron Age contexts in both Cyprus and the Levant—finds it closest parallels at Megiddo (Åström and Masson 1982: 72 n. 5). Karageorghis (1990: 16-17, fig. 10) cites and illustrates this bowl but notes only that the names are Hurrian (Aky) and Semitic (Ykhd), reflecting the 'cosmopolitan character of the town'. Even Negbi (1992, 1998, 2005), who sees widespread Phoenician presence on 11th century Cyprus and seeks to demonstrate the presence of Phoenician, Aegean, and Eteocypriot ethnic elements on the island during the Early Iron Age, fails to cite the Hala Sultan Tekke bowl. However, she devotes sustained attention to the finds from Tomb 49 at Skales, including the obelos inscription (Negbi 1998).

Much less attention has been given to two other bronze spits recovered from Tomb 49 at the *Skales* cemetery (cf. Cook 1988: 32; Coldstream 1989: 331). One had two signs that belong to no known syllabary (thus unlikely to be in Greek) and the other had a simple vertical line followed by an 'X' (Karageorghis 1983: 61 nn. 17–18; fig. 88: 17, 18; pl. 63: 17, 18). From a surface context at *Skales* came a hemispherical bronze bowl bearing five signs of the Cypro–Minoan syllabary, clearly a local product (Masson and Masson 1983: 411 and pl. A; Karageorghis 1983: fig. 69). Beyond Tomb 49, several tombs in the *Skales* cemetery contained a range of local wares, some Proto-Phoenician pottery, Levantine unguent flasks, and Canaanite amphorae, gold ornaments of Near Eastern origin, and some bronzes that show stylistic affinities with both Aegean and Levantine types (Karageorghis 1983: 372–3; Bikai 1983; Cook 1988: 27–30). The skull of one of three skeletons

from this tomb shows evidence of cranial deformation, an indigenous mortuary practice that extends as far back as the Neolithic (Lorentz 2002). The diversity of material found in this cemetery calls into question the notion that all the people buried at *Skales* were Aegeans or Greek-speakers (Cook 1988: 32). Moreover, at least three tombs at *Skales* lack the long *dromos* of Mycenaean type found elsewhere in the cemetery (50 and 61 have a characteristically Cypriot short *dromos*, whilst 68 is a pit tomb). Indeed, Tomb 49, the richest tomb at *Skales*, with its elliptical chamber and short *dromos*, is reminiscent of earlier, Late Cypriot types (Karageorghis 1983: 59–60; Leriou 2002a: 175).

Overall, the tombs at (late) LC IIIB Skales, like those from the immediately following Cypro-Geometric (CG) I period cemeteries around Palaepaphos (Plakes, Hasan, Lakkos tou Skarnou, Xerolimni/Xylinos), are quite uniform in type (chamber tombs) and in their mortuary equipment. Leriou (2002a: 175), accordingly, argued that no obvious ethnic boundaries could have separated those who were buried here. Iacovou (2005: 129) criticizes those who seek to demonstrate an ethnic mosaic in the necropolis at *Skales*, and argues that we ought to view the early C-G mortuary deposits at Skales, Lapithos, Kythrea, Kition, Amathus, and Kourion as 'the well-cared for burial plots of securely established, culturally homogeneous and quite prosperous communities'. Coldstream (1989: 332-3), finally, pointed out that the well known Tomb 40 at Episkopi Kaloriziki—with its 'Achaean prince' accompanied by his bronze-lined shield and golden sceptre, the latter crowned by a globe and two falcons decorated in the cloisonné technique, and inlaid with blue and white enamel (Figure 63)—is in fact a spacious, rectangular shaft tomb with no dromos, fully consistent with the Late Bronze Age Cypriot tradition (also Christou 1994: 183–4). Korou (1994: 204–6) suggests that the famous sceptre is likely to be an indigenous Cypriot product with strong Egyptianizing traits (e.g. the falcons). Tomb 40 thus may have been the final resting place for a cremated member of the Cypriot elite (Coldstream points out that other 11th century BC cremations also occur in various indigenous cemeteries and tombs, e.g. at Kouklia Plakes-Steel 2003-4: 108). This sceptre, I should add, fits remarkably well into the distinctively hybridized mortuary practices of Cyprus during the 11th–10th centuries BC.

### HISTORICITY AND IDENTITY IN EARLY IRON AGE CYPRUS

Despite the fragility of arguments based narrowly on assumptions of distinctive ethnic identities, one cannot dispute that Cyprus seems to have become a largely Greek-speaking island by the Cypro–Archaic and Cypro–Classical

**Figure 63:** Gold sceptre from Tomb 40 at Episkopi *Kalorizik*.



periods (Sherratt 1992: 326; Reyes 1994: 11–13). As Iacovou (2005: 127) emphasizes, history tells us that this fundamental change *did* take place but it does not tell us *how* it happened, nor has archaeology been able to provide the expected evidence. As already emphasized (above, Chapter 2), migrations are a central fact of social life, and the memory of migrations provides people with ideas and stories about origins, and consequently about their identity (or identities). Folk memories of migratory movements, moreover, may accentuate certain aspects of identity (language, or clothing, or cuisine, for example). Through social processes such as hybridization, the identities of migrants and indigenous peoples typically become transformed, and one of the most crucial factors in such contact situations is to share a common language. Thus, as Iacovou (2005: 132) astutely observes: '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'.

At some point during the 11th century BC, certain Aegean peoples (migrants rather than purposive colonists) became established on Cyprus, an 'event' that remained deeply rooted in the memory of Greeks, whether in Greece or on Cyprus. We cannot define this event any more precisely, not least because the social processes involved in it—social exchange, migration, hybridization—had been going on for at least 200 years. Indeed, the entire ProBA 3 period may be characterized as a time of widespread human mobility in the eastern Mediterranean, and the arrival of any intrusive groups on Cyprus ultimately will have had an impact on the inhabitants' social organization as well their identities. Sherratt (1992: 330) points out that the 11th century BC was 'a time of political and social upheaval during which new political configurations may have begun to emerge—in all probability ones which foreshadowed, however abortively, the eventual rise of the early historical kingdoms on the island'.

Sherratt thus smoothly sidesteps but is fully cognisant of a crucial point of contention, one that pervades the study of Early Iron Age Cyprus: were the city-kingdoms so well established on the island by the beginning of the Cypro–Archaic 1 period (*c*.750–600 BC) the direct result of transformations—social, political, economic—that took place during the 11th century BC? Or were they entirely new social and political formations that emerged from a combination of factors—internal social factions, an increasing Phoenician presence on the island, and diverse politico-economic developments in the Levant—that took place during the 10th–8th centuries BC?

Iacovou (2002, 2003) believes that Aegean people who migrated to the island during the 11th century BC were instrumental in laying the foundations of the regional, city-based kingdoms of the later Iron Age. Steel (1993), citing (somewhat limited) evidence of craft specialization, elite burials (also Steel

1995), a possible administrative system, and fortification ramparts around three towns (Salamis, Kition, and Idalion), also suggested that a hierarchically organized society had begun to emerge on Cyprus during the 11th–10th centuries BC. In contrast, Rupp (1985, 1987, 1998) and Petit (2001) both argue for the collapse of social organization and political centralization following the LC IIIA period, and the re-emergence of hierarchically organized, regional monarchies (for Rupp, secondary states) only during the 9th–8th centuries BC. Muhly (1989: 303) ventured the opinion that the local Cypriot autonomous centres which had developed during ProBA 3 (LC IIC–IIIA) provided the impetus and the pattern—spreading from Paphos in the west to Salamis in the east—for the formation of the Iron Age city-kingdoms, but at a date much earlier than Rupp advocates.

In Iacovou's scenario, multiple territorial states existed throughout the Cypro-Geometric period, between the late 11th–8th centuries BC (e.g. Iacovou 2002: 83–5). The Greek-speaking migrants who came to Cyprus in the 11th century BC, she argues, were compelled to assert their collective identity within a highly urbanized, affluent, and literate cultural context (Iacovou 1999b: 2). Their cultural ascendancy is seen in the move to new sites, the use of distinctive mortuary practices in new burial locations, the establishment of their language (attested only by the inscribed *obelos* from Palaepaphos *Skales*), and the predominant Proto-White Painted pottery—the ultimate product of 'intensified contact with the Aegean brought about by the gradual "Mycenaean penetration" of Cyprus' (Iacovou 1999b: 7–9). This 'pan-Cyprian *koine* culture' involved people who were neither pure Greeks nor pure Cypriotes, but rather a 'coherent group of people who were, beyond any doubt, culturally homogenous' (Iacovou 1999b: 10–11).

In my view, the group of people described by Iacovou were culturally hybrid, and any homogeneity we may observe in their material culture is a direct result of that hybridity. The new social and political structures that resulted are first attested in the historical record by the inscription on Sargon II's stele (traditionally dated to 709 BC). Sargon proclaims specifically that representatives from seven Cypriot kingdoms (Cyprus is here termed *Iadnana*) came to pay homage to him. At the very least, this document indicates that Cyprus was no longer organized in a state level polity or polities as it had been during the ProBA, but rather was divided into territorial kingdoms, which Iacovou believes had been established during a power vacuum after LC IIIA. On a tribute list of the Neo-Assyrian ruler Esarhaddon (one generaton after Sargon), traditionally dated to 673 BC, ten kingdoms of Cyprus are named, at least five of which (Paphos, Kourion, Salamis, Soloi, and Idalion) are believed to date back to the 11th century BC (Iacovou 1999b: 15 provides further discussion; on the Neo-Assyrian texts, see Saporetti 1976 and full

discussion below, pp. 343–5). By the time the Neo-Assyrian state emerged as the first Iron Age 'super power' in the eastern Mediterranean, Iacovou (2002: 83–5) maintains that Cyprus's Early Iron Age polities (what Rupp 1998 sees as chiefdoms) had already been established for 300–400 years. She thus sees the period between about 1100–750 BC as the foundation horizon of the Cypro-Archaic territorial (city) kingdoms, the latter being the most crucial phase of cultural development in the Iron Age. More crucially for the present discussion, she regards the social and political structure of these city kingdoms as 'another twelfth century Mycenaean bequest to eleventh-century Cyprus' (Iacovou 1999b: 14).

Rupp (1998: 215) argues that the dominant political units of 11th-9th century BC Cyprus were not kingdoms, but chiefdoms; his understanding of the role and social structure of these polities contrasts markedly with that of Iacovou. In a series of articles, Rupp (1985, 1987, 1988, 1989, 1998) has attempted to demonstrate, using multiple aspects of the relevant archaeological evidence, that there was a palpable decrease in socio-political complexity from the end of the ProBA 3 period through the Cypro–Geometric period. In his reconstruction of Cyprus's Early Iron Age, the first city kingdoms (secondary states) emerged only during the Cypro-Archaic period, in the mid-late 8th century BC. Taking into account the wider implications of his own detailed survey work in southwestern Cyprus (most recently, Rupp 2004), the development of monumental architecture, the appearance of rural sanctuaries, the reappearance of writing, and mortuary evidence from 299 Cypro–Geometric through Cypro-Archaic sites (in particular from the royal tombs at Salamis—1988), Rupp argues that Cyprus's city kingdoms emerged in response to politico-economic developments that took place after the establishment of a Phoenician colony at Kition in the 9th century BC. Petit (2001) also argues for discontinuity between the end of the Late Bronze Age (the earliest 'state' on Cyprus) and the formation of state-level polities during C-G III, in the late 9th-early 8th centuries BC. At least with respect to Amathus, Petit maintains that archaeological evidence of the state (royal tombs, prestige goods and exotica, the Eteocypriot script, symbols of power and warfare, demographic increase, new urban centres) only became prominent during the latter half of the 9th century BC.

Of course, those scholars who have most strongly promoted the colonization narrative also support the notion that the Iron Age city kingdoms resulted, directly or indirectly, from the monarchical political system that Aegean colonists brought with them to Cyprus in the 12th–11th centuries BC. Snodgrass (1988: 12), for example, argues that different waves of settlers from Mycenaean Greece not only established Greek as the dominant language of the island but also imposed their political organization ('a network of warlike

monarchies, each usually centred on a fortified citadel, with the king called by the title of *wanax*, and performing a leading religious role as well as his political one') on the local population. Iacovou (1999b: 6–7) also maintains that Greek-speaking immigrants established their supremacy over the indigenous inhabitants, forcing them to withdraw to enclaves like Amathus. More recently (as noted above), Iacovou (2006b) has suggested that Mycenaean *basileis* (Aegean political élites) migrated to Cyprus leading specialized metalworkers in the revival of Cypriot copper industry.

Karageorghis (2002c: 115–17) more recently has played down the notion of Greek supremacy, at least in terms of culture and material culture, and suggested that a common ethnicity and language united the Greeks who colonized Cyprus. Nonetheless, Karageorghis maintains that a booster wave of Greek immigrants arriving on Cyprus around 1100 BC joined with those already living on the island to disrupt relations with the native Cypriotes and found the new towns destined to become the city kingdoms of the Iron Age. To support his case, he calls upon the mythical traditions of Greek Trojan war heroes who founded several of these new towns, and goes on to present an array of archaeological evidence (already discussed above) to consolidate his position. Catling (1994: 137) is more circumspect, suggesting that during an extended period of urban breakdown (LC IIIB) the new arrivals, largely Aegean in origin, settled new towns and opened new burial grounds, eventually 'handing on their language and, perhaps, their political structure to descendants who became rulers and ruled some, at least, of the island's city-kingdoms'.

The main problem in linking what Petit (2001: 43-55) calls the Achaean Hypothesis to the foundation of the Iron Age city kingdoms is the paucity of archaeological evidence, especially that related to settlements, during the Cypro-Geometric period. Steel (1993) and Iacovou (1994, 199b, 2002) have pulled together every shred of evidence to support their cases, which remain plausible but unprovable on current grounds. Rupp and Petit make the most of this absence of evidence, and Petit (2001) in particular emphasizes that one cannot minimize the significance of decreased settlement evidence and the overall poverty of the material culture (excepting such unique and prestigeladen objects as the Kaloriziki sceptre or the inscribed obelos from Skales). No contemporary documentary evidence sheds any light on this situation before the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions of Sargon II and Esarhaddon in the late 8th and early 7th centuries BC. Moreover, with the exception of Kition and Paphos, none of the settlements that flourished during the 12th century BC can be equated unequivocally with the city-kingdoms mentioned in Assyrian lists or with later known city-states.

Petit (2001: 55–65) generalizes from the archaeological evidence to argue that the city-kingdoms cannot have emerged before C–G III, in the mid–late

9th century BC (almost a century earlier than Rupp would have it). This evidence may be summarized as follows: (1) the acropolis at Amathus (and thus the sanctuary, 'palace', and other monumental structures) was not occupied before C–G III; (2) archaeological evidence for state-level organization (royal tombs, prestige goods and symbolism, writing) all date from midlate 9th century BC or later; (3) the conditions for the emergence of all these features existed in commercial trade and demographic increases that only become evident in the 9th and 8th centuries BC; and (4) very limited evidence for copper production and trade on Cyprus between about 1100–750 BC (Muhly 1996: 48) begins to increase toward the end of the Cypro–Geometric or the beginning of the Cypro–Archaic periods at sites around the northern Troodos such as Tamassos (Buchholz 1978: 165–6; 1993: 195), Agrokipia *Kriadhis* and Politiko *Kokkinorotsos* (Given and Knapp 2003: 64–74, 136–46), and possibly in the Polis region (Raber 1987: 304–6, table 3, fig. 3).

On balance, and given the clear indicators for hybridization practices amongst indigenous Cypriot and newcomer Aegean and Levantine socio-cultural elements, it is difficult to envision the development of the Iron Age city kingdoms solely as the result of an Aegean migration to or colonization of the island during or just after the ProBA 3 period. Consciously or unconsciously, those who have supported the notion of an Aegean colonization of Cyprus subscribe to what Dietler (1998: 295-6) terms the 'Hellenization perspective' (referring to the encounters between European 'barbarians' and 'civilized' Greeks in the western Mediterranean during the mid-first millennium BC; also Whitehouse and Wilkins 1989). Used to describe as well as to explain the absorption or emulation of Greek, or in this case Aegean culture by local, indigenous societies, this nebulous Hellenization process assumes that high culture, like water, inevitably flows downhill. The colonial encounter played out on the island of Cyprus in the Early Iron Age was anything but a blanket emulation of Aegean high culture and, to be fair, most people writing on the topic today would not present their arguments in such terms. Sherratt (1992), Rupp (1998) and Iacovou (2005) have all presented knowledgeable and coherent discussions related to the colonization narrative, and are fully cognisant of the meeting and mixing of different cultural traditions on Cyprus during the Early Iron Age. None, however, have evaluated the relevant data by engaging with the concept of hybridization, and nor have they reached anything approaching consensus on the various issues involved.

Moreover, with the possible exception of Rupp, nobody has adequately considered how factors related to distance, the accumulated histories of travelling objects and power all were entangled in the ways that the Oriental 'other' impacted on Cypriot society during the ProBA 3 period. Negbi (1998, 2005), Baurain (1989), and Cook (1988) certainly make their

case for Near Eastern influences on Cyprus but their (at times extreme) positions might well be regarded as an 'Orientalization' perspective, no less an impediment than the Hellenization view for understanding the relations between incoming migrants and long established islanders. Many modern scholars, myself included, have assumed some level of mutual exclusivity between the (secondary) states of the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean, and the (primary) states of the Near East. In fact the social identities and material cultures within these areas were multiple, variable, and complex, and often were mediated by ideological and iconographic interaction spheres that permeated the entire region. The economic, ideological and power relations that characterized contacts and encounters between indigenous Cypriotes and others, whether from the Aegean or the Levant, throughout the millennium between about 1800-800 BC, remain issues of ongoing archaeological discussion and analysis. Such issues typically prove to be too intractable to resolve through material culture alone. In the case of Cyprus, however, we can gain another perspective by reflecting upon the primary documentary evidence itself not free from interpretative bias or confusion—related to or referring to the island. In the chapter that follows, I present and discuss all published textual or inscriptional evidence related to Alashiya (and its variants), Kupirijo, and Iadnana, a now vast body of documentary data that extends from the 19th–4th centuries BC.

# Island History and Island Identity on Cyprus

#### ALASHIYA AND PROTOHISTORY

What does 'protohistory' mean, and to what period(s) does it refer in the Cypriot context? Peltenburg (1982: 16–17, emphasis added) seems to have been the first to use the term in the sense, however general, that I understand it:

Since there are external references to Alasiya . . . a term regarded by many, though not all, as meaning at least a part of Cyprus (Georgiou 1979) the bronze age might conveniently be referred to as protohistoric Cyprus. Protohistoric is here taken to relate to *a period when indirect written sources of information become available* and consequently its termination will depend on accepted translations of the earliest Cypro–Minoan inscriptions and in any case no later than the Amarna letters from Alasiya.

The diverse documentary records mentioning Alashiya (Knapp 1996a) from various lands surrounding Cyprus, and dating from the 19th century BC onward—do not necessarily bring us into a full historical era. Strictly speaking, one should begin, rather than end, protohistory on Cyprus with the earliest mention of Alashiva in cuneiform records. I originally proposed the term Protohistoric Bronze Age (ProBA) for the period beginning about 1700 BC, both as a counterpart to Prehistoric Bronze Age (PreBA—see also Frankel 1988: 52 n. 1) and because the MC III-LC I periods were seen to be the formative era of the developed Late Bronze Age. This was the time when Cyprus increasingly became involved, economically and politically, with the neighbouring states of the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean (Muhly 1972; 1985b; Knapp 1986a; Keswani 1989c). The ProBA thus takes into account a wide range of material indices beyond the comparatively meagre documentary record that characterizes the period, especially at its outset (see also Knapp 1994: 274-6). In many respects, Cyprus remained primarily within the realm of prehistory—that is, in a situation where no 'historic' or written documents exist, or else where the relevant texts remain undeciphered—until the late first millennium BC, when both Greek and the Cypro-Syllabic script came into more prominent use. As Peltenburg (1982: 17) pointed out, for long spells in later periods (e.g. Byzantine, Medieval), Cyprus might still be regarded as 'prehistoric'.

Iacovou (1995: 96; 1999b: 14, n. 110) understands 'protohistory' rather differently:

The term 'protohistory' is meant to stand for an insufficiently defined time span which as regards Cyprus begins after the twelfth century [BC] and ends with the division of the island into new geopolitical units, the districts of the first city-kingdoms.

Questioning the identification of Cyprus with Alashiya (see below), she argues further (Iacovou (2001: 89): 'The absence of readable Cypriot Bronze Age records is the paramount reason why Cyprus remains a prehistoric island almost to the end of the second millennium BC. By unreadable records, Iacovou is referring to documents or materials inscribed with the Cypro-Minoan script, so named because several signs on the earliest texts are very similar to those used in the Minoan Linear A script of Crete (e.g. Dikaios 1963; Palaima 1989a: 136, 161–2; 1989b: 40–1; 2005: 35–6). Cypro–Minoan is attested on clay tablets, sealings, cylinders, balls and other objects, including pottery, and is found at several ProBA Cypriot sites as well as in the Syrian coastal town of Ugarit—(Masson 1974; Yon 2000: 192; Panavotou-Triantaphyllopoulou 2006: 61-6). Iacovou's statement implies that she does not accept the equation of Alashiya with Cyprus, since cuneiform documents certainly are readable and contain a great deal of historical information. And, whilst Cypro-Minoan remains undeciphered, it demonstrates that some people on ProBA Cyprus were literate members of a 'protohistoric' society.

Iacovou believes that the protohistoric era begins on Cyprus during the 11th century BC, when the Greek language is first attested on one object (the bronze spit from Palaepaphos Skales, discussed at length above, pp. 288–9), by a single name arguably rendered in the Arcadian Greek dialect (Opheltas). The definition Iacovou offers (quoted above) is not only vague but somewhat contradictory, inasmuch as the period she sees as 'protohistoric'—the eleventh through eighth centuries BC—is absolutely devoid of written records and thus, in the usual understanding of such situations, should be regarded as 'prehistoric'. More worrying, however, is that her viewpoint seems driven by historical circumstances (a dominant Aegean presence on Cyprus), and thus is not only restricting but also could be seen as Graecocentric. If the main criterion for 'protohistory' in Iacovou's thinking is that we should be able to 'read' an inscription on an object found within rather than beyond Cyprus, then the (LC II) cylinder seal inscribed with the (Anatolian?) place-name Milataya (LC IIIA) from Ayios Iakovos Dhima (Gjerstad et al. 1934: 576-7), or the Ugaritic cuneiform inscription—with both a Semitic (Yiptahaddu) and a Hurrian ('Aky) name—on a silver bowl from Hala Sultan Tekke (Åström and Masson 1982) would mean that 'protohistory' began at some point during the 14–12th centuries BC, not the 11th. All these 'indigenous' inscriptions, I might add, seem to refer to ownership of the object on which they were inscribed, and thus provide no historical information, *sensu stricto*.

### The Identification of Alashiya with Cyprus

Iacovou's larger point, however, is that there is no universal acceptance of the identification of the place-name Alashiya with Bronze Age Cyprus. Indeed, she is not alone amongst Cypriot archaeologists in that concern, although anyone trained in the study of cuneiform, and virtually every ancient historian who has ever written about Bronze Age Cyprus, accepts the Cyprus-Alashiya equation unequivocally (amongst countless others, see Chicago Assyrian Dictionary A/1 [1964] 336, s.v. alašu 'coming from Cyprus'; all contributors to Knapp 1996a; Sürenhagen 2001; Bryce 2002: 89, 254). Acknowledging the frustration felt by scholars like Merrillees (1987: 12–13) or Catling (1975: 201–5) in attempting to cope with the myriad languages and references—ancient and modern—that refer to Alashiya, and their implications for understanding the role and place of Alashiya in eastern Mediterranean pre- or protohistory, I published an edited volume of translations and commentaries for all known (up to 1994) Near Eastern and Aegean documents referring to Alashiya and Kupirijo (Knapp 1996a). However, neither that publication, nor a century of debate and admittedly very uneven scholarship have persuaded Cypriot archaeologists to accept that Alashiya was the Bronze Age name for Cyprus, at least in the easternmost Mediterranean (on Kupirijo, see below). To demonstrate this state of affairs, one need only compare, for example, the views of Hellbing (1979), Strange (1980), or Merrillees (1987) with those of Muhly (1972, 1989), Knapp (1985, 1996a), or Wachsmann (1986). More recently, the diminishing interest in this debate has become superficial at best (Merrillees 2005; Cline 2005; Muhly 2006; Wachsmann 2006), and certainly does nothing to resolve it.

Tackling the identification of *Alashiya* from a different perspective, Goren *et al.* (2003; 2004: 48–75) recently published the results of comparative petrographic and chemical analyses on four Amarna letters sent to Egypt from *Alashiya* (EA 33, 34, 37, 38), two letters from Ugarit (RS L1, arguably from the king of *Alashiya* to the king of Ugarit; RS 8.333 from the king of Carchemish to the king of Ugarit), and nine Cypro–Minoan documents (4 tablets—all from Enkomi, 5 inscribed cylinders—1 from Enkomi, 4 from *Ayios Dhimitrios*). In addition, as source references for Cypriot clays, Goren *et al.* (2004: 61, 65–6, table 3.2) used 24 samples they collected from the relevant geological formations, as well as the results of comprehensive petrographic analyses conducted by Vaughan (1987, 1989, 1991), primarily on

ProBA Base-ring wares. Although the ideal material for dealing with pottery or tablet provenance is well-excavated, site-specific pottery or ceramic manufacturing debris (e.g. wasters, ceramic slag) (Perlman 1984: 130–1), clays collected *in situ* in the near vicinity of a site (or, as in this case, near the relevant geological formation) not only add a further dimension to provenance studies, they can also help to establish whether or not clay products were locally made (Adan-Bayewitz and Perlman 1985: 203; Kilikoglou *et al.* 1988: 37). Goren *et al.* present detailed discussions of their methodology (for both petrographic and chemical analyses), data on all relevant geological formations, the analytical techniques involved, and tables or figures for all analytical and statistical results (2003: 234–42; 2004: 57–70, fig. 3.4, tables 3.2–3.6).

Accurate interpretation of provenance data depends on the ability to conduct comprehensive comparative analyses, to identify objectively non-local materials, and to isolate or eliminate specific clay, stone, or metal resources (Knapp and Cherry 1994: vii). Petrographic analysis, in particular, is a well-established procedure for examining possible sources of clay or ceramic diversity in order to gain a further perspective on local or regional production (e.g. Vaughan 1987; Day 1988: 500). Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA) may be the chemical method of choice in provenance studies, but increasingly ICP–AES/MS (used by Goren *et al.*) is agreed to be a less expensive, if less exhaustive technique for analysing major, minor, and trace elements in clays, not least because of its comparability with NAA (e.g. Porat *et al.* 1991; Vaughan, in Knapp and Cherry 1996: 88).

The only issue one might take with Goren et al.'s analytical study of the Alashiya tablets is the lack of clay or mineralogical reference sources from Cilicia and northwest Syria, the only two other ophiolite complexes (after the Troodos) in the eastern Mediterranean. Here, where it proved impossible for the authors to obtain their own reference samples, they relied on published geological data from the Mersin and Pozanti-Karasanti massifs in Cilicia, the Kizildag massif in Turkey's Hatay province, and the Baër-Bassit massif in northwest Syria. Even if their results are challenged on that account, it is clear that every effort was made to provide and compare relevant petrographic data and reference sources, whilst the homogeneity and consistency of all their analytical results are equally striking, and reassuring. Moreover, it should be born in mind that these particular analyses related to the Alashiya 'conundrum' (Muhly 1996: 49) formed only one part of a major programme of mineralogical and chemical analyses, in which over 300 tablets from museums in London, Oxford, Paris, and Berlin were studied—using a consistent methodology—in order to cast new light on the provenance of all the Amarna tablets (Goren et al. 2004).

Five of the six cuneiform letters, all written in Akkadian, the diplomatic language of the day, were shown to derive from clays consistent with the

Pakhna or the Moni formations along the southern rim of Cyprus's Troodos Mountains, in areas where Kalavasos Avios Dhimitrios (Moni) and Alassa Paleotaverna (Pakhna) are situated (Goren et al. 2003; 234, fig. 1). The sixth tablet, from Carchemish (RS 8.333), was included in the analyses in order to compare its clay with that of RS L1, which some scholars regarded as originating from the king of Carchemish, not the king of Alashiya (e.g. Singer 1983: 217; Yamada 1992: 438–45). The petrographic traits of tablet RS 8.333 are consistent with production from the clay-silt of the Euphrates River valley near Carchemish, whilst those of RS L1 are consistent with production from dolerite-derived, reworked clays found in the zone of Cyprus's Troodos mountains, where the sedimentary formations and the volcanic series come into contact (Goren et al. 2004: 55-7). Alashiya tablets EA 37 and RS L1 stand out from the others in being coarser and more gritty, which in fact enables more secure petrographic determination, in this case the Moni Mélange formation of the southeastern Troodos, Alashiva tablets EA 33, 34 and 38 reveal close petrographic similarity to the marls of the Pakhna formation in the southern and southwestern foothills of the Troodos.

Equally significant, ICP-AES/MS analyses revealed that EA 33 and EA 34 were closely related chemically, a result that corresponds well with earlier chemical analyses of Amarna tablets EA 33, 34, 35, and 38. In that earlier study (Artzy et al. 1976), NAA of two tablets (EA 34 and EA 35) indicated that their composition, although not identical to any known Cypriot clays, was very similar to a group of Late Helladic IIIC1 pottery vessels excavated at Kouklia and thought to have been produced in southwest Cyprus. Two additional but unpublished analyses of Amarna letters EA 33 and EA 38, now stored in the Pergamon Museum in Berlin, produced very similar results (information courtesy of Michal Artzy and Frank Asaro; see also Hellbing 1979: 71 n. 103).

The four Cypro–Minoan tablets and single clay cylinder from Enkomi are homogeneous in petrographic terms, and are consistent with production from the clays of eastern Cyprus; they may well have been produced in Enkomi itself (Goren *et al.* 2004: 51–3). Two of the four Cypro–Minoan inscribed cylinders from Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* (K–AD 82, 38 and K–AD 82, 204) are consistent with production from clays of the Kannaviou Formation in the southwestern Troodos, whilst the other two (K–AD 82, 405 and K–AD 83, 545) are consistent with production from clays of the Moni Mélange formation in the southeastern Troodos. All the inscribed cylinders from *Ayios Dhimitrios* have fabrics very similar to those of the Base-ring wares produced at the same site (Vaughan 1989; Goren *et al.* 2004: 54–5).

Given the range and notably consistent results of this suite of analytical work carried out on five clay tablets from *Alashiya*, nine Cypro–Minoan

documents, and 24 clay reference sources from Cyprus, it would be perverse to deny that these particular cuneiform tablets from *Alashiya*, excavated at Amarna in Egypt and Ugarit in Syria, were manufactured from clays that once formed in the foothills of the southern Troodos mountains of Cyprus. Goren *et al.* (2003: 250–2) believe that the clays used to produce these tablets would have been collected in the immediate vicinity of the site where the tablets were eventually inscribed. They suggest, consequently, that Alassa *Paleotaverna* or Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* may have been the political and administrative centre of *Alashiya* (Cyprus) during the 14th–13th centuries BC. Whereas such a conclusion seem inescapable to them, it is crucial first to reassess critically the full corpus of documents pertaining to *Alashiya*, in particular as they relate to its geopolitical configuration.

In the remainder of this chapter, I take the identification of Alashiya with Cyprus as indisputable, and will not attempt to convert those who remain passionately sceptical. Having devoted a major portion of a Ph.D. thesis (Knapp 1979: 151–304), as well as several other publications (e.g. Knapp 1985, 1996a: 3–11) to the issue of *Alashiya* and its identification with Cyprus, I feel I have demonstrated that identification beyond any reasonable doubt. Let those who remain unconvinced—particularly in the face of such compelling evidence as Goren and his associates have presented—identify any other site, island, or region in the Mediterranean or Levant that can be so definitively associated, materially and historically, with Alashiya. At the same time, let them identify in the Amarna letters any other land except Alashiya to designate Cyprus (already Müller 1895: 264), whose copper resources were in demand throughout the Mediterranean and Near East at the time the letters were written, and whose wealthy coastal towns show such intimate material connections with the Near East. A polity such as Cyprus—with all its wealth and resources—cannot have been overlooked by the scrupulous, knowledgeable, and economically motivated potentates and scribes of the region.

## Ku-pi-ri-jo/a, A-ra-si-jo, and Cyprus

Several Linear B texts contain the word *ku-pi-ri-jo* (Bennet, in Knapp 1996a: 52–58; Palaima 2005: 22–9). Because its identification with Cyprus or Cypriot has never been contested, the very existence of the term *ku-pi-ri-jo* tends to cast doubt on equating Linear B *a-ra-si-jo* with *Alashiya* of the cuneiform texts. *A-ra-si-jo*, normalized as the personal name 'Alas(s)ios', is attested three times in the Knossos Linear B documents (Bennet, in Knapp 1996a: 51–2), where it refers once to a shepherd and once to someone receiving or supplying olive oil. This name may have been an ethnic, based on the place-name

*Alashiya*; alternatively it may have been formed from a local, Cretan place-name (Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 533). Bennet (also Palaima 2005: 19) notes that if the name does reflect *Alashiya*, a parallel example may be found in the name Aiguptios (*a*<sub>3</sub>-*ku*-*pi*-*ti*-*jo*), 'the Egyptian', another shepherd from Knossos.

Ku-pi-ri-jo is regarded by most Linear B specialists as an ethnic adjective referring to an unattested place-name \*Kupros (= Cyprus), or else as a personal name corresponding to classical Greek Kuprios (e.g. Chadwick 1964: 22; Ventris and Chadwick 1973: 558; Palaima 2005: 22). Palmer (1963: 260, 431), however, regarded ku-pi-ri-jo as a type of spice, perhaps a derivative of an unattested Linear B word \*kupros (= 'henna', Lawsonia inermis). Given the way most Linear B specialists now understand the Fh and Fp series of the Linear B texts (e.g. Killen 1995: 215-21, with further refs.), Palmer's suggestion no longer seems viable. Interestingly, however, Merrillees (1986b: 217-18; originally Mosso 1910: 299-301) suggested that the Greek name for Cyprus (Kypros) may have been derived from the Semitic root kpr—'henna', thus linking his argument to Palmer's. The semantic link is the brassy red colour of both henna dye and copper. The attestation of Semitic kpr in Ugaritic texts of the 14th century BC, however, predates by several centuries the earliest Greek attestations of the island's name in Homer (Kypros), during the 8th century BC (Palaima 2005: 12–13). For Merrillees, the importance of deriving Kypros from kpr is that this equivalence would provide a Bronze Age history for the name that later came to be applied to the island, and thus would call into question the use of Alashiya as a Bronze Age place-name for Cyprus (which Merrillees has always contested, e.g. 1987; 2005). Of course, it is entirely plausible that both place names existed in the Late Bronze Age, as was the case for Egypt: Aiguptios/a<sub>3</sub>-ku-pi-ti-jo in Linear B, Misraim/msrm in Ugaritic) (also Palaima 2005: 19).

The occurrence in a bilingual text from Ebla (Michalowski in Knapp 1996a) of the equivalent (Sumerian) URUDU = (Semitic) ga-ba-lum adds to this mix, since the earliest commentators on the text normalized the Semitic word to kaparum, translated it as 'copper' and thus linked it to the name for Cyprus and Latin cuprum (e.g. Pettinato 1986: 308; Lambert 1991: 185). More compelling is a Hittite–Hurrian bilingual text excavated at Boğazköy that pairs the Hurrian term kabali with Hittite URUDU-aš—'copper' (Neu 1988: 37–8, 42). Zaccagnini (1988: 359–360) compared this Hurrian term kabali with the Eblaite writing of URUDU = ga-ba-lum (transcribed by Zaccagnini as kabalum) and regarded both as words for 'copper', hearkening back to a Sumerian word ZABAR (written UD.KA.BAR). Thus, Hurrian kabali- and Semitic kapalum may stem from a common source, inasmuch as both are associated in bilingual texts with Sumerian URUDU, 'copper'. Despite the possible equivalence of Hurrian kabali- and Semitic g/kapalum, with a

common meaning of copper or a copper-based metal, the association between these two terms and ku-pi-ri-jo remains tentative and unproven.  $\chi \alpha \lambda \kappa o s$  (Linear B ka-ko), not kupros, is the Greek word for copper whilst aes is the Latin word (both  $\chi \alpha \lambda \kappa o s$  and aes can also mean 'bronze', and so do not distinguish between the raw material and the alloy). Not until the age of Imperial Latin, when Cyprus became widely known in the Roman world as a major copper ore supplier, did the expression aes Cyprium 'Cypriot copper' develop. By ellipsis, aes Cyprium became first cyprium and then cuprum (Muhly 1973: 174; 1991b: 180).

At Bronze Age Pylos, the term *Kuprios* was likely based on the Mycenaean Greek name for the island of Cyprus and seems to have been used as a personal name for individuals. Two people named *Kuprios* were shepherds, another was a bronzeworker, and a fourth may have been a prominent (elite) offical of the Pylian state (Bennet, in Knapp 1996a: 52–3; Killen 1995: 218–19). Palaima (2005: 26–7) has emphasized the social significance of named individuals in the Linear B tablets, and intimated that 'shepherds' with names such as *Kuprios* and *Arasijos* may have enjoyed a higher status than we normally associate with this humble occupation.

At Bronze Age Knossos, scholarly opinion differs over the meaning and use of ku-pi-ri-jo: some prefer to see it as a personal name or an official's title, others as an adjective describing the (Cypriot) origin or destination of the commodities mentioned, usually olive oil. Killen (1995: 220-1) identifies the ku-pi-ri-jo mentioned at both Knossos and Pylos as 'collectors', perhaps elite officials in charge of commodities coming from Cyprus, who received 'benefits' (o-no) for their services. Godart (1968) regarded Kuprios as the title of an official associated with the production of olive oil, whilst Palaima (1991: 280–1, 293–5; following Melena in Bennett et al. 1989: 204–5) considered this term more exclusively as an adjective ('Cypriot') defining diverse Cretan or Knossian products (olive oil, wool or cloth, spices, coriander, honey, vessels) bound for markets on Cyprus. More recently, Palaima (2005: 22-8) has stressed the difficulty in deciding whether any given attestation of ku-pi-rijo refers to an individual person, an ethnic adjective, or the description of a commodity: it depends mainly on context as well as our understanding of that context. The adjectival form ku-pi-ri-ja (Kupria) is taken to mean either 'from Cyprus' or 'of Cypriot type'. This word appears in full only once, on Knossos tablet Od 667, which tallies small amounts of both Cypriot and Cretan wool. Bennett et al. (1989: 204-5) have argued that Kupria may also be represented by the abbreviated form KU, as a qualifier to the wool ideogram at Thebes, and perhaps as a surcharged sign (TELA+KU) in the cloth ideogram at Knossos. If this is accepted (Palaima 2005: 26), then one text from Thebes (Of 26) refers to Cypriot wool being sent to various destinations, perhaps workshops, whilst another text from Knossos (L[8] 1647) describes cloth either produced with or decorated with Cypriot wool (texts and discussion by Bennet, in Knapp 1996a: 57–8; see also Killen 1995: 215).

The Linear B tablets mentioning *Ku-pi-ri-jo/a* (*Kuprios/Kupria*) open an interesting window on various people ('shepherds' with at least some social status, a bronzeworker, palace officials) engaged in internal production within Aegean realms, and others who may have been involved in external trade, perhaps as middlemen receiving different commodities from Cyprus. Alternatively, if we take *ku-pi-ri-jo/a* to be an adjectival form, then we see an array of different commodities—primarily olive oil—being shipped to Cyprus, and different kinds of Cypriot wool being distributed and used both at Knossos on Crete and at Thebes on the Greek mainland. Palaima (2005: 6, 28–9), moreover, argues more generally that the form, media, and applications of the Cypro–Minoan script reflect a strong, independent, insular identity and substantial politico-economic relations between high-status individuals on Cyprus and those in the Bronze Age Aegean world.

Beyond the implications these tablets have for Aegean maritime trade and the possible palatial involvement in that trade (Palaima 1991; Killen 1995), we see indicators of much more personal links between Cypriotes and Aegean peoples than those we can demonstrate from material culture alone. Indeed, Palaima (2005: 28–9) argues that the two cultures must have enjoyed 'some form of special contacts' during the Late Bronze Age, and that the goods or individuals associated with the term ku-pi-ri-jo/a cover a wide range of Aegean industries, some of which point to high social status. The relatively large quantities of olive oil indicated on the Knossos tablets, if destined for Cyprus, seem to have been shipped in specific types or sizes of containers, which may imply a highly specialized, directional trade (Palaima 1991: 294, 309). That some people or officials in Crete or Greece were aware of the Cypro–Minoan system of writing and possibly involved in exporting products like olive oil to Cyprus is suggested by the presence of Cypro-Minoan potmarks on both Late Minoan III and Late Helladic III vessels found in the Aegean (Hirschfeld 1992, 1996). These pot-marks indicate that at least some Late Bronze Age Cypriotes were directly involved in the transport and exchange of both perishable and imperishable commodites throughout the eastern Mediterranean (Palaima 2005: 22).

Finally, it must be emphasized that even if Bronze Age Aegean people referred to someone or something from Cyprus as *Kuprios* or *Kupria*, this circumstance would in no way preclude the Semitic-, Hurrian-, or Egyptian-speaking peoples of the eastern Mediterranean from referring to the island or its products as *Alashiya* or coming from *Alashiya*. Masson (1964a: 3–8), in fact, even suggested that the 'Oriental' name *Alashiya* was used for the eastern

parts of the island whilst \*Kupros would have been used for the west. I would argue, however, on the basis of the internal contents of various Alashiya documents, discussed in the following section, that this was the name by which the Bronze Age rulers and inhabitants of Cyprus knew their island, and that it refers to the island as a whole, not any single site within it.

#### ALASHIYA—CYPRUS IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

In an attempt to present an island history of Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Cyprus, I reconsider all published documentary evidence related to *Alashiya*, *Ku-pi-ri-jo*, and *Iadnana* (the last being the name of Cyprus as written in Neo-Assyrian cuneiform texts of the first millennium BC (Saporetti 1976; Reyes 1994: 49–60; Rupp 1998; Iacovou 2001; Yon 2004: 50–1). Although I focus in particular on issues of identity, the more general intention is to situate Cyprus—socially, politically, and economically—in its eastern Mediterranean context. In each section, I provide at least a brief commentary on the contemporaneous material dimensions of the textual evidence (*Archaeology and Texts*).

### **Economy and Polity**

Prehistoric Bronze Age: The earliest indisputable references to Alashiya appear during the PreBA 2 period, in 19th–17th century BC cuneiform texts from Mari, Alalakh, and Babylonia (Knapp 1996a: 17–20, 30). Most of these references occur in economic texts and are concerned primarily with copper, bronze, or silver. At Mari, a large town on the right bank of the Euphrates River in modern-day Syria, all references to Alashiya deal with the import of metals: either copper (Sumerian URUDU—Akkadian erû) or bronze (ZABAR—siparru). The single reference to 34 and 2/3 minas of Alashiyan bronze (ARM 25:718)—defined as an alloy (7 parts copper and 1 part tin) used to make nahmasatum-stands—probably indicates that these bronze objects were manufactured using copper from Alashiya. The texts distinguish further amongst 'copper', 'mountain copper', and 'refined, quality copper'. Two Mari documents (ARM 25:483, ARM 25:691) discuss the loss of copper in a refinement process. In these cases, the terminology seems as much metallurgical as economic in nature, but this is perhaps unsurprising for scribes keeping accounts in a town where shifts in the price of copper were not uncommon, and depended on the metal's scarcity and accessibility rather than its quality (Kupper 1991: 43; Sasson, in Knapp 1996a: 17). At Alalakh, another large town situated on the Orontes River in the Amuq valley of modern-day Turkey, one economic text (AT 385.2) mentions silver received from *Alashiya*. The single tablet from Babylonia has no provenance (now in the Birmingham City Museum: WHM 114046) but is dated to the fifth year of Samsu-iluna, king of Babylon during the mid-18th century BC. The tablet records 12 minas of copper from *Alashiya* and *Dilmun*, the latter identified with Bahrein in the Persian Gulf (Crawford 1998: 1–8) and thought to be the main supplier of this metal to Babylonia during the early second millennium BC. Millard (1973: 213) speculates that the metal may have been identified by source to show that it was unworked rather than recycled.

Archaeology and Texts: Both Mari and Alalakh were situated on major routes of transport and trade, the former a key entrepot for goods travelling to or from Babylonia, the latter on the crossroads of two major routes running north–south (Anatolia to the southern Levant) and west–east (the Levant to the Euphrates). Although we cannot presume (or disprove) the existence of direct trading contacts between Cyprus and Syria or Babylonia, it is important to note that these references coincide with the earliest appearance of Near Eastern imports at Cypriot sites situated near the copper-laden foothills of the northern and eastern Troodos (Courtois 1986: 74-5). Shafthole axes have been found from the Politiko region in the north central Troodos, through Nicosia Ayia Paraskevi, to Dhali Kafkallia and Ayios Sozomenos and Larnaca in the southeast (Buchholz 1979). Sets of shaft-hole axes and bronze belts have been recovered from Dhali Kafkallia and Klavdhia in the southeast. Courtois (1986: 75) also suggested that in cases where shaft-hole axes were found along with precious metals and the earliest horse bones known on Cyprus (at Politiko Chomazoudhia and Nicosia Avia Paraskevi), such items made up a Near Eastern package of goods exchanged for Cypriot copper. Other imports into Cyprus at this time include Syro-Mesopotamian cylinder seals (Klavdhia, Avia Paraskevi, Avios Sozomenos, Enkomi) and a growing number and variety of Levantine pottery types (Courtois 1986: 71; Johnson 1982; Knapp 1994: 281, fig. 9.4). Finally, as Near Eastern merchants increasingly sought access to Alashiya's copper resources, so Alashiya's merchants or elites will have sought access to tin, almost certainly another eastern import (Muhly 1985c; 1993: 131-2).

Protohistoric Bronze Age: The majority of textual references to *Alashiya* stem from the ProBA, and most of them relate to economic or diplomatic transactions, and thus to the politico-economic role and position of the land of *Alashiya*. The Akkadian cuneiform letters found at Tell el-Amarna in the mid-Nile Valley provide the richest source of information (Moran 1992; Moran, in Knapp 1996a: 21–5), but Akkadian and Ugaritic royal or official letters and

diplomatic texts from Ugarit also offer crucial insights (Beckman, in Knapp 1996a: 26–8; Walls, in Knapp 1996a: 36–40). Merchants, messengers, diplomats, and dynasts all were involved (Holmes 1978; Liverani 1983; Oller 1995). The 1994 excavations of the French mission at Ras Shamra recovered at least five new Akkadian tablets sent to Ugarit by the king of *Alashiya* or two of his 'viziers'. These tablets (which include registration numbers RS 94.2173, RS 94.2177+, RS 94.2475, and RS 94.2447+2588+2590) remain unpublished but highlights from them have been reported in a preliminary fashion (Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995: 445; Malbran-Labat 1999: 121; Malbran-Labat in Galliano *et al.* 2004: 188; Yon 2003: 47–8; Singer 2006: 255).

During the ProBA 2 period, *Alashiya* was a land that could supply copper upon demand. Fully five of the nine Amarna letters that mention *Alashiya* (EA 33, 34, 35, 36, 40) refer to shipments of copper in varying amounts sent from that land to Egypt, but only three give the actual measure (GUN URUDU—*bilat erâ*): EA 33: 18 (10 talents), EA 34: 18 (100 talents), EA 40: 13 (3 talents of 'refined' copper). In the other Amarna passages mentioning shipments of copper, the measure is omitted and only a number is given. Zaccagnini's (1986: 414) analysis of the terms and measures involved—based on a closely parallel Hittite inventory text with more explicit terminology and equivalencies than those of the Amarna letters—enables the following translation of the other Amarna occurrences:

Table 5. Quantities of Copper from Alashiya Mentioned in the Amarna Letters

EA 33: 16	200 (ingots) of copper
EA 35: 10	500 (ingots) of copper (cf. Zaccagnini 1973: 74—500 [shekels] of copper)
EA 36: 6	120 +? (ingots) of copper
EA 40: 7	9 (ingots) of copper
EA 40: 13	5 (ingots) of copper
EA 36: 6, 7	70 and 30 copper (ingots) weighing (one) talent

To this table, we must now add the information from one of the new Akkadian documents from Ras Shamra (RS 94.2475): 33 (ingots) of copper, weighing 30 talents and 6500 shekels (Malbran-Labat in Galliano *et al.* 2004: 188; Singer 2006: 255).

Can we, however, establish the actual or even approximate weight of one talent, or ingot, based solely on the textual evidence? Zaccagnini (1986: 416, with refs.) provides the following measures, based on the various systems in use during the second half of the second millennium BC:

Mycenaean talent

Measuring Systems

Babylonian talent 30.3 kg
Syrian talent 28.2 kg
Hittite talent 28.2 kg
'Ashdod' talent 23.5–7 kg (southern Levant)

29.5 or 31.2 kg

**Table 6.** Weights of a 'Talent' in Different Bronze Age Measuring Systems

Whether we take a 'western talent' (Syrian and Hittite talent at 28.2 kg), or the average of all the talents in use in the eastern Mediterranean and Near East at this time (28.11 kg), for our purposes we can state that the *average* weight of one talent was approximately 28 kg (Alberti and Parise 2005: 382, 389, pl. 83).

Near Eastern accounting practices concerning metals were based on weighing the actual amounts of metal involved, whether in ingots, bars, buns, rings, or other shapes. Zaccagnini (1986: 414–15) stressed that the metrological aspects of objects like the oxhide ingots—where the shape was standardized but the actual weight varied considerably—make it fruitless to attempt to determine a precise standard. The new Akkadian text from Ras Shamra (RS 94.2475) seems to reflect this nicely, since it qualifies the 33 ingots mentioned as weighing 30 talents and 6500 shekels. Using the weight standard for Ugarit and Alalakh (50 shekels per mina, 60 minas per talent, thus 3000 shekels in one talent—Alberti and Parise 2005: 389), it would seem that these particular ingots weighed just under one talent each. Muhly (1979: 95) believed that copper oxhide ingots, at least in the earliest phases of the Late Bronze Age, had a standard weight of 29 kg and were equivalent to one talent. Bass (1967: 71; 1997: 156), however, has always maintained that no exact standard existed, even if in practice most of the oxhide ingots so well known from Mediterranean sites and shipwrecks (e.g. Bass 1967; Muhly et al. 1988; Pulak 1998; 2000) were intended to weigh one talent (i.e. about 28 kg). The actual weight of copper oxhide ingots found throughout the Mediterranean varies considerably, ranging from 21 to 39 kg—i.e. an average of 30 kg (Arnaud 1967; Zaccagnini 1986: 416, after Parise 1968; Alberti and Parise 2005: 382). A histogram of weight distribution for 165 of the copper oxhide ingots from the Uluburun shipwreck reveals a mean weight of 23.9 kg (closest to the 'Ashdod' talent), with the heaviest weighing 29.5 kg and the lightest 20.1 kg (Pulak 2000: 141–3 and fig. 7). Pulak points out reasonably that the mean weight of the Uluburun oxhide ingots (23.9 kg) would have been notably higher in the original, pristine ingots, and that some weight standardization—which we can postulate as about 28 kg—must have been in operation to facilitate the handling, transportation, and ultimate tallying or weighing of the ingots.

Other Akkadian, Hittite, Ugaritic, and Egyptian texts also mention varying amounts of copper coming from *Alashiya*. A royal Hittite text found at

Boğazköy and dated to the reign of Šuppiluliuma II (around 1200 BC)—KBo XII 38 (Güterbock 1967: 77; Beckman, in Knapp 1996a: 32)—records one talent of copper (GUN URUDU) as 'tribute' to be paid by the king of Alashiva, whilst a 13th century BC ritual text (KBo IV 1, Beckman, in Knapp 1996a: 35) simply mentions that 'copper and bronze from Alashiya, from Mount Taggata' were used in a magical rite sanctifying a new palace. From Ugarit comes a 14th–13th century BC inventory list written in Ugaritic, the local cuneiform script, and detailing the contents of a ship from Alashiya moored in the port of 'Atlg/Atalig (RS 18.119—Walls, in Knapp 1996a: 37). The third and fourth lines of the text list, respectively, 'fifteen talents of' and 'three talents of ...', but the commodity is broken. Given the origin of the ship and the fact that the term 'talent' is so frequently used to indicate quantities of metal, we may tentatively restore 'copper' as the missing item (see also Singer 1999: 676). More importantly, one of the Akkadian letters (RS 94.2475) recently recovered at Ugarit lists 33 ingots of copper that Kushmeshusha, king of Alashiya, sent to Nigmaddu, ruler of Ugarit, in the late 13th century BC, as a royal 'greeting gift' (šulmanu) (Malbran-Labat 1995: 105; 1999; Yon 2003: 47–8; Singer 2006: 255). Copper was also listed as a greeting gift in Amarna letters EA 35, 37, and 40. Another Akkadian text from Ugarit (RS 34.153—see Beckman, in Knapp 1996a: 28) mentions that copper from Alashiya was sent to the site of Emar, a major Late Bronze Age centre situated on the banks of the Upper Euphrates River, at the juncture of Babylonian and west Syrian trading routes. Singer (1999: 677) suggests that Ugarit's maritime trade with Cyprus must have been managed by wealthy merchants like Yabninu, perhaps the last resident of the town's southern palace, where 60 Akkadian, five Ugaritic, and two Cypro-Minoan documents were uncovered (Courtois 1990; Yon 1997; 61-2).

In Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, two place names—(1) 'a-si-ja (Asiya) and (2) 'á-la-sá (Alasa)—have been taken to refer to Alashiya (Vercoutter 1956: 179–80). Whereas the identification of the first term (Asiya) with Alashiya remains controversial (e.g. Muhly 1972: 208, with refs.; Holmes 1982; Helck 1983; 1986a: 1452), it is widely agreed that Alasa should be equated with the Alashiya of cuneiform texts. Although it may appear unusual to have two terms that refer to Alashiya, both Asiya and Alasa sent notable shipments of copper to Egypt, along with much smaller disbursements of lead, ivory, horses, lapis lazuli, wood, and silver.

From the Annals of Tuthmosis III (15th century BC), the 'tribute' (*inw*, which actually means 'supply'—Liverani 1990: 255–66) from the prince of *Asiya* is listed in three separate texts: Year 34—108.5 ingots (*db.t*) of copper and 2400 *dbn* of (s)melted copper; Year 38—an unspecified amount; Year 39—40 ingots of copper (Ockinga, in Knapp 1996a: 42, texts 67–9). Zaccagnini (1986: 414) emphasizes that the 2400 *dbn* (about 200 kg) of copper mentioned

in the Year 34 Annals should not be seen as the weight of the 108.5 ingots listed, but rather as an additional amount of copper that was not cast in ingot form. Another hieroglyphic text from the reign of Ramesses II (13th century BC), inscribed over the heads of 31 figures in a procession, states that 'silver and bronze in countless quantities, millions, hundreds of thousands' were brought to Egypt from the mountain of Asiya (over the head of figure 21) and from the mountain of *Alasa* (over the head of figure 22) (Ockinga, in Knapp 1996a: 45, 47). It may be noted that the same text also refers to quantities of silver and bronze coming from Hatti (Hittite Anatolia), to silver and 'costly stones' from Sangar (Babylonia) and 'every kind of precious stone [?] in great piles' from Keftiu (Crete). The Papyrus Anastasi IV, dated about 1200 BC (19th Dynasty, perhaps reign of Seti II), lists 'many ingots of raw copper' borne on the necks of the 'children of *Alasa*' as gifts for pharaoh (Ockinga, in Knapp 1996a: 49). This description nicely parallels Egyptian New Kingdom tomb paintings that show embassies from foreign lands bearing metals and ingots, vessels and animals often on their necks—as gifts for pharaoh (Muhly 1972; 209–10). Although Alashiya is never mentioned in the inscriptions accompanying these paintings, in one Theban tomb (no. 100) there is a reference to copper ingots brought by 'the chiefs of Keftiu and the islands within the great sea', references, perhaps, to Crete and Cyprus, the two largest islands in the eastern Mediterranean.

Archaeology and Texts: Given the repeated and prominent interest shown by the merchants and monarchs of Egypt, Syria (Ugarit, Alalakh, Emar, Mari), Babylonia, and Hittite Anatolia in the copper of *Alashiya*, its key position amongst the major economic powers of the time is self-evident. The new documentary evidence from Ugarit, moreover, reveals dramatically the extent to which *Alashiya* was involved in Levantine affairs during the 14th–13th centuries BC. All of these documents combine to demonstrate that *Alashiya* played a crucial role in eastern Mediterranean diplomacy and trade during the Late Bronze Age, and enjoyed direct and intimate politico—economic relations with both Egypt and the Levant.

If we attempt to arrive at a convergence, in historical terms, of the admittedly complex if not inconsistent archaeological and documentary evidence related to copper oxhide ingots, we must assume—on the basis of the Amarna letters as well as various documents from Ugarit—that the procedure was first to reckon the amount of copper in terms of the number of ingots, and only later to determine the exact weight of the metal (e.g. as in the case of EA 36: 6, 7, and RS 94.2475). Most earlier translations of the Amarna tablets restored a measure (i.e. 'talent', 'shekel'), rather than 'ingot' following the number (e.g. 200 [talents] of copper in EA 33: 16), and thus erred on the side of specificity, at the same time perhaps giving an unwarranted impression of the scale of the

metals trade. Nonetheless, even if one takes an average weight of 28 kg for an ingot as noted in the Amarna letters, we are dealing with shipments of Cypriot copper ranging from 140 kg (5 ingots) to 14,000 kg (500 ingots), the latter an amount that no longer seems inflated in light of the nearly ten tons of copper (10,160 kg) recovered from the Uluburun shipwreck (Pulak 2000: 140).

On Cyprus at this time (ProBA 2), there is indisputable evidence for the production or processing of copper at several different sites—e.g. Kalavasos Ayios Dhimitrios, Maroni Vournes, Enkomi, Kition, Hala Sultan Tekke, and Alassa Paleotaverna—and the wealth of these sites consists in no small part of exotica from western Asia and Egypt (Knapp 1998). The prosperity of ProBA 2 Cyprus, the knowledge and use of writing there (however limited), and the crucial importance of its abundant copper resources for the bronze-producing countries of the Mediterranean as well as the Near East, has been demonstrated beyond any reasonable doubt (Knapp 1986a, 1989, 1994: 282-90; Muhly 1986, 1989; Keswani 1993; Peltenburg 1996; Pickles and Peltenburg 1998). Documentary sources as well as archaeological and archaeometallurgical evidence reveal the key politico-economic position of Cyprus within the eastern Mediterranean, and at the same time underscore the equation of Alashiya with Cyprus. Whether the entire island or one its key ProBA sites—Enkomi, Kalavasos Ayios Dhimitrios, or Alassa Paleotaverna should be identified with Alashiya (Muhly 1989: 299-301; Goren et al. 2003: 248–50) is a question that will be reconsidered and answered below.

Beyond Copper: Copper was the main but not the only commodity that *Alashiya* exchanged with the surrounding countries. To Egypt, the king or in one case (EA 40) the 'vizier' (*rābiṣu*) of *Alashiya* sent such diverse items as a donkey hide and jars full of 'sweet oil' (EA 34); timber (EA 35); five teams of horses (EA 37); three pieces of ivory and three ship's beams, one of boxwood (EA 40). In return, the Egyptian pharaoh sent an ebony bed and 14 ebony (beams?), a chariot and another item decorated (?) with gold, two pieces of linen, two linen robes, 50 linen shawls and four other shawls, and 77 jars of 'sweet oil' (EA 34); silver 'in very great quantities', an ox, and two containers of 'sweet oil' (EA 35); 'pure' silver (EA 37), and ivory (EA 40). From the Egyptian documents, we can add that Cyprus sent to Egypt ivory (3 tusks) and 2 wooden logs (Annals of Tuthmosis III, years 34, 39), various kinds of oil (presumably for annointing or ritual purposes), and cattle (Papyrus Anastasi IV).

In addition to the trade in metals, documentary evidence shows that various other items were exchanged between *Alashiya* and the Levant. From Ugarit to *Alashiya* came horses (RS 34.153) and ships (RS 18.113A); two pitchers and a pot containing unknown provisions (RS 15.39, RS 15.96); and 660 jars (?) of oil (RS 18.42). Oil and *tannu*-vessels were exchanged between *Alashiya* and Ugarit

but the text (RS 20.168) is not clear in which direction. To Ugarit, *Alashiya* sent several unknown items and three trowels (RS 18.119). From the new Akkadian tablets sent by the king of *Alashiya* or his viziers to Ugarit, it would seem that some people from Cyprus were established in the Levant for commercial purposes. Beyond the 33 ingots of copper (already discussed above), Yon (2000: 192) notes that oil and wheat were also sent from *Alashiya* to Ugarit.

Material evidence for contacts between Cyprus and Hittite Anatolia is minimal (Åström 1989; Todd 2001), as is the case for Hittite products found in most other lands of the eastern Mediterranean. The documentary evidence supplements this information to some extent. A 14th or 13th century BC Akkadian text found at the Hittite capital Hattusa (KBo I 26) claims that Alashiya sent (as tribute?) the following items: gold utensils, rhyta, sashes, and horse blankets (Knapp 1980; Beckman, in Knapp 1996a: 29). In this light, it is interesting to note that a gold funnel of Cypriot type, along with fragments of a (Cypriot) Red Lustrous Wheelmade arm-shaped vessel, was recovered from a pit in Hittite levels (13th century BC) at Masat Höyük in northeast Anatolia (Todd 2001: 210, with further refs.). Tribute from Alashiya in the form of gold, copper, and multiple measures of gayatu (a type of grain? or a drug?) is also noted in a late 13th century BC Hittite text from Hattusa (Güterbock 1967; Beckman, in Knapp 1996a: 32-3). Two 13th century BC Hittite inventory texts mention linens from Alashiya (Kosak 1982: 4-6, 10, 13; Beckman, in Knapp 1996a: 33). Finally, a medical text of the 14th or 13th century BC notes that azurite (?) was imported from Alashiya for treatment of eye diseases, perhaps as one ingredient for a woollen dressing (Burde 1974: 30–1; Beckman, in Knapp 1996a: 35). Despite the implications of tribute being sent from Cyprus to Hittite Anatolia, there is no documentary or archaeological evidence to suggest any direct level of Hittite administrative involvement in the Cypriot polity (see further below, in *Society and Polity*).

Archaeology and Texts: With the exception of the Hittite documents, much of the written evidence related to *Alashiya*'s economic contacts with its neighbours—including the new glimpse of correspondence between *Alashiya* and Ugarit—reveals a concern with trade emissaries and their needs, the exchange of bulk products as well as precious goods, and the commercial practices that typified the entire interaction system in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean. By the ProBA 2 period, several coastal centres on Cyprus—from Enkomi, Kition, and Hala Sultan Tekke in the east, to *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni, and Alassa in the south, to *Toumba tou Skourou* in the west—had come to serve as commercial entrepots for Aegean and Levantine trade, where even non-native products such as ivory, lapis lazuli, gold, silver, and ebony were available for transshipment and trade.



**Figure 64:** Protohistoric Bronze Age 2 silver figurine with kilted male figure standing on a stag, from Kalavasos *Avios Dhimitrios* Tomb 12.

Regarding the actual goods exchanged between Hittite Anatolia and Cyprus, both Todd (2001) and Kozal (2002) have recently presented thorough accounts. Here I list only items of Hittite origin that have turned up in Cyprus, the earliest of which is likely to be a small silver pendant of an infant/child from French Tomb 2 at Enkomi, found in context with LH IIIA2 pottery (Schaeffer 1952: 132–3, pl. 25:4). Also from the 14th–13th centuries BC comes a terracotta bull's head recovered in 1884-5 by Ohnefalsch-Richter from a tomb at Nicosia Avia Paraskevi and recently published by Karageorghis (1999b). A gold ring with a seal bearing an inscription in Hieroglyphic Luwian is said to have been found in a 13th century BC (ProBA 2) tomb near Tamassos (Masson 1964b: 204, fig. 6a-b; Åström 1989: 16), or more specifically at Politiko Lambertis (Buchholz and Untiedt 1996: 71, fig. 14a). A silver figurine showing a kilted male figure with tall conical headdress and upturned shoes, standing on a stag, was recovered from Tomb 12 (ProBA 2) at Ayios Dhimitrios (South 1997: 163, pl. XV.1) (Figure 64). In addition to some very limited and uncertain pottery imports, two further items found at 12th century BC (ProBA 3) Hala Sultan Tekke may have a Hittite (or north Syrian) origin: (1) a silver seal ring from a shaft grave; and (2) a cylinder seal with the Hieroglyphic Luwian sign for 'scribe' (Porada 1983: 219–20; Åström 1989: 16). A ProBA 2 (LC II) stone stamp seal from Enkomi Tomb 7a (Collon in Karageorghis *et al.* 2003: 285, no. 326) rounds out this corpus.

The types of material of presumed Hittite origin found on Cyprus—primarily precious metals and seals—suggest that they may have been used in displays of power, not just marking elite identities but also revealing links with yet another exotic Near Eastern power. Moreover, the materials themselves, their primarily mortuary contexts and their largely coastal distribution have led Helft (2005) to suggest that contacts between Cyprus and the Hittites were largely mediated through Hittite-dominated principalities in north Syria, most likely Ugarit.

