

4 Orientalization and Prehistoric Cyprus: The Social Life of Oriental Goods

A. Bernard Knapp

Introduction

‘Orientalization’ is a concept most frequently encountered in discussions of the Iron Age Mediterranean world (e.g. Burkert 1992; Cuozzo 1994; Morris 1992). Its impact, real or imagined, typically is thought to affect an area stretching from the Aegean to Italy and even to Levantine Spain. The current debate over the viability of this concept—whether it is useful in interpreting the dynamics of inter-Mediterranean social contact and cultural change, or whether it is simply a ‘factoid’ of contemporary historiography—is one that has been less pertinent in discourses on Mediterranean prehistory, and at the same time less apparent on Cyprus and in the eastern Mediterranean (cf. Peltenburg 1991, on both counts), perhaps because of their proximity to or involvement in what is deemed to be the ‘ancient Orient’.

Given this situation, and at the same time attempting to contribute to the debate that forms the central theme of this volume, I approach issues related to Orientalization from a different vantage point. To set the background, and to extend the discussion along a related but perhaps unexpected trajectory, I consider the relationship between Orientalization and *Orientalism* (Said 1978), especially in light of concerns about the relevance of modern historiographic constructs for interpreting the past.

To come to grips with Orientalization in the *prehistoric* eastern Mediterranean, I follow to some extent the methodology that characterizes Iron Age approaches to this issue. That is, I consider the meanings of the import of Egyptian and Near Eastern objects, and their associated symbolism and royal ideology, into Late Bronze Age Cyprus. I do so explicitly from the perspective of considering the social life of these objects, as well as notions of distance and access to the ‘exotic’, as possible sources of social power for and amongst Cypriot elites (see also Knapp 1998).

The extensive and comprehensively published archaeological record of Late Bronze Age Cyprus includes the following objects and iconographic components, directly relevant to such an approach:

1. several gold, metal, faience and glyptic items decorated with animal motifs, sphinxes, bull-, lion- or griffin-headed beings;
2. female and kilted male figures shown dominating lions or griffins;
3. hieroglyphic signs and other images;
4. several carved ivory objects portraying struggles between lions and bulls, hunting scenes, warriors combating griffins, sphinxes and vegetation motifs.

All these items, many with a very complex biography and iconography, suggest a sophisticated manipulation of the Near Eastern ideology of kingship and royal power (e.g. Caubet 1986; Feldman 1998, 2002a, 2002b; Keswani 1989). This adoption of Near Eastern objects and icons of power may have served initially to centralize and legitimize the political economy at Enkomi (Webb 2000), but subsequently it functioned to disperse the wealth derived from copper production and interregional trade more widely throughout the island.

In what follows, I discuss first the relationship between Orientalization and *Orientalism*, and then present an overview of the relevant archaeological evidence. To situate the study in its cultural context, I provide a brief discussion of the geopolitical configuration of Late Bronze Age Cyprus. I then consider the social lives, and the likely role of ‘Oriental’ luxury goods within Cypriot (elite) society, discussing both the objects and their iconography. I continue with consideration of how the distance between ‘Oriental’ states and Cyprus, as well as the very notion of (ancient) Orientalism, may have helped to establish, stabilize and legitimize social power amongst Cypriot elites. I conclude with a more nuanced discussion of how distance, the accumulated histories of luxury objects, and power all were entangled in the ways that the Oriental ‘other’ impacted on Late Cypriot society. Finally, I assess the value of the Orientalization concept for a better understanding of the dynamics of eastern Mediterranean prehistory.

Orientalization and Orientalism in Cyprus

Edward Said’s (1978) *Orientalism* refers to a negative, postcolonial concept associated with the (early) modern era and should not be confused with Orientalization in the Bronze or Iron Ages. The relevance of *Orientalism* to this study stems in part from the fact that ‘Orientalizing’ evidence has at times been overlooked or ignored in discussions of culture contact, acculturation and the direction or influence of cultural change in the eastern Mediterranean (Bernal 1987, 2001; Bass 1997; cf. Webb 2000). It is therefore important to attempt to isolate an *ancient* view of Orientalism and its otherness. If Said’s *Orientalism* is, in one sense, an ‘archive of information’ commonly held by 19th and 20th century colonial powers in the west and geared specifically to ensure domination over the Orient (Said 1978:32–42), then an ancient view of Orientalism, I suggest, was distinctively different in its social and ideological significance and impact.

One of the few studies that even mentions Cyprus in the context of (modern) attitudes to *Orientalism*—in particular that of Bernal’s *Black Athena* (1987, 1991)—is Walz’s (1997) review of the Cypriot role in Near Eastern-Aegean contacts during the Bronze Age. Steadfastly Cypro-centric throughout his study, Walz seeks to demonstrate how Cyprus, notwithstanding its unsubstantiated image as a crossroads between ‘Orient and Occident’ (Karageorghis 1982, 1986), is in fact often ignored or assigned a passive role in studies of Near Eastern trade with the Aegean or Cyprus. Bernal, for his part, does not deny that Cyprus played a crucial role in Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean trade. Rather he argues that such a role has perpetuated ‘Aryanist and isolationist’ attitudes amongst archaeologists by acting as a ‘filter between East and West, allowing them to be in contact *without actually touching*’ (Bernal 1991:494, original emphasis, cited by Walz 1997:4). If, as it seems, Bernal de-emphasizes the Cypriot role because of its ideological implications (Walz 1997:4), Walz tends to overstate that same

role without recognizing that he is not alone in portraying the politico-economic status and social position of Cyprus in the study of eastern Mediterranean interaction spheres.

For Mediterranean polities of the Late Bronze Age, contact with the distant and exotic Orient—ideological, economic, individual—was a desirable commodity, one that served to enhance the social status of Mediterranean elites and to perpetuate their exclusionary political position alongside other Mediterranean and Levantine elites. In other words, if modern *Orientalism* served to establish and legitimize colonial regimes in the Middle East, Africa and Asia, ancient Orientalism enabled ‘western’ (i.e. Mediterranean) elites, through their knowledge of and contact with—but *not* power over—ancient Near Eastern realms, to establish, stabilize and expand their own authority at home. Orientalization, therefore, should not be seen so exclusively as representing the passive impact of ancient Near Eastern culture, material culture, art and ideology on the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean. Rather it may be seen as an active strategy adopted by Mediterranean—especially Aegean and Cypriot—elites of the Late Bronze Age to amplify their own socio-political and economic status.

Because ‘The Orient had been since antiquity a place of romance, exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, remarkable experiences’ (Said 1978:1), it is entirely appropriate in considering the relationship between distance, knowledge and social power to engage with *Orientalism* in re-considering the value and relevance of Orientalization. Indeed, Herodotos was equally enchanted by the magic, the allure and the antiquities of ancient Egypt (Morris 1992, 1996:169). Or, as the Sherratts (1998:330) put it more generally: ‘.... there is also the interpretation of *ex Oriente lux*. The ancient Greeks themselves were not unaware of their indebtedness to lands further east for the origin of many of the crucial arts of civilisation.’

