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A. BERNARD KNAPP

University of Glasgow, Cyprus American Archaeological Research Institute

and

PETER VAN DOMMELEN

Brown University

23 RETHINKING THE LATE CYPRIOT BUILT ENVIRONMENT: HOUSEHOLDS AND COMMUNITIES AS PLACES OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

KEVIN D. FISHER

Abstract

The transition to the Late Bronze Age (LBA) was characterized by fundamental changes in the nature of Cypriot society as it shifted from being largely egalitarian and inward looking to socially stratified and cosmopolitan. The appearance at this time of new housing and tomb types, monumental buildings, and the island's first urban centers is typically seen as an indicator of this social change and a by-product of politico-economic processes. This study argues instead that the Late Cypriot built environment was not epiphenomenal to this change, but rather a primary means by which social transformation occurred. In order to demonstrate this, I apply an agent-centered approach that examines how LBA Cypriotes structured and experienced urban space, taking the view that it is through the production of new places for social action and interaction that daily practice was linked to social reproduction and transformation during this period. Emphasizing the mutually constituting nature of people and place, I argue that urbanism fostered new means of social integration and interaction, resulting in significant changes to the physical and social structure of the household and its incorporation within wider communities.

Introduction

The Late Bronze Age (LBA, ca. 1650–1100 BC; or Protohistoric Bronze Age [ProBA], which includes the Middle Cypriot [MC] III and Late Cypriot [LC] periods; Knapp 2013: 27, table 2, 513–15, fig. A10) was a period of profound change for Cypriot society. It witnessed not only the rapid development and institutionalization of social inequalities that had only begun to emerge in parts of the island in the preceding periods, but also economic intensification and political centralization as emerging elites sought to control and exploit the island's copper resources on an unprecedented scale. At the same time, Cyprus became increasingly integrated into the wider political and economic dynamics of the eastern Mediterranean and Near East. It is no coincidence that we also see at this time the appearance of new forms of domestic and mortuary architecture, as well as monumental buildings and the island's

first urban centers. It is hard to overstate the revolutionary nature of these developments: within the span of only a few centuries, Cyprus vaulted from insular, village-based society to an urban, cosmopolitan, state-level civilization. Yet, the transformation of the island's built environment has typically been seen as a mere indicator of this social change and a by-product of larger-scale demographic and politico-economic processes. In what follows, I argue that rather than being epiphenomenal to this change, the built environment was a primary means by which social transformation occurred.

To investigate this issue, I adopt an approach that acknowledges the agency of both people and the places they inhabit. I examine how LBA Cypriotes structured and experienced space, arguing that it is through the production of new places for social interaction that daily practice was linked to social reproduction and transformation during this period. In this way, urbanism is closely related to new modes of social organization and interaction, seen in significant changes to both the physical structure of the house, the social structure of the household, and its integration within wider local and regional communities. As such, the changing built environment had far-reaching consequences for how the individuals and groups that constituted Late Cypriot society identified themselves and related to one another amid growing social inequality and competition. Emphasizing the interplay between physical and social boundaries, I examine how these interconnected social developments produced and, at the same time, were products of new building types and settlement forms.

In what follows, I establish first the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of an agent-centered approach to investigating the dynamic interrelationship between people and place. I then discuss the ProBA house and household, emphasizing the role of the house as a place that materialized social boundaries and structured social interaction among household members, and between residents and visitors in the course of daily practice. I conclude by examining the household within its urban context by considering how its members became increasingly enmeshed in various urban communities, from

neighborhoods through to the city itself, and how this was manifested in the materiality of house design, boundary maintenance, and city planning.

Agencies of People and Place

Based largely on the work of social theorists such as Bourdieu (1977) and Giddens (1984), the recognition that people of the past, both individually and collectively, were active agents has come to occupy an important if not central role in archaeological discourse (see recent reviews by Dobres and Robb 2000; Dornan 2002; Gardner 2004). While Hodder (1982; 1992) and others have long argued the need to see material culture as actively engaged in the production of social life, archaeologists have been somewhat less eager to embrace the idea of things as active agents. Nevertheless, there has been a growing acceptance of material agency in the social sciences in general and in archaeology more specifically (Knappett and Malafouris 2007).

The work of George Mead (1934) has been particularly influential in this regard, emphasizing the central role of the physical world in the constitution and maintenance of the self and social identity, and suggesting that relations between humans and objects are social relations (see also McCarthy 1984; Gell 1998). Actor-Network Theory situates agency in the relationships that people have with other people and objects. Proponents such as Latour (2005: 71–72) contend that anything that modifies a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor and that ‘no science of the social can even begin if the question of who and what participates in the action is not first of all thoroughly explored, even though it might mean letting elements in which, for lack of a better term, we would call non-humans.’ Acknowledging the agency of the material world need not undermine the distinctiveness of human agency, which is dependent on the kinds of relationships that humans can engage in by virtue of their perceptive and communicative abilities (Gardner 2004: 9).

By their sheer scale and relative longevity alone, buildings – perhaps more than any other human creation – have the capacity to affect human action and interaction. Certainly both Western and non-Western cultures anthropomorphize elements of their material world and, viewed from an emic standpoint, buildings (as well as other objects) are seen in many cultures as being, or having the ability to become, living entities (e.g., Saile’s [1977] discussion of rituals undertaken by historic Pueblo groups in the American southwest in which buildings are fed with wafer bread, sacred cornmeal, tobacco, and seeds and thereby ‘animated’ and ‘endowed with a soul’). Like other human and material actors, each building has a biography (Kopytoff 1986) or ‘life history’ constituted in the

meanings accumulated over the duration of its existence and that of its ‘ancestors’ and ‘descendants,’ as well as the memories of it held by its human occupants (Pred 1990; Tringham 1995; see also Hendon 2004: 276; Düring 2005). The distinction between human and material actor is further blurred in the affective relationships that people often develop with the places in which they live. Environmental psychologists have long recognized the importance of *place attachment* to individual and group well-being and identity formation (Russell and Snodgrass 1987; Altman and Low 1992; Marcus 1995).

To see built environments as agents is to acknowledge the difference between space, as the static, physical setting in which everything occurs, and *place*, as the dynamic, socially constructed and meaningful context of human action and experience – a distinction widely accepted in spatial studies across the social sciences (Rodman 1992; Tuan 1977; Feld and Basso 1996; Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga 2003; Preucel and Meskell 2004). In the approach taken here, built environments are places: lived spaces, imbued with identities and memories that make them both products and facilitators of social life. Such a view recognizes the agency of both people and the built contexts within which they act and interact. Built environments are more than mere settings for these actions; they play an active role in the structuring and routinizing of embodied practice through which the structural properties of social systems are produced, reproduced, and transformed.

As I will show, the dynamic interrelationship between people and place was enacted at various spatial scales during the Late Cypriot period, from the household through various levels of community, marking a radical departure from the modes of social organization and reproduction that preceded them. The key to understanding these changes is to investigate how the built environment configured daily practice, actively facilitating particular social interactions through which identities, roles, and statuses were negotiated and displayed. But how can we study this dynamic process in the scant material remains of Late Cypriot buildings?

I have developed an integrative approach to analyzing past built environments (see Lawrence and Low 1990: 482–91) that begins with access analysis to figure out how buildings structure movement and encounter (Hillier and Hanson 1984) (see Figure 23.1). This is combined with a detailed study of how these buildings influence human behavior and interaction through the nonverbal communication of meanings, which are perceived through vision as well as other senses. These meanings are encoded in fixed-feature elements such as walls and floors, semi-fixed 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

FIGURE 23.1. Accessgraphs of Protohistoric Bronze Age houses discussed in the text. By Kevin Fisher.