# Society and Polity

On a diplomatic level, the Amarna letters make it clear that, by the 14th century BC, the king of Alashiya felt he could place his own exchange relations with the Egyptian pharaoh on a higher level (doubling the amount of greeting gifts) than the exchanges he made with the rulers of *Hatti* (the Hittite state) or Šanhar (Babylonia) (EA 35: 49-53). Thus the king of Alashiya enjoyed a privileged position in the sphere of Egypt's foreign relations, but at the same time acknowledged the pharaoh's higher rank (Sürenhagen 2001: 251). He also complained to pharaoh that the Lukki (an Anatolian people, perhaps from the region of classical Lycia) raided his country annually (EA 38: 10-12), just as they did in Egypt. Wachsmann (2000: 103–4) has observed that raiding and hostage-taking were not uncommon in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean, citing in particular this text (EA 38) alongside a late 15th century BC messenger's report to a Hiitite king (KUB XIV 1 rev. 84–90), probably Arnuwanda I. That report details the raids of the king's vassal Madduwatta—in league with Attarissiya of Ahhijawa—against Alashiya (Güterbock et al. 1983: 134; Beckman, in Knapp 1996a: 31; Sürenhagen 2001: 250). Amarna letter 114 (Moran, in Knapp 1996a: 24-5) also mentions that ships and messengers of the ruler of Byblos had been seized on the high seas, forcing at least one Egyptian messenger to travel via Cyprus. Despite the precarious nature of sea travel and piractical raiding during the Late Bronze Age (e.g. Merrillees 1986a: 45), it is evident that Alashiya could at times offer a safe haven (see further below). Given its close links—both political and economic—with Egypt as well as other lands in the Aegean and the Levant, *Alashiya* stands out as a high-ranking polity in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean.

Messengers of the kings of *Alashiya* and Egypt are frequently mentioned in the Amarna letters, often in a manner suggesting that there were difficulties in maintaining regular communications and exchanges (e.g. EA 33, 34, 37, 38). In EA 35: 40-42, the king of Alashiya asks pharaoh to send another messenger to him, together with his own messenger, and that they be given safe passage. The hazards of messengers travelling overland—and being intercepted by bandits or brigands—are well known (Oller 1995: 1466–7). And, as we have already seen, pirates or naval enemies presented similar problems to messengers at sea. EA 35: 35–39 notes that an Egyptian messenger had been in Alashiya for three years, evidently because of a plague ('the hand of Nergal') that had ravaged Cyprus. Apart from circumstances like disease, pirates or brigands, and the weather, messengers were also constrained to complete their missions before returning home, but at the same time needed permission from their hosts to depart. Delays were thus frequent and sojourns often lengthy; one messenger from Tunip in Canaan was detained in Egypt for twenty years (Oller 1995: 1470).

From EA 114, we learn that ongoing troubles between two Levantine citystate rulers—Rib-Addi of Byblos and Aziru of Amurru—forced an Egyptian messenger (Amanmasha) to return to Egypt by sea, via Alashiya, rather than by the usual Levantine coastal route, or overland (Moran, in Knapp 1996a: 24–5). As Wachsmann (1986: 38–9) observed, there is a parallel between the strategic detour Amanmasha took during the 14th century BC, and that forced upon another (historical or fictional?) Egyptian ambassadorial merchant, Wen-Amun, during the late 12th or early 11th century BC (Goedicke 1975: 115–29; Ockinga, in Knapp 1996a: 49). Many Egyptologists (following Helck 1986b) now regard the tale of Wen-Amun as a work of fiction, with limited historical value. Sass (2002: 248), moreover, quips that Levantine archaeologists, 'thirsting as they are after every scrap of written documentation, often still treat Wenamun practically as a primary historical source of the late 20th dynasty'. Sass would redate the text to the late 10th century BC, during the reign of the Egyptian pharaoh Sheshong. Guilty as charged, I regard Wen-Amun as a historical person. However, even if his tale is fictitious, and dates some 150 years after the events it relates, the information it contains on Alashiya must have been based on someone's experience of visiting the island.

Wen-Amun, then, having been sent to Phoenicia to obtain wood for building the holy barque of the god Amon at Karnak, suffered several misadventures involving a seafaring group known as the *Sikel* (*Tjeker*): ultimately he was deported from Byblos by its prince Zakar-Ba'al. The winds then carried him to *Alashiya*, where through an interpreter he was able to communicate with Ḥeteb (Ḥataba), the 'princess' of *Alashiya*, a land he praised for its justice, presumably to gain sanctuary. Although granted permission to stay

the night, the text breaks off at this point, but because Wen-Amun's tale was written in the first person we can assume he returned to Egypt safely. Wachsmann (1986: 39) pointed out that by travelling back to Egypt *via Alashiya*, he avoided the hostile coastal route (where the *Sikel* may have awaited him), just as Amamasha had done two and a half centuries earlier.

These documents demonstrate that messengers filled ambassadorial as well as mercantile roles. The latter aspect is made clear in EA 39: 10–14, where the king of *Alashiya* states: 'My brother, let my messengers (*mar šiprīja*) go promptly and safely so that I may hear my brother's greeting. These men are my merchants (*tamkārīja*)'. In EA 40: 24–28, a letter from the 'vizier' of *Alashiya* to his counterpart in Egypt, the writer describes an exchange of goods between the two countries overseen by men, presumably merchants, who are called 'servants of the (*Alashiyan*) king'. These same men enjoyed certain privileges: nobody making a claim in the name of pharaoh was to approach them. Some ambassadorial merchants also had latitude in negotiating the aims of their mission (Oller 1995: 1469): in EA 34: 42–43, it is possible to understand that the king of *Alashiya* instructed his messenger to conclude an agreement directly with pharaoh ('between the two of you'—Huehnergard and Izre'el 2003: 246, rather than the usual 'between the two of us'—Cochavi-Rainey 2003: 10–12).

A somewhat fragmentary royal letter of the 14th century BC, written in Ugaritic and found at Ras Shamra (RS 18.113A), describes what seems to be the sale of ships by an Ugaritic official, the 'harbourmaster' (*rb m'i[hd]*), to a merchant from *Alashiya*, in a transaction that required the approval of Ugarit's king (Lipinski 1977; Knapp 1983; Walls, in Knapp 1996a: 36; Singer 1999: 678). Finally, two of the new Akkadian documents found at Ugarit refer to the circulation of messengers between Ugarit and *Alashiya*. One was a letter of accreditation for an *Alashiyan* messenger charged with securing the freedom of Cypriotes held in Ugarit. The other letter, addressed to Niqmaddu, king of Ugarit, mentions the dispatch of a royal messenger to *Alashiya* concerning a shipment of horses (Malbran-Labat 1999: 122). The latter may be compared to RS 34.153 (Beckman, in Knapp 1996a: 28), in which the king of Ugarit delivered horses to an *Alashiyan* messenger for dispatch to Cyprus (Yon 2003: 48) or, less likely, for use as ransom to free the messenger from Ugarit who had written the letter (Monroe 2000: 222).

On another, more individual or community-based level, the people of *Alashiya* are mentioned frequently in documentary evidence. From level IV at Alalakh (15th century BC) comes a ration list (AT 269.33) mentioning a small amount of grain for 'Arammu the *Alashiyan*' (on the dating of this tablet, see Muhly 1972: 205 and n. 3, with further refs.). Two other texts from the same period mention a ration (of emmer wheat?) for 'a woman from the land of *Alashiya*' (AT 298.3), and list householders at Alalakh (AT 188.5),

including a man named 'Arimurate of *Alashiya*' (Wiseman in Knapp 1996a: 20). In the remainder of this tablet, other householders—some defined as 'poor' people—are listed by their home villages. In none of these documents do we gain any clear idea of why people from *Alashiya* should be named in these contexts. At face value, it would appear that certain individuals from Cyprus had somehow become established in Alalakh by the beginning of the Late Bronze Age.

At Ugarit, a census list from the 14th–13th centuries BC (RS 11.857) documents 30 households with their inhabitants described, for example, as 'a wife and her two sons', or 'two nobles wives and one young woman' (Walls, in Knapp 1996a: 40). The personal names on this document indicate a diverse population with Hurrian, Semitic, and Anatolian elements (see also Muhly 1972: 206–7). Although written in Ugaritic cuneiform, a broken colophon written in Akkadian on the side of the tablet reads URU Alashiya: thus the text could refer to people from Alashiya living in Ugarit, or to people from Ugarit living in Alashiya. Several other individuals who either come from Alashiya, or else are named after that island (Aldy or Alty), are mentioned in Ugaritic ration and provision lists, personnel tallies, inventories or lists of personal names found at Ras Shamra (Walls, in Knapp 1996a: 36–40). Amongst them is RS 19.16, a ration list for royal personnel, one of whom—perhaps a joiner—is named Aldy, i.e. 'the Alashiyan'.

Mention has already been made of the inventory list RS 18.42, which lists 660 measures of oil for 'Abrm the Alashiyan'. A fragmentary list of craftspeople (RS 15.51) includes someone (name broken) with the gentilic ['a] lty— 'of Alashiya'. A list of provisions (RS 15.39)—mainly pitchers of wine—to be distributed amongst Hittites, Hurrians, and marvannu (an elite social group, mainly warriors) mentions 'two pitchers of *mth* for the Alashiyan'. RS 15.96 is a list of provisions or rations, measured by the pot (dd). The recipients are named in various ways, both by their personal names and the gentilic; amongst the latter (line 12) are a woman from Alashiya and her (female) apprentices. An administrative text (RS 11.800+11.776) entitled 'list of the old ones' (spr ytnm) contains at least 56 names of individuals who were to receive from one to four jars of wine; amongst them bn.'altn (literally 'son of the Alashiyan', perhaps a personal name?) received four jars. The same name (bn.'altn) is found in texts RS 19.180 (a list of shepherds) and RS 16.355, which lists at least 50 inhabitants of the city of Rgd, with a notation of 2 or 3 (shekels?) after each name. A list of people classified as sér and bnš ('young shepherd' or 'assistant') includes the word 'alty, here to be understood either as a personal name or an ethnic adjective. Finally, from the new Akkadian tablets found at Ras Shamra, RS 94.2177+ mentions a scribe from Ugarit working at the court in *Alashiya*: he asks for five new chairs and a fine table to be sent to him from home (Malbran-Labat 1999: 122–3), perhaps because Ugarit's craftspeople included highly-reputed cabinet-makers (Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995: 445).

Various ritual, religious or augury texts that mention *Alashiya* portray another dimension of these associations. An inscribed liver model from Ugarit (RS 61/24.235) reads: '[liver] belonging to '*Agap-šarri* when he acquired the young man from the Alashiyan' (Dietrich and Loretz 1969: 173–4, fig. 7; Walls, in Knapp 1996a: 40). In this context, one might also recall Amarna letter (EA) 35, in which the king of *Alashiya* asks the Egyptian pharaoh to send him 'one of the experts in vulture augury' (Moran, in Knapp 1996a: 22). A Hurrian-language text written in Ugaritic (RS 24.274) and found at Ras Shamra contains a list of sacred objects and offerings made to the west Semitic deity El (at the head of the list) and to *atnd eni Alashiyahhe*, 'the father, god of *Alashiya*,' followed by the god of Amurru and the god of Ugarit (Laroche 1968: 504–7; Kilmer and Stefanini, in Knapp 1996a: 41).

An official's letter, probably sent to the king of Ugarit (RS 18.113A, already discussed above—p. 181), mentions 'all the gods of Alashiya'. Muhly (1972: 207) has argued that the list of divinities—Athtart and Anat if not Ba'al and Shapsh—immediately preceding this line (obv. 8) in the text should not be read in apposition to the 'gods of Alashiya'. Yet the official who sent this letter clearly saw fit to invoke (literally 'I spoke to') the gods of Cyprus. Both Budin (2003: 133-4) and Singer (1999: 678) understand this text quite differently from Muhly. Singer argues that the word *nmry* in the line immediately following the list of deities does not refer to the Egyptian pharoah (Amenophis III), invoked as a deity, but rather to a distinctive deity—'the blessed/ strong one, king of eternity'—that may have been an appellative for a major Alashiyan divinity. He also points out that this letter was probably sent by the harbourmaster of Ugarit, who served as an arbiter between merchants from Ugarit and Alashiya, and so might have thought it fitting to invoke the gods of both countries. Budin regards the deities Ba'al, Shapsh, Athtart, and Anat as a possible sub-set of those worshipped on Cyprus, but with the names being Ugaritic versions of those used on Cyprus.

Taking into account the salutary nature of this section of the letter (RS 18.113A), a close reading of this passage in the Ugaritic text has led to suggestions of some sort of syncretism between Cypriot and Levantine deities (e.g. Karageorghis and Karageorghis 2002: 273). Such a syncretism might also be indicated by the Hurrian document mentioned above (RS 24.274) and by an Akkadian diplomatic text (RS 17.352, see further below), in which the queen of Ugarit exiles two of her sons to *Alashiya* and compels them to swear their agreement before 'Ishtar of the steppes', a Semitic if not a specifically Ugaritian deity (Liverani 1962: 103–4). Perhaps Ishtar, as invoked here, was

perceived as a common deity in both Ugarit and Alashiya (Budin, personal comm.). Moreover, a Hittite document from Hattusa (KBo XII 39, see further below) dealing with Hittite fugitives and exiles on Alashiva, stipulates that the treaty (tablet) in question must be kept 'before Ishtar'. Because the Hittites insisted that such official documents should be placed in the temple of their vassals's chief deity (Beckman, in Knapp 1996a: 32), we might conclude that Ishtar (or, more correctly, her Cypriot counterpart) was a prominent goddess on Cyprus (see also Budin 2002: 319–20; Serwint 2002: 344). Based on the iconography of ProBA Cypriot figurines, Budin (2003: 132-4, 273-5; 2004) questions the notion of syncretism between Cypriot and Levantine deities, and instead suggests that the Cypriotes originally may have adopted a Levantine goddess (Ishtar and/or Athtart), then adjusted her iconography and attributes (e.g. with kourotrophos imagery) to accommodate their own, Cypriot worldview. By the ProBA 2 period, however, these images again became increasingly 'orientalized', so much so that the writer of RS 18.113A may have recognized the features of (Levantine) Athtart or Anat, or Ba'al and Shapsh, in Cypriot representations of their deities (whatever their actual names on Cyprus may have been). Budin (2003: 134–45) notes that the iconography of the figurines, as well as several features of Cypriot sanctuary architecture, were so similar to those of the Levant that the commonality of cult and deities must have been readily apparent.

From the earliest excavations at Ugarit came RS 1929.2 (Xella 1981: 256-257; Walls, in Knapp 1996a: 39), a royal ritual that lists foreign leaders, including the 'chief' or 'prince' of Alashiya ('ulp Alty). The purpose and even the form of the ritual are obscure, but it seems to describe an expiations sacrifice, made to the gods to protect the men and women of Ugarit from divine wrath, as personified by various foreign enemies including, amongst others, the chiefs of the Hurrians, Hittites, and Alashivans. Another ritual text, RS 17.100 (Walls in Knapp 1996a: 39-40), is very fragmentary but contains the same sequence of titles (including 'ulp Alty) as the previous one. The mention of Namd (Nigmaddu II?) on both ritual tablets tentatively dates them to the early 14th century BC. Whilst these rituals seem directed toward possible contingencies rather than historical events, they do suggest that certain people in Ugarit were aware of Cyprus as a foreign power, one that was potentially as hostile as some of Ugarit's neighbours in northern Syria, upper Mesopotamia, and Anatolia. It must be emphasized, however, that this is the only case in all the available documentary evidence related to Ugarit and Alashiya where the latter is cast in a hostile light vis-à-vis the former (although one of the new Akkadian tablets found at Ras Shamra indicates that some Cypriotes were held hostage in Ugarit).

The evidence of place-names, personal names and occupational terms associated with the land of *Alashiya*—found in various documents from

Alalakh, Ugarit, Amarna, and Egypt (Tale of Wen-Amon)—indicates that the people of Bronze Age Cyprus differed markedly in their social status and ethnic makeup. We know of farmers and miners, craftspeople, royal and religious administrative personnel, merchants and traders, diplomats, a princess, and a king. Of 33 personal names from the relevant documents (analysed in detail in Knapp 1979; 257–65; see also Astour 1964), nine were Hurrian and two possibly Hurrian; 21 were Semitic, and three others possibly Semitic; four were Anatolian, and one possibly Anatolian. Of the two remaining names one was either Semitic or Hurrian, the other Semitic or Anatolian. Amongst the 17 names preserved on the census list RS 11.857 from Ugarit, seven are Hurrian, four are Anatolian, five are Semitic, and one could be either Semitic or Anatolian. The predominance of Hurrian elements is notable and, indeed, Emilia Masson (1974, 1976, 1978) has long argued that those tablets (from Enkomi), written in what she classified as the Cypro-Minoan 2 script, expressed the Hurrian language, Jean Faucounau (1977, 1980, 1994) has also presented his own version of a 'decipherment' of Cypro-Minoan as Hurrian. These proposals, however, are beset with linguistic and methodological problems as well as archaeological misrepresentations (Knapp and Marchant 1982); the present, limited corpus of Cypro-Minoan documents does not lend itself to any realistic or convincing decipherment.

Malbran-Labat (1999: 122, and nn. 5-7) notes various Hurrian and Hittite stylistic and writing elements in the new Akkadian documents found in Ugarit. One of them (RS 94.2475—Singer 2006: 255) names Kushmeshusha as the king of *Alashiya*. This name does not appear to be Semitic; although the personal name Kushashu is attested at Ugarit (Gröndahl 1967: 306), its origin is also obscure. A senior prefect of *Alashiva*, named *Eshuwara*, sent a letter to the king of Ugarit during its troubled final days (RS 20.18—Schaeffer 1968: 83–5). This name is most likely Hurrian, but has been interpreted as Semitic, and even as Indo-Aryan/European (Knapp 1979: 456-7, n. 766). Heteb, the name of the princess encountered by Wen-Amun at Alashiya, is most likely Semitic or Egyptian (Astour 1964: 247–8) but might be Hurrian (Knapp 1979: 473, n. 788). Even the scribes who wrote the Amarna letters from Alashiya seem to have been of diverse origin: one was a Canaanite speaker, another an Akkadian speaker (Cochavi-Rainey 2003: 2–3), and there is a possibility of yet a third scribe whose native language was neither Canaanite nor Akkadian (Huehnergard and Izre'el 2003: 176, 246 n.11). Moreover, one of the new Ras Shamra tablets (RS 94.2177+) reveals that a (unnamed) scribe from Ugarit practiced his craft in Alashiya (Malbran-Labat 1999: 122-3).

From Cyprus itself comes further onomastic evidence: the name of an Egyptian female (*Nbwy*) was preserved on the base of a lapis lazuli scarab found at Hala Sultan Tekke (Jacobsson 1994: 49). Excavations at Hala Sultan

Tekke also produced a silver bowl with a short inscription in Ugaritic cuneiform (discussed above, p. 289): 'Aky, son of Yiptaḥaddu, made [this] bowl. 'Aky is a Hurrian name and Ykhdl Yiptaḥaddu is Semitic (Åström and Masson 1982; Åström 1986: 13). From the ProBA 2 structure (usually defined as a rural sanctuary) at Ayios Iakovos Dhima came a cylinder seal inscribed in cuneiform with the name Milataya TUR (Gjerstad et al. 1934: 576–7 [W. Riedel]; Webb 1992b: 95). Another seal, lacking provenance, is inscribed [A]r-pa-ḥa-ši/lim (Kantor 1957: 157). The language behind both names is obscure, but one may note the similarity between Milataya and the Anatolian place-name Malatya.

Archaeology and Texts: Most documents presented in this section indicate that Cypriotes of several different professions or trades participated in diverse activities within the town or palace at Ugarit, much less so at Alalakh. Craftspeople, shepherds, builders, and temple or palace officials—amongst others—received rations of food or wine, and perhaps payments in some agreed-upon standard ('shekel'). Whatever their ultimate meaning may be, ritual texts and even some letters—like RS 18.113A—indicate that people or divinities of Cypriot origin were somehow involved or invoked in various aspects of ceremonial life at Ugarit. All these documents demonstrate the multiple and diverse social links that existed between these two neighbouring polities during the 14th–13th centuries BC, and reveal that numerous people of Cypriot origin (or named after the island) had been established at Ugarit for economic, administrative, and diplomatic purposes.

The onomastic evidence indicates that the people of ProBA *Alashiya* comprised a polylingual, multi-ethnic mix of Hurrians, Semites, Egyptians, Anatolians, and 'native' Alashiyans, not at all unlike the populations of contemporary Ugarit or Alalakh. Such evidence corresponds perfectly well with multiple strands of archaeological data—e.g. pottery and stone vessels, precious metals, copper, seals and sealings, ivory, faience, jewellery—that demonstrate intimate social contacts and economic links between Cyprus and both the Levantine and Egyptian orbits of influence (Knapp and Cherry 1994: 42–7).

Despite the complex politico-economic situation in the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age (Merrillees 1986a; Monroe 2000), internal conditions on Cyprus seem to have been peaceful politically and flourishing economically. The large coastal centres served commercial, industrial, ceremonial, and administrative functions, and were clearly distinguished by function, size, and spatial layout from the secondary and tertiary inland towns, and from the even smaller production sites (mining, agricultural, pottery) of the interior (Knapp 1997b: 53–63; 2003). The social, economic and political relations that linked sites of differing size, function, and location

on ProBA Cyprus must have been highly complex, and would have changed in various ways over the three centuries (about 1450–1150 BC) from which most documentary evidence related to *Alashiya* stems. Nonetheless, it is possible to present a coherent, if not necessarily infallible picture of the poltical organization of Cyprus/*Alashiya* during this era, engaging both the currently available documentary and archaeological evidence.

#### THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF CYPRUS/ALASHIYA

Several documents already discussed have some bearing on the political organization of Cyprus/*Alashiya*, especially during the ProBA 2 era.

- Annals of Tuthmosis III, Years 34, 38, 39: during the 15th century BC, the Egyptian pharaoh claimed that the prince of 'isy/Asiya sent him a significant amount of copper, as well as ivory, timber, lapis lazuli, and other products as inw (not 'tribute' but goods 'supplied', see below).
- KUB XIV 1 (rev. 84–90): in the late 15th century BC, a Hittite king (Arnuwanda I?) cited one of his messenger's reports to complain to his vassal Madduwatta that the latter should make no raids against *Alashiya*, because he, the king, owned it ('the land of *Alashiya* is mine') and received tribute from it.
- EA 35: 49–50: in the mid-14th century BC, the king of *Alashiya* felt that he was in a political position to place Cyprus's foreign relations with the Egyptian pharaoh on a higher level than those with the Hittites and Babylonians.
- EA 34: 42–43: (mid-14th century BC) the king of *Alashiya* was able either to conclude an (unspecified type of) agreement directly with pharaoh, or to instruct his ambassadorial merchant to do so.
- EA 35, 37, and 40: (mid-14th century BC) the king of *Alashiya* sent copper as a 'greeting gift' (*šulmanu*) to pharaoh.
- RS 94.2475 (Singer 2006: 255): in the late 13th century BC, Kushmeshusha, king of *Alashiya*, sent 33 ingots of copper to Niqmaddu, ruler of Ugarit, as a royal 'greeting gift'.
- RS 94.\* (new Akkadian document from Ugarit): this late 13th century BC letter charged a messenger from *Alashiya* to secure the freedom of Cypriotes held in Ugarit. (\*Full reference not yet available.)
- RS 94.2177+: a scribe from Ugarit was working in an administrative capacity at the royal court in *Alashiya*.

- KBo I 26: this 14th or 13th century BC Akkadian text from Hattusa indicates that *Alashiya* sent to the Hittite king gold utensils, *rhyta*, sashes and horse blankets, but it is unclear whether these should be regarded as gifts, tribute, or traded goods.
- KBo XII 38: dated *c*.1200 BC, this official document states that two Hittite kings had subjugated the land of *Alashiya*, the first having made it a tributary and levelled gold, one talent of copper and grain (or a drug?) as tribute to be paid by the king of *Alashiya*.
- Papyrus Moscow 120s: around 1100 BC or slightly later, Wen-Amun reports that a woman with either an Egyptian or a Semitic name (*Ḥeteb/Ḥataba*) was a 'princess' in *Alashiya*.

Taking these documents in chronological order, Tuthmosis III claimed that he received goods 'supplied' (see below) from Cyprus during the mid-15th century BC, but a Hittite king (Arnuwanda I?) claimed the island as his own by the end of that century (ProBA 1). No more than 40–50 years later, the Amarna letters refer to an independent king ruling Cyprus, one who was able not only to give and receive royal gifts, but also to conclude agreements with and give political advice to the Egyptian pharaoh. Both at this time and toward the end of the 13th century BC, when high level diplomatic and exchange relations are documented between Kushmeshusha, king of *Alashiya*, and Niqmaddu, ruler of Ugarit, it is evident that various kings of *Alashiya* controlled the export of copper from Cyprus, enjoyed an independent political status, and took part in the royal exchange of greeting gifts. By the end of the 13th century BC, however, two other Hittite kings claim to have subjugated *Alashiya*.

As far as the Egyptian claim is concerned, it is necessary to take into account not just the propagandistic tone of the language used in pharaonic discourse but also the difficulty in distinguishing amongst (more modern) notions of tribute, gift, and trade. The most important of the Egyptian terms in question, *inw*, appears in the Annals of Tuthmosis III and on his 'Poetic Stela', and typically is translated as either 'tribute' or 'gift'. Liverani (1979, 1990: 255–66), however, showed convincingly that the meaning of this term in the New Kingdom was 'supply' or 'supplies'. Having analysed changing nuances in the semantic range of the term *inw* over a longer period of time, Spalinger (1996: 361–76) agreed with Liverani about its meaning during the New Kingdom, but preferred the translation 'delivery' or 'deliveries'. Because the term involves a physical displacment of some material goods and a change in ownership, it subsumes the modern terms gift and tribute, as well as others (Liverani 1990: 260–1). At least three terms related to production, trade, or 'marvellous' gifts are found in the Annals of Tuthmosis III, but the crucial

point of distinction in their meanings is the area to which they refer. The rulers or peoples of Cyprus, the Aegean, the Levant, and western Asia belonged to what Liverani (1990: 256–7) defined as the 'midde belt' of the producing or supplying countries, all of which provide pharaoh with *inw*. These 'supplies' comprise a wide range of goods, from wine and oil to horses and slaves, but they consist mainly of gold and silver, precious stones, stone vessels, wooden objects, some textiles, metal goods, and ingots. Metals and precious stones, moreover, come almost exclusively from Hittite Anatolia, Assyria, Babylonia, and Cyprus (Liverani 1990: 258 and n. 20).

From the perspective of the Egyptian royal inscriptions, the flow of 'supplies' is portrayed exclusively as the result of pharoah's central and dominant position over the known world (what Liverani sees as elements of 'prestige'). From the perspective of the Amarna letters, these same goods are understood as gifts embedded in a specific milieu of brotherhood, friendship and reciprocal, politico—economic alliances (what Liverani sees as elements of 'interest'). Thus the many towns and regions of the Levant, the Aegean and Cyprus mentioned in the Annals of Tuthmosis III should not be seen as tributaries but rather as polities ruled by kings or princes involved in complex and intricate political, economic and ideological relationships with the Egyptian state and its ruler.

In a contemporary topographic list ostensibly recording the cities and lands conquered during and after his battles at Megiddo and Qadesh, Tuthmosis III records 117 localities in the southern Levant and another 270 places to the north, in the so-called Naharina List (Simons 1937: 28, 111-15; Jirku 1937: 5–23). Amongst the latter is the land of 'Irs (Alashiya). Although the historicity of this list is widely accepted (Simons 1937: 14), it was almost certainly magnified by adding the names of places that had decided to offer pharaoh some sort of recompense in the face of Egyptian power, or of places with which the pharaoh and his army had simply come into contact rather than conquered. On the one hand, in such a scenario, it is possible that the people of Alashiya acknowledged some level of Egyptian overlordship, and so we might understand the 'supplies' Thuthmosis III claims. On the other hand, in claiming that these supplies included such non-Cypriot goods as ivory, lapis lazuli, and tin (or lead?), it seems equally if not more likely that Tuthmosis III recognized in Alashiya a distant transshipment point—what Edzard (1960: 53) once termed a centre for 'transit commerce'—where some exotic Near Eastern goods were readily available.

In a similar but even more bombastic vein, the 'Poetic Stela' of Tuthmosis III (Year 39) (Ockinga, in Knapp 1996a: 43) was written to proclaim the pharaoh's conquest of the known world, including 'isy (Alashiya) and Keftiu (Crete). Yet a conquest of Cyprus at this time, let alone the Aegean area, seems

highly improbable in geopolitical terms. In material terms, goods of Egyptian origin found on Cyprus were quite limited during the reign of Tuthmosis III (15th century BC), and only began to rise during the 14th century BC, finally peaking in the 13th century BC (Jacobsson 1994: 92, 94, chart 2). Reckoning from the Egyptian objects found in Crete (and in particular at Knossos and Kommos) during the LM I–IIIA periods, Cline (most recently 1999: 118–21) concludes only that the two countries enjoyed intensive trading contacts during the 15th–14th centuries BC. On present evidence, both documentary and material, there is no reason to think that 'the flag followed trade' (Webb 1975). Even Bernal (1991: 52, 465), the champion of Egypto-Semitic influence and power in the Late Bronze Age Aegean and eastern Mediterranean, suggests that whilst Tuthmosis III may have extended his empire as far as the southern Levant, places like Cyprus, the Aegean, and even Ugarit only accepted Egyptian 'suzerainty' (i.e. overlordship). It we grant any credence to the claims of Tuthmosis III, we should probably understand that Egypt and Cyprus were well aware of one another as potential sources for a range of goods and materials in demand, and that Cyprus, familiar with the military might of Egypt under Tuthmosis III, wisely chose not to oppose it.

Before evaluating the historicity of the Hittite claims, namely that Hatti controlled Cyprus about 1400 BC and again around 1200 BC, it is useful first to consider other Hittite and Akkadian cuneiform documents—from both Hatti and Ugarit—that mention Alashiya. The 'Plague Prayer' of Mursili II (KUB XIV 14 obv. 16-22—see Goetze 1929; Beckman, in Knapp 1996a: 31) describes at one point a military coup in which Mursili's father, Suppiluliuma I (ruled c.1350–1322 BC), seized power. In this coup, Tudhaliya 'the younger', one of the aspirants to the Hittite throne, was killed, whilst others who had supported a legitimate claimant were exiled to Alashiya. Chronologically, this is the first of six cuneiform documents that mention Cyprus as a place of banishment or exile. Although the text itself is dated to the late 14th century BC, the events related to Alashiva took place immediately before Suppiluliuma's ascent to the throne, about 1350 BC. From this we can understand that the Hittites either had an agreement with the Cypriot polity concerning exiles, or else enjoyed some limited level of political influence (by the time Šuppiluliuma became king) in what they saw as a territory secure enough to banish unwanted political opponents (Carruba 1968: 10).

In the 'Apology of Hattushili' (KUB I 1 and duplicates—Otten 1981: 18–19; Beckman, in Knapp 1996a: 31–2), dated nearly one hundred years later, the Hittite King Hattushili III defended his actions in deposing his nephew, Urhi-Teshub, the rightful heir to the Hittite kingdom (Bryce 2002: 108; Klengel 2002: 106). In so doing, Hattushili recounts an earlier incident in which his brother Muwatalli (ruled *c*.1295–1272 BC) delivered judgment against a

certain Arma-Tarhunta for practicing witchcraft, and gave him over to Hattushili for punishment. Perhaps because Arma-Tarhunta is described in the text as 'an old man', as well as a 'blood relative' of Hattushili, the latter exercised leniency and returned to him half the value of his (landed) property. His wife and son, however, were banished to Alashiya, perhaps to be supported with the proceeds from the returned property. Immediately following the banishment, Muwatalli died, so this act of banishment (before c.1272 BC), like that which occurred just prior to Šuppiluliuma I's rise to power (c.1350 BC), can be dated with reasonable certainty. Hattushili's Apology (KUB I 1 rev. iv: 35-6) also reveals that his troublesome nephew Urhi-Teshub was banished to northern Syria (Nuhasse). But when Hattushili learned that his deposed relative was plotting to go to Babylonia (probably to build support for restaking his own claim to the Hittite throne), the king 'siezed him and banished him beside the sea'. The ambiguous expression 'beside the sea' (Hittite: A.AB.BA tapuša) may be understood as an oblique reference to Alashiva (Goetze 1925: 34–5; Wolf 1967: 81, 81a; Bryce 1998: 290–1); if so, this would be vet another case of the Hittites exiling a political adversary to Cyprus.

Another, quite fragmentary Hittite text (Kbo XII 39—Otten 1963: 10–13; Güterbock 1967; Beckman in Knapp 1996a: 32) represents some sort of treaty established by a late Hittite king, probably Tudhaliya IV (ruled c.1237–1228 BC), with the land of Alashiya. It is concerned in part with a military alliance between Hatti and Alashiya, and in part with further stipulations concerning the supervision of Hittite exiles in Alashiva, the return of fugitives to Hatti from Alashiya, and a requirement that the Alashiyans report to the Hittites any threats against *Hatti*. According to the treaty, if the ruling polity in Cyprus would keep to these stipulations, the land of Alashiya would be 'blessed'. KBo XII 39 indicates that the Hittites had a legal or political arrangement with Alashiya concerning those exiles who had been banished to the island, but there is no sign of any reciprocal extradition requirements. This document has thus been seen as a vassal treaty rather than a mutually agreed resolution concerning exiles (Otten 1963: 12). If nothing else, it reveals that some level of diplomatic relations, regulated by written provisions, existed between Hatti and Alashiya in the last half of the 13th century BC.

That *Alashiya* also served as a place of exile for high-ranking members of Ugartic society is evident from three separate documents found at Ugarit. Two Akkadian diplomatic texts (RS 17.352: 4–11; RS 17.035—Nougayrol 1956: 121–4; Beckman 1996: no. 35; Singer 1999: 678–80) indicate that the queen of Ugarit (Ahat-Milku) exiled two of her sons to *Alashiya* because they had committed an offence against the queen and their younger brother, king Ammištamru II (ruled *c*.1260–1235 BC). The first tablet, RS 17.352, was

ratified by Ini-Teshub, Ammištamru's contemporary at Carchemish. The second tablet, RS 17.035, was ratified by Tudḥaliya IV, the same Hittite king who implemented a (vassal?) treaty with *Alashiya* (KBo XII 39). The latter document thus provides a *terminus post quem* of 1237 BC (Singer 1999: 642), when Tudḥaliya assumed the Hittite throne. The exiled brothers were well provided for: they received their share of an inheritance, which included silver, gold, sheep and donkeys, movable goods (beds and chairs), and 'all their possessions'. The nature of their offence, most likely a struggle for the throne of Ugarit, is never mentioned. However, Aḥat-Milku's act of restoring to them their inheritance and all their worldly goods must have ensured they had a comfortable existence on Cyprus (Singer 1999: 680). RS 17.352 stipulates, finally, that the exiled brothers and their heirs could never lay claim to Ammištamru's, or his heirs' share of the inheritance (which surely included the throne of Ugarit).

A third Akkadian document found at Ugarit (RS 18.114) is understood to be an international legal edict (Nougayrol 1956: 108; Beckman, in Knapp 1996a: 26). From it, we learn that two brothers (presumably from Ugarit, as their Semitic names—Yadu-Ba'al and Amar-Ba'al—also indicate) escaped from the land of Alashiya and fled to the land of Hatti. Once there, for unknown reasons, the Hittite King Hattushili III (c.1267-1237 BC) sent them on to his vassal, the king of Carchemish, who in turn entrusted them to his own son, Tili-sharruma, perhaps as servants. The few damaged lines that follow list what was likely the disposition of the real property of the brothers (e.g. vineyards, olive groves, and salt pans), presumably located in or around Ugarit. The mention of Tili-sharruma, the royal prince and son of Ini-Teshub (Singer 1999: 654 and n. 145), makes it possible to date this document to the mid-13th century BC. In political terms, this edict suggests that the king of Carchemish was in charge of Hittite affairs in Syria (Liverani 1962: 90), at least during the reign of Hattushili III. Sürenhagen (2001: 252) understands it to reflect a vassal status not only for Ugarit but also for Alashiya.

Recapitulating the political situation on Cyprus thus far: around 1450 BC, Cyprus and Egypt increasingly became involved in intensive politicoeconomic relations. Those holding power in Cyprus may well have sent 'supplies' of copper, tin (or lead), timber, lapis lazuli, and other goods to Tuthmosis III, recognizing him as a potential military threat and preferring to maintain amicable, not to mention profitable relations with Egypt. By about 1400 BC, a Hittite king claimed that he received tribute from *Alashiya*, that the land of *Alashiya* belonged to him, and that no raids should be made against it (KUB XIV 1). One further document (KBo I 26) found at Hattusa indicates that *Alashiya* sent a variety of goods (gold utensils, *rhyta*, sashes, and horse blankets) to the Hittite king during the 14th (or 13th?) century BC, but the

circumstances involved in this shipment are uncertain. Whatever the substance of these claims, KUB XIV 1 is the first of several documents that indicate some level of unrest in the eastern Mediterranean during the 14th century BC, when pirates and brigands seem to have struck with impunity against the merchants and ambassadors of both major and minor political players—maritime states like Cyprus or Ugarit, and more territorially-based powers like the Hittites or Egyptians.

Whereas the notion of any sort of 'thalassocracy' in the eastern Mediterranean at this time cannot be supported (Knapp 1993b; Cline 1999: 129–30; Singer 1999: 675-6 and n. 232), there is abundant evidence to show that many of these states increasingly became linked in a widespread, politico-economic and ideological system, in which diplomatic treaties, reciprocal agreements, and other legal and administrative arrangements had to be established. The claim of suzerainty made by a Hittite king around 1400 BC might best be seen in this light, i.e. a reciprocal agreement to protect Cyprus from raids emanating in Anatolia, in exchange for the Hittite ruler's right to exile political adversaries. documented from at least 1350 BC (KUB XIV 14) to about 1230 BC (KUB XII 39). Beginning at the latest during the reign of Šuppiluliuma I (c.1350–1322 BC), then, the Hittites may have established some sort of agreement with the Cypriotes concerning political undesirables, or at the very least enjoyed enough influence on the island to feel confident in banishing political opponents behind an invisible but effective sea barrier. Sürenhagen (2001: 251) interprets this situation as indicating that Cyprus may have held a privileged, even if unequal relationship with the Hittite state. By 1350 BC, the Amarna letters show that an independent, indigenous king ruled Cyprus, and was in a position not only to ratify such agreements with the Hittites, but also to conclude agreements with the Egyptian pharaoh, his most highly esteemed trading partner.

During the last half of the 13th century BC, between about 1250–1230 BC, three Akkadian texts from Ugarit reveal further diplomatic and legal relations concerning political exiles, this time from the Levantine mainland. These documents indicate not only that *Alashiya* was a place where exiles from Ugarit could be banished permanently, but also that the open sea between Cyprus and Ugarit, like that between Cyprus and *Hatti*, served as a formidable barrier. The distance between Cyprus and Ugarit or *Hatti*, as well as the formal arrangements that linked all three polities, would have forestalled any possibility of Hittite or Ugaritic exiles fomenting rebellion amongst sympathetic political elements back in their native lands (Holmes 1971: 427). By the last quarter of the 13th century BC, the textual evidence demonstrates something that has long been apparent from archaeological data: intimate and high level diplomatic and exchange relations existed between Cyprus and Ugarit. At least one scribe from Ugarit was working at the court in

Alashiya, whilst an Alashiyan messenger (ambassador?) was in Ugarit to secure the freedom of Cypriotes, held there for unknown reasons. Moreover, during the reigns of Niqmaddu III (c.1225–1215 BC) at Ugarit and his contemporary Kushmeshusha of Alashiya, an independent king of Cyprus was involved in the widespread practice of exchanging royal greeting gifts, in particular the shipment of copper ingots not just to Ugarit but as far as Emar, another political centre situated some 200 km inland, on the banks of the upper Euphrates.

This brings us, finally, to the last years of the 13th century BC, when two more Hittite kings claim to have subjugated Alashiya, and when the interregional interaction sphere(s) that had typified relations between several major and minor polities in the eastern Mediterranean throughout the preceding two centuries began to show signs of terminal stress. The Hittite text KBo XII 38 (Otten 1963; Güterbock 1967; Beckman, in Knapp 1996a: 32–3), dated to the late 13th century BC, contains a cuneiform copy of one hieroglyphic Luwian inscription, and possibly a second (Kümmel 1985; Hoffner 1992: 48). The first inscription commemorated Tudhaliya IV's (c.1237-1228, and 1227-1209 BC) conquest of Alashiya, the capture of its king as well his wives and sons, and the imposition of tribute—gold, copper, and gayatu (a type of grain? or a narcotic? see Vincentelli 1976: 27)—on both the king and a 'senior prefect' of Alashiya (Bryce 1998: 356; Sürenhagen 2001: 253). This 'senior prefect' will assume some importance in my own interpretation of political organization on Late Bronze Age Cyprus (see below, An Historical Overview of ProBA Cyprus). The second inscription details a further campaign by Tudhaliya's son, Suppiluliuma II (c.1207-??), evidently against Alashiva, in which the opposing forces met three different times in a naval battle. The ships from Alashiya were captured and burnt at sea. The battle continued once the Hittite king reached 'dry land'. If this skirmish took place on Cyprus, it was probably limited to the north coast, because the reign of Suppiluliuma II was too unstable for him to venture too far, or stay away too long, from Anatolia. Although Singer (2000: 27) suggests that the land battle took place in Anatolia, his interpretation is tied up with the very complex internal situation in *Hatti*, in particular the Hittite king's struggles with the lands of Lukka and Tarhuntassa, and the sequence of events leading to the demise of Hittite power (see also Hoffner 1992; Singer 1996: 66-8; Sürenhagen 2001: 258-60). Another important point here is that the Hittites, always a land-based power, chose to fight at sea (perhaps with ships belonging to Ugarit, which had a formidable fleet—RS 18.148; Virolleaud 1965: 88-9, no. 62) and had to carry their troops to *Alashiya* by ship rather than overland.

With respect to the first encounter noted in KBo XII 38, Bryce (1998: 356–8) suggests that it resulted from Hittite concerns to secure the supply routes that

brought steady grain shipments to Hatti, perhaps during the course of an extended famine (Hoffner 1992: 49; Singer 1999: 715-19, lists and discusses all relevant texts). With respect to the second encounter, Tudhaliva IV's 'conquest'—if such it was—must have been temporary, or perhaps quite localized along the north coast, as his son Šuppiluliuma II had to fight a fierce battle against 'the enemy from *Alashiya*', first at sea and then on land. It appears that the island of Cyprus was coveted for many reasons but was never easily controlled. One problem that arises in understanding Šuppiluliuma's campaign is the identity of 'the enemy from [or of?] Alashiya' (Güterbock 1967: 80 n. 10 reads ša in these passages as 'from' rather than 'of'). Were these native Alashiyans (i.e. the enemy 'from' Alashiya), the same ones whom Tudhaliya had defeated, or were they foreigners (the enemy 'of' Alashiva), 'Sea Peoples' who had conquered Alashiya and used it as a base? Muhly (1984: 44-55) believes they were native Alashiyans, as he denies any possibility of a Sea Peoples' presence on Cyprus at this time. Singer (1999: 721–2), in contrast, believes that 'the enemy of Alashiva' must refer to the Sea Peoples (also Otten 1963: 21: Sürenhagen 2001: 257), and in particular to the Šikila (Egyptian šklš?), defined in an Akkadian document from Ugarit (RS 34.129) as people 'who live on ships' (Dietrich and Loretz 1978; Lehmann 1979). Although the actual identity of this 'enemy 'is unlikely ever to be resolved satisfactorily, it seems clear that Šuppiluliuma's victory was no more effective than Tudhaliya's, not least because 'the enemy' moved onward to Anatolia and Ugarit.

The final series of documents related to *Alashiya* tell us a good deal more about this enemy's seaborne attacks on Ugarit in the last years of its existence, and about Ugarit's relations with Cyprus at the time. Dating from the last days of the Syrian kingdom of Ugarit, an Akkadian text (RSL 1—Schaeffer 1968: 85–6; Beckman, in Knapp 1996a: 27) contains a warning sent by an unspecified king to Ammurapi, king of Ugarit (*c*.1215–1190 BC), indicating that 'enemy ships' had been sighted at sea. Arguments (e.g. by Yamada 1983: 217, and Singer 1999: 720–1, n. 394, 728) that this letter was sent to Ammurapi by the king of Carchemish have been trumped by Goren *et al.*'s (2003: 238, 242–4) demonstration that the tablet RSL 1 was made from dolerite-dervied clays consistent with those found on the southeastern slopes of Cyprus's Troodos mountains. Thus we can state confidently that it was the king of *Alashiya* who advised Ammurapi to fortify his towns and to garrison them with his infantry and chariotry.

In what seems to be the reply (again, in Akkadian) to this letter (RS 20.238—Schaeffer 1968: 87–9; Beckman, in Knapp 1996a: 27), the king of Ugarit informed the king of *Alashiya*, whom he addresses as 'my father' (see below), that seven enemy ships had already set fire to towns and wreaked havoc in the countryside around Ugarit. Moreover, the Ugaritic king's infantry were in *Hatti*-land, his ships in *Lukka*-land (Lycia?), and thus his country

had been overrun (on the formal *ilku* obligations that required Ugarit to supply troops and ships to *Ḥatti*, see Singer 2006: 247–50). Finally, the king of Ugarit asked the king of *Alashiya* to inform him if any further ships were spotted from Cyprus. Eshuwara, the senior prefect of *Alashiya*, sent yet a third Akkadian letter (RS 20.18—Schaeffer 1968: 83–5; Beckman, in Knapp 1996a: 27) to the king of Ugarit, which mentions 'this thing' or 'transgression' that the enemy had visited upon its citizens as well as its ships. Eshuwara, somewhat inexplicably, added that he was not to blame, but warned that 20 more ships, which had approached 'the mountain', failed to make a stand and had suddenly set off again, so the king of Ugarit should be aware of potential trouble ahead.

In these texts, Niqmaddu III, king of Ugarit, addressed the king of *Alashiya* (Kushmeshusha?) as his 'father', indicating some level of subservience, or at least an acknowledged level of hierarchy between the two royal courts (Singer 1999: 720). Sürenhagen (2001: 255–6) denies the possibility of differences in rank between these two kings, and instead understands some sort of kinship relation. Dietrich and Mayer (1997: 84–5) even suggest that the courts of Ugarit and *Alashiya* were linked by a royal marriage (there is no independent evidence for such a marriage), which they believe helps to explain the co-invocation of the gods of *Alashiya* and Ugarit in the Hurrian ritual text RS 24.274: 6 (discussed above, p. 320). Be that as it may, it seems clear that the king of *Alashiya* was well informed of ship and troop movements involving Ugarit, and knew that 'the enemy' was moving by sea, eastward toward the Levantine coast (Berger 1969: 219–20).

Could 'the mountain' in Eshuwara's letter (RS 20.18) be understood as a reference to Cyprus's northern coastal range, or even to the Troodos, and thus as a way of referring to the island as a whole (not unlike the use of 'cedar mountain' in cuneiform texts to refer to the area of Lebanon—e.g. Marfoe 1987)? Or, should it be taken as a reference to an inland political centre, and in particular to Alassa *Paleotaverna*, which was situated on the southern slopes of the Troodos and is now regarded by Goren *et al.* (2003: 250–251) as a leading candidate for the political and administrative centre of ancient *Alashiya*? Lehmann (1970: 59–61; 1996: 27, n. 40), in contrast to both these suggestions, constructs an elaborate scenario that takes place in the mountainous area of southern coastal Anatolia, far to the west of Ugarit, with Eshuwara as the commander of a united Cypriot and Levantine naval force that was unequal to the smaller, quick-striking bands of 'the enemy'. Whatever the correct interpretation may be, all these letters indicate that, however many ships were available to the rulers of Ugarit or *Alashiya*, neither was able to control the seas to the north and east of Cyprus.

The 'great historical inscription' of Ramesses III (Kitchen 1983: 39–40; Ockinga in Knapp 1996a: 48) gives one picture of what many believe to be

the ultimate fate of the Bronze Age kingdoms of Cyprus/Alashiya and Ugarit (as part of Carchemish, whose king was in charge of Hittite affairs in Syria— Liverani 1995: 49). Along with the states of *Hatti*, Arzawa and Oadi, *Alashiya* and Carchemish fell victim to the predations of the Peleset, Tieker, Shekelesh, Denyen, and Weshesh, collectively the 'Sea Peoples'. Some group(s) of these marauders can almost certainly be regarded as 'the enemy' whose ships and land battles formed the subject of several documents exchanged between Ugarit and Alashiya. But how pervasive were the 'Sea Peoples' movements, and should we regard them at any point as a unified force? How much different were they from all the other episodes of piracy and brigandage carried out by the Lukka (EA 38), Madduwatta, and the Ahhijawa (KUB XIV 1), the Sherden (reign of Amenophis III, 14th century BC), and many others (Sandars 1978: 105–115)? To answer such questions, we have to take into account not only the hyperbole and political motivations that typify and underpin many of the Egyptian documents, but also, in this case, the possibility that Ramesses III lifted the entire episode of the 'Sea Peoples' from Merneptah's mortuary temple and made it his own (Lesko 1980: 86; Muhly 1984: 55).

Even if Ramesses III was no plagiarist, his graphic account of a great triumph over the united forces of the 'Sea Peoples' cannot be taken at face value. Cifola (1988: 303) regards Ramesses's inscription as a 'narrative condensation of a continuous long-lasting process' transformed into a single military event for propagandistic ends. Liverani (1990: 121) interprets the same text as referring to a 'series of small episodes...joined together in order to artfully build up a "battle" that as such never took place', but rather was a 'propagandistic celebration' required by pharaonic tradition.

In other words, it is most unlikely that these diverse bands of pirates, marauders and migrants ever came togther with a collective purpose, or that they brought about directly the collapse of the economic and ideological exchange system(s) that linked together so many Bronze Age states and kingdoms in the eastern Mediterranean. Rather these peoples too were victims of the gradual disintegration of many Late Bronze Age polities, and the always-vulnerable interaction sphere(s) that held them together.

Above all, and especially in the case of Cyprus/Alashiya, it has proved very difficult to link either specific episodes or grand narratives to the archaeological record. Muhly (1984: 49) is unequivocal on the subject: 'it is no longer possible, I would argue, to find support for any theory that attempts to identify Philistines or any other group of the Sea Peoples in the archaeological record as known from Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age'. Diplomatic and literary evidence, written for specific, often propagandistic purposes by literate social elites in largely illiterate societies cannot be seen as historical

fact, nor should it be equated directly with archaeological strata, sequences, sites, or site destructions. This is precisely what Muhly (1984: 55) characterized as holding the archaeological evidence hostage to 'an often naïve interpretation of a literary text that, at best, is of questionable historical value'. In what follows, I seek to integrate the material and documentary records in a way that holds no body of evidence hostage to any other, and to provide an overview of ProBA Cyprus whose historical value rests upon the archaeological and textual evidence currently available.

## An Historical Overview of ProBA Cyprus: Texts and Archaeology

What, then, *can* we conclude about the political organization of Late Bronze Age Cyprus, widely known amongst its eastern Mediterranean contemporaries as *Alashiya*? Archaeological data and documentary records alike confirm that Cyprus formed an integral part of the eastern Mediterranean ethnolinguistic sphere, and was involved in intense and dynamic economic, political, and social relations with the Levant (especially Ugarit), Egypt, the Aegean, and Hittite Anatolia. Several economic documents not only demonstrate that Alashiyan copper was in great demand amongst contemporary polities in Egypt, Syria, Anatolia, and Babylonia, they also indicate that *Alashiya* held a key position amongst these major powers.

Akkadian texts from the archive of Urtenu at Ugarit demonstrate that its king, Nigmaddu, addressed the king of *Alashiya* as his 'father', a relationship understood from all other contemporary cuneiform correspondence amongst the rulers of states in the eastern Mediterranean and Near East to refer to a sociopolitical hierarchy in which the 'son' is somehow subservient to the 'father' (on the nuances of this terminology, see Liverani 1983). This same relationship between an Alashiyan 'father' and Ugaritic 'son' also appears in RS 20.238, the late 13th century BC royal letter mentioning how ships of 'the enemy' had reached the towns of Ugarit and set them afire. In some of the Akkadian texts, the ruler of Ugarit extends his wishes for prosperity to 'the house, the country, the wives, the sons, the troops, the horses and the chariots' of the king of Alashiya. In EA 34: 50-53, the king of Alashiya sends pharaoh a jar of 'sweet' oil for his anointing ceremony upon ascending the Egyptian throne, a particularly royal custom widely practiced in the Near East (Muhly 1972: 215 and nn. 3-4 for refs.). In sum, from an external perspective, there is no reason to doubt that the king of Alashiya commanded the same sort of respect and had the same kind of entourage and regal accourrements as did his peers in Egypt and the Levant.

When we turn to consider the internal political situation on ProBA Cyprus, we find that the 14th century BC 'land of *Alashiya*' was ruled by a king

(a paramount king? or a primus inter pares?—Bunimowitiz, in Goren et al. 2003: 248–52), recognized as such by the rulers of Egypt (a 'great' king) and Ugarit (a lesser, city-state ruler). This king's authority extended to control over the internal production of copper and its export to both the Levant and Egypt, transactions frequently overseen by Alashiyan merchants in the service of their king (Holmes 1978; Oller 1995). By the late 13th century BC, Nigmaddu of Ugarit and Kushmeshusha of Alashiya maintained commercial and diplomatic contacts at the highest, royal level (Bordreuil and Malbran-Labat 1995: 445; Malbran-Labat 1999; Yon 2003: 47-8; Singer 2006: 255). During the same time frame, Akkadian documents from Amarna (EA 40) and Ugarit (RS 20.18), and a Hittite text from Hattusha (KBo XII 38) all mention a high official or 'senior prefect' (rābisu in Akkadian, pidduri in Hittite, named Eshuwara in the Ugartic text). Sürenhagen (2001: 254; see also Moran 1992: 113 n. 1) suggests that this official may have been the second most powerful individual in the political hierarchy, after the king of *Alashiya*. Taken together with the rest of the *Alashiva* correspondence, these written sources dealing with state-level diplomacy and trade demonstrate that a single, internationally recognized king—perhaps with a high official who served as his second in command—ruled Cyprus during the mid-14th century BC (Amarna tablets) and at the end of the 13th century BC (archive of Urtenu at Ugarit). No other evidence—documentary or archaeological—indicates that this situation changed at any point during the intervening 125 years, even if the island served as a convenient location for political exiles banished from both Ugarit and Hatti (the latter most likely under a formal agreement).

The archaeological record, however, is somewhat more ambiguous, and can be read in different ways. Manning (1998b: 51-3), for example, suggests that new (LC IIC/ProBA 2) monumental constructions over earlier tombs and buildings at Maroni Vournes in particular may indicate that the authority associated with multiple elite ancestral groups had, by the 13th century BC, come under the control of a single ruling family headed by a 'key individual in Cypriot prehistory'. That individual, of course, Manning believes to be the king of Alashiya. Keswani (2004: 88) countered that the apparent dearth of ProBA 2 burials at Maroni, or the desecration of earlier burials, may only indicate that the florescence of the power group established in the ashlar complex at Vournes was short-lived, perhaps eclipsed or terminated by the expansion of the rival centre at nearby Kalavasos Ayios Dhimitrios, where elite burials persisted throughout the ProBA 2 period (especially around ashlar Building X). Both Keswani (1996: 226) and Manning (1998b: 53), however, argue for the emergence of powerful local factions during the ProBA 2 period, and feel that Enkomi—with no single monumental or identifiably administrative complex, and with multiple 'sanctuaries' dispersed throughout the site—could not have served as the sole power centre on 14th–13th century BC Cyprus.

Peltenburg (1996: 29) once held that Enkomi's Late Bronze Age fortress bore witness to the establishment of centralized authority on Cyprus by the 16th century BC. Bolger (2003: 47) links this same fortress, and monumental architecture more generally, to the rise of state-level society on ProBA Cyprus. Having reconsidered metalworking activities in Enkomi's Quartier 1W Fortress, as well as its architectural development, Pickles and Peltenburg (1998: 87-90) now suggest that political authority became decentralized during the ProBA 2 period (13th century BC). Webb's study of ritual architecture, iconography and practice in the ProBA also led her to conclude (1999: 293-4, 307) that at least until the 13th century BC, Enkomi was the sole centralized authority on Cyprus. Based on the abundant archaeometallurgical evidence, both Muhly (1989: 299-303) and Knapp (e.g. 1997: 65-6) have argued for centralized control at Enkomi, although Muhly would extend such control into the 13th century BC and equates Alashiva specifically with the site of Enkomi, Finally, Crewe (2004: 271–83) turns all previous arguments regarding Enkomi on their head, and maintains that this site—perhaps a 'gateway' town for imports and exports during the ProBA 1 period—could not have served as a unifying force on the island before about 1450 BC (on Enkomi as a gateway port for trade with the Levant during ProBA 2, see Bell 2005).

I have already discussed at length (above, pp. 134-44) the settlement evidence for ProBA Cyprus and various social or political interpretations based on that evidence. Merrillees (1992a: 318) emphasized the strategic and commercial importance of site location for understanding the political structure and cultural status of what he regards as the autonomous polities of ProBA Cyprus. Keswani (1993, 1996), too, argued at length for the existence of (heterarchically organized) regional polities. If we pursue for a moment this line of argument, and take into account—in addition to location—such factors as site size (all primary centres were approximately 12 hectares or greater in extent—see Figure 24) and several key material features (e.g. ashlar masonry, prestige goods and imports, metallurgical and olive oil production and consumpution, large storage facilities including impressed pithoi, Cypro-Minoan inscriptions, seals or weights, rich burials), then Enkomi (near coastal), Kalavasos Avios Dhimitrios (inland coastal plain), and Alassa Paleotaverna (southern Troodos foothills) stand out as the most prominent centres. Hala Sultan Tekke Vyzakia and Kition Kathari clearly were major towns, but appear to have served economic and administrative rather than strictly political functions. Although neither Ayios Dhimitrios nor Paleotaverna conform to the ideal type of primary centre, in particular with respect to a coastal location, they are unique in their multiplicity of functions (Knapp 1997: 61), and it is not unreasonable to think that Maroni and Kourion, respectively, served as coastal outlets for these inland centres.

Chemical and petrographic analyses of cuneiform tablets from Alashiya found in Amarna and Ugarit (Goren et al. 2003, 2004) have demonstrated that they differ markedly in composition from pottery and the Cypro–Minoan tablets produced locally at Enkomi. Instead, the Alashiva-based tablets are consistent with production from calcareous clavs (Miocene Pakhna marls) and igneous-derived clays (Troodos ophiolite margins) typical of the geology around Maroni Vournes, Kalavasos Avios Dhimitrios, and Alassa Paleotaverna. Goren and his colleagues assume that Alashiya was the name for the entire island, that there must have been only one political centre during the Pro BA 2 period, and that the *Alashiya* tablets in question must have been formed from clays available in the near vicinity of that centre. Citing the crucial economic importance of the production and trade in copper for *Alashiya*'s prominent international position, they argue that either Paleotaverna or Ayios Dhimitrios situated closer to copper sources than Maroni, situated on the sea-must have controlled the internal mining, production and transport of copper, and would have served as centres of commercial administration (Goren et al. 2003: 251, citing Knapp 1997: 61–2).

Whilst Goren et al.'s argument that the tablets were most likely produced from local clays is plausible, what about their assumption of a single political centre on Late Bronze Age Alashiya/Cyprus? Given the complexity of establishing a direct relation between geopolitical configurations and a specific prehistoric or protohistoric place, as well as the problems associated with linking any culture to an absolute sense of place (Papastergiadis 2005: 53), we need to leave open the possibility of shifting centres, or different sites managed, controlled and inhabited by the ruling elite, including the king and his/ her family and entourage. The Akkadian letter RS 94.2475 (Singer 2006: 255), sent to Niqmaddu of Ugarit by Alashiya's king Kushmeshusha in the late 13th century BC, indicates that it may be exaggerated or incorrect to view the political organization of ProBA 2 Cyprus as heterarchical or fragmented into diverse factions. Rather, the richly endowed coastal centres of Cyprus may be seen as representing Alashiya's success in capitalizing on an expanded eastern Mediterranean commercial shipping and interaction sphere. In such a scenario, coastal or near-coastal sites like Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kition, and Maroni (less so Kouklia, Kourion, and Toumba tou Skourou) would have continued to serve as important gateway communities for exchange with Egypt, the Levant, and the Aegean.

Goren *et al.* (2003: 251–2), unable to decide on a single political centre or a firm model for the socio-political organization of ProBA Cyprus, proposed three possible configurations: (1) a single centralized authority from 16th–13th

centuries BC, with the power centre always located in the foothill or mountainous zone (undeterminable prior to the 14th century BC); (2) a single centralized authority from 16th–13th centuries BC, whose location changed from coastal Enkomi (16th cBC) to inland Alassa or Kalavasos by the beginning of 14th century BC; or (3) competing factions or federations of the same, in which case the king of *Alashiya* would have served as overlord or *primus inter pares*. Goren and his colleagues are prudent in adopting this stance, and are almost certainly correct to assume that the nature of Cyprus's political organization will have changed over the course of four centuries. Nonetheless, the full reconsideration and re-presentation of virtually all the relevant archaeological, documentary, and analytical evidence presented in this study demand a more definitive, even if still tentative interpretation.

During the ProBA 1 period, for the first time on Cyprus, we begin to see striking material evidence—fortifications, distinctive burial practices, the first use of the Cypro-Minoan script (at Enkomi), a proliferation in the use of seals, imported and other prestige goods—indicating the transformation of the Cypriot polity from a kinship-based, very localized, village-oriented society to a socially stratified, regionally extensive, urban-oriented state. The emergence of the Cypro-Minoan script at Enkomi and its predominant use in tablets found at that site should not be viewed lightly. Lamberg-Karlovsky (2003: 59, 65) maintains that writing was: (1) a powerful tool controlled by elites in processes leading to centralized political power, and (2) a technology that enabled elites to monitor and control the production, distribution, and consumption of commodities, raw materials, and food supplies In fact, because the majority of all this evidence was uncovered at Enkomi (no other site has such extensive remains from the ProBA 1 period), it is not unreasonable to think (contra Crewe 2004) that this site first exerted regional control over both mineral and agricultural resources, and dominated the import-export trade of the island by about 1600 BC.

If Enkomi thus became a regional force, and quite likely the political or at least the economic centre of Cyprus during the 16th–15th centuries BC, by the 14th–13th centuries BC, the material culture from several different sites increasingly parallels that found at Enkomi, and becomes much more homogeneous islandwide. Ashlar masonry is found at all primary centres of the ProBA 2 period (Knapp 1997: 54–5, table 2), whilst indisputably monumental complexes—with broadly standardized construction methods and plans—are evident at Kition, Alassa *Paleotaverna*, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni *Vournes*, Kouklia *Palaepaphos*, and Myrtou *Pigadhes*. All primary centres have (varying amounts of) imported or other prestige goods, whilst the common iconography and imagery used on seals and sealings, jewellery, ivory, faience, and finished metal products probably represent the insignia with which an

elite group identified themselves. Amongst the primary centres, copper oxhide ingots occur only at Maroni, Alassa (also a miniature ingot), Kalavasos, Enkomi (also an inscribed minitature ingot), and Kouklia whilst, crucially, significant storage facilities have been found only at Maroni, Alassa, Kalavasos, and Kourion (less so at Kition). Impressed pithos sherds (50 of the 88 known come from Alassa *Paleotaverna*) appear at the same time as the large-scale storage facilities: together these suggest that some level of centralized organization was responsible for the transport of olive oil and/or grain between agricultural production zones and the population centres.

Taken as a whole, these factors lend support to the likelihood of a single, unified Cypriot polity during the 14th-13th centuries BC. Cuneiform documentary evidence reveals unequivocally that there was a single king of Alashiya around 1350 BC (Amarna tablets) and again in the last quarter of the 13th century BC (Ugarit tablets). During the 125 years that separate these reigns, there is no sign of destructions, abandonments or even a break in the largely homogeneous, fully coherent and well documented archaeological record of the entire island. Given these converging strands of evidence, it is hard to escape the conclusion that ProBA Cyprus was centrally organized politically and economically—under a ruling class that had adopted a coherent ideological and symbolic repertoire of material paraphernalia to signal their identity, both within and beyond the island. In its entirety, and as presented here, the documentary evidence related to Alashiya demonstrates a role so pervasive and influential in the international world of the eastern Mediterranean and the Near East during the Late Bronze Age that it is difficult to see how its king would not have controlled the entire island.

It remains less clear whether the ruling elite and their leader, the king of *Alashiya* as known from the cuneiform correspondence, dwelt in a single location. Given the current state of the archaeological evidence, the material records of Enkomi, Alassa *Paleotaverna* and Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* all could be argued to conform to the notion of a predominant, politico-economic centre. With respect to Enkomi it is important to recall that only one part of the site has been excavated and that no survey has ever been conducted in the attempt to determine its true extent (James Muhly, personal comm.). Moreover, with the possible exception of Hala Sultan Tekke, Enkomi is the only site that demonstrates large scale and continuous occupation throughout the ProBA.