Another issue that must be borne in mind is the way that modern scholars (including myself) always assume some level of mutual exclusivity between the (secondary) states of the eastern Mediterranean and the (primary) states of western Asia, when in fact the social and cultural identities within either of those areas were multiple, variable and complex. We need to bear in mind, and seek to delineate better, the constant tension between connectedness and otherness that must have motivated interactions between these culture arenas, to consider how that tension may have motivated and been mediated by spheres of interaction—ideological, iconographic and individual—that permeated the entire region (Marian Feldman, personal communication, 2002).

Orientalization and prehistoric Cyprus: an archaeological overview

Throughout the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean during the second millennium BC, archaeological and iconographic evidence for an artistic and ideological *koine* continues to mount (Feldman 1998, 2002a; Keswani 1989; Knapp 1998; Peltenburg 1991; Sherratt 1994; Webb 2000). In each case, the evidence for this phenomenon must be assessed cautiously and contextually if we are to gain any insight into the commercial, ideological, artistic and social dynamics that characterized the region, and helped to legitimize and perpetuate its elites. It is argued here that the experience and knowledge gained by Mediterranean traders and political elites is a direct result of their contacts with the distant polities of ancient western Asia, and of the objects they exchanged and displayed. Both factors were key sources of social power, invisible commodities and tangible goods that motivated trade, modified cultural attitudes, made reputations, stimulated acculturation and continuously transformed social practices.

For a ‘secondary’ state such as Cyprus (Keswani 1996; Peltenburg 1996; Webb 2000), contacts with the ancient Orient were motivated at least partly by the wish of local elites to enhance their social and political position. For the ‘primary’ states of western Asia, these same contacts would have been stimulated equally by economic and political concerns. I should suggest, and will try to defend the proposition that co-optation of certain aspects of Near Eastern iconography, images, objects, artists or ideas into localized contexts on Cyprus represents social as well as individual exchange. The coding of elite motifs used in Cypriot, Aegean and Levantine jewellery, metalwork, frescoes, ivories, and faience or pottery vessels is seldom discussed with reference to the ideational aspects of long-distance trade, or even to the possible exchange of craftspeople as producers of art—works and renowned objects that capitalized on the significance of distance and the other.

I have discussed elsewhere (Knapp 1998) how recent finds of ‘Minoan’-style wall-paintings at Tell ed Dab’a in the Egyptian delta and at Tel Kabri in Israel should be seen not as indicators of travelling Minoan artists and craftspeople, nor as the result of inter-marriage between the different states. Rather they should be regarded as indicative of the role that distance and the exotic played in Bronze Age Mediterranean maritime travel and trade. On Cyprus, the social, economic and ideological transformations that characterize the Late Bronze Age have already been linked in part to a major growth in interaction with the older civilizations of the Near East. Keswani (1989), for example, maintains that towards the end of the 13th century BC, Cypriot elites sought to distinguish themselves by using various prestige goods imported from Egypt and the Near East, or by imitating prototypes from those areas.

In what follows, after setting the context with a brief overview of the geopolitical configuration on Late Bronze Age Cyprus, I present various material items, luxury objects that represented social and individual exchanges between the Orient and the Occident. Can closer consideration of the social lives of such objects inform and elaborate on an ancient view of Orientalism and in turn help us to develop a more nuanced and multivalent concept of Orientalization?

Cyprus and the Near East: the Late Bronze Age

Late Bronze Age geopolitical configurations

In order to discuss the Orientalizing phenomenon with respect to Late Bronze Age Cyprus, it is necessary first to outline the geopolitical configuration on the island, insofar as it is known or surmised. During the course of the Bronze Age, Cypriot society was transformed from an isolated, village-based culture into an international, urban-centred, possibly state-level polity. Interpretations of these developments differ radically. Frankel *et al.* (1996; Frankel 2000), for example, maintain that migrating or invading Anatolian colonists made a major impact on Cypriot Bronze Age culture whereas others (e.g. Knapp 1990, 2001; Manning 1993) hold that local responses to social pressures and economic demand provided the stimulus for change. When it comes to the Late Bronze Age, the development of social complexity is seen as stemming from processes of urbanization, state formation, and/or ‘heterarchical’ society (e.g. Keswani 1996; Knapp 1986; Negbi 1986; Peltenburg 1996).

One factor seems indisputable: during the 17th–16th centuries BC, a single pre-eminent polity emerged at the site of Enkomi on the east coast of Cyprus (Knapp 1988; Muhly 1989;

Peltenburg 1996). The earliest Late Bronze Age levels excavated at other sites—e.g. Hala Sultan Tekke *Vyzakia*, Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Alassa *Palaeotaverna*—have been limited in exposure, and it is thus quite difficult to demonstrate one way or another their political or economic relationship to Enkomi. Whether or not the authority of Enkomi's elites extended to the entire island therefore remains uncertain, but several factors indicate that whoever controlled the polity centred at Enkomi also exercised control over the intensified mining, production and export of Cypriot copper. Peltenburg (1996) suggests that this hegemony may be seen archaeologically in a series of fortifications that safeguarded the transport of copper from the Troodos mining regions to Enkomi. Once the raw copper was further refined and prepared for export in industrial sectors at the site, elites at Enkomi not only would have controlled the overseas distribution of copper, they also would have had direct access to overseas markets and their managers, and in particular to the luxury goods that began to trickle into the island at this time. In turn, these direct interactions with the exotic polities, factions, communities and individuals in the Near East would have enhanced the aura of power sought by Cypriot elites.

By the 14th–13th centuries BC, this situation had changed. If Enkomi once held pre-eminent status amongst the regional polities on Cyprus, its dominance finally gave way to a series of local polities administered by local elites. These elites had gained control of copper production and distribution on a local or regional level, mobilized agricultural goods and surpluses to support industrial, artistic and other specialists, and commanded other material and symbolic resources (Webb 2000). Goren *et al.* (2003) recently have argued that either Alassa *Palaeotaverna* or Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios* now became the pre-eminent polity of *Alashiya* (the Bronze Age name for Cyprus). Although their argument is compelling, we need a comprehensive reassessment of all the relevant documentary and archaeological evidence before we can begin to elaborate on the foundation they have provided. Wherever the political centre may have been situated, all these regional polities operated within a well organized, hierarchical system of primary and secondary centres, mining communities and agricultural support villages, other production sites (pottery, olive oil, etc.), and transshipment points that facilitated social, economic and ideological exchanges on the island (Keswani 1993, 1996; Knapp 1997, 2003; Webb and Frankel 1994).

Although the details of this geopolitical configuration might be debated (e.g. Baurain 1984; Merrillees 1986, 1992; Steel 2003; Wachsmann 1986) and certainly will be refined as more evidence accumulates, its general features are accepted by most specialists involved in the study of Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Less certain are the organizational strategies that facilitated the production, distribution and consumption of resources amongst the island's regional polities, and the identity and status of those who dictated these policies. The elites involved must have established new mechanisms and ideological sanctions geared to motivate trade, legitimize their own authority, ensure compliance amongst the various factions involved in the mining, smelting and transport of copper, and overall to integrate society more generally. In what follows, I consider how the import of Egyptian and Near Eastern objects and symbols of value, authority and royal ideology impacted on these new organizational strategies.

