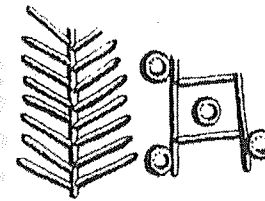


CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The Creation and Experience of
Monumentality on Protohistoric Cyprus



Kevin D. Fisher

Abstract *The Protohistoric Bronze Age (c. 1700–1100 B.C.) was a period of revolutionary social change on the island of Cyprus. I argue that the creation and experience of monumental architecture played a central and active role in these developments. To examine this dynamic interrelationship, I take an integrative approach that acknowledges the agency of both social actors and the material world they inhabit. Monumentality was created in acts of place making by many individuals and groups on Protohistoric Cyprus. It was materialized and experienced at various scales, from the orthogonal street plans and cyclopean fortifications of new cityscapes, to the impressive buildings that served as centers of elite power, and the individual spaces within them. Protohistoric built environments were a fundamentally different experience from the Prehistoric Bronze Age villages that preceded them, creating new patterns of interaction and daily practice that generated social change. More than mere symbols of elite control over material and human resources, monumental constructions became the primary arena in which sociopolitical dynamics were enacted.*

Cyprus lagged well behind its Near Eastern neighbors, as well as other Mediterranean islands (Kolb this volume), in the development of monumental construction. Its earliest expressions of monumentality do not appear until the Protohistoric Bronze Age (or ProBA; Middle Cypriot III through Late Cypriot IIIA, c. 1700–1100 B.C.), when wholesale changes to the island's built environment occur that included new forms of domestic and mortuary architecture and, eventually, the first cities (Figure 17.1). At the same time, we see revolutionary societal changes, including the development and institutionalization of hierarchical and heterarchical social structures associated with the

emergence of what was likely some form of state-level sociopolitical organization. I have argued elsewhere that, rather than serving merely as an indicator or product of this transformation, the new built environments played an active and integral role in how and why it occurred (Fisher 2009a, 2014a). Indeed, the Protohistoric built environments were a fundamentally different experience from those of the Prehistoric Bronze Age that preceded it, providing new patterns of movement, surveillance, interaction, and daily practice that generated social change. As acts of place making, monumental constructions were a central facet of these developments.

In what follows, I attempt to address some of themes raised in this volume's introduction (Osborne this volume) by first outlining an integrative approach to investigating past built environments that considers the agency of both builder and building through

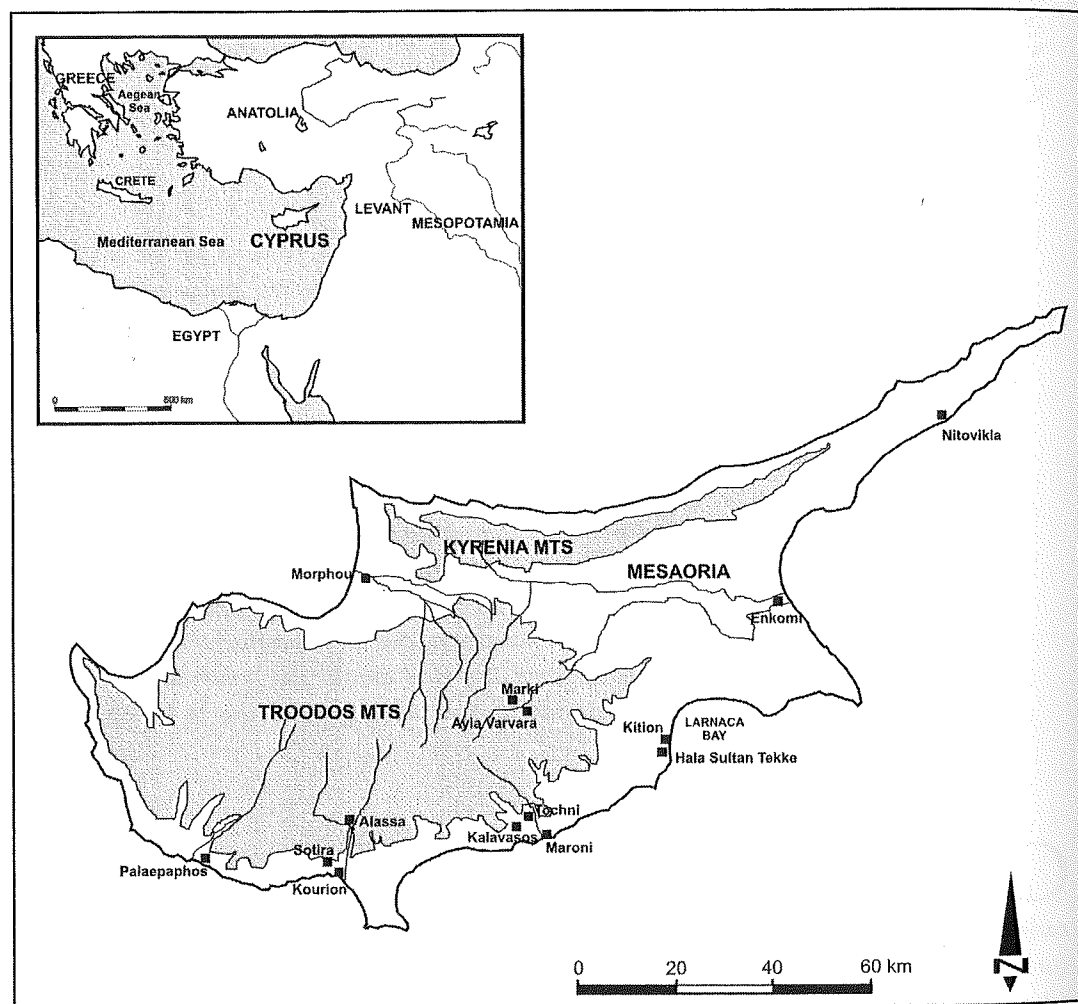


FIGURE 17.1 Map of Cyprus showing locations of sites mentioned in text (drawn by K. Fisher).

the relationship between built environments and social interaction. I focus particularly on the materiality of ashlar (cut stone) masonry, which became one of the defining features of both monumental buildings and the identities of the people who made them. Drawing on specific examples from a number of sites, I then apply this approach in examining some aspects of how Protohistoric Cypriotes created and experienced monumentality at multiple scales, from the cityscape through to individual buildings and their constituent spaces.

APPROACHING MONUMENTALITY: HUMAN AND MATERIAL AGENCIES

Large size and elaborate construction are characteristics that typify many traditional views of what makes something monumental. Yet, as Osborne makes clear in the introduction to this volume, monumentality arises only in part from the inherent properties of a structure or object. It is constituted, rather, in the ever-changing and historically contingent interplay of human and material agencies. This relational definition of monumentality rightly recognizes that things *become* monumental and may not necessarily have been intended as such from their initial construction (e.g., Joyce 2004; Thompson and Andrus 2011). Erecting a building, however, is always an intentional act, and I would argue that ProBA elites envisioned the structures discussed here as monuments from the outset of their design. Other social actors were also involved in this process and, indeed, these monuments were the products of the actions of many agents (a point I return to below). Influenced by the work of Bourdieu (1977), Giddens (1984) and other social theorists who have attempted to bridge the gap between individual and society, the idea of past humans as active, perhaps even knowledgeable agents who in some way shaped the social worlds they lived in, has gained currency among archaeologists—even if there remain methodological and epistemological issues regarding its use in archaeological inquiry (Dobres and Robb 2000; Dornan 2002; Gardner 2007). The agency of things, however, is a concept that archaeologists have typically been slower to accept.

This is now changing in the wake of recent studies of materiality, which highlight the vital and recursive role that things play in social reproduction and begin to blur distinctions between human/subject and material/object (Demarrais et al. 2004; Gosden 2005; Meskell 2005; Miller 2005). Hodder (2012), who has long recognized the role of the material world in constituting the social one, has recently argued that previous approaches to materiality do not go far enough in acknowledging the ways in which the physicality or “material objectness” of things entraps people into particular *entanglements*: sets of interlinked dependencies between humans and things (see also Knappett 2012; Latour 2005; Webmoor and Whitmore 2008). Following Ingold (2010), he challenges assumptions regarding the inanimate nature of things, suggesting rather that things are imbued with life as characterized by the flow of matter, energy, and information. Indeed, by moving beyond an anthropocentric conception of agency based on consciousness and intention, we can now speak of material agency (Knappett and Malafouris 2008).