Thus it could be argued that Enkomi served as the focal point of political power from the outset of the ProBA, with both *Paleotaverna* and *Ayios Dhimitrios* filling crucial roles—from ProBA 2 onward—as centres for the production, storage, and distribution of agricultural, metallurgical, and other surpluses. It seems equally plausible to suggest that all three centres were controlled by and served the diverse needs of Cyprus's ruling elite, who

resided in them at different junctures over the long-term political cycle that characterized the ProBA. If we accept the suggestion (Sürenhagen 2001: 254) that the 'senior prefect' (rābisu, pidduri) of Alashiva was second-in-command to the king, then s/he too may have dwelt—separately—in one of these centres. If we take into account the chemical and petrographic evidence marshalled by Goren et al. (2003, 2004), and their argument that the Alashiya tablets were produced from clays obtained in the vicinity of the island's political centre, then only Ayios Dhimitrios and Paleotaverna meet the criteria. At both sites, the monumental structures, production and storage facilities, administrative aspects (seals, sealings, weights, impressed pithoi), metallurgical remains and mortuary assemblages are extensive and, to us, impressive. The differences between them—no impressed *pithoi* but much richer burials at Ayios Dhimitrios; no weights but much more impressive ashlar masonry at Paleotaverna—may result as much from the total area excavated as anything else. In the end, however, it would take a much fuller and more focused comparison of all aspects of both sites to determine which, if either, served as a politico-economic centre of ProBA 2 Cyprus. Moreover, on chronological grounds alone, it is clear that neither of these sites could have served a centralized political role on Cyprus throughout the ProBA, whereas Enkomi certainly may have. Despite the forceful and persuasive arguments of several scholars over the past two decades, the one thing that would seem to be excluded by the combined documentary and material records presented here is the existence of heterarchical, regional-based polities on ProBA Cyprus.

## ELISHAH, 'LŠYY, AND IADNANA: THE EARLY IRON AGE OF CYPRUS

Beyond the inscribed *obelos* from the 11th century BC tomb at Palaepaphos *Skales*, documentary evidence related to Iron Age Cyprus only surfaces during the Cypro–Archaic period, specifically with the Neo-Assyrian cuneiform inscriptions of Sargon II, Esarhaddon, and Assurbanipal (Saporetti 1976; Reyes 1994: 49–60). There are, in addition, three references to *Elishah* in biblical Hebrew (Genesis 10:4; First Chronicles 1:7; Ezekiel 27:6–7) and two Phoenician texts that refer, respectively, to '*Išyy* (Arslan Tash amulet, 7th century BC), and to '*alhyts* (bilingual Phoenician-Cypriot inscription, 4th century BC): both of these are taken to be Iron Age equivalents of the Bronze Age place-name *Alashiya* (Greenfield 1962; Walls, in Knapp 1996a: 59–60, for translations and refs.). Strictly speaking, all this evidence is later than the LC IIIB period (*c*.1200–1050 BC), where the scope of the present volume draws to

a close. Some of these documents, and in particular the seven or ten kingdoms of Cyprus mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions, are repeatedly cited in attempts to understand Cypriot political formation(s) during the 11th–8th centuries BC (e.g. Rupp 1998; Snodgrass 1988; Iacovou 2001, 2002). The Hebrew and Phoenician texts, moreover, and crucially, refer to the 'island' of *Elishah*/'išyy. Thus they must all be discussed here, albeit briefly.

The Old Testament passages that mention Elishah (and Kittim, see below) indicate that it was a distant, Greek-speaking island of the Mediterranean, exporting a prestigious kind of cloth and renowned for its wood (cedar or pine) as well as its ships. In Genesis and First Chronicles, Elishah is listed as one of the sons of *Iawan* (Ionia, and by extension Greece), along with *Kittim* (Kition, and by extension all of Cyprus), Rodanim (Rhodes), and Tarshish. In the passage from Ezekiel, the Phoenician town of Tyre is described allegorically as a ship constructed with, amongst other materials, cedar (or pine?) inlaid with ivory (from Kittim) and red- and purple-dyed cloth (linen?) from the 'islands' ('ive) of Elishah. In the Old Testament, Kittim came to be used as the Hebrew name for Cyprus, perhaps reflecting the importance of the Phoenician settlement established at Kition by the 9th century BC (Karageorghis and Demas 1985: 3; Reyes 1994: 18–21). Greenfield (1962) felt that the juxtaposition of Elishah and Kittim in the passages cited might indicate that the former referred to the non-Phoenician part of the island. Kittim is also mentioned in Numbers 24:23–4 as a place that sent ships against Assyria and the Hebrews. Documentary references to Bronze Age Alashiya also associate the island with timber and ships, but not with red- or purple-dyed cloth. It may be noted, however, that over 700 murex trunculus shells, whose hypobronchial glands provide the purple dye widely used in the ancient Mediterranean (Reese 1987; Stieglitz 1994), were found in LC IIIA levels at Hala Sultan Tekke (Reese 1985: 348). Thus the (somewhat earlier) archaeological evidence from Cyprus indicates that purple-dyed cloth could have been produced on the island, even if the centres of such production lay in the Levant or the Aegean.

The 7th century BC Phoenician text inscribed on an amulet from Arslan Tash in Syria, admittedly difficult of interpretation (Caquot and du Mesnil du Buisson 1971), represents an incantation against a demon qualified (line 3) as 'lšyy, 'the Alashiyan' (the ethnic represented by the –yy ending; see Walls, in Knapp 1996a: 60). Equally interesting is the wrting of 'y 'lšyy (lines 5–6), with the first component ('y) to be understood as the Phoenican word for 'island', corresponding to Hebrew 'iya and Egyptian 'iw (Koehler and Baumgartner 1958: 35; Donner and Röllig 1969: 60). Although Caquot (Caquot and du Mesnil du Buisson 1971: 403) failed to translate 'y in his interpretation of the amuletic text, in a personal letter sent to O. Masson (Masson 1973b: 99 n. 8) he rendered the passage as the 'isle of the Alashiyan'. Whilst this 7th century

BC survival of the Bronze Age place name *Alashiya* might be unexpected, not least because of its provenance, it is analogous to the use of *Elishah* in the Old Testament and provides a further point of reference between the Bronze Age documents and the Phoenician—Cypriot bilingual text found in a sanctuary at Frangissa, near Tamassos (see below) (Masson 1973b). Given the Phoenician presence at Kition if not farther afield in Iron Age Cyprus, it is not surprising to find that some people of Phoenician speech in north Syria were aware of the 'island of *Alashiya*'. It is surprising, however, to find so many archaeologists and ancient historians working on Cyprus unaware of both the Phoenician and Hebrew texts referring to these Iron Age variants of *Alashiya* as an island. The final Phoenican attestation of this place name—'*alhyts*—is preserved in a bilingual dedication on a 4th century BC statuette from Frangissa. The Cypriot word (*a-la-si-o-ta-i*, or *Alasiotas*) has been directly transliterated, rendered in Phoenician with an *h* for the sibilant *s*, and including the Greek nominative ending *-tās* (Walls, in Knapp 1996a: 60, with relevant refs.).

*Iadnana* first appears on an inscribed stele, made of gabbro and erected on the island (in Kition, not Idalion—Gierstad 1979: 237 n. 5) during the reign of Sargon II, king of Assyria (c.721–705 BC), that is, during the Cypro–Archaic I perod (*c*.750–600 BC) (Winckler 1889: I, 174–5, II, pls. 46–7; Pritchard 1969: 284; Malbran-Labat in Yon 2004: 345-51). Carved along the sides of a stele showing in profile the representation of a bearded king clothed in a robe and ceremonial headdress, and embellished with symbols in standard Assyrian style (Börker-Klähn 1982: 195–218; Malbran-Labat, in Yon 2004: 353, fig. 43), the inscription states that '[seven ki]ngs of the land of Ia', a district [of Iad]nana' had travelled to Babylon, bringing to Sargon as tribute 'gold, silver, [objects of] ebony and boxwood, [which are] the treasure of their land' (translation after Pritchard 1969: 284; Malbran-Labat, in Yon 2004: 350, translates 'maple' instead of ebony, and 'wood' instead of boxwood). Much the same information is found on inscriptions from Sargon's residence at Khorsabad, whilst Sargon himself mentions on an inscribed clay prism found in the Assyrian capital Nimrod the erection of the stele in Iadnana (Gadd 1954: 191–3; Reyes 1994: 51–2). The stele states only that the kings of Cyprus had learned of Sargon's mighty deeds in Babylonia and Hatti, and accordingly had brought him gifts, not unlike Cyprus's ProBA rulers had once done with Tuthmosis III. Another shadow of times past may be seen in a palace inscription from the reign of Sennacherib (c.704-681 BC). The relevant passage relates the tale of Luli, king of Sidon, who revolted from the Assyrian king but, fearing his might, took refuge on the island of Cyprus (Luckenbill 1927: II, 147–8, § 326; Pritchard 1969: 288). Although Luli perished on the island, the fact that he could find refuge there suggests that it was not under the strict domination of the Neo-Assyrian dynasts.

During the 7th century reign of Esarhaddon (c.680–669 BC), a clay prism recording the reconstruction of the royal palace of Nineveh lists the names of ten kings and kingdoms of *Iadnana* (Borger 1956: 60; Pritchard 1969: 291; Yon 2004: 54–5). Iacovou (2002: 81–3) discusses the internal developments that likely lay behind the change in the number of kingdoms, from seven (Sargon) to ten (Esarhaddon). In Esarhaddon's inscription, the kings of *Iadnana*, along with those of *Hatti* and several states in the Levant, reportedly sent timbers of cedar and pine, and various types of stone statues and bulding materials for the rebuilding of Esarhaddon's palace. The same ten names and kingdoms found on Esarhaddon's inscription are repeated on the Rassam Cylinder of Ashurbanipal—last great king of the Neo-Assyrian empire (c.668–633 BC). These kingdoms are listed as part of an army that, in the company of various Levantine rulers, is said to have marched against Egypt, Ethiopia, and Nubia (Luckenbill 1927: II, 340-1, § 876; Pritchard 1969: 294; Yon 2004: 55). Whatever one makes of Assurbanipal's claim (did he do anything beyond copying the list of names in its entirety, attempting to bolster his imperial image by means of describing a foray into the distant regions of the Upper Nile?), Esarhaddon's inscription is probably describing raw materials obtained either through regular commercial trade or gift exchange.

Although Sargon's 'Display Inscription' boasts that he established his officals as governors, not just over *Iadnana* but over a long list of lands from Egypt to Elam (Iran) (Luckenbill 1927: II, 26), neither the presence of a stele nor the claim of a far-distant potentate can be taken as proof that an Assyrian army, garrison or governor were ever present on Cyprus, much less dominating the country (Reyes 1994: 52–3; Iacovou 2002: 82–3). Yon and Malbran-Labat (1995), moreover, have noted that—on Sargon's stele as opposed to other, contemporary Neo-Assyrian stelae and documents—there is no account of military action, no topographical details, and no mention of the annexation and incorporation of *Iadnana* into the Neo-Assyrian empire (also Malbran-Labat, in Yon 2004: 352).

As the archaeological evidence also demonstrates (see below), the only possible involvement of Neo-Assyrian rulers in Cyprus resulted from the island's contacts and exchanges with Phoenicians, Greeks, Egyptians, and Anatolians, and its capacity to adapt to changing political circumstances in order to maintain its economic networks. No Neo-Assyrian governors or garrisons were ever present on the island, nor was it ever incorporated, politically, into the Neo-Assyrian empire (Reyes 1994: 21; cf. Gjerstad 1948: 451). Iacovou (2002: 83) suggests perceptively that the very existence of the Neo-Assyrian empire at the gates of the Mediterranean may have served as the impetus for the island's polities to consolidate themselves, politically and economically, and to form units that could respond better to the exigencies

of the new, imperial world order. Finally, if Oppenheim (1967: 241) was correct in speculating that the copper and iron imported from *Yamana* by a merchant of the Neo-Babylonian period (*c*.550 BC) had actually come from Cyprus (see Brinkman 1989: 57–61 on *Yamani*, a term used in Neo-Babylonian cuneiform documents to refer to Greek-speakers; also Parker 2000: 73), then this accommodation to imperial regimes may be seen to continue well into the 6th century BC.

### Archaeology, Texts, and Iron Age History

With respect to the Cypriot archaeological record, and unlike the situation in the Levant, there is no indisputable or well-provenanced object or architectural element of clearly Assyrian style or derivation preserved on Cyprus (beyond Sargon's stele) (Reyes 1994: 61–6). In fact the most striking feature of Cyprus's material culture during the Cypro–Archaic period is the continuity of its various indigenous styles (including Phoenician). Such imported goods as exist come from both Anatolia and northern Syria, but the main foreign influences during the Cypro–Archaic period—in pottery, architecture, statuary, and glyptics—stem from the Levant and the east Greek world (Reyes 1994: 126–51).

On the one hand, then, the relevant cuneiform records related to *Iadnana*/ Cyprus fail to conform in most respects to the usual imperial style, thus calling into doubt any Neo-Assyrian physical presence on the island. On the other hand, the material record reveals evidence of close contacts with the Levant, and with Phoenicia in particular, but nothing that can be regarded as imported from or even influenced by Neo-Assyrian style or iconography. Cyprus, accordingly, certainly never suffered from military or political intervention on the part of the Assyrians, but the Cypriotes may well have benefited from commercial involvement in the Neo-Assyrian sphere of influence, with its seaside kingdoms serving as Mediterranean entrepots, like those of the coastal states of Phoenicia (Iacovou 2002: 83). The Phoenicians, moreover, could well have served as intermediaries between the Cypriot polities and the Assyrian palaces, whilst the intersection of Phoenician and Neo-Assyrian interests may have worked to the advantage of Cyprus, ensuring a consistent level of contacts with the Levant and western Asia more generally (Reyes 1994: 54-5, 66-7; Malbran-Labat, in Yon 2004: 352-4).

Approaching these issues from other perspectives, Iacovou (e.g. 1998; 1999a; 2001; 2002; 2005; 2006a) has argued that the seven or ten historical kingdoms of Cyprus mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian inscriptions did not emerge from chiefdom-like political formations that had developed on the

island during the 11th–9th centuries BC (Rupp 1987; 1998; Petit 2001). Rather, she maintains that these kingdoms had all been established in an 'orderly and organized manner' during the 11th century BC (Iacovou 2002: 85; 2005). As argued above (see pp. 286–90), many objects and features of the LC IIIB through Cypro–Geometric archaeological record demonstrate the hybridization of Cypriot, Levantine, and Aegean elements. It also seems clear that new elite groups native Cypriotes, Phoenicians, some groups of Aegeans—emerged on Cyprus during the LC IIIB period, but whether they did so as isolated factions or amalgamated political units remains a source of contention (Iacovou 2005). Given the lack of any definitive settlement evidence, it is difficult to determine unequivocally whether the territorial (city) kingdoms mentioned in the Neo-Assyrian documents had taken form already in the 11th century BC, or rather resulted from extended, internal politico-economic developments that occurred throughout the 11th–8th centuries BC. That close contacts with the Levant, and the Phoenicians in particular, existed during the Cypro-Geometric period seems patently clear from archaeological evidence. The Phoenicians, in turn, may have facilitated Cyprus's other contacts with Near Eastern polities (Egyptians and Anatolians) and ultimately—by the Cypro-Archaic period—served as intermediaries in the island's relations with Neo-Assyrian regimes.

There is no doubt that new social and political structures had been established on the island by the Cypro-Archaic I period. In Rupp's view, it was pressure from Phoenicians established at Kition that impelled local elites at Salamis and Amathus to organize themselves into a newly formulated ministate to resist outside domination at this time. In Iacovou's view, it was pressure from the Neo-Assyrian regime knocking at the gates of the Mediterranean world that impelled the Cypriot polities to organize themselves into poltical formations capable of responding in a unified manner to imperial exigencies. My own view is that we need to approach this situation differently. The formation of these Iron Age territorial kingdoms should not be equated with the re-emergence of a hierarchical, state-level of organization, as Rupp (1998: 216–18) would maintain, nor can they be seen as 'a close re-enactment of [Cyprus's] Late Bronze Age politico-economic tradition', as Iacovou (2002: 85) would maintain. As ever, the geopolitical formations that we can discern on prehistoric and protohistoric Cyprus seem distinctively different from their Aegean or Levantine counterparts, and we cannot assume or relate directly the polities and peoples of any one period to those of subsequent or previous periods. We would be well advised to evaluate such developments, and to engage with all the material and social factors that were entangled in making up prehistoric and protohistoric Cypriot identities, sui generis.

Throughout this and previous chapters, I have spoken much of hybridized cultures and material culture, and their impact on island identities and polity

formation. In this chapter, I have considered as well the impact of external (imperial) regimes on local elites. In all these matters, one of the most interesting interludes in the history of Cyprus begins here and now, during the course of the Iron Age. Here, however, is where this particular story must end. I return to the Iron Age of Cyprus and to a more fully 'historical' era, comparing cultural developments and island identities between Cyprus and the other large Mediterranean islands, in a subsequent, follow-up volume. In the next chapter, I revisit the volume's themes of insularity, connectivity, and social identity, summarizing their relevance for a better understanding of island archaeology and island history on prehistoric and protohistoric Cyprus.

# Insularity, Connectivity, and Social Identity on Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus

#### THE PREHISTORIC BRONZE AGE

During the PreBA, the expansion of the agro-pastoral sector of the economy—seen materially in new terracotta models of cattle and the plough (see Figure 20), pottery products associated with the use of milk products and alcoholic beverages, flat copper and imitative groundstone axes used in forest clearance—helped to support a changing and developing society. By this time, the economy was based on two main elements: (1) innovations in the agricultural sector (e.g. land clearance and newly created territories, the associated demarcations and social networks); (2) the increasing exploitation of major copper ore deposits along the northern and eastern flanks of the Troodos Mountains, which fuelled the development of the industrial sector (Knapp 1990a: 159–161; 1994: 419, 423; Manning 1993; Frankel and Webb 2001: 34, 38–41; Fasnacht and Künzler Wagner 2001).

By the end of the PreBA, a veritable 'industrial revolution' had taken place, one that—by the subsequent ProBA—would affect every aspect of island life. The geographic and communication barriers that had characterized the earlier prehistory of Cyprus were overcome, whilst new and broader exchange systems and new social orientations developed (Frankel 1974; 1993: 70). Certain wealthy burials in cemeteries along the north coast (Vasilia Kafkallia, Bellapais Vounous, Lapithos Vrysi tou Barba), with diverse metal products and luxury imports, provide clear signs of overseas contacts, however limited, and signal Cyprus's growing involvement in an emerging eastern Mediterranean interaction sphere during the mid-late third millennium BC (Sherratt and Sherratt 1991: 367-8; A. Sherratt 1993; Sherratt and Sherratt 1998: 338-9; Stos-Gale 2001; Webb et al. 2006). The evident links between copper production and export, the quantity and quality of metal goods in certain north coast burials, and the possible establishment of a port centre or centres along the north coast, all highlight the economic potential of this region, and at the same time suggest the workings of a vibrant economy linked closely to foreign demand (Manning 1993) and to a newly developed interregional exchange in metals (Philip *et al.* 2003; Webb *et al.* 2006).

The spatial and temporal conjunction of such economic factors—internal copper production, external trade, and foreign demand—with the diversification evident in mortuary practices, not only indicates close links between the two phenomena, but also the likely emergence of elite social groups or individuals. From quite different perspectives, Keswani (2004: 150-4) and Manning (1993: 48) have linked PreBA mortuary practices to the emergence of new ideologies held by specific descent groups (Keswani), or to the legitimization of land rights (Manning) in a situation where good arable land was in great demand and increasingly unavailable. More recently, Keswani (2005) has portrayed the social and ideological concerns enacted in mortuary practices as an important stimulus for the production and consumption of copper within PreBA Cyprus. New social groups thus developed and elaborated their funerary practices through rituals involving feasting and the competitive display of locally produced metal goods, all designed to negotiate and display their identity and status by revering and celebrating their status-laden ancestors. These groups laid claim to certain regions or resources by constructing chamber tombs and reusing formal cemeteries to perpetuate links between specific kin groups, their ancestors and communal connections to the land (Keswani 2004: 151). In that view, these new tomb types, and the rituals associated with them, would not necessarily reflect a move toward more hierarchical levels of society, or the negotiation of social or political status, because the organization of society was already complex, contingent, and negotiated.

This brings us to a somewhat contentious issue, one that has underlain and characterized multiple archaeological interpretations of the many spatial, social, economic, mortuary, and iconographic aspects of the PreBA: the existence of a hierarchical social order and the presence of an (hereditary) elite group. My own view on this issue might be defined as 'maximalist' (as opposed to Frankel's 'minimalist' stance), and differs from earlier essays on the same issue (Knapp 1990a, 1994, 2001) mainly by the inclusion of more recent and different kinds of evidence. In the wider context, Chapman (2005: 96-7) maintains that Mediterranean archaeologists tend to assign to prehistoric societies quite inappropriate and rather subjective degrees of complexity or neo-evolutionary types and stages. He argues (and in what follows I attempt to address his concerns) that we need to develop new ways of looking at material representations of social relations and island identities, at exploitation and consumption as well as production and exchange, at disjunctions and conflicts as well as transitions and social stability, and at unstable political formations as well as palatial or state-level organizations.

The people of PreBA Cyprus, like their Chalcolithic predecessors, maintained a dual subsistence strategy appropriate to their insular setting. Indicators of surplus and specialized production suggest that, from the mid-fourth millennium BC, some growth was sustainable and society may have become differentiated to a certain degree. The Chalcolithic way of life on Cyprus, however, despite several material indicators of social change, remained essentially rural, parochial and self-sufficient, factors that—at least on Cyprus—inhibited the permanent establishment of unequal social relations. The 'emerging asymmetrical social relationships' that Peltenburg (1991c: 27) sees in the Middle, if not the Late Chalcolithic thus may be regarded as incipient forms of material, cultural, and social developments that became much more intensified in the highly transformed social, political, and economic milieux of the PreBA, during the third millennium BC (Knapp 1993a: 89–90). Such developments were in no way inevitable (evolutionary) and they do not exclude a situation where episodes of social complexity alternate with periods of stasis or collapse (Figure 65) (Allen 1984; 442–9; Manning 1993; 39–41; Peltenburg 1993; 18–20).

The PreBA 1 period (c.2700–2000 BC) witnessed several innovations (see Chapter 3): intricate mortuary rituals attendant upon (often wealthy) burials in extramural, at times elaborate chambered tombs; centralized storage facilities (Late Chalcolithic only); the specialized production of faience beads and various figurines; metalworking and metals production from local ores; the likely emergence of specifically gendered identities. All these factors, alongside notable differences in wealth within and between some communities, as well as the dynamics of prestige competition that become increasingly apparent in the mortuary record (Keswani 2004: 83; 2005: 382-4), surely signal at least some structural changes in society (Manning 1993: 45–9; Peltenburg 1993: 20; 1996: 17–27 and fig. 1). They all highlight a new ideology and new economic activities that served to underpin an elite group (or groups) exercising some control over a society in the throes of substantial and unsettling change. Although it may be impossible, on present evidence, to state unequivocally that such social distinctions were tantamount to political hierarchies which somehow regulated the islanders' lives, we can at least conclude that emerging social elites, and escalating social and economic links with the surrounding regions, had now begun to transform island life and to trigger changes in insular identities on Cyprus.

How do such social and material factors relate to the thematic issues treated in this study: colonization and ethnic migration, acculturation and hybridization, insularity and connectivity, identifying individuals in the material record, and the social identity of PreBA Cypriotes?

Examining how individuals present and experience themselves through embodiment can steer archaeologists toward a better understanding of both

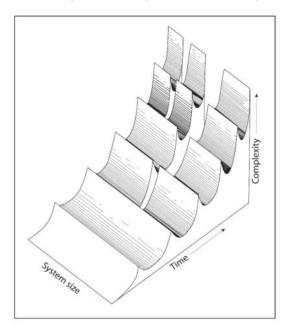


Figure 65: Step model illustrating episodes of social complexity alternating with periods of stasis or collapse.

the social (gender, class, or status) and physical (age, sex) components of human identity. The construction of identity through material culture is revealed to differing degrees in representations of the body, where dress, bodily ornamentation or modification, posture and gesture enable individuals to put on a 'social skin' (Turner 1980), linking themselves to specific social groups, factions, or communities. On Cyprus, the increased use of and differentiation amongst representations of the human form—from the pendants and birthing figurines of the Middle Chalcolithic (c.3200 BC) to the scenic compositions and plank figurines of the PreBA (ending c.1700 BC), many with highly distinctive markings (personal adornment, jewellery, clothing, facial markings (see Figures 3, 17a, b), coincide with a suite of other changes in PreBA material culture to reveal not just new modes of social organization but also the emerging role and status of the individuals involved.

Over a period of some 1,500 years diverse forms of human representations accompanied and characterized some striking organizational changes in Cypriot society. Representations of individuals are apparent throughout this period, and they changed over time, with indicators of the self becoming more numerous and more prominent in the latest phase of the PreBA. Beyond formal distinctions in style, these figurines display distinctive ways of representing the body,

reproducing stages of the life cycle as well as idealized moments in individual lives. There is a tension between the highly individualized executions of both the Chalcolithic birthing figurines and the PreBA 2 plank figurines (cf. Joyce 2003: 256–8, on early Mesoamerican figurines). The restricted range of actors and actions depicted argues strongly for the use of figurines as media in negotiating island identities. These figurines thus mirror the bodily experience of those who made and used them, and at the same time reverberate with both intelligibility and ambiguity, in terms of their sexuality, embodiment, and representation.

Can material culture shed any light on the proposed migration of an Anatolian ethnic group or groups to Cyprus at the onest of the PreBA? Emberling (1997: 317) warned that archaeologists have often been too quick to assume that a complex of foreign objects or influences is indicative of a cohesive ethnic group. Such distinctiveness in material culture might relate instead to elite identities, or elite attempts to establish or justify their status by emulating foreign groups. In their various papers, Frankel and Webb argue that the concept of technology transfer from Anatolia serves to explain many of the innovations seen in the PreBA 1 material record. Their argument assumes that the properties of introduced items (and their technologies) would have been immediately obvious and adopted by islanders on Cyprus; it reflects in some measure a colonialist perspective in which the people of 'frontier' zones like Cyprus are seen as passive recipients of innovations stemming from 'core' zones like Anatolia (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995: 475–7). Technology, moreover, is a dynamic and multi-dimensional phenomenon that involves not just technology transfer but other factors such as invention, innovation, and cognition (Paravil 1993: 105), and depends upon cultural and social knowledge (Lemonnier 1993). Even relatively specialized tools and techniques may be adapted for alternative technological uses and purposes (Thomas 1991: 87). We remain uncertain, for example, about the purposes for which Anatolianizing pottery might have been adoped, or what kind of materials, textiles, or clothing might have been produced using the low-whorl spindles and loomweights emphasized by Frankel (2000: 172–3).

Assuming that Anatolian migrants were able to waltz over to Cyprus and extract a raw material in demand misconstrues power relations and, *prima facie* at least, assumes the domination or subordination of indigenous Cypriotes. Webb and Frankel themselves (Webb *et al.* 2006; also Stos-Gale 2001) have now provided plausible reasons for Cyprus's growing involvement in interregional trade, but we still need to consider who might have dominated that trade (migrants or natives? a new hybridized social group? other foreign traders?). As originally proposed, the migration scenario failed to consider the significance and mechanisms of local or long-distance trade, the social impact of foreign contacts, or the meanings of the objects and materials

involved in such trade (the 'entangled objects' of Thomas 1991: 83–4). Changes in the meanings of trade, or its motivations, in one society (e.g. Anatolia, the Levant) may have had a rapid and dynamic effect on another (e.g. Cyprus, the Cyclades or the Aegean). Within the Mediterraenan, the spread of the secondary products revolution in the late 4th or early 3rd millennium BC, the development of an interregional trade in metals and prestige goods in the later 3rd millennium BC, and the emergence of trade as a politico-economic fulcrum all must have disrupted the balance amongst power sources within many contemporary societies. For many mainland societies of the time, this resulted in more egalitarian power structures increasingly oriented around trade, social alliances, and economic intensification (Robb 2001: 195). On 3rd millennium BC Cyprus, as was the case on late 4th millennium BC Malta, we see the opposite effect, namely the increased authority and prominence of those who stood at the apex of the socio-political hierarchy.

As an alternative, we should view all the evidence Frankel and Webb cite not simply in terms of an ethnic migration but rather as the hybridization of various Anatolian and Cypriot material and social elements. The people most directly involved may have formed part of a symmetrical exchange network (Alexander 1998: 486-7), in which interdependent groups represent and reveal indicators of symbiosis in social, economic, and ritual spheres that cut across linguistic and territorial boundaries. As Frankel (2005: 20-1) would argue for the Cypriot case, power differentials between exchange partners are not evident and similar types of technology are available to all members of the network. Although some inequalities may be evident in household capacities. in production and access to resources, and in patterns of consumption (mortuary practices, feasting activities), such differences are not crucial in exchange transactions. Because participation in a symmetrical exchange network itself would provide the incentive for surplus production, labour organization would be affected only at the individual household level. Mutual obligations in giving, receiving or reciprocating food, minerals, finished goods and raw materials, especially metals, would support a long-term, spatially extensive and stable system of economic as well as social interaction, one in which sustained cross-cultural contact does not necessarily reduce cultural diversity or, if it does, results in a more hybridized social system than that envisioned by Frankel and Webb.

Frankel *et al.* (1996: 48) argued that various aspects of the secondary products revolution (Sherratt 1981, 1983; Knapp 1990a), including the feeding, maintenance, and breeding of new animals as well as the sole-ard ploughs of Bronze Age Cyprus (Frankel 2000), demand 'the movement of farmers, as well as of material'. In other words, there is an expectation here that dominant

migrants would bring with them discrete materials and cultural practices that will be visible in the archaeological record, when in fact such diagnostic traits tend to merge or blur at the margins of different social units (Lightfoot and Martinez 1995: 478–9). Adding to Frankel's line of argument, Peltenburg (1996: 23) maintained that the cattle-plough complex would not have been adopted on Cyprus 'without external input and engaging in a lengthy evolutionary process'. In a more recent discussion, he seems to question whether the secondary products revolution ever touched Cyprus (Peltenburg *et al.* 1998: 254; cf. Knapp 1990a: 155–61, 165–6, 169). If it didn't, the island would have been one of the most isolated polities in the prehistoric Mediterranean, and the archaeological record presented here demonstrates palpably that this was not the case. It may also be noted that migration or colonization have never been touted as a mechanism for the spread of the secondary products revolution, anywhere in the Mediterranean or Europe (e.g. Bogucki 1993; Greenfield 1988; Thomas 1987; Greenfield and Fowler 2005).

Earlier suggestions about possible invaders from northwest Anatolia (Dikaios 1962: 202-3), or about Anatolian refugees fleeing unsettled conditions in southern Anatolia and taking over Cyprus (Catling 1971a: 808–16), have crystallized into a factoid (Maier 1985) that finds ethnic Anatolians migrating and transferring advanced technologies to Cyprus, in order to exploit its copper resources. Webb and Frankel (1999; also Frankel 2000, 2005) regard the material record of mid-3rd millennium BC Cyprus as indicative of both an indigenous Chalcolithic ethnic group and a settler Philia group from Anatolia, without considering fully how the interaction and mixing of those two groups will have affected the hybridized Cypriot culture that they have so well documented. Although Peltenburg (1996: 27) once postulated a combination of limited indigenous developments alongside a decidedly more influential (i.e. superior) Anatolian colonization, more recently he has soft-pedalled the notion of an outright colonization, and refers to innovations with 'some claim to foreign inspiration', predominantly from EB II Anatolia (Peltenburg et al. 1998: 256).

On the one hand, in more general terms, population displacement, resettlement and migration may help in part to explain how new cultures were created or negotiated (Pauketat 2003), but only if one takes into account the hybridization of cultures that results from such intensive and often ongoing social contacts. On the other hand, and with specific relevance to the present case, Held (1992: 29) dismissed the demographic reality of the Philia phenomenon: 'Perhaps Philia should be regarded not as a discontinuity that ushered in a new age, but as a tonic for the old: the trigger of a slow transformation marked by the the addition of few crucial innovations... to a 1,300-year-old culture with quite a few innovations of its own'. Although Held

never conceived of the PreBA transformation in this way, here we have an active example of hybridization. As Thomas (2003: 72-3) argued for the British Neolithic, we do not need to fall back upon models of migration or invasion to realize that people were moving around at this time, beyond their own communities, becoming involved in social (e.g. marriages, group alliances) and material (metals, prestige goods) exchanges, and in new relations of production and consumption. In other words, people circulated within and beyond their own villages or communities, and such movement need not have been one-directional (i.e. an Anatolian migration to Cyprus). The new, thoroughly mixed and often ambiguous cultural repertoire that characterizes the PreBA 1 era includes architectural styles, burial practices, pottery types, a wide range of other portable objects and even domesticated animals, many of which reveal Anatolianizing tendencies but none of which have direct Anatolian parallels. Given the social motivations and spatial variations that must have been involved in the social contacts between indigenous Cypriotes and foreigners (immigrants, traders, entrepreneurs) from Anatolia, the Aegean and quite possibly the Levant, most aspects of the PreBA 1 material record would certainly have been adapted and used in different ways from those for which they were originally designed. Such an interpretation helps to explain why we find no definitive Anatolian parallels amongst the PreBA 1 cultural repertoire.

No final solutions emerge from arguments that propose either a dominant migrating ethnic group or exclusively internal developments. Nor do such unilinear arguments explain the changes that mark the transformation to Cyprus's earliest Bronze Age. Given the multiple problems involved in identifying ethnic groups in material terms (in particular the way that people may alter their social identity in the face of changing social, political or ideological situations), as well as the complexity of all the possible factors involved in migratory movements, it is no longer feasible to defend the notion of a focal ethnic migration from Anatolia to Cyprus in the early-mid third millennium BC. Rather we should consider the likelihood that all the changes evident in the PreBA 1 material record resulted from the hybridization of cultures newly in contact at this time. Within such a scenario of interaction, invention, and cultural intermixture, we can consider more effectively how newly hybridized elites adopted and adapted a strategy (or strategies) to gain status or achieve their goals, and how this impacted on their unique, insular identity. Such a strategy often involves modifying outward cultural appearances as well as the material manifestations of life, as part of manipulating one's social identity (Cusick 1998c: 138-9).

I propose the following scenario. At the transition to the PreBA era on Cyprus, some migrants of ultimate Anatolian origin arrived on the island,

intent—as migrants typically are—on maintaining various aspects of their culture and material culture, but equally aware of the need to adapt to certain materials, ideas and ideologies prevalent in the island society they were embracing. If we uncouple these people from a fixed (or absolute) sense of place (i.e. an origin in southwest Anatolia), then we may gain a different understanding of the spatial attachments and new modes of communication involved in the meetings and mixings of these different socio-cultural groups. The actual reasons that lay behind this migration may never be known, but we may postulate, on the basis of recent work by those who have most avidly promoted the migration scenario (Webb et al. 2006), that it involved at least in part an eastern Mediterrranean (Anatolian–Aegean–Cypriot–Levantine), metals-oriented, interaction sphere. Anyone engaged in such an enterprise would have sought to capitalize on Cypriot copper ore sources, and analytical work by Stos-Gale (2001: 200–2) suggests that people in Pre-Palatial Crete did just that. Recent lead isotope analyses on 20 metal objects excavated in a late Middle Minoan IIB (c.1750 BC) workshop at Malia, on Crete, indicate that four of the objects are consistent with production from Cypriot copper ores (Poursat and Loubet 2005: 119). If the analyses are accurate, we have here good evidence for the continuing Aegean procurement of Cypriot copper during the Proto-Palatial period. Although there is only slim material evidence for trading contacts between Cyprus and the Levant or western Asia at this time, the earliest documentary evidence referring to Alashiya demonstrates that merchants from these regions had also gained access to the island's copper resources by the PreBA 2 period (2000–1700/1650 BC).

The social identity of migrants such as sailors, traders, merchants or metalworkers is influenced by their constant movement. As a result, any migrants arriving on Cyprus during the PreBA would already have tended to break with earlier cultural as well as material culture patterns and forms. At the same time the social bonds with their kin back home (in Anatolia, the Aegean, or the Levant) would have been weakened and new bonds established. All these factors played into the development and adoption of a new island identity. Anatolian migrants and Cypriot natives would have co-existed and cooperated in a new, 'third space', whilst many of the material reflections of this process of cultural mixture—metal goods, pottery, spindle whorls, loomweights, building styles—may be seen as intrusive or foreign in the Cypriot context. Neither Cypriot nor Anatolian, however, such objects and materials reveal both a mixture and an ambivalence, a visible manifestation of difference that was neutralized as the result of interactive, hybridization practices which allowed both migrants and native Cypriotes not only to reconceptualize their material culture but to renegotiate their identities.

#### THE PROTOHISTORIC BRONZE AGE

Several diverse issues are involved in presenting a social perspective on Cyprus's ProBA. These include settlement trends, socio-political organization, production and exchange, gendered representations, mortuary practices, monumentality and monumental architecture, migrations and the hybridization of cultures. The documentary record related to *Alashiya* of the ProBA extends the discussion, especially with respect to the diplomatic, political and economic relations of the island's social elite(s). All these issues require synthesis and interpretation not just with respect to the broader themes of this study (insularity, connectivity and island identities) but also in light of specific developments that took place within the ProBA: (1) the intensification of copper production and trade; (2) the emergence of a state-level polity on Cyprus and its governing mechanism(s); (3) the island's growing involvement in the wide-spread exchange systems at work throughout the Mediterraenan in the Late Bronze Age; and (4) the apparent collapse of those systems in the late 13th or early 12th century BC.

From the earliest phase of the ProBA, those people involved in the administrative aspects of production and exchange (internal and external) constructed an elite identity based on their associations with foreign powers, and on the consumption, use and patterned display of foreign goods (e.g. the Levantine-type bronze socketed axes and maceheads from various mortuary deposits—Courtois 1986: 74–9; Philip 1991: 85; or the Old Babylonian cylinder seal from Nicosia *Ayia Paraskevi* tomb 1884—Merrillees 1989: 153–5). They sought to legitimize their authority by establishing an ideology partly rooted in the localized production and exchange of copper, and partly based on ideological concepts drawn from foreign, and especially Near Eastern sources. Most documentary evidence related to *Alashiya* during the ProBA is concerned with the island's economic contacts overseas: merchants and emissaries, the exchange of luxury goods and bulk metals, the ideological and commercial practices that characterized elite contacts throughout the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean.

As Webb (1999: 307–8; 2005: 181) has so cogently argued, the luxury items that Cypriot rulers and elites acquired from afar, primarily in return for Cypriot copper, offered ideal sources for elite display, whilst foreign models of political ideology, including the very notion of kingship, provided a 'blueprint for domination' that had never been developed in local iconographic traditions. As Keswani (1989c, 1993), Webb (2005) and I (Knapp 1998, 2006) have argued, from differing perspectives, the use of such prestigious goods and symbols

would have reflected the pomp and circumstance, and the mechanisms of authority of Near Eastern as well as Aegean potentates. In many instances they also demonstrate the impact of hybridization on the cultural and material repertoires of ProBA Cyprus. Along with luxury goods produced locally by craft specialists but often from non-local materials (e.g. faience vases, gold jewellery, ivory objects), prestige-bearing foreign goods functioned as material markers of a Cypriot elite identity. They provided a means to consolidate Cypriot power structure(s) and to integrate Cypriot merchants and their products into the international, iconographic, and ideological *koine* that typified and motivated elites throughout the Late Bronze Age Mediterranean world.

The primary coastal towns of the ProBA, and the rich harvest of material excavated in them, also indicate that they were oriented towards the sea and overseas contacts. One of their primary functions was to export Cypriot copper and other commodities in response to foreign demand (extensively referenced in the Alashiva documents), and to import from the Mediterranean and the Near East various types of luxury goods, organic products, and key raw materials (widely documented in archaeological and textual evidence). The Cypriot elites who dominated these towns were instrumental in establishing economic and ideological alliances with several of the more powerful foreign polities, factions or merchants who together made up the widespread and intensive interaction sphere(s) that typified international relations during the Late Bronze Age. The acquisition and display of prestigious Near Eastern, Egyptian, and Aegean goods on ProBA Cyprus—many of which were incorporated and adapted into Cypriot symbolic and ideological systems, and referred to in the corpus of Alashiya texts—not only helped elites to establish a distinctive identity within the island but also served to enhance their status. to secure their control over copper production and distribution as well as other facets of overseas trade, and to make their authority manifest through (often foreign) ideological constructs and concepts. Other, highly visible markers of authority and identity—ashlar masonry, monumental architecture, elite tombs—were also common in the primary town centres (Knapp 1996b).

In order to disseminate their authority and emphasize their identity throughout the agricultural villages, production sites, ceremonial centres, and transshipment points that made up the rest of the settlement system, elites also made use of smaller, more mobile paraphernalia of power—e.g. seals, Cypro-Minoan inscriptions, miniature ingots, bronze stands and bronze statuettes with their own status insignia (Knapp 1988; Webb 2002b: 140) (Figure 66). Certain types of seals linked to different social groups (or used to restructure social relationships between one group and another) are ideal candidates for use as identity markers, whether in specific (Elaborate style) or more generalized (Derivative, Common styles) transactions. If

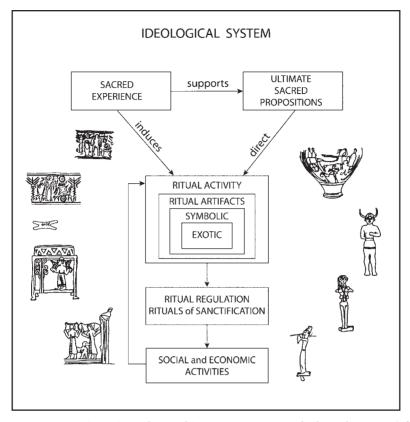


Figure 66: Status insignia and Protohistoric Bronze Age ideological system (after Knapp 1986b: fig. 4).

Left
Kourion seal
Hala Sultan Tekke seal
Enkomi (?) miniature ingot
Kourion bronze stand
Unprovenanced bronze stand

Right
Enkomi 'Zeus' Krater (ProBA2)
Enkomi 'Horned God'
Unprovenanced 'Bomford Figurine'
Enkomi 'Ingot God'

Elaborate style seals were used by managerial elites to mark their identity and enhance their authority, then Common style seals would have been adopted as identity markers by artisans, craftspeople, and labourers in society.

Documentary evidence offers a glimpse of these differing levels of professions or trades, from ceremonial or administrative officials to shepherds and builders. Whatever their origins may have been, the people of ProBA *Alashiya* 

had names that we can identify as linguistically Hurrian, Semitic, Egyptian, or Anatolian, even if they were, or had become, 'native' Alashiyans.

As specialized, perhaps regionally-integrated aspects of production and exchange developed during the ProBA period, it would have been crucial to increase the labour pool and intensify the level of agricultural production in order to create surpluses. The distribution of prominent storage facilities at various inland sites and agricultural support villages, as well as in the noncoastal, primary centres of Kalavasos Ayios Dhimitrios and Alassa Paleotaverna (Webb 2002b: 130-1), hints at an internal economic system (of staple and/or wealth finance) in which agricultural products were grown and stored in the hinterland, then redistributed elsewhere, on demand, to specialized producers and governing elites. The 88-known impressed pithos sherds (50 from Alassa Paleotaverna) appear contemporaneously with evidence for large-scale storage facilities; this factor alone suggests some sort of centralized, elite organization, and the transport of olive oil and grain between the agricultural production zones and the population centres. These seal impressions may refer to places where the *pithoi* were produced or where their contents were to be consumed, but the elaborate designs on many of them surely must be associated with elite consumers and may be taken as further markers of elite identities. Moreover, the growing body of evidence for ProBA subsistence activities (faunal and floral data), taken in conjunction with the remains of feasting in various mortuary deposits, provide clues to both elite and commoner dietary preferences, and help us to distinguish better between social ideologies and differing social identities.

The socio-political organization of ProBA was not only complex, it must have changed over the course of the period more than once, alongside changing circumstances both within (production, consumption) and beyond (exchange, foreign demand, political allegiances) the island. One thing, however, remains clear: at the very time (ProBA 1) that Enkomi began to exert regional control over both mineral and agricultural resources (one characteristic of early state formation), we also see evidence of all the other striking material changes—fortifications, distinctive burial practices, the first use of the Cypro–Minoan script (at Enkomi), a proliferation in the use of seals—that mark the transformation from kinship-based segmentary relations to politically ascribed and stratified social relations. If Enkomi thus served as the political or at least the economic centre of Cyprus at the outset of the ProBA, the situation during the ProBA 2 period (c.1450–1250 BC) is less clear, even if documentary evidence demonstrates beyond any doubt the existence of a single king of *Alashiya* at that time.

By the end of the 14th century BC at the very latest, the iconography and imagery employed on the seals and sealings, jewellery, ivory carving, faience design, and finished metal products, as well as the style of the architecture, had become relatively homogeneous throughout the island. This observation lends

support to the notion of a single, unified Cypriot polity rather than multiple regional polities. Pickles and Peltenburg (1997: 87–90), however, after reassessing the architectural history and metalworking activities seen in Enkomi's Quartier 1W Fortress, argue for a complex decentralization of authority during LC IIC (13th century BC) and the emergence at that time of competing elite factions. Likewise, Keswani (1996: 226) and Manning (1998b: 53) maintain that the dispersed location of LC IIC 'sanctuaries' at Enkomi, and the lack of any single monumental complex there that might be identified as an administrative centre or 'palace', indicate the growth and intensification of local factionalism. In light of evidence presented above, however, we need to revisit the issue of monumentality and reconsider the likely function(s) of monumental structures found in several other town centres on the island.

Whereas the monumental Fortress at Enkomi, built early in the ProBA 1 era, almost certainly served as an economic and administrative centre for emerging elites seeking to organize and control the production and exchange of copper, by the ProBA 2 period monumental ashlar-built structures had appeared in Kition, Alassa Paleotaverna, Kalavasos Avios Dhimitrios, and Maroni Vournes. The monumentality and design of Building X at Ayios Dhimitrios, the Ashlar Building at Maroni Vournes, and Buildings II and III at Alassa Paleotaverna all provide signposts to an elite presence, whilst sound and extensive evidence for multiple production and storage activities in these structures indicate that they served some central administrative role both in the town and in the surrounding region. The industrial areas and workshops found in monumental structures at Enkomi, Kition, Kalavasos Avios Dhimitrios and Maroni Vournes likewise signal elite control over the production and refinement of metal ores and olive oil, if not other specialized commodities (ivory, faience, finished metal products). At Myrtou *Pigadhes*, the monumental complex served multiple storage, industrial, and transport functions, suggesting that it may also have been an elite centre, not unlike Ayios Dhimitrios and Paleotaverna. Kition Kathari and Hala Sultan Tekke Vyzakia both may have been major port towns, but their propinquity poses a challenge to defining their specific roles within the settlement system. Kition's diverse and extensive monumental architecture nonetheless singles it out as an elite town centre, one that continued to play an important role, alongside Enkomi and Palaepaphos, into the 12th century BC (ProBA 3).

Although the distinctive nature of the monumental structures at all ProBA town centres is evident, we cannot disentangle their secular vs. their ceremonial functions, and it is unlikely that Cypriote elites themselves made such a distinction. The somewhat standardized construction methods and plans of the monumental buildings uncovered at Enkomi, Kition, Alassa *Paleotaverna*, Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, and Maroni *Vournes*, as well as other similarities

in material culture and insignia of elite identity (iconography of cylinder seals and motifs on seal impressions, metalworking, figurines, and other standardized terracotta images, local and imported pottery, etc.) all suggest a centralized authority, or at least centralized control over various regional polities. The massive investment of time and labour in the monumental constructions of ProBA Cyprus indicates the controlling presence of an elite group seeking to demonstrate their authority through one of the most palpable media that could be used for this purpose. The documentary evidence emphatically stresses centralized political control, whilst the petrographic and chemical analyses carried out by Goren *et al.* (203, 2004) on some of these documents point to *Paleotaverna* and *Ayios Dhimitrios* as two key centres of ProBA 2 *Alashiya*.

Wherever the political centre (or centres) of the ProBA 2 period may have been situated, all the major coastal towns as well as the inland sites of Kalavasos Avios Dhimitrios, Alassa Paleotaverna, and perhaps Myrtou Pigadhes, operated within a well organized settlement system of primary and secondary centres, agricultural support villages, mining communities and other production sites (pottery, olive oil), and transshipment points. All of these sites facilitated social contacts and economic exchanges on the island. Cyprus's unprecedented economic and urban expansion during the 13th century BC took place in the context of a widespread, essentially cooperative, interregional system of commericial, ideological, and iconographic exchange throughout the eastern Mediterraenan (Feldman 2002, 2006). Cypriot pottery, Cypriot sealings bearing symbolic and identity-laden images, and several 14th-13th century BC cuneiform documents recovered from excavations at Ugarit offer compelling evidence for the intimate links between Cyprus and one of the most important coastal emporia in the Levant. All these documentary records (see Chapter 6) point to a highly specialized, intricately organized, ethnically-diverse, elite-level system of travel, transport, communication, and exchange. This system served the rulers of Alashiya very well on multiple levels, whilst the town of Enkomi whatever its political status—continued to serve as an important entrepot for the export of copper and the import of a wide range of 'Oriental' luxury goods.

The burial assemblages, mortuary practices and rituals of the ProBA also point to an increasingly stratified, elite social order, indicated both by disparities in the distribution of gold, silver, ivory, and other luxury goods between groups and by the occurrence in the richest tombs overall of the highest order luxury goods (Keswani 2004: 142). Through a selective and repetititve display of certain kinds of bodily ornamentation (e.g. gold jewellery), dress (e.g. the spotted robes of charioteers on Mycenaean kraters) and feasting paraphernalia (kraters, *rhyta*, libation vessels), island elites not only enhanced their image and lineage within society but also highlighted, in the most obvious material way, their own identity. Whether imported or locally made, the luxury goods

so prominent in ProBA burials, as well as the rituals that attended such burials, further promoted existing social hierarchies, and at the same time helped to preserve the memory and power of ancestral groups. The diverse iconographic depictions of chariots, and the Alashiyan king's request to the Egyptian pharaoh for a chariot outfitted with gold, emphasize an idealized mode of elite transportation, one that surely signals an elite identity. Cypriot elites displayed other types of Near Eastern, Egyptian, and Aegean royal imagery not just to legitimize their rule but also to portray their identity in relation to readily recognizable symbols of foreign status and power. The intramural tombs of the ProBA would have been visible as people went about their daily activities, and the mortuary rituals and practices assocated with them served multiple functions: to justify and maintain social hierarchies; to perpetuate the memory of elite ancestral groups; and to single out and identify members of elite groups.

We may also envision the occurrence of 'grand primary funerals' (Keswani (2004: 158)—like those associated with Skeleton I in Tomb 11 at Avios Dhimitrios, or with Swedish Tomb 18 at Enkomi—as events geared to symbolize both the power and the continuity of specific elite groups. Such elaborate arrays and singular displays of wealth associated with primary burials indicate a new emphasis on individuals or single family groups, and demonstrate not just the status of the deceased during her/his life, but also the wealth and position of their living relatives who could afford to remove such goods from circulation. In such a way the identities of the deceased were further constructed, transmitted and manipulated by the living members of the family, lineage or group (Bolger 2003: 180-2). The prolonged use and reuse of certain chamber tombs point to the 'enduring importance of lineal identity as the basis for status and social legitimacy' throughout the ProBA (Keswani 2004: 159). Manning (1998b) takes this notion to its ultimate conclusion, suggesting that the power and pre-eminence of diverse ancestral groups had developed, by LC IIC, into the overarching political control of one ruling family, if not one key individual at Maroni Vournes.

Despite the number and diversity of luxury goods found in ProBA tombs, it must be recalled that status differentials no longer were established exclusively through competitive mortuary rituals. Rather they were increasingly based on politico-economic factors such as access to or control over copper production and trade, and on social positions within the community (Keswani 2004: 85–6). The quantities of gold recovered from ProBA 3 mortuary contexts at Enkomi, for example, must be seen in light of the increased number of gold items found in habitational and 'cultic' contexts in Area I at this site (Antoniadou 2004: 174). Thus, by the end of the Bronze Age, mortuary practices no longer served as the only means of expressing status differentials, even if mortuary rituals were still used as one means to express social identity.

In considering issues of gender with respect to ProBA mortuary practices, Bolger (2003: 182) has suggested that 'men and men alone were privileged to attain the highest ranks within the social, political, and economic structures of society'. She has also argued that the emergence and development of social complexity (or the 'secondary state') on Bronze Age Cyprus should be equated with the rise of patriarchal authority and the concomitant demise in women's roles and social positions (Bolger 1996, 2003; cf. Frankel 1997). The high-status female burials uncovered at Ayios Dhimitrios, Enkomi, and Toumba tou Skourou contradict both suggestions. Bolger (2003: 195) suggests that these high status female burials reflect the class of the women involved, rather than their gender. With respect to the same bodies of evidence, Keswani (2004: 31) also concludes that gender biases probably were prevalent throughout the Bronze Age, but that various social conditions and factors beyond gender may have led to the variation we see within and between ProBA communities. Acknowledging these possibilities, the fact remains that women seem to have outnumbered men in certain very high status burials. despite an overall male bias in numbers at certain sites. At Avios Dhimitrios, not only do we find sexually segregated burials and very high status women's tombs, but some distinctive Mycenaean pictorial kraters portraying women (also at Kourion Bamboula), all of which suggests an elite social group whose ideology and identity embraced gendered status roles and gender relations that may have engaged at least some women on an equal footing with men.

Compared to PreBA mortuary practices, where emphasis seems to have been placed on social achievements, the higher frequency of infant or children's burials at various sites, in particular at Ayios Dhimitrios, may indicate new, ascriptive criteria for mortuary inclusion (Keswani 2004: 141). With respect to gendered representations and women's status, although women in certain (especially rural) communities were buried in chamber tombs less often than men, amongst the highest status burials we find women richly equipped and well represented, even depicted on Mycenaean chariot kraters, all of which suggests that they enjoyed social prominence in life as well as death, and perhaps even had the capacity to pass along to descendants and kin not just heritable wealth but social position (Keswani 2004: 141). Even though it goes against the grain of Bolger's overall premise (namely that men held the highest ranks in ProBA Cypriot society), even she concludes that the luxury items shrouding the female skeletons in Tomb 11 at Avios Dhimitrios were probably displayed in life as well as in death, and indicate that some elite women had the rights and prerogatives to own, manipulate, and dispense with wealth, if not actively to engage in the trade or exchange of luxury goods (Bolger 2003: 173). Finally, Bolger's (2003: 175–82) portrayal of 'gender mutability' in the ProBA, whilst speculative, offers an intriguing portraval of how certain mature males (elders?) may have dressed up for death—in terms of the clothing, jewellery, and cosmetic containers interred with them.

Given the lack of sustained resesarch, we are much less certain about gendered ideologies, gendered performance, and gender practices in non-mortuary situations during the ProBA. Nonetheless, the images or individuals represented by the anthropomorphic figurines of the ProBA must have played some role in shaping the ideology of gender in everyday practice. They also provide some insight into changing political formations and the emergence of new social identities during the ProBA. Once we dispense with the notion that every statuette or human representation portrays a deity, for example, the birdheaded (Type A) and normal-faced (Type B) figurines may be seen as representing motherhood, personhood, feasting or other types of celebration (as dancers or celebrants), or possibly cultic practice (as priestesses). The bronze Bomford statuette (see Figure 32) serves as a striking marker of elite female identity, one that may have served in part to legitimize elite domination over copper production and trade. Both the male (Ingot God, Horned God— Figures 58, 59) and female metal figurines thus would have served as representations of elite authority that helped to promote and support urban expansion and economic intensification during the ProBA. Finally, we should no longer think of these figurines in simple binary terms: both males and females (the majority) were represented, and more thorough and nuanced analyses may uncover multiple or ambiguous gendered representations that defy traditional sexual categories, as is the case with PreBA figurines. Bolger's (2003: 175–9) discussion of gender mutability, for example, nicely portrays the possibility of 'third gender' or 'transgendered' individuals interred in ProBA tombs at Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Avios Dhimitrios, Avios Iakovos, and Lapithos.

In the politico-economic realm, archaeological evidence alone *could* be taken to represent the existence of regionally based, heterarchical polities whose economic structure was geared to maintain the smooth flow—through coercion or cooperation—of raw materials, agricultural produce and finished goods throughout the settlement hierarchy (along the lines of Merrillees 1992a; Keswani 1996; Peltenburg 1996). Taking the material data together with a growing body of documentary evidence related to *Alashiya*, however, a stronger argument can be made that political as well as economic power on Cyprus during, and probably throughout the ProBA 2 period was invested centrally in the king of *Alashiya*, perhaps with a senior official (*rābisu*, *pidduri*) as second-in-command. Whether a paramount king or a *primus inter pares*, that individual exercised wide-ranging control over multiple facets of production, consumption, international diplomacy, and exchange within and beyond the island. Exactly where the centre of power lay, or if indeed it was located in a single place, is impossible to establish, but Enkomi remains the strongest candidate, whilst Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios* and Alassa

Paleotaverna stand out as possibilities, at least based on the current archaeological and archaeometric records. Cyprus's ruling elite(s) likely resided in and controlled all three centres, which would have served multiple needs—production, storage, (re)distribution—at different times, and for differing reasons, throughout the ProBA. Perhaps we should even consider the possibility that the rulers of ancient Alashiya, like their British colonial counterparts, took to the mountains (i.e. Paleotaverna) during the hotter months to gain some respite from the relentless heat and humidity nearer the coast (Peto 1927: 227–34; Given 2001: 256).

As the Bronze Age drew to a close in the eastern Mediterranean, the century between about 1200-1100 BC witnessed a complex series of site destructions and demographic movements, involving diverse groups of people, many of whom are referred to in Egyptian documents of the 14th–13th centuries BC (Liverani 1987; Cifola 1994). With specific reference to Alashiya/Cyprus, it has proved difficult to identify any group of the Sea Peoples in the ProBA 2–3 archaeological record (Muhly 1984: 49). On a broader scale, the destructions and demographic disruptions spelt an end to the lucrative and cooperative international relations that had become a hallmark of the (late) Middle and Late Bronze Ages in the Mediterranean (Monroe 2000). In all of the lands that were affected, from the Levantine seaboard to the central Mediterranean, there is good reason to believe that stable groups like farmers and individual craftspeople remained in place, with their horizons reduced but their means of producing food and other necessities still intact. Moreover, the breakdown of the strongly centralized and closely interrelated economies of the eastern Mediterranean actually seems to have been offset by a burst of related activity that had repercussions far beyond that area (Rowlands 1984: 150–2; Knapp 1990b; Sherratt 1998; Iacovou 2006b).

With respect to issues of ethnicity and the complex, if inevitable migrations that must have taken place as international relations fractured, I should argue that we must focus on the concept of hybridization to consider how the boundaries of different groups or group identities were established, and more importantly how the material representations of these groups became transformed through time into something entitely new and distinctive. Like Sherratt (1992), we need to consider the social or politico-economic contexts in which a new sense of social identity may have emerged, and how that might have occurred. From a hybridization perspective, archaeologists should be able to capitalize on the great diversity and multiple entanglements seen in the material culture of 13th–11th century BC Cyprus, to reconsider how particular people used and transformed it, and how such transformations were patterned and represented in the archaeological record as reflections of distinctive social groups. If Cyprus became the focal point of 'serial migrations' by groups from the Aegean and the Levant (or even Anatolia as some would argue) during the 12th-11th centuries BC, then we must expect that they will have introduced social, ethnic, and material diversity into different towns and regions on the island, creating new social and economic links between distant areas, and in the process obscuring any clear picture of discrete ethnic groups, of 'us' vs. 'them' (Bernardini 2005: 46–7).

Where involvement in the prosperous trading spheres of the eastern Mediterranean had once served to promote economic expansion and socio-political fusion, the island's natural circumscription and a growing scarcity of land and natural resources (the result of more than one thousand years of intensive copper production and extensive plough-based agriculture) may ultimately have led to social divisions and intra-island competition. Nonetheless the stability of the politico-economic system was such that the widespread collapse of trading networks and polities within and beyond the Mediterranean had only limited effects on Cyprus. Some of the earliest developments in iron technology took place on Cyprus at this very time (Waldbaum 1980; Snodgrass 1982; Pickles and Peltenburg 1998), whilst the production of copper would have been reorganized, not least in Cyprus but also in other sectors of the Mediterranean economy (Knapp 1990b; also Kassianidou 2001). In other words, one response to the wider economic collapse was to commercialize copper production and distribution in some markets (central Mediterranean), iron production in others (eastern Mediterranean).

As Rowlands (1984: 152) argued long ago on a broader European basis, this highly competitive, political, and economic 'devolution' ignited the intensification of metals' production, an increase in the velocity of circulated goods, and the expansion of the interregional interaction sphere(s) that had operated throughout the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean. The resulting restructuring of the palatial systems and regional economies in the eastern Mediteranean meant that formerly state-supported merchants now became private or individual entrepreneurs, commercial traders operating on an ideology of profit as opposed to the social motivations that characterized Bronze Age gift exchange and royal contracts (Liverani 1987: 72). Consciously or unconsciously, the concept of small-scale, entrepreneurial traders emerging phoenixlike from the ashes of the Bronze Age palatial trading systems (e.g. Sherratt 1998, 2001; Artzy 1997) owes a great deal to Rowlands' conceptualization of the transformations that characterized the end of the Bronze Age and the earliest Iron Age, and of the resulting semi-autonomous politico-economic systems that gave birth to the Mediterraenan world of the first millennium BC.

Indeed, many scholars (Coldstream 1989; Sherratt 1992: 326–8; 1994c; 1998: 296–300; Muhly 1996: 52–4; Iacovou 2006b: 325–27) have argued in their own, distinctive ways for strong cultural continuity, as well as economic and industrial intensification between the 13th and 12th centuries BC. Whilst some agricultural and mining or pottery-producing villages were abandoned,

the major coastal sites of Enkomi, Kition, and Palaepaphos survived the destructions and disruptions that occurred elsewhere. It is likely that these towns became new centres of authority, displacing smaller regional centers and managing new Cypriot contacts that emerged overseas—from the Levant, to Crete in the Aegean, to Sardinia and Sicily in the central Mediterranean—in the quest for alternative metal supplies or other resources in demand (Knapp 1990b). In the short term, at least, copper production and commercial enterprise seem to have been revitalized. By 1100 BC, however, the settlement patterns and politico-economic structures that had typified the Bronze Age had come to an end, as new population centres were established on Iron Age Cyprus. To what extent these new political configurations heralded the rise of Cyprus's early historical kingdoms and the island's tactical adjustments to the new Age of Iron are two of the many questions addressed in the following section.

#### EARLY IRON AGE CYPRUS

For many years past, research on the Early Iron Age of Cyprus revolved around issues of ethnicity, and specifically sought to demonstrate the presence or even the dominance of Aegean, Phoenician, or Eteocypriote ethnic groups on the island at this time (cf. Iacovou 2006a). It is widely believed that at least some Phoenicians had settled on the island, in particular at Kition, by the mid-ninth century BC (Karageorghis 1976a; 2005; Gjerstad 1979: 232–3; Rupp 1987; 1998; cf. Iacovou 2005: 131–2; 2006a: 39–41). Reyes (1994: 11–21) suggests that, by the Cypro-Archaic I period (c.750–600 BC), only two ethnic groups inhabited the island: Cypriotes (including former migrants from Greece) and Phoenicians. Archaeologists, of course, still seek to isolate and identify ethnicity in material culture, artistic styles, and symbolic representations, not just in myth, oral traditions, and historical records. The material symbols of ethnicity, however, are typically scarce, or difficult to identify in the material record, whilst their social functions and assumed meanings are subject to constant change (Hall 1997: 135). Moreover, the difficulties are compounded when, as in this case, archaeologists are arguing for the presence of two or three distinctive ethnic groups from a material repertoire permeated with a mixture or amalgamation of distinctively different elements. As I have attempted to demonstrate, many material features of Early Iron Age Cyprus— Proto-White Painted pottery, mortuary practices and grave goods, human and zoomorphric representations, sceptres and maceheads, the use of a Cypriot syllabary for writing Greek—reveal a hybridization of Cypriot, Levantine, and Aegean elements, and cannot be taken as final proof for any specific ethnic origin.

The culture-historical strategy of dividing prehistoric landscapes into culture areas and phases does not lend itself well to investigating complex and subtle issues such as identity or ethnicity (Bernardini 2005: 49). The taxonomic approach and primordialist view of ethnicity adopted by scholars seeking to distinguish a dominant Aegean ethnic element on 12th and 11th century BC Cyprus reflect to some extent what Rowlands (1994b: 136) called the 'deceit of historical writing', in which past material culture takes on a spontaneity, an acceptable common-sense existence which serves to demonstrate that a specific ethnic group has always existed in one place. Moreover, such an approach inevitably obscures details and finer-scale changes that must have accompanied the complex social, economic, and political transformations inherent in a period of instability and human movements. Memories associated with migrations tend to single out various aspects of one's (ethnic) identity, such as clothing, cuisine, or language, and thus help to generate ideas about peoples' origins. However, the identities of migrants and those of the local peoples where they settle typically become transformed through social processes such as hybridization, and the resulting mixture complicates any attempt to disentangle ethnic origins.

