Ideology, Archaeology and Polity
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IDEOLOGY, ARCHAEOLOGY AND POLITY

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Elites and other special interest groups often have recourse to ideology to establish, challenge or change a specific socio-political order. Transposing that axiom, it may also be observed that power relations within society serve to establish religious authority and to legitimise specific ideological practices and insignia. This mirror-image relationship between religious ideology and socio-political power is discussed in relation to the elaboration and development of political organisation in emergent state society. The archaeological record of Middle and Late Bronze Age Cyprus (about 1700–1200 B.C.) reveals copious material indicative of ritual behaviour and provides evidence that religious ideology is integral to the economy, and to the social relations of production. The Cypriote case study also exemplifies how archaeology's diachronic perspective can promote better understanding of the relationship between religious ideology and politico-economic power: through an ideological filter, social and technological change is not only monitored, but explained.

It is, in reality, much easier to discover by analysis *the earthly core* of the misty creations of religion, than, conversely, it is to develop from the actual relations of life the corresponding celestial forms of those relations (Marx, *Capital* I: 372–3, emphasis added).

The theory of ideology is not then a peripheral topic to do with the secondary analysis of the 'superstructure' . . . In fact it is absolutely central to the analysis of any social formation and is precisely the field in which such topics apparently as diverse as kinship, religion and the economy are integrated (Clammer 1985: 78).

. . . Ideology and power are inextricably bound up with social practices; they are a component of human *praxis*. . . . Because ideology and power are components of praxis they are manifested in its material products, and are thus open to archaeological investigation (Miller & Tilley 1984: 14).

Introduction

During the 1953–54 campaign of the French Archaeological Mission to the site of Enkomi on Cyprus, C. F. A. Schaeffer recovered a bronze statuette anchored to an 'oxhide ingot' base; the male figurine was promptly christened the 'Ingot God'. Since the production and export of copper oxhide ingots were widely thought to form the economic base of Bronze Age Cypriote society, the conclusion was inevitable: copper production and distribution must have come under divine protection. Furthermore, the close spatial association between metallurgical installations and 'religious' structures on Bronze Age Cypriote sites helped to canonise an archaeological notion of religious domination over Cypriote copper production. Discussion of these spatial relationships, and of the metal figurines, has remained descriptive and somewhat fanciful: no clear idea

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has emerged of the dynamic between copper production and divine protection, nor of the politico-economic organisation of the copper industry.

The purpose of this study is not to dispute the existence of some relationship between religion and copper production in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, but rather to consider that relationship from a theoretical perspective, to seek out that 'earthly core of the misty creations of religion'. It is suggested that newly-emergent elites on the island manipulated and secured domination over copper production and distribution by making use of culturally significant symbols such as the 'Ingot God' or miniature 'votive' ingots. Ideology is therefore regarded as integral to the economy, and to the social relations of production.

Elman Service crystallised the views of an earlier generation of anthropologists and social historians in his representation of early states as complex theocracies, wherein sanctions were supernatural and power sacerdotal (Service 1975: 91; Trigger 1985: 46). Yoffee recently observed that, despite the supra-local organisational complexity indicated by such great monuments as Mesopotamian ziqqurats or Mesoamerican pyramids, '. . . things look a lot less theocratic in Mesopotamia and Teotihuacan than once they did' (1985: 44). Other recent studies on ideology and socio-political power argue that a culture's religious beliefs provide one means by which elite members of a society may 'sanctify' or rationalise their political programmes; such beliefs also form an integral part of the social relations of production.[1]

Archaeologists who aim to recover ideology or belief systems solely from material culture have often laboured in the shadow of Childe's dictum that, if early technology may be readily reconstructed from archaeological data, and reliable indicators of the ancient economy recovered by careful design, social institutions—and religious beliefs fall under this rubric—remain the most elusive (1951: 54). To this must be added recent scepticism about how archaeological interpretation is unwittingly and adversely affected by major contemporary political and philosophical issues (e.g. warfare, ecology, fundamentalist religious movements—Wilk 1985). Finally, despite recent optimism about recovering 'mind' from archaeological remains (Renfrew 1982), the lack of an agreed-upon theoretical framework for evaluating prehistoric religion has resulted in a de-emphasis on this aspect of ancient society or, at best, in rather dubious archaeological interpretation.