This agency extends to the built environment. Perhaps more than most material actors, the sheer size and near-omnipresent nature of buildings makes their physicality

nearly impossible to ignore. As much as they are products or embodiments of human agency, buildings at the same time divide and order space, structuring and routinizing the movements and social interactions of daily practice, and therefore play a direct and active role in social reproduction. While size is not a prerequisite for monumentality, often the sheer mass of monumental buildings or complexes means that even people who might never set foot inside such buildings are affected by the gravity of their presence. Buildings, especially monumental ones, can also enable patterns of movement and surveillance that are implicated in the exercise of power (Foucault 1977; Leone et al. 2005). Their agency is not based solely in their formal qualities, however, as monumental built environments also materialize ideologies (DeMarrais et al. 1996). On one level, they are powerful symbols of the conspicuous consumption of energy and control over material and human resources by their creators (Trigger 1990), yet they also encode and communicate meanings, often aimed at particular audiences, regarding the appropriation of space, the organization and materialization of social relationships and boundaries, and the legitimation of sociopolitical inequalities.

In many respects, the agency of buildings is encapsulated in the idea of place. If space is the passive, neutral, physical location of social action, then place is "lived space" imbued with meanings, identities, and memories that actively shape, and are shaped by, the daily practice and experiences of its inhabitants and historically contingent social processes (de Certeau 1998; Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003; Preucel and Meskell 2004; Pred 1990; Rodman 1992; Tuan 1978). The distinction between material and human actors is thus blurred in the mutually constituting human-environment relationship embodied in places. It is further undermined by the affective relationships that people often develop with the places in which they live. The importance of *place attachment* to well-being and identity formation has long been recognized by environmental psychologists (Altman and Low 1992; Marcus 1995; Russell and Snodgrass 1987). Like other human and material actors, buildings develop unique life histories or "biographies" (Kopytoff 1986) constituted in the meanings accumulated over the duration of their use life, which are a product of the historically contingent actions, experiences, and memories of their human occupants (Pred 1990; Tringham 1995; see also Düring 2005; Hendon 2004:276).

Pred (1984:279) argues that the creation of place "always involves an appropriation and transformation of space and nature that is inseparable from the reproduction and transformation of society in time and space." In ProBA Cyprus, the scale of spatial appropriation and transformation that underlies monumental construction makes its initial creation an act of elite place making. These monumental built environments were intended to be visually impressive symbols of the power of their creators, but it was in the experience of social interactions and occasions performed in and around these structures that the social dynamics of power were enacted, negotiated, and reproduced. ProBA monumental buildings have long been recognized as symbols of the emergence and power of elites, but only recently have scholars begun to examine these built environments as places that had a vital role in identity formation and social reproduction (Bolger 2003; Knapp 2008:201–248, 2009; Manning 1998). Even these approaches, however, have not gone far enough in considering how the creation and experience

of specific monumental contexts actively influenced these processes (cf. Kearns 2011). Such an investigation, given the limited remains of Late Bronze Age built environments, presents a significant challenge.

I have developed an approach that analyzes how buildings affect movement and interaction while also examining how they encode and communicate meanings to occupants and visitors. I discuss this in detail elsewhere and provide only a brief outline here (see Fisher 2007, 2009b). It begins with the use of access analysis, which can determine likely patterns of movement and encounter based on the topological properties of a building's spaces (Hillier and Hanson 1984). To get a more complete picture of social interaction, however, it is necessary to combine this with a detailed study of how a building influences human behavior and interaction through the nonverbal communication of meanings. These meanings are encoded or materialized in fixed-feature elements such as walls and floors, semifixed-feature elements such as furnishings and other artifacts, and nonfixed-feature elements including the physical and verbal expressions of the building's occupants and users (Rapoport 1990:87–101). Rapoport (1988) suggests that encoded meanings may be high-level, representing cosmological principles; mid-level, relating to status, power and identity; or low-level, which are mnemonic cues indicating the intended uses of a setting. In reality, most meanings defy easy categorization and often cut across these levels.

While humans perceive meanings or cues as they experience built environments using an array of sensory stimuli (Frieman and Gillings 2007), vision remains one that can be analyzed most easily with the architectural remains left to us. We can analyze visibility using isovists, or the set of all points visible from a single point in space (Benedikt 1979:47); isovist fields, which indicate everything that can be seen from anywhere in a particular room; and viewsheds, which represent what is visible from the perspective of the viewer facing a particular direction (see Fisher 2009b:448–451; e.g., see Figures 7 and 8). Such an analysis reduces a 3D phenomenon to 2D polygons, but it can at least begin to give some sense of the visual experience of a space. There is clearly potential for computer-based 3D modeling to further develop these analyses (e.g., Wendrich this volume). To this we can add insights gained from environmental psychology. Hall's (1966) research on proxemics, the study of people's use of space as an aspect of culture, is especially useful in illuminating the relationship between interpersonal spacing and human sensory perception during social interaction, suggesting a range of distances at which certain types of social interaction might take place (Fisher 2009b:Table 1).

This integrative approach (see Lawrence and Low 1990:482–491) allows one to determine the likely locations for particular types of social interactions, including fleeting encounters while moving through a space, and social occasions, which are more intensive interactions and range from some of the more routine aspects of daily life (e.g., the regular preparation and consumption of a meal) to more formally defined events in terms of time, space, and participants (Giddens 1984:64–73; Goffman 1963:18–24). The new monumental buildings of the Protohistoric Bronze Age were typically designed around contexts for what I have termed public-inclusive social occasions, which bring together visitors and inhabitants in large, architecturally elaborate, and relatively accessible spaces.

It was during such interactions that social statuses, roles, and identities were negotiated and reproduced. In order to better understand how this dynamic process worked, it is necessary to examine how people created and experienced monumental built environments at various scales.

CREATING MONUMENTALITY

As I noted in the introduction, the earliest monumental architecture on Cyprus dates to the seventeenth century B.C., when it appears as part of a suite of changes to the island's built environment. While the Prehistoric Bronze Age that came before it is better known from its burial evidence, excavations at settlements such as Sotira-Kaminoudhia and Marki-Alonia have revealed villages with agglomerative domestic architecture that displays little evidence of planning or social differentiation (Frankel and Webb 2006; Swiny et al. 2003:Figure 1). Indeed, most aspects of Cypriot society were revolutionized during the ProBA, which witnessed the widespread rise and institutionalization of social inequalities, the emergence and integration of specialized systems of production and exchange, and the engagement of the island into the wider politico-economic system of the Near East and eastern Mediterranean. Control over the production and export of the island's abundant copper resources was a key element underpinning the economic power of emerging ProBA elites (Knapp 2008:159–172). Whether the island was ruled as a unified entity or through a more heterarchical system of regional polities, or vacillated between these forms of political organization, is the subject of much debate (e.g., Knapp 2008:298–340; Peltenburg 2012).

It is not surprising, perhaps, that the first monumental buildings are a series of so-called forts, which appear in the central and northeastern part of the island at the beginning of the ProBA (Fisher 2007:287–298) and may have been built in order to control routes from the copper-bearing pillow lavas of the Troodos Mountains to the newly emerging urban centers on the north and east coasts (Fortin 1981; Peltenburg 1996). The Fortress building at the new east coast settlement of Enkomi is the best known example (see Dikaios 1969–1971:16–21) and was designed to restrict physical and visual access to the copper production facilities inside it (Fisher 2007:199–204). The forts were by far the largest structures that had been built on the island up to that point, marking an unprecedented appropriation of space and investment in construction. Their often prominent locations were probably as much to enhance their prominence on the ProBA landscape as they were for defensive purposes. We know frustratingly little about the settlements that appear at this time, during what I have called the “Proto-urban” phase of the ProBA (Fisher 2007:287–289). Limited exposures in the settlement to the south of the Fortress at Enkomi reveal evidence for a series of large court-centered compounds in the location of the later Ashlar Building (Dikaios 1969–1971:plates 267–271; Figure 4). These buildings and the Fortress itself were separated from other structures by open spaces in which chamber tombs were located. Intramural tombs were a vital part of these Proto-urban built environments, marking a distinct break from thousands of years of burial in extramural cemeteries (Keswani 2004). Their visibility and continued reuse

throughout this Proto-urban period likely indicates that they were the primary means of status display among competing groups (Keswani 2004) and used in the negotiation and demarcation of both physical and social boundaries between them.