Luxury goods, distance and social power

Amongst the major transformations that characterized the Cypriot Late Bronze Age was a notable increase in interactions with the state-level polities of both the Near East and the

Aegean. Keswani maintains that by the 13th century BC (and in some cases much earlier), Cypriot elites distinguished themselves and legitimized their roles through the display of imported ivory, gold and faience objects, as well as ceremonial *rhyta* acquired from or imitating those of their Near Eastern and Aegean counterparts. She argues that the ‘cosmic symbolism’ of several gold, metal, stone and glyptic items from Enkomi, decorated with animal motifs, sphinxes, hieroglyphic signs and other images, along with 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 1989:69–70). Changes in the iconography and design of various Cypriot products, based on luxury objects imported to Cyprus, traditionally have been associated with the presence of Near Eastern or Aegean craftspeople, or of various invaders and migrating groups, like the Sea Peoples, Lycians or Hittites. Keswani (1989:70) rightly asserts, however, that more fundamental politico-ideological transformations were at work, characterized by Near Eastern or Aegean representations of power and authority raised to cosmic dimensions.

From a very different perspective but one that equally links luxury goods with social power, Feldman (1998, 2002a) reconsiders the ‘International Style’ of a small number of prestige goods from Ugarit on the Syrian coast. Made of ivory, alabaster, gold and faience, these items share hybrid motifs and compositional devices, and served as symbolic resources that promoted and enhanced the identity and status of royal elites throughout western Asia and the eastern Mediterranean, including the Aegean and Cyprus. Feldman has taken a long-standing but ill-defined concept (‘International Style’) of a commonly shared repertoire of motifs found on luxury goods throughout this region (e.g. Crowley 1989; Kantor 1947; Poursat 1977; Smith 1965; Vercoutter 1956) and redefined it. By looking at the shared formal attributes of a wide range of luxury objects, she construes the International Style anew as ‘a more narrowly bounded visual expression of specific cultural circumstances that coexisted with other artistic modes’ (Feldman 2002a:7). Some of the gold, ivory and alabaster items analysed at length by Feldman share certain designs and motifs with those presented by Keswani. Equally important for the present study, Feldman isolates two primary thematic categories: (1) combative subjects in states of extreme motion (animal attack and hunting scenes) and (2) more orderly renderings of herbivores and vegetation (heraldic scenes with animals flanking stylized vegetation). The combative themes are represented by lions, griffins, sphinxes and bulls, whilst the heraldic themes are illustrated by goats, bulls, leonine creatures and palmettes, rosettes or other flowers. Feldman (2002a:17–23) suggests that 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.

The social life of ‘Oriental’ luxury goods on Cyprus

I can add little to the richly detailed empirical, art historical and theoretical aspects of these studies by Keswani and Feldman. Nor, indeed, is it necessary to recapitulate to any extent their more than ample stylistic, spatial and chronological presentations of a wide range of luxury goods found throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Instead, I propose to consider the ‘social life’ of these and other objects, who sought them and why they did so. In particular, I argue that elites on Late Bronze Age Cyprus purposely adopted and reinterpreted Levantine and Egyptian royal and ideological symbols to enhance their own power and prestige, both

on Cyprus and within wider Mediterranean social and political interaction spheres.

In this line of argument, I draw upon Appadurai's (1986) notions on the social life of things (or commodities), and Kopytoff's (1986) landmark study on the cultural biography of things. I emphasize, however, the social life of objects as opposed to their cultural biography, because the latter concept was formulated primarily to consider unique items as they move through different contexts and usages, if not individual hands, and thus acquire a *specific* biography. The social history of things, in contrast, is concerned with larger scale dynamics and longer term changes (in demand, meaning, etc.) in various classes or types of objects, changes that transcend the individual biographies of particular items in those classes or types. As Appadurai (1986:34) explained it: 'Thus a particular relic may have a specific biography, but whole types of relic, and the class of things called "relic" itself, may have a larger historical ebb and flow, in the course of which its meaning may shift significantly'. Nonetheless, the social history of things cannot be fully separated from the cultural biography of specific objects because the former—over long periods of time and at diverse social levels—constrains the form, meaning and structure of the latter with respect to their specific, shorter term, more intimate trajectories (Appadurai 1986:36). I return to these concepts at various points throughout this study.

To assess the situation on Cyprus more closely, I employ only a *representative sample* of the material that portrays Near Eastern contacts, without excluding evidence from the Aegean. To limit the chronological scope of this study within manageable proportions, I include only material dating from the Late Cypriot (LC) IIA–LC IIIA (Protohistoric Bronze Age 2) era, about 1450–1190 BC (for earlier Cypro-Levantine/Egyptian contacts, see most recently Manning 2001:80–84; Marcus 2002; Webb 2000).

Keswani (1989:70) suggests that Near Eastern symbols of royal power become much more prevalent from LC IIC onwards (i.e. around 1200 BC), when organizational changes, metalworking activity and specialized craft production are seen to proliferate at Enkomi. Although some of these developments only become prominent at Cypriot sites in LC IIC or LC IIIA levels, they must have had antecedents extending back at least to the beginning of the LC II period, about 1450 BC (Knapp 1988). In fact, excavations at sites such as Alassa *Palaeotaverna*, Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni *Vournes*, and Hala Sultan Tekke *Vyzakia* now reveal some of these earlier stages (summarized with references in Knapp 1994:282–90).

From several tombs at Enkomi comes an array of objects crafted in or emulating goods from Egypt (for full references on the following items, see Keswani 1989:62–68, 71–74). British Tomb 93, for example, contained:

1. an ornate necklace identified as an Egyptian *ousekh* collar
2. a scarab bearing the name of Ti, wife of Amenophis III
3. a silver finger ring engraved with the name of Amenophis IV, and
4. several stamped gold bands with sphinxes, lions, goats, rosettes and palmettes, all motifs associated with Near Eastern royal insignia.

Several LC IIC tombs reveal an array of Near Eastern luxury goods such as faience, glass and ivory (French Tomb 5, Swedish Tomb 11, Cypriot Tomb 10). British Tomb 66 contained the most elaborate array of faience and glazed pottery, whilst Swedish Tomb 18 yielded the richest collection of ivories, including a comb and other toilet articles. Two hematite cylinder

seals carved in Syro-Mitannian style were recovered from British Tomb 93, whilst British Tomb 66 produced one faience seal carved in Mitannian style. The contents of many of these same tombs (e.g. Swedish Tombs 3 and 18, British Tomb 12) included large numbers of Mycenaean kraters, some with chariot scenes, others with depictions of bulls, goats, birds and fish. Keswani (1989:66) observes that British Tombs 66 and 93, along with Swedish Tombs 3 and 18, are qualitatively and quantitatively distinct from the other tomb groups.