The long-term perspective that archaeology alone provides should permit social scientists and historians alike to gain much-needed insight into the relationship between ideology and politico-economic power. In the hope of allaying some of the concerns cited above, and to bolster the theoretical basis that considers ideology in archaeological terms, I proceed by:

(1) discussing recent research directed to the recovery of ideology from archaeological data (the analytical framework);
(2) providing a background to the study of religion and religious ideology in the Mediterranean and the Near East;
(3) presenting the Cypriote archaeological data and tracing links between social forces, economic pursuits and political power on Late Bronze Age Cyprus (about 1600–1200 B.C.);
(4) proposing an explanation for the rise and collapse of the Bronze Age

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Cypriote polity that was based on the production and exchange of local copper resources; and

(5) discussing the relationship between polity, economy and ideology.[2]

Archaeology and religious ideology

Joan Oates once remarked that archaeologists were fortunate not to have to participate in 'anthropological quibbles' over the meaning and definition of religion; she acknowledged nonetheless the need to conform to some 'pragmatic definition' (1978: 117). Clifford Geertz, one of the most influential recent voices in the anthropological study of religion, has defined its study as:

> a two-stage operation: first, an analysis of the systems of meanings embodied in the symbols which make up the religion proper, and, second, the relating of these symbols to socio-structural and psychological processes (1973: 125).

In light of comments from one of Geertz's critics (Asad 1983: 251–2), it may be suggested that the study of *prehistoric* religion proceed, not from questions either on the social meaning of doctrines and practices, or on the socio-psychological effects of symbols and rituals—all relatively inaccessible to archaeologists—but by evaluating those technological developments, socio-economic institutions, demographic criteria and historical conditions that are accessible, and that enable us to consider how power affects, and may authorise, religious ideology.

Ideology and its associated symbolism can best be interpreted in culture-specific terms (Schiemann 1978: 130; Clark 1983: 106–7). Conservative archaeologists caution, however, that the material evidence does not permit the reconstruction of ideology in pre-literate eras, not even if one extrapolates directly backwards from literate societies to pre-literate cultures to posit a sequence of religious development (French 1978; cf. Gould & Watson 1982; Watson 1980). The situation is exacerbated by arguments that all the requisite material data for such interpretation *must* be in hand: archaeologists just haven't 'turned it up' yet (a prime example of what Bradley (1985: 21) recently labelled 'the archaeology of Mr. Micawber').

But the study of prehistoric religion must not be constrained by such *caveats* nor by the lack of the kind of evidence that our modern western cultural bias might demand. With what criteria, if not the material, could archaeologists structure any sort of enquiry into the relationship amongst objects, architecture or ethnographic analogy on the one hand, and cultic representation, ceremonial or public buildings, and religious practice on the other?

Susan Cole has outlined two archaeological approaches to the recovery of religious ideology: the Structuralist and the Materialist (1985: 49). Structuralists utilise material remains to analyse binary constructs about universal processes in human society (including information on belief systems). Materialists regard archaeological data—specifically items with symbolic or prestige value, ceremonial structures or ritual paraphernalia—to be the key to understanding ideology, which in turn opens the door to analysis of the politico-economic system (Kohl 1984; 1981: 109–12).

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Marxist approaches generally stress that state religions or public rituals are adaptive rather than innovative. Recent work by structural Marxists, however, strives to incorporate political action, human motivation and ideology into models of historical change (Friedman 1975; Godelier 1978*a*). Structural Marxists increasingly seem to view infrastructural elements that control and distribute material resources as inseparable from social, political or ideological elements traditionally viewed by Marxists as part of the superstructure. And, with respect to the inevitability of class conflict, Godelier would argue that, for the relations of sovereignty and exploitation to have arisen in the first place, individuals aspiring to dominance must have provided some sort of services that involved 'invisible realities and forces controlling . . . the reproduction of the universe and of life' (1978*b*: 767).