The fourteenth century B.C. marked the beginning of a fully urban period in which some new centers were founded, while other previously occupied settlements were urbanized and monumentalized. While these cities exhibit differing patterns of urbanization and internal structure (Iavovou 2007; Keswani 1996), they do share evidence for at least some degree of urban planning, a point I discuss further below (see Fisher 2014b). Something else that nearly all of these centers have in common is the presence of monumental buildings. In spite of attempts to assign specific labels (e.g., “sanctuary” or “public”) and functions to these new buildings, my analysis of an admittedly incomplete dataset suggests that they tended to serve multiple social, administrative, economic, and domestic purposes. Whatever other functions we might assign to these complexes, I have argued that they were designed largely around the provision of spaces for social occasions that brought occupants and visitors together, replacing the funerary realm as the primary arena in which ProBA social dynamics were enacted (Fisher 2007, 2009a). In general, ProBA monumental buildings were usually quite large, at least by Cypriot standards (c. 1400 m² for the largest such structure, Building II at Alassa-Paliotaverna, compared with c. 65–200 m² for typical domestic structures) and they tended to have a large, often central, court that was a focal point of such activities. Perhaps their most distinguishing feature, however, is the use of ashlar masonry, which I discuss in greater detail below. In spite of these general similarities, however, each building exhibited significant variation in how these elements were arranged, with the result that each was experienced differently and developed its own distinct biography through use and renovation.

The creation of ProBA monumental places involved the interplay of material agencies and human actions. People's experience of these buildings began with the initial planning and construction, a process of materialization that transformed ideas and values into physical reality. DeMarrais et al. (1996:16) emphasize that this was an ongoing process of creation and “that to materialize culture is to participate in the active, ongoing process of creating and negotiating meaning.” Building a monumental structure was undoubtedly a complex and long-term undertaking that involved the participation of a number of stakeholders from the elites who commissioned the building, through architects, various trained craftspeople, and numerous laborers, all of whom would have contributed to the building's biography and encoded meanings (Allison 1999:4; Fisher 2009a:189; Locock 1994:5; Markus 1993:23). In trying to imbue places with meanings that conveyed their power and identity, while at the same time facilitating desired behaviors in those who used these places, and providing opportunities for themselves to engage in or avoid social interaction, elites faced a number of choices regarding building layout and materials. These choices were influenced to some degree by the nature of the building site, particularly whether or not there was extant architecture that needed to be incorporated into the design (or removed), as well as by the ability to procure various material and human resources.

These choices were further constrained by what Rapoport (1990:87–122 Figure 17) refers to as the culturally determined “palette of elements” (height, size, color, orientation,

materials, etc.) and the “display rules” by which these elements could be combined to encode meanings. For ProBA elites, there was also the potential to draw upon the longer-established traditions of monumental construction of neighboring cultures with which they had regular diplomatic and economic contacts. Hitchcock (2009) suggests that the so-called “international style” seen in prestige goods that circulated among Late Bronze Age elites in this region, characterized by artistic motifs that reflect the hybridization of Near Eastern, Egyptian, and Aegean influences (Feldman 2006), may have extended to elite architecture as well (also Knapp 2008:160–162).

Beyond their role in configuring space, the characteristics of walls, including the materials with which they were made and the use of elaboration or decoration, were an essential aspect of monumental place making. Stone was a key material in this regard, serving as the foundations for all ProBA architecture, both nonelite and monumental. As I alluded to above, recent considerations of materiality have criticized the (over)emphasis of the role of things in facilitating the social lives of humans, while often failing to consider the physicality of the things themselves—their material properties and how these affect our engagement with the material world and create networks that link people and things (Hodder 2012; Ingold 2007; Knappett 2011). My own work on ProBA monumental architecture, while considering at some length the vital role of ashlar masonry in the nonverbal communication of meaning and the formation of elite identity, has only briefly touched on the materiality of the stone itself (Fisher 2009a:192–193). I reconsider it here, drawing on recent approaches that look at stone as both a physical and symbolic material, while attempting to outline some elements of the *chaîne opératoire*, or the steps that unfold in the technological sequence of turning raw stone into ashlar blocks (see Knappett 2012:196–201).

THE MATERIALITY OF ASHLAR MASONRY

The use of stone construction on Cyprus dates back at least to the Pre-Pottery Neolithic (PPN) B (c. 9100–8500 cal B.C.), or even the PPNA (c. 9100–8500 cal B.C.) if we consider the carving of pits and postholes into bedrock seen at the site of Ayia Varvara-Asprokremnos (Manning et al. 2010). Field stone rubble construction would continue to be used for building foundations until modern times. Yet it was not until the beginning of the ProBA that ashlar masonry is first seen on the island, where blocks with drafted margins were used for jambs and coigning in the otherwise rubble walls of the possibly Late Cypriot I fort at Nitovikla, one of the island’s earliest monumental buildings (Wright 1992:410). By the fourteenth or thirteenth centuries B.C., this type of masonry was generally used to replace (at least partially) the field stone rubble component of walls in monumental construction. In most situations the ashlar masonry would have extended up to 1.5 m or more above the floor level and was then topped by a superstructure of plastered and painted mudbrick. The Cypriotes developed a number of types of ashlar masonry, ranging from the most elaborate with a large projecting plinth of blocks with drafted margins surmounted by orthostats, to simpler solid or shell walls of small square or rectangular blocks (Fisher 2007:102–103 Figure 5.2; Hult 1983:5). The technical

expertise and expense in material and labor required by this form of construction were such that it tended to be applied strategically, with the more elaborate forms of masonry deployed where it was most likely to be seen or in spaces where high-level social interactions took place. Only Building II at Alassa-Paliothaverna makes extensive use of the most elaborate form of ashlar masonry (Hadjisavvas 2000).

It is perhaps not surprising that Cypriot elites would use cut stone in monumental construction, since ashlar masonry was a clear symbol of elite ability to control both material and human resources. Given that stone is one of the most difficult materials to work, the extent of its use provides some indication of the investment in monumental construction (Trigger 2003:567). We know more about the material resources than the human participants in these “projects of stone” (Richards 2010:57), but they undoubtedly involved the long-term engagement of large numbers of skilled and general laborers, overseers, and support workers at various resource extraction sites and the construction site itself, creating a web of human-material entanglements that would have implications beyond the spatial extent and temporal duration of a single project.

The long-term survival of stone allows us some insight into the *chaîne opératoire* of ashlar production. In addition to having desired aesthetic qualities, stone sources for ashlar construction had to be able to yield adequate block sizes (one ashlar block from Building II at Alassa-Paliothaverna, for example, was nearly 5 m long x 0.75 m wide), while being free of any minerals that might cause chemical decomposition or be affected by weather conditions (Philokyprou 2011:40). Ashlar sources were typically sedimentary formations found within a site’s hinterland, although the stone still had to be quarried some distance away and transported to the construction site. The centers of Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Maroni-Vournes and Tsaroukkas, Alassa-Paliothaverna and Palaepaphos used high quality calcareous sandstone from the Pachna geological formation (Philokyprou 2011:40; Wright 1992:364). At Kalavassos, this stone was likely obtained from a quarry at Tochni, c. 4 km to the east, which is still in use today (South 1989:320). In an example of material agency, or the *affordances* offered by a particular source material (Gibson 1986), Philokyprou (2011:40) notes that, in some cases, discontinuities in the Pachna formation create a “rectangular grid” that facilitates the easy removal of rectangular pieces of stone. These kinds of natural breaks in the source material might account for the irregular sizes of most ashlar blocks.

Ashlar construction at Kition illustrates that there was a gradation of stone use from three different sources (Philokyprou 2011:40–42 Figure 7; Xenophontos 1985; Wright 1992:365). A lower quality (due to its porosity) calcareous sandstone from the Nicosia and Athalassa formations (c. 4 km away) was used for “utilitarian” purposes such as blocks in the towers of the city wall, and is also used in ashlar construction in lower-order elite houses at the nearby urban center of Hala Sultan Tekke. Meanwhile, the monumental orthostats of the Temple 1 building at Kition were constructed using a visually striking whitish-colored reef limestone from the Koronia formation, located across Larnaca Bay, approximately 20 km away by sea. The impressive nature of these orthostats drew attention away from the fact that they were supported by a plinth of ashlar made from a conglomerate available on site (Figure 17.2). Other types of cut stone were also used in



FIGURE 17.2 Kition, Temple 1 showing ashlar orthostats on interior of north wall (photo by K. Fisher).

construction, including fine-grained chalk from the Lefkara formation, which could be cut into thin slabs and used as a veneer (Philokyprou 2011:42), as in the famous Basin Room in House A at Hala Sultan Tekke (Hult 1981:17). Gypsum was fairly abundant in Cyprus and could also be cut into thin slabs.

Other than the ashlar blocks themselves, there is little direct evidence for the process of quarrying on the island from the ProBA and no quarries have been identified as definitively from this period. What evidence there is from ProBA tools and ancient quarries of indeterminate date on the island suggests that once a suitable rock face was exposed and the block shape marked, circumferential trenches were cut down to the desired depth (perhaps determined by an existing fracture plane) using tools such as bronze axes, chisels, hammers, and perhaps saws. Metal or wooden wedges were then inserted into notches cut under the block and struck with hammers to split the block loose so that it could then be pried up using levers (Philokyprou 2011:43; Wright 1992:363). Initial dressing, especially for larger blocks, likely took place at or near the quarry site

and involved cutting the block back with bronze or stone tools to reveal a protruding lug or lifting boss that could be used to help secure ropes to move the stone.