The luxury objects in these tombs—gold and silver bowls, signet rings, faience vessels, ivories—were made by specialist craftspeople from the rarest of materials. They exhibit all the criteria associated with luxury goods (Appadurai 1986: 38): complexity of acquisition and restricted access ('scarcity'); the capacity to signal complex social messages ('semiotic virtuosity'); specialized knowledge for 'appropriate' consumption ('regulation by fashion'); and close linkage to specific people or personalities. These goods were the exclusive possessions of individuals who enjoyed very high status in the community, exotic and renowned items that would have been imbued with a distinctive social life and selective informational value well known to the people who used and displayed them, or who were buried with them.

Peltenburg (1986) compiled and discussed a group of small Egyptian and Egyptianizing luxury objects (in glass, faience, alabaster and carnelian) and scarabs from LC IIC–LC IIIB contexts. Most of the LC III goods, even if they are 'holdovers' from the LC IIC period (Peltenburg 1986:170), derive from settlement rather than mortuary contexts, and Keswani (1989:67) suggests that they may have been curated as social valuables, with the attendant biographical significance, rather than permanently disposed of in burials.

Dated to the very end of the Late Cypriot II period (around 1200 BC) are some exquisite bronze tripods and four-sided stands (British Tombs 58, 97 and possibly 15), revealing elaborate craftsmanship and suggesting cultic associations (Catling 1984; Pappasavvas 2002). Other prominent luxury items from tombs of this period include the elaborately carved ivory pyxides (British Tombs 24, 75), mirror standards (British Tombs 16, 17, 33), and a gaming board depicting a figure wearing a feather-like headdress (British Tomb 58). These ivories portray scenes that may have served to symbolize elite dominance, both in the political sphere and in the cosmic order: struggles between lions and bulls, hunting scenes, warriors combating griffins, a man leading a sphinx (Keswani 1989:68; Lagarce and Lagarce 1986:137). The style as well as the iconography of the ivories distinguish them from other mortuary goods and, in Keswani's opinion, reveal the politico-ideological manipulation by Cypriot elites of Near Eastern symbols of kingship and royal power.

Four elite tombs at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, just west of a monumental (ceremonial?) structure termed Building X (South 2000:349–53), should also be noted here. Tomb 11 served as the final resting place of three women and four infants; it contained a striking number of luxury goods, including gold, ivory, glass and sets of material—a cup, two bull rhyta, two glass vessels, two ivory palettes in the form of ducks, and other pottery vessels—that had been placed in two kraters (Goring 1989:102). To the south of Building X, the partially looted Tomb 13 contained intact gold jewellery, faience and alabaster vessels, several ivory objects, and a few vessels imported from the Levant. South (2000:354–5) also mentions the recovery of numerous Mycenaean vessels from this tomb, the most striking of which is another chariot krater depicting a building crowned by (Aegean-inspired) horns of consecration, with a female figure portrayed inside the building (Steel 1994). Tomb 14 included a range of luxury goods, including Mycenaean and Red Lustrous pottery, a gold diadem and many

small fragments of gold foil, finger rings and beads, three complete bronze daggers and many small fragments of bronze, some very fragmentary ivory pieces and two ivory disks, and some square glass plaques along with faience ‘gaming’ pieces (South 2000:353–4). Finally, in Tomb 12 (subsidiary chamber to Tomb 13), which contained the skeletons of a five- or six-year-old child and four infants, the excavators uncovered a 6 cm high silver figurine of Hittite design, depicting a male figure (a ‘protective god’) standing or riding on a deer (South 1997:163 and plate XV:1).

Throughout her presentation of International Style luxury items from Ugarit, Feldman refers to several ivories and faience pieces from Cyprus that share the themes and compositions of this iconographic *koine*. A polychrome faience vessel from Kition *Bamboula*, for example, displays hunting scenes with lions and gazelles (?) on the shoulder as well as goats flanking some voluted palmettes on the body (Yon and Caubet 1985: figs. 33, 35). The famous LC IIC conical rhyton of Levanto-Egyptian style, from Kition *Chrysopolitissa*, is also noteworthy in this context. Decorated with hunting scenes, bulls, a goat, stylized flowers and two hunters with short kilts and tassled headdresses, the combination of Egyptian, Orientalizing and Aegean motifs singles out this vessel as a prime example of the International Style (Karageorghis 1974:116–26, plate XCIV). The LC IIIA ivory gaming board from British Tomb 58 at Enkomi (mentioned above) portrays various horned and hoofed animals, in flying gallop, fleeing before a chariot holding an archer, as well as a large bull with lowered horns facing the chariot (Murray *et al.* 1900:12–14, plate I). Feldman (1998:133) associates the bull as well as a vignette of a man spearing a rearing lion to the left of the hunting scene on this splendid ivory piece with similar details on a gold bowl and gold plate from Ugarit (Schaeffer 1949:5, plates II–V, VIII). The Enkomi ivory thus is linked not only to these prestigious golden vessels from Ugarit—all three certainly part of an internationalizing iconographic trend—but also to the wider eastern Mediterranean sphere of luxury goods. Finally, and again taking up the hunting theme, an ivory mirror handle from British Tomb 17 at Enkomi depicts a man in hand-to-hand combat with a winged griffin (Murray *et al.* 1900:11, plate II, no. 872A).

This list could be extended at length, with respect to both artefacts and iconography (see, for example, Åström 1984, 1994, 2000; Cline 1994; Jacobsson 1994; Merrillees 2000; Peltenburg 1986, 1991). My intention here, however, has been to demonstrate by means of some selected examples the existence on Cyprus of luxury objects closely linked to items in similar styles found in contemporary Egypt, the Levant and the Aegean. Feldman (1998:111–78) offers more detailed analyses of several of these objects.

The cultural biographies (Gosden and Marshall 1999) and social lives of all these objects will have been complex, often singular, and frequently changing in meaning as they passed from their site of production to their ultimate point of deposition (primarily mortuary). The meanings of each of these luxury goods, and their links to the people who crafted, exchanged and consumed them, were entangled in evolving relationships and were transformed as time passed, and as the goods or people moved about, accumulating life histories (Thomas 1991). These objects became invested with meaning through, and as part of, the social interactions in which they were involved, as for example the scarab carved with the name of Amenophis III’s wife Tiye, or the silver finger ring engraved with Amenophis IV’s name, both found in British Tomb 93. The complex biography and meanings of these two objects, as well as those of any others noted in this study, cannot be understood by viewing them only at their (primarily) mortuary point of final consumption (Kopytoff 1986). Rather it must be realized that they

accumulated different histories and divergent meanings as their existence and ownership changed, in these examples from the original adornment (or marriage celebration, in the case of the Tiy/Amenhotep III scarab) of their named owners to their final signification as objects from afar, paraphernalia of power for the Cypriot elites with whom they were buried. The intrinsic significance of these objects for the people who owned, exchanged or displayed them, as well as an archaeological understanding of them, must derive from the people and events and travels with which they were intimately linked throughout their histories. The fame of such objects, and the renown of the people who owned them, are mutual, inasmuch as the objects attain value by being linked to (powerful) individuals, whilst an individual's status is enhanced by owning, exchanging or displaying a well-known—and often well-travelled—object. In other words, luxury objects such as these can best be understood not just by looking at their terminal cultural context in elite burials, but also by taking into account their original context of production and use, all the circumstances and contingencies through which they travelled, and their ultimate (archaeological) context (Gosden and Marshall 1999:174).