Ambiguities and vacuities in archaeological data necessitate an eclectic, holistic approach, especially for the recovery of ideology and belief systems. Even if the study of prehistoric ideology, like archaeology itself, must necessarily remain 'endlessly unsettled . . ., it is a great mistake to suppose that what is endlessly fascinating and unsettled therefore cannot be scientific. If that were so, there would be very few sciences' (Mellor 1973: 498). To Kohl's observation that 'a political archaeology is needed to elaborate and make more meaningful the economic interpretation of prehistory' (1981: 111), it must be countered that an economic archaeology—elaborated by attention to socio-historical pattern and political and ideological process—makes more likely a *viable* interpretation of prehistory.

The interpretive framework of this study suggests that emergent socio-economic forces access religious symbols and manipulate religious ideology —an element internal to the economy—to ensure the promotion and perpetuation of their group. The relationship between religion and ideology—be it economic, social or political power—is expressed not only in the way elites or other special-interest groups utilise religion to establish, challenge or change a specific social order, but also in the sense in which power establishes religious personalities, authorises specific religious practices and their insignia, defines what is to be believed, and in fact *constructs* religious ideology (Asad 1983: 18).

W. Robertson Smith, the great Victorian anthropologist and Semiticist (the two had not yet become mutually exclusive), was probably the first to distinguish the sociological aspect of human religion and to emphasise the social basis of beliefs and values (Robertson Smith 1889: 28, 29; Beidelman 1974: 66; Yoffee 1978). Robertson Smith recognised that society converted uncommon beings into gods, and awesome forces into holiness (i.e. the sacred). The community, in other words, directed certain activities towards the beneficent powers that constitute religion, and in effect converted those 'powers' into socio-political authority (Beidelman 1974: 67).

Robertson Smith's words find an echo in Service's recent survey of ethnological practice, past and present. Service isolates two socio-political functions of ancient religion: the *regulative* and the *stimulative* (1985: 163). Whereas regulative behaviour is directed towards the general welfare of society, stimulative behaviour pertains to group rituals that serve to reinforce the sense of community among the participants. Service even quotes Robertson Smith: 'Religion did not

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exist for the saving of souls but for the preservation of and welfare of society' (1889: 29). The essential religious relationship, therefore, is that of all the community to a power serving the community. In such a view, the development of religious ideology is tantamount to the elaboration of political organisation; and this development is manifested in ritual objects and behaviour (Service 1985: 163).

How does power manipulate religious ideology? Why does power necessitate it? What is the role of the sacred in the regulation of society? In order to facilitate understanding of these questions, some terms must be defined (definitions after Rappaport 1971*a*: 25–30 unless otherwise noted; utilised by Drennan 1976; Moody & Lukermann 1985):

religion 'sets of sacred beliefs held in common by groups of people' and 'the more or less standard actions (rituals) that are undertaken with respect to these beliefs';

religious ideology '. . . not only formal religion, but also the various metaphysical beliefs, values, and behaviors that lie outside of the guidance of formalized religious institutions or dogmas. In this sense an ideology is a set of interrelated ideas that provides the members of a group with a rationale for their existence' (Conrad & Demarest 1984: 4);

ritual 'conventional acts of display through which one or more participants transmit information concerning their physiological, psychological, or sociological states, either to themselves or to one or more of their participants';

ritual artefacts 'objects that are helpful in inducing religious experience or that can be used in rituals of sanctification. There are two categories of ritual artefacts, the *exotic* (made of materials foreign to the observer's/participant's experience) and the *symbolic* (manufactured into symbolic shapes or decorated with esoteric symbols)' (Drennan 1976: 357);

sacred 'the quality of unquestionable truthfulness imputed by the faithful to unverifiable propositions'.

The role of the sacred: sanctification

The sacred plays an important role in the regulation of human society. Axioms that treat economic regulation, political authority and social convention are often sanctified (Rappaport 1971*a*: 29). Yet sanctity may also operate as a double-edged sword: in the absence of ideological sanctions that serve to constrain individual 'maximising' behaviour, socio-economic organisation is likely to be ineffective. Cliometricians regard ideology as an 'economising' device that allows individuals to come to terms with their environment, and to simplify their decision-making processes (North 1981: 44, 49).