Whether transported overland, perhaps by ox-drawn cart (undoubtedly an impressive sight), or by sea, the remains of ashlar “debitage” used to level some floors in the central part of the Ashlar Building at Enkomi suggest that the blocks likely underwent their final dressing on site (Dikaïos 1969–1971:172). Based on the evidence of Aegean and Egyptian ashlar construction, Nelson (2003) suggests that this took place *in situ* and that the blocks were laid with extra material on their upper surfaces to permit an entire course to be leveled and cut back using only one measurement across an entire wall surface. A number of blocks were fashioned with mortises or rabbets, indicating that wooden structural components were also an important part of monumental construction.

Most ashlar walls were of shell construction with rubble-packed centers, allowing the blocks to be finished only on surfaces that would be seen. In more elaborate ProBA ashlar walls, the exposed surfaces of blocks were only cut back and dressed along their margins, leaving a raised boss. While these drafted margins were used to correctly align blocks with their neighbors, it is clear that they became an important stylistic element of Cypriot ashlar construction. There was a great deal of variation among (and even within) sites as to how this was executed. In some cases, such as the exterior wall of Temple 1 at Kition, the drafted margins on the orthostats are barely visible and the central boss has been fully dressed. In others, such as the west wall of Building X at Kalavassos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, the margins were fully dressed while the central boss was left rough, with obvious tool marks (Figure 17.3). The lifting bosses were also often left in place, despite having fulfilled their practical purpose, and even if they were wholly or partially cut back, their locations often remained obvious. While Wright (1992:370–371) attributes this to an “aesthetics of economy,” he admits that it would have been a simple matter for even an apprentice mason to dress away the remainder of the block. I would suggest, rather, that these features were left deliberately as mnemonic devices symbolizing the process of monumental construction (and hence elite control of that process)—powerful reminders of the place from which these blocks came, the labor that was required to quarry and move them to the site, and the technical and managerial expertise needed to create a building with them. They are perhaps something akin to the “cut-away” images of vehicles used today by manufacturers to show the impressive engineering rarely seen beneath the polished exteriors. In a similar vein, we might also read these features as embodying the domestication of stone. In her study of the Inka use of stone, Dean (2010:76) suggests that to build with stone was to put it into order, essentially taming it. Thus, “[d]ressed and fitted stone might well be thought of as the most thoroughly domesticated of all rock” (Dean 2010:76).

Ashlar masonry contributed to the solidity and stability of monumental buildings, qualities that were instrumental in convincing people of the reality of the power through which the structures were built (Wilson 1988:179). In a culture where sundried mud-brick was the primary building material, stone symbolized permanence—not only of the building itself, but also of the social structure and underlying inequalities that facilitated its construction. Yet the significance of ashlar masonry went beyond merely symbolizing

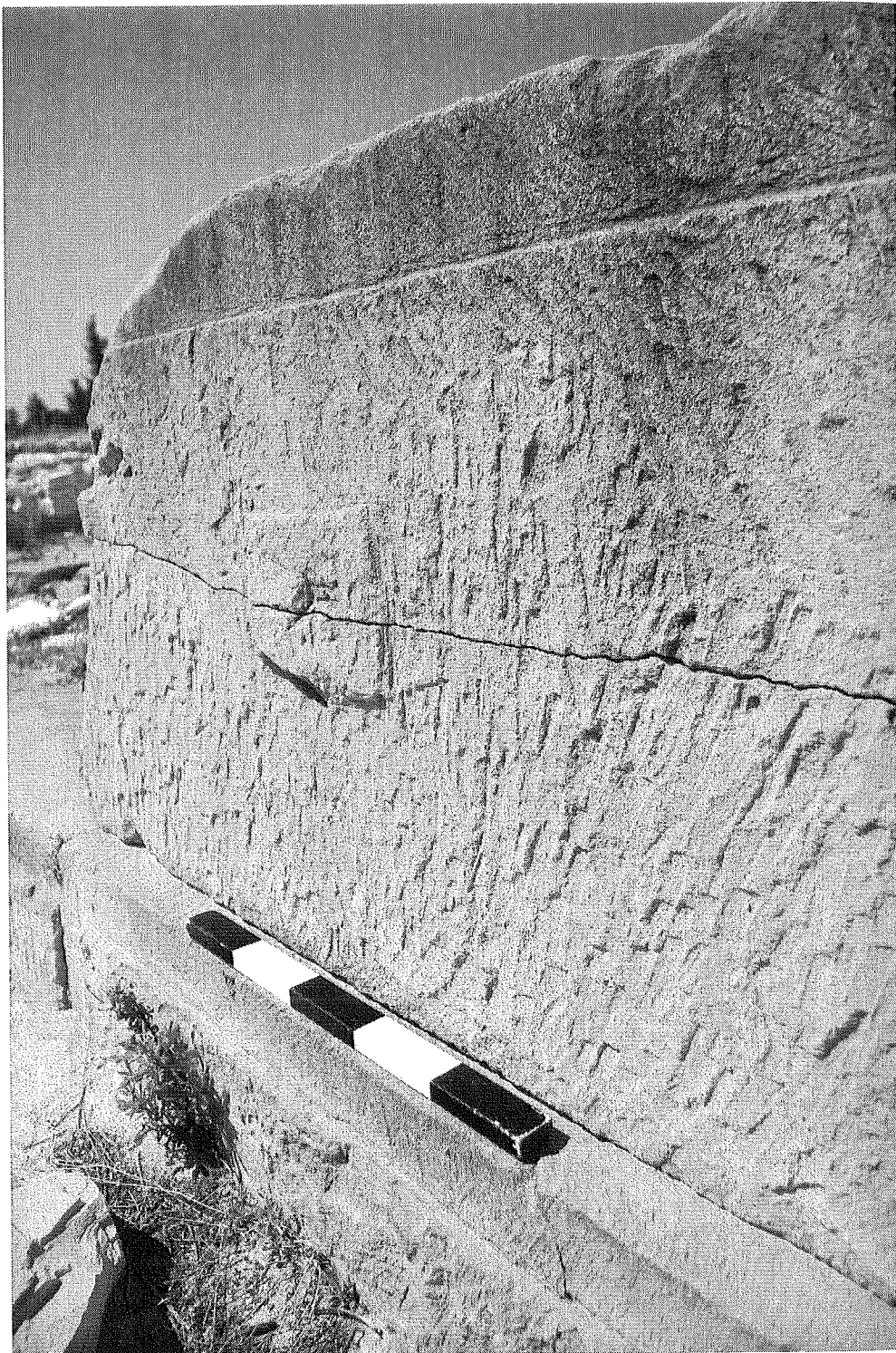


FIGURE 17.3 Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Building X showing detail of ashlar masonry on interior of west wall of the Pithos Hall (photo by K. Fisher).

elite power. The process of creating ashlar buildings outlined above points to an intimate knowledge of the physical properties of stone, obtained through embodied experience, by at least some of the participants. Stone was experienced in daily practice through an interlinked combination of sensorial characteristics that included visual, acoustic, and tactile properties (Tilley 2004). It is also implicated in the formation of identities and notions of personhood (Bukach 2003; Kirk 2006). In many past and ethnographically attested cultures, stones were not merely things, but were considered sacred, if not animate, active beings or even ancestors (Dean 2010; O'Connor and Cooney 2010:xxiii; Parker Pearson and Ramilsonina 1998; Scarre 2010:10–11; Taçon 1991; Tilley 2004). Given the importance of stones in human-environment interactions on ProBA Cyprus, we should acknowledge the possibility that they were not only active agents as argued above, but may have been perceived as such by the people who encountered them in daily practice. In any case, stones, and ashlar masonry in particular, played a vital role in ProBA place making, shaping social interactions while forming an integral part of the identity of urban inhabitants. As O'Connor and Cooney (2010:xxii–xxiii) argue,

[its] enduring character means that stone is inextricably linked to notions of monumentality and remembrance, and formed an active medium in the creation of identities and memory life in a range of social contexts and practices. . . . [T]he material presence and physical character of stone objects and monuments are not only actively harnessed in these encounters but are also the very stuff from which social relations are derived, perceived and thought through.

This materiality was experienced at multiple scales from cityscapes through particular buildings and their spaces.