On the basis of evidence currently available, or rather the lack of more definitive evidence from settlements, it would seem that the emergence of several territorial kingdoms, rather than the re-formation of a hierarchically unified state, was the result of an extended process in Early Iron Age Cyprus, one that could plausibly be understood from either of the contrasting positons (i.e. development in the 11th century BC, or in the mid-8th century BC). Material evidence that makes an appeal to the past, evoking ancestral interpretations, might have ethnic significance or might equally constitute strategies of legitimization (Hall 1997: 138–42). Such striking human imagery as that portrayed on Proto-White Painted pottery, for example, interpreted by Sherratt and others as symbolic of a Mycenaean 'heroic' past, is seen in more general terms by Rupp (1998: 218–19) as indicative of attempts by local Cypriot monarchs to invest themselves with a heroic pedigree, especially in an era of a growing panhellenic consciousness.

Another example may be seen in the Mycenaean-style chamber tombs with long *dromoi* that appeared during the LC IIIB period. On the one hand, these may represent an active attempt at ethnic signalling by Greek-speaking immigrants who sought to maintain or evoke material links to their homeland. On the other hand, the continuing use of chamber tombs may rapidly have become a stable tradition with no ethnic significance, whilst the presence within these same tombs of indisputably local Cypriot pottery (Proto-White Painted) might be interpreted as an active attempt by some migrants to develop and adopt a local Cypriot identity (Brodie 1999: 142). Finally, the

violin-bow fibulae that some have seen as possible material markers of difference between native Cypriot dress and that of people from colder, northern climates (Desborough 1964: 54–8) could also be regarded as the adoption by local elites of an exotic style of clothing that would set them apart from non-elites (Voskos 2005).

Given the fluidity involved in establishing ethnic identities, and the fact that identities themselves are a social construction, always 'in process', one must wonder why any intrusive groups from the Aegean would have wanted to identify themselves as Mycenaean warriors, leaders, potters, or farmers. With the collapse of the Mycenaean economy and the palatial polities associated with it, the primary motivation for identifying oneself as 'Mycenaean' would have diminished or disappeared. Those who migrated to other lands whether to Cyprus, the Dodecannese, Cilicia, or the Levant—would have been 'in the process' of establishing new identities, perhaps shaped by older customs, ideas and representations, but equally looking to new ones, or at least to the renegotiation of old and new (Voskos 2005). Precisely here is where we would expect Aegean migrants, at least after one or two generations of living, working, and intermarrying on Cyprus, to have become entangled in processes of hybridization, both as social actors and in their use of material culture—from pottery, coroplastic arts and metal products, to the use of the local script for writing, to the goods they buried with their dead and the manner and place in which they chose to bury them. The ongoing, if not quite end result of this process of hybridization may be seen in the largely homogeneous quality of Cypriot material culture during the 11th century BC, with its amalgamation of Cypriot, Levantine, and Aegean elements.

The fully hybridized iconography and contextual associations (ceremonial or 'cultic') of the *psi*-figurines ('goddess with upraised arms') of the Early Iron Age (LC IIIB and Cypro-Geometric I), for example, might be considered more profitably in terms of gender than as evidence for an Aegean colonization of Cyprus. D'Agata (2005: 14) sees them simply as prestige objects exchanged between individuals on Cyprus and Crete and related to ritual practices. Webb (1999: 215) has suggested that these figurines were used in rituals restricted to the worship of one or more female deities. Although this notion cannot be dismissed outright, the diverse contexts in which they were produced and displayed indicate multiple functions and different usages, and suggest that both male and female representations may instead have served a performative role involving music and dance. Both Burgh (2004) and Kolotourou (2005), for example, have highlighted and discussed several representations of sexually ambiguous dancers and musicians on ceramic and ivory objects, in relief sculpture and on seals from the Bronze and Iron Age Levant, western Asia, and Cyprus. Kolotourou (2005: 188-200, pls. 23.3, 24.3) discusses and illustrates tambourine and lyre players from ProBA 3 through Cypro-Archaic 2 Cyprus, whose arms are extended to hold the instruments. A shallow bronze bowl from 8th–7th century BC Idalion depicts three musicians—a lyre player, a pipe player, a drummer—all similarly clothed, so that no evidence of gender is apparent (Markoe 1985: 171–2, 246–7 [Cy3]; Burgh 2004: 131–3). The drummer on this bowl, and in several of the other representations, is depicted with arms upraised: one may wonder if such a gesture was meant to represent more generally either drumming or clapping in a musical performance. Dunn-Vaturi (2003b: 109–10, with figs.) depicts representations of Iron Age Cypriot 'ring dances', standing on round, flat ceramic discs, with their arms linked horizontally, or in an upraised position.

On an entirely different, socio-political level, it was during or immediately after the LC IIIB period that the Egyptian envoy Wen-Amun sailed from Byblos to Cyprus (*Alashiya*) (Ockinga in Knapp 1996b: 49). On the island he encountered Haṭaba (*Heṭeb*), the 'princess' (ruler) of one town, who assured him he should be at ease and not fear the group of *Tjeker* who had pursued him across the sea. This document strongly suggests that women were able to acceed to the highest levels of Cypriot society, and had the political power to ensure the safety of a beleagured representative of a foreign power. Wen-Amun also notes that *Alashiya* is known as a land where 'right is done'; if such a statement has any historical value, it seems a far cry from a political system of warring Mycenaean polities ruled by belligerent *wanaktes* or beneficent *basileis*.

By the transition to the Early Iron Age, the collapse of the international, elite-driven trading system(s) of the Late Bronze Age, and the concomitant loss of certain overseas markets, had finally made an impact on Cyprus, both in social and economic terms. Whilst trade with Cilicia and the Levant continued on some still indeterminate level (Gilboa 1989, 2005; Sherratt 1999), commercial interactions with the Aegean and the central Mediterranean increased and diversified. Direct contacts with Sardinia, at least, ensured a continuing outlet for Cypriot copper in the context of the coming age of iron (Knapp 1990b; also Kassianidou 2001). The loss of state control over trade (Sherratt 1998) certainly would have diminished the capacity of Cypriot elites to display exotica as a means to enhance their status. However, there is nothing in the archaeological record—no indisputable material signs of a demarcation between different ethnic groups—to demonstrate that migrants from the Aegean were able to capitalize on this situation, and to impose on the local population their political organization of warring monarchies led by a king (wanax, also a religious leader) or an upgraded industrial functionary (basileus). Rather we see some remarkable continuity in both local material culture and social practices, albeit in the context of a social transformation that had far-reaching and long-lasting results. There seems little reason to doubt that new elite groups emerged on Cyprus during the LC IIIB period, and that these groups included Phoenician elements in towns like Kition, local Cypriotes in Amathus, and a mixture of native Cypriot and intrusive Aegean elements elsewhere, and everywhere. The last, of course, were speakers of Greek, and ultimately their cooperation and entanglement with local Cypriotes led to what Sherratt (1992: 337–8) termed the 'Greek-Cypriot ethnogenesis' on the island.

Documentary evidence related to *Elishah*, '*lššy* and *Iadnana* adds little to this picture, and cannot really resolve the issue of precisely when in the Early Iron Age new territorial kingdoms had developed. The role and impact of the Phoenicians on Cyprus during the Cypro-Geometric and Cypro-Archaic periods have perhaps been underestimated, in particular concerning their function as intermediaries, in realms both political (vis-à-vis the Neo-Assyrian empire) and economic (vis-à-vis other Near Eastern polities). The new socio-political structures that emerged on Early Iron Age Cyprus were utterly unlike the hierarchical polity ruled by the predominant king of *Alashiya* during the ProBA 2 period, and probably should not be equated with the re-emergence of a hierarchical, state-level of organization at this time.

# Islanders, Insularity, and Identity in the Mediterranean

In this final chapter, I reiterate in summary form several key issues related to islanders, insularity, and identity on prehistoric and early historic Cyprus, issues examined in depth throughout this study. After a general discussion of island identities, I summarize aspects of insularity and identity on prehistoric and protohistoric Cyprus, and suggest how some of the findings from the Cypriot case might be applied to further, comparative research in the wider Mediterranean region. After further consideration—in geographic, spatial, and social terms—of how insularity and connectivity in the Mediterranean has served to link diverse peoples and cultures through time (The Mediterranean and its Boundaries), I argue that the rich and robust Mediterranean archaeological record demands not only a focused, contextual approach but also broader, comparative treatments that engage deeper research issues, problems and priorities. In order to develop such a perspective, I point to certain themes and crucial issues that might be involved in further, long-term, comparative work in Mediterranean island archaeology and history (Comparative Studies and Mediterranean Island Archaeology). I conclude with some final, more general thoughts on island and identities.

#### **ISLAND IDENTITIES**

[Pacific] Islanders regard all aspects of life as inseparable parts of who they are, and our views as Islanders may not coincide with other people's views of us. Our cultural identities are always in a state of becoming, a journey in which we never arrive; who we are is not a rock that is passed on from generation to generation, fixed and unchanging. Cultural identity is process, not product (Hereniko 1997: 428–9).

Thus writes Vilsoni Hereniko, postcolonial author and playwright born on the island of Rotuma (a Polynesian outlier), educated in Fiji (University of the South Pacific), and currently on the faculty of the University of Hawai'i. Hereniko's identity might be seen variously as a Rotuman, a Polynesian, a Fijian citizen, a resident of Hawai'i, or a Pacific intellectual (Linnekin 1997: 4–6). In other words, Pacific islanders who move away from their places of birth identify themselves in multiple, contextually-based ways that involve synthesis, balance, and switching 'codes' related to their origins (Nero 1997: 440).

Modern Pacific island identities, of course, do not provide the missing link to those of the prehistoric or early historic Mediterranean (Finalyson 2004). Rather, the crucial lesson to be learnt is that self-ascribed identities as well as collective categories and labels are not primordial and fixed, but emerge and change along with social, historical, contextual and, indeed—as shown in the case of the Mediterranean's seas and mountainous islands—geographical circumstances. Equally important, labels applied by outsiders, be they ethnographers, archaeologists, explorers or conquerors, to indigenous island peoples usually reveal more about external preconceptions and concerns than they do about indigenous notions of group or individual identities (Linnekin 1997: 6). With respect to the loosely defined concept(s) of the Mediterranean, and the limited consideration given to island identities within the Mediterranean region, the geographical scale needs to fit the problem (Morris 2003: 45), and our conceptual tools need to be refined in order to gain new perspectives.

In terms of recent and modern Mediterranean identities, Sant Cassia (1991: 7–15) suggests that there is a common and yet distinctive set of cultural assumptions about identity, agency and personhood. Accepting the dictum that the differences between Mediterranean peoples and societies may be as significant as their similarities, Sant Cassia (1991: 12–13) argues that identity is created and transacted through style, i.e. the ways that people assume different characters ('personnages' is his term) when they interact with one another and with the world (both embedded in the Greek word *kosmos*). In this process, individual identities are constituted from the outside-in, rather than the typical western way of revealing or concealing the self from the inside-out. Mediterranean peoples thus are seen as 'authors in search of a character' (or, individuals in search of an identity), something they pursue both to personify themselves and to personalize their interactions with others.

In terms of ancient Mediterranean identities, I have tried to demonstrate in this volume that archaeological data lend themselves particularly well to studying identity, insularity and connectivity on prehistoric and protohistoric Cyprus. But how well do the results of the present study translate into a broader, comparative project for examining Mediterranean island identities? In large measure, this depends on the willingness of scholars—be they historians, anthropologists, geographers or archaeologists—to conceive of the Mediterranean as a coherent unit for study and analysis (see below, *The Mediterranean and its Boundaries*). Perhaps more readily than scholars in

other fields, archaeologists have embraced the Mediterranean region as a coherent object and subject of study (e.g. Morris 2003; Blake and Knapp 2005; Malkin 2005). Horden and Purcell (2000), like Braudel (1972, 2001) long before them, also demonstrate a readiness to speak in terms of an ancient Mediterranean unity, to examine issues related to connectivity within the diversity of Mediterranean cultures.

From the geographer's perspective, the essence of the Mediterranean, or 'Mediterraneanism' (King et al. 1997: 6–9), is a well-established concept represented by a humanized landscape in which the region's cultural, physical, and visible aspects are blended into one. The physical aspects—the climate, the sea, the land, and the vegetation—are intertwined with the human, in particular the long tradition of urban life in the Mediterranean and the social perception and evaluation of the region's resources. Long-term human settlement within the Mediterranean basin, and its environmental diversity, must always be seen in the context of its marginality for human occupation. All these features recur, to differing degrees and in different ways, throughout the region: they form part of the Mediterranean as experience and provide a physical backdrop to any discussion of Mediterranean identity, culture, or history.

Such perspectives, however, contravene those of at least two Mediterranean anthropologists, Herzfeld (1984; 1987; 2001: 265-7, 270) and Piña-Cabral (1989; 1992). Herzfeld argues that attempts to portray any sort of Mediterranean cultural unity, or identity, reveal a 'pervasive archaism', what he sees as a 'Mediterraneanism' quite different from that of the geographer, one tantamount to Said's (1978) 'Orientalism'. Thus the quest for a broader, comparative, pan-Mediterranean, anthropological perspective (e.g. Davis 1977; Gilmore 1982; 1987) is seen to be an ideologically motivated discourse in which the Mediterranean is reproduced as the 'other', a category discrete from all other European cultures, and one just as distant and exotic as those of the Orient (Mitchell 2002: 4-5). Piña-Cabral maintains: (1) that Mediterranean ethnographers need to focus on small, local units of analysis, and (2) that the notion of the Mediterranean as an inclusive cultural area is more a reflection of Anglo-American scholarly attitudes to the (marginal) populations they study than a viable way of understanding the cultural similarities and differences found throughout the Mediterranean.

Sant Cassia (1991: 4–7), another social anthropologist (and a Maltese), demures. He maintains that there is no difference between the Mediterranean and any other geographic area of ethnographic focus (e.g. Melanesia, west Africa). He also suggests that the long-term, intertwined histories of various Mediterranean cultures need to be seen within the context of the shifting categories and frames of reference that implicitly oppose 'the Mediterranean'

to other categories of anthropological discourse (e.g. Europe, the Arab world, the Balkans). In Mediterranean anthropology, 'history is the uninvited guest' (Sant Cassia 1991: 6), a position that ignores centuries of cultural contacts and interchanges, not least amongst its islands which were centres of trade as well as piracy, venues for migration and colonization as well as economic and cultural encounters. Rather than ignoring the wealth of evidence for diachronic interaction and connectivity, as opposed to synchronic isolation, Mediterranean anthropologists would do better to engage directly with the complex, multi-layered and symbolic ways that the peoples of this region confronted and communicated with one another, how they perceive, respond to, and make use of the region's resources, and how they emulated each other or distinguished themselves in this complex, multi-cultural world.

The typically synchronic approach of social anthropology fails to engage with the many ways that Mediterranean archaeology increasingly concerns itself with the impact of 'oriental' cultures and material culture, ideology, and iconography on past Mediterranean people and societies. Defined more by its connections and less by its boundaries, the Bronze–Iron Age Mediterranean may be seen as a closely interlinked world, one with fluid visions, viewpoints, and vectors of interaction. Most Mediterranean islands were intervisible from adjacent mainlands or from another island that served as a 'stepping stone' to the mainland. Island settlement and colonization involved processes of mixing, fusion and hybridization: migrants, mariners, merchants and raiders not only brought new people, prestigious goods and basic raw materials or commodities in demand, but diseases, disaster and dislocation, often in equal measure. Although archaeological approaches to the wider Mediterranean often tend to focus on issues of 'orientalization' (e.g. Burkert 1992; Morris 1993; Riva and Vella 2006) or on the ways that distance and access to the exotic served as sources of social power amongst Mediterranean elites (e.g. Broodbank 1993; Knapp 1998a; 2006), increasingly the adoption of a comparative approach (e.g. Herzfeld 2001; Trigger 2003; Joffe 2004) has resulted in new insights into the social, symbolic, ideological and cognitive, even metric (Alberti and Parise 2005) aspects of diverse cultures whose connectivity, for the most part, continued to expand and intensify throughout the course of the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age in the Mediterranean.

### Island Identities: Cyprus and the Mediterranean

The Mediterranean is not a readily encompassable entity or aggregate. It is complex, multifaceted, and more often than not elusive; like the horizon, it is always out of reach. (Fabre 2002: 15)

Mediterranean identity is a more nebulous, but powerful, concept that dervies from environmental characteristics, cultural features and, above all, from the spatial interactions between the two. The Mediterranean is a sea, a climate, a landscape, a way of life—all of these and much more. (King *et al.* 1997: 2)

In this section, I summarize various issues treated throughout this study as they relate to island identities, and consider how factors related to insularity or connectivity on prehistoric and early historic Cyprus might impact on similar research elsewhere in the Mediterranean island world.

From Cyprus's PreBA (c.2700/2650–1700/1650 BC), I discussed and analysed a range of material and social factors: spatial organization and economic orientation, production and exchange, mortuary practices, representations, individuals in archaeology, migrations and hybridization. Such factors were considered alongside developments that involved the secondary products revolution and the earliest stages of local copper production, distribution and consumption on the island. Although the people of PreBA Cyprus had already begun to exploit the island's copper ore deposits, they relied mainly on a mixed, agro-pastoral economy, and accordingly located themselves in close proximity to arable land and perennial watercourses. For the most part, PreBA society—at least from a modern perspective—seems to have been conservative with limited levels of socio-economic differentiation. However, certain social changes associated with the secondary products revolution and the adoption of ploughbased agriculture, including alterations in kin or family structure, clearly led to changes in the way people viewed and identified themselves, no longer just as farmers and shepherds, but as producers, consumers, and distributors of metal goods intimately linked to their own identity. During this time, both an internal demand for copper (used in mortuary displays) and an external trade (beyond an incidental level) began to develop. Both levels of demand fostered the need to limit or control access to copper ore sources, which necessitated a new social infrastructure and led to the emergence of socially differentiated groups or individuals. These new social elites not only excluded other people from local metal goods (like copper or 'electrum' earrings) that symbolized membership in their class, they also acquired through foreign exchange certain, still very scarce, imported goods (like beads and pendants made of imported faience and shell, or shafthole axes and 'warrior belts'). All these goods were used in competitive, symbolic mortuary displays to establish the new elite's social position and to negotiate their own (or their status-laden ancestors') social identity.

Amongst the material markers used to signify the new elite's socio-political status, and to distinguish them from other islanders, are various 'genre scenes', e.g. the enclosure model with 19 human figures represented on a Red Polished pottery bowl from *Vounous* (EC III–MCI; Figure 14), or the apparent wine

production scene displayed on the shoulder of a Red Polished double-necked jug from Pyrgos (probably MC I). In general, such scenes not only reveal new, more complex social realities (a gendered ideology separating male and female roles). they may also have served as identity markers for emerging (male?) elites involved in the transformation of PreBA Cypriot society. Many of these modelled scenes represent the performance of what seem to be socially constructed. gendered activities involving production and social reproduction. Thus they highlight the key role of gender—and bodily performance—in establishing both women's and men's identities during the PreBA. The more sexually ambiguous plank figurines of the PreBA 2 period also served to mark out an emerging class, prehaps representing individual male, female or other identities during a period of increasing social complexity. Their prominent contextual association with distinctive (elite) mortuary practices indicates not only the exclusive use of such figurines, but also their capacity to establish and reinforce changing ideologies and identities in PreBA Cypriot society. Where unsexed individuals are depicted, either in figurines or on genre scenes, we may be seeing another, class-based aspect of PreBA Cypriot social identity.

The multiple material and cultural changes that mark the transformation to Cyprus's earliest Bronze Age cannot be ascribed solely to a dominant ethnic group migrating from Anatolia, or to the exclusive enterprise of indigenous Cypriotes. Because people often choose to alter their social identity in the face of transformative, cultural encounters we should consider the many changes evident in the PreBA 1 material record as resulting in large measure from hybridization practices involving interaction, invention, and cultural intermixture. The newly hybridized elites of PreBA Cyprus adopted various social and economic strategies, modifying their cultural practices and the material manifestations of daily life not only to help them achieve certain goals, but also as a way of manipulating their unique, insular identity. These new strategies included, to some still unknown extent, involvement in an emerging eastern Mediterrranean interaction sphere, one that revolved around the production, distribution, and consumption of copper ores and metals. Influenced by constant movement, the social identity of those involved-metalworkers, merchants, mariners, or traders—was conditioned by the weakening or dissolution of earlier social bonds and the development of new ones, a distinctive break with earlier cultural and material patterns and forms. Neither fully Anatolian nor demonstrably Cypriot, new types of metal goods, pottery, spinning and weaving products, building styles, and more reveal ambivalence and mixing, the result of cultural encounters and hybridization practices in a 'third space' that enabled migrants as well as native Cypriotes to adopt, develop, and renegotiate a new island identity.

From Cyprus's ProBA (c.1700/1650–1100 BC), I discussed and analysed—alongside the documentary record related to *Alashiya*—a range of material and

social factors, including settlement trends and socio-political organization, production and exchange, gendered representations, mortuary practices and monumentality, migrations and the hybridization of cultures. All these factors were analysed and interpreted with respect to certain politico-economic developments that characterize the ProBA: the intensification of copper production and trade, the emergence and development of a centralized socio-political authority, intimate involvement in the exchange systems of the Mediterraenan Late Bronze Age and their collapse at the end of that era. The people who controlled and administered production and exchange within and beyond the island constructed an elite identity based in part on foreign associations as well as the use and patterned display of foreign goods.

The intensification in copper production, consumption and exchange during the ProBA, alongside Cyprus's ever-expanding links with and integration into Aegean and eastern Mediterranean spheres of interaction, had a dramatic effect on the island's economy. Amongst the many changes that accompanied these developments, none were more significant than those that affected both social structures (clearly hierarchical) and politico-economic organization (somehow centralized). The people of ProBA Cyprus viewed and identified themselves in very different ways from their PreBA counterparts. Now part of a fully urbanized and industrial society, they dwelt in coastal ports, farming towns, villages, and 'sanctuary' sites in the interior, and some at least worked in production sites (copper, pottery, wood, and charcoal etc.) in the foothill zone of the Troodos. In this hierarchical pattern of settlements, the large coastal centres became showplaces for prominent, monumental constructions, often finished with finely cut and trimmed ashlar masonry blocks. Monumental architectural structures such as those at Enkomi, Alassa Paleotaverna, Kition, and Kalavasos Avios Dhimitrios not only dominated the urban landscape, they were also instrumental in the emergence and formulation of a new, elite, island identity and in linking elite ideology to certain places. The labourers and craftspeople who erected these monumental buildings must have been aware of their own subordinate status, not least because they were probably denied access to them, and to the ceremonial activities carried out in such elite domains.

By controlling key resources, ruling elites made use of monumentality and various other material factors as a means of establishing their power and constructing their identity. In so doing, they may also have restricted the use and transmission of various ideas and symbols—the paraphernalia of power found in many ProBA town centres. Cypriot elites were able to organise the necessary labour and invest a great deal of time and energy not only in monumental architecture but also in mortuary constructions and practices, feasting, and consuming exotic goods, all of which were central in establishing

their identity and preserving ancestral memories. ProBA Cypriot elites acquired and displayed diverse types of Near Eastern, Egyptian, and Aegean 'things' and insignia, often incorporated and adapted into Cypriot symbolic and ideological systems. The documentary evidence related to *Alashiya* demonstrates conclusively that ProBA 2 Cyprus was centrally organized, politically and economically, under a ruling class that used a coherent but foreign-inspired ideological and symbolic material repertoire. Such use of foreign ideological constructs and concepts, symbols, and luxury goods served Cypriot elites well in establishing and reinforcing a distinctive identity within and beyond the island.

Throughout the hierarchy of settlements, ProBA Cypriot elites marked their identity and perpetuated their authority by empoying other, more mobile paraphernalia of power. The symbolism that appears on figurines, seals, bronze artefacts, and pottery often employs representations of oxhide ingots, miniature ingots, and ingot-bearers—all elite status insignia closely linked to copper production and distribution. Certain metal figurines—such as the unique statuettes of the Ingot God and Horned God from Enkomi (Figures 58, 59)—surely stand as insignia of authority that mark out a distinctive elite identity on ProBA Cyprus. Along with the Bomford statuette (Figure 32), a striking marker of elite female identity, these figurines helped elites to secure their domination over the copper industry.

Seals may well have been associated with different social classes: Elaborate style seals would have marked the identity of managerial elites, Common (or Derivative) style seals the identity of artisans, craftsmen, or labourers. The widespread, deliberate use of Aegean elements in the iconography of both local and imported goods must be seen as another means of symbolizing elite identity. On gold jewellery, Mycenaean pottery and other media, certain kinds of bodily ornamentation, dress, and feasting paraphernalia are repeatedly portrayed, another way that island elites marked out their identity and enhanced their image and lineage within ProBA society. The king of *Alashiya*'s request to the Egyptian pharaoh for a chariot outfitted with gold suggests that chariots were not just as an idealized mode of elite transportation but also another indicator of elite identity.

Beyond the Mycenaean imported wares, the diverse human imagery portrayed on the distinctively local Proto-White Painted pottery—e.g. a warrior wearing a Mycenaean-type 'figure-of-eight' shield or a 'warrior-musician' perhaps linked to the legendary Kinyras—may be representative of a new kind of elite identity that emerged on Cyprus during the 11th century BC, some time after people from the Aegean had come to the island. The identities of migrants and local peoples were altered as a result of cultural encounters and mixings—social processes here defined as aspects of hybridization. The widespread use of Proto-White Painted pottery in Early Iron Age Cyprus

reflects an amalgamation of Cypriot and Aegean trends, and along with new mortuary traditions (extramural chamber tombs) may represent some migrants' attempts to adopt a local Cypriot identity.

From seals and figurines, to the goods and products associated with metallurgical, textile, pottery, and olive oil production, to monumental tombs and ashlar-built structures, we witness how material practices reflect the memories and social identities of ProBA Cypriotes. Whether they were members of the elite, the productive sectors of society, or just individual men, women, and childeren, whether they lived in the distinctive coastal, farming, ceremonial, or productive communities of the island, we can begin to understand how the people of ProBA Cyprus used material culture to manipulate their social and economic positions and to negotiate their differing interests. In the process they established a uniquely Cypriot social identity and created a society far more integrated and centrally organized than it had been in the past.

At different times during the course of the Bronze Age, then, insular identities on Cyprus were linked to material factors and features such as gendered representations of people, bodily ornamentation and dress, 'genre scenes' on terracotta models and pottery, monumentality (architecture, tomb construction), mortuary deposits, feasting paraphernalia, the use and patterned display of 'exotica', politico-economic relations with both oriental and occidental powers, and hybridization practices. The islandscape itself, and the patterning and location of settlements within it, offer telling insights into island identities, and form a crucial starting point for analysing the similarities and differences that characterize the island world of the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean, and for understanding the ways that island communities form, inter-relate, and endure.

The materiality of cultural encounters highlights the role that 'things' may play in restructuring old or formulating new identities. As a field, archaeology is founded upon the premise that material culture plays a crucial, structuring role in social organization and human activities. Careful analyses of these structured material remains—from monumental architecture to luxury goods and every-day objects—offer important insights into human movements, perceptions, memories, and intentions. The capacity to integrate documentary or mythological evidence into archaeological interpretation makes it possible to consider how different identities are likely to be proclaimed as distinguishing features, and what kinds of materials may be used as media for such identity statements. As the use of documentary evidence related to *Alashiya*, *Kupirijo*, and *Iadnana* has shown, history's structuring role facilitates a more comprehensive understanding of insularity, connectivity, and island identity.

Connectivity, another key theme linking the research involved in this study, is concerned with modes of travel, mobility, communication and social exchange as mechanisms that helped to establish, motivate, or modify not

only island identities but those of the merchants, migrants, and mariners that brought people of different islands and mainlands together. Because no single Mediterranean society, polity, or region constitutes the ideal unit of analysis, and because there may be as many social connections, or boundaries, within a single culture or polity as there are between different ones, all these issues warrant attention from a broad, comparative research perspective.

Based upon this study's findings, I suggest a few obvious examples where further research could be undertaken, pursuing a comparative, long-term approach as advocated here:

- Bronze Age Crete: focusing on islandscapes and exploring issues of insularity and connectivity, memory, and social identity, especially with respect to highland vs. coastal identities, and to the role of Minoan palatial society in its wider Mediterranean context.
- Bronze Age Sicilian and Aeolian-island (especially Lipari) trading communities: considering the social, cultural, and maritime encounters involved, the socioeconomic impact of luxury imports, and hybridized identities in the central Mediterranean.
- Iron Age—early historical Sardinia: investigating the shifting nature of identities with respect to dynamic colonial encounters between local Sards, Phoenicians and Greeks, especially in terms of materiality, mobility and maritime interactions.
- Iron Age—Classical Cyprus: focusing on Greek and Phoenician 'colonization' episodes, cultural encounters with 'Eteocypriotes', and hybridized identities; reconceptualizing peoples' movements and memories in terms of connectivity and co-presence.
- Iron Age–Classical Balearics: treating the 7th century Bc Phoenician colonization of Ibiza (its first?) vis-à-vis cultural continuity on Mallorca and Menorca, in terms of insularity and maritime connectivity, and how material adaptations reflect insular identity.

In cases concerning Phoenician and Greek 'colonizations', historical and mythological evidence may be contrasted and compared with the material, especially with respect to maritime cultural encounters and mixings, migration, and hybridization, and material and social exchanges.

### THE MEDITERRANEAN AND ITS BOUNDARIES

Throughout human history, and much of prehistory, the Mediterranean Sea has served as a link between diverse peoples, cultures, territories, and nations.

In many respects, one could view the Mediterranean region—to different degrees at different times and in different places—as a unified entity. However, despite commonly held views (e.g. Cyprus as a 'bridge' between Orient and Occident; Greek or Phoenician 'colonization' of the Mediterranean), there is no doubt that the Mediterranean has had, and continues to have, more than its share of contradictions, divisions, and boundaries; between the Middle East and Europe, or the European north and the African south; between Christianity and Islam; between modernity and tradition; between the first world and the third. Even within a single country, remote and rugged mountainous regions often form focal points for resistance to centralized or external control. During the 20th century, for example, nationalist movements were fostered and nurtured in the highlands of Cyprus, Morocco, and Algeria (Blake 1978: 255). Such divisions reasonably could be extended backward in time, but in each case we would also uncover the role of the Mediterranean as intermediary, as both a frontier and a passage, an area where movement, migrations, and cultural encounters resulted in an 'interlaced heritage' that both reflects and creates Mediterranean histories. Those who see cultural integrity and at least a 'borderline' identity within the Mediterranean may lament the impact of 'others', yet they also celebrate the hybridization of ideas, cultures, and people that results (Peristianis 2000: 185–8).

But how exactly does one define and delimit the Mediterranean, beyond it geographic features, i.e. the islands within, and the lands or regions that border the Mediterranean Sea? Such a description includes all islands and mainlands from Gibraltar and the Iberian peninsula in the west to Turkey, the Levantine coast, and Egypt in the east; from the diverse coastal plains and mountain chains that rim the northern shores of the Mediterranean to its southern coasts and inland as far as the most obvious geographical or cultural divide: e.g. the Cyrenaican plateau and the Saharan desert cultures, or the Maghreb's Atlas mountains. Another way of defining the Mediterranean can be seen in UNESCO's 'Blue Plan', based on hydrological and administrative criteria, which emphasize the sea and its coastlines. These criteria produce different boundaries for the Mediterranean, each showing a range of spatial variation both within and between modern-day countries that lie on or within the Mediterranean (Grenon and Batisse 1989: 18–19). If one considers strictly the coastal divisions of each nation, for example, only the island nations of Cyprus and Malta are fully Mediterranean. Moreover, the only countries with a major portion of their land areas situated within the Mediterranean are Greece and Italy. Finally, the land masses of all countries bordering the north African coast (except Tunisia), as well as those of France, Spain, Turkey, Syria, Lebanon, and Israel, lie beyond the Mediterranean.

One useful way for archaeologists to conceptualize the Mediterranean is through the distribution of its characteristic trees and plants: the Aleppo pine and Holm oak, the olive and pistachio, the fig and carob, and the ubiquitous shrubs—maquis and garrigue (King *et al.* 1997: 6–7; Knapp and Blake 2005: 6–7). Of all these, maquis is the most pervasive, and the olive the most striking feature of Mediterranean landscapes and islandscapes: both are emblematic symbols of the Mediterranean (Horden and Purcell 2000: 209–13). Along with fish and salt, the olive forms the basis of most Mediterranean diets and Mediterranean cuisine; it is a key element of Mediterranean lifestyles and the Mediterranean experience. From this perspective, the olive and its pungent, aromatic oil are representative of an intimate relationship between the lands and the people of the Mediterranean basin—they form part of the Mediterranean *as experience* (see further below).

The isolating and connecting sea that ebbs and flows between the Mediterranean's coasts and islands admits of few boundaries—political, social, or ethnic. Within the approximately 2.5 million square km area of the Mediterranean Sea, surrounded by some 46,000 km of coastline, there are countless islands and islets (Braudel 1972: 149), comprising somewhat less than 100,000 square km of land (92,074 square km on the 20 largest islands). This may not be the equivalent of Micronesia's much more dramatic 'sea of islands' (2,700 square km of land within 7 million square km of sea—Rainbird 2004: 2) but it is nevertheless a vast expanse of sea connecting scores of islands that lie within and beyond conventional boundaries. In our diverse specializations and for differing reasons, we may draw geographic, geological, climatic, floral, and faunal boundaries around this Mediterranean realm, but people will always transgress them, expand or contract them, make them into what they will (Braudel 1972: 168–70).

Although I have focused throughout this volume on insular coastlines, ports, people (mariners, merchants, traders), and connections related to the sea, another sort of boundary exists within many Mediterranean islands: the mountainous zones and the people who inhabit and exploit them, glorify and identify with them as a barrier to the outside world (Braudel 1972: 25-53; McNeill 1992). The entire Mediterranean basin, including many of its islands, is a mountainous region of complex and fragmented relief, where rugged fold mountains confront older, rugged tablelands (King et al. 1997: 8). Crete, to take one example, is extremely mountainous, full of gorges and other insular pockets that serve to determine people's lives and identities much more than the fact that they live on an island. Historically, most Cretans have been hunters and shepherds as opposed to the fisher-folk of the much smaller Cyclades or Dodecanese islands. The mountains, in fact, have played at least as crucial a role as the sea in creating Cretan island identities (Marina Gkiasta, personal comm.). On the islands of Sardinia and Sicily (which together make up more than half of the toal land surface of the Mediterranean islands), the mountains also may have had more of an impact on island identity than the sea (Braudel 1972: 39). In recent times, Sardinians often have been characterized as living 'with their backs to the sea' (van Dommelen 1998: 13); they are better known as shepherds and bandits than sailors and pirates. On Sicily, Etna and the surrounding mountains separate east from west. Throughout most of the island's (pre)history, this divide, at least culturally, was deeper than that which existed between the island as a whole and the Calabrian mainland, itself largely isolated because of the rugged Aspromonte mountains that link western Calabria closely to eastern Sicily (Leighton 1999: 2–4, 13). In this particular case, the sea once again serves as a connector rather than a boundary.

Within the modern Mediterranean, some of the undeniable linguistic boundaries that exist—what Fabre (2002: 22) describes as a cacophony rather than a polyphony—may be more apparent than real. Some islanders, for example, may have a dialect quite distinct from that of their closest mainland kin (witness the modern Cypriot or Cretan dialects of Greek). Other islanders, however, especially those involved in commercial enterprise or divided by political agendas, are multilingual (witness the Maltese, Italian, and English widely spoken on Malta; the Catalan dialects and Spanish spoken on the Balearics; or the Greek, Turkish, and English spoken on Cyprus). Within the prehistoric or protohistoric Mediterranean, too, linguistic boundaries could be superseded and we must assume that at least some of the inhabitants of different regions had the ability to communicate in more languages than one. In the eastern Mediterranean, for example, Bronze Age archives from the coastal site of Ugarit (in Syria) include documents written in eight different scripts, representing as many different languages somehow used or understood by the scribes, merchants and traders who worked in that entrepot. A form of peripheral Akkadian served as the *lingua* franca throughout the Late Bronze Age Levant, whilst Greek may have served as a similar medium within and beyond the Iron Age Aegean, almost certainly in some of Greece's western colonies.

Horden and Purcell (2000: 224–30) outline various historical situations in which insularity worked to diminish boundaries, and to intensify rather than marginalize production. These include: (a) ancient wine-making in Ikaria, Thasos, Chios, and Cos; (b) resin, wax, honey, marble, and minerals manufactured during various periods on Lemnos, Melos, Paros, Elba, and Cyprus (amongst others); (c) the early 20th century output of three families in olive oil, honey, and goats (plus their milk and cheese) from the most remote of the northern Sporades (Kyra Panagia). They ascribe these insular achievements to 'all around connectivity' and suggest that it is only a 'malign tendency to see islands as isolated and remote' that makes such production seem exceptional (Horden and Purcell 2000: 225).

As was the case on Late Bronze Age Cyprus, various factors offsetting insularity against connectivity may have been at work on the Mediterranean's

other large islands—Sicily, Sardinia, and Crete (Corsica still remains an unknown quantity)—during the second and early first millennia BC. Such factors operated to different extents and to varying degrees on each island. Within the eastern and central Mediterranean of the second millennium BC, interaction and contact were crucially facilitated by these large islands (Bietti Sestieri 2003; Bietti Sestieri et al. 2002: 420-9) and their port towns: e.g. Nuraghe Antigori on Sardinia, Thapsos on Sicily, Kommos on Crete, Enkomi or Hala Sultan Tekke on Cyprus. The diversity of contacts between them is well demonstrated by, for example, Mycenaean pottery in Sicily and Lipari, or Mycenaean pottery and Cypriot copper and metal products in Sardinia. Bietti Sestieri (2003) sees this as a time of unequal structural organization and social exchange, with the eastern Mediterraenan playing a dominant role. During the Iron Age, however, when Phoenicians and Greeks initiated new patterns of contact and exchange in an early colonial context, local polities and communities in the central Mediterranean may have attained more equal status with those in the east. These same large islands nonetheless always served as the main faciltators of communication within the Mediterranean

# COMPARATIVE STUDIES AND MEDITERRANEAN ISLAND ARCHAEOLOGY

In a recent retrospective, Renfrew (2003: 315–18) pointed out two major shortcomings in the field of Mediterranean archaeology as practiced in the last quarter of the twentieth century. One is the chronological and conceptual divide that separates those who study prehistoric societies in the Mediterranean, often from anthropological or interpretive perspectives, and those who study historical or classical societies, often from more traditional, descriptive, text-biased or art-historical perspectives. The other shortcoming has been the noticeable lack of comparative work, and comparative insights into Mediterranean cultures, especially given the significant increases in the region's published archaeological record. Although Renfrew's concerns focused on the Aegean region, these two problems are pervasive throughout Mediterranean archaeology.

Whereas the richness of the Mediterranean archaeological record rightly demands a focused, contextual approach within each cultural region (Robb 2001), the concentration on specifics should not prevent scholars from engaging in broader comparative studies that confront deeper research issues, problems, and priorities. The 'segmentation and hyperspecialization' of research in the Mediterranean (Cherry 2004: 236) indeed has discouraged comparative study of the many material, cultural, and socio-economic

features and trends that overlap or interconnect in this region. In order to assess and understand better how the paradoxical factors of isolation and interaction, and the contrasting influences of local enterprise vs. overseas contacts, impacted on Mediterranean island identities, it is crucial to compare some of the distinctive but inter-connecting cultural and social practices that characterize these islands' material records.

The deep time perspective touted by archaeologists as their unique domain and distinctive window onto the past can only be enhanced by a comparative approach, and Mediterranean archaeology—with its rich and detailed material record—must not be an exception. Following a comparative trajectory of research, archaeologists should be able to examine a wide range of similarities and differences that may have conditioned, limited or motivated the ways that prehistoric and protohistoric Mediterranean islanders established, modified, and changed their social identities.

In this volume, I have attempted to synthesize multiple aspects of Cyprus's prehistoric and early historic past, examining links between insularity, connectivity and island identity, in part with a view to setting the stage for a wider agenda of comparative research bearing upon Mediterranean social dynamics. maritime interactions and cultural or colonial encounters. Recent research in the Aegean (Hamilakis 2002; Barrett and Halstead 2004; Broodbank 2006), Sardinia (van Dommelen 1998; Blake 1999; van Dommelen and Tronchetti 2005), Malta (Grima 2001; Robb 2001; Malone and Stoddart 2004; Tilley 2005) and Sicily (Mientjes et al. 2002; Albanese Procelli 2003; Antonaccio 2004)—as well as the prehistoric Mediterranean more generally (Blake and Knapp 2005; Manning and Hulin 2005; Robb and Farr 2005)—has begun to recognize the crucial importance of several issues that form the research themes of this volume (insularity and connectivity, ethnicity and identity, cultural encounters and hybridization). All this research demands a fresh perspective that will pave the way for more comparative work on further, crucial issues in Mediterranean island archaeology and history:

- The long-term dynamics of establishing island communities and formulating island identities.
- The role of travel, geography, distance, and the exotic in shaping and changing island identities.
- The impact of insularity and connectivity on inter-island relations and island identity, and on the movement of materials, ideas, and ideologies throughout the Mediterranean.
- The role of external powers in the emergence of more complex insular socioeconomic systems.

- The impact of colonization and hybridizaton on islanders and insular societies.
- The affect of migration and colonization on island identity, practice, and settlement.
- The outcome of local resistance to foreign intervention, or of appropriating colonial innovations.
- The emergence of early complex polities and how islanders or insularity were, or were not involved in this process.

We need to consider how much connectivity mattered to the inhabitants of the Bronze Age and Iron Age Mediterranean islands, and why it may have done so. Like Morris (2003: 33), I would argue that the writing of new, interconnected Mediterranean histories must interweave, compare, and contrast documentary evidence with archaeological data. Morris (2003: 42) is also concerned that, whilst the new Mediterraneanist model parallels contemporary globalization trends, one of its biggest problems, and most notable omissions, is the capacity to analyse *change* in such areas as ecology, class, gender, and identity. Mobility and connectivity must be contrasted and compared with insularity if we ever hope to get the measure of Mediterranean (island) identitites, and to rewrite the (pre)histories of the Mediterranean.

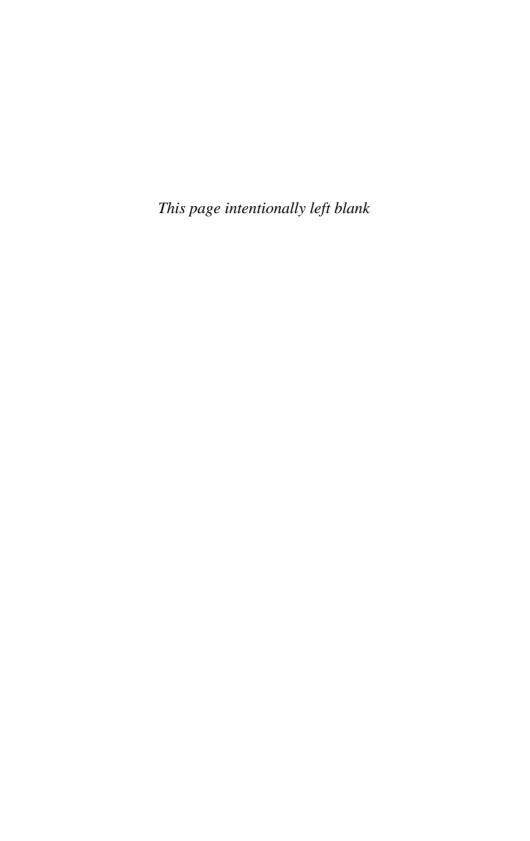
#### ISLANDS AND IDENTITIES: FINAL THOUGHTS

People's identities are established in part by differentiating themselves from others, in part by maintaining symbolic boundaries. These distinctive actions and symbols are often visible archaeologically, and a focus on symbolism, representation, and identity will help us to understand better how certain characteristics may be shared or differentiated amongst various people and polities—from ruling dynasts, to social or economic factions, to individual people. At the same time, such a focus enables us to make statements about the active role of material culture in establishing or changing people's social identity.

Insular constraints, cultural encounters, migrations and island colonizations are conditioned by social, spatial, economic, and political factors, not least power and prestige. These factors need to be examined in specific temporal and regional or local contexts, but it is equally crucial to gain some comparative perspective. Insularity, connectivity, and identity impact on the level, intensity, and type of interactions—be they symmetrical, colonial, imperial, or otherwise—between island settlements and overseas polities. Robb (2001) has suggested that islands are ideas, and history has a crucial role

to play in understanding insularity and island identity. The histories of islanders are histories of movement and connectivity, whether they are trading and fighting, producing and selling, or marrying and maintaining other kinds of social ties. Maritime interaction involves communication between distant peoples, and social resources such as these must be evaluated as closely as natural or mineral ones if we wish to gain a better understanding of islandscapes, insularity, cultural encounters and culture change.

'Islandness is a moveable feast' (McKechnie 2002: 128), and the ways we now think about insularity or island identities are immensely more complex than those anticipated by biogeography or the notion of the island laboratory. Broodbank (2000: 28), in his perceptive and groundbreaking study of island archaeology in the prehistoric Cyclades, has demonstrated that the use of biogeographic principles in analysing islandscapes, island space, and island identities needs to strike a balance between environmental determinism and wholesale cultural relativism. In order to expand the scope of island archaeology and island history, it is equally important to incorporate the impact and presence of the sea, which is neither simply a connector nor a separator: rather it is what people make of it, just as they shape and reshape their islandscapes (Gosden and Pavlides 1994: 170). Insularity itself is not only an environmental condition but a social situation, a potential symbol in a cultural geography (Robb 2001: 196). It is a multi-faceted concept, dynamic and changing not only for those whose everyday life is conditioned by it, but also for those who employ it as an intellectual construct. An island may be remote or isolated or exotic to those who have never been there, but for the people who inhabit it, that island is just another place, their place.



## References

- Åström, L. (1972), Ivory. In L. Åström and P. Åström, *The Late Cypriote Bronze Age*. The Swedish Cyprus Expedition IV, ID, pp. 608–16. Lund: Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
- Åström, L., and P. Åström (1972), *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition IV*: 1D. *The Late Cypriote Bronze Age*. Lund: Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
- Åström, P. (1960), A Middle Cypriote tomb from Galinoporni. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 3: 123–33.
- —— (1964), Remains of ancient cloth from Cyprus. Opuscula Atheniensia 5: 111–14.
- —— (1966), Excavations at Kalopsidha and Ayios Iakovos in Cyprus. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 2. Lund: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1972), The Swedish Cyprus Expedition IV: 1C. The Late Cypriote Bronze Age: Architecture and Pottery. Lund: Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
- —— (1976), *Hala Sultan Tekke* 1: *Excavations 1897–1971*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 45.1. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- (1982), The bronzes of Hala Sultan Tekke. In J. D. Muhly, R. Maddin, and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Early Metallurgy in Cyprus*, 4000–500 BC, pp. 177–83. Nicosia: Pierides Foundation.
- —— (1983), *Hala Sultan Tekke* 8: *Excavations 1971–1979*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 45.8. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- (1985), An ashlar building at Hala Sultan Tekke. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Acts of the Second International Cyprological Congress*, pp. 181–3. Nicosia: Society of Cypriot Studies.
- —— (1986), Hala Sultan Tekke—an international harbour town of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age. *Opuscula Atheniensi*a 16: 7–17.
- (1987), Votive deposits in the Late Cypriote Bronze Age. In T. Linders and G. C. Nordquist (eds.), *Gifts to the Gods*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis, Boreas 15: 177–99. Uppsala: University of Uppsala.
- (1988a), A Cypriot cult scene. Journal of Prehistoric Religion 2: 5–11.
- —— (1988b), The Hippocampus krater. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 173–6.
- (1989), Early connections between Anatolia and Cyprus. In K. Emre, B. Hrouda, M. Mellink, and N. Özgüç (eds.), Anatolia and the Ancient Near East. Studies in Honor of Tahsin Özgüç. Turk Tarih Kurumu, Kızııay Sok.1: 15–18. Ankara: Sıhhiye.
- (1992), Ivories from Hala Sultan Tekke. In J. L. Fitton (ed.), *Ivory in Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean, from the Bronze Age to the Hellenistic Period.* British Museum Occasional Paper 85: 101–4. London: British Museum Publications.
- (1996), Hala Sultan Tekke—a Late Cypriote harbour town. In P. Åström and E. Herscher (eds.), *Late Bronze Age Settlements in Cyprus: Function and Relationship.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-book 126: 9–14. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.

392

- Åström, P. (1998a), *Hala Sultan Tekke* 10: *The Wells*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 45.10. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1998b), Continuity or discontinuity: indigenous and foreign elements in Cyprus around 1200 BCE. In S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Tenth Centuries BCE*, pp. 80–6. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- (2000), A coppersmith's workshop at Hala Sultan Tekke. In P. Åström and D. Sürenhagen (eds.), *Periplus: Festschrift für Hans-Gunter Buchholz zu seinem achtzigsten Geburtstag am 24. Dezember 1999.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 127: 33–5. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- (2001a), The relative and absolute chronology of Proto White Slip ware. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *The White Slip Ware of Late Bronze Age Cyprus*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Band 20. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 2: 49–50. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- (2001b), Bichrome hand-made ware and Bichrome wheel-made ware on Cyprus. In P. Åström (ed.), *The Chronology of Base-ring Ware and Bichrome Wheel-made Ware*. Konferenser 54: 131–42. Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien.
- Åström, P. (with collaborators) (1989), *Hala Sultan Tekke* 9. *Trenches 1972–1987*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 45.9. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- (2001), Hala Sultan Tekke 11. Trial Trenches at Dromolaxia-Vyzakia Adjacent to Areas 6 and 8. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 45.11. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Åström, P., and E. Masson (1982), A silver bowl from Hala Sultan Tekke. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 72–6.
- Åström, P., and K. Nys (2001), Trial excavations north of Area 6 in 1999. In P. Åström, Hala Sultan Tekke 11: Trial Trenches at Dromolaxia-Vyzakia Adjacent to Areas 6 and 8. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 45.11: 57–61. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Åström, P., and G. R. H. Wright (1962), Two Bronze Age tombs at Dhenia in Cyprus. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 4: 225–76.
- Abulafia, D. (2003), What is the Mediterranean? In D. Abulafia (ed.), *The Mediterranean in History*, pp. 11–29. London: Thames and Hudson.
- a Campo, A. L. (1994), Anthropomorphic Representations in Prehistoric Cyprus: A Formal and Symbolic Analysis of Figurines, c.3500–1800 BC. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book 109. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Adams, R. McC. (1992), Ideologies: unity and diversity. In A. A. Demarest and G. W. Conrad (eds.), *Ideology and Pre-Columbian Civilizations*, pp. 205–21. Sante Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Adams, W. Y., D. P. van Gerven, and R. S. Levy (1978), The retreat from migrationism. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 7: 483–532.
- Adan-Bayewitz, D., and I. Perlman (1985), Local pottery provenience studies: a role for clay analysis. *Archaeometry* 27: 203–17.

- Ahlstrom, R. V. N., C. R. van West and J. S. Dean (1995), Environmental and chronological factors in the Mesa Verde-northern Rio Grande migration. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 14: 125–42.
- Akkermans, P. M. M. G., and G. M. Schwartz (2003), *The Archaeology of Syria: From Complex Hunter-Gatherers to Early Urban Societies (ca. 16,000–300 Bc)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Al-Radi, S. M. S. (1983), *Phlamoudhi-Vounari: A Sanctuary Site in Cyprus.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 65. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Albanese Procelli, R.-M. (1995), Contacts and exchanges in protohistoric Sicily. In T. Fischer-Hansen (ed.), Ancient Sicily. Acta Hyperborea 6: 33–49. Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum Press.
- (2003), Sicani, siculi, elimi: forme di identità, modi di contatto e processi di trasformazione. Biblioteca di Archeologia 33. Milano: Longanesi.
- Alberti, M. E., and N. Parise (2005), Towards a unification of mass-units between the Aegean and the Levant. In R. Laffineur and E. Greco (eds.), *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean*. Aegaeum 25.1: 381–91. Liège, Austin: Université de Liège, University of Texas.
- Alcock, S. E. (1993), *Graecia Capta: The Landscapes of Roman Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (2001), Reconfiguration of memory in the eastern Roman Empire. In S. E. Alcock,
   T. D'Altroy, K. D. Morrison, and C. M. Sinopoli (eds.), *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*, pp. 323–50. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- —— (2002), Archaeologies of the Greek Past. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Alcock, S. E., and J. F. Cherry (eds.) (2004), Side-by-Side Survey: Comparative Regional Studies in the Mediterranean World. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Alexander, R. T. (1998), Afterword: toward an archaeological theory of culture contact. In J. G. Cusick (ed.), *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change and Archaeology.* Center for Archaeological Investigations, Occasional Paper 25: 467–95. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Allen, J. (1984), Pots and poor princes: a multi-dimensional approach to the role of pottery trading in coastal Papua. In S. E. van der Leeuw and A. Pritchard (eds.), *The Many Dimensions of Pottery.* Cingula 7: 407–63. Amsterdam: Albert Egges van Giffen Instituut.
- Allen, J., and C. Gosden (eds.) (1991), *Report of the Lapita Homeland Project*. Occasional Papers in Prehistory 20. Canberra: Department of Prehistory, Australian National University.
- Ammerman, A. J., and L. L. Cavalli-Sforza (1994), *The Neolithic Transition and the Genetics of Population in Europe*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Ammerman, A., and J. Noller (2005), New light on Aetokremnos. *World Archaeology* 37: 533–43.
- Ammerman, A. J., P Flourentzos, C. McCartney, J. Noller, and D. Sorabji (2006), Two new early sites on Cyprus. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 1–22.
- Andreou, S. (2005), The landscapes of modern Greek archaeology. In J. F. Cherry, D. Margomenou, and L. E. Talalay (eds.), *Prehistorians Round the Pond: Reflections*

- on Aegean Prehistory as a Discipline. Kelsey Museum Publication 2: 173–92. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology.
- Anthony, D. (1990), Migration in archaeology: the baby and the bathwater. *American Anthropologist* 92: 895–914.
- —— (1992), The bath refilled: migration in archaeology again. American Anthropologist 94: 175.
- —— (1997), Prehistoric migration as social process. In J. Chapman and H. Hamerow (eds.), *Migrations and Invasions in Archaeological Explanation*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 664: 21–32. Oxford: Tempus Reparatum.
- Antonaccio, C. (2004), Siculo-geometric and the Sikels: ceramics and identity in eastern Sicily. In K. Lomas (ed.), *Greek Identity in the Western Mediterranean*. Mnemosyne Supplementum 246: 55–81. Leiden and Boston: Brill.
- Antoniadou, S. (2004), The Impact of Trade on the Society of Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age: Settlements, Artefacts and Social Change. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Archaeology, University of Edinburgh.
- —— (2005), The impact of trade on Late Cypriot society: a contextual study of imports from Enkomi. In J. Clarke (ed.), *Archaeological Perspectives on the Transmission and Transformation of Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean*. Levant Supplementary Series 2: 66–77. Oxford: Council for British Research in the Levant and Oxbow.
- Aravantinos, V. L. (1991), Agricultural production and subsistence economy in Cyprus during the Late Cypriot II period. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Proceedings of an International Symposium: The Civilizations of the Aegean and Their Diffusion in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean*, 2000–600 BC, pp. 57–65. Larnaca: Pierides Foundation.
- Arnaud, D. (1967), Contribution à l'étude de la métrologie syrienne au IIe millénaire. *Revue d'Assyriologie* 61: 151–69.
- Arnold, J. E. (1995), Transportation innovation and social complexity among maritime hunter-gatherer societies. *American Anthropologist* 97: 733–47.
- Artzy, M. (1987), On boats and sea peoples. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 266: 1–30.
- —— (1988), Development of war/fighting boats of the 2nd millennium B.C. in the eastern Mediterranean. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 181–6.
- (1997), Nomads of the sea. In S. Swiny, R. Hohlfelder, and H.W. Swiny (eds.), Res Maritimae: Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from Prehistory through Late Antiqity. Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, Monograph 1: 1–16. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press.
- (1998), Routes, trade, boats and 'nomads of the sea'. In S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Tenth Centuries BCE*, pp. 439–48. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- —— (2003), Mariners and their boats at the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Iron Age in the eastern Mediterranean. *Tel Aviv* 30: 232–46.
- Artzy, M., I. Perlman, and F. Asaro (1976), Alašiya of the Amarna letters. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 35: 171–82.
- Asad, T. (1972), Market model, class structure and consent. A reconsideration of Swat political organization. *Man* 7: 74–94.

- Ashcroft, B., G. Griffiths, and H. Tiffin (1998), Key Concepts in Post-colonial Studies. London: Routledge.
- Ashmore, W., and A. B. Knapp (eds.) (1999), Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Astour, M. C. (1972), The merchant class of Ugarit. In D. O. Edzard (ed.), *Gesellschafts-klassen im Alten Zweistromland und in den angrenzenden Gebieten.* Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale 18. Abhandlungen der Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften 75: 11–26. Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Atkinson, J., I. Banks, and J. O'Sullivan (eds.) (1996), *Nationalism and Archaeology: Scottish Archaeological Forum.* Glasgow: Cruithne Press.
- Aubet, M. E. (2001), *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies and Trade.* 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Badre, L. (1980), Les figurines anthropomorphes en terre cuite a l'age du Bronze en Syrie. Paris: Geuthner.
- Bailey, D. W. (1994), Reading prehistoric figurines as individuals. *World Archaeology* 25: 321–31.
- —— (1996), The interpretation of figurines: the emergence of illusion and new ways of seeing. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 6: 291–5.
- —— (2005), Prehistoric Figurines: Representation and Corporealtiy in the Neolithic. London: Routledge.
- Baines, J. (1989), Communication and display: the integration of Egyptian art and writing. *Antiquity* 63/240: 471–82.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1981), The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Balthazar, J. W. (1990), Copper and Bronze Working in Early through Middle Bronze Age Cyprus. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-book 84. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Banks, I. (1996), Archaeology, nationalism and ethnicity. In J. Atkinson, I. Banks, and J. O'Sullivan (eds.), Nationalism and Archaeology, pp. 1–11. Glasgow: Cruithne Press.
- Banks, M. (1995), Ethnicity: Anthropological Constructions. London: Routledge.
- Barako, T. J. (2003), The changing perception of the Sea Peoples phenomenon: migration, invasion or cultural diffusion? In N. C. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Ploes. Sea Routes...: Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th–6th c. BC*, pp. 163–72. Athens: University of Crete, Leventis Foundation.
- Barber, E. J. W. (1991), Prehistoric Textiles. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Barker, G., D. Gilbertson, B. Jones, and D. Mattingly (eds.) (1996), Farming the Desert: The UNESCO Libyan Valleys Archaeological Survey. 2 Volumes. Tripoli: UNESCO Publishing, Department of Antiquities.
- Barker, G., and D. Mattingly (eds.) (1999–2000), *The Archaeology of Mediterranean Landscapes*. 5 volumes. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Barrett, J. C. (1991), Towards an archaeology of ritual. In P. Garwood, D. Jennings, R. Skeates, and J. Toms (eds.), *Sacred and Profane*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 32: 1–9. Oxford: Oxbow.

- Barrett, J. C. (1994), Fragments from Antiquity: An Archaeology of Social Life in Britain, 2900–1200 BC. Oxford: Blackwell.
- —— (2001), Agency, the duality of structure, and the problem of the archaeological record. In I. Hodder (ed.), *Archaeological Theory Today*, pp. 141–64. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Barrett, J. C., and P. Halstead (eds.) (2004), *The Emergence of Civilisation Revisited*. Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 6. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Barth, F. (1969), Ethnic Groups and Boundaries. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.
- Bass, G. F. (1967), Cape Gelidonya: A Bronze Age Shipwreck. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 57.8. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society.
- (1997), Prolegomena to a study of maritime traffic in raw materials to the Aegean during the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries BC. In R. Laffineur and P. P. Betancourt (eds.), TEXNH. Craftsmen, Craftswomen and Craftsmanship in the Aegean Bronze Age. Aegaeum 16: 153–70. Liège: Université de Liège.
- Baurain, C. (1984), Chypre et la Mediterranée Orientale au Bronze Récent: Synthese Historique. Études Chypriotes 4. Paris: de Boccard.
- (1989), Passé légendaire, archéologie et realite historique: l'hellénisation de Chypre. *Annales: Économies, Sociétés, Civilisations* 44(2): 463–77.
- Baxivani, E. (1997), From settlement to cemetery burial: Cyprus and Crete in the Early Bronze Age. In D. Christou (ed.), *Cyprus and the Aegean in Antiquity: From the Prehistoric Period to the 7th Century A.D.*, pp. 57–69. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- Bazemore, G. B. (1992), The geographic distribution of the Cypriote syllabic inscriptions. In P. Åström (ed.), *Acta Cypria* 3. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocketbook 120: 63–96. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Beckman, G. (ed.) (1996), *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*. Society of Biblical Literature, Writings from the Ancient World 7. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press.
- Begg, P. (1991), Late Cypriot Terracotta Figurines: A Study in Context. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-book 101. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Belgiorno, M. R. (1984), Le statuette antropomorfe cipriote dell'Eta del Bronzo. I parte-gli idoli del Bronzo Antico III-Bronzo Medio I. *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 25: 9–63.
- —— (1999), Preliminary report on Pyrgos excavations 1996, 1997. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 71–86.
- —— (2004), *Pyrgos-Mavroraki: Advanced Technology in Bronze Age Cyprus.* Nicosia: Theopress Ltd.
- Bell, C. (2005), Wheels within wheels? A view of Mycenaean trade from the Levantine emporia. In R. Laffineur and E. Greco (eds.), *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean*. Aegaeum 25.1: 363–70. Liège, Austin: Université de Liège, University of Texas.
- Bellwood, P., and C. Renfrew (eds.) (2002), *Examining the Farming/Language Dispersal Hypothesis*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Bender, B. (1993), Cognitive archaeology and cultural materialism. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 3: 257–60.

- Bennet, J. (1995), Space through time: diachronic perspectives on the spatial organization of the Pylian state. In R. Laffineur and W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), *Politeia: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age.* Aegaeum 12: 587–702. Liège, Austin: Université de Liège, University of Texas.
- —— (1999), The meaning of 'Mycenaean': speculations on ethnicity in the Aegean Late Bronze Age. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London* 43: 224.
- Bennett, E. L., J. M. Driessen, L. Godart, J. T. Killen, C. Kopaka, J. L. Melena, J.-P. Olivier, and M. Perna (1989), 436 raccords et quasi-raccords inedits dans KT5. *Minos* 24: 199–242.
- Benson, J. L. (1972), *Bamboula at Kourion: The Necropolis and the Finds.* University Museum Monograph 12. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Bentley, G. C. (1987), Ethnicity and practice. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 29: 24–55.
- Berg, I. (2002–3), Negotiating island identities: the active use of pottery in the Middle and Late Bronze Age Cyclades. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London* 46: 215.
- Berger, P.-R. (1969), Die Alasia-Briefe Ugartica 5, Noug. Nrn. 22–4. *Ugarit Forschungen* 1: 217–22.
- Bergoffen, C. (2005), *The Cypriote Bronze Age Pottery from Sir Leonard Woolley's Excavations at Alalakh (Tell Atchana)*. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 5. Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Bernal, M. (1991), Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization. Volume 2: The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Bernardini, W. (2005), Reconsidering spatial and temporal aspects of prehistoric cultural identity. *American Antiquity* 70: 31–54.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1985), Signs taken for wonders: questions of ambivalence and authority under a tree outside Delhi, May 1817. In F. Barker, P. Hulme, M. Iversen, and D. Loxley (eds.), Europe and its Others: Proceedings of the Essex Conference on the Sociology of Literature, pp. 89–106. Colchester: University of Essex.
- —— (1994), *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Bietak, M. (2005), The setting of the Minoan wall paintings at Avaris. In L. Morgan (ed.), *Aegean Wall Painting: A Tribute to Mark Cameron*. British School at Athens, Studies 13: 83–90. London: British School at Athens.
- Bietti Sestieri, A. M. (2003), Un modello per l'interazione fra oriente e occidente Mediterranei nel secondo millennio A.C.: il ruolo delle grande isole. In *Atti della XXXV Riunione Scientifica: La Comunità della Preistoria Italiana. Studi e Ricerche sul Neolitico e le Età dei Metalli. In Memoria de Luigi Bernabò Brea.* Volume 2: 557–86. Firenze: Istituto Italiano de Preistoria e Protohistoria.
- Bietti Sestieri, A. M., A. Cazzella, and A. Schnapp (2002), The Mediterranean. In B. Cunliffe, W. Davies, and C. Renfrew (eds.), *Archaeology: The Widening Debate*, pp. 411–38. Oxford: Oxford University Press and British Academy.
- Bikai, P. (1983), The imports from the east. In V. Karageorghis, *Palaepaphos-Skales: An Iron Age Cemetery in Cyprus*. Alt-Paphos 3: 396–406. Constanz: Universitätsverlag.