While sanctity serves a function equivalent to political power in less complex societies, at the other end of a socio-cultural, evolutionary scale sanctity becomes the *instrument* of authority. Investments in legitimacy are fundamental, but often costly in both social and economic terms (Cherry 1978: 431; Renfrew & Cherry 1986: 153). Special-interest groups, whether led by chiefs, kings or emperors, justify acquisitive enterprises or expansionistic goals through a process of sanctification. The appeal to sanctity may have facilitated control over resources or manipulation of primary producers, both factors in the formation of elite power, and in the emergence of elite authority (Rappaport 1971*a*: 39; Shanks & Tilley 1982: 133).

Although sacred propositions in society occasionally limit innovation, the

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concept of the sacred may also ease social or environmental constraints that discourage organisational change. Perhaps even more significant, the sacred may provide the essential continuity or stability so important in an era of change. Thus religious ideology, while preserving tradition and providing resilience, also may open the way to innovation and new forms of organisation based on symbolic expression.

If increasing hierarchy is to be fully effective, hierarchical structure needs clear and conspicuous insignia. As Robertson Smith recognised one century ago, symbolic behaviour derives from the social group, and symbolic modes of expression gain validity from their relationship to objects or individuals readily perceived in their world (Beidelman 1974: 65).

Ritual serves a fundamental role in legitimising social hierarchy; those who seek power often attempt to institutionalise it in ritual format (Shanks & Tilley 1982: 133–4). Rituals of sanctification often employ ritual artefacts—exotic or symbolic—to lay stress on individuals, messages or events. Social differentiation, therefore, may be actualised through message-laden prestige items or ritualistic symbols. As Gamble recently emphasised, the real subtlety in establishing power lies in the use and elaboration of symbols, and in the way that symbols focus attention on particular individuals or polities (1986: 38, 40).

Such insignia come to embody control over the forces of production and in turn help to stimulate accumulation of wealth. Created in the service of the regulating authority, these symbols and exotica are often made from precious materials or manufactured in a prescribed manner by skilled craftspeople. Such insignia, of course, need not be 'precious' or rare (e.g. a rough wooden cross). Yet in pre-capitalist societies, where the medium of social relations has to be prestige (Parker Pearson 1984: 169–71; Bradley 1985: 31) and where ritual communication functions as power, such exotica are costly, particularly when there is no well-defined power base.

The material mode of production, especially in the manufacture of 'dominant symbols', assures consistency throughout the entire symbolic system (Shanks & Tilley 1982: 134). The repeated appearance of a specific item or icon in various media, the diffusion of an art style, or the adoption of ceremonial architecture may signal the influence of high-ranking individuals, and at the same time connect those individuals to the 'ultimate sacred propositions' of society (Drennan 1976: 358–9; Flannery 1972: 407). Religious rituals always include social messages. So too will religious symbols. Whether intended to inform, to guide actions, or to express emotions, they must be interpreted together with secular symbols and with other aspects of the society, polity and economy with which they articulate (Asad 1983: 251).

Sanctity serves important social, economic and political functions, and is often manipulated by self-sustaining politico-economic groups to elevate their own position. To sanctify social conventions, economic regulations, or political authority is to transform the arbitrary into the necessary, and to portray to the individual the needs and interests of society as his own (Rappaport 1971*a*: 35–6). Or, as Miller and Tilley would have it, the legitimation process naturalises assymetrical social reality in order to make it seem other than it is (1984: 7; see also Shennan 1982: 155–6; Giddens 1979: 188).

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Ideology, in such a view, serves to misrepresent social contradictions in order to bolster or stabilise power relations within society (Larrain 1982: 15; Miller & Tilley 1984: 14). But what exactly is the relationship between ideology and power? Connotations of power are usually negative, ranging from the idea of a voluntary resignation of autonomy (Gamble 1986), to a Weberian notion of limitation placed on the behavioural opportunities of others (Claessen *et al.* 1985: 11), or to a generalised concept of coercion or physical force by which the state maintains relationships of inequality (Trigger 1985). Miller and Tilley conceive power as a positive force involved in the transformation of social reality; they make a useful conceptual distinction between *power to*, which involves all aspects of social interaction and social reality (and perhaps subsumes such concepts as ability or capability), and *power over*, which refers to domination and social control (1984: 5–8). Such elegant distinctions, however, do little to help find meaning in the material record or to identify material remains constituting the paraphernalia of power in past society.