It is not possible, nor does it serve the purpose of this study, to treat all of these individual items in detail; each one, or at least each iconographic or material class or group, deserves a study on its own. In what follows, therefore, I consider how the movement of such luxury objects—between the ancient Orient and Cyprus—is enmeshed with the concept of distance, and how the accumulated histories of these goods as well as their travels may have impacted on the organisation of Late Cypriot society. I argue, to reiterate, that they served to solidify further the social power that accrued to those Cypriot elites who had exclusive access to exotica that flowed into the island from ancient western Asia and Egypt.

Discussion: distance, power and Orientalization

Objects, information and experiences obtained from a distance are often imbued with latent power, and have the potential to increase the prestige and status of those who acquire them (Helms 1988:261–3, and *passim*). Thus long-distance travel and/or trading ventures designed to acquire raw materials or manufactured goods also may result in the acquisition of exotic information or luxury objects that could enhance the traveller's social position at home (Broodbank 1993:331). Appadurai (1986:41) suggests that certain 'economic objects' (commodities), entangled in the socio-political circumstances surrounding their exchange, represent complex social forms of knowledge. The tension between distance and knowledge, therefore, affects not just the flow of goods but their value, and objects realize value through their social potential as well as their life histories.

To take a well known example, one that offers clear insights into the predominantly prehistoric situation on Late Bronze Age Cyprus, I discuss here briefly the celebrated *kula* ring of island Melanesia. Appadurai (1986:18–22) uses the same ethnographic example to portray what he terms 'tournaments of value', periodic events that involve issues of status, rank or fame for individual actors as well as the disposition of socially valued tokens. My purpose in discussing the Melanesian situation is not simply to include what seems to have become in the archaeological literature on trade and exchange a mandatory, cross-cultural, case study. Rather I present these ethnographically based concepts because they provide a dynamic counterpoint to the types and spheres of regal interaction attested by an extensive

corpus of cuneiform documents from the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean, and because they may help us to perceive how the social histories of the luxury goods discussed in this study were intimately engaged with those interaction spheres.

The *kula* represents a pre-industrial, trans-local exchange system, where specific kinds of valuables (necklaces, arm-shells) circulate in opposing directions (Leach and Leach 1983; Malinowski 1922; Munn 1990). The *kula* flourishes in the Massim group of islands just east of Papua New Guinea and is linked to other, nearby, regional exchange systems (e.g. *kune, hiri*—see Frankel and Rhoads 1994; Irwin 1983; Knapp 1989:185–8). These systems allow ‘men of substance’ to make or break their reputations by acquiring and exchanging prestige goods, individual objects of renown whose histories and ownership were well known to all participants in the system (Appadurai 1986:18; Gosden and Marshall 1999:170–2).

Two further concepts associated with *kula* exchange—*kitoum* and *keda*—are also relevant. *Kitoum* provides the conceptual and instrumental link between the larger ‘paths’ that *kula* valuables follow, and the smaller, more intimate and regular, local exchanges that together make up the social and economic world of the Massim (Appadurai 1986:18–22; Irwin 1983). Some Massim people use the term *keda* (‘road, path’) to describe the journey taken by *kula* valuables from island to island. But *keda* can also refer to the social or ideological links between *kula*-traders or, most abstractly, it may symbolize the paths to power and status enjoyed by those enmeshed in this exchange of valuables (Campbell 1983:203–4). The polysemic concept of *keda* thus interweaves the circulation of renowned goods, the human agents involved in their circulation, and the paths to social power that result. *Kitoum*, moreover, represents the articulation between the exchange of prestige-laden objects and more personalized modes of exchange that co-occurred with *kula*.

Helms (1993:145) has argued that luxury goods acquired from afar, or produced at home by transforming exotic raw materials, may encode images and ideals of authority. The flow of such ‘kingly things’ (Gluckman 1983; Appadurai 1986:22), although deliberately separated from commercial exchange spheres, serves to establish and maintain a certain regal exclusivity, to display social privilege, and to promote a commercial advantage. The human agents involved in *kula* manipulate the movement of valuables, link that movement to more mundane (commercial) modes of exchange, and adapt it to enhance their own social status and privileges. Most of the objects that make up this exclusive sphere of exchange are ‘enclaved’ (Appadurai 1986:22) and cannot even represent commodities. Often they are referred to as ‘primitive valuables’: like gifts, they are insensitive to supply and demand, and tend to promote self-aggrandizement. Above all, these are objects with a history, prized for their exotic qualities and valued for the eminence of their ownership.

Obviously there is no direct correspondence between Melanesian *kitoum* and *keda*, on the one hand, and on the other the commercial or social exchanges that operated in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean. I maintain nonetheless that these ethnographic concepts provide not just a dynamic counterpoint to, but one possible way to help us interpret the organizational strategies that underpinned royal diplomacy and characterized the spheres of elite interaction attested by an extensive corpus of cuneiform documents from the Late Bronze Age (see amongst others Beckman 1996; Knapp 1996; Moran 1992). These 14th–13th century BC letters—exchanged between rulers and court officials in Egypt, Babylonia, Anatolia, various Levantine city-states, and Cyprus—reveal a sophisticated socio-political system based on a type of royal gift exchange and implemented by a royal interaction sphere

that linked together a diversity of peoples, cultures, objects and ideologies (for a recent overview, see Feldman 2002a:23–4). Morris (1992:95), with reference to Aegean, Egyptian and Ugaritic documents treating *Keftiu/Kptr*, Kothar-wa-Hasis, Daidalos (*da-da-re-jo*) and Hephaistos, suggests that a Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean literary *koine* existed in tandem with the iconographic one; she argues that such a *koine* offers a more accurate view of the Orientalizing experience as an interactive, acculturative exchange.

Taken together, the recent ethnographic and ancient cuneiform evidence indicate that the regular exchange of luxury goods and raw materials may have been entangled in more complex realities, wherein prestige items acquired from afar were intimately linked to the accumulation of wealth and social power. Just as the acquisition and exchange of renowned objects with distinctive life histories enabled powerful individuals to enhance their status in Massim society, so too did the acquisition, display or consumption of luxury objects from the Orient, with their own social histories, serve to perpetuate an elite, if not regal exclusivity and to promote a commercial advantage for the rulers of Late Bronze Age Cyprus.