EXPERIENCING MONUMENTALITY

CITYSCAPES, MONUMENTALITY, AND INTERACTION

I noted above that by the fourteenth century B.C. there were a number of urban centers on the island (Figure 17.1). While excavations have been conducted at all of them, the rather limited exposures provide only glimpses of their layouts. In spite of variation in the way it was executed, these cityscapes consistently exhibit varying degrees of top-down urban planning, presumably initiated by local ruling elites. Such planning was undoubtedly closely coordinated with the placement of major monumental buildings. The sites of Enkomi and Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios give us the best indication of what a nucleated ProBA city looked like. These settlements' extant plans suggest that they were characterized by the architectural definition and enclosure of the vast majority of urban space through the contiguous placement of building walls and streets. This contrasts with what (little) we know of centers such as Maroni and perhaps Palaepaphos, which, while apparently larger, may represent a lower density form of urbanism spread across multiple nuclei (Iacovou 2007:3–6).

Excavations at Enkomi have revealed nearly 20 percent of the city's urban plan, although difficulties in sorting out the site's complex chronology make a detailed

assessment of its urban development difficult (see Fisher 2007:120–122 Figure 17.4). The city was rebuilt on a grand scale c. 1200 B.C. (start of the ProBA 3; LC IIIA) using what Smith (2007:12–21) would call a modular orthogonal plan (Courtois et al. 1986; Dikaios 1969–1971). The grid, oriented to about 7° west of north, consists of a single, central north-south artery dissected by nine evenly spaced, east-west running streets, forming 20 blocks.

Covering about 14 ha, Enkomi was surrounded by a fortification wall and towers made with a base of cyclopean masonry (massive, roughly shaped boulders), undoubtedly

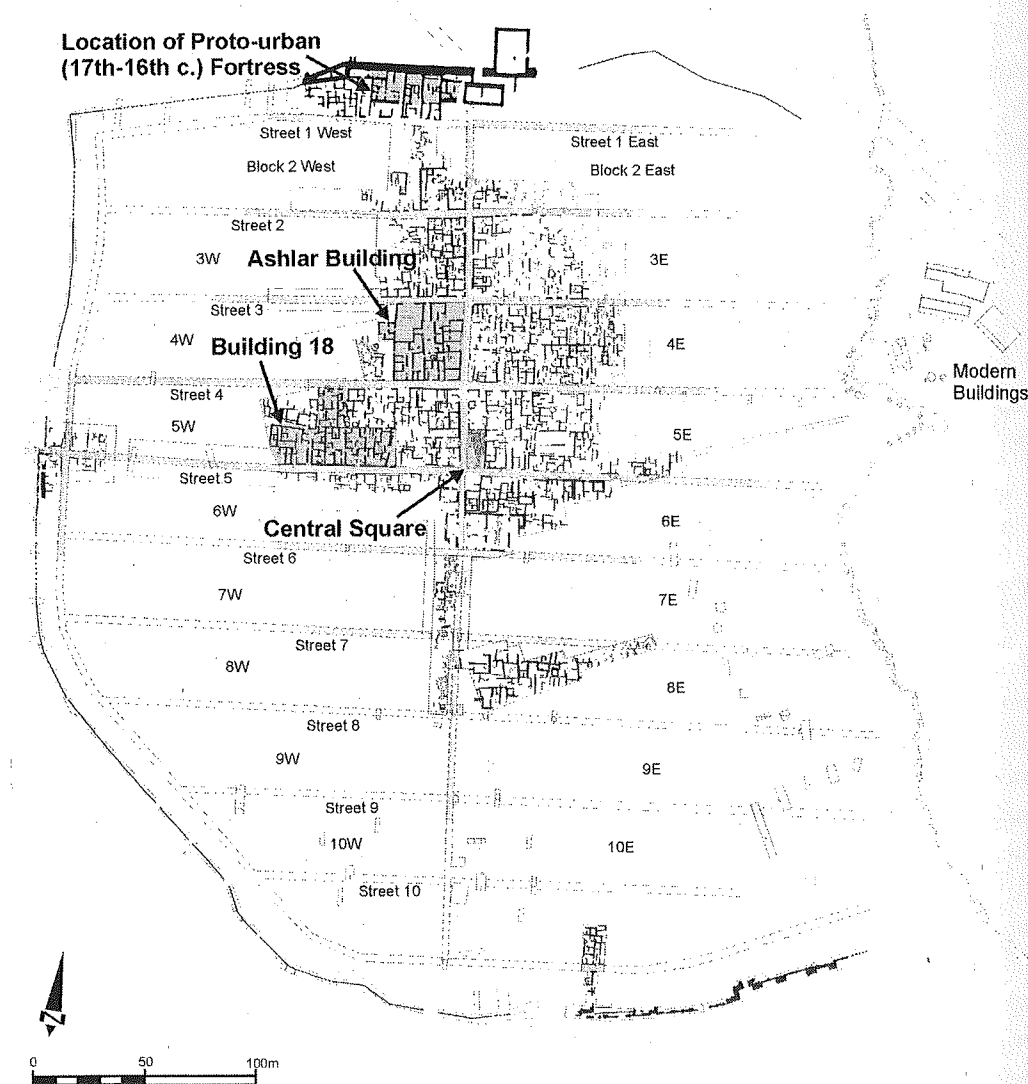


FIGURE 17.4 Schematic plan of Enkomi, c. 1200 B.C. (adapted by K. Fisher from Courtois et al. 1986:Figure 1; and Schaeffer 1971:Plan IV).

one of its most impressive monumental constructions. The city contained a variety of contiguously placed structures, including a number of monumental buildings built using ashlar masonry. The most architecturally elaborate of these, Building 18 (actually not a single building, but series of interconnecting units) and the Ashlar Building, had ashlar facades that could not have failed to make an impression on passersby. Building 18's façade of massive orthostats stretched more than 40 m along the north side of Street 5 West. Both structures were located on one of the major streets running between the city's gates. The Ashlar Building (Dikaios 1969–1971:171–190; Fisher 2007:115–198) is substantially larger than any other structure in the city, but it appears to have been an elite residence, lacking compelling evidence for administrative activities. The same might be said of the Building 18 complex (Schaeffer 1952:239–369). The lack of a single obvious administrative center, together with the generally widespread distribution of the highest status goods among elite graves throughout the city has led Keswani (1996, 2004:115) to suggest that there was no single focus of administrative power at Enkomi and that the site was therefore characterized by a heterarchical sociopolitical organization with power dispersed among multiple nodes (also Manning 1998:53).

The situation was different at sites such as Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Maroni, and Alassa, each of which has a single monumental complex that likely served as its administrative center, suggesting a more hierarchical distribution of power with a paramount ruling individual or group (Keswani 1996). Kalavassos is the best-known of these cities. In addition to data acquired from previous excavations in four separate areas (South 1980, 1997), research has recently been reinitiated with a new program of geophysical survey and test excavations by the Kalavassos and Maroni Built Environments Project (Fisher et al. 2011–12). This work has revealed roads and buildings that are generally oriented to 25° west of north, indicating that the city was laid out on a preconceived plan (Figure 17.5). No fortification wall has yet been found, but the distribution of surface finds and architectural remains suggests that the site was about 11.5 ha in size. The plan is characterized by what is likely an orthogonal grid with at least one major "north-south" street and one or more transverse "east-west" streets (Wright 1992:115). The north-south street, roughly 3.8 m wide, extends at least 150 m through three separate excavation areas, ending in the Northeast Area at Building X. This monumental building, built partially with ashlar masonry, is the largest structure found so far at the site and has revealed evidence for economic production, storage, and administration. South (1988:223) suggests that a large wall excavated along the north and east sides of Building X may have enclosed the entire Northeast Area. It is likely, therefore, that some form of zoning may have been imposed at the site in which the monumental administrative buildings were in the northeast, while other official buildings and higher-status residences, some of which also contained industrial facilities, were found in the eastern and central parts of the city, and smaller, nonelite dwellings were on the western outskirts (Wright 1992:115). The alignment of some buildings on opposite sides of the street suggests the possible existence of "lots," which in some cases were demarcated by long stretches of wall (South 1995:192).