The methodological stance assumed here asserts that ideology is not solely an epiphenomenal reflection of the politico-economic base of society, but rather one means by which groups actively maintain, resist or change their relative power within society. And since special-interest groups often use material items to recast such relations of power (Gamble 1986: 39), these transformations should be archaeologically visible and open to discussion.

Power necessitates ideology. It draws upon material resources and reproduces them in culturally significant messages and media (Miller & Tilley 1984: 8). And power is at least partially derived from this manipulation of symbols, rituals or ceremonial activities that allow individuals not only to reproduce, but to transform their social roles in emergent elite society. And yet the qualification must be made that such paraphernalia of power, often regarded as tantamount to power itself, are just as likely to signify weak polities attempting to establish (or build upon) an ideological base in order to stabilise politico-economic authority (Marcus 1974: 83–4). Cherry, in fact, has suggested that an inverse relationship exists between the degree of investment in ideology and the successful establishment of socio-political power (1978: 429), a point taken up below with specific reference to the Cypriote polity.

Ideology and interpretation in the Mediterranean world

Because of a wealth of documentary evidence, the study of religion in the eastern Mediterranean and the ancient Near East has been dominated by linguistic and philological studies. Whilst written records obviously provide a vital key to the reconstruction of mythologies, rituals and ideologies, philologists tend to make unstated assumptions about relationships between textual and archaeological data. Philologists and ancient historians alike make spurious attempts to associate monumental structures or ceramic types with specific socio-ethnic groups, divinities or cultic practice as outlined in various sorts of written evidence (Schiemann 1978: 129). The resultant concept of religion is often static, and fails to consider social, economic or ecological processes that affect information, ideology and religious experience.

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Similarly, the treatment of Minoan and Mycenaean religion long revolved around projections of Classical-era institutions and ideas into the Bronze Age past, or around the monumental study by M. P. Nilsson of Bronze Age archaeological remains excavated in the late nineteenth- or early twentieth-century (1950). Renfrew has attempted to establish a framework for the study of Minoan and Mycenaean cult practices, and has suggested focusing on variations during the Bronze Age of cult practices *within any given area*, and on regional variations *at any given time* in the Bronze Age (Renfrew 1981*a*: 27, original emphasis; see now also Renfrew 1985). In two studies that treat the ideology associated with Minoan 'peak sanctuaries', Cherry has elaborated on the latter focus, and extended the discussion to consider how ideology and religious sanctions function in the organisation of centralised polities (Cherry 1986; 1978; see also below, p. 153).

Paucity of relevant textual evidence in pre- and protohistoric societies is no cause for despair. Archaeological data must be judged on their own merits as well as in the light of ethnohistoric material or documentary remains (Knapp 1985: 246). Archaeology provides alternative approaches to the investigation of specific problems, and encourages adoption of a more objective, hypothetical stance in the interpretation of material remains. Archaeology's diachronic perspective, for example, often allows us to monitor cultural change: in the present discussion, this is most significant since it may be possible to discern not only the onset of an ideological system geared to reproduce power assymetries, but also the subsequent failure of ideological practice itself to adapt or transform when necessary (Miller & Tilley 1984: 150; see below pp. 153–5).

With the analytical framework in place, we may turn to our case study of Middle and Late Bronze Age Cyprus (about 1700–1200 B.C.), and consider the links between social forces, economic pursuits and political power as reflected in Cyprus's material record. How can the discussion this far contribute to a better understanding of the relationship between religious ideology and the political economy of Bronze Age Cyprus?

The Cypriote polity: continuity and change

During the centuries 1700–1400 B.C., Cyprus's archaeological record reveals a number of significant changes: urban centres with monumental architecture begin to develop throughout the island; differential burial practices become evident; metallurgical production intensifies and extensive trade relations with surrounding cultures become apparent; writing appears for the first time; fortifications, mass burials and increased finds of weaponry suggest a break with formerly peaceful patterns. These innovations and developments represent the transformation of an isolated, village-based culture into an international, urban-oriented, complex society (Knapp 1986*a*; 1985: 246–50).