- Bikai, P. (1994), The Phoenicians in Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus in the* 11th Century BC, pp. 31–37. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- Blake, E. (1999), Identity-mapping in the Sardinian Bronze Age. *European Journal of Archaeology* 2: 35–55.
- Blake, E., and A. B. Knapp (eds.) (2005), *The Archaeology of Mediterranean Prehistory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Blake, G. H. (1978), Settlement and conflict in the Mediterranean world. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* n.s. 3: 255–8.
- Blench, R., and M. Spriggs (eds.) (1999), Archaeology and Language 4: Language Change and Cultural Transformation. London: Routledge.
- Bloch-Smith, E. (2003), Israelite ethnicity in Iron I: archaeology preserves what is remembered and what is forgotten in Israel's history. *Journal of Biblical Literature* 122: 401–25.
- Börker-Klahn, J. (1982), *Altvorderasiatische Bildstelen und Vergleichbare Felsreliefs*. Baghdader Forschungen 4. Mainz-am-Rhein: von Zabern.
- Bogucki, P. (1993), Animal traction and house economies in Neolithic Europe. *Antiquity* 67/256: 492–503.
- Bolger, D. (1983), Krysiliou-*Ammos*, Nicosia-*Ayia Paraskevi* and the Philia culture of Cyprus. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 60–73.
- —— (1989), Regionalism, cultural variation, and the culture-area concept in later prehistoric Cypriot studies. In E. J. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*, 142–52. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- —— (1992), The archaeology of fertility and birth: a ritual deposit from Chalcolithic Cyprus. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 48: 145–64.
- —— (1993), The feminine mystique: gender and society in prehistoric Cypriot studies. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 29–42.
- —— (1994), Engendering Cypriot archaeology: women's roles and statuses before the Bronze Age. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 20: 9–17.
- —— (1996), Figurines, fertility, and the emergence of complex society in prehistoric Cyprus. *Current Anthropology* 37: 365–72.
- (2002), Gender and mortuary ritual in Chalcolithic Cyprus. In D. Bolger and N. Serwint (eds.), *Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus*. Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, Monograph 3. ASOR Archaeological Reports 7: 67–86. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- —— (2003), Gender in Ancient Cyprus: Narratives of Social Change on a Mediterranean Island. Walnut Creek, California: Altamira Press.
- Bolger, D., and N. Serwint (eds.) (2002), *Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus*. Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, Monograph 3. ASOR Archaeological Reports 7. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Bonnano, A., T. Goulder, C. Malone, and S. Stoddart (1990), Monuments in island society: the Maltese context. *World Archaeology* 22: 190–205.
- Bordreuil, P., and F. Malbran-Labat (1995), L'archives de la maison d'Ourtenou. *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres: Comptes-Rendus des Seances:* 443–9.

- Borger, R. (1956), *Die Inschriften Asarhadddons, Königs von Assyrien.* Graz: E. Weidner. Boserup, E. (1965), *The Conditions of Agricultural Growth: The Economics of Agrarian Change under Population Pressure.* Chicago: Aldine.
- Bourdieu, P. (1977), *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge Studies in Social Anthropology 16. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- —— (1990), The Logic of Practice. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Boutin, A., A. B. Knapp, I. Banks, M. Given, and M. Horowitz (2003), Settlement and cemetery in and around Katydhata village: from prehistory to the Roman era. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 335–49.
- Boyle, K., C. Renfrew, and M. Levine (eds.) (2002), *Ancient Interactions: East and West in Eurasia*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Bradley, R. (1991), Monuments and places. In P. Garwood, D. Jennings, R. Skeates, and J. Toms (eds.), *Sacred and Profane*. Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, Monograph 32: 135–40. Oxford: Oxbow.
- —— (1993), *Altering the Earth*. Society of Antiquaries, Scotland, Monograph 8. Edinburgh: Society of Antiquaries.
- —— (1998), The Significance of Monuments: On the Shaping of Human Experience in Neolithic and Bronze Age Europe. London: Routledge.
- —— (2002), The Past in Prehistoric Societies. London: Routledge.
- Branigan, K. (1966), Byblite daggers in Cyprus and Crete. *American Journal of Archaeology* 70: 123–6.
- —— (1966), Further light on prehistoric relations between Crete and Byblos. *American Journal of Archaeology* 71: 117–21.
- Braudel, F. (1972), *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II.* Volume 1. New York: Harper and Row.
- —— (2001), (eds. Roselyne de Ayala and Paule Braudel) *The Mediterranean in the Ancient World.* London: Allan Lane, Penguin.
- Brettell, C. B., and J. F. Hollifield (eds.) (2000), *Migration Theory: Talking across Disciplines*. London: Routledge.
- Brinkman, J. A. (1989), The Akkadian words for 'Ionia' and 'Ionian'. In R. F. Sutton (ed.), *Daidalikon: Studies in Memory of Raymond V. Schoder, SJ*, pp. 53–71. Wauconda, Illinois: Bolchazy-Carducci.
- Brodie, N. (1999), Review of J. M. Hall, *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* 15(2): 140–3.
- Bromley, G. C. (1974), The term ethnos and its definition. In Y. Bromley (ed.), *Soviet Ethnology and Anthropology Today*, pp. 55–72. The Hague: Mouton Press.
- —— (1980), The object and the subject-matter of ethnography. In E. Gellner (ed.), *Soviet and Western Anthropology*, pp. 151–60. London: Duckworth.
- Broodbank, C. (1993), Ulysses without sails: trade, distance, knowledge and power in the early Cyclades. *World Archaeology* 24: 315–31.
- —— (2000), An Island Archaeology of the Early Cyclades. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Broodbank, C. (2006), The origins and early development of Mediterranean maritime activity. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 19: 199–230.
- Brown, K. S. (1994), Seeing stars: character and identity in the landscapes of modern Macedonia. *Antiquity* 68/261: 784–96.
- Brubaker, R., and F. Cooper (2000), Beyond 'identity'. Theory and Society 29: 1-47.
- Brumfiel, E. M. (1992), Breaking and entering the ecosystem—gender, class, and faction steal the show. *American Anthropologist* 94: 551–67.
- (1994a), Ethnic groups and political developments in ancient Mexico. In E. M. Brumfiel and J. W. Fox (eds.), Factional Competition and Political Development in the New World, pp. 89–102. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- —— (1994b), Factional competition and political development in the New World: an introduction. In E. M. Brumfiel and J. W. Fox (eds.), *Factional Competition and Political Development in the New World*, pp. 3–13. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- —— (1996), Figurines and the Aztec state: testing the effectiveness of ideological domination. In R. P. Wright (ed.), *Gender and Archaeology*, pp. 143–66. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Brumfiel, E. M., and T. K. Earle (eds.) (1987), *Specialisation, Exchange and Complex Societies*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bryce, T. R. (1998), The Kingdom of the Hittites. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- —— (2002), Life and Society in the Hittite World. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Brysbaert, A. (2002), Common craftsmanship in the Aegean and east Mediterranean Bronze Age: preliminary technological evidence with emphasis on the painted plaster from Tell el-Dab'a, Egypt. Ågypten und Levante 12: 95–107.
- —— (2004), Technology and Social Agency in Bronze Age Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean Painted Plaster. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow.
- Buchanan, B. (1966), Catalogue of Ancient Near Eastern Seals in the Ashmolean Museum. Volume 1, Cylinder Seals. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Buchholz, H.-G. (1973), Tamassos, Zypern, 1970–1972. *Archäologisches Anzeiger* (1973.3): 295–388.
- —— (1978), Tamassos, Zypern, 1974–1976. 3. Bericht. *Archäologisches Anzeiger* (1978.2): 155–230.
- —— (1993), Ägyptisierende aus Tamassos. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 195–206.
- (1999), Ugarit, Zypern und Agäis: Kulturbezeihungen im zweiten Jahrtausend v. Chr. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 261. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Buchholz, H.-G. and Untiedt, K. (1996), *Tamassos. Ein Antikes Königreich auf Zypern.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-book 136. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Budd, P., A. M. Pollard, B. Scaife, and R. G. Thomas (1995), Oxhide ingots, recycling and the Mediterranean metals trade. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 8: 1–32.
- Budin, S. L. (2002), Creating a goddess of sex. In D. Bolger and N. Serwint (eds.), Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus. Cyprus American

- Archaeological Research Institute, Monograph 3. ASOR Archaeological Reports 7: 315–24. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Budin, S. L. (2003), The Origins of Aphrodite. Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press.
- —— (2004), A reconsideration of the Aphrodite–Ashtart syncretism. Numen 51: 95–145.
- Burde, C. (1974), *Hethitische Medizinische Texte*. Studien zu den Boğazköy Texten 19. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Burgh, T. W. (2004), 'Who's the Man?' Sex and gender in Iron Age musical performance. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 67: 128–36.
- Burkert, W. (trans. M. E. Pinder and W. Burkert) (1992), *The Orientalising Revolution:*Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age. Cambridge,
  Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Burmeister, S. (2000), Archaeology and migration: approaches to an archaeological proof of migration. *Current Anthropology* 41: 539–67.
- Cadogan, G. (1973), Patterns of the distribution of Mycenaean pottery in the eastern Mediterranean. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean*, pp. 166–174. Nicosia: Zavallis Press.
- —— (1987), Maroni III. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 81–4.
- —— (1988), Maroni IV. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 229–32.
- —— (1989), Maroni and the monuments. In E. J. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*, pp. 43–51. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- (1992), Maroni VI. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 51–8.
- (1993), Cyprus, Mycenaean pottery, trade and colonisation. In C. Zerner, P. Zerner, and J.Winder (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Conference—Wace and Blegen: Pottery as Evidence for Trade in the Aegean Bronze Age* 1939–1989, pp. 91–9. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- (1996), Maroni: change in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In P. Åström and E. Herscher (eds.), *Late Bronze Age Settlement in Cyprus: Function and Relationship.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book 126: 15–22. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Cadogan, G., E. Herscher, P. Russell, and S.W. Manning (2001), Maroni-Vournes: a long White Slip sequence and its chronology. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *The White Slip Ware of Late Bronze Age Cyprus*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Band 20. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 2: 75–88. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Calvet, Y. (1980), Sur certains rites funéraires à Salamine de Chypre. In M. Yon (ed.), Salamine de Chypre. Histoire et archéologie: état des recherches. Colloques internationaux du centre national de la recherche scientifique 578: 115–20. Paris: Éditions du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.
- Cameron, C. M. (1995), Migration and the movement of southwestern peoples. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 14: 104–24.
- Caquot, A., and R. du Mesnil du Buisson (1971), La seconde tablette ou 'petit amulette' d'Arslan Tash. *Syria* 48: 391–406.

- Caraher, W., R. S. Moore, J. S. Noller, and D. Pettegrew (2005), The Pyla-Koutopetria Archaeological Project: first preliminary report (2003–2004 seasons). Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 245–67.
- Carruba, O. (1968), Contributo all storia di Cipro nel II millennio. *Studi Classici e Orientali* 17: 5–29.
- Casson, S. (1938), Ancient Cyprus. London: Methuen.
- Catling, H. W. (1962), Patterns of settlement in Bronze Age Cyprus. Opuscula Atheniensia 4: 129–69.
- —— (1964), Cypriot Bronzework in the Mycenaean World. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- —— (1968), Kouklia: Evreti tomb 8. Bulletin de Correspondance Héllenique 92: 162–9.
- (1970), Cyprus in the Neolithic and Chalcolithic periods. In I. E. S. Edwards,
   C. J. Gadd, and N. G. L. Hammond (eds.), Cambridge Ancient History I: part 1,
   pp. 539–56. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- —— (1971a), Cyprus in the Early Bronze Age. In I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, and N. G. L. Hammond (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History* I: part 2, pp. 808–23. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1971b), A Cypriot bronze statuette in the Bomford Collection. In C. F. A. Schaeffer (ed.), *Alasia* I. Mission Archéologique d'Alasia 4: 15–32. Paris: Klincksieck.
- (1973), The Achaean settlement of Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean, pp. 34–9. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
- —— (1975), Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age. In I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, N. G. L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History* II: part 2, pp. 188–216. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- —— (1976), The Phlamoudhi survey again. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 29–34.
- (1979a), Reflections upon the interpretation of the archaeological evidence for the history of Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Studies Presented in Memory of Porphyrios Dikaios*, pp. 194–205. Nicosia: Lion's Club.
- —— (1979b), The St. Andrews-Liverpool Museums Kouklia tomb excavation. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 270–75.
- —— (1980), *Cyprus and the West 1600–1050 B.c.* Ian Sanders Memorial Lecture, Sheffield, England, 19 November, 1980. Sheffield: Department of Prehistory and Archaeology, University of Sheffield.
- —— (1984), Workshop and heirloom: prehistoric bronze stands in the east Mediterranean. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 69–91.
- —— (1986), Cypriote bronzework: east or west? In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: Cyprus Between the Orient and the Occident*, pp. 91–103. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
- —— (1994), Cyprus in the 11th century B.C.—an end or a beginning? In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus in the 11th Century BC*, pp. 133–41. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- Catling, H. W., and V. Karageorghis (1960), Minoika in Cyprus. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 55: 108–27.

- Catling, H. W., and J. A. MacGillivray (1983), An Early Cypriot II vase from the palace at Knossos. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 78: 1–8.
- Cavanagh, W. G., and R. R. Laxton (1988), Problem solving and the architecture of tholos tombs. In E. B. French and K. A. Wardle (eds.), *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, pp. 385–95. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.
- Chadwick, J. (1964), Pylos tablet Un 1322. In E. L. Bennett Jr (ed.), Mycenaean Studies. Proceedings of the Third International Colloquium for Mycenaean Studies, pp. 19–26. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Chapman, J., and H. Hamerow (eds.) (1997a), *Migrations and Invasions in Archaeological Explanation*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 664. Oxford: Tempus Reparatum.
- (1997b), On the move again: migrations and invasions in archaeological explanation. In J. Chapman and H. Hamerow (eds.), *Migrations and Invasions in Archaeological Explanation*. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 664: 1–10. Oxford: Tempus Reparatum.
- Chapman, R. (2005), Changing social relations in the Mediterranean Copper and Bronze ages. In E. Blake and A. B. Knapp (eds.), *The Archaeology of Mediterranean Prehistory*, pp. 77–106. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Charpin, D. (1990), Une mention d'Alašiya dans une lettre de Mari. *Revue d'Assyriologie* 84: 125–7.
- Cherry, J. F. (1981), Pattern and process in the earliest colonization of the Mediterranean islands. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 47: 41–68.
- (1985), Islands out of the stream: isolation and interaction in early east Mediterranean insular prehistory. In A. B. Knapp and T. Stech (eds.), *Prehistoric Production and Exchange: The Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean*. UCLA Institute of Archaeology Monograph 25: 12–29. Los Angeles: UCLA Institute of Archaeology.
- —— (1990), The first colonization of the Mediterranean islands: a review of recent research. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 3: 145–221.
- (1992a), Palaeolithic Sardinians? Some questions of evidence and method. In R. H. Tykot and T. K. Andrews (eds.), *Sardinia in the Mediterranean: A Footprint in the Sea*. Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 3: 28–39. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- (1992b), Beazley in the Bronze Age? Reflections on attribution studies in Aegean prehistory. In R. Laffineur and J. L. Crowley (eds.), *EIKON. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology.* Aegaeum 8: 123–44. Liège: Université de Liège.
- (1999), After Aidonia: further reflections on attibution in the Aegean Bronze Age. In P. P. Betancourt, V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur, and W.-D. Niemeier (eds.), Meletemata: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Weiner as he enters his 65th Year. Aegaeum 20.1: 103–10. Liège, Austin: Univesité de Liège; University of Texas.
- —— (2003), Archaeology beyond the site: regional survey and its future. In J. K. Papadopoulos and R. M Leventhal (eds.), *Theory and Practice in Mediterranean Archaeology: Old World and New World Perspectives.* Cotsen Advanced Seminars 1: 137–59. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA.

- Cherry, J. F. (2004), Mediterranean island prehistory: what's different and what's new? In S. M. Fitzpatrick (ed.), *Voyages of Discovery: The Archaeology of Islands*, pp. 233–48. New York and London: Praeger.
- Cherry, J. F., J. L. Davis, and E. Mantzourani (1991), Landscape Archaeology as Long-Term History: Northern Keos in the Cycladic Islands from Earliest Settlement to Modern Times. Monumenta Archaeologica 16. Los Angeles: UCLA Institute of Archaeology.
- Childe, V. G. (1928), *The Most Ancient East: The Oriental Prelude to European Prehistory.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner.
- Christou, D. (1989), The Chalcolithic cemetery at Souskiou-*Vathyrkakas*. In E. J. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*, pp. 82–94. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- —— (1994), Kourion in the 11th century вс. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus in the* 11th Century в.с., pp. 177–88. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- (1997), (ed.) *Cyprus and the Aegean in Antiquity.* Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
- Cifola, B. (1988), Ramses III and the Sea Peoples: a structural analysis of the Medinet Habu inscriptions. *Orientalia* 57: 275–306.
- —— (1994), The role of the Sea Peoples and the end of the Late Bronze Age: a reassessment of textual and archaeological evidence. *Orientis Antiqui Miscellanea* 1: 1–23.
- Clark, G. (1994), Migration as an explanatory concept in Paleolithic archaeology. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 1: 305–43.
- Clarke, D. L. (1968), Analytical Archaeology. London: Methuen.
- —— (1978), Analytical Archaeology. 2nd edition. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Clarke, J. (2003), Insularity and identity in prehistoric Cyprus. In J. Guilaine and A. Le Brun (eds.), Le Néolithique de Chypre: Actes du Colloque International organisé par le départment des antiquitiés de Chypre et de l'École Française d'Athénes, Nicosie, 17–19 Mai 2001. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Supplement 43: 203–18. Athens: École Française d'Athénes.
- (2005), (ed.) Archaeological Perspectives on the Transmission and Transformation of Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean. Levant Supplementary Series 2. Oxford: Council for British Research in the Levant and Oxbow.
- Cline, E. H. (1999), The nature of the economic relations of Crete with Egypt and the Near East during the Late Bronze Age. In A. Chaniotis (ed.), *From Minoan Farmers to Roman Traders: Sidelights on the Economy of Ancient Crete*, pp. 115–44. Stuttgart: Steiner Verlag.
- —— (2005), Cyprus and Alashiya: one and the same. Archaeology Odyssey 8(5): 41–4. Cline, E. H., and D. Harris-Cline (eds.) (1998), The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium. Aegaeum 18. Liège: Université de Liège.
- Cochavi-Rainey, Z. (2003), *The Alashia Texts from the 14th and 13th Centuries BCE: A Textual and Linguistic Study.* Alter Orient und Altes Testament 289. Münster: Ugarit Verlag.
- (Cohen, A.) (1969), Custom and Politics in Urban Africa: A Study of Hausa Migrants in Yoruba Towns. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- (1974), Urban Ethnicity. London: Tavistock.

- Coldstream, J. N. (1989), Status symbols in Cyprus in the eleventh century вс. In Е. J. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*, pp. 325–35. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- Coleman, J. E. (1985), Investigations at Alambra, 1974–1984. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Archaeology in Cyprus*, 1960–1985, pp. 125–141. Nicosia: Zavallis Press.
- Coleman, J. E., J. A. Barlow, M. Mogelonsky, and K. W. Scharr (1996), *Alambra: A Middle Bronze Age Site in Cyprus. Investigations by Cornell University*, 1975–1978. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 118. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Collon, D. (1997), (ed.) 7000 Years of Seals. London: British Museum Publications.
- Comaroff, J. L., and J. Comaroff (1992a), Of totemism and ethnicity. In *Ethnography* and the Historical Imagination, pp. 49–67. Boulder: Westview Press.
- —— (1992b), Bodily reform as historical practice. In *Ethnography and the Historical Imagination*, pp. 69–91. Boulder: Westview Press.
- —— (1997), Of Revelation and Revolution, Volume 2. The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- —— (2005), Beasts, banknotes and the colour of money in colonial South Africa. *Archaeological Dialogues* 12: 107–32.
- Constantakapoulou, C. (2002), Connectivity in the Aegean: the practice of porthmeutice and its importance for small-scale interaction. *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 12: 223–6.
- —— (2005), Proud to be an islander: island identity in multi-polis islands in the Classical and Hellenistic Aegean. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 20: 1–34.
- Constantinou, G. (1982), Geological features and ancient exploitation of the cupriferous sulphide orebodies of Cyprus. In J. D. Muhly, R. Maddin, and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Early Metallurgy in Cyprus*, 4000–500 BC, pp.13–24. Nicosia: Pierides Foundation.
- Cook, V. (1988), Cyprus and the outside world during the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 17: 13–32.
- Cooper, Z. (2002), *Archaeology and History: Early Settlements in the Andaman Islands*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cordell, L. S. (1995), Tracing migration pathways from the receiving end. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 14: 203–11.
- Costin, C. L., and R. P. Wright (eds.) (1998), *Craft and Social Identity*. Archaeological Papers of the American Anthropological Association 8. Arlington, Virginia: American Anthropological Association.
- Courtois, J.-C. (1969), Enkomi-Alasia: glorious capital of Cyprus. *Archaeologia Viva* 1(3): 93–100.
- (1971), Le sanctuaire du dieu au lingot d'Enkomi-Alasia. In C. F. A. Schaeffer (ed.), *Alasia* I. Mission Archéologique d'Alasia 4: 151–362. Paris: Klincksieck.
- (1973), Le sanctuaire du dieu au lingot d'Enkomi-Alasia (Chypre) et les lieux de culte contemporains en Mediterranée Orientale. *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, Comptes-Rendus des Seances*: 223–46.
- (1982), L'activité metallurique et les bronzes d'Enkomi au Bronze Récent (1650–1000 avant J. C.). In J. D. Muhly, R. Maddin, and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Early Metallurgy in Cyprus*, 4000–500 BC, pp. 155–76. Nicosia: Pierides Foundation.

- Courtois, J.-C. (1983), Le trésor de poids de Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1982. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 117–30.
- (1984), Alasia III. Les Objects des Niveaux stratifies d'Enkomi. Fouilles C. F. A. Schaeffer 1947–1970. Editions Recherches sur les Civilisations, Mémoire 32. Paris: EDPF.
- (1986), À propos des apports orientaux dans la civilisation du bronze récent a Chypre. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: Cyprus between the Orient and Occide*nt, pp. 69–87. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
   (1990), Yabninu et le palais sud d'Ougarit. *Syria* 67: 103–42.
- Courtois, J.-C., J. Lagarce, and E. Lagarce (1986), *Enkomi et le Bronze Récent à Chypre*. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- Courtois, J.-C., and J. M. Webb (1980), A steatite relief mould from Enkomi. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 151–8.
- (1987), Les Cylindres-Sceaux d'Enkomi (Fouilles Françaises 1957–1970). Nicosia: Mission Archéologique Française d'Alasia, Zavallis Press.
- Courtois, L. (1970), Note préliminaire sur l'origine des differentes fabriques de la poterie du Chypriote récent. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 81–5.
- Craddock, P. T. (1986), Report on the composition of bronzes excavated from a Middle Cypriot site at Episkopi *Phaneromeni*, and some comparative Cypriot Bronze Age metalwork. Appendix I in S. Swiny, *Kent State University Excavations at Episkopi Phaneromeni* 2. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 74.2: 153–8. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Crawford, H. (1998), *Dilmun and its Gulf Neighbours*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Crewe, L. (1998), *Spindle Whorls: A Study of Form, Function and Decoration in Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-book 149. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (2004), Social Complexity and Ceramic Technology on Late Bronze Age Cyprus: The New Evidence from Enkomi. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Department of Archaeology, University of Edinburgh.
- Crewe, L., C. Lorentz, E. Peltenburg, and S. Spano (2005), Treatments of the dead: preliminary report of investigations at Souskiou *Laona* Chalcolithic cemetery, 2001–2004. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 41–67.
- Croft, P. (1988), Animal remains from Maa-Palaeokastro. In V. Karageorghis and M. Demas, Excavations at Maa-Palaeokastro 1979–1986, pp. 449–57. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- (1989), Animal bones. In A. K. South, P. Russell, and P. S. Keswani, *Vasilikos Valley Project 3: Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 2 (Ceramics, Objects, Tombs, Specialist Studies)*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 71.3: 70–2. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1991), Man and beast in Chalcolithic Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 282–3: 63–79.
- —— (2002), Game management in early prehistoric Cyprus. *Zeitschrift der Jagdwissenschaft* 48 (supplement): 172–9.
- Crone, P. (1989), Pre-Industrial Societies. New Perspectives on the Past. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Crowley, J. L. (1989), The Aegean and the East: An Investigation into the Transference of Artistic Motifs between the Aegean, Egypt, and the Near East in the Bronze Age. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book 51. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Cusick, J. G. (1998a), (ed.) *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change and Archaeology.* Center for Archaeological Investigations, Occasional Paper 25. Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press.
- (1998b), Introduction. In J. G. Cusick (ed.) *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change and Archaeology.* Center for Archaeological Investigations Occasional Paper 25: 1–20. Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press.
- (1998c), Historiography of acculturation: an evaluation of concepts and their application in archaeology. In J. G. Cusick (ed.), *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change and Archaeology.* Center for Archaeological Investigations, Occasional Paper 25: 126–45. Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press.
- D'Agata, A. L. (2005), Cult activity on Crete and Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age and the beginning of the Early Iron Age. In V. Karageorghis, H. Matthäus, and S. Rogge (eds.), *Cyprus: Religion and Society from the Late Bronze Age to the End of the Archaic Period*, pp. 1–17. Möhnesee-Wamel: Biblipolis.
- D'Altroy, T. N., and T. K. Earle (1985), Staple finance, wealth finance, and storage in the Inka political economy. *Current Anthropology* 25: 187–206.
- D'Arcy, P. (1997), The people of the sea. In D. Denoon (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*, pp. 74–7. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Daniel, J. F. (1940), The Achaeans at Kourion. *University of Pennsylvania Museum Bulletin* 8(1): 3–14.
- (1942), Review of E. Sjöqvist, *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age* (Stockholm: Swedish Cyprus Expedition, 1940). *American Journal of Archaeology* 46: 286–93.
- Darcque, P. (1987), Les tholoi et l'organization socio-politique du monde Mycenien. In R. Laffineur (ed.) *Thanatos: Les Coutoumes Funeraires en Égèe à l'Age du Bronze.* Aegaeum 1: 185–205. Liège: Université de Liège.
- Davies, P. (1997), Mortuary practice in Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus: problems and potential. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 11–26.
- Davis, J. (1977), People of the Mediterranean. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Davis, J. L., and J. Bennet (1999), Making Mycenaeans: warfare, territorial expansion, and representations of the other in the Pylian kingdom. In R. Laffineur (ed.), *POLEMOS: Le Contexte guerrier en Égée à l'age du Bronze*. Aegaeum 19: 105–20. Liège: Université de Liège.
- Day, P. M. (1988), The production and distribution of storage jars in Neopalatial Crete. In L. French and K. A. Wardle (eds.), *Problems in Greek Prehistory*, pp. 499–508. Bristol: Bristol Classical Press.
- Day, P. M., and D. E. Wilson (2002), Landscapes of memory, craft and power in Prepalatial and Protopalatial Knossos. In Y. Hamilakis (ed.), *Labyrinth Revisited: Rethinking 'Minoan' Archaeology*, pp. 143–66. Oxbow: Oxford.
- DeCorse, C. R. (1989), Material aspects of Limba, Yalunka and Kuranko ethnicity: archaeological research in northeastern Sierra Leone. In S. J. Shennan (ed.), *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*. One World Archaeology 10: 125–40. London: Unwin Hyman.

- Deger-Jalkotzy, S. (1994), The post-palatial period of Greece: an Aegean prelude to the 11th century B.C. in Cyprus? In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Cyprus in the 11th Century BC*, pp. 11–30. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- —— (1998), The Aegean islands and the breakdown of the Mycenaean palaces around 1200 BC. In V. Karageorghis and N. C. Stampolidis (eds.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Eastern Mediterranean, Cyprus-Dodecanese-Crete 16th–6th Centuries B.C.*, pp. 105–20. Athens: University of Crete and Leventis Foundation.
- Delaporte, L. (1923), Catalogue des cylindres, cachets et pierres gravées de style orientale. Volume 2. Paris: Musée du Louvre.
- Demarest, A. A. (1988), Political evolution in the Maya borderlands: the Salvadorian frontier. In E. H. Boone and G. R. Willey (eds.), *The Southeast Classic Maya Zone*, pp. 335–94. Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks.
- DeMarrais, E., L. J. Castillo, and T. K. Earle (1996), Ideology, materialization, and power strategies. *Current Anthropology* 37: 15–31.
- Dening, G. (1980), *Islands and Beaches. Discourse on a Silent Land: Marquesas 1774–1880.* Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- Desborough, V. R. d' A. (1964), The Last Mycenaeans and their Successors. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Dewar, R. E., and H. T. Wright (1993), The culture history of Madagascar. *Journal of World Prehistory* 7: 417–66.
- Diaz-Andreu, M. (1997), Nationalism, ethnicity and archaeology: the archaeological study of Iberians through the looking glass. *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 7: 154–68.
- —— (1998), Ethnicity and Iberians: the archaeological crossroads between perception and material culture. *European Journal of Archaeology* 1: 199–218.
- Diaz-Andreu, M., and S. Lucy (2005), Introduction. In M. Diaz-Andreu, S. Lucy, S. Babic, and D. N. Edwards, *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion*, pp. 1–12. London: Routledge.
- Diaz-Andreu, M., S. Lucy, S. Babic, and D. N. Edwards (2005), *The Archaeology of Identity: Approaches to Gender, Age, Status, Ethnicity and Religion.* London: Routledge.
- Dietler, M. (1990), Driven by drink: the role of drinking in the political economy and the case of Early Iron Age France. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 9: 352–406.
- —— (1994), Our ancestors the Gauls: archaeology, ethnic nationalism, and the manipulation of Celtic identity in modern Europe. *American Anthropologist* 96: 584–605.
- (1998), Consumption, agency, and cultural entanglement: theoretical implications of a Mediterranean colonial encounter. In J. G. Cusick (ed.), *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology.* Center for Archaeological Investigations, Occasional Paper 25: 288–315. Carbondale, Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press.
- —— (2005), The archaeology of colonization and the colonization of archaeology: theoretical challenges from an ancient Mediterranean colonial encounter. In G. J. Stein (ed.), *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters*, pp. 33–68. Sante Fe: School of American Research Press.

- Dietler, M., and I. Herbich (1998), *Habitus*, techniques, style: an integrated approach to the social understanding of material culture and boundaries. In M. T. Stark (ed.), *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, pp. 232–63. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Dietrich, M., and O. Loretz (1969), Beschriftete Lungen- und Leber-Modelle aus Ugarit. In C. F. A. Schaeffer (ed.), *Ugaritica* 6. Mission de Ras Shamra 18: 165–79. Paris: Geuthner
- (1978), Der 'Seefahrende Volk' von Sikila (RS 34.129). *Ugarit-Forschungen* 10: 53–6.
- Dietrich, M., and W. R. Mayer (1997), Ein hurritisches Totenritual fur 'Ammistamru III (KTU 1.125). In B. Pongratz-Leisten, H. Kühne and P. Xella (eds), *Ana sadi Lagani lu allik (Festschrift für Wolfgang Röllig)*. Alter Orient und Altes Testament 247: 79–89. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag.
- Dikaios, P. (1940), *The Excavations at Vounous-Bellapais in Cyprus*, 1931–2. Archaeologia 88: 1–174. Oxford: Society of Antiquaries of London.
- —— (1960), A conspectus of architecture in ancient Cyprus. *Kypriakai Spoudai* 24: 3–30.
- —— (1962), The Stone Age. In P. Dikaios and J. R. Stewart, *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* IV.1A: 1–204. Lund: Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
- —— (1963), The context of the Enkomi tablets. Kadmos 2: 39–52.
- —— (1967), Excavations and historical background: Enkomi in Cyprus. *Journal of Historical Studies* 1: 41–9.
- —— (1969–71), *Enkomi. Excavations 1948–1958.* 3 Volumes. Mainz-am-Rhein: Philip von Zabern.
- DiPaolo Loren, D. (2001), Social skins: orthodoxies and practices of dressing in the early colonial Lower Mississippi Valley. *Journal of Social Archaeology* 1: 172–89.
- —— (2003), Refashioning a body politic in colonial Louisiana. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 13: 231–7.
- Dobres, M.-A., and J. Robb (eds.) (2000), *Agency in Archaeology*. London: Routledge. Domergue, C., and C. Rico (2002), À propos de deux lingots de cuivre antiques trouvés en mer sur la côte languedocienne. In L. Rivet et M. Sciallano (eds.), *Vivre, produire et échanger: reflets Méditerranéens. Melanges Offerts à Bernard Liou*, pp. 141–52. Montagnac: Éditions Monique Mergoil.
- Donner, H., and W. Röllig (1966–9), Kanaanaische und Aramaische Inschriften. 3 Volumes. Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz.
- Dothan, T. (1982), *The Philistines and Their Material Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- (1993), Mediterranean archaeology. Biblical Archaeologist 56: 132-4.
- Dothan, T., and A. Ben-Tor (1983), *Excavations at Athienou, Cyprus*. Qedem 16. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University.
- Doumas, C. (2004), Aegean islands and islanders. In J. F. Cherry, C. Scarre, and S. Shennan (eds.), *Explaining Social Change: Studies in Honour of Colin Renfrew*, pp. 215–26. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Dovey, K. (1999), Framing Places: Mediating Power in Built Form. London: Routledge.

- Drews, R. (2004), *Early Riders: The Beginnings of Mounted Warfare in Asia and Europe.* London: Routledge.
- Driscoll, S. T. (2000), Christian monumental sculpture and ethnic expression in early Scotland. In W. O. Frazer and A. Tyrrell (eds.), *Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, pp. 233–52. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Duhard, J.-P. (1990), Le corps féminin et son language dans l'art paléolithique. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 9: 241–55.
- (1993), Étude comparative des statuettes féminins de Sireuil et Tursac (Dordogne). *Gallia Préhistoire* 35: 283–91.
- Dunn-Vaturi, A.-E. (2003a), Vounous, C. F. A. Schaeffer's Excavations in 1933. Tombs 49–79. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 130. Jonsered: Paul Åström's Förlag.
   —— (2003b), Dancers in the Louvre: the Iranian and Cypriot collections. Near Eastern Archaeology 66: 106–10.
- Du Plat Taylor, J. (1952), A Late Bronze Age settlement at Apliki, Cyprus. *Antiquaries Journal* 32: 133–67.
- —— (1957), Myrtou-Pighades: A Late Bronze Age Sanctuary in Cyprus. Oxford: Ashmolean Museum.
- Dyson, S. L. (1993), From New to New Age archaeology: archaeological theory and classical archaeology—a 1990s perspective. *American Journal of Archaeology* 97: 195–206.
- Edwards, P. C. (1989), Revising the broad spectrum revolution and its role in the origins of southwest Asian food production. *Antiquity* 63/239: 225–46.
- Edzard, D. O. (1960), Die Beziehungen Babyloniens und Ägyptens in der Mittelbabylonischen Zeit und das Gold. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 3: 38–55.
- Emberling, G. (1997), Ethnicity in complex societies: archaeological perspectives. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 5: 295–344.
- Erdogu, B. (2003), Visualizing Neolithic landscapes: the early settled communities in western Anatolia and eastern Aegean islands. *European Journal of Archaeology* 6: 7–23. Eriksen, E. (1950), *Childhood and Society*. New York: Norton.
- Eriksen, T. H. (1993a), In which sense do cultural islands exist? *Social Anthropology* 1: 133–47.
- (1993b), Ethnicity and Nationalism: Anthropological Perspectives. London: Pluto Press.
- Eriksson, K. O. (2001), Cypriote Proto White Slip and White Slip I: chronological beacons on relations between Late Cypriote I Cyprus and contemporary societies of the eastern Mediterranean. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *The White Slip Ware of Late Bronze Age Cyprus*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Band 20. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 2: 51–64. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Evans, A. J. (1935), *The Palace of Minos*, Volume 4. London: Macmillan and Company. Evans, J. D. (1953), The prehistoric cultural sequence in the Maltese archipelago. *Proceedings of the Prehistoric Society* 19: 41–94.

- —— (1973), Islands as laboratories for the study of culture process. In A. C. Renfrew (ed.), The Explanation of Culture Change: Models in Prehistory, pp. 517–20. London: Duckworth.
- —— (1977), Island archaeology in the Mediterranean: problems and opportunities. *World Archaeology* 9: 12–26.
- —— (1996), What went on in a Maltese megalithic 'temple'? In A. Pace (ed.), *Maltese Prehistoric Art*, 5000–2500 BC, pp. 39–44. Valletta, Malta: Progress Press.
- Fabre, T. (2002), Metaphors for the Mediterranean: creolization or polyphony? Mediterranean Historical Review 17: 15–24.
- Falconer, S. E., P. L. Fall, T. W. Davis, M. T. Horowitz, and J. Hunt (2005), Initial archaeological investigations at Politiko *Troullia*, 2004. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 69–85.
- Fasnacht, W., and N. Künzler Wagner (2001), Stone casting moulds from Marki-Alonia. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 38–41.
- Faucounau, J. (1977), Études Chypro-Minoennes I–III. Syria 54: 204–49.
- —— (1980), Études Chypro-Minoennes IV & V. *Syria* 57: 375–410.
- —— (1994), The Cypro-Minoan scripts: a reappraisal fifty years after John F. Daniel's paper. *Archaeologia Cypria* 3: 93–106.
- Faust, A. (2000), Ethnic complexity in northern Israel during Iron Age II. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 132: 2–27.
- Feinman, G. M. (1995), The emergence of inequality: a focus on strategies and processes. In T. D. Price and G. M. Feinman (eds.), *Foundations of Social Inequality*, pp. 255–80. New York: Plenum Press.
- Feld, S., and Basso, K. H. (eds.) (1996), *Senses of Place*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Feldman, M. H. (2002), Luxurious forms: redefining a Mediterranean 'International Style', 1400–1200 B.C.E. *Art Bulletin* 84: 6–29.
- —— (2006), Diplomacy by Design: Luxury Arts and an 'International Style' in the Ancient Near East, 1400–1200 BC. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Vives-Fernándiz Sánchez, J. (2005), Negociando Encuentros: Situaciones coloniales e intercambios en la costa oriental de la península Ibérica (ss. VIII-VI a.C.). Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea 12. Barcelona: Laboratorio de Arqueología, Unversidad Pompeu Fabra.
- Finlayson, B. (2004), Island colonization, insularity or mainstream? In E. J. Peltenburg and A. Wasse (eds.), *Neolithic Revolution: New Perspectives on Southwest Asia in Light of Recent Discoveries on Cyprus.* Levant Supplementary Series 1: 15–22. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Fischer, P. M. (1986), Prehistoric Cypriot Skulls, A Medico-Anthropological, Archaeological and Micro-Analytical Investigation. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 75. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Fisher, G., and D. DiPaolo Loren (2003), Embodying identity in archaeology: introduction. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 13: 225–30.
- Fisher, K. D. (2006), Messages in stone: constructing sociopolitical inequality in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In E. C. Robertson, J. W. Seibert, D. C. Fernandez, and M. U.

- Zender (eds.), *Space and Spatial Analysis in Archaeology*, pp. 123–32. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, University of New Mexico Press.
- —— (2007), Building Power: Monumental Architecture, Place and Social Interaction in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto.
- Fitzpatrick, S. M. (ed.) (2004), Voyages of Discovery: The Archaeology of Islands. New York and London: Praeger.
- Flannery, K. V. (1972), The origins of the village as a settlement type in Mesoamerica and the Near East. In P. J. Ucko, R. Tringham, and G. W. Dimbleby (eds.), *Man, Settlement and Urbanism*, pp. 23–53. London: Duckworth.
- —— (1993), Will the real model please stand up: comments on Saidel's 'Round house or square'. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 6: 109–17.
- Flenley, J. and P. G. Bahn (2003), *The Enigmas of Easter Island*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Flourentzos, P. (1989), A group of tombs of Middle Bronze Age date from Linou. In P. Åström, *Katydhata. A Bronze Age Site in Cyprus*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 86: 61–70. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (2001), Recent rare finds related to the cult and everyday life in Early-Middle Bronze Age Cyprus. In A. Kyriatsoulis (ed.), *Kreta und Zypern: Religion und Schrift. Von der Frühgeschichte biz zum Ende der archaischen Zeit*, pp. 159–68. Altenburg: DZA Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft.
- Fortin, M. (1978), The fortification wall at Lara. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 58–67.
- —— (1981), Military Architecture in Cyprus during the Second Millennium вс. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Institute of Archaeology, University of London.
- —— (1983), Recherches sur l'architecture militaire de l'Age du Bronze à Chypre. *Echos du Monde Classique* 27 (n.s. 2): 206–19.
- (1989), La soi-disant fortresse d'Enkomi (Chypre) à la fin du Bronze Moyen et au début du Bronze Récent. In R. Laffineur (ed.), *Transition: Le Monde Égéen du Bronze Moyen au Bronze Récent*. Aegaeum 3: 239–49. Liège: Universite de Liège.
- (1995), A cluster of Middle Cypriot III to Late Cypriot I fortified sites on the Ayios Sozomenos plateau. In C. Morris (ed.), *Klados: Essays in Honour of J. N. Coldstream.* Bulletin, University of London, Institute of Classical Studies. Supplement 63: 87–102. London: Institute of Classical Studies.
- Fotiadis, M. (1997), Cultural identity and regional archaeological perspectives. *Archaeological Dialogues* 4: 102–13.
- Fox, J. W. (1987), Maya Postclassic State Formation: Segmentary Lineage Migration in Advancing Frontiers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Frankel, D. (1974), Middle Cypriot White Painted Pottery: An Analytical Study of the Decoration. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 42. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1988), Pottery production in prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus: assessing the problem. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 1(2): 27–55.
- —— (1991), Ceramic variability: measurement and meaning. In J. A. Barlow, D. Bolger, and B. Kling (eds.), *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record.*

- University Museum Monograph 74: 241–52. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- Frankel, D. (1993), Is this a trivial observation? Gender in prehistoric Bronze Bronze Age Cyprus. In H. Du Cros and L. Smith (eds.), *Women in Archaeology: A Feminist Critique*. Occasional Papers in Prehistory 23: 138–42. Canberra: Department of Prehistory, Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- —— (1997), Cypriot figurines and the origins of patriarchy. *Current Anthropology* 38: 84–6.
- —— (2000), Migration and ethnicity in prehistoric Cyprus: technology as *habitus*. *European Journal of Archaeology* 3: 167–87.
- (2002), Social stratification, gender and ethnicity in third millennium Cyprus. In D. Bolger and N. Serwint (eds.), *Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus*. Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, Monograph 3. ASOR Archaeological Reports 7: 171–9. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- —— (2005), Becoming Bronze Age. Acculturation and enculturation in third millennium BC Cyprus. In J. Clarke (ed.), *Archaeological Perspectives on the Transmission and Transformation of Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean*. Levant Supplementary Series 2: 18–24. Oxford: Council for British Research in the Levant and Oxbow.
- Frankel, D., M. Iacovou, and J. M. Webb (2003), Deneia. Preliminary survey 2002–2003. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 11–22.
- Frankel, D., and A. Tamvaki (1973), Cypriote shrine models and decorated tombs. *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 2(2): 39–44.
- Frankel, D., and J. M. Webb (1994), Hobs and hearths in Bronze Age Cyprus. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 20: 51–6.
- (1996a), Marki Alonia: An Early and Middle Bronze Age Town in Cyprus. Excavations 1990–1994. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 123.1 Jonsered: Paul Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1996b), Excavations at Marki Alonia, 1995–9. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 51–68.
- —— (1998), Three faces of identity: ethnicity, community and status in the Cypriot Bronze Age. *Mediterranean Archaeology* 11: 1–12.
- —— (1999), Excavations at Marki Alonia, 1998–9. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 87–110.
- —— (2000), Excavations at Marki Alonia, 1999–2000. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 65–94.
- —— (2001), Excavations at Marki *Alonia*, 2000. *Report of the Department of Antiquities*, *Cyprus*: 15–44.
- —— (2004), An Early Bronze Age shell pendant from Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 336: 1–9.
- (2006a), Marki Alonia: An Early and Middle Bronze Age Settlement in Cyprus. Excavations 1995–2000. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 123.2. Sävedalen: Paul Åström's Förlag.

- Frankel, D., and J. M. Webb (2006b), Neighbours: negotiating space in a prehistoric village. *Antiquity* 80/308: 287–302.
- Frankel, D., J. M. Webb, and C. Eslick (1996), Anatolia and Cyprus in the third millennium BCE. A speculative model of interaction. In G. Bunnens (ed.), *Cultural Interaction in the Ancient Near East*. Abr Nahrain Supplement 5: 37–50. Peeters: Louvain.
- Frankenstein, S., and M. J. Rowlands (1978), The internal structure and regional context of Early Iron Age Society in south-western Germany. *Bulletin of the Institute of Archaeology, University of London* 15: 73–112.
- Friedman, J. (1992), The past in the future: history and the politics of identity. *American Anthropologist* 94: 837–59.
- —— (1995), Global system, globalization and the parameters of modernization. In M. Featherstone, L. Lash, and R. Robertson (eds.), *Global Modernities*, pp. 69–90. London: Sage.
- (1997), Global crises, the struggle for cultural identity and intellectual porkbarrelling: cosmopolitans versus locals, ethnics and nationals in an era of dehegemonisation. In P. Werbner and T. Modood (eds.), *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multicultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-racism*, 70–89. London: Zed Books.
- Furumark, A. (1944), The Mycenaean IIIC pottery and its relation to Cypriot fabrics. *Opuscula Archaeologica* 3: 194–265.
- —— (1953), A scarab from Cyprus. Opuscula Atheniensia 1: 46–65.
- —— (1965), The excavations at Sinda: some historical results. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 6: 99–116.
- (1972a), Mycenaean Pottery I: Analysis and Classification. Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 20: 1. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.
- —— (1972b), *Mycenaean Pottery* II: *Chronology*. Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 20: 2. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.
- Furumark, A., and C. Adelman (with P. Åström, N.-G. Gejwall, and H. Hemming von der Osten) (2003), *Swedish Excavations at Sinda, Cyprus: Excavations Conducted by Arne Furumark*, 1947–1948. Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 50. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.
- Gadd, C. J. (1954), Inscribed prisms of Sargon II from Nimrod. Iraq 16: 173-201.
- Galaty, M. L. (1999), Wealth ceramics, staple ceramics. In M. L. Galaty and W. A. Parkinson (eds.), *Rethinking Mycenaean Palaces: New Interpretations of an Old Idea*. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA, Monograph 41: 49–59. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA.
- Gale, N. H. (1991a), Metals and metallurgy in the Chalcolithic period. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 282–3: 37–62.
- —— (1991b), (ed.) *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 90. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Galliano, G., Y. Calvet, M. al-Maqdissi (2004), *Le royaume d'Ougarit. Aux origins de l'alphabet*. Paris, Lyon: Somology editions d'art, Musée des Beaux Arts.
- Galili, E., B. Rosen, A. Gopher, and L. Kolska-Horwitz (2002), The emergence and dispersion of the eastern Mediterranean Fishing Village: evidence from submerged

- Neolithic settlements off the Carmel coast, Israel. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 15: 167–98.
- Gamble, C. (1993), People on the move: interpretations of regional variation in Paleolithic Europe. In J. Chapman and P. Dolukhanov (eds.), *Cultural Transformations and Interactions in Eastern Europe*, pp. 37–55. Avebury Press: Aldershot.
- Geertz, C. (1973), The Interpretation of Cultures. Basic Books: New York.
- Gellner, E. (1988) [1977], Modern ethnicity. In E. Gellner (ed.), *State and Society in Soviet Thought*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Georgiou, H. (1979), Relations between Cyprus and the Near East in the Middle and Late Bronze Age. *Levant* 11: 84–100.
- Gesell, G. C. (1985), *Town, Palace, and House Cult in Minoan Crete.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 67. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Giardino, C., G. E. Gigante, and S. Ridolfe (2003), Archeometallurgical studies. Appendix 8.1 in S. Swiny, G. Rapp, and E. Herscher (eds.), *Sotira Kaminoudhia: An Early Bronze Age Site in Cyprus*. Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, Monograph 4. American Schools of Oriental Research, Archaeological Reports 8: 385–96. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Giddens, A. (1979), Central Problems in Social Theory. London: Macmillan.
- —— (1982), *Profiles and Critiques in Social Theory.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- —— (1984), *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Giesen, K. (2001), *Zyprischen Fibeln. Typologie und Chronologie.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-Book 161. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Gilboa, A. (1989), New finds at Tel Dor and the beginnings of Cypro-Geometric pottery import to Palestine. *Israel Exploration Journal* 39: 204–18.
- —— (2005), Sea Peoples and Phoenicians along the southern Phoenician coast—a reconciliation: an interpretation of Sikila (SKL) material culture. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 337: 47–78.
- Gilmore, D. D. (1982), Anthropology of the Mediterranean area. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 11: 175–205.
- —— (1987), (ed.) *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean*. American Anthropological Association, Special Publication 22. Washington, DC: AAA.
- Given, M. (1998), Inventing the Eteocypriots: imperialist archaeology and the manipulation of ethnic identity. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 11: 3–29.
- —— (2001), The fight for the past: Watkins vs. Warren (1885–6) and the control of excavation. In V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century BC: Fact, Fancy and Fiction*, pp. 255–60. Oxford: Oxbow.
- —— (2002), Maps, fields, and boundary cairns: demarcation and resistance in colonial Cyprus. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 6: 1–22.
- —— (2004), The Archaeology of the Colonized. London: Routledge.
- Given, M., V. Kassiandou, A. B. Knapp, and J. Noller (2002), Troodos Archaeological and Environmental Survey Project, Cyprus: report on the 2001 season. *Levant* 34: 25–38.

- Given, M., V. Kassiandou, A. B. Knapp, and J. Noller (2008), *The Troodos Archaeological and Environmental Survey Project (TÆSP): Peopling the Landscape in Regional Survey Archaeology.* Volume 2: *Landscape.* London: Council for British Research in the Levant.
- Given, M., and A. B. Knapp (2003), *The Sydney Cyprus Survey Project: Social Approaches to Regional Archaeological Survey.* Monumenta Archaeologica 21. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA.
- Given, M., A. B. Knapp, N. Meyer, T. E. Gregory, V. Kassianidou, J. Noller, N. Urwin, L. Wells, and H. Wright (1999), The Sydney Cyprus Survey Project: an interdisciplinary investigation of long-term change in the north central Troodos, Cyprus. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 26: 19–39.
- Gjerstad, E. (1926), *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus*. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitets Arsskrift.
- —— (1944), The colonisation of Cyprus in Greek legend. *Opuscula Archaeologia* 3: 107–23.
- —— (1948), *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition*, Volume 4.2. *The Cypro-Geometric*, *Cypro-Archaic and Cypro-Classical Periods*. Stockholm: Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
- Gjerstad, E., J. Lindos, E. Sjöqvist, and A. Westholm (1934), *Swedish Cyprus Expedition* I, II: *Finds and Results of the Excavations in Cyprus 1927–1931*. Stockholm: Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
- Godart, L. (1968), Ku-pi-ri-jo dans les textes mycéniens. Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici 5: 64–70.
- Goetze, A. (1925), *Hattusilis*. Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft 29. Hethitische Texte 1. Leipzig: Hinrichs.
- (1929), Die Pestgebete des Mursilis. Kleinasiatische Forschungen 1(2): 161–251.
- —— (1975), The Hittites and Syria (1300–1200 B.C.). In I. E. S. Edwards, C. J. Gadd, N. G. L. Hammond, and E. Sollberger (*eds.*), *Cambridge Ancient History* Volume II: part 2, pp. 252–73. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Goldman, H. (1956), Excavations at Gözlü Kule II. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Goodenough, W. H. (1957), Oceania and the problem of controls in the study of cultural and human evolution. *Journal of the Polynesian Society* 66: 146–55.
- Goody, J. (2001), Bitter icons. New Left Review 7: 5-15.
- Goren, Y., S. Bunimovitz, I. Finkelstein, and N. Na'aman (2003), The location of Alashiya: new evidence from petrographic investigation of Alashiyan tablets from el-Amarna and Ugarit. *American Journal of Archaeology* 107: 233–55.
- Goren, Y., I. Finkelstein, and N. Na'aman (2004), *Inscribed in Clay: Provenance Study of the Amarna Tablets and Other Ancient Near Eastern Texts.* Sonia and Marco Nader Institute of Archaeology, Monograph Series 23. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.
- Goring, E. (1988), *A Mischievous Pastime: Digging in Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century.* Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland.
- —— (1989), Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age. In E. J. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*, pp. 95–105. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.

- (1991), The anthropomorphic figurines. In E. J. Peltenburg, *Lemba Archaeological Project*. Volume 2:2. *A Ceremonial Area at Kissonerga*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 70.3: 39–60. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Gosden, C. (2004), Archaeology and Colonialism: Culture Contact from 5000 BC to the Present. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gosden, C., and G. Lock (1998), Prehistoric histories. World Archaeology 30: 2-12.
- Gosden, C., and C. Pavlides (1994), Are islands insular? Landscape vs. seascape in the case of the Arawe islands, Papua New Guinea. *Archaeology in Oceania* 29: 162–71.
- Graves-Brown, P., S. Jones, and C. S. Gamble (eds.) (1996), *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities*. London: Routledge.
- Graziadio, G. (2003), I lingotti ox-hide nella glittica cipriota. *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 45(1): 27–69.
- (2004), Le influenze egee si sigilli conoidi Ciprioti ed i problemi cronologici connessi. In S. Bruni, T. Caruso, and M. Massa (eds.), *Archaeologica Pisana: Scritti per Orlands Pancrazzi*, pp. 220–8. Pisa: Giardini Editori e Stampatori.
- Green, R. C. (2003), The Lapita horizon and traditions: signature for one set of Oceanic migrations. In C. Sand (ed.), *Pacific Archaeology: Assessments and Prospects*. Le Cahiers de l'Archéologie en Nouvelle-Calédonie 15: 95–120. Nouméa, Nouvelle Calédonie: Service des Musées et du Patrimonie.
- Greenblatt, C., and M. Spigelman (eds.) (2003), *Emerging Pathogens: Archaeology, Ecology and Evolution of Infectious Disease*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Greenfield, H. J. (1988), The origins of milk and wool production in the Old World: a zooarchaeological perspective from the central Balkans. *Current Anthropology* 29: 573–93.
- Greenfield, H. J., and K. D. Fowler (2005), The Secondary Products Revolution in Macedonia: The Zooarchaeological Remains from Megalo Nisi Galanis, a Late Neolithic-Early Bronze Age Site in Greek Macedonia. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1414. Oxford: Archeopress.
- Greenfield, J. (1962), Elishah. *Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible* 2: 92. New York: Abingdon Press.
- Grenon, M., and M. Batisse (1989), Futures for the Mediterranean Basin. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Grima, R. (2001), An iconography of insularity: a cosmological interpretation of some images and spaces in the Late Neolithic temples of Malta. *Papers from the Institute of Archaeology* 12: 48–65.
- Gröndahl, F. (1967), *Die Personennamen der Texte aus Ugarit.* Studia Pohl 1. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute.
- Güterbock, H. G. (1967), The Hittite conquest of Cyprus reconsidered. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 26: 73–81.
- Güterbock, H. G., M. Mellink, and E. T. Vermeule (1983), The Hittites and the Aegean world. *American Journal of Archaeology* 87: 133–43.
- Guilaine, J., and A. Le Brun (eds.) (2003), Le Néolithique de Chypre: Actes du Colloque International organisé par le départment des antiquitiés de Chypre et de l'École Française

- *d'Athénes, Nicosie, 17–19 Mai 2001.* Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Supplement 43. Athens: École Française d'Athénes.
- Guilaine, J., F. Briois, J. Coularou, J.-D. Vigne, and I. Carrere (1996), Le site néolithique de *Shillourokambos* (Parekklisha, Chypre). *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 120 (2): 953–8.
- Guilaine, J., F. Brios, I. Carrère, É. Crubézy, T. Giraud, S. Philibert, J.-D. Vigne, and G. Willcox (2001), L'habitat néolithique pré-céramique de Shillourokambos (Parekklisha, Chypre). *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 125 (2): 649–54.
- Guilaine, J., F. Brios, J.-D. Vigne, I. Carrère, C.-A. de Chazelles, J. Follonge, H. Gazzal, P. Gerard, L. Haye, C. Manen, T. Perrin, and G. Willcox (2002), L'habitat néolithique pré-céramique de Shillourokambos (Parekklisha, Chypre). Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 126 (2): 590–7.
- Guo, Pei-yi (2003), 'Island Builders': landscape and historicity among the Langalanga, Solomon Islands. In P. J. Stewart and A. Strathern (eds.), *Landscape, Memory and History: Anthropological Perspectives*, pp. 189–209. London: Pluto Press.
- Gupta, A., and J. Ferguson (eds.) (1997), *Culture, Power, Place.* Durham, North Carolina and London: Duke University Press.
- Habicht-Mauche, J. A. (1993), The Pottery from Arroyo Hondo Pueblo, New Mexico: Tribalization and Trade in the Northern Rio Grande. Sante Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Hadjicosti, M. (1991), The Late Bronze Age Tomb 2 from Mathiatis (new perspectives for the Mathiatis region). *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 75–91.
- Hadjisavvas, S. (1988), Olive oil production in ancient Cyprus. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus (2): 111–20.
- —— (1989), A Late Cypriot community at Alassa. In E. J. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*, pp. 32–42. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- —— (1991), LC IIC to LC IIIA without intruders: the case of Alassa. In J. Barlow, D. Bolger, and B. Kling (eds.), *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record*. University Museum Monograph 74: 173–80. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- —— (1992), Olive Oil Processing in Cyprus. From the Bronze Age to the Byzantine Period. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 99. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1994), Alassa Archaeological Project 1991–1993. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 107–14.
- (1996), Alassa: a regional center of Alashiya? In P. Åström and E. Herscher (eds.), *Late Bronze Age Settlements in Cyprus: Function and Relationship.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-book 126: 23–38. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- (2000), Chronique et rapports: chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1999. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 124(2): 665–99.
- (2001a), Seal impressed pithos fragments from Alassa: some preliminary thoughts. In P. M. Fischer (ed.), Contributions to the Archaeology and History of the Bronze and Iron Ages in the Eastern Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of Paul

- *Åström.* Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut: Sonderschriften Band 39: 61–68. Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.
- Hadjisavvas, S. (2001b), Crete and Cyprus: religion and script. The case of Alassa. In A. Kyriatsoulis (ed.), *Kreta und Zypern: Religion und Schrift. Von der Frühgeschichte biz zum Ende der archaischen Zeit*, pp. 205–31. Altenburg: DZA Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft.
- —— (2002), The contribution of the LC economy to the emergence of kingship in Cyprus. *Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 32: 53–8.
- —— (2003a), The production and diffusion of olive oil in the Mediterranean, ca. 1500–500 BC. In N.C. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Ploes. Sea Routes . . .: Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th-6th c. BC*, pp. 117–23. Athens: University of Crete, Leventis Foundation.
- —— (2003b), Ashlar buildings. In S. Hadjisavvas (ed.), From Ishtar to Aphrodite: 3200 Years of Cypriot Hellenism. Treasures from the Museums of Cyprus, pp. 31–4. New York: Onassis Public Benefit Foundation.
- Hadjisavvas, S., and I. Hadjisavva (1997), Aegean Influence at Alassa. In D. Christou (ed.), *Cyprus and the Aegean in Antiquity*, pp. 143–8. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- Hägg, R. (1968), Mykenische Kultstatten im archäologischen Material. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 8: 39–60.
- (1990), The role of libations in Mycenaean ceremony and cult. In R. Hägg and G. C. Nordquist (eds.), *Celebrations of Death and Divinity in the Bronze Age Argolid*. Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Athen 40: 177–84. Stockholm: Svenska Institutet i Athen.
- (1991), Sacred horns and naiskoi. Remarks on Aegean religious symbolism in Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Proceedings of an International Symposium: The Civilizations of the Aegean and Their Diffusion in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean*, 2000–600 BC, pp. 79–83. Larnaca: Pierides Foundation.
- Hall, J. M. (1997), *Ethnic Identity in Greek Antiquity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (2002), *Hellenicity: Between Ethnicity and Culture.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Hall, J. M., I. Morris, S. Jones, S. Morris, C. Renfrew, and R. Just (1998), Ethnic identity in Greek antiquity. Cambridge Archaeological Journal 8: 265–83.
- Hall, M. (2000), Archaeology and the Modern World: Colonial Transcripts in South Africa and Chesapeake. London: Routledge.
- Hall, S. (1996), Introduction. Who needs 'identity'? In S. Hall and P. du Gay (eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity*, 1–17. London: Sage.
- (2003), Creolization, diaspora, and hybridity in the context of globalization. In
   O. Enwezor, C. Basualdo and U. M. Bauer (eds.), Créolité and Creolization. Documenta 11\_Platform 3: 185–98. Ostfildern-Ruit, Germany: Hatje Cantz.
- Halstead, P. (1977), A preliminary report on the faunal remains from Late Bronze Age Kouklia, Paphos. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 261–75.

- Halstead, P. (1987), Traditional and ancient rural economy in Mediterranean Europe: plus ça change? *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 107: 77–87.
- Hamilakis, Y. (2002), (ed.) Labyrinth Revisited: Rethinking 'Minoan' Archaeology. Oxford: Oxbow.
- —— (2005), Whither Aegean prehistory. In J. F. Cherry, D. Margomenou, and L. E. Talalay (eds.), *Prehistorians Round the Pond: Reflections on Aegean Prehistory as a Discipline*. Kelsey Museum Publication 2: 169–79. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology.
- Hamilton, N. (2000), Ungendering archaeology: concepts of sex and gender in figurine studies in prehistory. In M. Donald and L. Hurcombe (eds.), *Representations of Gender from Prehistory to the Present*, pp. 17–30. London: Macmillan.
- Hamilton, S., and R. Whitehouse (2006), Three senses of dwelling: beginning to socialise the Neolithic ditched villages of the Tavoliere, southeast Italy. *Journal of Iberian Archaeology* 8: 159–84.
- Handler, R. (1994), Is 'identity' a useful cross-cultural concept? In J. R. Gillis (ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, pp. 27–40. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hansen, J. (1989), Botanical remains. In A. South, P. Russell, and P. S. Keswani, *Vasilikos Valley Project 3. Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios* 2. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 71.3: 82–93. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Härke, H. (1998), Archaeologists and migration: a problem of attitude? *Current Anthropology* 39: 19–46.
- Hauptmann, A., R. Maddin, and M. Prange (2002), On the structure and composition of copper and tin ingots excavated from the shipwreck of Uluburun. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 328: 1–30.
- Hayden, B. (2001), Richman, poorman, beggarman, chief: the dynamics of social inequality. In G. Feinman and T. D. Price (eds.), *Archaeology at the Millennium: A Sourcebook*, pp. 231–72. Dordrecht and Norwell, Massachusetts: Kluwer/Plenum.
- Hegmon, M. (1998), Technology, style, and social practices: archaeological approaches. In M. T. Stark (ed.), *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, pp. 264–79. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- Helck, W. (1983), Asija. Zeitschrift fur Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde 110: 29–36.
  —— (1986a), Zypern und Ägypten. Lexicon der Ägyptologie 6: 1452. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- (1986b), Wenamun. *Lexicon der Ägyptologie* 6: 1215–17. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Held, S. O. (1989), Early Prehistoric Island Archaeology in Cyprus: Configurations of Formative Culture Growth from the Pleistocene/Holocene Boundary to the mid-3rd Millennium B.C. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Institute of Archaeology, University College London.
- —— (1992), Colonization and extinction on Early Prehistoric Cyprus. In P. Åström (ed.), *Acta Cypria*. Part 2. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-book 117: 104–64. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.

- —— (1993) Insularity as a modifier of cultural change: the case of prehistoric Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 292: 25–33.
- Helft, S. (2005), A reassessment of the Hittites in Cyprus. Abstract: Annual Meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 16–19 November 2005.
- Hellbing, L. (1979), *Alasia Problems*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 57. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Helms, M. W. (1988), *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Heltzer, M. (1982), The Internal Organization of the Kingdom of Ugarit. Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- —— (1999), The economy of Ugarit. In W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*. Handbook of Oriental Studies, Part 1. Ancient Near East 39: 423–54. Leiden: Brill.
- Hennessy, J. B. (1964), *Stephania: A Middle and Late Bronze Age Cemetery in Cyprus*. London: Bernard Quaritch Ltd.
- Hennessy, J. B., K. Eriksson, and I. Kehrberg (1988), *Ayia Paraskevi and Vasilia: Excavations by the Late J. R. Stewart.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 82. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Hereniko, V. (1997), Pacific cultural identities. In D. Denoon (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*, pp. 428–37. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Herscher, E. (1978), The Bronze Age Cemetery at Lapithos, Vrysi tou Barba, Cyprus: Results of the University of Pennsylvania Museum Excavation, 1931. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, Classical Archaeology.
- —— (1984), The pottery of Maroni and regionalism in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis and J. D. Muhly (eds.), *Cyprus at the Close of the Late Bronze Age*, pp. 23–8. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- —— (1991), Beyond regionalism: toward an islandwide Early and Middle Cypriot sequence. In J. Barlow, D. Bolger, and B. Kling (eds.), *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record.* University Museum Monograph 74: 45–50. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- (1997), Representational relief on Early and Middle Cypriot pottery. In V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur, and F. Vandenabeele (eds.), Four Thousand Years of Images on Cypriote Pottery. Proceedings of the Third International Conference of Cypriote Studies, pp. 25–36. Nicosia, Brussels, Liège: Leventis Foundation, University of Cyprus, Vrije Universiteit Brussels, Universite de Liège.
- Herzfeld, M. (1984), The horns of the Mediterranean dilemma. *American Ethnologist* 11: 439–54.
- (1987), 'As in your own house': hospitality, ethnography, and the stereotype of Mediterranean society. In D. D. Gilmore (ed.), *Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean*. American Anthropological Association, Special Publication 22: 75–89. Washington, DC: AAA.
- —— (2000), Uncanny success: some closing remarks. In J. de Piña-Cabral and A. Pedroso de Lima (eds.), *Elites: Choice, Leadership and Succession*, pp. 227–36. Oxford: Berg.