The ProBA cities were, on one level, materializations of elite place making writ large. While nonelite city dwellers also engaged in place making at the neighborhood and

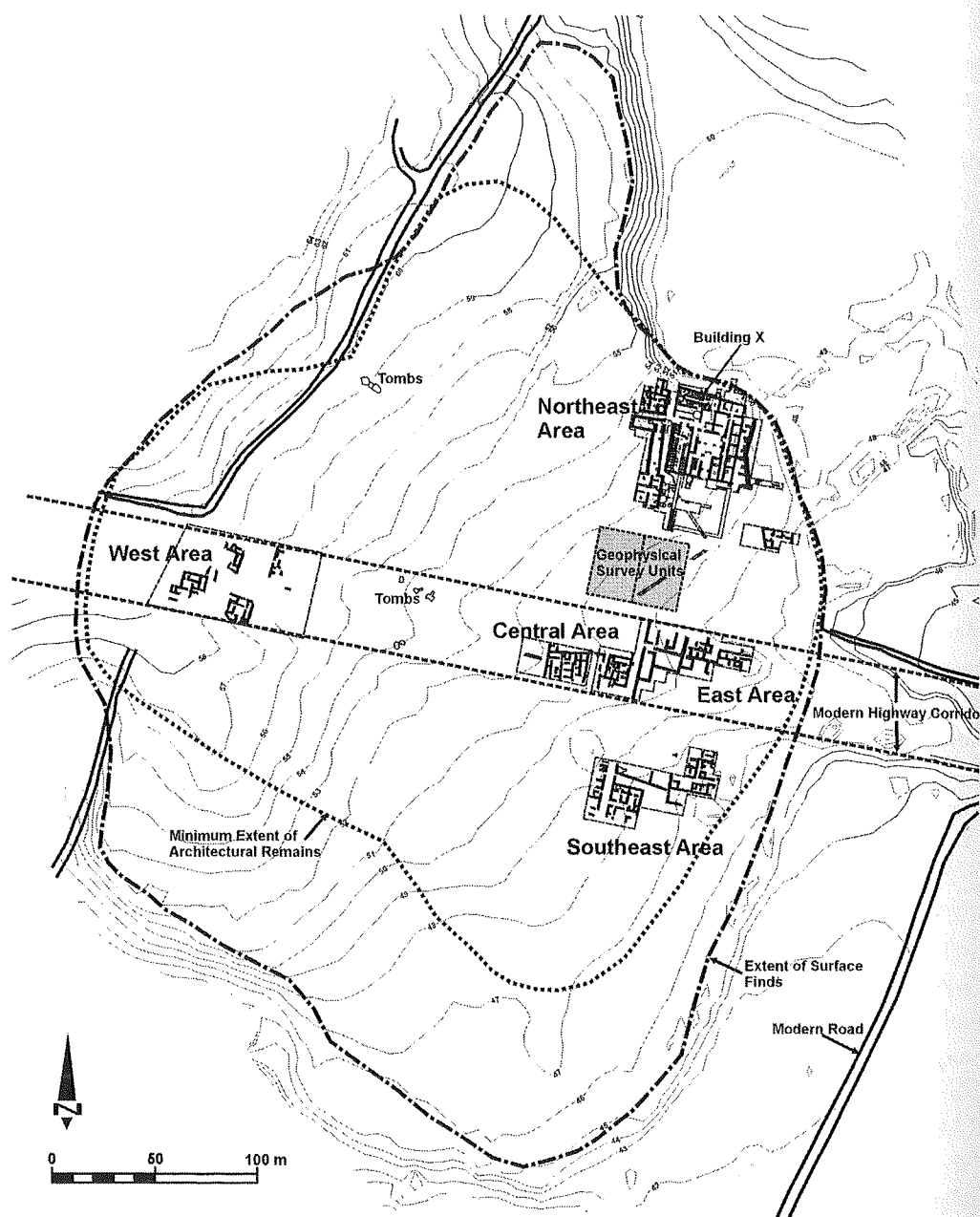


FIGURE 17.5 Schematic plan of Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios showing excavation areas (drawn by K. Fisher from data provided by A. South).

household scales, sometimes in ways that ran counter to top-down attempts to impose order (see Fisher 2014b), it is clear that urban planning facilitated the appropriation of space on an unprecedented scale and the creation of ordered and, what Kevin Lynch would call *imageable*, built environments. Lynch (1960:9) defines *imageability* as “that

quality in a physical object which gives it a high probability of evoking a strong image in any given observer. It is that shape, color, or arrangement which facilitates the making of vividly identified, powerfully structured, highly useful mental images of the environment.” This was materialized in some of the new cities in part through monumental construction, whether buildings, tombs, or massive fortifications, and the use of the orthogonal grid, which has been recognized as a tool of dominance in societies engaged in centralizing authority (e.g., Grant 2001; Love 1999; Smith 2007). These ordered environments were a profoundly different experience from the winding alleys and undifferentiated architecture of Prehistoric Bronze Age villages and undoubtedly contributed to the formation of new urban-based identities for their residents. Proshansky (1978:161) argues that an urban identity arises from the physical characteristics and requirements of life in urban contexts that socialize individuals to move, think, feel, play social roles, and solve problems in ways that are uniquely urban.

Another significant feature of ProBA urban environments is the limited number of publicly accessible open spaces (other than the streets themselves) where spontaneous gatherings or planned public-inclusive social occasions among a city’s inhabitants and visitors could take place. One of the only such spaces, the central square at Enkomi, was relatively small, but could hold roughly 380 standing people (based on modern architectural conventions [see Fisher 2009b:444], and not including the adjoining road space). Yet, the general lack of such spaces (bearing in mind the very incomplete plans we have to work with) suggests this was perhaps an effort by those who planned the infrastructure of cities to limit the occurrence of large-scale, uncontrolled social gatherings. The preference was instead to create monumental places with venues for staging social occasions that could be more easily controlled in terms of timing, the participants involved, and their proxemic relations.

INTERACTION IN AND AROUND MONUMENTAL BUILDINGS

One such place was in the Northeast Area of Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios. We are uncertain where the main north-south street begins in the southern part of the city, but it ran in a direct line for at least some 150 m before “ending” at the southwest corner of Building X, at which point it narrows to an alleyway and runs up the west side of the building. Archaeological evidence from both past and current excavations combined with ongoing ground-penetrating radar survey suggests that, as people moved north along this road, they would have reached some kind of structure in the road that may have controlled access to the Northeast Area (Fisher et al. 2011–12; Figure 17.6). Beyond this point, the road widens from nearly 4 m to 6 m, creating a large space more than 30 m long that may have functioned as a processional or ceremonial way or similar monumental performative space. The street was bounded on the east by the largely robbed-out ashlar façade of Building XII, which may have been a large columned hall (South 1991:136–137), and ended at the southwest corner of Building X. This building was undoubtedly two stories in height and, while the south façade is not well preserved, it was likely a continuation of the building’s impressive west façade, the base of which was made with