The iconography, symbolism and historical or legendary status inherent in Oriental luxury objects formed a key component of interregional exchange in the Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean. On Cyprus, the images that appeared on many of the items executed in the International Style (e.g. leonine creatures, sphinxes, griffins, chariots) were unattested before the beginning of the Late Cypriot period. These imports in some cases would have been symbolically reinterpreted or historically invested with new meaning (e.g. the scarab of Queen Tiy and Amenophis IV's silver finger ring, noted above). In other cases, they were altered or produced anew from raw materials unavailable on Cyprus (e.g. the lapis lazuli cylinder seals reworked with gold foil on Cyprus and then transhipped to a Mycenaean ruler in Boiotian Thebes—Porada 1982:68–70), almost certainly to conform to the perceived social and ideological needs of local elites. These elites sought to amplify their position and embellish their status by drawing on a repertoire of objects, images and icons that referred to an extensive and shared, status-laden eastern Mediterranean system. The symbolism and biographic aura embedded in these luxury goods reflected a foreign political ideology, one that offered Cypriot elites a 'blueprint' for power and authority, whether amongst themselves or between themselves and the merchants, managers and craftspeople whose compliance they sought (Webb 2000).

The significance attached to both the people and the objects must have had comparable meanings and values. The mechanisms through which such values and meanings of Oriental objects were transmitted to non-elites on Cyprus, or the extent to which they were shared within Cypriot society, are matters for further study. It is clear, nonetheless, that luxury items imported from distant lands, decorated with the insignia of a widely recognized iconographic or artistic *koine*, and often with a reputation that preceded them, were important social objects in their own right. They were imbued with a social history that instantly linked their new owners with other elites in the eastern Mediterranean interaction sphere. The highest social status and the aura of power associated with Oriental dynasts thus accrued to those involved in the exchange of these inordinately significant luxury objects. Such goods, consequently, were pivotal for Cypriot elites who sought to establish and legitimize their social power and politico-ideological status.

Conclusions

By the 14th century BC, Cypriot elites at sites such as Alassa *Palaeotaverna*, Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni *Vournes* and Kition began to display the trappings of Oriental wealth and power that previously had been Enkomi's exclusive domain. Regional or local elites thus sought to adopt objects and images of Near Eastern or Aegean kingly authority, icons and exotica that linked them with the distant, mystical civilizations of the ancient Near East. Knowledge of Oriental dynasts—of their individualizing objects and their paraphernalia of power—invested local elites with a level of social prestige and political authority that enabled them to compete with Enkomi. Many of the luxury objects and iconographica presented by Feldman, Keswani and others were linked to new social and political institutions of more diverse—and more fractured—sources of power than had existed previously. The ideology that now sanctioned these new polities was anchored in a range of highly charged luxury goods and symbols that made it possible for local agents to marshal the resources they needed to meet their own social needs and political ends. These elites thus played on the icons, objects and images of distance and the exotic—all with their own historical ebb and flow—to reaffirm their authority and status within Late Cypriot society.

Although I have limited my consideration of 'Orientalization in Antiquity' to Cyprus, some of the observations should serve as an impetus to consider more explicitly the concept of *Orientalism*, and to expand, refine and validate our notions of Orientalization. In many respects, these two concepts form the inverse of each other: whereas *Orientalism* is a 'western', or foreign concept imposed on the east, Orientalization is a concept constructed in the west that draws on objects and ideas from the east but uses them creatively to produce 'western', or more accurately hybrid meanings and conceptualizations (Peter van Dommelen, personal communication, 2003; see also his paper in this volume on the notion of 'hybridity'). *Orientalism* is a colonialist enterprise that denies eastern agency; Orientalization is a notion that literally encapsulates and demands local agency, whether eastern or western. The luxury objects representing social and individual exchanges between Orient and Occident help to inform an ancient view of Orientalism that is qualitatively different from the postcolonial concept of *Orientalism*. In all their iconographic, artistic, manufacturing and material distinctiveness, in their embedded biographies and social histories, these goods serve to illustrate the dynamics of Orientalizing exchange and to demonstrate that a more nuanced understanding of Orientalization involves an appreciation of the following issues:

1. the status-seeking aspirations of Cypriot (or Mycenaean, or Levantine) elites who absorbed the language and symbolism of Near Eastern ostentation and display;
2. the commercial and ideological aspirations of Near Eastern dynasts in expanding their spheres of influence and interaction;
3. the mutual aspirations of all participants in the international iconographic and exchange systems of the time; and, perhaps most importantly
4. the journeys taken by these luxury objects amongst the courtly societies of the Aegean, the eastern Mediterranean and the ancient Orient.

Material goods play an active role in constructing social and symbolic meaning within and between different societies and cultures. Luxury objects, especially those obtained from a distance or from individuals with highly charged social positions, enjoy a biography that can

be used in social strategies of exclusion or recruitment and thus form a dynamic component of social change (Sherratt and Sherratt 1991:354). The Orientalizing symbols and iconography that characterized and defined the luxury objects exchanged in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean provided both a construction and a legitimization of individual social realities. These goods, and the social meanings imbued in their production, decoration, distribution and consumption, gave rise to an international, iconographic and stylistic *koine* throughout the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean, a cosmopolitanism widely recognized by the dynasts and elites—as well as their merchants, messengers and entourages—who controlled and invigorated social dynamics and social change throughout the region.

In a sense, Orientalism was a library or archive of information commonly and, in some of its aspects, unanimously held. What bound the archive together was a family of ideas and a unifying set of values proven in various ways to be effective. These ideas explained the behaviour of Orientals (Said 1978:42).

Just so, but in positive contrast, does an ancient Orientalism—and the contemporary concept of Orientalization—help to explain the behaviour of those local elites who pursued interaction with Orientals in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean.

Acknowledgments

My thanks to Corinna Riva (Oxford University) and Nick Vella (University of Malta) for organizing the symposium on ‘Orientalization in Antiquity’ at St John’s College, Oxford (7–8 September 2002), and for inviting me to take part. Thanks are also due to the British Academy for travel and other support. I am grateful to Marian Feldman (U.C. Berkeley) for very helpful discussions on the topic of ‘luxury goods’ over the past few years, although she is in no way responsible for the ways I have sought to understand the meanings of those goods. I also thank her and especially Peter van Dommelen (University of Glasgow) for insightful comments on both the original and current versions of this paper. Thanks also to Priscilla Keswani for comments on the original version.

References

- Åström, P. (1984) Aegyptiaca at Hala Sultan Tekke. *Opuscula Atheniensia* 15:17–24.
- Åström, P. (1994) More Aegyptiaca at the Late Bronze Age site of Hala Sultan Tekke. In *Hommages à Jean Leclant* 3, edited by C. Berger, G. Clerc and N. Grimal. Bibliothèque d’Étude 106.3. Paris: Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale, pp. 5–8.
- Åström, P. (2000) Recent discoveries at Hala Sultan Tekke. In *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Cypriot Archaeology* (Nicosia, 16–20 April 1996), edited by G. C. Ioannides and S. A. Hadjistellis. Nicosia: Society of Cypriot Studies, pp. 423–28.
- Appadurai, A. (1986) Toward an anthropology of things. In *The Social Life of Things*, edited by A. Appadurai. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp.3–63.
- Bass, G. F. (1997) Beneath the Wine Dark Sea: nautical archaeology and Phoenicians of the Odyssey. In *Greeks and Barbarians: Essays on the Interactions between Greeks and Non-Greeks in Antiquity and the Consequences for Eurocentrism*, edited by J. Coleman and C. Walz. Occasional Publications of the Department of Near Eastern Studies and the Program of Jewish Studies, Cornell University, Number 4. Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press, pp. 77–101.
- Baurain, C. (1984) *Chypre et la Méditerranée Orientale au Bronze Récent: Synthèse Historique*. Études