Increased demand for Cypriote copper within an interregional exchange system, and the corresponding need to formalise the external *and internal* administrative organisation of the copper trade were factors closely related to the internal strife, the rise of urban complexes and the other cultural and

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demographic developments that took place between 1700–1400 B.C. The interplay of external demand and trade, accumulation and (re)investment of wealth, and the division of labour into specialised production units was central to the rise of social complexity on Bronze Age Cyprus. The exchange network, in all its ramifications, provided the opportunity for investment, while the manipulation of trade became the basis for further structural changes. It seems clear that some individuals were able to control key aspects of resource acquisition, production, transport and distribution, and thereby to establish social status and economic advantage in the midst of the organisational changes needed to stabilise their authority.

If this move from provincial to international status brought profits to the island of Cyprus, it also brought problems. Changes in social organisation and new social conventions seem initially to have met with some resistance. In contrast to finds of earlier periods, noticeable quantities of weapons appear in late Middle Cypriote (MC—about 1700–1600 B.C.) burials, mass burials are attested in at least three sites, and a series of fortifications arose in the northern and central parts of the island.

Whilst the limited evidence from MC settlements suggests household or, at most, village level agricultural production, perhaps organised along kinship lines, the changes witnessed in the archaeological record of the period 1700–1400 B.C. indicate the appearance of new social and political roles. Signs of social upheaval, militarism, regionalism, and local control over copper production and exchange clearly reveal internal social evolution if not revolution. The archaeological data in question provide material reflection of the new social organisation, hierarchically arranged along economic and political lines. (For a complete discussion of the data see Knapp 1986*a*; 1986*b*; Table 1 provides an overview and references.)

How did the emergent Cypriote elite(s) organise control in what must have been an island culturally if not politically divided? How did they *legitimise* that control? If regional polities existed, was control organised in similar ways? In order to discuss this issue, it is necessary first to present those artefacts that may have been endowed with symbolic and ritualistic significance.

Archaeological evidence

Archaeological data relevant to this study combine materials marshalled by Catling for his 1971 study on the theocratic basis of Cypriote copper production with more recent finds of the same genre: bronze statuettes, inscribed miniature ingots, representations of an ingot-bearer on bronze stands, depictions of ingots on other media (pottery, seals), and the association between metallurgical installations and public or ceremonial structures at a number of Cypriote sites (dates between 1700–1200 B.C.). Most artefacts have a Cypriote provenience and, even if they did not become part of the archaeological record before about 1200 B.C., are presumed to have been in use at least throughout the Late Cypriote (LC) II period, about 1400–1200 B.C. (For complete documentation and discussion, see Knapp 1986*b*: 6–56).

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TABLE 1. Archaeological indicators of economic differentiation and new social organisation (Cyprus, about 1700–1200 B.C.).

Economic differentiation and new social organisation.

New social organisation		*Archaeological indicators*	*References*
Literacy	LCI	Development of Cypro-Minoan writing (Enkomi)	Dikaios 1963; Knapp & Marchant 1982; E. Masson 1983
	LCII	Spread of writing in urban centres (*Toumba tou Skourou, Ay. Dhimitrios*)	Vermeule & Wolsky 1976
Differential burial practices	MC II	(Beginnings)	
	MCII–LCI	Nicosia-*Ayia Paraskevi* Tomb 8	Kromholz 1982: 306–14
	LCIA	Enkomi-*Ayios Iakovos* (Built tombs)	Gjerstad *et al.* 1935: 569–73; Johnstone 1971
	LCI	Morphou-*Toumba tou Skourou* (tombs & burials)	Vermeule 1974: *8–9*
	LCIIA/B	Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* Tomb 11	South 1984*b*; South & Todd 1985
	LCIIIA	Hala Sultan Tekke-*Vyzakia* Tomb 23	Åström *et al.* 1983: 169–213
Architectural differentiation (monumental public structures) (as yet unidentified precursors in MCIII–LCIA)	LCII–IIIA	Ashlar buildings at Enkomi-*Ay. Iakovos*, Kalavasos-*Ay. Dhimitrios*, Maroni-*Vournes*, Maa-*Palaeokastro*	Cadogan 1985; 1984; Dikaios 1969–1971: 171–90; Karageorghis *et al.* 1982: 95–8, fig. 2; Schaeffer 1952: 239–48; South 1984*c*: 18–25
	LCII–IIIA	'Sacred architecture' at Enkomi-*Ay. Iakovos*, Kition-*Kathari*, & Palaepaphos	Karageorghis 1976: 57, 62–9; 1973*b*: 262–9; Maier 1979; Maier & Wartburg 1985
	LCII–IIIA	'Public architecture' at Athienou-*Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*, Hala Sultan Tekke-*Vyzakia*, etc.	Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983: 6–20; Hult 1983: 3–20
Elites/social stratification	LCII	*Alashiya* Letters indicate (1) prosperous kingdom, (2) neutrality in international power struggle, (3) accommodation of international political exiles (= political elite)	Knapp 1985: 234–41
	LCI	Site hierarchy	Catling 1962: 144–5; Portugali & Knapp 1985: 53–64
	LCII–III	High status burials/wealth (Kalavasos *Ay. Dhimitrios*, Hala Sultan Tekke-*Vyzakia*)	South 1984*b*; South & Todd 1985; Åström *et al.* 1983: 8–16