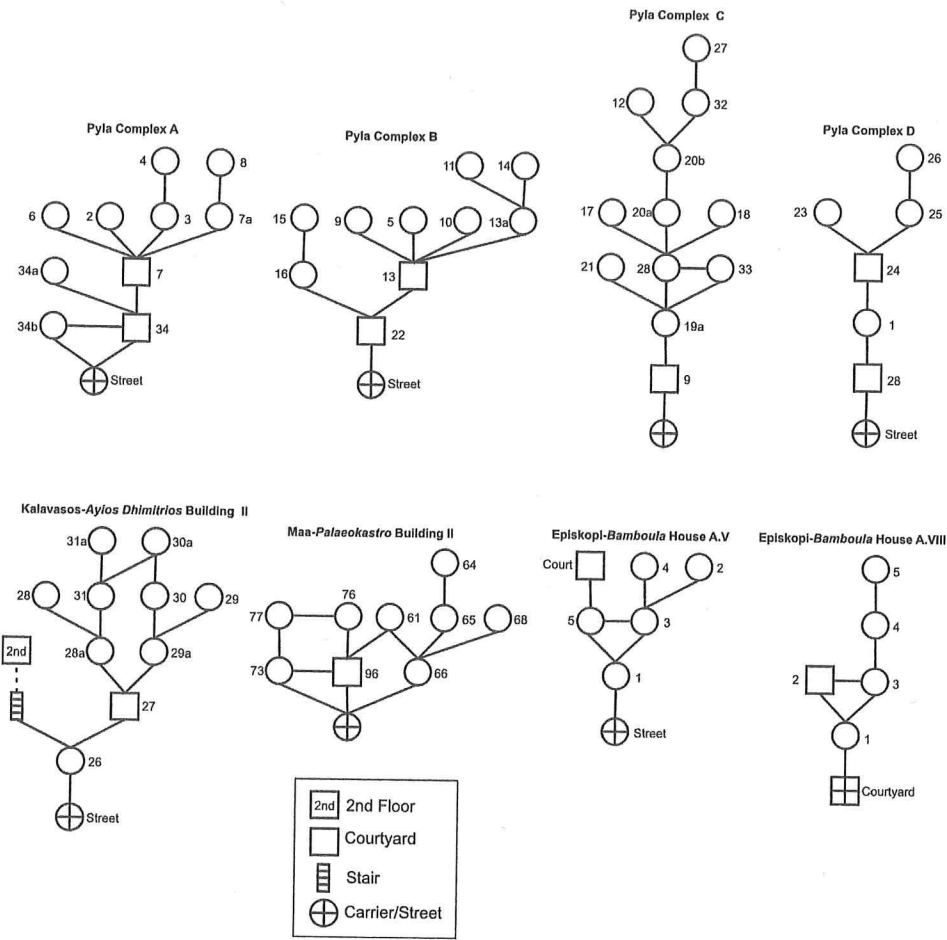
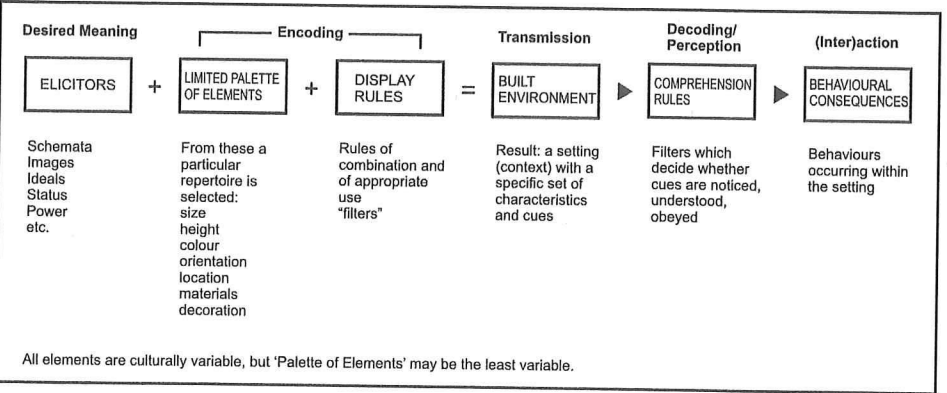


FIGURE 23.2. A nonverbal communication approach to the built environment. Drawn by Kevin Fisher, after Rapoport (1990: fig. 17).



(Rapoport 1990: 87–101) (see Figure 23.2). The aim of this approach is to determine the contexts in which particular types of social interactions might take place, emphasizing the importance of *social occasions*, which are undertakings or events that involve co-present individuals and are bounded in time and space and often facilitated by fixed equipment (Goffman 1963: 18–24). It allows us to distinguish between spaces that would likely host public-inclusive social occasions and those suited for private-exclusive occasions. The integrative approach provides a means of

investigating the materiality of past built environments, allowing significant insights into the intimate connection between people and the places in which they lived, as well as the wider social implications of this relationship (see Fisher 2007: chs 3–5; 2009a for a detailed discussion).

Household and Community

After Wilk and Rathje’s (1982) publication of a symposium on ‘household archaeology’ in *American Behavioral Scientist*,

the household quickly became a central focus of archaeological inquiry (e.g., Netting *et al.* 1984; Wilk and Ashmore 1988; Kent 1990; Blanton 1994; Allison 1999). Wilk and Rathje (1982: 618) defined the household as consisting of the social (members and their relationships), the material (the dwelling, activity areas, and possessions), and the behavioral (activities performed by members). As initially conceived in the context of processual archaeology, household archaeology was concerned primarily with the function of households in economic and ecological processes.

By contrast, more recent approaches emphasize the social interactions within and between households, seeing them not as functional units but rather as a set of social relations enacted through practice (Meskell 1998; Hendon 2004). These relations do not take place in a spatial vacuum, but in some form of constructed space that shapes people's actions and contributes to the meanings given those actions (Kokkinidou and Nikolaidou 1997; Hendon 2004). While the material form of the household can act as a medium through which the wider community can exercise a measure of control over what goes on within, it also provides a means of separating the actions of household members from that wider community (Ardener 1993: 11; Allison 1999: 1; also Altman and Gauvain 1981: 287). The design of domestic space interacts with human action and meaning to create lived space 'in which the house becomes integral to the construction of social identities through a process of ... movements, views and spatial arrangements' (Hendon 2004: 276). In light of the discussion of material agency above, I would argue that it is necessary to consider the mutually constituting nature of all three elements of Wilk and Rathje's original definition (substituting 'practice' for 'behavior') if we are to understand the role of households in social interaction and reproduction. This includes recognition of the experiential elements and affective relationships that make the physical structure of the house a *home* to its inhabitants (Marcus 1995; Tringham 1995). Furthermore, we must address the integration of households within larger-scale social entities. The concept of community provides a means of framing such a discussion.

Isbell (2000) makes the important distinction between *natural* and *imagined* communities. The former concept is derived from early comparative (particularly ethnographic) research in anthropology and refers to universally applicable, bounded, and static units characterized by functional integration, solidarity, and homogeneity in norms and world view. Imagined communities are, by contrast, dynamic, fluid, and changing as actors select among available alternatives, strive to create new ones, and pursue the goals they perceive. As an archaeological concept, the imagined community 'makes clear the active role of

material culture – from artifacts to dwellings to regional landscapes – in constructing identities, negotiating social relations, affirming power relations, and enabling social reproduction' (Knapp 2003: 576). These communities are historically contingent and 'ever-emergent' social institutions that generate and are generated by supra-household interactions structured and synchronized by a set of places within a particular span of time (Yaeger and Canuto 2000: 5–6). Because these places have a physical dimension – required for the repeated, meaningful interactions that create and maintain a sense of shared identity, communities are detectable in the material remains of past built environments. As Cheney (1992: 40; cited in Knapp 2003: 570) argues, '[...]because of the dialectic between communities and the physical world the shape of the community as it once existed is revealed in its use of space.' It remains to investigate how this dialectic was materialized in the built environment of ProBA Cyprus and to assess its role in the dramatic transformations this period witnessed.