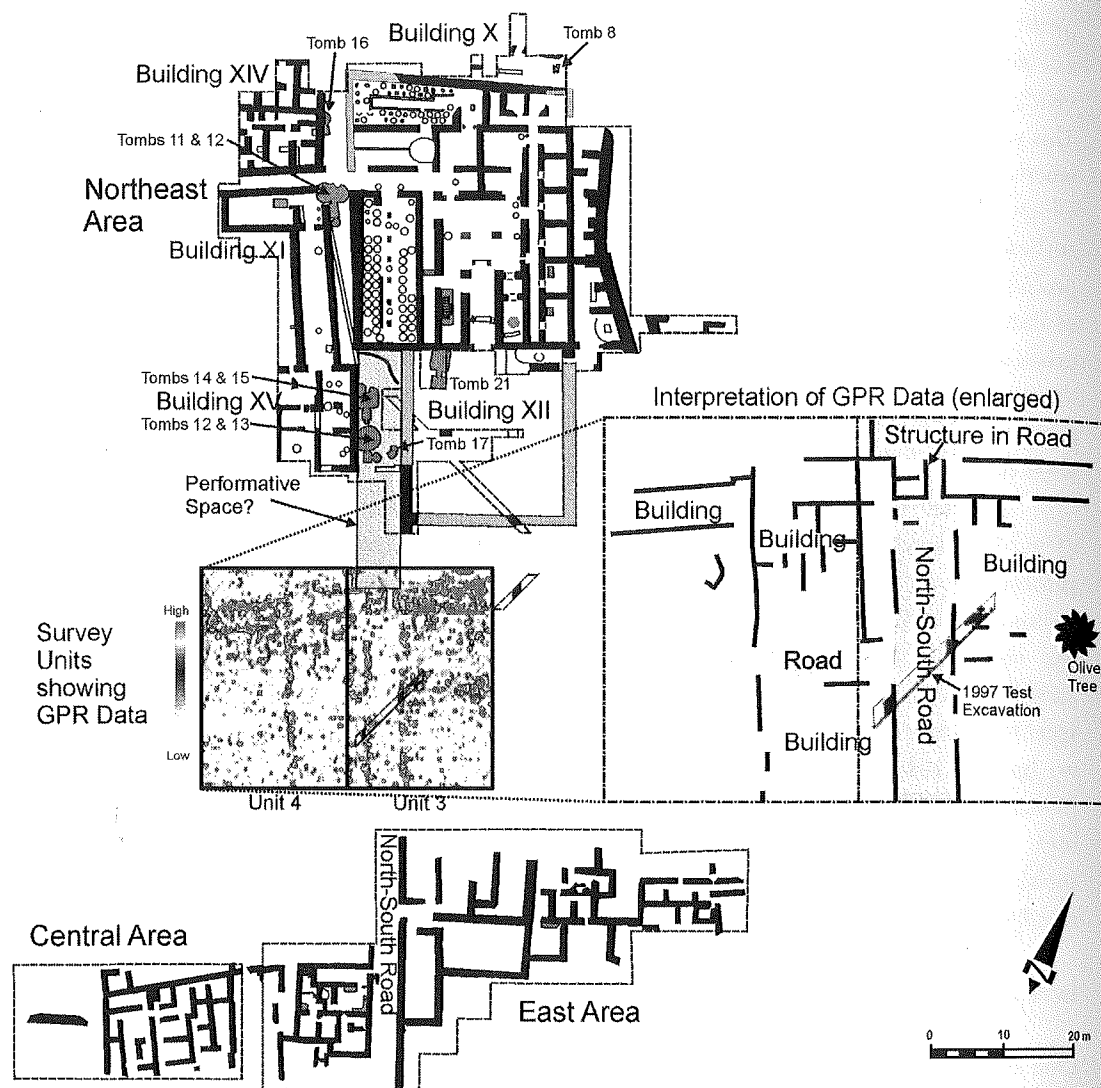


FIGURE 17.6 Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, detail of Northeast, Central, and East excavation areas, including results of 2010 ground penetrating radar survey (see Fisher et al. 2011–12 for details; adapted by K. Fisher from plan provided by A. South).

a plinth of monumental ashlar blocks with drafted margins and rough-hewn central bosses, topped by an orthostat of large blocks, also with drafted margins and lifting bosses (South 1984:19). In addition to the role of these various features in symbolizing the process of monumental construction as I suggested above, they also drew visual attention to the surface, highlighting the textures of the stone and the tool marks on the central bosses in the play of changing light and shadow. The use of a plinth with slightly inset orthostats also created additional visible contrast in the wall surface, while producing

lines that emphasized the horizontal extent of the building. As Tuan (1977:108) observes, “Spatial dimensions such as vertical and horizontal, mass and volume are experiences known intimately to the body. . . . But the meaning of these spatial dimensions gains immeasurably in power and clarity when they can be seen in monumental architecture.”

This effect was enhanced by the presence of earlier elite tombs (Tombs 12, 13, and 14), which would have been visible along the west side of the street, their entrances monumentalized with vertically placed stones and possibly posts (South 1997:170–171). These tombs predate the final phase of Building X and their continuity of use suggests a deliberate attempt to lay claim to these ancestors, whether the relationship was one of real or fictive kinship. This contrasts with the situation at nearby Maroni-Vournes, where the Ashlar Building was deliberately built on top of earlier tombs and elite architecture, essentially destroying them while announcing the ascendancy of these new ruling elites over the previous social order (Manning 1998). In either case, the memory of the earlier built environment still had great sociopolitical potency, which needed to be appropriated by either incorporation or effacement, and no doubt contributed to the efficacy of these places as monumental venues for social interaction. The space at the end of the north-south road at Kalavassos undoubtedly provided a highly imageable context for social occasions that took place there. There is no direct evidence for what these occasions were, but they likely included the arrival or departure of Building X’s elite inhabitants (perhaps in procession), as well as the arrival of visitors who were permitted access to this part of the city, perhaps as participants in the social occasions that occasionally took place within Buildings X and XII.

As important as the exteriors of monumental buildings were in communicating messages regarding the identity and social position of their builders, it was during the interactions that took place inside them that social relations of power were negotiated and enacted. I have argued elsewhere that interactions focused on ceremonial feasting, in addition to other ritual activities, were of particular importance in this regard (Fisher 2007, 2009a). Feasts were not only important arenas for display and competition for resources and power among various individuals and groups. These events also gave hosts the opportunity to either emphasize or downplay social distance depending on their sociopolitical objectives (see various papers in Bray 2003; Dietler and Hayden 2001; Wright 2004). ProBA monumental buildings were typically constructed with multiple venues to accommodate both public-inclusive and private-exclusive interactions, allowing for events that could be tailored to groups of various sizes and social statuses. The central court (Room 157) in Building X at Kalavassos was one such space (Figure 17.7). This architecturally elaborate room was constructed with ashlar masonry, at least along its north, east, and west walls, and had two large central columns, perhaps also of ashlar (only one base remains *in situ*), suggesting that this space was partially roofed. As an outdoor space it had a pebble floor, in contrast to the plaster floors elsewhere in the building (South 1984:22). Its main entrance, which appears to have been only accessible through Building XII, was an elaborate entry hall, with a series of thresholds of inset ashlar slabs that clearly marked the significance of movement into (or out of) the court. They also served as nonverbal cues for the movement of visitors forward, funneling view-

Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios BUILDING X

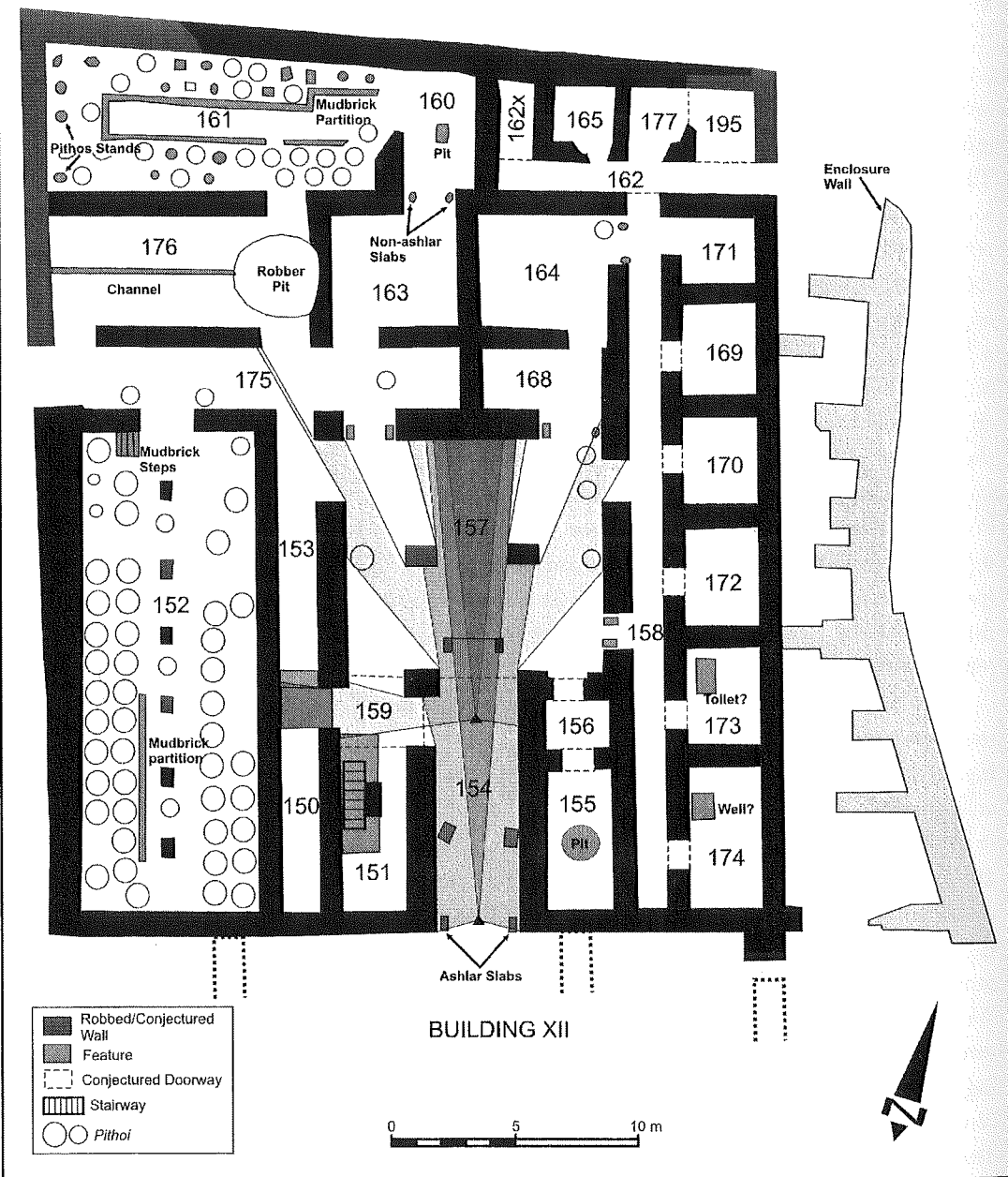


FIGURE 17.7. Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, schematic plan of Building X showing viewsheds from two points as one moves toward central court (Room 157) from the main entrance (Room 154). A viewshed represents what a person can see looking forward, with the lighter shaded area indicating the full 200° range of peripheral vision and the smaller darker shaded area indicating the 10° range of detailed (macular and foveal) vision (drawn by K. Fisher).

sheds into the impressive court and gradually revealing this monumental space as one moved forward. A deposit from a shaft in Room 173 (likely a latrine) contained 4.4 kg of animal bones in association with some 85 ceramic vessels, many of them Mycenaean imports, which appear to have been purposefully broken in an act of conspicuous consumption that must have ended a large feasting event (Fisher 2007:224–225; South and Russell 1993:304–306; South 2008). I have suggested that such an event would have likely taken place in the central court, although a larger, less exclusive feast could have been accommodated in Building XII.