- Chypriotes 4. Paris: E. de Boccard.
- Beckman, G. (ed.) (1996) *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*. Society for Biblical Literature, Writings from the Ancient World 7. Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press.
- Bernal, M. (1987) *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*. Volume 1: *The Fabrication of Ancient Greece 1785-1985*. London: Free Association Books.
- Bernal, M. (1991) *Black Athena: The Afroasiatic Roots of Classical Civilization*. Volume 2: *The Archaeological and Documentary Evidence*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Bernal, M. (2001) *Black Athena Writes Back: Martin Bernal Responds to his Critics*. Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press.
- Broodbank, C. (1993) Ulysses without sails: trade, distance, knowledge and power in the early Cyclades. *World Archaeology* 24:315-31.
- Burkert, W. (trans. M. E. Pinder and W. Burkert (1992) *The Orientalizing Revolution: Near Eastern Influence on Greek Culture in the Early Archaic Age*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Campbell, S. F. (1983) Kula in Vakuta: the mechanics of Keda. In *The Kula: New Perspectives on Massim Exchange*, edited by J. W. Leach and E. Leach. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 201-27.
- Catling, H. W. (1984) Workshop and heirloom: prehistoric bronze stands in the east Mediterranean. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*:69-91.
- Caubet, A. (1986) La thème du lion à Chypre au Bronze Récent: a propos de trouvailles de Kition-Bamboula. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident* (Nicosia 8-14 September, 1985), edited by V. Karageorghis. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, Cyprus, pp. 300-10.
- Cline, E. H. (1994) *Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea: International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean*. BAR, International Series 591. Oxford: Archeopress.
- 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, Pocketbook 51. Jonsered, Sweden: P. Åström's Förlag.
- Cuozzo, M. (1994) Patterns of organisation and funerary customs in the cemetery of Pontecagnano (Salerno) during the Orientalizing period. *Journal of European Archaeology* 2:263-98.
- Feldman, M. H. (1998) Luxury Goods from Ras Shamra-Ugarit and Their Role in the International Relations of the Eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. Unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard University (Department of Fine Arts), Cambridge, MA.
- Feldman, M. H. (2002a) Luxurious forms: redefining a Mediterranean 'International Style', 1400-1200 B.C.E. *Art Bulletin* 84:6-29.
- Feldman, M. H. (2002b) The iconography of power: reading Late Bronze Age symbols. *Archaeology Odyssey* 5(3):26-34, 61-2.
- Frankel, D. (2000) Migration and ethnicity in prehistoric Cyprus: technology as habitus. *European Journal of Archaeology* 3:167-87.
- Frankel, D. and J. W. Rhoads (eds.) (1994) *Archaeology of a Coastal Exchange System: Sites and Ceramics of the Papuan Gulf*. Research Papers in Archaeology and Natural History 25. Canberra: Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies, Australian National University.
- Frankel, D., J. M. Webb and C. Eslick (1996) Anatolia and Cyprus in the third millennium BCE. A speculative model of interaction. In *Cultural Interaction in the Ancient Near East*, edited by G. Bunnens. Abr Nahrain Supplement 5. Louvain: Peeters, pp. 37-50.
- Gluckman, M. (1983) Essays on Lozi land and royal property. In *Research in Economic Anthropology* 5, edited by G. Dalton. Greenwich, Connecticut: JAI Press (first published 1943), pp. 1-94.
- 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.
- Goring, E. (1989) Death in everyday life: aspects of burial practice in the Late Bronze Age. In *Early Society in Cyprus*, edited by E. J. Peltenburg. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 95-105.

- Gosden, C. and Y. Marshall (1999) The cultural biography of objects. *World Archaeology* 31:169–78.
- Helms, M. W. (1988) *Ulysses' Sail: An Ethnographic Odyssey of Power, Knowledge, and Geographical Distance*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Helms, M. W. (1993) *Craft and the Kingly Ideal: Art, Trade and Power*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Ingrin, G. (1983) Chieftainship, kula and trade in Massim prehistory. In *The Kula: New Perspectives in Massim Exchange*, edited by J. Leach and E. R. Leach. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 29–72.
- Jacobsson, I. (1994) *Aegyptiaca from Late Bronze Age Cyprus*. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 112. Jonsered, Sweden: P. Åström's Förlag.
- 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.
- Karageorghis, V. (1974) *Excavations at Kition I. The Tombs*. 2 Volumes. Nicosia: Cyprus Department of Antiquities.
- Karageorghis, V. (1982) *Cyprus. From the Stone Age to the Romans*. London: Thames and Hudson.
- Karageorghis, V. (ed.) (1986) *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident* (Nicosia 8–14 September, 1985). Nicosia: Department of Antiquities.
- Keswani, P. S. (1989) Dimensions of social hierarchy in Late Bronze Age Cyprus: an analysis of the mortuary data from Enkomi. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 2:49–86.
- Keswani, P. S. (1993) Models of local exchange in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 292:73–83.
- Keswani, P. S. (1996) Hierarchies, heterarchies, and urbanization processes: the view from Bronze Age Cyprus. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 9:211–49.
- Knapp, A. B. (1986) Production, exchange and socio-political complexity on Bronze Age Cyprus. *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 5:35–60.
- Knapp, A. B. (1988) Ideology, archaeology and polity. *Man* 23:133–63.
- Knapp, A. B. (1989) Paradise gained and paradise lost: intensification, specialization, complexity and collapse. *Asian Perspectives* 28:179–214.
- Knapp, A. B. (1990) Production, location and integration in Bronze Age Cyprus. *Current Anthropology* 31:147–76.
- Knapp, A. B. (1994) Emergence, development and decline on Bronze Age Cyprus. In *Development and Decline in the Mediterranean Bronze Age*, edited by C. Mathers and S. Stoddart. Sheffield Archaeological Monograph 8. Sheffield: John Collis Publications, pp. 271–304.
- Knapp, A. B. (1996) *Near Eastern and Aegean Texts from the Third to the First Millennia BC*. Sources for the History of Cyprus II (General Editors, P. W. Wallace and A. G. Orphanides). Altamont, New York: Greece/Cyprus Research Center.
- Knapp, A. B. (1997) *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.
- Knapp, A. B. (1998) Mediterranean Bronze Age trade: distance, power and place. In *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium: Proceedings of the 50th Anniversary Symposium, Cincinnati 18–20 April 1997*, edited by E. H. Cline and D. Harris-Cline. Aegaeum 18. Liège: Université de Liège, pp. 260–80.
- Knapp, A. B. (2001) Archaeology and ethnicity: a dangerous liaison. *Archaeologia Cypria* 4:29–46.
- Knapp, A. B. (2003) The archaeology of community on Bronze Age Cyprus: Politiko Phorades in context. *American Journal of Archaeology* 107:559–80.
- Kopytoff, I. (1986) The cultural biography of things: commoditization as process. In *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective*, edited by A. Appadurai. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 64–91.
- Lagarce, J. and E. Lagarce (1986) Les découvertes d'Enkomi et leur place dans la culture internationale du Bronze Récent: la métallurgie. In *Enkomi et le Bronze Récent en Chypre*, edited by J.-C. Courtois,