Making ProBA Households

Bearing in mind Wilk and Rathje's (1982: 618) repeatedly cited caveat that archaeologists do not dig up households but must infer them from the material record of houses and their associated artifacts, it is necessary to start with the identification of individual domestic units among the recovered architectural remains. While houses have been identified at a number of ProBA sites, their often-fragmentary nature hinders an accurate determination of their plan. Earlier work on ProBA houses focused mainly on their description and classification. Åström (1972: 29) identified two main types: the three-aisled house surrounding an open court and the L-shaped dwelling (also Weinberg 1983: 57–59). The former was a relatively common type of urban house with a rectangular or square form and (usually) a longitudinal tripartite division of space (Wright 1992: 312), as typified by House A.VI at Episkopi (Kourion) *Bamboula* (Figure 23.3). It is essentially an enclosed version of the π -shaped house type with three wings surrounding a court, found in the earlier levels at the site of Enkomi (Dikaios 1969–71: 153–70, pls 267–72); Wright (1992: 211) regards this type as a norm in Cypriot building, beginning in the mid-second millennium BC.

The earliest example of this design may well be the MC III house at Kalopsidha *Tsaoudhi Çiftlik* excavated by Gjerstad (1926: 27–37), which consists of 11 rooms built around an inner open court. The L-shaped house has two arms or wings of rooms, one longer than the other, forming (roughly) a right angle (e.g., Episkopi House A.VIII at Episkopi). It also has a courtyard, though an external one,

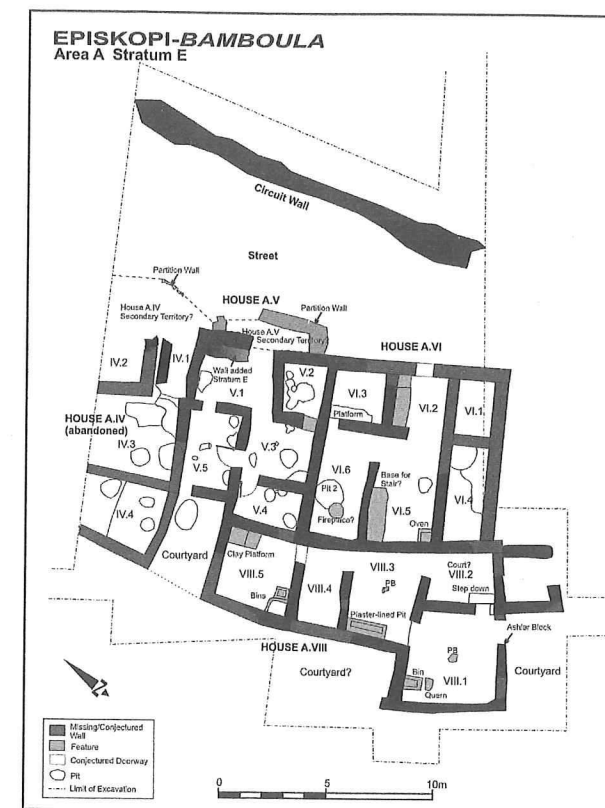


FIGURE 23.3. Schematic plan of Episkopi *Bamboula* Area A, Stratum E. Drawn by Kevin Fisher, after Weinberg (1983: figs 23 and 24).

and the angle could sometimes be filled in with rooms (e.g., Episkopi House A.V). These designs mark an important departure from the irregular and agglomerative house forms found in most Prehistoric Bronze Age (PreBA; ca. 2700–1700/1650 BC) settlements (e.g., Sotira *Kaminoudhia* [Swiny *et al.* 2003] and Marki *Alonia* [Frankel and Webb 2006a]). Furthermore, ProBA houses are typically much larger than their PreBA counterparts and have a greater number of defined spaces, although these spaces tend to be significantly smaller. The social significance of this transformation has, until recently (see Bolger 2003: 41–50), rarely been considered.

I turn now to discuss the effects of changing house form on daily practice, the potential for encounter and social interaction, and the definition of social boundaries. This is based on applying the integrative approach to some of the better-preserved examples of fully published ProBA houses, supplemented by relevant (though less complete) examples from other sites. I focus mainly on non-elite, or at least non-monumental houses, distinguished from their monumental counterparts by their much smaller size and general lack of architectural embellishment, especially ashlar masonry. Eight houses from four sites (see

Figures 23.3–23.5, and 23.7), most of which date to the LC IIC–IIIA urban floruit (ca. 1340/1325–1100 BC), were suitable for a detailed application of the integrative approach, revealing broad similarities as well as idiosyncratic features, both of which have significant social implications.

The House and Intra-household Interaction

It is clear that the fixed and semi-fixed feature elements of houses were arranged in order to control both physical and visual access to the buildings' deeper rooms. These elements marked the transitions between spaces suited for activities that were more public-inclusive in nature and those appropriate for more private-exclusive activities. The use of space was also contingent upon the timing of various daily maintenance practices and seasonal activity cycles (Picazo 1997). In this way, ProBA houses materialized social boundaries while providing contexts for interaction among household members and between household members and visitors.

Typically, there is only a single entrance to each house, directly from the street (or from the front/exterior courtyard, in the case of most of the houses at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* [Figure 23.4] and the L-shaped House A.VIII at Episkopi *Bamboula*). In nearly all cases, this entrance was wider than the rest of the houses' doorways, likely indicating frequent movement, including the movement of goods, into and out of the house. The entry often provided access to an internal courtyard (or other large, but covered, space, as in Episkopi Houses A.V and A.VIII), either directly or sometimes through an intervening hallway or vestibule (e.g., Complex D at Pyla and Building II at Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*; Figure 23.5). In addition to providing light and ventilation to its adjoining spaces, the interior courtyard was the key household space for movement and encounter, exhibiting all the characteristics of a public-inclusive space. It is typically the largest interior space, having a high degree of convexity ('squareness') while being well integrated (i.e., easily accessible) and exercising a high degree of control over access to its neighbors. In most cases, this space controlled access to the rest of the house, as most rooms adjoined it either directly or indirectly via short hallways or a circulation ring of which this space was part (Figure 23.1). It is here that household members were most likely to encounter one another in the course of their daily practices.

Aside from their large external courtyards, Complexes A, B, and C at Pyla *Kokkinokremos* exemplify the major features of the courtyard-type house in which a large interior courtyard is surrounded on three sides by several

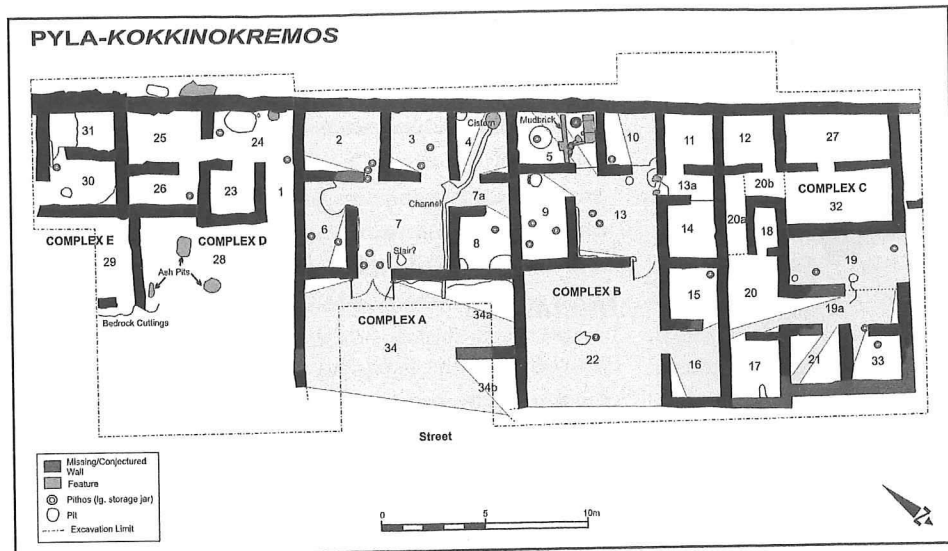


FIGURE 23.4. Schematic plan of Pyla Kokkinokremos showing isovist fields (all points visible from a particular space; see Fisher 2009a: 448–51) from Rooms 7, 22, and outside of Room 19. Drawn by Kevin Fisher, after Karageorghis and Demas (1984: plan 1).