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New social organisation		*Archaeological indicators*	*References*
	LCI–III	Prestige goods (copper ingots, hoard of gold objects—Hala Sultan Tekke-*Vyzakia*); imported goods, bronze weapons and artefacts	Knapp 1986*a*; Muhly 1979; 1977; Muhly *et al.* 1980; Åström *et al.* 1983: 8–16
Intensification/expansion of copper production/exchange	LCI	Matured at Enkomi-*Ayios Iakovos*	
	LCII–III	Spreads to Athienou-*Bamboulari tis Koukounninas*, Kalavasos-*Ay. Dhimitrios*, Hala Sultan Tekke-*Vyzakia*, Khalassa-*Pano Mantilares*	Knapp 1986*a*; 1985: 239–240; Muhly *et al.* 1980; Stech 1982; Swiny 1985; 1982
	LCI–II	Transportation system (copper source to cities); advances in extractive/metallurgical technology; long distance exchange	Knapp 1986*a*; Portugali & Knapp 1985
Standardization of weights and measures	LC	Copper ingots with roughly standardised weight, shape and purity (weights from Kalavasos-*Ay. Dhimitrios*, Enkomi-*Ay. Iakovos*, & elsewhere)	Courtois 1983; Knapp 1986*a*; Muhly 1985; Muhly *et al.* 1980; Stech 1982
Demographic changes	LCI	Concentration of population in coastal centres	Catling 1975: 188–96; 1962: 144–5
	LCI–II	Ceramic, metal, glyptic finds in coastal emporia indicative of economic differentiation	L. Åström 1967: 150; P. Åström 1973; L. & P. Åström 1972: 599–616, 706–54; Artzy 1985; Holmes 1975; Portugali & Knapp 1985

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Bronze statuettes

Bronze Age anthropomorphic metal statuettes abound in the lands of the eastern Mediterranean basin: Syria, Lebanon, Israel, Anatolia and Cyprus (Negbi 1976; Seeden 1981; Verlinden 1984). Whilst descriptions vary considerably, the term 'Canaanite gods in metal' commands common acceptance; as a result, the transformation of many a mundane item into a specific divinity or cult continues unchecked, and in turn dictates the metamorphosis of most monumental structures, and countless mudbrick huts, into temples, sanctuaries, shrines and inner sancta (Moorey & Fleming 1984). There is no simple solution to the difficulty of establishing the divinity of these figurines nor, subsequently, of identifying the particular deity being represented. On the other hand, to ignore their possible sacred associations only obscures the issue. In the Cypriote case, the subject may be approached by considering the context of the figurines and the objects found in direct association with them (Renfrew 1981*b*: 67).

Of the three Cypriote figurines, the 'Ingot God' and the 'Horned God' were found in excavations at Enkomi, while the female figurine lacked specific provenience (Courtois 1971; Schaeffer 1965; Dikaios 1962; Catling 1971; Knapp 1986*b*: 7–24). The 'Ingot God' was recovered from the floor of a small room in a monumental (11 by 28 metre) structure subdivided into two parts. The 'North Hall' was strewn with oxen skulls, its benches and floors covered with fine ceramics, a number of metal objects including a bronze knife and 'ox-horn' (Webb & Courtois 1980), a terracotta cylinder seal, an inscribed pithos and bowl, and numerous cervid and caprid bones (Ionas 1984*a*; 1984*b*).