Equally impressive are Building X's facilities for the production and storage of olive oil. The centerpiece of this is the "Pithos Hall" (Room 152), which was the largest and most architecturally elaborate room in the building, with its south and west walls constructed of the most elaborate type of ashlar masonry and a roof supported by six ashlar columns carved from single blocks. The room contained the remains of more than 50 massive ceramic storage jars (*pithoi*), 1.5 to 2 m in height, with a total capacity exceeding 33,000 l and which analyses suggest would have likely held olive oil (South 1989:321). I suggest that these *pithoi* were monumental objects in their own right and expressions of elite identity, symbolizing control over both the highly specialized labor behind their production as well as their economically important contents. It is no coincidence that they are often displayed in prominent places, such as the central court, where they could be easily recognized.

A similar sociospatial dynamic is evident in the Ashlar Building at Enkomi, although it was materialized rather differently (Fisher 2009b:451–455 Figure 17.8). There, the highest-level social occasions were held in a central hall (Room 14) constructed mainly of the most elaborate type of ashlar masonry, and focused around a monumental central hearth, possibly surrounded by up to four wooden posts. This arrangement created a context for interaction that corresponds quite closely to Hall's "personal" proxemic distance within which participants are within or just outside of touching distance (Hall 1966). At this distance, participants are close enough to perceive facial details and expressions, as well as what Goffman (1963:25) refers to as one's personal front: details in clothing, hair, jewelry, and other nonfixed-feature elements that nonverbally communicate gender, rank, office, and other aspects of individual and group identity. Sense of smell is also important at this distance and likely played a significant role in the context of preparing and consuming food and drink, as suggested by the ceramic assemblage recovered in this room (Dikaio 1969–1971:314–315). The Ashlar Building had two other such halls (Rooms 45 and 46), but made of rubble masonry, allowing the hosts to "filter" visitors according to their social status, and providing multiple venues for ceremonial or competitive feasts during which the elite occupants could, depending on the occasion and context, either build social ties with guests or create and reinforce social distance and distinction.

CONCLUSIONS: BECOMING MONUMENTAL

The Ashlar Building at Enkomi was destroyed in the early twelfth century B.C. and rebuilt shortly thereafter. Tellingly, perhaps, the new occupants broke up the impressive central hall into smaller rooms and built a staircase directly over its hearth, obliterating

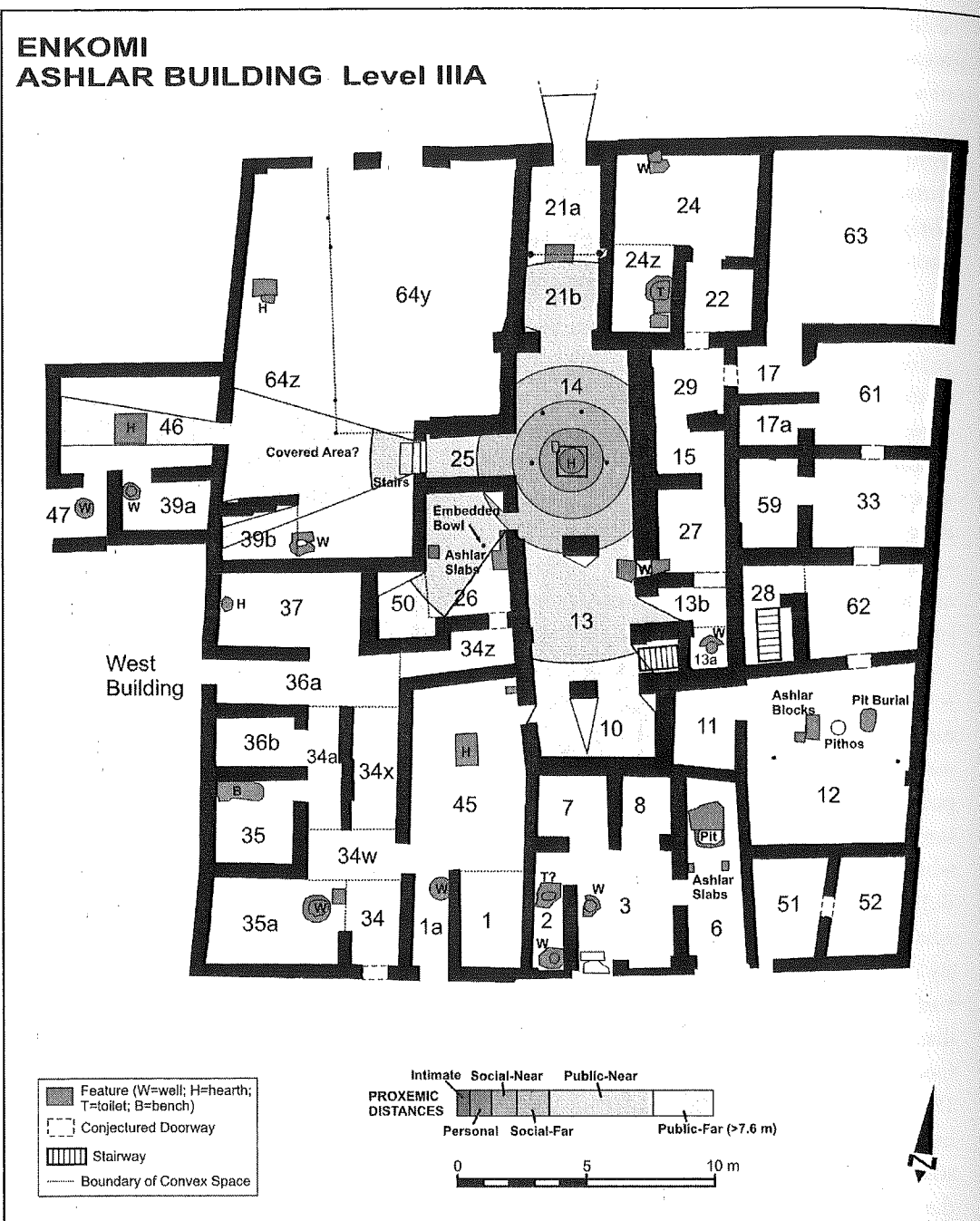


FIGURE 17.8 Enkomi Ashlar Building Level IIIA schematic plan with isovist field for Room 14 showing proxemic distances from central hearth (drawn by K. Fisher).

the remains of the monumental core of the original building. Its ashlar blocks were reused or repositioned to materialize completely new messages of power and identity and structure new patterns of movement and interaction. This illustrates the seemingly contradictory qualities of permanence and mutability that are essential characteristics of monumentality. The enduring materials of which many monuments are made appear to make permanent the ideologies that underlie their creation. Yet this same enduring quality makes monuments primary targets for appropriation, alteration, or even destruction by those who come after, seeking to manipulate social memory for their own purposes (van Dyke and Alcock 2003; Zerubavel 2003:41). The discovery of ProBA monuments by archaeologists has once again engaged these places in the island's sociopolitical dynamics as they become implicated in the construction of identity in a contested present (e.g., Knapp and Antoniadou 1998; Leriou 2002). Monumentality is thus a process rather than a state and we should view the Ashlar Building and its contemporaries as always in a process of becoming monumental.

In their initial construction and use, ProBA monumental buildings were symbols of conspicuous consumption, marking the efforts of powerful elites to demonstrate their control over human and material resources. As I have tried to demonstrate, however, this only tells part of the story of what makes something monumental. Monumentality was the product of acts of place making, expressed and experienced at various spatial and temporal scales. Indeed, it was through the dynamic interplay of people and things in the context of daily practice and ritual performance that monumental places were imbued with meanings and memories that contributed to their unique biographies. As Osborne illustrates in this volume's introduction, any attempt to define monumentality must acknowledge this codependent and mutually constituting relationship.

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