- Herzfeld, M. (2001), Performing comparisons: ethnography, globetrotting, and the spaces of social knowledge. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 57: 259–76.
- Hill, J. N., and J. Gunn (eds.) (1977), The Individual in Prehistory: Studies of Variability in Style in Prehistoric Technologies. New York: Academic Press.
- Hirschfeld, N. (1992), Cypriot marks on Mycenaean pottery. In J.-P. Olivier (ed.), *Mykenaika: Actes du IXe Colloque International sur les Textes Myceniens et Égéens* (*Athens*, 2–6 *October 1990*). Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique, Supplement 25: 315–20. Paris: Diffusion de Boccard.
- (1996), Cypriots in the Mycenaean Aegean. In E. DeMiro, L Godart, and A. Sacconi (eds.), *Atti e Memorie del Secondo Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia*, *Roma-Napoli*, 14–20 Ottobre 1991. 2 volumes. Incunabula Graeca 98.1: 289–97. Rome: Gruppo Editoriale Internazionale.
- (2004), Eastward via Cyprus? The marked Mycenaean pottery of Enkomi, Ugarit, and Tell Abu Hawam. In J. Balensi, J.-Y. Monchambert and S. Müller-Celku (eds.), *La Céramique Mycénienne de l'Égée au Levant*. Tavaux de la Maison de l'Orient 41: 97–103. Lyon: Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient.
- Hitchcock, L. (2000), Engendering ambiguity in Minoan Crete: it's a drag to be a king. In M. Donald and L. Hurcombe (eds.), *Representations of Gender from Prehistory to the Present*, pp. 69–86. London: Macmillan.
- Hjelmqvist, H. (1977), Some economic plants and weeds from the Bronze Age of Cyprus. In U. Öbrink (ed.), *Hala Sultan Tekke* 5. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 45.5: 110–33. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Hodder, I. A. (1977), The distribution of material culture items in the Baringo District, western Kenya. *Man* 12: 239–69.
- —— (1979), Social and economic stress and material culture patterning. *American Antiquity* 44: 446–54.
- —— (1982), (ed.) *Symbols in Action: Ethnoarchaeological Studies of Material Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- —— (1985), Boundaries as strategies: an ethnoarchaeological study. In S. W. Green and S. M Perlman (eds.), *The Archaeology of Frontiers and Boundaries*, pp. 141–59. Orlando: Academic Press.
- —— (1990), The Domestication of Europe: Structure and Contingency in Neolithic Societies. Oxford: Blackwell.
- —— (1994), Architecture and meaning: the example of Neolithic houses and tombs. In M. Parker Pearson and C. Richards (eds.), *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space*, pp. 73–86. London: Routledge.
- Hodder, I. A., and C. Cessford (2004), Daily practice and social memory at Çatalhöyük. *American Antiquity* 69: 17–40.
- Hodder, I. A., and S. Hutson (2003), *Reading the Past: Current Approaches to Inter*pretation in Archaeology. (3rd edition) Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hoffner, H. A. (1992), The last days of Khattusha. In W. A. Ward and M. S. Joukowsky (eds.), *The Crisis Years. The 12th Century BC from beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, pp. 46–52. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co.
- Hofmeijer, G. K., and P. Y. Sondaar (1992), Pleistocene humans in the island environment of Sardinia. In R. H. Tykot and T. K. Andrews (eds.), *Sardinia in the*

- *Mediterranean: A Footprint in the Sea.* Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 3: 49–56. Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press.
- Holmes, Y. L. (1971), The location of Alashiya. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 91: 426–9.
- —— (1978), The messengers of the Amarna letters. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 95: 376–81.
- —— (1982), The Isy-Ars controversy. In S. Israelit-Groll (ed.), *Egyptological Studies*, pp. 317–34. Jerusalem: Magnes Press.
- Horden, P., and N. Purcell (2000), *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hosler, D. (1995), Sound, color and meaning in the metallurgy of ancient Mexico. *World Archaeology* 27: 100–15.
- Huehnergard, J. and S. Izre'el (eds.) (2003), *Amarna Studies: Collected Writings by William L. Moran.* Harvard Semitic Series 54. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- Hulin, L. C. (1989), The identification of Cypriot cult figures through cross-cultural comparison: some problems. In E. J. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*, 127–39. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- Hult, G. (1983), Bronze Age Ashlar Masonry in the Eastern Mediterranean: Cyprus, Ugarit, and Neighbouring Regions. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 66. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1992), Nitovikla Reconsidered. Medelhavsmuseet Memoir 8. Stockholm: Medelhavsmuseet.
- Iacovou, M. (1988), *The Pictorial Pottery of Eleventh Century вс Cyprus*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 79. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- (1991), Proto-White Painted pottery: a classification of the ware. Cypriot sequence. In J. Barlow, D. Bolger, and B. Kling (eds.), *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record*. University Museum Monograph 74: 199–205. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- —— (1994), The topography of eleventh century вс Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Cyprus in the 11th Century* вс, pp. 149–65. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- —— (1995), Kupriake protoistoria. E Kupros prin apo ta basileia. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 95–110.
- —— (1998), Philistia and Cyprus in the 11th century BC: from a similar prehistory to a diverse protohistory. In S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Eleventh Centuries BCE*, pp. 332–44. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- (1999a), Excerpta Cypria Geometrica: materials for a history of Geometric Cyprus. In M. Iacovou and D Michaelides (eds.), *Cyprus: The Historicity of the Geometric Horizon*, pp. 141–66. Nicosia: Archaeological Research Unit, University of Cyprus; Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, Ministry of Education and Culture.
- —— (1999b), The Greek exodus to Cyprus: the antiquity of Hellenism. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 14(2): 1–28.

- Iacovou, M. (2001), Cyprus from Alashiya to Iatnana. In S. Böhm and K. V. von Eickstedt (eds.), *ITHAKH: Festschrift für Jörg Schäfer zum 75. Geburtstag am 25 April 2001*, pp. 85–92. Würzburg: Ergon Verlag.
- —— (2002), From ten to naught: formation, consolidation and abolition of Cyprus' Iron Age polities. *Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 32: 73–87.
- (2003), The Late Bronze Age origins of Cypriot Hellenism and the establishment of the Iron Age kingdoms. In S. Hadjisavvas (ed.), *From Ishtar to Aphrodite: 3200 Years of Cypriot Hellenism. Treasures from the Museums of Cyprus*, pp. 79–85. New York: Onassis Public Benefit Foundation.
- —— (2004), (ed.) *Archaeological Field Survey in Cyprus: Past History, Future Potentials.* British School at Athens, Studies 11. London: British School at Athens.
- (2005), Cyprus at the dawn of the first millennium BCE: cultural homogenisation versus the tyranny of ethnic identification. In J. Clarke (ed.), *Archaeological Perspectives on the Transmission and Transformation of Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean*. Levant Supplementary Series 2: 125–34. Oxford: Council for British Research in the Levant and Oxbow.
- (2006a), 'Greeks', 'Phoenicians' and 'Eteocypriots': ethnic identities in the Cypriote kingdoms. In J. Chrysostomides and C. Dendrinos (eds.), 'Sweet Land...': Lectures on the History and Culture of Cyprus, pp. 27–59. Camberley, Surrey, UK: Porphyrogenitus.
- (2006b), From the Mycenaean *qa-si-re-u* to the Cypriote *pa-si-le-wo-se*: the *basileus* in the kingdoms of Cyprus. In S. Deger-Jalotzy and I. S. Lemos (eds.), *Ancient Greece: From the Mycenaean Palaces to the Age of Homer.* Edinburgh Leventis Studies 3: 315–35. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- Iacovou, M., and D. Michaelides (eds.) (1999), *Cyprus: The Historicity of the Geometric Horizon.* Nicosia: University of Cyprus, Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, Ministry of Education and Culture.
- Ionas, I. (1984), Stratigraphies of Enkomi. *Report of the Department of Antiquities*, Cyprus: 50–65.
- —— (1985), The altar at Myrtou-Pighades: a re-examination of its reconstruction. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 137–42.
- Irwin, G. (1992), *The Prehistoric Exploration and Colonisation of the Pacific.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jacobsson, I. (1994), Aegyptiaca from Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 112. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Jameson, F. (1984), Postmodernism, or the cultural logic of late capitalism. New Left Review 146: 53–92.
- Jameson, M. H., C. N. Runnels, and T. H. Van Andel (1994), A Greek Countryside: The Southern Argolid from Prehistory to the Present Day. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Jacobs, J. M. (1996), *Edge of Empire: Postcolonialism and the City.* London: Routledge. Jenkins, R. (1996), *Social Identity.* London: Routledge.
- —— (1997), Rethinking Ethnicity: Arguments and Explanations. London: Sage.
- Jirku, A. (1937), *Die Ägyptischen Listen Palästinensischer und Syrischer Ortsnamen*. Klio Beihefte 38 (n.f. 25). Leipzig: Dieterich.

- Jochim, M. A., C. Herhahn, and H. Starr (1999), The Magdalenian colonization of southern Germary. *American Anthropolgist* 101: 129–42.
- Joffe, A. H. (2004), Athens and Jerusalem in the third millennium: culture, comparison, and the evolution of social complexity. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 17: 247–67.
- Johnson, G. A. (1977), Aspects of regional analysis in archaeology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 6: 479–508.
- Johnson, J. (1980), *Maroni de Chypre*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 59. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Johnson, M. H. (1989), Conceptions of agency in archaeological interpretation. Journal of Anthropological Archaeology 8: 189–211.
- Johnson, P. (1982), The Middle Cypriote pottery found in Palestine. Opuscula Atheniensia 14: 49–72.
- Johnstone, W. (1971), A Late Bronze Age tholos tomb at Enkomi. In C. F. A. Schaeffer (ed.), *Alasia I. Mission Archéologique d'Alasia* 4: 51–122. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Jones, A., and G. MacGregor (2002), Introduction: wonderful things—colour studies in archaeology from Munselll to materiality. In A. Jones and G. MacGregor (eds.), *Colouring the Past: The Significance of Colour in Archaeological Research*, pp.1–21. Berg: London.
- Jones, R. (1978), Why did the Tasmanians stop eating fish? In R. A. Gould (ed.), *Explorations in Ethnoarchaeology*, pp. 11–47. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Jones, R. E., S. T. Levi, and M. Bettelli (2005), Mycenaean pottery in the central Mediterranean: imports, imitations and derivatives. In R. Laffineur and E. Greco (eds.), *Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean*. Aegaeum 25.2: 539–45. Liège, Austin: Université de Liège, University of Texas.
- Jones, S. (1996), Discourses of identity in the interpretation of the past. In P. Graves-Brown, S. Jones, and C. S. Gamble (eds.), *Cultural Identity and Archaeology: The Construction of European Communities*, pp. 62–80. London: Routledge.
- —— (1997), The Archaeology of Ethnicity: Reconstructing Identities in the Past and the Present. London: Routledge.
- Joyce, R. A. (2000), *Gender and Power in Prehispanic Mesoamerica*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- —— (2003), Making something of herself: embodiment in life and death at Playa de los Muertos, Honduras. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 13: 248–61.
- Joyce, R. A., and C. Claassen (1997), Women in the ancient Americas: archaeologists, gender, and the making of prehistory. In C. Claassen and R. Joyce (eds.), *Women in Prehistory: North America and Mesoamerica*. Regendering the Past 1: 1–14. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Just, R. (1989), Triumph of the ethnos. In E. Tonkin, M. McDonald, and M. Chapman (eds.), *History and Ethnicity*, pp. 71–88. London: Routledge.
- Kane, S. (ed.) (2003), *The Politics of Archaeology and Identity in a Global Context*. Archaeological Institute of America Colloquia and Conference Papers 7. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.
- Kantor, H. J. (1947), The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium B.C. Archaeological Institute of America: Monograph 1. Bloomington, Indiana: Archaeological Institute of America.

- Kantor, H. J. (1957), Oriental Institute Museum notes, No. 9: A Syro-Hittite treasure in the Oriental Institute Museum. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 16: 145–62.
- Karageorghis, J. (1977), La Grande Deesse de Chypre et son Culte. Lyon: Collection de la Maison de l'Orient.
- Karageorghis, J., and V. Karageorghis (2002), The great goddess of Cyprus or the genesis of Aphrodite in Cyprus. In S. Parpola and R. M. Whiting (eds.), Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 47th Recontre Assyriologique Internationale (Helsinki, July 2–6, 2001), pp. 263–82. Eisenbrauns: Winona Lake, Indiana.
- Karageorghis, V. (1957), The Mycenaean window crater in the British Museum. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 77: 269–71.
- —— (1958), Finds from Early Cypriot cemeteries. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus* 1940–48: 115–52.
- (1965a), Noveaux Documents pour l'Étude du Bronze Récent à Chypre. Études Chypriotes 3. Paris: de Boccard.
- —— (1965b), A Late Cypriote tomb at Tamassos. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 11–29.
- (1966), Chronique des fouilles et découvertes archéologiques à Chypre en 1965. Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique 90: 297–389.
- —— (1967), An early XIth century tomb from Palaipaphos. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 1–24.
- —— (1970), Two religious documents of the Early Cypriote Bronze Age. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 10–13.
- —— (1971a), Notes on some Cypriote priests wearing bull-masks. *Harvard Theological Review* 64: 261–70.
- (1971b), Notes on some Mycenaean capitals from Cyprus. *Archeologika Analekta eks Athinon* 4: 101–7.
- —— (1973), (ed.) Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
- —— (1974), *Excavations at Kition* I. *The Tombs.* 2 volumes. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
- —— (1976a), View from the Bronze Age: Mycenaean and Phoenician Discoveries at Kition. New York: Dutton.
- —— (1976b), The Civilization of Prehistoric Cyprus. Athens: Ekdotike Athenon.
- (1977), A Cypro–Mycenaean IIIC:1 amphora from Kition. In K. Kinzl (ed.), Greece and the Eastern Mediterranean in Ancient History and Prehistory: Studies Presented to F. Schachermeyr on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday, pp. 192–8. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- (1979a), (ed.) Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca.2000-500 B.C. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
- —— (1979b), Kypriaka IV: A 12th century bronze stand from Cyprus. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 203–8.
- (1982), Cyprus. From the Stone Age to the Romans. London: Thames and Hudson.

- —— (1983), Palaepaphos-Skales: An Iron Age Cemetery in Cyprus. 2 volumes. Alt-Paphos 3. Constanz: Universitätsverlag.
- —— (1984), New light on Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis and J. D. Muhly (eds.), *Cyprus at the Close of the Late Bronze Age*, pp. 19–22. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- (1985), Kition ivories and various bone obects. In V. Karageorghis, *Excavations at Kition* V (2). *The Pre-Phoenician Levels*, pp. 329–39. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
- —— (1986a), (ed.) Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
- (1986b), 'Barbarian' ware in Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident*, pp. 246–64. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities (with appendix by R. E. Jones).
- (1989), A Late Bronze Age mould from Hala Sultan Tekke. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 113: 439–46.
- —— (1990), The End of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus. Nicosia: Pierides Foundation.
- (1991a), The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus I: Chalcolithic–Late Cypriote I. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- —— (1991b), (ed.) Proceedings of an International Symposium: The Civilizations of the Aegean and Their Diffusion in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean, 2000-600 BC. Larnaca: Pierides Foundation.
- —— (1992), The crisis years: Cyprus. In W. A. Ward and M. S. Joukowsky (eds.), *The Crisis Years. The 12th Century Bc from beyond the Danube to the Tigris*, pp. 79–86. Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt.
- (1993), *The Coroplastic Art of Ancient Cyprus* II: *Late Cypriote II–Cypro–Geometric III*. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- —— (1994), The prehistory of an ethnogenesis. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus in the 11th Century* вс, pp. 1–10. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- (1998a), Mycenaean defensive outposts in the Aegean and Cyprus: some comparisons. In E. H. Cline and D. Harris-Cline (eds.), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium*. Aegaeum 18: 127–36. Liège: Université de Liège.
- (1998b), Hearths and bathtups in Cyprus: a 'Sea Peoples' innovation? In S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Early Tenth Centuries BCE*, pp. 276–82. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- —— (1999a), *Ancient Cypriote Art in the Severis Collection*. Athens: Costakis and Leto Severis Foundation.
- —— (1999b), An Anatolian terracotta bull's head from the Late Cypriote necropolis of Agia Paraskevi. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 147–50.
- —— (2000), Cultural innovations in Cyprus relating to the Sea Peoples. In Eliezer D. Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment.* University Museum Monograph 108. University Museum Symposium Series 11: 255–79. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- —— (2001a), Two anthropomorphic vases of the Early Cypriote Bronze Age. *Report* of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 45–8.

- Karageorghis, V. (2001b), Patterns of fortified settlements in the Aegean and Cyprus c.1200 BC. In V. Karageorghis and C. E. Morris (eds.), *Defensive Settlements of the Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean after c.1200 BC*, pp. 1–10. Dublin, Nicosia: Trinity College, Leventis Foundation.
- (2001c), The hellenisation of Cyprus and Crete: some similarities and differences. In A. Kyriatsoulis (ed.), *Kreta und Zypern: Religion und Schrift. Von der Frühgeschichte biz zum Ende der archaischen Zeit*, pp. 265–77. Altenburg: DZA Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft.
- —— (2002a), Cypriote antiquities repatriated. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 67–82.
- —— (2002b), Hellenism beyond Greece: Cyprus. In I. A. Todd, D. Komini-Dialeti, and D. Hatzivassiliou (eds.), *Greek Archaeology Without Frontiers*, pp. 31–43. Athens: National Hellenic Research Foundation and Leventis Foundation.
- —— (2002c), Early Cyprus: Crossroads of the Mediterranean. Los Angeles: Getty Museum.
- (2003), The cult of Astarte on Cyprus. In W. G. Dever and S. Gitin (eds.), Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors, from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina, pp. 215–21. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- (2005), The Phoenicians in Cyprus. In S. Celestino Pérez and J. Jiménez Ávila (eds.), El Periodo Orientalizante. Actes sel III Simposio Internacional de Arqueología de Mérida: Protohistoria del Mediterráneo Occidental. Anejos de Archivio Espanol de Arqueología 35: 31–46. Mérida: Instituto de Arqueología, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas.
- Karageorghis, V., and T. P. Brennan (1999), *Ayia Paraskevi Figurines in the University of Pennsylvania Musuem*. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- Karageorghis, V., and M. Demas (1984), *Pyla-Kokkinokremos: A Late 13th Century B.C. Fortified Settlement in Cyprus.* Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- (1985), Excavations at Kition V. The Pre-Phoenician Levels. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- —— (1988), Excavations at Maa-Palaeokastro 1979–1986. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- Karageorghis, V., N. H. Gale, and Z. A. Stos-Gale (1983), Two silver ingots from Cyprus. *Antiquity* 57/221: 211–14.
- Karageorghis, V., with S. Houby-Nielsen, K. Slej, M.-L. Windblah, S. Nordin Fischer, and O. Kaneberg (2003), *The Cyprus Collections in the Medelhavsmuseet*. Nicosia, Stockholm: Leventis Foundation and Medelhavsmuseet.
- Karageorghis, V., and G. Papasavvas (2001), A bronze ingot-bearer from Cyprus. Oxford Journal of Archaeology 20: 339–54.
- Karageorghis, V., E. Vassilika, and P. Wilson (1999), *The Art of Ancient Cyprus in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, *Cambridge*. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- Kassianidou, V. (2001), Cypriot copper to Sardinia: yet another case of bringing coals to Newcastle. In L. Bonfante and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity*, 1500–450 BC, pp. 97–119. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.

- Kassianidou, V. and A. B. Knapp (2005), Archaeometallurgy in the Mediterranean: the social context of mining, technology and trade. In E. Blake and A. B. Knapp (eds.), *The Archaeology of Mediterranean Prehistory*, pp. 215–51. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Keegan, W. F (1994), West Indian archaeology 1. Overview and foragers. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 2: 255–84.
- Keegan, W. F., and J. M. Diamond (1987), Colonization of islands by humans: a biogeographical perspective. In M. B. Schiffer (ed.), *Advances in Archaeological Method and Theory* 10: 49–92. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Kellner, D. (1992), Popular culture and the construction of postmodern identities. In S. Lash and J. Friedman (eds.), *Modernity and Identity*, pp.141–77. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kenna, V. E. G. (1967a), Corpus der Minoischen und Mykenischen Siegel 7: Die Englischen Museen. Berlin: Mann.
- (1967b), The seal use of Cyprus in the Bronze Age, II. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 91: 552–77.
- —— (1972), Glyptic. In L. and P. Åström, *The Late Cypriote Bronze Age.* Swedish Cyprus Expedition IV, 1D: 623–74. Lund: Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
- Kenti, P. (1990), A social approach to the reasons behind production of female figurines and terracotta bulls. *Archaeologia Cypria* 2: 63–76. (in Greek)
- Keswani, P. S. (1989a), Mortuary Ritual and Social Hierarchy in Bronze Age Cyprus. Ann Arbor: Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Michigan.
- (1989b), The pithoi and other plain ware vessels. In A. K. South, P. Russell, and P. S. Keswani, *Vasilikos Valley Project 3: Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 2.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 71.3: 12–21. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1989c), Dimensions of social hierarchy in Late Bronze Age Cyprus: an analysis of the mortuary data from Enkomi. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 2: 49–86.
- —— (1992), Gas chromatography analyses of pithoi from Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*: a preliminary report. In A. South, 'Kalavasos Ayios Dhimitrios 1991'. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 141–45.
- (1993), Models of local exchange in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 292: 73–83.
- —— (1994), The social context of animal husbandry in early agricultural societies: ethnographic insights and an archaeological example from Cyprus. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 13: 255–77.
- —— (1996), Hierarchies, heterarchies, and urbanization processes: the view from Bronze Age Cyprus. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 9: 211–49.
- —— (2004), Mortuary Ritual and Society in Bronze Age Cyprus. Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 9. Equinox: London.
- —— (2005), Death, prestige, and copper in Bronze Age Cyprus. *American Journal of Archaeology* 109: 341–401.
- Keswani, P. S., and A. B. Knapp (2003), Bronze Age boundaries and social exchange in the northwest Cyprus. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 22: 213–23.
- Kilikoglou, V., Y. Maniatis, and A. P. Grimanis (1988), The effect of purification and firing of clays on trace element provenance studies. *Archaeometry* 30: 37–46.

- Killen, J. T. (1995), Some further thoughts on collectors. In W.-D. Niemeier and R. Laffineur (eds.), *Politeia. Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age.* Aegaeum 12: 213–24. Liège: Université de Liège.
- King, R., L. Proudfoot, and B. Smith (1997), *The Mediterranean: Environment and Society.* London: Arnold.
- Kirch, P. V. (1986), (ed.) *Island Societies: Archaeological Approaches to Evolution and Transformation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- —— (1990), Monumental architecture and power in Polynesian chiefdoms: a comparison of Tonga and Hawaii. *World Archaeology* 22: 206–22.
- (1991), Prehistoric exchange in western Melanesia. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 20: 141–65. Palo Alto, California: Annual Reviews Inc.
- —— (1997), The Lapita Peoples: Ancestors of the Oceanic World. The Peoples of Southeast Asia and the Pacific. Oxford: Blackwell.
- —— (2000), On the Road of the Winds: An Archaeological History of the Pacific Islands before European Contact. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Kirch, P. V., and R. C. Green (1987), History, phylogeny, and evolution in Polynesia. *Current Anthropology* 28: 431–56.
- Kitchen, K. A. (1983), Ramesside Inscriptions. Historical and Biographical. Volume 5. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Klengel, H. (2002), Problems in Hittite history, solved and unsolved. In K. A. Yener and H. A. Hoffner (eds.), Recent Developments in Hittite Archaeology and History: Papers in Memory of Hans G. Güterbock, pp. 101–9. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.
- Kling, B. (1987), Pottery classification and relative chronology of the LC IIC–LC IIIA periods. In D. A. Rupp (ed.), *Western Cyprus: Connections*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 77: 97–113. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1988), The strainer jug from Kouklia Tomb KA1: a stylistic hybrid. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 271–4.
- —— (1989a), Mycenaean IIIC:1b and Related Pottery in Cyprus. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 87. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1989b), Local Cypriot features in the ceramics of the Late Cypriot IIIA period. In E. J. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*, 153–9. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- —— (1991), A terminology for the matte-painted, wheelmade pottery of Late Cypriot IIC–IIIA. In J. Barlow, D. Bolger, and B. Kling (eds.), *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record*. University Museum Monograph 74: 181–4. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- —— (2000), Mycenaean IIIC:1b and related pottery in Cyprus: comments on the current state of research. In Eliezer D. Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reasessment*. University Museum Monograph 108. University Museum Symposium Series 11: 281–295. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- Knapp, A. B. (1979), A Re-Examination of the Interpretation of Cypriote Material Culture in the MCIII–LCI Period in the Light of Textual Evidence. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Ancient History and Mediterranean Archaeology, University of California, Berkeley.

- —— (1980), KBo I 26: Alašiya and Hatti. Journal of Cuneiform Studies 32: 43–47.
- —— (1983), An Alashiyan merchant at Ugarit. Tel Aviv 10: 38–45.
- —— (1985), Alašiya, Caphtor/Keftiu, and eastern Mediterranean trade: recent studies in Cypriote archaeology and history. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 12: 231–50.
- —— (1986a), Production, exchange and socio-political complexity on Bronze Age Cyprus. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 5: 35–60.
- —— (1986b), Copper Production and Divine Protection: Archaeology, Ideology and Social Complexity on Bronze Age Cyprus. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book 42. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1988), Ideology, archaeology and polity. *Man* 23: 133–63.
- —— (1989), Copper production and Mediterranean trade: the view from Cyprus. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 18: 109–16.
- —— (1990a), Production, location and integration in Bronze Age Cyprus. *Current Anthropology* 31: 147–76.
- —— (1990b), Entrepreneurship, ethnicity, exchange: Mediterranean inter-island relations in the Late Bronze Age. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 85: 115–53.
- —— (1991), Spice, drugs, grain and grog: organic goods in Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean trade. In N. H. Gale (ed.), *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 90: 21–68. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1992), (ed.) *Archaeology, Annales and Ethnohistory.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- —— (1993a), Social complexity: incipience, emergence and development on prehistoric Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 292: 85–106.
- —— (1993b), Thalassocracies in Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean trade: making and breaking a myth. *World Archaeology* 24: 332–47.
- (1994), Emergence, development and decline on Bronze Age Cyprus. In C. Mathers and S. Stoddart (eds.), *Development and Decline in the Mediterranean Bronze Age*. Sheffield Archaeological Monograph 8: 271–304. Sheffield: John Collis.
- —— (1996a), (ed.) Near Eastern and Aegean Texts from the Third to the First Millennia BC. Sources for the History of Cyprus 2 (eds. P. W. Wallace and A. G. Orphanides). Altamont, New York: Greece and Cyprus Research Center.
- (1996b), The Bronze Age economy of Cyprus: ritual, ideology and the sacred landscape. In V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides (eds.), *The Development of the Cypriot Economy*, pp. 71–106. Nicosia: University of Cyprus and the Bank of Cyprus.
- (1996c), Power and ideology on prehistoric Cyprus. In P. Hellström and B. Alroth (eds.), *Religion and Power in the Ancient Greek World*. Boreas: Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis 24: 9–25. Uppsala and Stockholm: Department of Classical Archaeology and Ancient History, Almqvist and Wiksell.
- (1997a), Mediterranean maritime landscapes: transport, trade and society on Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In S. Swiny, R. Hohlfelder, and H. W. Swiny (eds.), Res Maritimae: Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean from Prehistory through the Roman Period. Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, Monograph 1: 153–62. Atlanta: ASOR/Scholars Press.

- Knapp, A. B. (1997b), The Archaeology of Late Bronze Age Cypriot Society: The Study of Settlement, Survey and Landscape. Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow, Occasional Paper 4. Glasgow.
- (1998a), Mediterranean Bronze Age trade: distance, power and place. In E. H. Cline and D. Harris-Cline (eds.), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium*. Aegaeum 18: 260–80. Liège: Université de Liège.
- —— (1998b), Who's come a long way, baby? Gendering society, gendering archaeology. *Archaeological Dialogues* 5: 91–106, 115–25.
- —— (1999), Reading the sites: Prehistoric Bronze Age settlements on Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 313: 75–86.
- —— (2000), Archaeology, science-based archaeology and the Mediterranean Bronze Age metals trade. *European Journal of Archaeology* 3: 31–56.
- —— (2001), Archaeology and ethnicity: a dangerous liaison. *Archaeologia Cypria* 4: 29–46.
- —— (2003), The archaeology of community on Bronze Age Cyprus: Politiko *Phorades* in context. *American Journal of Archaeology* 107: 559–80.
- (2004), Review of D. Bolger, Gender in Ancient Cyprus: Narratives of Social Change on a Mediterranean Island (2003, Walnut Creek, California: Altamira Press), in Journal of the American Oriental Society 124: 575–8.
- —— (2006), Orientalisation and prehistoric Cyprus: The social life of Oriental goods. In Corinna Riva and Nicholas Vella (eds.), *Debating Orientalization: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Change in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 10: 48–65. London: Equinox Press.
- Knapp, A. B., and E. Blake (2005), Prehistory in the Mediterranean: the connecting and corrupting sea. In E. Blake and A. B. Knapp (eds.), *The Archaeology of Mediterranean Prehistory*, pp. 1–23. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Knapp, A. B. (with S. O. Held and S. W. Manning) (1994), Problems and prospects in Cypriote prehistory. *Journal of World Prehistory* 8: 377–452.
- Knapp, A. B., V. Kassianidou, and M. Donnelly (2001), The excavations at Politiko *Phorades*, Cyprus: 1996–2000. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 64(4): 202–8.
- Knapp, A. B., V. Kassianidou, P. Duffy, M. Donnelly, and J. Noller (n.d.), The Excavations at Politiko Phorades (1996–2000): The Archaeology and Archaeometallurgy of a Bronze Age Smelting Site. Prehistory Monograph. Philadelphia: INSTAP Academic Press.
- Knapp, A. B., and A. Marchant (1982), Cyprus, Cypro-Minoan, and Hurrians. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 15–30.
- Knapp, A. B., and L. M. Meskell (1997), Bodies of evidence on prehistoric Cyprus. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 7: 183–204.
- Knapp, A. B., J. D. Muhly, and P. M. Muhly (1988), To hoard is human: the metal deposits of LC IIC–LC III. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 233–62.
- Knapp, A. B., and P. van Dommelen (2008), Past practices: Rethinking individuals and agents in archaeology. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 19.1 (in press).
- Koehler, L., and W. Baumgartner (1958), *Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros*. Leiden: Brill.

- Kohl, P. L., and C. Fawcett (eds.) (1995), Nationalism, Politics, and the Practise of Archaeology. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kohler, T. A. (1993), News from the northern American southwest: prehistory on the edge of chaos. *Journal of Archaeological Research* 1: 267–321.
- Kohler, T. A., and M. H. Matthews (1993), Long-term Anasazi land use and forest reduction: a case study from southwest Colorado. *American Antiquity* 53: 537–64.
- Kohn, T. (2002), Imagining islands. In W. H. Waldren and J. A. Ensenyat (eds.), World Islands in Prehistory. V Deia International Conference of Prehistory. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1095: 39–43. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Kolb, M. J. (1994), Monumentality and the rise of religious authority in precontact Hawai'i. *Current Anthropology* 34: 521–47.
- —— (1997), Labor mobilization, ethnohistory, and the archaeology of community in Hawai'i. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 4: 265–85.
- —— (2005), The genesis of monuments among the Mediterranean islands. In E. Blake and A. B. Knapp (eds.), *The Archaeology of Mediterranean Prehistory*, pp. 77–106. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Kolotourou, K. (2005), Music and cult: the significance of percussion and the Cypriote connection. In V. Karageorghis, H. Matthäus, and S. Rogge (eds.), *Cyprus: Religion and Society from the Late Bronze Age to the End of the Archaic Period*, pp. 183–204. Möhnesee-Wamel: Biblipolis.
- Kolska Horwitz, L., E. Tchernov, and H. Hongo, (2004), The domestic status of the early Neolithic fauna of Cyprus. In E. J. Peltenburg and A. Wasse (eds.), Neolithic Revolution: New Perspectives on Southwest Asia in Light of Recent Discoveries on Cyprus. Levant Supplementary Series 1: 35–48. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Kopytoff, I. (1986), The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process. In A. Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, pp. 64–91. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (1987), The internal African frontier: the making of African political culture. In I. Kopytoff (ed.), *The African Frontier: The Reproduction of Traditional African Societies*, pp. 3–84. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Kosak, S. (1982), *Hittite Inventory Texts (CTH 241–250)*. Texte der Hethiter 10. Heidelberg: Carl Winter Universitätsverlag.
- Kozal, E. (2002), Hethitische und hethitisch beeinfluβte Objekte aus Zypern. In R. Aslan, S. Blum, G. Kastl, F. Schweizer, and D. Thumm (eds.), *Mauerschau—Festschrift fur Manfred Korfmann*. Volume 2: 651–61. Remshalden-Grünbach: Bernhard Albert Greiner.
- Kourou, N. (1994), Sceptres and maces in Cyprus before, during and immediately after the 11th century. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Cyprus in the 11th Century BC*, pp. 203–27. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- Kristiansen, K. (1989), Prehistoric migrations—the case of the Single Grave and Corded Ware cultures. *Journal of Danish Archaeology* 8: 211–25.
- Krzyszkowska, O. H. (2005), Aegean Seals: An Introduction. Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies, University of London, Supplement 85. London: Institute of Classical Studies.

- Kümmel, H. M. (1985), Zwei Berichte von der Unterwerfung Zyperns durch Šuppiluliuma II. Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testament I/5: 492–5.
- Kupper, J.-R. (1991), Le commerce à Mari. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des Sciences Morales et Politique, Académie Royale de Belgique 6(2): 41–57.
- Laffineur, R. (1995), Aspects of rulership at Mycenae in the Shaft Grave period. In P. Rehak (ed.), *The Role of the Ruler in the Prehistoric Aegean*. Aegaeum 11: 81–94. Liège: Université de Liège.
- Lagarce, J., and E. Lagarce (1985), Alasia IV. Deux Tombes du Chypriote Récent d'Enkomi. Tombes 1851 et 1907. Mission Archéologique d'Alasia 7. Recherches sur les Civilisations, Mémoire 51. Paris: ADPF.
- (1986), Les découvertes d'Enkomi et leur place dans la culture internationale du bronze récent. In J.-C. Courtois, J. Lagarce, and E. Lagarce, *Enkomi et le Bronze Récent en Chypre*, pp. 59–199. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- Lamberg-Karlovsky, C. C. (2003), To write or not to write. In T. Potts, M. Roaf, and D. Stein (eds.), *Culture through Objects: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of P. R. S. Moorey*, pp. 59–75. Oxford: Griffith Institute.
- Lambert, W. G. (1991), Metal-working and its patron deities in the early Levant. *Levant* 23: 183–6.
- Laroche, E. (1968), Documents en Hourrite alphabétique de Ras Shamra. In C. F. A. Schaeffer (ed.), *Ugaritica* 5. Mission de Ras Shamra 16: 447–544. Paris: Geuthner.
- Leach, J. W., and E. R. Leach (eds.) (1983), *The Kula: New Perspectives on Massim Exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lefebvre, H. (trans. D. Nicholson-Smith) (1991), *The Production of Space*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lehmann, G. A. (1970), Der Untergang des Hethitischen Groβreiches und die neue Texte aus Ugarit. *Ugarit Forschungen* 2: 39–74.
- ——— (1979), Die *sikalaju*—ein neues Zeugnis zu den Seevölker-Heerfahrten im späten 13 Jh. v. hr. (RS 34.129). *Ugarit Forschungen* 11: 481–94.
- (1996), Umbrüche und Zäsuren im östlichen Mittelmeerraum und Vorderasien zur Zeit der 'Seevölker'—Invasionen um und nach 1200 v. Chr. Historische Zeitschrift 262: 1–38.
- Leighton, R. (1999), Sicily before History: An Archaeological Survey from the Palaeolithic to the Iron Age. London: Duckworth.
- Lekson, S. H. (1995), Introduction (special section on 'Migration and the Movement of Southwestern Peoples'). *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 14: 99–103.
- Lekson, S. H., and C. M. Cameron (1995), The abandonment of Chaco Canyon, the Mesa Verde migrations, and the reorganization of the Pueblo world. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 14: 184–202.
- Lemonnier, P. (ed.) (1993), *Technological Choices: Transformation in Material Culture since the Neolithic.* London: Routledge.
- Leonard, A., Jr (1981), Considerations of morphological variation in the Mycenaean pottery from the southeastern Mediterranean. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 241: 87–101.

- —— (1994), An Index to the Late Bronze Age Aegean Pottery from Syria-Palestine. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 114. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Leonard, A., Jr, and E. H. Cline (1998), The Aegean pottery at Megiddo: an appraisal and reanalysis. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 309: 3–39.
- Leriou, A. (2002a), The Mycenaean colonisation of Cyprus under the magnifying glass: emblematic indica versus defining criteria at Palaepaphos. In G. Muskett, A. Koltsida, and M. Georgiadis (eds.), SOMA 2001: Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology. British Archaeological Reports: International Series 1040: 169–177. Oxford: Archeopress.
- —— (2002b), Constructing an archaeological narrative: the hellenization of Cyprus. *Stanford Archaeological Journal* 1: 1–32. Stanford, California (online publication).
- Lesko, L. H. (1980), The wars of Ramesses III. Serapis 6: 83-6.
- Levine H. B. (1999), Reconstructing ethnicity. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute* 5: 165–80.
- Lightfoot, K. G. (1995), Culture contact studies: redefining the relationship between prehistoric and historical archaeology. *American Antiquity* 60: 199–217.
- —— (2003), Russian colonization: the implications of mercantile colonial practices in the north Pacific. *Historical Archaeology* 37: 14–28.
- —— (2005), The archaeology of colonization: California in cross-cultural perspective. In G. J. Stein (ed.), *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters*, pp. 207–35. Sante Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Lightfoot, K. G., and A. Martinez (1995), Frontiers and boundaries in archaeological perspective. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 24: 471–92.
- Lightfoot, K. G., A. Martinez, and A. M. Schiffe (1998), Daily practice and material culture in pluralistic social settings: an archaeological study of culture change and persistence from Fort Ross, California. *American Antiquity* 63: 199–222.
- Lilley, I. (2000), Them dry bones: archaeology and nation making in Papua New Guinea. World Archaeological Bulletin 12: 14–41.
- Lilliu, C. (1993), Un culto di età punico-romana al nuraghe Genna Maria di Villanovaforru. In C. Lilliu, L. Campus, F. Guido, O. Fonzo, and J.-D. Vigne, *Genna Maria* II,1: *Il Deposito Votivo del Mastio e del Cortile*, pp. 11–28. Villanovaforru and Cagliari, Sardinia: Comune di Villanovaforru, Parco Museo Archeologico; Università degli Studi di Cagliari.
- Linnekin, J. (1997), Contending apporaches. In D. Denoon (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*, pp. 3–31. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lipinski, E. (1977), An Ugaritic letter to Amenophis III concerning trade with Alašiya. *Iraq* 39: 213–17.
- Littauer, M. A., and J. H. Crouwel (1996), Robert Drews and the role of chariotry in Bronze Age Greece. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 15: 297–305.
- Liverani, M. (1962), Storia du Ugarit. Studi Semitici 6. Rome: Università di Roma.
- (1979), Dono, tributo, commercio: idiologia dello scambio nella tarde eta del bronzo. *Annali dell'Istituto Italiano di Numismatica* 26: 9–28.
- —— (1983), Political lexicon and political ideologies in the Amarna letters. *Berytus* 31: 41–56.

- Liverani, M. (1987), The collapse of the Near Eastern regional system at the end of the Bronze Age: the case of Syria. In M. Rowlands, M. T. Larsen, and K. Kristiansen (eds.), *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*, pp. 66–73. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- —— (1990), Prestige and Interest: International Relations in the Near East ca. 1600–1100 BC. Padova: Sargon Press.
- (1995), Le royaume d'Ougarit. In M. Yon, M. Szyncer, and P. Bordreuil (eds.), *Le pays d'Ougarit autour de 1200 av. J.-C.: Histoire et archéologie.* Actes du Colloque International, Paris 28 juin-1er juillt 1993. Ras Shamra-Ougarit 11: 47–54. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- London, G. (1989), A comparison of two contemporaneous lifestyles of the late second millennium B.C. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 273: 37–55.
- Lorentz, K. (2002), Cultures of physical modification: child bodies in ancient Cyprus. In G. Muskett, A. Koltsida, and M. Georgiadis (eds.), SOMA 2001: Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology. British Archaeological Reports: International Series 1040: 203–10. Oxford: Archeopress.
- Lo Schiavo, F. (1998), Sardinian oxhide ingots. In T. Rehren, A. Hauptmann, and J. D. Muhly (eds.), *Metallurgica Antiqua: In Honour of Hans-Gert Bachmann and Robert Maddi*n. Der Anschnitt, Beiheft 8: 99–112. Bochum: Deutsches Bergbaumuseum.
- —— (2003), Sardinia between east and west: interconnections in the Mediterranean. In N. C. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Ploes.. Sea Routes...: Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th-6th c. BC*, pp. 15–34. Athens: University of Crete, Leventis Foundation.
- Loulloupis, M. C. (1973), Mycenaean 'horns of consecration' in Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean*, pp. 225–44. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
- —— (1979), The position of the bull in the prehistoric religions of Crete and Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: The Relations between Cyprus and Crete*, *ca.2000-500 BC*, pp. 215–22. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- Lucassen, J., and L. Lucassen (eds.) (1997), Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives. New York: Peter Lang.
- Luckenbill, D. D. (1927), Ancient Records of Assyria and Babylonia. 2 volumes. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lunt, D. A. (1995), Lemba-Lakkous and Kissonerga-Mosphilia: evidence from the dentition in Chalcolithic Cyprus. In S. Campbell and A. Green (eds.), The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East. Oxbow Monograph 51: 55–61. Oxford: Oxbow.
- McDermott, L. (1996), Self-representation in Upper Paleolithic female figurines. *Current Anthropology* 37: 227–75.
- McGuire, R. H. (1982), The study of ethnicity in historical archaeology. *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 1: 159–78.
- McKechnie, R. (2002), Islands of indifference. In W. H. Waldren and J. A. Ensenyat (eds.), World Islands in Prehistory. V Deia International Conference of Prehistory.

- British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1095: 127–34. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- MacLachlan, B. (2002), The ungendering of Aphrodite. In D. Bolger and N. Serwint (eds.), *Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus*. Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, Monograph 3. ASOR Archaeological Reports 7: 365–78. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- McNeill, J. R. (1992), *The Mountains of the Mediterranean World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McNiven, I., and R. Feldman (2003), Ritually oriented seascapes: hunting magic and dugong bone mounds in Torres Strait, NE Australia. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 13: 169–94.
- Maddin, R., J. D. Muhly, and T. Stech Wheeler (1983), Metal working. In T. Dothan and A. Ben-Tor, *Excavations at Athienou, Cyprus*, 1971–1972. Qedem 16: 132–8. Jerusalem: Institute of Archaeology, Hebrew University.
- Maguire, L. (1995), Tell el-Dab'a: the Cypriot connection. In W. V. Davies and E. Schofield (eds.), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant*, pp. 54–65. British Museum Press: London.
- Maier, F.-G. (1969), Excavations at Kouklia (Palaepaphos), 1968. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 33–42.
- —— (1985), Factoids in ancient history: the case of fifth-century Cyprus. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 105: 32–9.
- —— (1986), Kinyras and Agapenor. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident*, pp. 311–20. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- —— (1987), *Paphos in the History of Cyprus*. Third annual lecture on the History and Archaeology of Cyprus. Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation.
- (1997), The Mycenaean pottery of Palaipaphos reconsidered. In D. Christou (ed.), *Cyprus and the Aegean in Antiquity*, pp. 93–102. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- (1999), Palaipaphos and the transition to the early Iron Age: continuities, discontinuities and location shifts. In M. Iacovou and D. Michaelides (eds.), *Cyprus: The Historicity of the Geometric Horizon*, pp. 79–93. Nicosia: Archaeological Research Unit, University of Cyprus, Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation, Ministry of Education and Culture.
- Maier, F.-G., and V. Karageorghis (1984), *Paphos: History and Archaeology*. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- Maier, F.-G., and M.-L. von Wartburg (1985), Reconstructing history from the earth, *c*.2800 B.C.–1600 A.D.: Excavating at Palaepaphos, 1966–1984. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Archaeology in Cyprus 1960–1985*, pp. 142–172. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- Malbran-Labat, F. (1995), L'découverte épigraphique de 1994 à Ougarit (les textes akkadiens). *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 36: 103–11.
- (1999), Nouvelles données épigraphiques sur Chypre et Ougarit. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 121–3.
- Malinowski, B. (1922), Argonauts of the Western Pacific. London: Routledge.

- Malkin, I. (1998), *The Return of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity.* Berkeley: University of California Press.
- —— (2002), A colonial middle ground: Greek, Etruscan, and local élites in the Bay of Naples. In C. Lyons and J. K. Papadopoulos (eds.), *The Archaeology of Colonialism*, pp. 151–81. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute.
- —— (2005), (ed.) *Mediterranean Paradigms and Classical Antiquity.* London: Routledge. Malone, C., and S. Stoddart (2004), Toward an island of mind?. In J. F. Cherry, C. Scarre, and S. Shennan (eds.), *Explaining Social Change: Studies in Honour of Colin Renfrew*, pp. 93–102. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Mann, M. (1986), *The Sources of Social Power* 1: *A History of Power from the Beginning to AD 1760*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Manning, S. W. (1993), Prestige, distinction and competition: the anatomy of socio economic complexity in 4th–2nd millennium B.C.E. Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 292: 35–58.
- —— (1998a), Tsaroukkas, Mycenaeans and Trade Project: preliminary report on the 1996–97 seasons. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 39–54.
- —— (1998b), Changing pasts and socio-political cognition in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. *World Archaeology* 30: 39–58.
- —— (2001), The chronology and foreign connections of the Late Cypriot I period: times they are a-changin. In P. Åström (ed.), *The Chronology of Base-ring Ware and Bichrome Wheel-made Ware*. Konferenser 54: 69–94. Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien.
- Manning, S. W., and F. A. DeMita, Jr (1997), Cyprus, the Aegean and Maroni *Tsaroukkas*. In D. Christou (ed.), *Cyprus and the Aegean in Antiquity*, pp. 103–42. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
- Manning, S. W., and L. Hulin (2005), Maritime commerce and geographies of mobility in the Late Bronze Age of the eastern Mediterranean: problematizations. In E. Blake and A. B. Knapp (eds.), *The Archaeology of Mediterranean Prehistory*, pp. 275–307. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Manning, S. W., and S. J. Monks (1998), Late Cypriot tombs at Maroni *Tsarroukkas*, Cyprus. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 93: 297–351.
- Manning, S., and D. Sewell (2006), Psematismenos *Trelloukkas* Project, Cyprus. *Council for British Research in the Levant, Bulletin* 1: 66–68.
- Manning, S. W., D. Sewell, and E. Herscher (2002), Late Cypriot IA maritime trade in action: underwater survey at Maroni *Tsarroukkas* and the contemporary east Mediterranean trading system. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 97: 97–162.
- Manning, S. W., and S. Swiny (1994), Sotira *Kaminoudhia* and the chronology of the Early Bronze Age in Cyprus. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 13: 149–72.
- Manning, S. W., B. Weniger, A. K. South, B. Kling, P. I. Kuniholm, J. D. Muhly, S. Hadjisavvas, D. A. Sewell, and G. Cadogan (2001), Absolute age range of the Late Cypriot IIC period on Cyprus. *Antiquity* 75: 328–340.
- Marfoe, L. (1987), Cedar forest to silver mountain: social change and the development of long-distance trade in early Near Eastern societies. In M. Rowlands, M. Larsen,

- and K. Kristiansen (eds.), *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*, pp. 25–35. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marinatos, N. (1993), *Minoan Religion: Ritual Process, Image, and Symbol.* Columbia: University of South Carolina Press.
- Markoe, G. (1985), *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediter-ranean*. University of California Classical Studies 26. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Martin de la Cruz, J. C., and A. M. Lucena Martin (2002), The Iberian peninsula and the Mediterranean during the second millennium BC: an archaeology made of absences. *Journal of Iberian Archaeology* 4: 153–63.
- Masson, E. (1974), Cyprominoica. Répertoires Documents de Ras Shamra. Essais d'Interpretation. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 31.2. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- (1976), À la recherche des vestiges proche-orientaux à Chypre , fin du bronze moyen et début du bronze récent. *Archäologischer Anzieger* (1976/2): 139–65.
- (1978), Les écritures Chypro-Minoennes: état présent des recherches. *Annali de Scuola Royale Normale Superiore di Psa, Classe di Lettere e Filosofia* 8: 805–16.
- Masson, E., and O. Masson (1983), Les objets inscrits de Palaepaphos-Skales. Appendix 4 in V. Karageorghis, *Palaepaphos–Skales: An Iron Age Cemetery in Cyprus*. Alt-Paphos 3: 411–15. Constanz: Universitätsverlag.
- Masson, O. (1964a), Notes d'onomastique Chypriote. Kypriakai Spoudhai 28: 3-12.
- (1964b), Kypriaka I. Recherches sur les antiquités de Tamassos. *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* 88: 199–238.
- (1973a), Remarques sur les cultes Chypriotes à l'époque du Bronze Récent. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean, pp. 110–21. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
   (1973b), À propos de l'île d'Alasia. Kadmos 12: 98–99.
- Mazar, A. (1991), Comments on the nature of the relations between Cyprus and Palestine during the 12th–11th centuries B.C. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Proceedings of an International Symposium: The Civilizations of the Aegean and Their Diffusion in Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean*, 2000–600 BC, pp. 95–104. Larnaca: Pierides Foundation.
- Megaw, A. H. S. (1953), Archaeology in Cyprus 1952. *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 73: 133–37.
- Mellink, M. J. (1991), Anatolian contacts with Chalcolithic Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 282–283:167–75.
- Merrillees, R. S. (1965), Reflections on the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 6: 139–48.
- —— (1971), The early history of Late Cypriote I. Levant 3: 56–79.
- —— (1973), Settlement, sanctuary and cemetery in Bronze Age Cyprus. *Australian Studies in Archaeology* 1: 44–57.
- (1979), Cyprus, the Cyclades and Crete in the Early to Middle Bronze Ages. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca.2000–500 B.C., pp. 8–55. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

- Merrillees, R. S. (1980), Representations of the human form in prehistoric Cyprus. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 13: 171–84.
- —— (1984), Ambelikou-Aletri: a preliminary report. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 1–13.
- —— (1986a), Political conditions in the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. *Biblical Archaeologist* 49(1): 42–50.
- —— (1986b), What's in a name? Henna and the name of Cyprus. Holy Land 6: 216–18.
- (1987), Alashia Revisited. Cahiers de la Révue Biblique 22. Paris: Gabalda.
- —— (1988), Mother and child: a Late Cypriot variation on an eternal theme. *Mediterranean Archaeology* 1: 42–56.
- —— (1989), The glyptics of Bronze Age Cyprus: 'through a glass darkly'. In E. J. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*, 153–9. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- —— (1992a), The government of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age. In P. Åström (ed.), *Acta Cypria* 3. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-book 120: 310–29. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1992b), The absolute chronology of the Bronze Age in Cyprus: a revision. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 288: 47–52.
- —— (2002), The relative and absolute chronology of the Cypriote White Painted Pendent Line Style. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 326: 1–9.
- —— (2003), The Greek emergence in the eastern Mediterranean—Cyprus and Phoenicia. In D. Clark and V. Matthews (eds.), *One Hundred Years of American Archaeology in the Middle East*, pp. 87–96. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- —— (2005), Don't be fooled! Despite what many scholars say, ancient 'Alashiya' was not Cyprus. *Archaeology Odyssey* 8(5): 35–40, 45, 50–1.
- Meskell, L. M. (1995), Goddesses, Gimbutas and New Age archaeology. *Antiquity* 69/262: 74–86.
- —— (1996), The somatization of archaeology: institutions, discourses, corporeality. *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 29: 1–16.
- —— (1998a), (ed.) Archaeology Under Fire: Archaeology and Politics in the Eastern Mediterranean. London: Routledge.
- —— (1998b), An archaeology of social relations in an Egyptian village. *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 5: 209–43.
- (1999), Archaeologies of Social Life: Age, Sex, Class et cetera in Ancient Egypt. Oxford: Blackwell.
- —— (2001), Archaeologies of identity. In I. Hodder (ed.), *Archaeological Theory Today*, pp. 187–213. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Meskell, L., and R. A. Joyce (2003), *Embodied Lives: Figuring Ancient Maya and Egyptian Experience*. London: Routledge.
- Mientjes, A., M. Pluciennik, and E. Giannitrapani (2002), Archaeologies of recent rural Sicily and Sardinia: a comparative approach. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 15: 139–66.
- Miksicek, C. H. (1988), A preliminary test of flotation for recovery of charred plant remains from Maa-*Palaeokastro*. In V. Karageorghis and M. Demas, *Excavations at*

- Maa-Palaeokastro 1979–1986, pp. 467–70. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- Mills, B. J. (2004), Identity, feasting, and the archaeology of the greater Southwest. In B. J. Mills (ed.), *Identity, Feasting, and the Archaeology of the Greater Southwest*, pp. 1–23. Boulder: University Press of Colorado.
- Mina, M. (2003), Gender in transition: evidence and implication from the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Aegean. In J. B. Wilkins and E. Herring (eds.), *Inhabiting Symbols: Symbol and Image in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Accordia Specialist Studies on the Mediterranean 5: 85–100. London: Accordia Research Institute.
- Mitchell, J. P. (2002), Modernity and the Mediterranean. *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 12: 1–21.
- Mithen, S. (ed.) (2001), Hunter-Gatherer Landscape Archaeology: The Southern Hebrides Mesolithic Project 1988–1998. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Mogelonsky, M. K. (1991), A typological system for Early and Middle Cypriot anthropomorphic terracotta figurines. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 19–36.
- Molloy, B. (2005), Naue II swords and the collapse of the Aegean Bronze Age. In C. Briault, J. Green, A. Kaldelis, and A. Stellatou (eds.), SOMA 2003: Symposium on Mediterranean Archaeology. British Archaeological Reports: International Series 1391: 115–117. Oxford: Archeopress.
- Monroe, C. M. (2000), Scales of Fate: Trade, Tradition, and Transformation in the Eastern Mediterranean ca.1350–1175 BCE. Unpublished Ph.D. Disseration, Department of Near Eastern Studies, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor.
- Moorey, P. R. S. (1986), The emergence of the light, horse-drawn chariot in the Near-East *c*.2000–1500 B.C. *World Archaeology* 18: 196–215.
- Moortgat, A. (1930), Der Kampf zu Wagen in der Kunst des alten Orient. Zu Herkunft eines Bildgedankes. *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* 33: 842–854.
- Moran, W. L. (1992), *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. Morgan, L. (1995), Minoan painting and Egypt: the case of Tell el'Dab'a. In W. V. Davies and E. Schofield (eds.), *Egypt, the Aegean and the Levant*, pp. 29–53.
- Morpugo Davies, A., and J.-P. Olivier (2006), Scripts and languages in the second and first millennia. Abstract: unpublished paper presented at the conference, *Parallel Lives: Ancient Island Societies in Crete and Cyprus* (Nicosia, 30 November–2 December 2006).
- Morris, D. (1985), The Art of Ancient Cyprus. Oxford: Phaidon Press.

London: British Museum Press.

- Morris, I. (1994), Archaeologies of Greece. In I. Morris (ed.), *Classical Greece: Ancient Histories and Modern Archaeologies*, pp. 8–47. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- (2003), Mediterraneanization. *Mediterranean Historical Review* 18(2): 30–55.
- Morris, S. P. (1993), *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Morwood, M. J., R. P. Soejono, R. G. Roberts, T. Sutikna, C. S. M. Turney, K. E. Westaway, W. J. Rink, J.-x. Zhao, G. D. van den Bergh, Awe Due Rokus, D. R. Hobbs, M. W. Moore,

- M. I. Bird, and L. K. Fifield (2004), Archaeology and age of a new hominin from Flores in eastern Indonesia. *Nature* 431: 1087–91.
- Mosso, A. (translated by M. C. Harrison) (1910), *The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation*. London: T. F. Unwin.
- Mountjoy, P. A. (1993), *Mycenaean Pottery: An Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Committee on Archaeology.
- —— (2005), The end of the Bronze Age at Enkomi, Cyprus: the problem of Level IIIB. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 100: 125–214.
- Moyer, C. J. (1989), Human skeletal remains. In A. K. South, P. Russell and P. S. Keswani, *Vasilikos Valley Project 3: Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 2 (Ceramics, Objects, Tombs, Specialist Studies*). Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 71.3: 58–69. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Müller, W. M. (1895), Das Land Alasia. Zeitschrift für Assyriologie 10: 257-64.
- Muhly, J. D. (1972), The land of Alašiya: references to Alašiya in the texts of the second millennium B.C. and the history of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Acts of the First International Cyprological Congress (Nicosia, 14–19 April, 1969*), pp. 201–19. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
- —— (1973), Copper and Tin: The Distribution of Mineral Resources and the Nature of the Metals Trade in the Bronze Age. Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences 43: 155–535. Hamden, Connecticut: Archon Books.
- (1979), Cypriote copper: some geological and metallurgical problems. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca.2000–500 BC, pp. 87–100. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- —— (1984), The role of the Sea Peoples in Cyprus during the LCIII period. In V. Karageorghis and J. D. Muhly (eds.), *Cyprus at the Close of the Late Bronze Age*, pp. 39–55. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- —— (1985a), Lead isotope analysis and the problem of lead in Cyprus. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 78–82.
- —— (1985b), The Late Bronze Age in Cyprus: a 25 year retrospect. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Archaeology in Cyprus* 1960–1985, pp. 20–46. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- —— (1985c), Sources of tin and the beginnings of bronze metallurgy. *American Journal of Archaeology* 89: 275–91.
- (1986), The role of Cyprus in the economy of the eastern Mediterranean during the second millennium B.C. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident*, pp. 45–60. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- —— (1989), The organization of the copper industry in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In E. J. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*, pp. 298–314. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- (1991a), Copper in Cyprus: the earliest phase. In J.-P. Mohen and C. Eluere (eds.), *Découverte du Métal*. Amis du Musée des Antiquites Nationales, Millénaires, Dossier 2: 357–74. Paris: Picard.

- —— (1991b), The development of copper metallurgy in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In N. H. Gale (ed.), *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 90: 180–96. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- (1993), Metalle. B: Archäologisch. Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie 8(1/2): 119–36.
- —— (1995), Lead isotope analysis and the archaeologist. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 8: 54–8.
- (1996), The significance of metals in the Late Bronze Age economy of Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides (eds.), *The Development of the Cypriot Economy*, pp. 45–60. Nicosia: University of Cyprus and the Bank of Cyprus.
- —— (2002), Early metallurgy in Greece and Cyprus. In Ü. Yalçin (ed.), *Anatolian Metal* II. Der Anschnitt, Beiheft 15: 77–82. Bochum: Deutsches Bergbau-Museum.
- (2003), Trade in metals in the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age. In N. C. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Ploes.. Sea Routes...: Interconnections in the Mediterranean*, 16th–6th c. BC, pp. 141–50. Athens: University of Crete, Leventis Foundation.
- —— (2006), Alashiya redux: was it Cyprus? Yes. Archaeology Odyssey 9(1): 25–6.
- Muhly, J. D., R. Maddin, and T. Stech (1988), Cyprus, Crete and Sardinia: copper oxhide ingots and the metals trade. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 281–98.
- Munn, N. D. (1990), Constructing regional worlds in experience: kula exchange, witchcraft and Gawan local events. *Man* 25: 1–17.
- Murray, A. S., A. H. Smith, and H. B. Walters (1900), *Excavations in Cyprus*. London: British Museum.
- Musgrave, J., R. A. H. Neave, A. J. N. W. Prag, E. Sakellarakis, and J. A. Sakellarakis (1994), The priest and priestess from Archanes-Anemospilia: reconstructing Minoan faces. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 89: 89–100.
- Myres, J. L. (1914), *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Myres, J. L., and M. Ohnefalsch-Richter (1899), A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum, with a Chronicle of Excavations Undertaken since the British Occupation and Introductory Notes on Cypriot Archaeology. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Nederveen Pieterse, J. (2001), Hybridity, so what? The anti-hybridity backlash and the riddles of recognition. *Theory, Culture and Society* 18: 219–45.
- Negbi, M., and O. Negbi (2002), The painted plaster floor of the Tel Kabri palace: reflections on saffron domestication in the Aegean Bronze Age. In E. D. Oren and S. Ahituv (eds.), *Aharon Kempinski Memorial Volume: Studies in Archaeology and Related Disciplines.* Beer-Sheva 15: 325–40. Beersheva: Ben-Gurion University of Negev Press.
- Negbi, O. (1976), Canaanite Gods in Metal: An Archaeological Study of Ancient Syro-Palestinian Figurines. Tel Aviv University, Institute of Archaeology, Publication 5. Tel Aviv: Institute of Archaeology, Tel Aviv University.
- —— (1982), Evidence for early Phoenician communities on the east Mediterranean islands. *Levant* 14: 179–82.

- Negbi, O. (1986), The climax of urban development in Bronze Age Cyprus. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 97–121.
- —— (1992), Early Phoenician presence in the Mediterranean islands: a reappraisal. *American Journal of Archaeology* 96: 599–615.
- (1998), Reflections on the ethncity of Cyprus in the eleventh century Bc. In S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Tenth Centuries BCE*, pp. 87–93. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- —— (2005), Urbanism on Late Bronze Age Cyprus: LC II in retrospect. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 337: 1–45.
- Nero, K. (1997), The end of insularity. In D. Denoon (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the Pacific Islanders*, pp. 439–67. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Neu, E. (1988), *Das Hurritische: Eine Altorientalische Sprache in neuem Licht.* Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse 1988:3. Wiesbaden/Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag.
- Nicolaou, K. (1973), The first Mycenaeans in Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean*, pp. 51–61. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- —— (1979), Minoan survivals in Geometric and Archaic Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca.2000–500 BC, pp. 215–22. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- Niemeier, B., and W.-D. Niemeier (2000), Aegean frescoes in Syria-Palestine: Alalakh and Tel Kabri. In S. Sherratt (ed.), *The Wall Paintings of Thera*. Volume 2: 763–802. Athens: Thera Foundation.
- Niemeier W.-D., and B. Niemeier (1998), Minoan frescoes in the eastern Mediterranean. In E. H. Cline and D. Harris-Cline (eds.), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium*. Aegaeum 18: 281–9. Liège: Université de Liège.
- Niklasson, K. (1991), *Early Prehistoric Burials in Cyprus*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 96. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Niklasson-Sonnerby, K. (1987), Late Cypriote III shaft graves: burial customs of the last phase of the Bronze Age. In R. Laffineur (ed.) *Thanatos: Les Coutoumes Funeraires en Égée à l'Age du Bronze*. Aegaeum 1: 219–25. Liège: Université de Liège.
- Nougayrol, J. (1956), *Palais Royal d'Ugarit* 4. Mission de Ras Shamra 9. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Nougaryol, J., E. Laroche, C. Virolleaud and C. F. A. Schaeffer (1968), *Ugaritica* 5. Mission de Ras Shamra 16. Paris: Geuthner.
- Okamura, J. (1981), Situational ethnicity. Ethnic and Racial Studies 4: 452-63.
- Oller, G. H. (1995), Messengers and ambassadors in ancient western Asia. In J. M. Sasson, J. Baines, G. Beckman, and K. S. Rubinson (eds.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* 3: 1465–73. New York: Scribners.
- Olsen, B., and Z. Kobylinski (1991), Ethnicity in anthropological and archaeological research: a Norwegian-Polish perspective. *Archaeologia Polona* 29: 5–27.
- Oppenheim, A. L. (1967), An essay on overland trade in the first millennium B.C. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 21: 236–54.

- Oren, E. D. (ed.) (2000), *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reasessment*. University Museum Monograph 108. University Museum Symposium Series 11. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- Orphanides, A. G. (1983), Bronze Age Anthropomorphic Figurines in the Cesnola Collection at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book 20. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- (1991), The interpretation of the Bronze Age terracotta anthropomorphic figurines from Cyprus. In F. Vandenaeele and R. Laffineur (eds.), *Cypriote Terracottas: Proceedings of the First International Conference of Cypriote Studies*, pp. 39–46. Nicosia-Brussels-Liège: Leventis Foundation, Free University Brussels, Université de Liège.
- Otten, H. (1963), Neue Quellung zum Ausklang des hethitischen Reiches. *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* 94: 1–23.
- Overbeck, J. C., and S. Swiny (1972), *Two Cypriot Bronze Age Sites at Kafkallia (Dhali)*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 33. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Pace, A. (2004), The Maltese Bronze Age. In D. Cilia (ed.), *Malta before History: The World's Oldest Free-standing Stone Architecture*, pp. 211–28. Sliema, Malta: Miranda Books.
- Pacci, M. (1986), Presenze Micenee à Cipro. In M. Marazzi, S. Tusa, and L. Vagnetti (eds.), *Traffici Micenei nel Mediterraneo*, pp. 335–42. Taranto: Istituto per la Storia e l'Archeologia della Magna Grecia.
- Palaima, T. G. (1989a), Cypro-Minoan scripts: problems of historical context. In Y. Duhoux, T. G. Palaima and J. Bennet (eds.), *Problems in Decipherment*, pp. 121–87. Louvain-la-Neuve: Peeters.
- —— (1989b), Ideograms and supplementals and regional interaction among Aegean and Cypriot scripts. *Minos* 24: 29–54.
- (1990), (ed.) Aegean Seals, Sealings and Administration. Aegaeum 5. Liège: Université de Liège.
- (1991), Maritime matters in the Linear B tablets. In R. Laffineur and L. Basch (eds.), *Thalassa: L'Égée Préhistorique et la Mer.* Aegaeum 7: 273–310. Liège: Université de Liège.
- —— (2005), *The Triple Invention of Writing in Cyprus and Written Sources for Cypriote History.* Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- Palmer, L. R. (1963), *The Interpretation of Mycenaean Greek Texts*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Palmer, R. (2003), Trade in wine, perfumed oil and foodstuffs: the Linear B evidence and beyond. In N. C. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Ploes. Sea Routes...: Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th–6th c. BC*, pp. 125–40. Athens: University of Crete, Leventis Foundation.
- Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou, A. (2006), Languages and scripts in ancient Cyprus. In J. Chrysostomides and C. Dendrinos (eds.), 'Sweet Land...': Lectures on the History and Culture of Cyprus, pp. 61–75. Camberley, Surrey UK: Porphyrogenitus.
- Papadakis, Y. (1998), Greek Cypriot narratives of history and collective identity: nationalism as a contested process. *American Ethnologist* 25: 149–65.