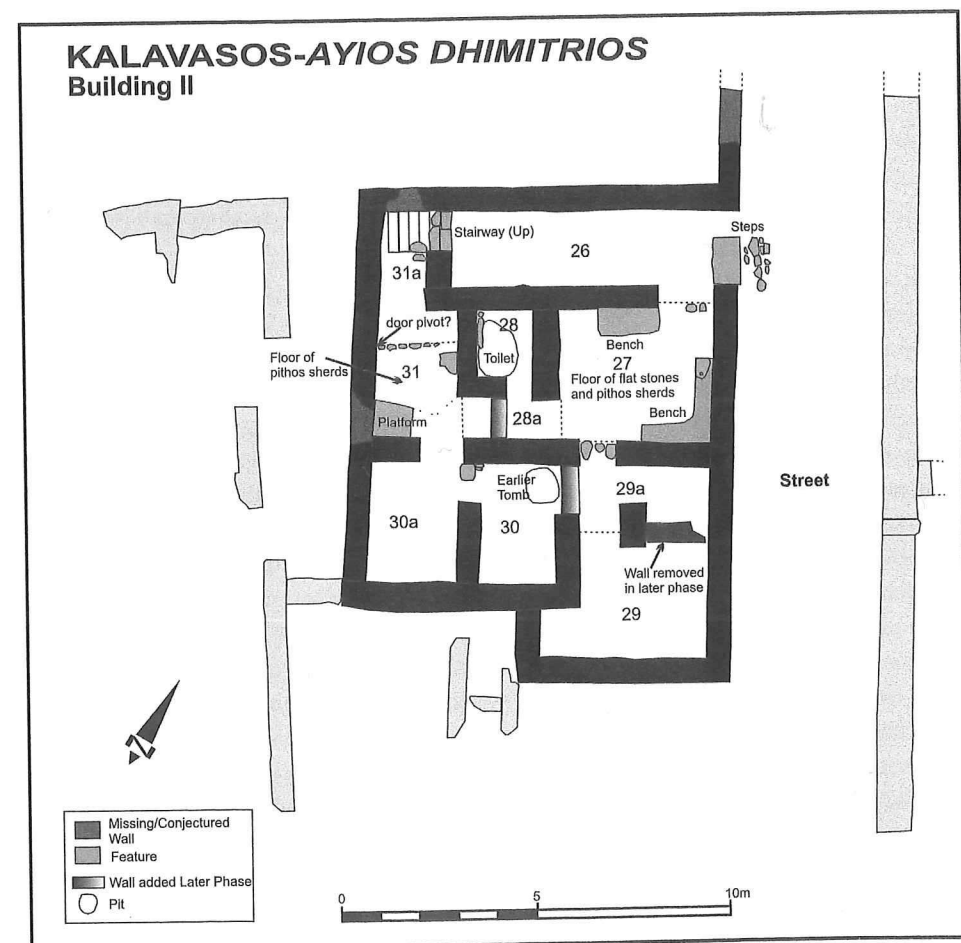


FIGURE 23.5. Schematic plan of Kalavassos Ayios Dhimitrios Building II. Drawn by Kevin Fisher, after South (1980: fig. 4).

smaller roofed rooms (Figure 23.4). Among the most common semi-fixed feature elements recovered from their interior rooms were large storage vessels (usually *pithoi*), some of which were found with carbonized grain (e.g., in Complex A, Rooms 2 and 7; Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 7, 9), and various grinding implements. In addition, pits were dug into the floors of most houses at Pyla and elsewhere, some of which held storage vessels or were used for storage directly, while others were presumably used for processing activities. Houses at other sites, such as Episkopi *Bamboula* (see above, House A.VIII; Figure 23.3) also have constructed storage bins and other installations such as hearths and ovens. Taken together with the ceramic assemblages, this evidence suggests that the processing, storage, preparation, and consumption of food were common activities in most ProBA households. In Complexes A and B at Pyla, residues of these activities were limited almost exclusively to the central courtyard itself and the three rooms that directly adjoined it. The remaining two rooms, accessible from the central courtyard only through a short hallway (Room 7a in Complex A and 13a in Complex B) have syntactic and architectural characteristics of private-exclusive contexts and tended to have narrower doorways, affording an additional degree of privacy. The interiors of Rooms 8 and 14 in particular could not be seen from the central courtyard. The lack of evidence for production or storage in these spaces (save for a single large vessel in Room 8) might suggest that they functioned at times as the private quarters (bedrooms?) of household members. In houses that may have had full or partial second stories (e.g., Building II at Kalavassos Ayios Dhimitrios), it is likely that such quarters were in the upper storey.

As noted above, while there were far more individual spaces in ProBA houses, these spaces tended to be significantly smaller than those in PreBA houses, likely indicating that fewer individuals worked in or otherwise occupied them at any given time. Hall's (1966) groundbreaking research in *proxemics*, the study of people's use of space as an aspect of culture, is especially relevant here in demonstrating the relationship between interpersonal spacing and human sensory perception during social interaction (Table 23.1). Interactions that took place in most household spaces would have been within the intimate through social proxemic thresholds, suggesting that people would have usually been in reach of one another, could carry on conversations in a normal voice, and could easily perceive details of one another's physical attributes, as well as non-verbal indications of emotive state.

On the one hand, the more complex division of space afforded individual household members greater opportunity for privacy than was possible in earlier house types. In regulating interaction with the social environment, privacy

is important in allowing for 'self-evaluation' through which individuals can integrate experiences, process information received from interactions, and formulate and assess plans for future behavior (Westin 1967). Furthermore, privacy is intimately linked with self-identity: an individual or group's cognitive, psychological, and emotional understanding of themselves as beings (Altman 1975: 49). On the other hand, the arrangement of spaces around a courtyard allowed opportunities for individuals situated in the courtyard not only to monitor access to the rest of the house interior by non-household members but also surveillance of those who lived and worked in the adjoining spaces (e.g., see the isovist field for Room 7 of Pyla Complex A; Figure 23.4). Even if people in the adjoining rooms were not directly in the viewshed of someone in the central court (or any intervening doors were closed), their activities were well within both the auditory and olfactory range of perception (see Sanders 1990: 59).

Beyond the placement of walls to configure household space, a variety of cues were encoded in the fixed and semi-fixed elements of ProBA houses and communicated to both household inhabitants and visitors. Many of these were found at important transition points, adding a physical, tangible element that materialized social boundaries within and between households. For example, the separation of the interior courtyard from its adjoining spaces was clearly deemed to be important. In spite of their wide doorways, the interior courtyards of Complexes A and B at Pyla (Rooms 7 and 13 respectively) both likely had doors separating them from the outer courtyard, evidenced by the small pits cut into the bedrock at the side of the entries (Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 7–12). At the boundary between Room 7 and Room 3 in Complex A, the threshold was paved with limestone slabs, while in Complex B, the entrance to corridor 13a, which gave access to the most private rooms of the house, was flanked by two flat threshold stones that marked a step downward from the courtyard. The use of flanking stone slabs embedded in the thresholds of doorways at important transition points is attested in several contemporary monumental buildings, including Building X at Kalavassos Ayios Dhimitrios (Fisher 2009b). In addition, the thresholds from Room 13 into Rooms 5 and 10 of Complex B were both marked by a downward step. In some instances, more elaborate materials were used for the floor of the courtyard. In Room 28 in Building II at Kalavassos, the floor was made of small flat stones and *pithos* sherds set in mud, which contrasted with the plaster floors elsewhere in the building (South 1980: 37).

These various cues were not only visible but also kinetic, tactile, and auditory. People had to change their gait as they moved between rooms of different elevations, while changing floor surfaces undoubtedly felt differently to those who walked on them and elicited different sounds

TABLE 23.1. Proxemic distances and corresponding effects on perception.