- J. Lagarce and E. Lagarce. Nicosia: Leventis Foundation, pp. 60–100.
- Leach, J. W. and E. R. Leach (eds.) (1983) *The Kula: New Perspectives on Massim Exchange*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Malinowski, B. (1922) *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*. London: Routledge.
- 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.
- Manning, S.W. (2001) The chronology and foreign connections of the Late Cypriot I period: times they are a-changin. In *The Chronology of Base-ring Ware and Bichrome Wheel-made Ware* (Stockholm, 18–19 May 2000), edited by P. Åström. Konferenser 54. Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, pp. 69–94.
- Marcus, E. (2002) The southern Levant and maritime trade during the Middle Bronze IIA period. In *Aharon Kempinski Memorial Volume: Studies in Archaeology and Related Disciplines*, edited by E. D. Oren and S. Ahituv. Beer-Sheva 15. Beersheva: Ben-Gurion University of the Negev Press, pp. 241–63.
- Merrillees, R. S. (1986) Political conditions in the eastern Mediterranean during the Late Bronze Age. *Biblical Archaeologist* 49:42–50.
- Merrillees, R. S. (1992) The government of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age. In *Acta Cypria 3: Acts of an International Congress on Cypriote Archaeology held in Goteborg (22–24 August 1991)*, edited by P. Åström. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology and Literature, Pocketbook 120. Jonsered, Sweden: P. Åström's Förlag, pp. 310–29.
- Merrillees, R. S. (2000) The glyptic of Late Bronze Age Cyprus: an historiographical review. In *Proceedings of the Third International Conference on Cypriot Archaeology* (Nicosia, 16–20 April 1996), edited by G. C. Ioannides and S. A. Hadjistellis. Nicosia: Society of Cypriot Studies, pp. 289–300.
- Moran, W. L. (1992) *The Amarna Letters*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Morris, S. P. (1992) *Daidalos and the Origins of Greek Art*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Morris, S. P. (1996) The legacy of Black Athens. In *Black Athena Revisited*, edited by M. R. Lefkowitz and G. M. Rogers. Chapel Hill, North Carolina: University of North Carolina Press, pp. 167–74.
- Muhly, J. D. (1989) The organisation of the copper industry in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. In *Early Society in Cyprus*, edited by E. J. Peltenburg. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 298–314.
- 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 Publications.
- Negbi, O. (1986) The climax of urban development in Bronze Age Cyprus. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: 97–121.
- Papasavvas, G. (2002) Cypriot casting technology I: the stands. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*: •• (in press)
- Peltenburg, E. J. (1986) Ramesside Egypt and Cyprus. In *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium: Cyprus between the Orient and the Occident* (Nicosia 8–14 September, 1985), edited by V. Karageorghis. Nicosia: Department of Antiquities, pp. 149–79.
- Peltenburg, E. J. (1991) Greeting gifts and luxury faience: a context for Orientalizing trends in Late Mycenaean Greece. In *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean*, edited by N. H. Gale. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 90. Göteborg, Sweden: P. Åström's Förlag, pp. 162–79.
- Peltenburg, E. J. (1996) From isolation to state formation in Cyprus, c.3500–1500 B.C. In *The Development of the Cypriot Economy: From the Prehistoric Period to the Present Day*, edited by V. Karageorghis and D. Michaelides. Nicosia: Bank of Cyprus, University of Cyprus, pp. 17–44.
- Porada, E. (1982) The cylinder seals found at Thebes in Boeotia. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 28:1–70.
- Poursat, J.-C. (1977) *Les ivoires myceniens*. Athens, Paris: École Française d'Athènes.
- Said, E. W. (1978) *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon.

- Schaeffer, C. F. A. (1949) *Ugaritica II. Mission de Ras Shamra 5*. Bibliotheque Archeologique et Historique 47. Paris: Geuthner.
- Sherratt, A. G. and E. S. Sherratt (1991) From luxuries to commodities: the nature of Mediterranean Bronze Age trading systems. In *Bronze Age Trade in the Mediterranean*, edited by N. H. Gale. Studies in Mediterranean Archaeology 90. Göteborg, Sweden: P. Åström's Förlag, pp. 351–86.
- Sherratt, A. G. and E. S. Sherratt (1998) Small worlds: interaction and identity in the ancient Mediterranean. In *The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium: Proceedings of the 50th Anniversary Symposium, Cincinnati 18–20 April 1997*, edited by E. H. Cline and D. Harris-Cline. Aegaeum 18. Liège: Université de Liège, pp. 329–43.
- Sherratt, S. (1994) 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.
- 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.
- South, A. K. (1997) Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios 1992–1996. *Report of the Department of Antiquities, Cyprus*, pp. 151–75.
- South, A. K. (2000) Late Bronze Age burials at Kalavassos Ayios Dhimitrios. In *Acts of the Third International Congress of Cypriot Studies*, edited by G. C. Ioannides and S. A. Hadjistellis. Nicosia: Society of Cypriot Studies, pp. 345–64.
- Steel, L. (1994) Representations of a shrine on a Mycenaean chariot krater from Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Cyprus. *Annual of the British School at Athens* 89:201–11.
- Steel, L. (2003) *Cyprus before History: From the Earliest Settlers to the End of the Bronze Age*. London: Duckworth
- Thomas, N. (1991) *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture, and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Vercoutter, J. (1956) *L'Égypte et le monde Égéen Prehellenique*. Bibliotheque des Études 22. Cairo: Institut Français d'archéologie orientale.
- Wachsmann, S. (1986) Is Cyprus ancient Alashiya? New evidence from an Egyptian tablet. *Biblical Archaeologist* 49:37–40.
- Walz, C. A. (1997) Black Athena and the role of Cyprus in Near Eastern/ Mycenaean contact. In *Greeks and Barbarians: Essays on the Interactions between Greeks and Non-Greeks in Antiquity and the Consequences for Eurocentrism*, edited by J. Coleman and C. Walz. Occasional Publications of the Department of Near Eastern Studies and the Program of Jewish Studies, Cornell University, Number 4. Bethesda, Maryland: CDL Press, pp. 1–27.
- Webb, J. M. (2000) Ideology, iconography and identity: the role of foreign goods and images in the establishment of social hierarchy in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Unpublished paper, presented at the conference *Transmission and Assimilation of Culture in the Levant and Cyprus* (Jerusalem, 28 February–4 March 2000).
- Webb, J. M. and D. Frankel (1994) Making an impression: storage and surplus finance in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 7:5–26.
- Yon, M. and A. Caubet (1985) *Le Sondage L-N13. Bronze Recent et Geometrique*. Volume 1. Kition Bamboula III. Paris: Recherche sur les Civilisations.