- Papadopoulos, T. J. (1997), Cyprus and the Aegean world: links in religion. In D. Christou (ed.), *Cyprus and the Aegean in Antiquity*, pp. 171–84. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- Papadopoulos, T. J., and L. Kontorli-Papadopoulou (1992), Aegean cult symbols in Cyprus. In P. Åström (ed.), *Acta Cypria* 3. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-book 120: 330–59. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Papasavvas, G. (2001), *Bronze Stands from Cyprus and Crete*. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation. (in Greek)
- Papastergiadis, N. (1997), Tracing hybridity in theory. In P. Werbner and T. Modood (eds.), *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multi-cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti- racism*, 257–81. London: Zed Books.
- —— (2005), Hybridity and ambivalence: places and flows in contemporary art and culture. *Theory, Culture and Society* 22: 39–64.
- Parayil, G. (1993), Models of technological change: a critical review of current knowledge. *History and Technology* 10: 105–26.
- Pardoe, C. (1991), Isolation and evolution in Tasmania. Current Anthropology 32: 1–21.
- Parise, N. F. (1968), I pani di rami del II millennio a.C. Considerazioni preliminari. In *Atti i Memori del primo Congresso Internazionale di Micenologia*. Incunabula Graeca 25: 117–33. Rome: Edizioni dell'Ateneo.
- Parker, B. J. (2000), The earliest known reference to the Ionians in the cuneiform sources. *Ancient History Bulletin* 14(3): 69–77.
- Parker Pearson, M. (2004), Island prehistories: a view of Orkney from South Uist. In J. F. Cherry, C. Scarre, and S. Shennan (eds.), Explaining Social Change: Studies in Honour of Colin Renfrew, pp. 127–40. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Parker Pearson, M., and C. Richards (1994), Ordering the world: perceptions of architecture, space and time. In M. Parker Pearson and C. Richards (eds.), *Architecture and Order: Approaches to Social Space*, pp. 1–37. London: Routledge.
- Patton, M. (1991), Stone axes of the channel islands: Neolithic exchange in an insular context. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 10: 33–43.
- —— (1993), Statements in Stone: Monuments and Society in Neolithic Britanny. London: Routledge.
- —— (1996), Islands in Time: Island Sociogeography and Mediterranean Prehistory. London: Routledge.
- Pauketat, T. R. (2003), Resettled farmers and the making of a Mississippian polity. *American Antiquity* 68: 39–66.
- Paynter, R. W. (1983), Expanding the scope of settlement systems. In J. A. Moore and A. S. Keene (eds.), *Archaeological Hammers and Theories*, pp. 233–75. New York: Academic Press.
- Pearlman, D. (1985), Kalavassos village, tomb 51: tomb of an unknown soldier. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 164–179.
- Pecorella, P. E. (1973), Mycenaean pottery from Ayia Irini. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean*, pp. 19–24. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.

- (1977), Le Tombe dell'Età del Bronzo Tardo della Necropoli a Mare di Ayia Irini 'Paleokastro'. Biblioteca di Antichità Cipriote 4. Roma: Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, Istituto per gli studi micenei ed egeo-anatolici.
- Pelon, O., E. Lagarce, and J. Lagarce (1973), La XXIIIe campagne de fouilles à Enkomi-Alasia (Chypre). Rapport préliminaire. *Syria* 50: 101–14.
- Peltenburg, E. J. (1974), The glazed vases (including a polychrome *rhyton*). Appendix I, in V. Karageorghis, *Excavations at Kition* I. *The Tombs*, pp. 105–44. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- —— (1978), The Sotira Culture: regional diversity and cultural unity in Late Neolithic Cyprus. *Levant* 10: 55–74.
- —— (1982), *Recent Developments in the Later Prehistory of Cyprus.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature Pocket-book 16. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1986), Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1985. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 28–39.
- —— (1991a), Lemba Archaeological Project. Volume 2:2. A Ceremonial Area at Kissonerga. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 70:3. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1991b), Local exchange in prehistoric Cyprus: an initial assessment of picrolite. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 282–3: 107–26.
- —— (1991c), Kissonerga-Mosphilia: a major Chalcolithic site in Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 282–3:17–35.
- (1991d), Greeting gifts and luxury faience: a context for orientalising trends in Late Mycenaean Greece. In N. H. Gale (ed.), *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 90: 162–79. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1992), Birth pendants in life and death: evidence from Kissonerga grave 563. In G. C. Ioannides (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis*, pp. 27–36. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- —— (1993), Settlement discontinuity and resistance to complexity in Cyprus, са. 4500–2500 в.с. Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research 292: 9–23.
- (1994), Constructing authority: the Vounous enclosure model. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 20: 157–62.
- —— (1996), From isolation to state formation in Cyprus, c.3500–1500 B.C. In V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides (eds.), The Development of the Cypriot Economy, pp. 17–44. Nicosia: University of Cyprus and the Bank of Cyprus.
- (n.d.) The Chalcolithic Cemetery at Souskiou-Vathyrkakas, Cyprus. Results of the Investigations of Four Missions, from 1950 to 1997. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
- Peltenburg, E. J., and project members (1985), *Lemba Archaeological Project*. Volume 1: *Excavations 1976–1983*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 70.1. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1987), Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1986. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 1–18.
- (1998), Lemba Archaeological Project II.1A. Excavations at Kissonerga-Mosphilia 1979–1992. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 70:2. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.

- Peltenburg, E. J. (ed.), and project members (2003), Lemba Archaeological Project, Cyprus. Volume 3:1. The Colonisation and Settlement of Cyprus: Investigations at Kissonerga-Mylouthkia, 1976–1996. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 70:4. Sävedalen, Sweden: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Peltenburg, E. J., S. Colledge, P. Croft, A. Jackson, C. McCartney, and M. A. Murray (2001a), Neolithic dispersals from the Levantine corridor: a Mediterranean perspective. *Levant* 33: 35–64.
- Peltenburg, E., P. Croft, A. Jackson, C. McCartney, and M.A. Murray (2001b), Wellestablished colonists: Mylouthkia I and the Cypro-Pre-Pottery Neolithic B. In S. Swiny (ed.), *The Earliest Prehistory of Cyprus: From Colonization to Exploitation*. Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, Monograph 2: 61–93. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Peltenburg, E. J., and A. Wasse (eds.) (2004), Neolithic Revolution: New Perspectives on Southwest Asia in Light of Recent Discoveries on Cyprus. Levant Supplementary Studies 1. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Peregrine, P. (1991), Some political aspects of craft specialization. *World Archaeology* 23: 1–11.
- Peristianis, N. (2000), Boundaries and the politics of identity. In Y. Ioannou, F. Métral and M. Yon (eds.), *Chypre et la méditerranée orientale: formations identitaires—perspectives historiques et enjeux contemporaiins.* Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient Méditerranéen 31: 185–95. Lyon: Maison de l'Orient, Université de Chypre.
- Perlman, I. (1984), Modern neutron activation analysis and ancient history. In J. B. Lambert (ed.), *Archaeological Chemistry* 3. Advances in Chemistry 205: 117–32. Washington, DC: American Chemical Society.
- Peterson, C. E., and R. D. Drennan (2005), Communities, settlements, sites, and surveys: regional-scale analysis of prehistoric human interaction. *American Antiquity* 70: 5–30.
- Petit, T. (1997–98), La langue étéocypriote ou l'éamathousien': essai d'interpretation grammaticale. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 44–5: 244–71.
- —— (2001), The first palace of Amathus and the Cypriot poleogenesis. In I. Nielsen (ed.), *The Royal Palace Institution in the First Millennium BC. Regional Development and Cultural Interchange between East and West.* Monographs of the Danish Institute at Athens 4: 53–75. Athens: Danish Institute at Athens.
- Peto, G. (1927), Malta and Cyprus. London and Toronto: J. M. Dent and Sons.
- Petruso, K. M. (1984), Prolegomena to Late Cypriot weight metrology. *American Journal of Archaeology* 88: 293–304.
- Pettinato, G. (1986), Ebla: Nuovi Orizzonti della Storia. Milano: Rusconi Libri.
- Philip, G. (1991), Cypriot bronzework in the Levantine world: conservatism, innovation and social change. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 4: 59–107.
- (1995), Warrior burials in the ancient Near Eastern Bronze Age: the evidence from Mesopotamia, western Iran and Syria-Palestine. In S. Campbell and A. Green (eds.), *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*. Oxbow Monograph 51: 140–54. Oxford: Oxbow.

- —— (1999), Complexity and diversity in the southern Levant during the third millennium BC: the evidence of Khirbet Kerak Ware. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 12: 26–57.
- Philip, G., P. W. Clogg, D. Dungworth, and S. Stos (2003), Copper metallurgy in the Jordan Valley from the third to the first millennia BC: chemical, metallographic and lead isotope analysis of artefacts from Pella. *Levant* 35: 71–100.
- Pickles, S., and E. J. Peltenburg (1998), Metallurgy, society and the Bronze/Iron transition in the east Mediterranean and the Near East. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 67–100.
- Pierides, A. (1973), Observations on some Mycenaean ivories from Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: The Mycenaeans in the Eastern Mediterranean*, pp. 274–7. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
- Pieridou, A. (1967), Pieces of cloth from the Early and Middle Cypriote periods. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 25–9.
- Pilides, D. (1992), Handmade Burnished Ware in Cyprus: an attempt at its interpretation. In G. C. Ioannides (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis*, pp. 179–89. Nicosia: Society of Cypriot Studies.
- —— (1994), *Handmade Burnished Wares of the Late Bronze Age in Cyprus.* Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 105. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1996), Storage jars as evidence of the economy of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age. In V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides (eds.), *The Development of the Cypriot Economy*, pp. 107–26. Nicosia: University of Cyprus and the Bank of Cyprus.
- —— (2000), The role of storage jars in the study of Late Bronze and post-Bronze Age societies. In G. C. Ioannides and S. A. Hadjistellis (eds.), *Acts of the Third International Congress of Cypriot Studies*, pp. 365–77. Nicosia: Society of Cypriot Studies.
- (2005), Storage jars and cooking pots: implications and social significance. In V. Karageorghis, H. Matthäus, and S. Rogge (eds.), *Cyprus: Religion and Society from the Late Bronze Age to the End of the Archaic Period*, pp. 171–82. Möhnesee-Wamel: Biblipolis.
- Piña-Cabral, J. de (1989), The Mediterranean as a category of regional comparison: a critical view. *Current Anthropology* 30: 399–406.
- —— (1992), The primary social unit in Mediterranean and Atlantic Europe. *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 2: 25–41.
- Pini, I. (1979), Cypro-Aegean cylinder seals: on the definition and origin of the class. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca.2000–500 BC*, pp. 121–7. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- (1980), Kypro-ägäische Rollseigel. Ein beitrag zur definition und zum Ursprung der Gruppe. *Jahrbuch des deutschen Archäologischen Institut* 95: 77–108.
- Pollock, S., and R. Bernbeck (2000), And they said, let us make gods in our image: gendered ideologies in ancient Mesopotamia. In A. E. Rautman (ed.), *Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record*, pp. 150–64. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- Porada, E. (1947), *Seal Impressions of Nuzi*. Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 24. New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- —— (1948), The cylinder seals of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age. *American Journal of Archaeology* 52: 178–98.
- —— (1976), Three cylinder seals from Tombs 1 and 2 of Hala Sultan Tekke. In P. Åström, D. M. Bailey and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Hala Sultan Tekke* 1. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 45.1: 98–103. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1982), The cylinder seals found at Thebes in Boeotia. Archiv für Orientforschung 28: 1–70.
- —— (1983), A seal ring and two cylinder seals from Hala Sultan Tekke. In P. Åström, E. Åström, A. Hatziantoniou, K. Niklasson and U. Öbrink, *Hala Sultan Tekke* 8. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 45.8: 218–21. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Porat, N., J. Yellin, L. Heller-Kallai, and L. Halicz (1991), Correlation between petrography, NAA, and ICP analyses: application to Early Bronze Egyptian pottery from Canaan. *Geoarchaeology* 6: 133–50.
- Portugali, Y., and A. B. Knapp (1985), Cyprus and the Aegean: a spatial analysis of interaction in the 17th–14th centuries B.C. In A. B. Knapp and T. Stech (eds.), *Prehistoric Production and Exchange: The Aegean and the Eastern Mediterranean*. UCLA Institute of Archaeology, Monograph 25: 44–78. Los Angeles: UCLA Institute of Archaeology.
- Poursat, J.-C. (1977), Les ivoires myceniens. Athens, Paris: École Française d'Athènes. Poursat, J.-C., and M. Loubet (2005), Métallurgie et contacts extérieurs à Malia (Crète) au Minoen Moyen II: remarques sur une série d'analyses isotopiques du plomb. In R. Laffineur and E. Greco (eds.), Emporia: Aegeans in the Central and Eastern Mediterranean. Aegaeum 25.1: 117–21. Liège, Austin: Université de Liège, University of Texas at Austin.
- Powell, J. (1996), *Fishing in the Prehistoric Aegean*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-book 137. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Primas, M., and E. Pernicka (1998), Der Depot fund von Oberwilflingen. Neue Ergebnisse zur Zirkulation von Metallbarren. *Germania* 76: 25–65.
- Pritchard, J. B. (1969), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament.* (3rd edn.) Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Pulak, Ç. (1998), The Uluburun shipwreck: an overview. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Investigation* 27: 188–224.
- —— (2000), The copper and tin ingots from the Late Bronze Age shipwreck at Uluburn. In Ü. Yalçin (ed.), *Anatolian Metal* I. Der Anschnitt, Beiheft 13: 137–57. Bochum: Deutsches Bergbau-Museum.
- —— (2001), The cargo of the Uluburun shipwreck and evidence for trade with the Aegean and beyond. In L. Bonfante and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity, 1500–450 BC*, pp. 13–60. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- Raber, P. A. (1987), Early copper production in the Polis region, western Cyprus. *Journal of Field Archaeology* 14: 297–312.
- Rahmstorf, L. (2005), Ethnicity and changes in weaving technology in Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean in the 12th century BC. In V. Karageorghis, H. Matthäus, and

- S. Rogge (eds.), *Cyprus: Religion and Society from the Late Bronze Age to the End of the Archaic Period*, pp. 143–69. Möhnesee-Wamel: Biblipolis.
- Rainbird, P. (1999), Islands out of time: towards a critique of island archaeology. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 12: 216–34, 259–60.
- —— (2004), *The Archaeology of Micronesia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Rainey, A. F. (1963), Business agents at Ugarit. *Israel Exploration Journal* 13: 313–21.
- Raptou, E. (2002), Nouveaux témoinages sur Palaepaphos à l'époque géométrique,
   d'après les fouilles de Kouklia-Plakes. Cahier de Centre d'Études Chypriotes 32: 115–33.
- Rautman, A. (ed.) (2000), Reading the Body: Representations and Remains in the Archaeological Record. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Redfield, R., R. Linton, and M. J. Herskovits (1936), Memorandum for the study of acculturation. *American Anthropologist* 38: 149–52.
- Reese, D. S. (1985), Shells, ostrich eggshells and other exotic faunal remains from Kition. In V. Karageorghis and M. Demas, *Excavations at Kition* 5.2: 340–415. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
- —— (1987), The EM IIA shells from Knossos with comments on Neolithic to EM III shell utilization. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 82: 207–11.
- Rehak, P. (1995), The use and destruction of Minoan stone bull's head rhyta. In R. Laffineur and W.-D. Neimeier (eds.), *Politeia: Society and State in the Aegean Bronze Age.* Aegaeum 12: 435–59. Liège, Austin: Université de Liège; University of Texas at Austin.
- —— (2002), Imag(in)ing a women's world in Bronze Age Greece: the frescoes from Xeste 3 at Akrotiri, Thera. In N. S. Rabinowitz and L. Auanger (eds.), *Among Women: From the Homosocial to the Homoerotic in the Ancient World*, pp. 34–59. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Rehak, P., and J. G. Younger (1998), International styles in ivory carving in the Late Bronze Age. In E. H. Cline and D. Harris-Cline (eds.), *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium*. Aegaeum 18: 229–56. Liège, Austin: Université de Liège, University of Texas at Austin.
- Renfrew, A. C. (1972), The Emergence of Civilization: The Cyclades and the Aegean in the Third Millennium B.C. London: Methuen.
- —— (1976), Megaliths, territories, and populations. In S. DeLaet (ed.), *Acculturation and Continuity in Atlantic Europe*. Dissertationes Archaeologicae Gandenses 16: 198–220. Brugge: De Tempel.
- —— (1980), The Great Tradition versus the Great Divide: archaeology as anthropology. American Journal of Archaeology 84: 287–98.
- (1985), (ed.) The Prehistory of Orkney. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
   (1987), Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins. London: Jonathan Cape.
- (1993), The Roots of Ethnicity. Archaeology, Genetics and the Origins of Europe. Rome: Unione Internazionale degli Instituti de Archeologia, Storia e Storia del-
- —— (1994), The identity of Europe in prehistoric archaeology. *Journal of European Archaeology* 2: 153–73.

- Renfrew, A. C. (2001), Symbol before concept: material engagement and the early development of society. In I. Hodder (ed.), *Archaeological Theory Today*, pp. 122–40. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- —— (2002), Genetics and language in contemporary archaeology. In B. Cunliffe, W. Davies, and C. Renfrew (eds.), *Archaeology: The Widening Debate*, pp. 43–76. Oxford: Oxford University Press, British Academy.
- —— (2003), Retrospect and prospect: Mediterranean archaeology in a new millennium. In J. K. Papadopoulos and R. M Leventhal (eds.), *Theory and Practice in Mediterranean Archaeology: Old World and New World Perspectives.* Cotsen Advanced Seminars 1: 311–18. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA.
- —— (2004), Rethinking The Emergence. In J. C. Barrett and P. Halstead (eds.), *The Emergence of Civilisation Revisited*. Sheffield Studies in Aegean Archaeology 6: 257–74. Oxford: Oxbow.
- —— (2005), Round a bigger pond. In J. F. Cherry, D. Margomenou, and L. E. Talalay (eds.), *Prehistorians Round the Pond: Reflections on Aegean Prehistory as a Discipline*. Kelsey Museum Publication 2: 151–9. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology.
- Renfrew, A. C., T. Bynon, M. Ruhlen, A. Dolgopolsky, and P. Bellwood (1995), Is there a prehistory of linguistics? *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 5: 257–75.
- Reyes, A. T. (1994), *Archaic Cyprus: A Study of the Textual and Archaeological Evidence*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Ribeiro, E. (2002), Altering the body: representations of pre-pubescent gender groups on Early and Middle Cypriot 'scenic compositions'. In D. Bolger and N. Serwint (eds.), *Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus*. Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, Monograph 3. ASOR Archaeological Reports 7: 197–209. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Richards, C. (1996), Monuments as landscape: creating the centre of the world in late Neolithic Orkney. *World Archaeology* 28: 190–208.
- —— (2003), (ed.) Dwelling among the Monuments: An Examination of the Neolithic Village of Barnhouse, Maeshowe Passage Grave and Surrounding Monuments at Stenness, Orkney. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research.
- Riis, P.J. (1949), The Syrian Astarte plaques and their western counterparts. *Berytus* 9: 69–90.
- Riva, C. (2005), Picene communities along trans-Appennine routes. In P. Attema, A. Nijboer, and A. Zifferero (eds.), Communities and Settlements from the Neolithic to the Early Medieval Period. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1452.1: 118–26. Oxford: Archeopress.
- Riva, C., and N. Vella (eds.) (2006), Debating Orientalization: Multidisciplinary Approaches to Processes of Change in the Ancient Mediterranean. Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 10. London: Equinox Press.
- Robb, J. (2001), Island identities: ritual, travel and the creation of difference in Neolithic Malta. *European Journal of Archaeology* 4: 175–202.

- Robb, J. E., and R. H. Farr (2005), Substances in motion: Neolithic Mediterranean 'trade'. In E. Blake and A. B. Knapp (eds.), *The Archaeology of Mediterranean Prehistory*, pp. 24–45. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rouse, R. (1995), Questions of identity. Personhood and collectivity in transnational migration to the United States. *Critique of Anthropology* 15: 351–80.
- Routledge, B. (2000), Seeing through walls: interpreting Iron Age I architecture at Khirbat al-Mudayna al-'Aliya. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 319: 37–70.
- Rowlands, M. J. (1982), Processual archaeology as historical social science. In C. Renfrew, M. J. Rowlands, and B. Seagraves (eds.), *Theory and Explanation in Archaeology*, pp. 155–74. Academic: New York.
- —— (1984), Conceptualising the European Bronze and Iron Ages. In J. Bintliff (ed.), *European Social Evolution*, pp.147–56. Bradford: Bradford University Press.
- —— (1993), The role of memory in the transmission of culture. *World Archaeology* 25: 141–51.
- —— (1994a), Childe and the archaeology of freedom. In D. R. Harris (ed.), *The Archaeology of V. Gordon Childe: Contemporary Perspectives*, pp. 35–54. London: University College London Press.
- (1994b), The politics of identity in archaeology. In G. C. Bond and A. Gilliam (eds.), *Social Construction of the Past: Representation as Power*. One World Archaeology 24: 129–43. Routledge: London.
- —— (1998), The archaeology of colonialism. In K. Kristiansen and M. J. Rowlands, *Social Transformations in Archaeology: Global and Local Perspectives*, pp. 327–33. London: Routledge.
- Rupp, D. W. (1981), Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project: preliminary report of the 1979 season. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 251–268.
- —— (1985), Prologomena to a study of stratification and social organization in Iron Age Cyprus. In M. Thompson, M. T. Garcia, and F. J. Kense (eds.), *Status, Structure and Stratification: Current Archaeological Reconstructions*, pp. 119–32. Calgary: Archaeological Association, University of Calgary.
- —— (1987), Vive le Roi: the emergence of the state in Iron Age Cyprus. In D. W. Rupp (ed.), *Western Cyprus: Connections*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 77: 147–168. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1988), The Royal Tombs at Salamis, Cyprus: ideological messages of power and authority. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 1: 111–39.
- —— (1989), Puttin' on the Ritz: manifestations of high status in Iron Age Cyprus. In E. J. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*, pp. 336–62. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- —— (1998), The seven kings of the Land of Ia', a district on Ia-ad-na-na: Achaean bluebloods, Cypriot parvenus, or both? In K. J. Hartswick and M. Sturgeon (eds.), *Stefano: Studies in Honor of Brunilde Sismondo Ridgway*, pp. 209–22. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- —— (2004), Evolving strategies for investigating an extensive *terra incognita* in the Paphos district by the Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project and the Western

- Cyprus Project. In M. Iacovou (ed.), *Archaeological Field Survey in Cyprus. Past History, Future Potentials.* British School at Athens, Studies 11: 63–77. London: British School at Athens.
- Rupp, D. W., J. T. Clarke, C. D'Annibale, and S. Stewart (1992), The Canadian Palaipaphos Survey Project: 1991 field season. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus. 285–317.
- Säflund, G. (1980), Sacrifical banquets in the 'Palace of Nestor'. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 13: 227–46.
- Salles, J. F. (1995), Rituel mortuaire et rituel social à Ras Shamra/Ougarit. In S. Campbell and A. Green (eds.), *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*. Oxbow Monograph 51: 171–84. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Sandars, N. K. (1978), The Sea Peoples: Warriors of the Ancient Mediterranean 1250–1150 BC. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Sanmartí, J. (2004), From local groups to early states: the development of social complexity in protohistoric Catalonia. *Pyrenae* 36 (1): 7–41.
- Sant Cassia, P. (1991), Authors in search of a character: personhood, agency and identity in the Mediterranean. *Journal of Mediterranean Studies* 1: 1–17.
- Saporetti, C. (1976), Cipro nel texti neoassiri. *Studi Ciprioti e Rapporti di Scavo* 2: 83–8. Sarup, M. (1996), *Identity, Culture and the Postmodern World.* Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- Sass, B. (2002), Wenamun and his Levant. Ägypten und Levante 12: 247-55.
- Saunders, R. (1998), Forced relocation, power relations, and culture contact in the missions of La Florida. In J. G. Cusick (ed.), *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change and Archaeology.* Center for Archaeological Investigations Occasional Paper 25: 402–29. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Schaeffer, C. F. A. (1934), Las fouilles de Ras-Shamra: cinquième campagne (Printemps 1933), rapport sommaire. *Syria* 15: 105–31.
- (1936), Missions en Chypre. Paris: Geuthner.

64: 227-32. Paris: Geuthner.

- (1939), *Ugaritica* I. Mission de Ras Shamra 3. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 31. Paris: Geuthner.
- (1949), *Ugaritica* II. *Mission de Ras Shamra* 5. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique 47. Paris: Geuthner.
- (1952), Enkomi-Alasia I. Nouvelles Missions en Chypre 1946–1950. Paris: Klincksieck.
  (1956), Une écriture Chypriote particulière à Ugarit? In C. F. A. Schaeffer, Ugaritica III. Mission de Ras Shamra 7. Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique
- (1968), Commentaires sur les lettres et documents trouvées dans les bibliothèques privées d'Ugarit. In J. Nougaryol, E. Laroche, C. Virolleaud, and C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica* 5. *Mission de Ras Shamra* 16: 607–768. Paris: Geuthner.
- —— (1969), Chars de culte de Chypre. Syria 46: 267–76.
- —— (1971a), Alasia I. Mission Archéologique d'Alasia 4. Paris: Klincksieck.
- —— (1971b), Les Peuples de la Mer et leurs sanctuaires à Enkomi-Alasia aux XII-XI s. av.n.e. In C. F. A. Schaeffer (ed.), *Alasia* I. Mission Archéologique d'Alasia 4: 505–64. Paris: Klincksieck.

- (1984), Alasia III. Les Objets des Niveaux Stratifies d'Enkomi (Fouilles C. F. A. Schaeffer 1947–1970). Editions Recherches sur les Civilisations, Mémoire 32. Paris: Editions Recherches sur les Civilisations.
- Schäfer, J. (1958), Elfenbeinspiegelgriffe des zweiten Jahrtausends. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung* 73: 73–87.
- Scharr, K. (1985), House form at Tarsus, Alambra, and Lemba. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 37–44.
- Schloen, D. (2001), *The House of the Father as Fact and Symbol: Patrimonalism in Ugarit and the Ancient Near East.* Studies in the Archaeology and History of the Levant 2. Eisenbrauns: Winona Lake, Indiana.
- Schmandt-Besserat, D. (1992), *Before Writing*. Volume 1: *From Counting to Cuneiform*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Schoonheyt, J. A. (1992), À propos des deux lingots d'argent decouverts à Pyla Kokkinokremos. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 129–131.
- Schortman, E. M. (1989), Interregional interactions in prehistory: the need for a new perspective. *American Antiquity* 54: 52–65.
- Schortman, E. M., and P. A. Urban (1992), (eds.) *Resources, Power, and Interregional Interaction*. New York: Plenum.
- (1998), Culture contact structure and process. In J. G. Cusick (ed.), *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change and Archaeology.* Center for Archaeological Investigations Occasional Paper 25: 102–25. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Schuyler, R. L. (ed.) (1980), Archaeological Perspectives on Ethnicity in America: Afro-American and Asian American Culture History. Baywood Monographs in Archaeology 1. Baywood Publishing: Amityville, New York.
- Seeden, H. (1980), *The Standing Armed Figurines in the Levant.* Prähistorische Bronzefunde, Abteilung 1, Band 1. Munich: Beck.
- Sevketoglu, M. (2000), Archaeological Field Survey of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic Settlement Sites in Kyrenia District, North Cyprus. Systematic Surface Collection and the Interpretation of Artefact Scatters. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 834. Oxford: Archeopress.
- Shanks, M., and C. Tilley (1987), *Social Theory and Archaeology*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Sharer, R. J., and W. Ashmore (1993), *Archaeology: Discovering Our Past.* 2nd edition. London: Mayfield Publishing.
- Shennan, S. J. (1989), Introduction. In S. J. Shennan (ed.), *Archaeological Approaches to Cultural Identity*. One World Archaeology 10: 1–32. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Sherratt, A. G. (1981), Plough and pastoralism: aspects of the Secondary Products Revolution. In I. Hodder, G. Issac, and N. Hammond (eds.), *Pattern of the Past: Studies in Honour of David Clarke*, pp. 261–305. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- —— (1983), The secondary exploitation of animals in the Old World. *World Archaeology* 15: 90–104.

- Sherratt, A. G. (1993), What would a Bronze Age world system look like? Relations between temperate Europe and the Mediterranean in later prehistory. *Journal of European Archaeology* 1(2): 1–58.
- Sherratt, A. G., and E. S. Sherratt (1991), From luxuries to commodities: the nature of Mediterranean Bronze Age trading systems. In N. H. Gale (ed.), *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 90: 351–86. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- (1998), Small worlds: interaction and identity in the ancient Mediterranean. In
   E. H. Cline and D. Harris-Cline (eds.), The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium. Aegaeum 18: 329–43. Liège: Université de Liège.
- Sherratt, E. S. (1982), Patterns of contact: manufacture and distribution of Mycenaean pottery, 1400–1100 B.C. In J. Best and N. DeVries (eds.), *Interaction and Acculturation in the Mediterranean* 2: 179–95. Amsterdam: Grüner.
- (1991), Cypriot pottery of Aegean type in LC II–III: problems of classification, chronology and interpretation. In J. Barlow, D. Bolger, and B. Kling (eds.), *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record*. University Museum Monograph 74: 185–98. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- —— (1992), Immigration and archaeology: some indirect reflections. In P. Åström (ed.), *Acta Cypria* 2. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocketbook 117: 316–47. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1994a), Comments on Ora Negbi, The 'Libyan Landscape' from Thera: a review of Aegean enterprises overseas in the Late Minoan IA period (JMA 7.1). *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 7: 237–40.
- —— (1994b), Patterns of contact between the Aegean and Cyprus in the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. *Archaeologia Cypria* 3: 35–46.
- —— (1994c), Commerce, iron and ideology: metallurgical innovation in 12th–11th century Cyprus. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Proceedings of the International Symposium: Cyprus in the 11th Century в.с.*, pp. 59–106. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- (1998), 'Sea Peoples' and the economic structure of the late second millennium in the eastern Mediterranean. In S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Tenth Centuries BCE*, pp. 292–313. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- —— (1999), E pur si muove: pots, markets and values in the second millennium Mediterranean. In J. P. Crielaard, V. Stissi, and G. J. van Wijngaarden (eds.), The Complex Past of Pottery: Production, Circulation and Consumption of Mycenaean and Greek Pottery (sixteenth to early fifth centuries BC), pp. 163–211. Amsterdam: Gieben.
- —— (2001), Potemkin palaces and route-based economies. In S. Voutsaki and J. Killen (eds.), *Economy and Politics in the Mycenaean Palace States*. Cambridge Philological Society, Supplementary Volume 27: 214–38. Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society.
- —— (2003a), The Mediterranean economy: 'globalization' at the end of the second millennium BCE. In W. G. Dever and S. Gitin (eds.), *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors, from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina*, pp. 37–62. Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns.

- Sherratt, E. S. (2003b), Visible writing: questions of script and identity in Early Iron Age Greece and Cyprus. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 22: 225–42.
- Siapkas, J. (2003), *Heterological Ethnicity: Conceptualizing Identities in Ancient Greece*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis. Boreas. Uppsala Studies in Ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern Civilizations 27. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.
- Silberman, N. A. (1998), The Sea Peoples, the Victorians and us: modern social ideology and changing archaeological interpretations of the Late Bronze Age collapse. In S. Gitin, A. Mazar, and E. Stern (eds.), *Mediterranean Peoples in Transition: Thirteenth to Tenth Centuries BCE*, pp. 268–75. Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society.
- Simmons, A. H. (1998), Of tiny hippos, large cows and early colonists in Cyprus. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 11: 232–41.
- —— (1999), Faunal Extinction in an Island Society: Pygmy Hippopotamus Hunters of Cyprus. Dordrecht, Boston: Kluwer Academic/Plenum.
- (2003), Preliminary report of the 2002 excavations at Ais Giorkis, an aceramic Neolithic site in western Cyprus. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 1–10.
- Simons, J. (1937), Handbook for the Study of Egyptian Topographical Lists Relating to Western Asia. Leiden: Brill.
- Singer, I. (1983), Western Anatolia in the 13th century BC according to the Hittite sources. *Anatolian Studies* 33: 205–217.
- —— (1996), Great kings of Tarhuntassa. Studi Micenei ed Egeo Anatolici 38: 63–71.
- —— (1999), A political history of Ugarit. In W. G. E. Watson and N. Wyatt (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies*. Handbuch der Orientalistik, Abteilung 1, Der Nahe und Mittlere Osten, Band 39: 603–733. Leiden: Brill.
- —— (2000), New evidence on the end of the Hittite empire. In E. D. Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reasessment.* University Museum Monograph 108, University Museum Symposium 11: 21–33. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- —— (2006), Ships bound for Lukka: a new interpretation of the companion letters RS 94.2530 and RS 94.2523. *Altorientalische Forschungen* 33: 242–62.
- Sjodin, S. (1988), Bronze Age pottery sherds from Cyprus. Further supplementary material from Kalopsidha Trench 9. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 17: 143–66.
- Sjöqvist, E. (1940), *Problems of the Late Cypriote Bronze Age.* Stockholm: Swedish Cyprus Expedition.
- Small, D. B. (1990), Handmade Burnished Ware and prehistoric Aegean economics: an argument for indigenous appearance. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 3: 3–25.
- Smith, J. S. (1994), Seals for Sealing in the Late Cypriot Period. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania: Bryn Mawr College.
- —— (2002a), Problems and prospects in the study of script and seal use on Cyprus in the Bronze and Iron Ages. In J. S. Smith (ed.), *Script and Seal Use on Cyprus in the Bronze and Iron Ages.* AIA Colloquia and Conference Papers 4: 1–47. Boston: Archaeological Institute of America.
- —— (2002b), Changes in the workplace: women and textile production on Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In D. Bolger and N. Serwint (eds.), *Engendering Aphrodite*:

- Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus. Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, Monograph 3. ASOR Archaeological Reports 7: 281–312. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- (2003), International style in Mediterranean Late Bronze Age seals. In N. C. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Ploes.. Sea Routes...: Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th-6th c. BC*, pp. 291–304. Athens: University of Crete, Leventis Foundation.
- —— (n.d.), (ed.) *Phlamoudhi-Melissa: A Late Bronze Age Settlement on the North Coast of Cyprus.* American Schools of Oriental Research Archaeological Reports Series. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research. (Volume I: Stratigraphy and Architecture; Volume II: Finds; Volume III: Specialist Studies).
- Smith, S. T. (1998), Nubia and Egypt: interaction, acculturation, and secondary state formation from the third to first millennium BC. In J. G. Cusick (ed.), *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change, and Archaeology.* Center for Archaeological Investigations Occasional Paper 25: 256–87. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press.
- Smith, W. S. (1965), Interconnections in the Ancient Near East: A Study of the Relationships between the Arts of Egypt, the Aegean, and Western Asia. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Snape, S. R. (2003), Zawiyet Umm el-Rakham and Egyptian foreign trade in the 13th century Bc. In N. C. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Ploes. Sea Routes...: Interconnections in the Mediterranean*, *16th-6th c. BC*, pp. 63–70. Athens: University of Crete, Leventis Foundation.
- Sneddon, A. C. (2002), *The Cemeteries at Marki: Using a Looted Landscape to Investigate Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus.* British Archaeological Reports: International Series 1028. Oxford: Archeopress.
- Snodgrass, A. M. (1982), Cyprus and the beginnings of iron technology in the eastern Mediterranean. In J. D. Muhly, R. Maddin, and V. Karageorghis (eds.), Early Metallurgy in Cyprus, 4000–500 BC, pp. 285–96. Nicosia: Pierides Foundation.
- —— (1985), The new archaeology and the classical archaeologist. *American Journal of Archaeology* 89: 1–7.
- —— (1988), *Cyprus and Early Greek History*. 4th Annual Lecture, Bank of Cyprus, Cultural Foundation. Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus Cultural Foundation.
- —— (2002), A paradigm shift in Classical archaeology? *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 12: 179–94.
- Sørensen, L. W., and D. W. Rupp (eds.) (1993), *The Land of the Paphian Aphrodite* 2. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 104.2. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- South, A. K. (1980), Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1979: a summary report. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 22–53.
- —— (1984), Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* and the Late Bronze Age of Cyprus. In J. D. Muhly and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Cyprus at the Close of the Late Bronze Age*, pp. 11–18. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- —— (1988), Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* 1987: an important ceramic group from Building X. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 223–8.

- —— (1989), From copper to kingship: aspects of Bronze Age society viewed from the Vasilikos Valley. In E. J. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*, pp. 315–24. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- —— (1992), Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1991. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 133–146.
- —— (1996), Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* and the organization of Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In P. Åström and E. Herscher (eds.), *Late Bronze Age Settlement in Cyprus: Function and Relationship*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-book 126: 39–49. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1997), Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1992–1996. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 151–75.
- (2000), Late Bronze Age burials at Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*. In G. C. Ioannides and S. A. Hadjistellis (eds.), *Acts of the Third International Congress of Cypriot Studies*, pp. 345–64. Nicosia: Society of Cypriot Studies.
- —— (2002), Late Bronze Age settlement patterns in southern Cyprus: the first kingdoms? *Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 32: 59–72.
- South, A. K., P. Russell, and P. S. Keswani (1989), Vasilikos Valley Project 3: Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 2 (Ceramics, Objects, Tombs, Specialist Studies). Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 71.3. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- South, A., and L. Steel (2001), The White Slip sequence at Kalavasos. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *The White Slip Ware of Late Bronze Age Cyprus*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Band 20. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 2: 65–74. Vienna: Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- South, A. K., and I. A. Todd (1985), In quest of the Cypriote copper traders: excavations at Ayios Dhimitrios. *Archaeology* 38(5): 40–47.
- —— (1997), The Vasilikos Valley and the Aegean from the Neolithic to the Bronze Age. In D. Christou (ed.), *Cyprus and the Aegean in Antiquity*, pp. 71–7. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- Spalinger, A. J. (1996), From local to global: the extension of an Egyptian bureaucratic term to the Empire. *Studien zur Altägyptische Kultu*r 23: 353–76.
- Spriggs, M. (1997), The Island Melanesians. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Stanley Price, N. P. (1977), Khirokitia and the initial settlement of Cyprus. *Levant* 9: 66–89.
- (1979), Early Prehistoric Settlement in Cyprus: A Review and Gazetteer of Sites, c.6500–3000 BC. British Archaeological Reports, International Series 65. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports.
- Stark, M. T. (1998a), (ed.) *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.
- —— (1998b), Technical choices and social boundaries in material cultural patterning: an introduction. In M. T. Stark (ed.), *The Archaeology of Social Boundaries*, pp. 1–11. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press.

- Stech, T. (1982), Urban metallurgy in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In J. D. Muhly, R. Maddin, and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Early Metallurgy in Cyprus*, 4000–500 BC, pp. 105–15. Nicosia: Pierides Foundation.
- Stech, T., R. Maddin, and J. D. Muhly (1985), Copper production at Kition in the Late Bronze Age. In V. Karageorghis and M. Demas, *Excavations at Kition* V.1: *The Pre-Phoenician Levels*, pp. 388–402. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- Steel, L. (1993), The establishment of the city kingdoms in Iron Age Cyprus: an archaeological commentary. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 147–56.
- —— (1994), Representations of a shrine on a Mycenaean chariot krater from Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Cyprus. Annual of the British School at Athens 89: 201–11.
- —— (1995), Differential burial practices in Cyprus at the beginning of the Iron Age. In S. Campbell and A. Green (eds.), *The Archaeology of Death in the Ancient Near East*. Oxbow Monograph 51: 199–204. Oxford: Oxbow.
- —— (1998), The social impact of Mycenaean imported pottery on Cyprus. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 93: 285–96.
- (1999), Wine, kraters and chariots: the Mycenaean pictorial style reconsidered. In P. Betancourt, V. Karageorghis, R. Laffineur, and W. D. Niemeier (eds.), *Meletemata: Studies in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Malcolm H. Wiener as He Enters His 65th Year.* Aegaeum 20: 803–11. Liège, Austin: Université de Liège, University of Texas, Austin.
- —— (2001), The British Museum and the invention of the Cypriot Late Bronze Age. In V. Tatton-Brown (ed.), *Cyprus in the Nineteenth Century вс: Fact, Fancy and Fiction*, pp. 160–67. Oxford: Oxbow.
- —— (2003–4), Archaeology in Cyprus, 1997–2002. Archaeological Reports 50: 93–111.
- —— (2004a), *Cyprus before History: From the Earliest Settlers to the End of the Bronze Age.* London: Duckworth.
- (2004b), A reappraisal of the distribution, context and function of Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus. In J. Balensi, J.-Y. Monchambert, and S. Müller-Celku (eds.), *La Ceramique Mycénienne de l'Égée au Levant*. Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient 41: 69–85. Lyon: la Maison de l'Orient.
- Steel, L., and S. Janes (2005), Survey at Aredhiou Vouppes, Cyprus. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 231–44.
- Stieglitz, R. R. (1994), The Minoan origin of Tyrian purple. *Biblical Archaeologist* 57: 46–54.
- Stein, G. (2002), Colonies without colonialism: a trade diaspora model of fourth millennium B.C. Mesopotamian enclaves in Anatolia. In C. L. Lyons and J. Papadopoulos (eds.), *The Archaeology of Colonialism*, pp. 27–64. Los Angeles: Getty Publications.
- —— (2005), (ed.) *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters*. Sante Fe: School of American Research Press.
- Stewart, E., and J. R. Stewart (1950), *Vounous 1937–1938*. Skrifter Utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom 14. Lund: Svenska Institutet i Rom.
- Stewart, J. R. (1962), The Early Cypriote Bronze Age. In P. Dikaios and J. R. Stewart, Swedish Cyprus Expedition IV.1A: 205–401. Lund: Swedish Cyprus Expedition.

- (1963), The tomb of the seafarer at Karmi in Cyprus. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 4: 197–204.
- Stewart, J. R. (edited by E. Stewart and P. Åström) (1988), *Corpus of Cypriote Artefacts of the Early Bronze Age.* Part 1. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 3.1. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Stoddart, S., A. Bonanno, T. Gouder, C. Malone, and D. Trump (1993), Cult in an island society: prehistoric Malta in the Tarxien period. *Cambridge Archaeological Journal* 3: 3–19.
- Stos-Gale, Z. (2001), Minoan foreign relations and copper metallurgy in Protopalatial and Neopalatial Crete. In A. Shortland (ed.), *The Social Context of Technological Change in Egypt and the Near East*, 1650–1550 BC, pp. 195–210. Oxbow: Oxford.
- Strange, J. (1980), Caphtor/Keftiu: A New Investigation. Acta Theologica Danica 14. Leiden: Brill.
- Strathern, M. (1988), *The Gender of the Gift: Problems with Women and Problems with Society in Melanesia*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Stubbings, F. H. (1951), *Mycenaean Pottery from the Levant*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- —— (1972), Prehistoric Greece. London: Rupert Hart-Davis.
- Sürenhagen, D. (2001), Die Bezeichnung Zyperns (Alasija) zum hethitischen Reich und seinen nordsyrien Vassalen während der 2. Hälfte des 2. Jahrtausends v. Chr. In A. Kyriatsoulis (ed.), Kreta und Zypern: Religion und Schrift. Von der Frühgeschichte biz zum Ende der archaischen Zeit, pp. 249–63. Altenburg: DZA Verlag für Kultur und Wissenschaft.
- Swiny, S. (1981), Bronze Age settlement patterns in southwest Cyprus. Levant 13: 51–87.
  —— (1982), Correlations between the compositon and function of Bronze Age metal types in Cyprus. In R. Maddin, J. D. Muhly, and V. Karageorghis (eds.), Early Metallurgy in Cyprus, 4000–500 BC, pp. 69–80. Nicosia: Pierides Foundation.
- (1985), The Cyprus American Archaeological Institute Excavations at Sotira *Kaminoudhia* and the origins of the Philia culture. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *Acts of the Second International Cyprological Congress* A, Section 1: 13–26. Nicosia: Zavallis Press.
- (1986a), The Philia Culture and its foreign relations. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: Cyprus between Orient and Occident, pp. 29–44. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.
- —— (1986b), *The Kent State University Expedition to Episkopi Phaneromeni*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 74.2. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1989), From round house to duplex: a reassessment of prehistoric Bronze Age Cypriot society. In E. J. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus*, pp. 14–31. Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press.
- —— (1997), The Early Bronze Age. In T. Papadopoulos (ed.), *A History of Cyprus*, Volume 1: 171–212. Nicosia: Archbishop Makarios III Foundation. (in Greek)
- Swiny, S., and C. Mavromatis (2000), Land behind Kourion: results of the 1997 Sotira Archaeological Project Survey. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 433–52.

- Swiny, S., G. Rapp, and E. Herscher (eds.) (2003), *Sotira Kamminoudhia: An Early Bronze Age Site in Cyprus*. American Schools of Oriental Research, Archaeological Reports 8. Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, Monograph Series 4. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Symeonoglou, S. (1975), Excavations at Phlamoudhi and the form of the sanctuary in Bronze Age Cyprus. In N. Robertson (ed.), *The Archaeology of Cyprus: Recent Developments*, pp. 61–75. Park Ridge, New Jersey: Noyes Press.
- Talalay, L. E. (1993), *Deities, Dolls, and Devices: Neolithic Figurines from Franchthi Cave, Greece.* Excavations at Franchthi Cave 9. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- —— (2000), Archaeological Ms.conceptions: contemplating gender and the Greek Neolithic. In M. Donald and L. Hurcombe (eds.), *Representations of Gender from Prehistory to the Present*, pp. 3–16. London: Macmillan.
- —— (2005), The Gendered Sea: iconography, gender and Mediterranean prehistory. In E. Blake and A. B. Knapp (eds.), *The Archaeology of Mediterranean Prehistory*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Talalay, L., and T. Cullen (2002), Sexual ambiguity in plank figurines from Bronze Age Cyprus. In D. Bolger and N. Serwint (eds.), Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus. Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, Monograph 3. ASOR Archaeological Reports 7: 181–95. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Teisseir, B. (1996), Egyptian Iconography on Syro-Palestinian Cylinder Seals of the Middle Bronze Age. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 11. Freibourg: Freibourg University Press.
- Terrell, J. (1986), *Prehistory in the Pacific Islands*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- —— (1988), History as family tree, history as entangled bank: constructing images and interpretations of prehistory in the South Pacific. *Antiquity* 62/237: 642–57.
- Terrell, J., T. L. Hunt, and C. Gosden (1997), The dimensions of social life in the Pacific: human diversity and the myth of the primitive isolate. *Current Anthropology* 38: 155–95.
- Thomas, J. (1987), Relations of production and social change in the Neolithic of north-west Europe. *Man* 22: 405–30.
- —— (2002), Archaeology's humanism and the materiality of the body. In Y. Hamilakis, M. Pluciennik, and S. Tarlow (eds.), *Thinking through the Body: Archaeologies of Corporeality*, pp. 29–45. New York: Kluwer/Plenum.
- (2003), Thoughts on the 'repacked' Neolithic revolution. *Antiquity* 77/295: 67–74.
   (2004a), The Great Dark Book: archaeology, experience, and interpretation. In J. Bintliff (ed.), *A Companion to Archaeology*, pp. 21–36. Oxford: Blackwell.
- —— (2004b), Archaeology and Modernity. London: Routledge.
- Thomas, N. (1991), Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- —— (1994), *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government.* Cambridge: Polity Press.

- —— (1997), In Oceania: Visions, Artifacts, Histories. Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press.
- —— (2002), Colonizing cloth: interpreting the material culture of nineteenth-century Oceania. In C. Lyons and J. K. Papadopoulos (eds.), *The Archaeology of Colonialism*, pp. 182–98. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute.
- Tilley, C. (with W. Bennett) (2004), *The Materiality of Stone*. Explorations in Landscape Phenomenology 1. Oxford, New York: Berg.
- Todd, I. A. (1985), A Middle Bronze Age tomb at Psematismenos *Trelloukas*. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 55–77.
- (1988), The Middle Bronze Age in the Kalavasos area. Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus: 133–40.
- —— (1989), The 1988 field survey in the Vasilikos Valley. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 41–50.
- —— (1993), Kalavasos-*Laroumena*: test excavation of a Middle Bronze Age settlement. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 81–96.
- —— (1986), (ed.) *The Bronze Age Cemetery in Kalavasos Village.* Vasilikos Valley Project 1. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 71.1. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag. —— (2000), Excavations at Sanidha, a Late Bronze Age ceramic manufacturing

centre. In G. C. Ioannides and S. A. Hadjistellis (eds.), *Acts of the Third International Congress of Cypriot Studies*, pp. 301–25. Nicosia: Society of Cypriot Studies.

- (2001), Early connections of Cyprus with Anatolia. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *The White Slip Ware of Late Bronze Age Cyprus*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Band 20. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 2: 203–13. Vienna:Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Todd, I. A., and D. Pilides (2001), The archaeology of White Slip production. In V. Karageorghis (ed.), *The White Slip Ware of Late Bronze Age Cyprus*. Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Denkschriften der Gesamtakademie, Band 20. Contributions to the Chronology of the Eastern Mediterranean 2: 27–41. Vienna:Verlag der Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften.
- Todd, I. A., and D. Pilides (with M. Hadjicosti) (1993), Excavations at Sanidha 1992. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 97–146.
- Torrence, R. (1986), Production and Exchange of Stone Tools: Prehistoric Obsidian in the Aegean. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Toumazou, M. K. (1987), Aspects of Burial Practices in Early Prehistoric Cypriote Sites, *c*.7000–2500/2300 в.с. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania: Bryn Mawr College.
- Treherne, P. (1995), The warrior's beauty: the masculine body and self-identity in Bronze-Age Europe. *Journal of European Archaeology* 3: 105–44.
- Trigger, B. G. (1968), *Beyond History: The Methods of Prehistory*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- —— (1990), Monumental architecture: a thermodynamic explanation of symbolic behaviour. *World Archaeology* 22: 119–31.

- Trigger, B. G. (1993), Early Civilizations: Ancient Egypt in Context. Cairo: American University in Cairo Press.
- —— (2003), *Understanding Early Civilizations: A Comparative Study.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tsakmakis, A. (2006), Through the looking glass: reflections on the image of the 'Cypriot'. In J. Chrysostomides and C. Dendrinos (eds.), 'Sweet Land...': Lectures on the History and Culture of Cyprus, pp. 1–26. Camberley, Surrey, UK: Porphyrogenitus.
- Tringham, R. (1994), Engendered places in prehistory. *Gender, Place and Culture* 1(2): 169–203.
- —— (2003), (Re)-digging the site at the end of the twentieth century: large-scale archaeological fieldwork in a new millennium. In J. K. Papadopoulos and R. M Leventhal (eds.), *Theory and Practice in Mediterranean Archaeology: Old World and New World Perspectives.* Cotsen Advanced Seminars 1: 89–108. Los Angeles: Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, UCLA.
- Trump, D., and B. Trump (2002), The insularity of Malta. In W. H. Waldren and J. A. Ensenyat (eds.), *World Islands in Prehistory. V Deia International Conference of Prehistory.* British Archaeological Reports, International Series 1095: 135–8. Oxford: Archaeopress.
- Turner, T. (1980), The social skin. In J. Cherfas and R. Lewin (eds.), *Not Work Alone*, pp. 112–40. Beverly Hills: Sage.
- Ucko, P. J., and R. Layton (eds.) (1999), *The Archaeology and Anthropology of Landscape: Shaping your Landscape.* One World Archaeology 30. London: Routledge.
- Vagnetti, L. (2001), Some observations on Late Cypriot pottery from the central Mediterranean. In L. Bonfante and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Italy and Cyprus in Antiquity*, 1500–450 BC, pp. 77–96. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation.
- van Andel, T. H., and C. N. Runnels (1988), An essay on the emergence of civilization in the Aegean world. *Antiquity* 62: 57–71.
- van der Toorn, K. (1995), Migration and the spread of local cults. In K. Van Lerberghe and A. Schoors (eds.), *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East: Festschrift E. Lipinski*. Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta 65: 365–77. Louvain: Uitgeverij Peeters en Departement Orientalistiek.
- van Dommelen, P. (1998), On Colonial Grounds: A Comparative Study of Colonialism and Rural Settlement in First Millennium BC West Central Sardinia. Leiden: Faculty of Archaeology, Leiden University.
- —— (2002), Ambiguous matters: colonialism and local identities in Punic Sardinia. In C. Lyons and J. K. Papadopoulos (eds.), *The Archaeology of Colonialism*, pp. 121–47. Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute.
- —— (2005), Colonial interactions and hybrid practices: Phoenician and Carthaginian settlement in the ancient Mediterranean. In G. J. Stein (ed.), *The Archaeology of Colonial Encounters*, pp. 109–41. Sante Fe: School of American Research Press.
- —— (2006), The Orientalising phenomenon: hybridity and material culture in the western Mediterranean. In C. Riva and N. Vella (eds.), *Debating Orientalization*:

- Multidisciplinary Approaches to Change in the Ancient Mediterranean. Monographs in Mediterranean Archaeology 10: 135–52. London: Equinox Press.
- van Dommelen, P., and C. Tronchetti (2005), Entangled objects and hybrid practices. Colonial contacts and elite connections at Monte Prama, Sardinia. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 18: 183–208.
- van Dyke, R. (2004), Memory, meaning, and masonry: the Late Bonito Chacoan landscape. *American Antiquity* 69: 413–31.
- van Neer, W., O. Lernau, R. Friedman, G. Mumford, J. Poblome, and M. Waelkens (2004), Fish remains from archaeological sites as indicators of former trade in the eastern Mediterranean. *Paléorient* 30(1): 101–48.
- van Soldt, W. H. (1989), Labels from Ugarit. Ugarit-Forschungen 21: 375-88.
- Vandenabeele, F., and R. Laffineur (eds.) (1991), Cypriote Terracottas. Proceedings of the First International Conference of Cypriote Studies. Nicosia, Brussels, Liège: Leventis Foundation, Free University Brussels, Université de Liège.
- (1994), Cypriote Stone Sculpture. Proceedings of the Second International Conference of Cypriote Studies. Nicosia, Brussels, Liège: Leventis Foundation, Free University Brussels, Université de Liège.
- Vanschoonwinkel, J. (1991), L'Égée et la Mediterranée Orientale à la fin du deuxième millénaire. Témoignages archéologiques et sources écrites. Archaeologia Transatlantica 9. Louvain-la-Neuve and Providence, Rhode Island: Histoire de l'Art et d'Archéologie, Université Catholique du Louvain.
- Vaughan, S. J. (1987), A Fabric Analysis of Late Cypriot Base Ring Ware: Studies in Ceramic Technology, Petrology, Geochemistry and Mineralogy. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University College London.
- (1989), Petrographic and microprobe analyses of Base Ring ware. In A. South, P. A. Russell, and P. S. Keswani (eds.), Vasilikos Valley Project 3: Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios 2 (Ceramics, Objects, Tombs, Specialist Studies). Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 71.3: 78–81. Göteborg: P. Åström's Förlag.
- —— (1991), Material and technical characterization of Base Ring ware: a new fabric typology. In J. Barlow, D. Bolger, and B. Kling (eds.), *Cypriot Ceramics: Reading the Prehistoric Record.* University Museum Monograph 74: 119–30. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.
- Vayda, A. P., and R. Rappaport (1963), Island cultures. In F. R. Fosberg (ed.), *Man's Place in the Island Ecosystem: A Symposium*, pp. 133–44. Honolulu: Bishop Museum Press.
- Vella, N. C. (2004), *The Prehistoric Temples at Kordin III. Kordin.* Insight Heritage Guides 5. Sta Venera, Malta: Heritage Books.
- Ventris, M., and J. Chadwick (1973), *Documents in Mycenaean Greek*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Vercoutter, J. (1956), *L'Egypte et le monde Égéen Préhellènique*. Bibliothèque des Études 22. Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale.
- Vermeule, E., and F. Z. Wolsky (1990), *Toumba tou Skourou: A Bronze Age Potter's Quarter on Morphou Bay in Cyprus*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Vermeulen, H., and C. Govers (1996), *The Anthropology of Ethnicity: Beyond Ethnic Groups and Boundaries*. Amsterdam: Het Spinhuis.

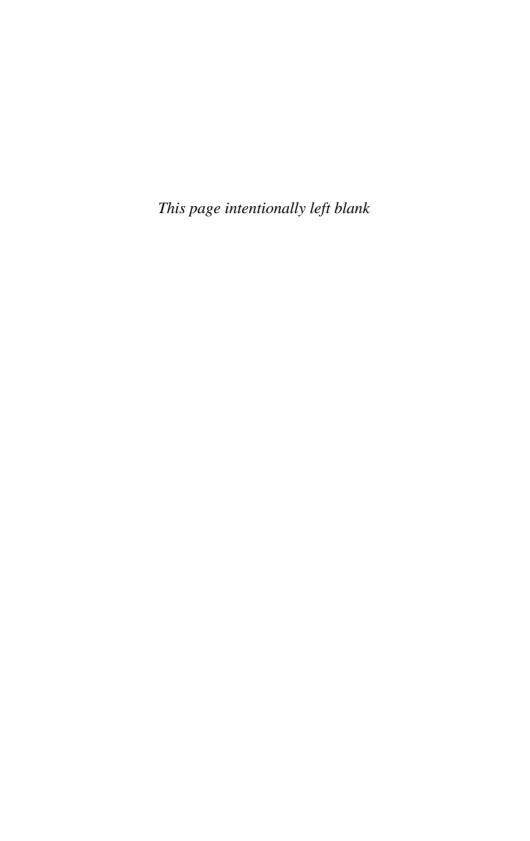
- Vigne, J.-D. (2001), Large mammals of early Aceramic Neolithic Cyprus: preliminary resuts from Parekklisha *Shillourokambos*. In S. Swiny (ed.), *The Earliest Prehistory of Cyprus: From Colonization to Exploitation*. Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, Monograph 2: 55–60. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- Vincentelli, I. (1976), Alasia: per una storia di Cipro nell eta del Bronzo. *Studi Ciprioti e Rapporti di Scavo* 2: 9–49.
- Virolleaud, C. (1965), *Palais Royal d'Ugarit* 5. Mission de Ras Shamra 11. Paris: Klincksieck.
- Voskos, I. (2005), Cyprus at the end of the Bronze Age: Material Culture, Ethnicity, Migration and Hybridization. Unpublished M.Phil. Dissertation, Department of Archaeology, University of Glasgow.
- Wachsmann, S. (1986), Is Cyprus ancient Alashiya? New evidence from an Egyptian tablet. *Biblical Archaeologist* 49: 37–40.
- —— (2000), To the sea of the Philistines. In E. D. Oren (ed.), *The Sea Peoples and Their World: A Reassessment*. University Museum Monograph 108. University Museum Symposium Series 11: 103–43. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Philadelphia.
- —— (2006), Alashiya redux: was it Cyprus? Yes. Archaeology Odyssey 9(1): 26–7.
- Waldbaum, J. (1980), The first archaeological appearance of iron and the transition to the Iron Age. In T. A. Wertime and J. D. Muhly (eds.), *The Coming of the Age of Iron*, pp. 69–98. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Ward, C. (2001), Pomegranates in eastern Mediterranean contexts during the Late Bronze Age. *World Archaeology* 34: 529–41.
- Washbourne, R. (1999), Aphrodite Parakyptousa 'the woman at the window': the Cypriot Astarte-Aphrodite's fertility role in sacred prostitution and rebirth. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 163–77.
- Watkins, T. (1973), Some problems of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic period in Cyprus. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 34–61.
- (2004), Putting the colonization of Cyprus into context. In E. J. Peltenburg and A. Wasse (eds.), *Neolithic Revolution: New Perspectives on Southwest Asia in Light of Recent Discoveries on Cyprus.* Levant Supplementary Series 1: 23–34. Oxford: Oxbow.
- Webb, J. M. (1992a), Cypriote Bronze Age glyptic: style, function and social context. In R. Laffineur and J. L. Crowley (eds.), *EIKON. Aegean Bronze Age Iconography: Shaping a Methodology.* Aegaeum 8: 113–21. Liège: Universite de Liège.
- —— (1992b), Funerary ideology in Bronze Age Cyprus—towards the recognition and analysis of Cypriote ritual data. In G. K. Ioannides (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis*, pp. 87–99. Nicosia: Society of Cypriot Studies.
- —— (1995), Abandonment processes and curate/discard strategies at Marki-*Alonia*, Cyprus. *The Artifact* 18: 64–70.
- (1999), Ritual Architecture, Iconography and Practice in the Late Cypriote Bronze Age. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocket-book 75. Jonsered: P. Åström's Förlag.

- (2001), The sanctuary of the Ingot God at Enkomi: a new reading of its construction, use and abandonment. In P. M. Fischer (ed.), Contributions to the Archaeology and History of the Bronze and Iron Ages in the Eastern Mediterranean: Studies in Honour of Paul Åström. Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut, Sonderschriften Band 39: 69–82. Wien: Österreichisches Archäologisches Institut.
- (2002a), Engendering the built environment: household and community in prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus. In D. Bolger and N. Serwint (eds.), *Engendering Aphrodite: Women and Society in Ancient Cyprus*. Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute, Monograph 3. American Schools of Oriental Research, Archaeological Reports 7: 87–101. Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research.
- (2002b), Device, image and coercion: the role of glyptic in the political economy of Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In J. Smith (ed.), *Script and Seal Use on Cyprus in the Bronze and Iron Ages*. Archaeological Institute of America, Colloquia and Conference Papers 4: 111–154. Boston: American Institute of Archaeology.
- (2005), Ideology, iconography and identity: the role of foreign goods and images in the establishment of social hierarchy in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In J. Clarke (ed.), *Archaeological Perspectives on the Transmission and Transformation of Culture in the Eastern Mediterranean*. Levant Supplementary Series 2: 176–82. Oxford: Council for British Research in the Levant and Oxbow.
- Webb, J. M., and D. Frankel (1994a), Making an impression: storage and surplus finance in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 7: 5–26.
- (1994b), 'This fair paper, this most goodly book'. Gender and international scholarship in Cypriot archaeology, 1920–1991. In J. Balme and W. Beck (eds.), Gendered Archaeology. Proceedings of the Second Australian Women in Archaeology Conference. Research Papers in Archaeology and Natural History 26: 34–42. Canberra: Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University.
- —— (1995), Gender inequity and archaeological practice. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 8: 93–112.
- —— (1999), Characterising the Philia facies. Material culture, chronology and the origin of the Bronze Age in Cyprus. *American Journal of Archaeology* 103: 3–43.
- Webb, J. M., D. Frankel, Z. A. Stos, and N. Gale (2006), Early Bronze Age metals trade in the eastern Mediterranean. New compositional and lead isotope evidence from Cyprus. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 25: 261–88.
- Webb, J., D. Frankel, S. W. Manning, and D. A. Sewell (2007), Psematismenos *Koliokremmos/Palia* tomb PKK/94. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus.* (in press)
- Webb, M. (1975), The flag follows trade: an essay on the necessary interaction of military and commercial factors in state formation. In J. A. Sabloff and C. C. Lamberg-Karlovsky (eds.), *Ancient Civilization and Trade*, pp. 155–209. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Webster, J. (2001), Creolizing the Roman provinces. American Journal of Archaeology 105: 209–25.
- Wienberg, S. S. (1983), *Bamboula at Kourion: The Architecture*. University Museum Monograph 42. Philadelphia: University Museum, University of Pennsylvania.

- Weingarten, J. (1988), The sealing structures of Minoan Crete: MM II Phaistos to the destruction of the palace at Knossos. Part II: the evidence from Knossos until the destruction of the palace. Oxford Journal of Archaeology 7: 1–25.
- Weissner, P. (1983), Style and ethnicity in the Kalahari San projectile point. *American Antiquity* 48: 253–76.
- Wells, P. S. (1980), Culture Contact and Culture Change: Early Iron Age Central Europe and the Mediterranean World. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Westerdahl, C. (1992), The maritime cultural landscape. *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Archaeology* 21: 5–14.
- Whitehouse, R. D., and J. B. Wilkins (1989), Greeks and natives in south-east Italy: approaches to the archaeological evidence. In T. Champion (ed.), *Centre and Periphery: Comparative Studies in Archaeology*. One World Archaeology 11: 102–26. London: Unwin Hyman.
- Wilk, R. R. (1985), The ancient Maya and the political present. *Journal of Anthropological Research* 41: 307–26.
- Willetts, R. F. (1988), Early Greek in Cyprus. In J. Karageorghis and O. Masson (eds.), The History of the Greek Language in Cyprus, pp. 39–53. Nicosia: Musée de Chypre.
- Wilson, V. (1975), The iconography of Bes in Cyprus and the Levant. Levant 7: 77–103.