Proxemic threshold	Intimate	Personal	Social (Near Phase)	Social (Far Phase)	Public (Near Phase)	Public (Far Phase)
Distance	0–0.45 m	>0.45–1.2 m	>1.2–2.15 m	>2.15–3.65 m	>3.65–7.6 m	>7.6 m
Touch	Can touch easily; accidental contact is possible	Can reach out and grasp extremity at near phase; cannot touch beyond ca. 0.75 m	2 people can pass an object back and forth by both stretching (up to ca. 3 m)			
Oral/aural	Soft voice; intimate style		Conventional modified voice; casual or consultive style		Loud voice used when speaking to group	Full public-speaking voice; frozen style
Detailed vision (foveal)	Details of eyes, pores on face, finest hairs visible; vision can be distorted or blurred	Details of face clearly visible	Can see head hair clearly; wear on clothing apparent	Fine lines of face fade; lip movement seen clearly	Eye color not discernable; smile vs. scowl visible	Difficult to see eyes or subtle expressions
60° Scanning vision	1/3 of face; some distortion	Takes in upper body	Upper body and gestures	Whole seated body visible		Whole body has space around it in viewshed; postural communication becomes important
200° Peripheral vision	Head against background visible	Head and shoulders visible	Whole body visible	Other people seen if present		Other people become important in vision

Adapted by Kevin Fisher from Hall (1966).

from their footfalls. It is through these and other less subtle cues that meanings were encoded and communicated to household members and visitors regarding the boundaries of spaces that were more public or private, or were intended for particular activities at particular times. The redundancy of cues increased the likelihood that meanings were understood and that intended behaviors resulted (Rapoport 1988: 321), although these should not be seen as ‘overarching deterministic forces which impel individuals to act, or act in a given manner’ (Meskell 1998: 217; also Barrett 2001: 156). These messages reinforced the social identity and spatial integrity of the household at a time of rapidly increasing complexity.

What might these arrangements of fixed and semi-fixed feature elements suggest about household social dynamics in the ProBA? They mark a continuation of the trend toward the segmentation or compartmentalization of household space that began in the PreBA, when rectilinear, multi-room dwellings first replaced the single-room circular houses of earlier periods. This was, at least in part,

a manifestation of functional specialization that accompanied the development of an increasingly complex ProBA economic system integrating staple and wealth finance (Keswani 1993; see also D’Altroy and Earle 1985; Knapp 2008: 167–68). Further agricultural intensification was required to accommodate both population growth and the need to produce surpluses to support a growing number of specialists who were a key component of the new urban-oriented economy (Keswani 2004: 156; Knapp 2008: 165). While metallurgical, ceramic, and textile production increasingly fell under the purview of such specialists operating in elite-sponsored workshops (e.g., the metallurgical and textile workshops attached to the sanctuary in Area II at Kition; Smith 2002; 2010), it is clear that these activities also continued to be accommodated in domestic settings. Smith (2002: 299) notes that even when textile production in specialized workshops appears in LC IIC, several sites continue to show evidence for production at the household level. A similar case can be made for ceramic production (London 1991). The appearance of metallurgical facilities

in what I have suggested were a series of domestic units in Area III at Enkomi during the LC IIC and IIIA periods is also indicative of household-based production (Fisher 2007: 204–17; see also Pickles and Peltenburg 1998).

The degree to which individual household members’ daily routines were occupied with food processing and preparation or other ‘productive’ activities is unclear. It is important to keep in mind that, whatever functions we assign to domestic spaces based on the recovered material evidence, they do not reflect the full range of uses to which these spaces were put (LaMotta and Schiffer 1999) – uses that undoubtedly varied according to various contingencies as well as annual, seasonal (agricultural), and daily cycles of activity (Picazo 1997; Meskell 1998: 216–17; Allison 1999: 12). While activities such as food processing, preparation, storage, and consumption or craft production tend to leave the most visible traces in the ProBA archaeological record, other aspects of daily practice, including child care, socialization, play, and personal hygiene, are far more ephemeral but no less important to household production and reproduction. As Bolger (2003: 44) suggests, however, the provision of permanent installations for various production and storage practices indicates that functional divisions in houses were conceived of as ‘fixed and long-term arrangements of space.’

It is difficult to assess, in this cursory treatment of the data, precisely how these arrangements both reflected and produced gendered divisions of labor. One could perhaps make a case for viewing the ProBA house as a materialization of the increasing task differentiation that appears to have characterized the ProBA (Smith 2002: 282–83; Bolger 2003: 49). This could be seen as amplifying the gendered division of labor that both Bolger (2003: 38–41) and Webb (2002: 94–95) suggest accompanied agricultural intensification during the preceding PreBA, replacing earlier kin-based modes of production and social organization. The end result was greater female domestic workloads, increasingly focused on processing cereal crops and child rearing (the latter to meet increased labor demands), while men were primarily engaged in agricultural field work and animal husbandry. Thus, most women would have spent more of their time in and around the house.

While acknowledging the ‘essentializing’ nature of this sort of binary gender categorization (Bolger 2003: 51–52; Knapp 2004: 576–77) and the issues associated with the application of broad-based ethnographic analogies regarding a gendered division of labor (Gilchrist 1999; Sørensen 2000), it is clear that gender, in addition to other social and physiological aspects of one’s personhood, such as age and social status, had a significant influence on how an individual’s daily practice was mapped onto particular domestic spaces. In the ProBA, this dynamic was further complicated by the increasing engagement of household

members in supra-household communities and politico-economic institutions through which regional systems of production and exchange were organized, allowing some individuals of both (or *all*; see Bolger 2003: 175–82) genders new work opportunities outside the household. The nature of this work likely depended on many factors, not least of which was where one stood in the social hierarchy that emerged during the ProBA. Based on ethnographic and mortuary evidence, Bolger (2003: 196) argues that the rise of complex society caused a fragmentation of gender identities along class lines and resulted in an overall diminution of female status as production and reproduction became separated and female productive labor was devalued. This development was particularly evident in a ProBA mortuary record characterized by the segregation of elite males and females and the near-complete absence of non-elite females (Bolger 2003: 174).

Relating this to the materiality of the ProBA household is a challenging prospect. Even if we assume that women in non-elite households were primarily engaged in food processing activities, it is apparent, given the widespread distribution of grinding equipment and built and portable storage, that elements of these tasks took place throughout many rooms of the house. Moreover, gendered task differentiation in ProBA craft production was not always clear-cut, as both females and males participated in various aspects of textile and ceramic manufacture (London 1991; Smith 2002) and possibly even metallurgy (Bolger 2003: 76–78). In her study of the ProBA textile industry, Smith (2002) concludes that although both men and women were involved in textile production in specialized workshops in LC IIC–IIIA, domestic textile production was exclusively the task of women, who typically worked in open areas such as courtyards. Further contextualized study of the material remains of these activities at the level of detail undertaken by Smith’s study is needed if we are to understand them from a gendered perspective.

I would argue that the constituent spaces of the ProBA house were, for the most part, carefully delineated, embodying the need to accommodate specialized productive activities while facilitating opportunities for both privacy and interaction among household members. These houses offered enhanced possibilities for privacy over their PreBA predecessors, although the courtyard-based house design in particular also allowed opportunities for the surveillance of household members. It is not clear, however, exactly how this played out in terms of social dynamics within ProBA households. There does not appear to be anything evident in the configuration of the houses examined here that would compel us to view gendered individuals in terms of strict inside–outside/private–public dichotomies, perhaps lending support to Bolger’s (2003: 50) suggestion that gendered behavior may not have been

as rigidly circumscribed in Late Cypriot society as it was in neighboring regions (Bolger 2003: 50).

In spite of the fact that some domestic activities took place in courtyards that would have been partially visible through open doorways or from the roofs or upper floors of neighboring buildings, Bolger's (2003: 49) contention that the ProBA witnessed greater privatization of domestic activities is also borne out in the configuration of houses, with their limited physical and visual accessibility from the outside (e.g., see the isovist fields from the outer court in Complex B and from outside the house in Complex C at Pyla; see above, Figure 23.4). Given the relationship between power and knowledge through surveillance (Foucault 1977), this might be seen on one level as an act of resistance against the power structures that came to intervene in various aspects of ProBA life. At the same time, we should acknowledge that households in general are cultural configurations embodying moral values of authority, property, inheritance, kinship, marriage, and residence – values that 'signal the household as a site of power relations and as a site of separable, often competing, interests, rights, and responsibilities' (Ilcan 1996: 36).

Interacting with Visitors

As already noted, the interior courtyard of the house was the most likely context in which household members would encounter one another in the course of daily practice. But it also usually possessed the characteristics of a public-inclusive space that would have made it a suitable venue for interactions with visitors from outside the household. Ethnographic studies of social interaction in traditional eastern Mediterranean societies (e.g., Abu-Zahra 1974; Benedict 1974; Gavrielides 1974; Ilcan 1996) indicate the importance of regular or institutionalized visitation among households as a means of *social exchange* – the voluntary actions of individuals motivated by the returns they are expected to bring (Blau 1964). Without drawing a direct link between such visitation in the modern eastern Mediterranean and Bronze Age Cyprus, I would at least suggest that the regular reception of visitors was an important element of ProBA supra-household relations. Furthermore, I would argue that these interactions often took the form of *feasts*: occasions involving the communal consumption of food and drink that are often different from everyday practice and that entail a component of social display or performance that focuses participants' attention and renders them receptive to episodes of heightened emotional experience (Dietler 2001: 71; van der Veen 2003: 414–15). The impetus behind the cyclical nature of feasting lies in the reciprocal character of social relations created and reinforced through these events: one

cannot be just a guest, but must also host at a later time (Hendon 2003: 204).

Not all interior courtyards (or equivalent spaces) have direct evidence for such activity, but some, such as Room 27 in Building II at Kalavassos, have fixed-feature elements such as benches, built of field stones, lining the walls (Figure 23.5) (South 1980: 35–38). Two people could sit comfortably on the north bench, while the bench along the south and east walls could accommodate at least four. There is little direct evidence for furniture found in ProBA houses, although images from cylinder seals show feasting individuals seated on stools or chairs facing one another across a table (e.g., Porada 1986: pls XVIII.5–6, XIX.2). In spite of the elite associations and schematic nature of these depictions, it is likely that portable wooden tables and benches, chairs, or stools were used to supplement or replace permanent benches in many ProBA houses. Rooms adjoining the interior courtyard were probably used for ancillary functions during feasting occasions, such as the preparation of food, the storage of equipment, and interactions or activities that might require additional privacy. We should see Room 28 in Building II, which contained a toilet pit (Alison South, pers. comm.; cf. Russell 1986: 246) and had the narrowest doorway in the building, in such a way. Remains of pottery vessels used for serving and consuming food and drink are frequently found in these contexts, or in adjoining rooms where they may have been stored when not in use. The ceramic assemblage found in Rooms 27 and 28 in Building II at Kalavassos, for example, contained a high proportion of fine wares, mostly from open-shaped vessels suited to serving and drinking, including a krater and several bowls (Russell 1986: 242–47).

I have argued elsewhere (Fisher 2007; 2009b) that social occasions such as feasts hosted by elites in monumental buildings were a primary means by which social status and identities were displayed and negotiated in ProBA society. While the social dynamic between host and guest was no doubt different in non-elite households, the role of these occasions in forming and expressing identities and negotiating social relations was no less important. The relationship between feasts and power has been well established (e.g., various papers in Dietler and Hayden 2001; Bray 2003; Wright 2004), but it is clear that we should see this dynamic along a continuum with feasts emphasizing exclusivity, competition, and overt manifestations of status and social distance at one extreme (e.g., the 'diacritical feast'; Dietler 2001: 85–88), and those fostering inclusiveness and equitable relations at the other (e.g., the 'celebratory feast'; van der Veen 2003: 414). While most feasts embody elements of both (Dietler 2001: 88), I would suggest that those taking place in the mainly non-elite household contexts discussed here were often among people closer in social status and may have tended toward the less competitive end of the

continuum. These feasts provided opportunities for the creation and maintenance of supra-household cooperative alliances and their potential for attendant social, political, and economic benefits (Hayden 2001). Nevertheless, these occasions also allowed more ambitious individuals the opportunity to impress competitors or gain support by placing lower status guests in their debt.

If we can take the configuration of benches in Building II at Kalavassos as fairly typical of seating arrangements, social interactions during feasting took place at maximum distances of less than 3 m and mostly within the 1.2–2.2 m range, which coincides with the near phase of the social proxemic distance. At this distance, various elements of one's 'personal front' (Goffman 1963: 25), including clothing, hairstyle, accessories, scent, and other physical expressions of personal or group identity, are most clearly perceived. Whether or not there were overt expressions of differential power or status at play between host and guest during these interactions, studies in environmental psychology show that the occupants of a space derive considerable confidence and psychological comfort by hosting interaction within their own (primary) territories (Brown 1987: 517).

It is clear that the central or interior courtyard played an important role in interfacing household members with one another and with visitors. Throughout much of the day, it was a context for various maintenance activities (Picazo 1997) – a place of routine practice for household members. In this sense, parts of the court were undoubtedly gendered spaces. For example, it might be used during the daylight hours for weaving (Smith 2002), among other activities, whereas at other times, the space could become the focus of social occasions such as meals in which all household members might participate or, more rarely, the context of a social occasion involving some household members interacting with visitors. These occasions were important in creating and maintaining various supra-household communities that came to play an increasingly important role in ProBA social dynamics.

The Problem with House Types

I have so far highlighted the shared characteristics of the new forms of housing that emerged in the ProBA in terms of their implications for social interaction. In spite of the emphasis on the emergence of standardized house types in the ProBA (e.g., Bolger 2003: 43, 49; Knapp 2008: 209), I would suggest that in terms of making a house a place laden with meaning, sensory experience, and memory, it is also necessary to consider the idiosyncrasies of a house's fixed, semi-fixed, and nonfixed feature elements. Classifying houses into types obfuscates important differences that

are referenced in the formation of identity and memory at both the household and individual level. Building a house, especially in an urban context, undoubtedly involved a number of stakeholders beyond the immediate household, all of whom would have contributed to the encoded meanings (Locock 1994: 5; Allison 1999: 4; Fisher 2009b: 189). Yet, as Rapoport (1990: 15–16, 21) argues, it is the occupants' and users' meanings that are most significant, and these are generated in many environments through *personalization*: 'taking possession, completing it, changing it.' Personalization is therefore a form of territorial marking by the owners or occupants of a space that encodes messages regarding their identity (Brown 1987: 519–21). In this way, we might see the house proper (i.e., without external courtyards) as the primary territory of household members – spaces used by them on a relatively permanent basis and central to their day-to-day lives (Altman 1975: 111–20).

Manifestations of these processes might include significant differences in spatial configuration and other fixed- and semi-fixed feature elements among so-called house types, such as the two L-shaped houses (A.V and A.VIII) from Episkopi *Bamboula* (Figures 23.1 and 23.3) or the 'twin' Complexes A and B at Pyla (Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 9) (Figures 23.1 and 23.4). In spite of overarching cultural similarities, there was wide scope for variation within ProBA society regarding the 'display rules' by which Rapoport's 'palette of elements' could be combined, even in centrally planned urban environments. Purposive decision making of the sort envisioned by Giddens (1984), regarding construction and renovation methods and materials, spatial configuration and room form, and the placement of permanent features and mobile furnishings, ensured that each house had a unique biography and that households and their individual members would have experienced their domestic environments differently from their neighbors (see also Rodman 1992; Isbell 2000: 258; Barrett 2001; Hendon 2004: 278–79). To this, we should add differences in the nonfixed feature elements of household members – their shifting spatial relations (proxemics), bodily movements (kinesics), nonverbal expressions of emotive state, clothing, body modification, and adornment.

The experience of these fixed, semi-fixed, and nonfixed feature elements in the course of daily practice and periodic social occasions forms the basis for distinct individual and household identities. It is also what created a *sense of place*, defined by Lynch (1981: 131–32) as 'the extent to which a person can recognize or recall a place as being distinct from other places – as having a vivid, or unique, or at least a particular, character of its own.' This dynamic between people and place produced and reproduced new modes of interaction within the household, but also between

households and various levels of community with which they were increasingly integrated.