  Winckler, H., and J. Abel (1889). Die Keilschriftterte Sargons, 2 volumes. Lienzig:
- Winckler, H., and L. Abel (1889), *Die Keilschrifttexte Sargons*. 2 volumes. Liepzig: E. Pfeoffer.
- Woodward, K. (ed.) (1997), *Identity and Difference*. Culture, Media and Identities 3. London: Sage, Open University.
- Wolf, H. M. (1967), The Apology of Hattusilis Compared with Other Political Self-Justifications of the Ancient Near East. Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Waltham, Massachusetts: Brandeis University.
- Wright, G. R. H. (1992a), *Ancient Building in Cyprus*. Handbuch der Orientalistik 7. Abteilung, Kunst und Archäologie. I Band, Der Alte Vordere Orient. 2B/7/1 and 2B/7/2. Leiden, Köln: Brill.
- (1992b), The Cypriot rural sanctuary: an illuminating document in comparative religion. In G. K. Ioannides (ed.), *Studies in Honour of Vassos Karageorghis*, pp. 269–83. Nicosia: Society of Cypriot Studies.
- Wright, J. C. (1995), Empty cups and empty jugs: the social role of wine in Minoan and Mycenaen societies. In P. E McGovern, S. J. Fleming, and S. H. Katz (eds.), *The Origins and Ancient History of Wine*. Food and Nutrition in History and Anthropology 11: 282–309. Philadelphia: Gordon and Breach.
- Wright, R. P. (1985), Technology and style in ancient ceramics. In W. D. Kingery (ed.), Ancient Technology to Modern Science. Ceramics and Civilization 2: 1–20. Columbus, Ohio: American Ceramic Society.
- Xella, P. (1981), *I Testi Rituali di Ugarit*. Studi Semitici 54. Publicazioni del Centro de Studio per la Civilta Fenicia e Punica 21. Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche.
- Yamada, M. (1992), Reconsidering the letters from the 'king' in the Ugarit texts: royal correspondence of Carchemish? *Ugarit-Forschungen* 24: 431–46.
- Yelvington, K. A. (1991), Ethnicity as practice? A comment on Bentley. *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 33: 158–68.

- —— (2002), History, memory and identity: a programmatic prolegomenon. *Critique of Anthropology* 22: 227–56.
- Yon, M. (1995), La maison d'Ourtenou dans le quartier sud d'Ougarit (fouilles 1994). *Academie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres: Compete Rendus des Seances*: 427–51.
- (1997), La cité d'Ougarit sur le tell de Ras Shamra. Guides Archéologiques de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie du Proche Orient 2. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- —— (2000), A trading city: Ugarit and the west. *Near Eastern Archaeology* 63: 192–3.
- —— (2003), The foreign relations of Ugarit. In N. C. Stampolidis and V. Karageorghis (eds.), *Ploes. Sea Routes...: Interconnections in the Mediterranean, 16th-6th c. BC*, pp. 41–51. Athens: University of Crete, Leventis Foundation.
- —— (2004), *Kition dans les Textes*. Kition-Bamboula 5. Paris: ADPF, Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- (2006), Palais et royauté à Chypre. In P. Butterlin, M. Leveau, J.-Y Monchambert, J. L. Montero Fenollós and B. Muller (eds.), Les espaces syro-Mésopotamiens: dimensions de l'expérience humaine au Proche-Orient Ancien. Subartu 17: 77–86. Turnhout (Belgium): Brepols.
- Yon, M., and A. Caubet (1985), *Le Sondage L-N13. Bronze Récent et Géometrique*. Volume 1. Kition-Bamboula 3. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations.
- Yon, M., and F. Malbran-Labat (1993), La stèle de Sargon à Larnaca. In A. Caubet (ed.), *Khorsabad, le palais de Sargon II, roi d'Assyrie*, pp. 159–76. Paris: La Documentation Française.
- Young, R. (1995), Colonial Desire. Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race. London: Routledge.
- —— (2003), Postcolonialism. A Very Short Introduction. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Zaccagnini, C. (1973), Lo Scambio dei Doni nel Vicino Oriente durante i Secoli XV–XIII. Oriens Antiquus Collectio 11. Rome: Centro per le antichita e la storia dell'arte del Vicino Oriente.
- (1986), Aspects of copper trade in the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. In M. Marazzi, S. Tusa, and L. Vagnetti (eds.), *Traffici Micenei nel Mediterraneo: Problemi Storici e Documentazione Archeologica*. Magna Graecia 3: 413–24. Taranto: Istituto per la storia e l'archeologia della Magna Grecia.
- —— (1987), Aspects of ceremonial exchange in the Near East during the late second millennium Bc. In M. Rowlands, M. T. Larsen, and K. Kristiansen (eds.), *Centre and Periphery in the Ancient World*, pp. 57–65. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- —— (1988), Terms for copper and Bronze at Ebla. In H. Waetzoldt and H. Hauptmann (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gessellschaft von Ebla*. Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient 2: 359–60. Heidelberg: Heidelberger Orientverlag.



Note: Bold entries refer to diagrams and illustrations.

a Campo, A L, and representation of	and textile production 119
individuals 99, 102	Alashiya 8, 142
acculturation 9, 10, 31, 46, 53-5	and Amarna letters 152, 320, 323,
and archaeology 55-7, 64	325, 330
and architecture 56	analysis of origins 300-3
and criticism of concept 54	copper 309, 311, 312–13
and definition of 53-4	diplomatic relations 316
and ethnic migration from	and <i>a-ra-si-jo</i> 303–4
Anatolia 104, 105-6, 110, 114,	and documentary records 298
128, 129	and economy and polity:
and interaction systems 56-7	archaeology and texts 308, 312-13,
and material culture 55-6	314-15
and power relations 54-5	copper trade 309-13
Agapenor 284	other trade 313-15
agriculture:	politico-economic importance
and Prehistoric Bronze Age	312, 313
Cyprus 348	Prehistoric Bronze Age 307-8
changes in labour	Protohistoric Bronze Age 308-12
requirements 79-80	and Egypt, relations with 311-12,
changes in practices 78-9, 121	313, 316–17, 318, 325–7, 329
hybridization 121	and Hittite kingdom 327-8, 329-30,
secondary products	331–2
revolution 78-9, 353-4	and identification with Cyprus 299,
transforming impact of 129	300-3
and Protohistoric Bronze Age	and <i>ku-pi-ri-jo</i> 303–7
Cyprus 164–5, 359–60	and political organization 324-35,
Akanthou 136	380
Akhera, and mortuary practices 186, 199	political authority 337
Akko 132	political centre 337-9, 340-1,
Alalakh 319	365–6
and <i>Alashiya</i> 307–8, 323	ruled by king 335-6, 340
and ration list 318	'senior prefect' 336, 341
Alambra Mouttes 134	single unified polity 339-40
and architecture 121–3, 125	texts and archaeology 335-41
and figurines 100–1	transformation of 339
and household storage facilities 80	and 'Sea Peoples' 332, 334, 366
and metalworking 75	and society and polity 316-24

Alashiya (cont.)	Amanmasha 317
archaeology and texts 323-4	Amarna letters 147-8, 152, 198, 315,
deities 320-1	316, 323, 325, 326, 330
diplomacy 316	and analysis of origins 300-3
ethnicity 322–3	and copper 309, 311, 312-13
individuals 318–20	and diplomatic relations 316
messengers 316–18	Amathus 290, 294, 295, 296, 346, 372
ration lists 318–19	and Phoenician vessels 286
seen as hostile power 321	Ambelikou Aletri 136
Wen-Amun 317–18	and metalworking 76, 77
and Ugarit 318, 323, 328-9, 330-1,	Ammistamru II 328
332–3, 335, 362	Ammurapi 332
census list 319	Analiondas <i>Paleoklichia</i> 164
copper from 309, 311	and seals and sealings 169, 170
royal ritual 321	Analiondas <i>Paleoklisha</i> 136, 140
trade with 313–14	Anatolia 5, 24
Alassa Paleotaverna 142, 143, 215, 261	and Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus:
and Alashiya 303	agricultural influences 121
and architecture, Aegean	architectural influences 121–5
influences 260	influence on clay hobs 120-1
and copper production 313	influence on pottery 115–16
and monumental architecture/	migration 1, 11, 104–10, 126–7,
structures 214–16, 243	352–3, 354
and Mycenaean pottery 258	Andaman Islands 13
as political centre 337–8, 340–1, 365	animal consumption, and Protohistoric
and ProBA settlement evidence	Bronze Age Cyprus 165
148, 149	Anoyira 134
and seals and sealings 168, 169	Anthony, D 47, 53
and socio-political organization 152	Antoniadou, S 264
and storage facilities 164	Aphrodite 230
Alassa Pano Mandilares 142, 244	Apliki Karamallos 136, 141
and hybridized pottery 266	a-ra-si-jo 303–4
and mortuary practices 188, 191	Arawe Islands 22
and seals and sealings 170	archaeology:
and storage facilities 164	and acculturation 55–7, 64
Alas(s)ios 303–4	and ethnicity 38–41, 46–7, 63–4
Alcock, S E 202	and gender 173–4
alcoholic beverages, and production and	and habitus 41–7, 65
consumption 116	and hybridization 59–61, 64
Alexander, R T 56, 57	and individuals in 92–5
'alhyts 341, 343	and Mediterranean, comparative
Al-Radi, S M S 150	studies 386–8
alterity 34	and migration 50–3, 64
and ethnicity 37	as archaeological tool 52–3
and connect, 57	as arenaeorogical tool 32 3

controversy over 50-1	Babylonia, and Alashiya 308
explanations of 51	Bailey, D W, and individuals in
and social identity 33-5, 63	archaeology 94, 95
archaic state model, and socio-political	Bakhtin, M M 58
organization 146–7	Balearic islands 3, 21
architecture:	and material culture 28
and acculturation 56	Barth, Frederik, and ethnicity 37, 43
and Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus:	Bass, G F 310
changes in 80	baths and bathtubs 263
hybridization 121-6	Baurain, C 252, 296-7
and Protohistoric Bronze Age Cyprus:	beaches 26
alleged Aegean influences 260-2	Begg, P, and figurines 178, 183, 184
gender 209	Bellapais Vounourouthkia 73
see also monumental architecture/	Bellapais Vounous:
structures	and cemetery at 73
Aredhiou <i>Vouppes</i> 136, 140, 164	and evidence of imports 76
Arma-Tarhunta 328	and mortuary practices 83
Arnuwanda I 316, 324, 325	and plank figurines 100
Artzy, M 251	and Red Polished bowl from 87, 88
Ashcroft, B 57	Bennet, J 303
assimilation 55	Bennett, E L 305
Assurbanipal 341, 344	Bentley, G C, and ethnicity 36, 38, 40,
Assyria, and Iron Age Cyprus 343–5, 346	43, 47
Astarte figurines 176, 263	Bernal, M 327
Astarte plaques 181	Bhabha, Homi, and hybridization 31, 58
Åström, P 252	Bietti Sestieri, A M 10
Athienou <i>Bambourlari tis</i>	biogeography:
Koukkouninnas 140, 143	and founder effect 19
and ivory 269	and island archaeology 14, 15, 389
and metalworking 234-5	Black Slip ware 115
and Mycenaean pottery 255	Blake, E 44–5
and ProBA settlement evidence 149	Bloch-Smith, E 39
as special-purpose site 233–5	boats 20–1
Ayia Irini 136, 150	Bolger, D:
Ayia Irini <i>Paleokastro</i> , and mortuary	and Anatolian influence 106
practices 186	and change in ceramic traditions 115
Ayios Iakovos <i>Dhima</i> :	and figurines 95, 101–2, 179
and Mycenaean pottery 255	and gender 174, 175, 363–4
and ProBA settlement evidence 150	and mortuary practices 83, 85, 190,
Ayios Iakovos <i>Melia</i> :	191, 195
and military equipment 159	and Pierides Bowl 90, 91
and mortuary practices 187	and representation of individuals
Ayios Sozomenos 134, 140, 150	97, 98
and evidence of imports 77	and socio-political organization 147

Bolger, D (cont.) and state-level polity 337  Bomford Figurine 179, 180, 182, 365, 380  Bourdieu, P, and habitus 40, 41, 42, 43, 45, 47  Bradley, R 203  Braudel, F 19–20  British Museum, and excavations by 252  Bromley, G C 36  Bronze Age Cyprus, and transformation of 1–2 see also Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus; Protohistoric Bronze Age Cyprus bronzework 273 and bronze obelos 283–4, 288, 289 and hybridization 272–4 see also metalworking	and individuals in archaeology 94 and insularity 18 children: and mortuary practices 84, 364 and representations 91–2 Cifola, B 334 city-kingdoms, and origins of 292–7, 369 Clarke, David: and identity 30–1 and migration 51 class, and social identity 33, 34 Cline, E H 327 clothing: and Aegean influences 259, 369–70 and social identity 34 Cohen, Abner, and ethnicity 36, 37 Coldstream, J N 283
Broodbank, C 10	and Aegean colonization of
and individuals in archaeology 94	Cyprus 285
and insularity 15, 18	and mortuary practices 290
and island archaeology 14, 17, 389	Coleman, J E 88
and island identity 29	collective memory, and ethnicity 38
and islandscapes 25	colonization:
and isolation 19	and hybridization 57-9
Brubaker, R 42	and islands 14
Brumfiel, E M 185	and lack of evidence for 113
Bryce, T R 331–2	and meaning of 113
Budin, S L 320	see also migration
and deities 321	Colony Ross (California), and
and figurines 176, 179-80, 181	hybridization 60-1
Byblos 24, 132	Comaroff, J L & J 36
	Combed ware 115
Catling, H W 66–7, 259–60, 264	community:
and <i>Alashiya</i> 300	and categorical identity 34
and bronzework 272–3	and identity 33–4
and Ingot God statuette 277	and Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus 80
and origins of city kingdoms 295	and Protohistoric Bronze Age
cattle 29	Cyprus 246
centralization, and Protohistoric Bronze	comparative studies, and Mediterranean
Age Cyprus 133, 245–6, 360,	archaeology 386–8
361–2	connectivity 7, 381–2
Chapman, R 349	and insularity 22–4
Cherry, J F 386	and islands 14, 389

and Mediterranean islands 8, 22–4, 376, 385–6, 388	Cullen, T: and gender 175
Cook, V:	and plank figurines 100
and Early Iron Age Cyprus 284	and representation of individuals
and Near Eastern influences 296–7	97, 98
Cooper, F 42	cult equipment, and
	hybridization 277–9
copper 24	
and Alashiya:	cultural contact, and
prehistoric bronze age 307–8	hybridization 114–15, 265
protohistoric bronze age 309–13	cultural hybridity, see hybridization
and everyday objects 85	Cusick, J G 55
and island identity 30	Cyclades 21
and Prehistoric Bronze Age	'Cyclopean' construction 261–2
Cyprus 348	Cypro-Minoan 133, 299, 306, 339, 360
demand for 76	Cyprus 3, 6, 11, 21
earliest evidence of 74	and connectivity of 24
early evidence of working of 74–6	and insularity of 24
exports 76	and island identity 376-82
impact of mortuary practices 86	contemporary 29
impact on site location 77	see also Alashiya; Early Iron Age
local exploitation 112–13	Cyprus; Prehistoric Bronze Age
mortuary displays 76, 85	Cyprus; Protohistoric Bronze Age
regional interaction sphere 78,	Cyprus
111–12, 118–19	
social impact in 81	Daniel, J F 253
transforming impact on 129	Davies, P 84
and Protohistoric Bronze Age	Day, P M 203
Cyprus 133, 379	De Mita, F A, Jr 146
socio-political organization 145,	DeCorse, C R 38
147–8	Deger-Jalkotzy, S 263–4, 283
and weight of copper ingots 309-10,	deities, and Alashiya 320-1
312–13	Demas, M 262
Corsica 3, 21	Dhali <i>Kafkallia</i> 150
Courtois, J -C 308	and evidence of imports 77
and seals and sealings 276	and military equipment 159
courtyards 240	Dhavlos 136
Crete 3, 5, 7, 21	Dhenia, and mortuary practices 186
and monumental architecture/	Diaz-Andreu, M:
structures 203	and ethnicity 39
and mountains 384	and identity 47
and use of Cypriot copper ores 78	Dietler, M:
Crewe, L:	and acculturation 54
and Enkomi 147, 151, 337	and 'Hellenization perspective' 296
and socio-political organization 150	and personal identity 33

Dietler, M (cont.) and social identity 44	and Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus 76 and Protohistoric Bronze Age
Dietrich, M 333	Cyprus 131, 132, 148, 151, 169,
difference, and identity 27, 34, 35, 63	198, 235, 270, 272, 276
Dikaios, P 262	electrum earrings 77, 377
and Aegean colonization of	Elishah 341, 343, 372
Cyprus 254	elite groups:
architectural influences 260	and Early Iron Age Cyprus 371–2
and Enkomi Ayios Iakovos 217, 219,	and Prehistoric Bronze Age
221, 222, 223	Cyprus 76, 79, 81, 129, 349, 350,
and Philia culture 71	377–8
dispersed identity 32	mortuary practices 84, 85, 86
donkeys 121	plank figurines 100, 102
Double Goddess (Enkomi) 221, 222,	representations 87–8
223, 224	and Protohistoric Bronze Age
Drennan, R D 246	Cyprus 158–9, 248, 357
dress, and social identity 34	elite identity 357-9, 362-3,
Duhard, J -P 94	379-80
Dunn-Vaturi, A -E 371	focus of activities 246
	iconography 156-8, 160-1
Early Iron Age Cyprus 282, 368–72	luxury goods 159-61, 172-3,
and Aegean migration to	357-8, 362-3
Cyprus 281–5, 292, 293, 368,	monumental architecture/
369, 370	structures 204, 205, 211, 240,
and city-kingdoms, origins of 292-7,	241-3, 244, 249, 379
369	mortuary practices 187, 188, 190,
and elite groups 371–2	195, 196–200, 363
and ethnicity 281, 283, 285, 288,	politico-economic upheaval 246-7
368–9, 370	socio-political organization 145,
and gender 370–1	146, 151
and hybridization 286–90, 368, 370	wealth finance 166–7
and language 288–9	writing 339
and mortuary practices 286, 290, 369	Emar, and copper from <i>Alashiya</i> 311
and pottery 283, 287	Emberling, G, and ethnicity 37, 39, 352
and socio-political organization 372	embodiment 350–1
and trade 371	enculturation 55
Easter Island 19	Enkomi 132, 133, 134, 137, 143, 144, 145
Edzard, D O 326	and architecture, Aegean
Egypt:	influences 260, 262
and Alashiya 311, 380	and bronzework 272
copper from 311–12	and copper production 313 and Double Goddess 221, 222,
relations with 316–17, 318,	
325–7, 329	223, 224
trade with 313	and figurines 179

and Horned God statuette 221, 223,	and Alashiya 322–3
224, 277, 278, 279	and alterity 37
and Ingot God statuette 223, 224, 277, 278, 279	and archaeology 38–41, 46–7, 63–4 as blanket term 38
and ivory 270, 272	and collective memory 38
gaming board 161, <b>163</b> , 271–2	and construction of 63–4
and monumental architecture/	and Early Iron Age Cyprus 281, 283,
structures 244	285, 288, 368–9, 370
and mortuary practices 187–8, 191	and ethnic migration from
tomb types 188	Anatolia 104–10, 126–7, 352–3,
and Mycenaean pottery 254, 255, 258	354, 355–6
as political centre 337, 339, 340, 360,	and fluidity of concept 45–6
365	and habitus 40, 41–7, 65
and political role of 336–7	and indicators of 38–9
and Sanctuary of the Horned God 279	and instrumental approach to 36–7
and seals and sealings 274, 275, 276–7	and language 292
and socio-political	and national culture 39, 40–1, 43,
organization 147–8, 149, 150–1	64, 369
as trade centre 162	and meaning of 36
Enkomi <i>Ayios Iakovos</i> 217, 218, 220, 222	and Mediterranean islands 8–9
and establishment of 136	and obstacles in defining groups 39
and monumental architecture/	and primordial approach to 36–7
structures 216–24	as process 37–8
Episkopi <i>Bamboula</i> 142	and self-awareness 37
and establishment of 136	and sen-awareness 37 and situational ethnicity 37
and mortuary practices 188, 191	and social identity 31, 34
and Philia culture 71	Evdhimou 134
and ProBA settlement evidence 148	exchange-oriented island societies 20
Episkopi <i>Kaloriziki</i> :	exports 116, 211
and establishment of 286	and copper 24, 76, 133, 247, 325, 336,
and Phoenician vessels 286	348, 358
and Tomb 40 at 290	and Enkomi 147, 151, 337, 362
gold sceptre from 291	and pottery 23
Episkopi <i>Phaneromeni</i> 134	and pottery 23
and metalworking 76	Fabre, T 376, 385
and textile production 119	family structure, and Prehistoric Bronze
Episkopi <i>Phaneromeni</i> 'A' 141	Age Cyprus 80
Eriksen, E 32	Faucounau, J 322
Eriksson, K O 148	Faust, A 41
Erimi <i>Pitharka</i> , and Aegean architectural	feasting, and Protohistoric Bronze Age
influence 262	Cyprus 165, 245
Esarhaddon 293, 295, 341, 344	mortuary practices 197
Eshuwara 322, 333	Feinman, G M 246
ethnicity 31, 35–8	Feldman, M H 161–2
•	•

Ferguson, J 34	and Vounous Red Polished bowl 88
fertility, and figurines 179–80, 182	Friedman, J 57
figurines:	Furumark, A 262
and Early Iron Age Cyprus 287	and Aegean colonization of
and Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus:	Cyprus 251, 253, 254
Plain Ware figurine 97	
recovery of fragments 100-1	Galinoporni 134
Red Polished plank figure 98	Gastria <i>Alaas</i> :
representation of individuals 95-6,	and establishment of 286
97–101, 351–2	and Phoenician vessels 286
and Protohistoric Bronze Age	gender:
Cyprus 176, 177, 178–85, 316	and archaeology 173-4
Aegean influences 262–3	and Cypriot archaeology 174-5
Bomford Figurine 179, 180, 182,	and Early Iron Age Cyprus 370-1
365	and Prehistoric Bronze Age
female figurines 177	Cyprus 378
fertility 179-80, 182	plank figurines 101–2
functions 179-80	representations 88-90, 91
gender 175–85	and Protohistoric Bronze Age
'goddess with upraised arms'	Cyprus 364–5
182, 183	architecture 209
'snowman figurines' 182	emergence of patriarchy 102, 174,
and <i>psi</i> -figurines 182-5, 263, 370-1	363-4
Fiji 26	figurines 175-6, 177, 178-85
Finlayson, B 25	identity 186
Fortin, M 262	mortuary practices 195-6, 363-4
founder effect, and islands 19	representations 174-85, 364-5
Frangissa 343	and <i>psi</i> -figurines 370-1
Frankel, D 11	and social identity 34
and agricultural practices 121	Georgiou, Giorgos 116
and anthropomorphic figurines 101	Ggantija Late Neolithic megalithic
and architecture 123, 125	complex 7
and clay hobs 120	Giddens, A 42
and copper production 112, 118	Gimbutas, Marija 102
and ethnic migration from	Gjerstad, E:
Anatolia 103, 104-10, 126-7,	and Aegean colonization of
352, 354	Cyprus 251, 252–3
and gender 174–5	and cultural assimilation 264
and individuals in archaeology 93,	Gluckman, Max 36
94, 96	Godart, L 305
and mortuary practices 84	Goody, J 35
and Philia phase sites 72	Goren, Y 142
and seals and sealings 169	and Alashiya 300-1
and technology transfer 114	and Armana letters 303

and political organization 338-9	Hamilakis, Y 281
and socio-political organization 152	Hamilton, N 92
Gosden, C 22	Handmade Burnished Ware
Gozo (Malta) 15	(HBW) 255, 258
grave goods 191, 192, <b>193</b> , 196–9,	Hatti 312, 331, 334, 336
200, 280	Hattusha 24, 160, 314, 321, 325, 329, 336
Graziadio, G, and seals and sealings 156,	Hattushili III 327–8, 329
274–5	Hawai'i 205
Greenfield, H J 342	Hebrew texts, and Iron Age Cyprus
Gunn, J 92	341, 342
Gupta, A 34	Hebrides 13
	Hegmon, M 41, 46
Habicht-Mauche, J A 52	Held, S O 111, 354–5
habitus:	and insularity of Cyprus 24
and archaeology 41–7, 65	Helft, S 316
and definition of 40, 42	Hellbing, L 300
and ethnicity 40	Hellenism, and quest for origins of 282
and material culture 106-7	Hellenization 251, 259, 296-7
and social identity 43-4	Herbich, I:
Hadjisavva, I 260	and personal identity 33
Hadjisavvas, S 145, 164	and social identity 44
and Aegean architectural	Hereniko, V 373-4
influence 260	Herscher, E 84
and seals and sealings 168	Herzfeld, M 375
Hala Sultan Tekke 132, 134, 137, 143,	Hill, J N 92
144, 145, 148	Hitchcock, L 185
and bronzework 272	Hittite kingdom, and Alashiya 327-8,
and copper production 313	329-30, 331-2
and establishment of 136	trade with 314-15
and evidence of imports 315	hobs (clay), and Prehistoric Bronze Age
and ivory 272	Cyprus 119, <b>120</b> , 121
and Mycenaean pottery 255, 258	Anatolian influences 120-1
and seals and sealings 275	Hodder, I A 92
and silver bowl from 289	Homer 304
as trade centre 162	Horden, P 10-11, 20, 385
Hala Sultan Tekke <i>Vyzakia</i> 236	Horned God statuette (Enkomi) 184,
and metalworking 236-7	221, 223, 224, 277, <b>278</b> , 279, 365
and monumental architecture/	380
structures 243, 244	horns of consecration 279
as special-purpose site 235–7	hostage-taking 316
Hall, J M 10	households, and Prehistoric Bronze Age
and ethnicity 284	Cyprus 80
and social identity 31	Hulin, L 256
Hall, S. 59	Hult, G. 260

**	1 . 1111
Hutson, S 92	and establishment of 286
hybridization 9, 10, 11, 31, 57–9	and figurines 179
and archaeology 59-61, 64	identity 31–3
and cultural contact 265	and archaeology 33-5, 63
and definition of 57, 265	and class 33, 34
and Early Iron Age Cyprus 286–90,	and community 33-4
368, 370	and connectivity 381–2
and language 288–9	and definition of 31
and material culture 58	and difference 27, 34, 35, 63
and Prehistoric Bronze Age	and dress 34
Cyprus 114–28, 353, 354–5,	and ethnicity 31, 34
356, 378	and formation of 44-5, 374, 388
agricultural practices 121	and habitus 43-4, 65
architecture 121-6	and internalization of shared norms
clay hobs 119-21	and values 32
cultural contact 114–15	and material culture 27-8, 29, 30,
metalworking 116-18	34-5, 44, 381, 388
pottery, Anatolian	and Mediterranean islands 7, 8-9
influences 115–16	and migration 48, 129, 292
socio-cultural change 107-8,	and monumental architecture/
109–10	structures 201
textile production 119	and nationalism 34
and Protohistoric Bronze Age	and personal identity 33
Cyprus 358, 366–7, 380–1	and Prehistoric Bronze Age
bronzework 272–4	Cyprus 377–8
'cult' equipment 277–9	individuals 101–2
ivory 269–72	migration 356
material culture 268–80	mortuary practices 86
pottery 258, 265–8	production and exchange 81
seals and sealings 274–7	representations 92, 350–1
tomb types 279–80	as process 32
tomo types 279–80	and Protohistoric Bronze Age
Iacovou, M:	Cyprus 249, 378–81
and Aegean migration to Cyprus 281,	elite groups 357–9, 362–3, 379–80
	gendered representations 186
283, 284, 285, 293, 295	
and colonization of Cyprus 250	monumental architecture/
and mortuary practices 280, 286, 290	structures 242–3, 248
and Neo-Assyrian empire 344, 346	mortuary practices 191, 196–201
and origins of city kingdoms 292,	production and exchange
345-6	172–3, 357
and protohistory 299	seals and sealings 358–9
and shared language 292	socio-political organization 158–9
Iadnana 307, 343, 344, 345, 372	and public/private behaviour 208
Idalion 210, 293, 371	and self-categorization 45

and tradition 32, 35	and Mediterranean islands 8
and usefulness of concept 32	and monumental architecture/
and visual representations 34	structures 205–6
see also island identity	as social situation 389
ideology:	and variability of 23-4
and acculturation 57	see also island identity
and definition of 248	interaction systems, and
and monumental architecture/	acculturation 56-7
structures 241–3	Iron Age Cyprus 2, 345–6
and mortuary practices 83	and documentary evidence related
and Prehistoric Bronze Age	to 341–5
Cyprus 349	and Hebrew texts 341, 342
and Protohistoric Bronze Age	and Neo-Assyrian empire 343-5,
Cyprus 248–9, 357, <b>359</b>	346
and seals and sealings 153, 154, 155,	and Phoenician texts 341, 342-3
156	see also Early Iron Age Cyprus
and wealth finance 166	Ishtar 320–1
imports:	island archaeology 13, 389
and Prehistoric Bronze Age	and connectivity 22-4
Cyprus 76–7, 85, 86, 87, 96, 107,	and current approaches to 15
111, 112, 308, 348	and emergence of 14-15
and Protohistoric Bronze Age	and external factors 16-17
Cyprus 132, 139, 143, 147, 148,	and external networks 20
151, 160, 172–3, 183, 194, 197,	and insularity 18
199, 235, 253, 255–6, 257, 339,	connectivity 22-4
345, 358	variability of 23-4
individuals:	and island identity 27-30
and Alashiya 318–20	and islander perspectives 16
in archaeology 92-5	and islandscapes 24-7
in Prehistoric Bronze Age	and isolation 18-19
Cyprus 95–101	relativity of 19-20
identity 101–2	island identity 1, 7, 27–30, 373–6,
representation in figurines 97–101	388–9
representations 95–6, 351–2	and connectivity 381-2, 389
infants, and mortuary practices 192, 364	and contemporary Cyprus 29
Ingot God statuette (Enkomi) 223, 224,	and copper 30
277, <b>278</b> , 279, 380	and Cyprus 376–82
Ini-Teshub 329	and difference 27
insularity 1, 7, 388–9	and fluidity of 28–9
and connectivity 22-4	and formation of 18
and definition of 18	and insularity 29–30
and impact of 22	and islandscapes 381
and island identity 29-30	and material culture 27-8, 29, 30, 381
and islands 14, 18	and Mediterranean islands 374-6

island identity (cont.)	and ProBA settlement evidence
and Prehistoric Bronze Age	148, 149
Cyprus 377–8	and socio-political organization 152
and Protohistoric Bronze Age	and storage facilities 164
Cyprus 378–81	Kalavasos Laroumena, and
islands:	metalworking 76
and definition and categorization 18	Kalopsidha 134
and external networks 20	and ProBA settlement evidence 149
and fascination of 13	Kantor, H J 270
and insularity 14, 18	and hybridization 272
and isolation 18–19	Karageorghis, J 176
relativity of 19-20	Karageorghis, V:
and paradox of 19–21	and Aegean colonization of
and research questions about 13–14	Cyprus 254–5, 259, 260, 284–5
islandscapes 9–10, 24–7	architectural influences 262
and commerce 26–7	and bronzework 272, 273, 274
and island identity 381	and defensive sites 237
and key aspects of approach 25	and ethnicity 283
and the sea 25–6	and figurines 176, 178, 179, 182
isolation:	Aegean influences 262–3
and islands 18–19	and Minoan religious symbols 279
as relative phenomenon 19–20	and origins of city kingdoms 295
ivory:	and pottery 287
and hybridization 269–72	and shaft graves 279
and ivory gaming board 161, 163,	and silver bowl from Hala Sultan
2.71–2.	Tekke 289
and mirror handles 270, 271	and <i>Vounous</i> Red Polished bowl 88
	Karatas-Semayük 115
Jones, Sian 40	Karkotis River valley 116, 117
and ethnicity 43	Karmi <i>Palealona</i> , and evidence of
Joyce, R A 93	imports 76
,-,,	Katydhata <i>Laonarka</i> 134
Kalavasos Ayios Dhimitrios 132, 134,	and mortuary practices 186, 187
137, 142, 143, 145	Kazaphani 136
and Alashiya 303	and military equipment 159
and copper production 313	Kenna, V E G 275
and expansion of 336	Keswani, P S 77
and monumental architecture/	and Anatolian influence 108
structures 211–12, 243	and figurines 178
and mortuary practices 190, 191,	and gender 364
197, 364	and monumental architecture/
Tomb 11 191–2, 193	structures 244
and Mycenaean pottery 255, 256	and mortuary practices 84–5, 86, 186,
as political centre 337–8, 340–1, 365	188, 191, 193–4, 199, 280, 349
as political centre 337-0, 340-1, 303	100, 171, 173-4, 177, 200, 347

and patterns of town life 137	Klavdhia Trimithios, and military
and political organization 336	equipment 159
and prestige goods 357-8	Kling, B 251
and regional polities 337	and hybridized pottery 266
and representations 88-9	and Mycenaean pottery 257, 258
and seals and sealings 274	Knapp, A B:
and settlement trends 142, 143	and Alashiya 300
and socio-political organization 144,	and centralization of political
145, 147, 160, 360-1	authority 337
and staple/wealth finance 166	and representation of individuals 97
and storage facilities 143	Knossos:
and Vounous Red Polished bowl 88	and Cypriot seals 169-71
Killen, J T 305	and monumental architecture/
King, R 376	structures 203
Kinyras 230, 283, 284	Kohn, T 13
Kissonerga <i>Mosphilia</i> 71, 72	Kolb, M J 205–6
and demographic crisis 82	Kommos 132
and ethnic migration from	Kordin III boat model 16
Anatolia 127	Korovia Nitovikla 134, 150
and evidence of imports 77	and mortuary practices 187
and figurines 95-6, 100	Koufos, and ProBA settlement
and metalworking 75, 112	evidence 149
and mortuary practices 83	Kouklia <i>Evreti</i> :
and Pithos House 82–3	and grave goods 280
and settlement size 82	and ivory 270, 272
and spurred annular pendants 127	Kouklia Mantissa, and hybridized
Kition 132, 134, 137, 143, 144, 145, 225	pottery 266
and Aegean colonization of	Kouklia Palaepaphos 229
Cyprus 255	and architecture, Aegean
and architecture, Aegean	influences 262
influences 260, 262	and establishment of 136
and copper production 313	and figurines 179
and faience conical rhyton 161, 162	and hybridized pottery 266, 267
and ivory 269, 270, 272	and monumental architecture/
and monumental architecture/	structures 228-30, 244
structures 244	and ProBA settlement evidence 148
and mortuary practices 191	Kouklia Plakes, and Phoenician
and Mycenaean pottery 255, 258	vessels 286
and ProBA settlement evidence 149	Kouklia Xerolimni, and Aegean
as trade centre 162	settlers 283
Kition Kathari, and monumental	Kourion 137
architecture/structures 224-8,	Kourion Bamboula:
243-4	and mortuary practices 197
Kittim 342	and Mycenaean pottery 255

Kozal, E 314 <i>Kupirijo</i> 300, 303–7 <i>Kupros</i> 304–7  Kushmeshusha 8, 322, 324, 325, 331, 336, 338  Laffineur, R 203  Lamberg-Karlovsky, C C 339  Langalanga islanders 26  language:	Lipari 132 Liverani, M 325, 326, 334 'Išyy 341, 342, 372 Lucassen, J & L 48 luxury goods 159–61 and elite identity 357–8, 362–3 and iconography 160–2 and mortuary practices 196–9, 200 and wealth finance 166–7
and Cypro-Minoan 133, 299, 306, 339, 360 and ethnic bonds 292 and hybridization 288–9 and linguistic boundaries 385	Maa <i>Palaeokastro</i> 137, 142 and Aegean colonization of Cyprus 255 and monumental architecture/ structures 244
Lapithos, and establishment of 286 Lapithos <i>Vrysi tou Barba</i> : and cemetery at 73 and evidence of imports 76 and mortuary practices 83 and plank figurines 100 Lefebvre, H 202	and Mycenaean pottery 258 and seals and sealings 168, 169 as special-purpose site 237–9 McDermott, L 94 McGuire, R H 39, 40–1 McKechnie, R 389 MacLachlan, B 99
Lehmann, G A 333 Lemba <i>Lakkous</i> , and mortuary practices 83	Madagascar 13 Madeira 19 Maier, F –G:
Leriou, A 290 and Aegean colonization of Cyprus 250, 251 and ethnicity 285	and Aegean colonization of Cyprus 251 and ethnicity 284 Malbran-Labat, F 322, 344
Levant:  and Alashiya 313, 314, 316, 321, 323 and Bronze Age Cyprus 11, 69 and Early Iron Age Cyprus 284, 286, 289, 297 and Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus 11, 76, 78, 96, 104, 116 and Protohistoric Bronze Age Cyprus 131, 132, 151, 160, 162,	Mallorca 3  Malta 3, 5, 7, 15, 21 and insularity 23 and islander's identity 16, 19 and material culture 28 and monumental architecture/ structures 201, 204  Manning, S W 73, 336 and mortuary practices 84–5,
181, 196, 235, 247, 251, 252, 253, 254, 260, 264, 266, 268, 269, 270, 272, 273–4, 275, 277, 280, 335, 338, 345, 346  Levine, H B 37  Lilley, I 47	194–5, 349 and Mycenaean pottery 256 and power structures 96 and socio-political organization 146, 360–1, 363 and <i>Vounous</i> Red Polished bowl 88

Mari:	and identity 27-8, 29, 30, 381, 388
and Alashiya 307, 308	and Prehistoric Bronze Age
and import of Cypriot copper 76, 307	Cyprus 82–3
Marion, and establishment of 286	hybridization 108
Marki <i>Alonia</i> 72, 124, 134	impact of Anatolian
and architecture 80, 122, 123, 126	migrants 105-6
and clay hobs 119, 120	and Protohistoric Bronze Age
and copper smelting and casting	Cyprus 381
75, 112	Aegean influences 259-64
and ethnic migration from	bronzework 272-4
Anatolia 127	'cult' equipment 277–9
and evidence of imports 77	hybridization 268-80
and figurines 100	hybridization and pottery 264-8
and household storage facilities 80	ivory 269–72
and Philia phase 71	Mycenaean pottery 251, 252-4,
and spurred annular pendants 127	255-8
and textile production 119	seals and sealings 274-7
Maroni <i>Tsaroukkas</i> 137, 142	tomb types 279-80
and mortuary practices 194, 195	and social identity 34-5, 44
and ProBA settlement evidence 149	Mathiati 143
as trade centre 162	Mayer, W R 333
Maroni Vournes 134, 137, 143, 145, 213	measurement systems, and
and copper production 313	copper 309-10
and monumental architecture/	Mediterranean:
structures 212–14, 243	and boundaries 383
and mortuary practices 191, 194-5	and connectivity 385-6
and Mycenaean pottery 255	and definition of 383
and political organization 336	and divisions 383
and ProBA settlement evidence 148,	as intermediary 382–3
149	and linguistic boundaries 385
and storage facilities 164	and Mediterranean Sea 384
Masat Höyük 314	and mountainous areas 384-5
Masson, E, and Alashiya 306-7, 322	and plants and trees 383-4
material culture:	Mediterranean islands 3, 4
and acculturation 55-6	and absence of comparative
and contextualization of 62–3	studies 3–7
and cultural identity 47	and archaeology, comparative
and difference from surrounding	studies 386–8
regions 68	and comparative study 7–8
and Early Iron Age Cyprus,	and connectivity 8, 22-4, 376, 385-6,
hybridization 286–90	388
and ethnicity 39, 40–1, 43, 64, 369	and distance from mainland 21
and habitus 106–7	and diversity of 13
and hybridization 58, 286-90	and economic development 69

Mediterranean islands ( <i>cont.</i> ) and ethnicity 8–9	impact on site location 77 regional interaction sphere 78,
and insularity 8	111–12, 118–19
and island identity 374–6	and Protohistoric Bronze Age Cyprus:
and islandscapes 9–10	Athienou Bambourlari tis
and recent research 10–12	Koukkouninnas 234–5
and settlement of 21, 68	bronzework 272–4
and social complexity 68–9	Micronesia 26
and social identity 7, 8–9	migration 9, 31, 47–50 and archaeology 50–3, 64
Melanesia 20, 21	controversy over 50–1
Mellink, M J 111	
and pottery 116	explanations in 51
Melos 20	as viable tool in 52–3
memory:	and definition of 47
and monumental architecture/	and destinations 48
structures 202, 248, 249	and division in approaches to 47–8
and mortuary complexes 203	and Early Iron Age Cyprus 281–5,
Menorca 3	292, 368, 369, 370
Merrillees, R S 144	and factors encouraging 49–50
and Alashiya 300	and identity 48, 129, 292
and Cypriote historiography 66	and migrant characteristics 48–9
and figurines 176, 178	and Prehistoric Bronze Age
and Kypros 304	Cyprus 113
and settlement patterns 143, 337	ethnic migration from
and settlement size 138	Anatolia 104–10, 126–7, 352–3,
and socio-political organization 145-6	354, 355–6
Mesaoria:	identity 356
and Philia phase sites 71	and Protohistoric Bronze Age
and settlement expansion 70	Cyprus 249–58, 366–7
and settlements 134	Aegean colonization 250-8
Meskell, L M:	Aegean influences on material
and individuals in archaeology 92, 93	culture 259–64
and representation of individuals 97	and social identity 48, 129
messengers 316–18	and steams of 48
metalworking:	military equipment 159
and ceremonial consumption of metal	and Aegean influences 259
goods 85	Mills, B J 34
and metal acquisition networks 118	mirror handles 270, 271
and Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus:	Molloy, B 259
Anatolian influences 118	monumental architecture/
ceremonial consumption of metal	structures 201-6
goods 77–8	and elite groups 204, 205, 211, 240
early evidence of 74-6	as expressions of human activities 202
hybridization 116-18	and identity 201

and insularity 205-6	and ProBA settlement evidence 148
and meanings of 202–3	Morpugo Davies, A 288
adaptation of 203-4	Morris, D:
and memory 202	and figurines 182
and multiple purposes of 239-40	and Pierides Bowl 90
and power relations 201, 202,	and Vounous Red Polished bowl 88
204, 205	Morris, I 282, 388
and Prehistoric Bronze Age	mortuary practices:
Cyprus 206	and acculturation 57
and Protohistoric Bronze Age	and Early Iron Age Cyprus 286,
Cyprus 207-11, 361-2, 379	290, 369
cultic structures 240-1	and Prehistoric Bronze Age
destruction of 246	Cyprus 83-6, 349
elite groups 204, 205, 211, 240, 244,	children 84
249	figurines 101
elite ideology 241–3	identity 86
Enkomi Ayios Iakovos 216-24	impact on copper production 86
identity 242-3, 248	innovations in 108
Kalavasos Ayios Dhimitrios 211–12	metal-based displays 76, 85
Kition Kathari 224–8	social differentiation 83-4, 86-7
Kouklia Palaepaphos 229	social implications of 83-6
location 209-10	status 79
Myrtou <i>Pigadhes</i> 230–3	and Protohistoric Bronze Age
private/public distinctions 207, 208	Cyprus 165, 186–99
public buildings 241	burial practices 186–7
public/ceremonial	elite identity 196–9, 363
distinctions 208–9, 241	gender 195-6, 363-4
secular structures 207–8	grave goods 191, 192, <b>193</b> , 196–9
storage facilities 241	200, 280
traditions and style 240	identity 191, 199–201
and socio-political	impact of urban attitudes 193–5
significance 201–2, 204–5	secondary burial practices 192
and special-purpose sites (ProBA):	shaft graves 187, 196, 279-80
Athienou Bambourlari tis	status 194, 198, 200
Koukkouninnas 233–5	tomb construction 187–8
Hala Sultan Tekke <i>Vyzakia</i> 235–7	tomb location 188–91
Maa Palaekastro 237–9	tomb types 188, 279–80
Pyla Kokkinokremmos 237–9	mountains, and the
monument-oriented island societies 20	Mediterranean 384–5
and island identity 28	Mountjoy, P A 264
Morphou Toumba tou Skourou 143,	Muhly, J D 320, 335
145, 244	and Alashiya 300, 332
and establishment of 136	and centralization of political
and mortuary practices 191, 193	authority 337

M.11 ID (	011 Testerna 1 Fit 1 -1 242
Muhly, J D (cont.)	Old Testament, and Elishah 342
and origins of city kingdoms 293	olives, and the Mediterranean 384
and 'Sea Peoples' 334	Olivier, J -P 288
and weight of copper ingots 310 multivocality 1	Opheltas, and bronze <i>obelos</i> 283–4, <b>288</b> , 289, 299
Mursili I 327	Oppenheim, A L 345
Musgrave, J 94	organic goods, and trade in 159
Mycenae 132, 253	Orkneys 13
and colonization of Cyprus 250-8	Ottoman Empire 67
influences on material	
culture 259-64	Palaepaphos Skales:
and monumentalization 203	and Aegean colonization of
and pottery 251, 252-4, 255-8	Cyprus 255
Myres, J 251, 252	and Aegean presence 283-4
Myrtou Pigadhes 136, 231	and architecture, Aegean
and architecture, Aegean	influences 260, 262
influences 262	and bronze obelos 283-4, 288, 289, 341
and feasting 165	and cemetery at 289-90
and figurines 179	and Mycenaean pottery 258
and monumental architecture/	and Phoenician vessels 286
structures 230-3, 244-5	Palaima, T G 305, 306
and Mycenaean pottery 255	Palmer, L R 304
and ProBA settlement evidence 150	Panayotou-Triantaphyllopoulou, A 282
Myrtou Stephania, and mortuary	Papasavvas, G 272, 273
practices 186	Papastergiadis, N 110
myths 10	Papyrus Anastasi IV 312
and ethnicity 38	Paramili <i>Pharkonia</i> , and
	metalworking 75
nationalism, and social identity 34	Parker Pearson, M 19
Negbi, O 252, 277	patriarchy, and emergence of 102, 174,
and Early Iron Age Cyprus 283, 284	363-4
Neo-Assyrians, and Iron Age	Patton, M 20
Cyprus 343–5, 346	and cultural elaboration 21
networks, and islands 20	Pavlides, C 22
Neutron Activation Analysis (NAA)	Peltenburg, E J:
301	and Anatolian influence 103, 106
Nicosia Ayia Paraskevi 127, 153	and Enkomi Ayios Iakovos 219
and evidence of imports 77, 315	and faience conical rhyton 269-70
and military equipment 159	and mortuary practices 83
Niklasson-Sonnerby, K 280	and political authority 337, 360
Niqmaddu III 331, 333, 336, 338	and pottery 115
Nuraghe Antigori 132	and protohistory 298
Nuraghe Genna Maria 62	and secondary products
Nuraghe Santa Barbara 28	revolution 354

and socio-political organization 144, 147, 350	and military equipment 159 Politiko <i>Lambertis</i> 315
and <i>Vounous</i> Red Polished bowl 87	and mortuary practices 199
pendants, and Anatolian influences 127	Politiko <i>Phorades</i> 136, 141
Pendayia <i>Mandres</i> , and mortuary	and ProBA settlement evidence 150
practices 187 Pera <i>Kryphtides</i> , and mortuary	Politiko village 134 and mortuary practices 199
practices 199	Porada, E 277
peraia 25	
1	pottery:
personal identity, and social identity 33 Peterson, C E 246	and Early Iron Age Cyprus 283, 286, 287
Petit, T 293, 294	hybridization 287
and origins of city kingdoms 295-6	and island identity 29
petrographic analysis, and Amarna	and Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus 82
letters 300–3	clay hobs 119–21
Philia Laksia tou Kasinou 127	hybridization, Anatolian
Philia phase sites 71–2	influences 115–16
Phlamoudhi 136	and Protohistoric Bronze Age
Phlamoudhi Melissa 149-50	Cyprus 256
Phlamoudhi Sapilou 141	Aegean colonization 251, 252–4,
Phlamoudhi Vounari 149–50	255–8
Phlasou Koutroullis 117, 128	hybridization 258, 265-8
and pottery 116	see also figurines
Phoenicia, and Iron Age Cyprus 284,	Poursat, J -C 272
285, 286, 289, 292, 294, 345–6,	power relations:
368, 372	and acculturation 54–5
Phoenician texts, and Iron Age	and monumental architecture/
Cyprus 341, 342–3	structures 201, 202, 204, 205
Pickles, S:	practice theory 41–2
and Enkomi Ayios Iakovos 219	see also habitus
and political authority 337, 360	Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus 70,
picrolite, and production and exchange	377–8
of 127	and agriculture 348
Pierides, A 272	changes in labour
Piña-Cabral, J de 375	requirements 79–80
Pini, I 274, 277	changes in practices 78–9, 121
piracy 315–16	hybridization 121
plank figurines 8, 9, 98, 378	secondary products
and elite groups 100, 102	revolution 78–9, 353–4
and representation of	transforming impact of 129
individuals 97–101	and architecture:
ploughs 121, 122	changes in 80
Politiko <i>Chomazoudhia</i> :	hybridization 121–6
and evidence of imports 77	and chronological schema 71

Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus (cont.)	hybridization, Anatolian
and colonization, lack of evidence	influences 118
for 113	impact on site location 77
and copper 348	regional interaction sphere 78,
demand for 76	111–12, 118–19
earliest evidence of 74	and migration 113
early evidence of working of 74–6	ethnic migration from
export of 76	Anatolia 104–10, 126–7, 352–3,
impact of mortuary practices 86	354, 355–6
impact on site location 77	identity 356
local exploitation of 112–13	and monumental architecture/
mortuary uses 76	structures 206
regional interaction sphere 78,	and overseas contacts 76, 104
111–12, 118–19	and pottery 82
social impact of 81	hybridization, Anatolian
transforming impact of 129	influences 115–16
and economic transformation 76,	and production and exchange 74-81,
348–9	348–9
and foreign influences 66-7	identity 81
and gender 378	and representations 87-92
plank figurines 101–2	children 91–2
representations 88–90, 91	gender 88–90, 91
and identity 377–8	genre scenes 88–9
individuals 101–2	identity 92, 350-1
migration 356	interpretations of 87–9
mortuary practices 86	'Oxford Bowl' 89–90
production and exchange 81	Pierides Bowl 90–1
representations 92, 350-1	Vounous Red Polished Bowl 87-8
and ideology 349	women 89
and imports 76–7, 111	and settlements:
and individuals in 95-101	expansion of 70
figurine fragments 100-1	location of 72–3
identity 101-2	Philia phase sites 71–2
representation in figurines 97-101	size of 70
representations 95-6, 351-2	survey evidence 74
and material culture 82-3	and socio-cultural change 129
hybridization 108	debate over origins of 103-4
impact of Anatolian	hybridization 108, 109-10, 114-28
migrants 105-6	impact of ethnic migration from
and material sequences 71-2	Anatolia 104–10, 126–7
and metalworking:	prestige goods production 111
ceremonial consumption of metal	and trade 96-7, 116-19, 352-3
goods 77–8	and transition to Bronze Age:
early evidence of 74-6	alternative perspective on 110-14

controversies over 103-4	emergence of patriarchy 102, 174,
impact of Anatolian	363-4
migrants 104-10, 126-7	figurines 175-6, 177, 178-85
prestige goods production 111	identity 186
regional interaction sphere 111-12	mortuary practices 195-6, 363-4
and wealth and status differences 79	representations 174-85, 364-5
and women 79	and identity 249, 378-81
representations of 89, 101-2	elite groups 357–9, 362–3, 379–80
see also elite groups; hybridization;	gendered representations 186
mortuary practices; socio-	monumental architecture/
political organization	structures 242–3, 248
prehistory, and meaning of 298	mortuary practices 191, 196-201
processual archaeology, and	production and exchange 172-3,
migration 51	357
production and exchange:	seals and sealings 358-9
and Prehistoric Bronze Age	socio-political organization 158-9
Cyprus 74–81, 348–9	and ideology 248-9, 357, 359
identity 81	seals and sealings 153, 154, 155, 156
and Protohistoric Bronze Age	wealth finance 166
Cyprus 159–72, 357	and meaning of 298–9
agriculture 164–5	and migration 249-58, 366-7
identity 172–3	Aegean colonization 250–8
luxury goods 159–62	Aegean influences on material
politico-economic	culture 259–64
organization 167–8, 365–6	and monumental architecture/
politico-economic upheaval 246–7	structures 207–11, 361–2, 379
seals and sealings 167–72, 173	Alassa Paleotaverna 214–16
specialist activities 165–6	cultic structures 240–1
staple finance 166–7	destruction of 246
storage facilities 164, 359–60	elite groups 204, 205, 211, 240, 244
trade expansion 159	elite ideology 241–3
wealth finance 166–7	Enkomi Ayios Iakovos 216–24
Protohistoric Bronze Age Cyprus 135,	identity 242–3, 248
378–81	Kalavasos Ayios Dhimitrios 211–12
and agriculture 164–5, 359–60	Kition Kathari 224–8
and animal consumption 165	Kouklia Palaepaphos 229
and centralization of political	location of 209–10
authority 133, 245–6, 360, 361–2	Maroni Vournes 212–14
and chronological schema 133	Myrtou <i>Pigadhes</i> 230–3
and copper 133, 379	private/public distinctions 207, 208
socio-political organization 145,	public buildings 241
147–8	public/ceremonial
and gender 364–5	distinctions 208–9, 241
architecture 209	secular structures 207–8

Protohistoric Bronze Age Cyprus (cont.)	Athienou Bamboulari tis
storage facilities 241	Koukkouninnas 233–5
traditions and style 240	Hala Sultan Tekke Vyzakia 235-7
and production and	Maa Palaekastro 237–9
exchange 159-72, 357	Pyla Kokkinokremmos 237–9
agriculture 164–5	and trade 131-2, 358
identity 172-3, 357	centres of 162-4
luxury goods 159-62	expansion of 159
politico-economic	impact of 251, 252
organization 167–8	see also Alashiya; elite groups;
politico-economic upheaval	hybridization; mortuary
246–7	practices; socio-political
seals and sealings 167-72, 173	organization
specialist activities 165-6	protohistory, and meaning of 298-9
staple finance 166–7	Proto-White Painted pottery 182, 283,
storage facilities 164, 359–60	284, 285, 286, <b>287</b> , 293, 368, 369,
trade centres 162–4	380
trade expansion 159	provenance studies 301
wealth finance 166–7	<i>psi</i> -figurines 182–5, 263, 370–1
and regionalism 134	Pueblo people, and migration 50
and ritual 248–9	Pulak, C 310
and seals and sealings 157, 173, 380	Purcell, N 10-11, 20, 385
classification of 155–6	Pyla Kokkinokremmos 137, 142
elite iconography 156-8	and Aegean colonization of
identity 158–9, 358–9	Cyprus 255
politico-economic	and architecture, Aegean
organization 167–72, 365–6	influences 262
socio-political organization 146–7,	and monumental architecture/
151, 153–8	structures 244
and settlement trends 134-44, 362	as special-purpose site 237–9
agricultural support villages 140-2	Pylos 132
coastal centres 136, 138–9	Pyrgos Mavroraki
inland towns 139-40	and clay hobs 119–20
model of 139	and household storage facilities 80-1
patterns of town life 137	and metalworking 77
politico-economic upheaval 246–7	8
settlement hierarchy 137–42, 245	raiding 316
settlement size 140	Rainbird, P 26
smaller inland sites 139-40	and island archaeology 14-15
storage facilities 143	Ramesses II 312
urban expansion 245	Ramesses III 333, 334
and social divisions 199	Ras Shamra 309, 310
and socio-cultural change 133	Rashap-abu 171–2
and special-purpose sites:	ration lists 318–19
of com barbone offer.	

Red Polished pottery:	and Protohistoric Bronze Age
and bowl from Bellapais Vounous	Cyprus 248–9
<b>87</b> , 88	Rizokarpaso 134
and early examples of 116	Robb, J 388
and 'Oxford Bowl' 89-90	and island archaeology 15
and Pierides Bowl 90, 91	and Maltese identity 19, 201
and plank figurine 98	and Maltese isolation 23-4
and ploughing scene 122	Routledge, B 35
and variants of 115	Rowlands, M J 367, 369
Redfield, R 53	and monumental architecture/
regionalism, and Protohistoric Bronze	structures 202
Age Cyprus 134	Rupp, D W 346
Rehak, P 279	and regional monarchies 293, 294
and representations 185	
Renfrew, A C 386	Said, E 375
and individuals in archaeology 94	Salamis:
and prehistory/history	and establishment of 286
distinction 281	and Phoenician vessels 286
representations:	Samoa, and hybridization 60
and Prehistoric Bronze Age	sanctuaries, and Protohistoric Bronze
Cyprus 87–92	Age Cyprus 140, 143, 205, 207,
children 91-2	223, 224, 240–1
gender 88-90, 91	Sandars, N K 252
genre scenes 88–9	Sanidha Moutti tou Ayiou Serkhou 137,
identity 92, 350-1	141
interpretations of 87-9	and ProBA settlement evidence 150
'Oxford Bowl' 89–90	Sant Cassia, P 374, 375-6
Pierides Bowl 90-1	Sardinia 3, 7, 20, 21
Vounous Red Polished Bowl	and hybridization 61
87–8	and material culture 28
women 89	and mountains 384-5
and Protohistoric Bronze Age Cyprus,	Sargon II 293, 295, 341, 343, 344
gender 173-85, 364-5	Sass, B 317
and social identity 34, 35	Schaar, K 121–2
Rhodes 5	sea:
rhyton:	and cultural practices and attitudes 19
faience conical 162, 269–70	and islandscapes 25-6
and ivory 269	Sea Peoples 11, 160, 257, 260, 262, 280,
and mortuary practices 197-8	332, 366
Ribeiro, E:	sea travel 20–1
and gender 175	seals and sealings, and Protohistoric
and representations 91	Bronze Age Cyprus 157, 173,
ritual practices:	275, 380
and acculturation 57	classification of 155-6

sea travel (cont.)	and Early Iron Age Cyprus 372
elite iconography 156-8	origins of city-kingdoms 292-7,
hybridization 274–7	369
identity 158-9, 358-9	and Prehistoric Bronze Age
politico-economic	Cyprus 349–50
organization 167–72	community 80
socio-political organization 146-7,	family structure 80
151, 153–8	household storage facilities 80-1
secondary products revolution 78-80,	households 80
81, 84, 85, 121, 129, 353–4, 377	impact of agricultural changes 80
self-awareness, and ethnicity 37	impact of trade relationships 96-7
Sennacherib 343	representations 87–8
Serwent, N 174	structural change 350
sexuality, and social identity 34	and Protohistoric Bronze Age
shaft graves 187, 196, 279-80	Cyprus 144–53, 324–5, 360–1,
Shennan, S J 93	365–6, 380
Sherratt, E S 247	archaic state model 146-7
and agricultural practices 121	copper 145, 147–8
and bronze obelos 288	Enkomi 147-8, 149, 150-1
and Early Iron Age Cyprus 283-4, 285	identity 158–9
and ethnicity 249-50, 372	mortuary practices 199-201
and hybridized pottery 266-8	political authority 337
and Mycenaean pottery 256-7	political centre 337–9, 340–1,
Sicily 3, 5, 7	365-6
and mountains 384, 385	political fragmentation 152
Sikel 317, 318	politico-economic upheaval 246-7,
Silberman, N A 113	366, 367–8
Sinda Siri Dash 140	ruled by king 335-6, 340
and Mycenaean pottery 254, 258	seals and sealings 146-7, 151,
Singer, I 311, 320, 331, 332	153–8
situational ethnicity 37	secondary state 147
Sjöqvist, E 253, 264	'senior prefect' 336, 341
Smith, J S 142	settlement evidence 148-50
and seals and sealings 154, 172, 276	settlement hierarchy 137-42
and socio-political organization 145	single unified polity 339-40
Smith, S T 53	social stratification 133, 156, 198,
Snodgrass, A M 294–5	339, 360, 362
'snowman figurines' 182	texts and archaeology 335-41
social change, and internal factors 1	transformation of 339
social identity, see identity	Soloi, and establishment of 286
social practices:	Sotira Kaminoudhia 72, 73
and ethnicity 8	and architecture 80, 122, 123, 125-6
and social identity 8	and clay hobs 120
socio-political organization:	and electrum earrings from 77

and evidence of imports 76-7	Šuppiluliuma I 327, 330
and figurines 100	Šuppiluliuma II 331, 332
and household storage facilities 80	Sürenhagen, D 329, 330, 333
and metalworking 75	Swiny, S:
and mortuary practices 83	and metalworking, Anatolian
and Philia phase 71	influences 118
and spurred annular pendants 127	and Pierides Bowl 90-1
Souskiou <i>Laona</i> :	and representations 89
and copper ornaments at 74	swords, and Aegean influences 259
and mortuary practices 82	symbolism, and acculturation 57
Souskiou Vathrykakas:	Symeonologlou, S 150
and children's burials 97	syncretism 55
and copper ornaments at 74	Syria 24
South, A K 145	and import of Cypriot copper 76
Spalinger, A J 325	
Stanley Price, N P 138, 142	Talalay, L E:
staple finance, and Protohistoric Bronze	and gender 175
Age Cyprus 166–7	and individuals in archaeology 94
status:	and plank figurines 100
and luxury goods 160, 172-3	and representation of individuals 97,98
and metal goods 78	and representations 185
and mortuary ritual 79, 194, 198,	Tamvaki, A 88
200, 363	Tarsus 115
Stech, T 145	and architecture 121, 123, 125, 261
Steel, L 142, 251, 252, 279	technological development, and
and hybridization 265	Prehistoric Bronze Age
and hybridized pottery 268	Cyprus 67
and military equipment 259	technology diffusion 111
and mortuary practices 84	technology transfer, and ethnic
and Mycenaean pottery 256, 257	migration from Anatolia 105,
and origins of city kingdoms 292-3	106, 114, 352
and Vounous Red Polished bowl 88	Tel Kabri 132
Stewart, J R:	Tel Nami 132
and Philia culture 71, 103	Tell ed Dab'a 131
and pottery 115	Tell el-Amarna 308
storage facilities:	textile production, and Prehistoric
and Prehistoric Bronze Age	Bronze Age Cyprus 119
Cyprus 80–1	Thapsos 132
and Protohistoric Bronze Age	Thomas, J 355
Cyprus 143, 164, 241, 359–60	and individuals in archaeology 92–3
Stos-Gale, Z 78, 118	Thomas, Nicholas 60
Strange, J 300	Tilley, C 201
structuration theory 42–3	Tiryns 253
Stubbings, F H 253–4	Todd, I A 314

Torres Strait 26	Uluburun, and shipwreck at 131,
trade:	159, 313
and Early Iron Age Cyprus 371	Urhi-Teshub 327, 328
and geographic/resource	,
diversity 26–7	Van Dommelen, P:
and impact of 24	and colonialism 59
and islands 17	and hybridization 60, 61
and islandscapes 26–7	Vanschoonwinkel, J 252
and Prehistoric Bronze Age	Vasilia <i>Kaphkalla</i> :
Alashiya 307–8	and evidence of imports 76
and Prehistoric Bronze Age	and metalworking 78, 112
Cyprus 352–3	Vaughan, S J 197
expansion of interaction	visual representations, see
sphere 116–18	representations
impact on social organization 96–7	1
metalworking 116–19	Wachsmann, S:
and Protohistoric Bronze Age	and <i>Alashiya</i> 300
Alashiya 313–15	and messengers 317
copper 309–13	and raiding and hostage-
significance of 312	taking 316
and Protohistoric Bronze Age	and Wen-Amun 318
Cyprus 131–2, 358	wall paintings 131-2
centres of 162-4	wealth finance, and Protohistoric Bronze
expansion of 159	Age Cyprus 166–7
impact of 251, 252	Webb, J M 11, 357
tradition, and social identity 32, 35	and anthropomorphic figurines 101
temenos 240	and architecture 123, 125, 126
Trigger, B G 201	and clay hobs 120
Troy 132	and copper production 112
Tudhaliya IV 328, 329, 331, 332	and elite iconography 156-8
Tuthmosis III 311–12, 324, 325–7, 329	and Enkomi 151, 219, 221, 222, 223, 224, 337
Ugarit 24, 132, 152	and ethnic migration from
and Alashiya 318, 323, 328-9, 330-1,	Anatolia 103, 104–10, 126–7,
332–3, 335, 362	352, 354
census list 319	and figurines 176, 178, 179, 183, 184
copper from 309, 311	and gender 174
royal ritual 321	and horns of consecration 279
trade with 313–14	and household as analytical unit 80
and Cypriot seals 169	and ideology 248
and luxury goods 161	and metalworking development
and merchants 154-5	78, 118
and seals and sealings 171-2	and monumental architecture/
and trader-state relations 154, 155	structures 207, 240, 245, 247

and mortuary practices 195	see also gender
and Philia phase sites 72	Wright, G R H:
and representations 89-90	and architectural influences 262
and seals and sealings 154, 155-6,	and monumental architecture/
168, 169, 173, 274, 275–6	structures 207, 208, 219, 228
and socio-political	writing 339
organization 146–7	_
and technology transfer 114	Yabninu 311
and wealth finance 166-7	Yamana 345
Wen-Amun 317–18, 325, 371	Yelvington, K A 43
Wilson, D E 203	and habitus 40
women:	Yon, M 314, 344
and Prehistoric Bronze Age Cyprus 79	and monumental architecture/
plank figurines 101–2	structures 207
representations 89	Young, R 57
and Protohistoric Bronze Age Cyprus,	
burial practices 191-3, 364	Zaccagnini, C 309, 310