The Household in Context: Urban Communities

The houses and households examined in detail here belong to the fully urban period of LC IIC–IIIA and were woven into a larger urban fabric. If the admittedly limited exposures at Enkomi and Kalavassos (and to this we can add Hala Sultan Tekke Vyzakia, Episkopi Bamboula, and Pyla Kokkinokremos) are any indication, at least some of the new urban centers were characterized largely by planned streets, which determined the position and alignment of most of their constituent buildings (Weinberg 1983; Karageorghis and Demas 1984; Courtois *et al.* 1986: 5–8, fig. 1; Wright 1992: 115; Åström 1996). In addition, their design and construction involved the architectural definition of the vast majority of urban space. The open spaces between buildings, the control of which had likely been negotiated among competing groups through the placement of tombs in the Proto-urban phase (before LC IIC), were now incorporated within the structure of contiguously placed buildings on well-defined streets (Fisher 2007: 287–93).

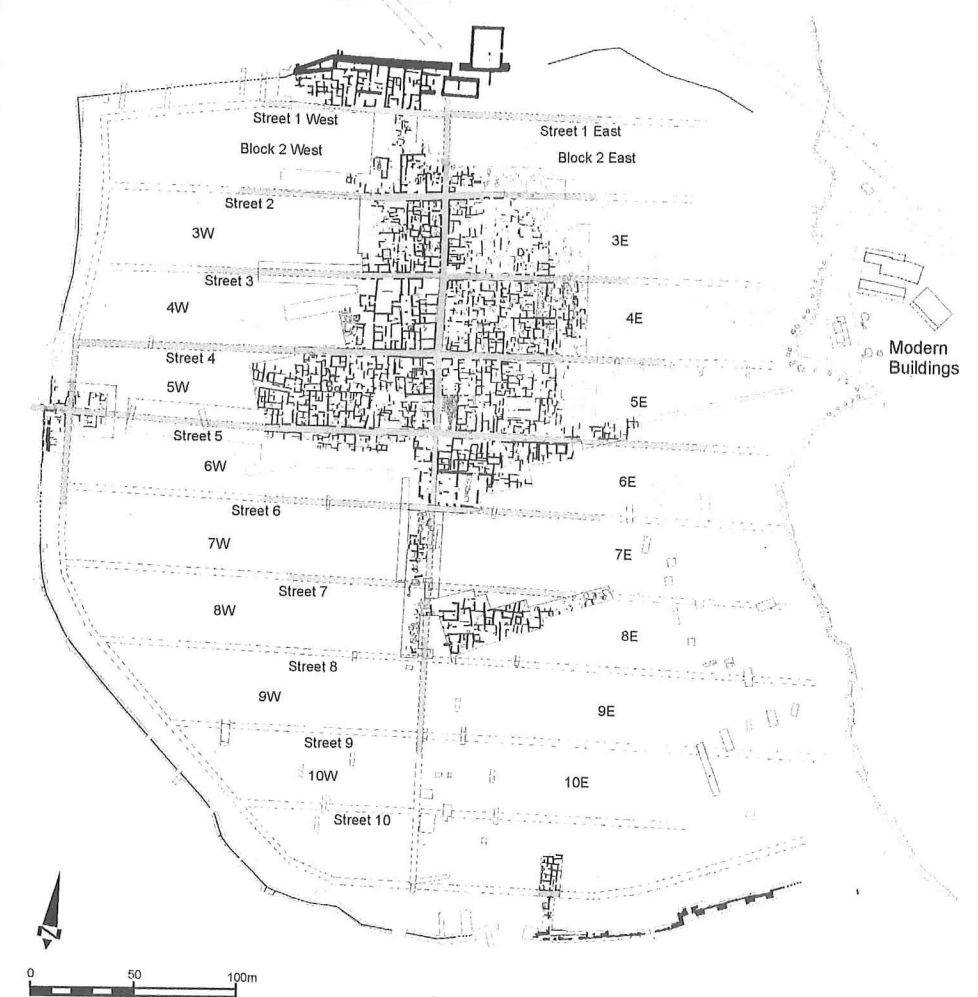
While the nature of the political organization of Cyprus during this period is the subject of intense debate (recently, see Knapp 2008: 144–53; 2013: 432–47), we should see the overall plan of the new cities as a product of ‘top-down’ decision making by ruling elites, whether they exercised political power only locally or at the island-wide level. Indeed, the form of the new urban environments was a product of elite place-making writ large, symbolized by the use of the grid at some sites, which has been recognized as a tool of dominance and oppression in societies engaged in centralizing authority (e.g., Love 1999; Grant 2001). As such, the LC IIC–IIIA cities were the ultimate expressions of the desire to control movement and interaction, first seen in the forts erected at the beginning of the ProBA. The extant remains of these cities indicate the large-scale appropriation of space and its incorporation into highly planned, imageable built environments. Lynch (1960: 9) sees *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.’ The enclosure of some urban environments (e.g., Enkomi, Kition, and Maa) by massive cyclopean fortifications undoubtedly contributed to this imageability. It is likely that the highly imageable urban

center was one of the more clearly defined material manifestations of community with which many LBA Cypriotes increasingly identified.

The existence of urban communities that were intermediate between the city and the household is likely, but their social and material boundaries are less easy to define. Smith (2010) suggests that the division of cities into neighborhoods and districts is a universal of urban life for all time periods. He defines a neighborhood as a residential zone that exhibits a great deal of face-to-face interaction and is distinctive on the basis of physical and/or social characteristics, while a district is a larger administrative unit within a city (Smith 2010: 139–40). Distinct districts are difficult to substantiate given the relatively small size and limited exposures of most LC urban centers, but we are perhaps on somewhat firmer ground discussing neighborhoods. By LC IIIA, if not earlier, Enkomi was arranged in clearly defined blocks by its street system and, although the internal arrangements of most of these blocks are unclear due to the conflation of various architectural phases in published plans (e.g., Courtois *et al.* 1986: fig. 1), it appears that each consisted of a number of contiguously placed buildings of various shapes and sizes (Figure 23.6). While it is possible that these blocks might have constituted some form of neighborhood, residents would likely have had greater occasion to interact with those who lived in units across the main streets. This socio-spatial arrangement is referred to as a ‘face-block’ neighborhood, defined as two sides of one street between intersecting streets (American Planning Association 2006: 409). At both Kalavassos Ayios Dhimitrios and Episkopi Bamboula, differences in house size, alignment, and quality of construction, as well as the degree of planning between areas of the site, also suggest the existence of distinct neighborhoods (Weinberg 1983: 52–57; Wright 1992: 115).

In the LC IIC–IIIA urban landscapes, where most space was architecturally defined, it was necessary for residents to demarcate unambiguously and maintain the boundaries of the area under their direct control, i.e., their primary territory. It is not surprising that a number of the houses studied here exhibit episodes of rebuilding on the same or nearly identical plan. For example, at LC IIIA Episkopi Bamboula, the houses of Area A were destroyed at the end of Stratum D (Weinberg 1983: 9–26). Houses A.V and A.VI were rebuilt in Stratum E using the same plan by leveling the debris, raising the floors and thresholds, and constructing new walls directly on top of the old foundations. Such continuity is more than a mere demonstration of enduring property ownership. It marks a constancy of dwelling that reified a household’s attachment to a particular place through the accumulation

FIGURE 23.6. Plan of LC IIIA Enkomi, ca. 1200 BC. Drawn by Kevin Fisher, after Schaeffer (1971: plan IV) and Courtois *et al.* (1986: fig. 1).



of meaning and the formation of individual and collective memories (Ingold 2000: 175; Zerubavel 2003: 41). Attempts to display such continuity of spatial use and control were an essential part of place-making throughout the urban social hierarchy.

Despite continual efforts at boundary demarcation and maintenance, however, urban landscapes were places of fluidity, negotiation, and change. The fact that House A.VIII at Episkopi was built *de novo* in Stratum E and extended beyond the remains of the house it replaced demonstrates that urban development was a dynamic process, as some households in a given neighborhood grew or contracted; vacated, transferred, or subdivided their properties – processes that were materialized in the unique biographies of individual houses (Düring 2005; Nanoglou 2008; Tringham 1995). The ambiguity of some boundaries can be seen in the design of the large external courtyards that fronted Complexes A, B, and D at Pyla Kokkinokremos (Karageorghis and Demas 1984: 6–32) (see above, Figure 23.4). The fact that these courtyards appear to have

been completely open to the space in front of the houses, presumably a street, indicates that they were intended to be both readily accessible and completely visible from the street. The function of these courts is unclear, but given the tendency to define spaces architecturally in LC IIC–IIIA urban environments, the lack of a physical boundary is unusual and introduces ambiguity and opportunities for negotiation or contestation. These spaces might have been what Altman (1975) refers to as ‘secondary territories,’ which are accessible to a wider range of users, although regular occupants often exert some degree of control over who can enter a space and over their behavior. Because secondary territories blend public or semipublic access with control by regular occupants, there is potential for confusion or social conflict as boundaries are established, tested, and violated (Altman 1975: 114; see also Lawrence’s [1990] discussion of ‘collective’ spaces).

In addition to the negotiation of boundaries invited by these transitional spaces, there is some evidence to suggest that the efforts of ruling elites to impose order through

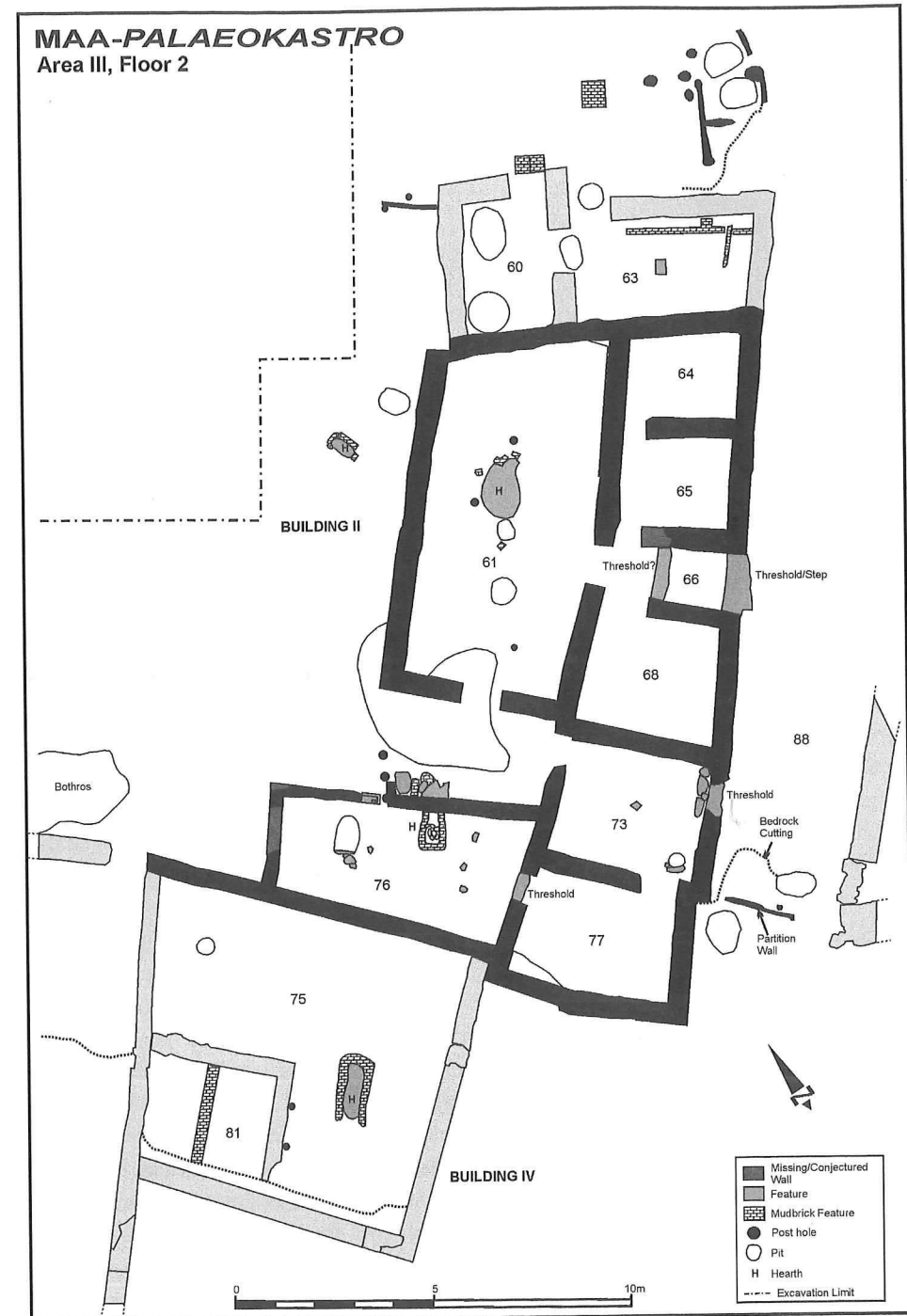


FIGURE 23.7. Schematic plan of Maa Palaeokastro Building II, Floor 2. Drawn by Kevin Fisher, after Karageorghis and Demas (1988: plan VIII).

urban planning did not go unchallenged. In some urban areas, there are instances of households laying some claim to sections of what would appear to be public streets. For example, the owners of Houses A.V and A.IV at Episkopi constructed partition walls using wooden posts or shallow trenches and field stones in front of their houses during Stratum D, essentially appropriating part of the street (Weinberg 1983: 10) (see above, Figure 23.3). Similarly, partitions were erected at Maa Palaeokastro, running perpendicular to the east wall of Room 73, partially blocking off

part of the street between Buildings II and III (Figure 23.7) (Karageorghis and Demas 1988). The placement of new tombs in the streets and open areas at Episkopi Bamboula in Area E (Benson 1972; Weinberg 1983: fig. 25) and Alassa Pano Mandilaris (Hadjisavvas 1986) was one of the most potent symbols of the contesting, if not appropriation, of 'public' space, and indicates that at least some streets were deemed by neighboring households as a secondary territory or collective space. This suggests that even established, well-marked boundaries were sometimes ignored,

challenged, or at least open to negotiation, perhaps in response to the waxing or waning of the sociopolitical authority of those involved, or based on changing norms or rules regarding the use of space established at the neighborhood, city, or polity level.

Conclusions

Cyprus during the ProBA was an utterly transformed place from the PreBA that preceded it. The PreBA built environment was characterized, for the most part, by undifferentiated domestic architecture built in agglutinative and accretive settlement forms. The excavations at Marki Alonia, a site occupied ca. 2500–1700/1650 BC, provide the most comprehensive picture of a PreBA settlement to date, and the typical compound or house there consists of two or three rectilinear covered rooms at the back of a larger courtyard, all of which were irregularly shaped (Frankel and Webb 2006a; 2006b). Although the establishment of major pathways in later phases may have involved 'wider communal decision-making,' there is little evidence for settlement planning coordinated at the community level (Frankel and Webb 2006a: 314). During this period, funerary ritual in extramural mortuary settings became the primary arena for intracommunity interaction and identity formation, as well as social competition and status display (Keswani 2004; 2005).

It is difficult to describe the changes that rapidly followed as anything less than a revolution. Within less than three centuries, the primary locus of social interaction and competition shifted from the funerary realm to new types of domestic and monumental buildings constructed in urban landscapes. Fully urbanized ProBA society was hierarchical yet factionalized, and individuals became enmeshed in a multiplicity of cross-cutting social networks, from the household through various levels of community, depending on gender, age, social status, and other elements of personhood. These relations linked individuals to communities of people with whom they would have face-to-face interactions, as well as others with whom they may have met less frequently (if at all, in some cases) but were nonetheless associated through overlapping social, economic, ideological, and political ties (Knapp 2003). ProBA Cypriot individuals and collectivities engaged in acts of place-making that provided the contexts for these actions and interactions, creating built environments that ranged in scale from the rooms of houses and halls of monumental buildings, through the neighborhoods of planned cities and beyond into regional settlement networks. It is in the making of these built environments and their use in daily practice that ProBA society was created, reproduced, and, ultimately, transformed.

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