Whilst the female figurine with ingot base lacked provenience, its style and features recall other metal (Karageorghis 1985: 56) and terracotta statuettes found on the island and therefore argue for its Cypriote origin (Catling 1971: 24–8; Knapp 1986*b*: 11–12). Although Catling pegged her as a 'long established Cypriote female deity whose origins are ultimately to be found in the Near East' (1971: 29), O. Masson concluded that such female fertility goddesses assimilated attributes far too diverse to allow identification with any single deity (1973: 115–16).

The 'Horned God' was excavated in a monumental (32.5 × 28.5 metre) building of ashlar construction. In immediate association with the figurine were a miniature bronze sickle and socketed spearhead; numerous other bronze items including a 'mini-hoard'; horns of oxen, deer and goat; bucrania and gold models of horns (Courtois 1982: 159; Dikaios 1969–1971: 194–200).

This litany of precious objects and materials could be continued but the implications should be clear: context and associated archaeological data alike are highly suggestive of ritual activity and of the monumental ceremonial architecture that housed that activity. While no attempt will be made to identify the deities nor to define the *specific* role of the paraphernalia found with them, other evidence indicates that these artefacts served some ceremonial function or process of sanctification, and represented emblems of power in Bronze Age Cypriote society.

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Miniature ingots

Most of the fifteen-known miniature ingots (Knapp 1986*b*: 26–7, table 1) have been found on Cyprus, or can plausibly be traced to the island, and at least three of them were found at Enkomi, in close association with the 'Horned God' (Courtois 1982: 159). As if to distinguish emphatically the miniatures from the oxhide ingots that they represent, those that have been analysed are made of bronze, not copper.

Few would now disclaim the very central role played by the production, distribution and utilisation of regular-sized copper ingots in the Bronze Age economies of Cyprus, the Mediterranean world and ancient western Asia (Muhly 1986; 1982*a*: 256). Their representation in miniature was significant in a different way. Whilst it will remain impossible to verify the dedicatory nature of the inscriptions until Cypro-Minoan can be read (Knapp & Marchant 1982), the miniature size of these ingots, their elemental composition and their findspots single them out as possible sacred paraphernalia, perhaps the insignia of special-interest groups in Bronze Age Cypriote society.

Ingot representations

In addition to their well-known depiction as items of trade, oxhide ingots are represented occasionally in rather cryptic or obscure settings on bronze stands, on seals, or (painted) on ceramics (Knapp 1986*b*: 30–42).

On a bronze stand in the British Museum, side 'C' portrays a man carrying an oxhide ingot on his shoulders and standing before a stylised tree; another stand, now in Jerusalem, depicts the third of four figures in a presentation scene bearing an oxhide ingot on his shoulders. Like the miniature ingots and bronze figurines, these bronze stands may somehow link the production of exotic goods, ritual and religious experience, and the sanctification of certain individuals or institutions in Cypriote society.

Three 'Mycenaean' (Late Helladic IIIA2e) craters (date: early fourteenth century B.C.) depict figures which have been interpreted as ingot-bearers (Dikaios 1969–1971: 918–25; Knapp 1986*b*: 35–7; *contra* Vermeule & Karageorghis 1981: 15, 19, 30). The 'Zeus Crater' depicts a long-robed figure (Zeus) who stands before a chariot and holds scales in his hands. Another figure, just beneath the horses that lead the chariot, stands before a stylised portrayal of a tree and bears an oxhide ingot on his shoulders. The other two craters portray ingot-bearers in a very similar manner. The painted ceramics therefore duplicate in another medium the scene on the bronze stands from London and Jerusalem. If we accept Catling's suggestion that the miniature bronze stands with ingot-bearers were based upon a larger scale common model (1984: 83), here is evidence—200 years earlier than Catling's proposed date for production of the stands—of potters drawing on virtually the same thematic concept. This observation assumes some importance in discussion of chronological issues (pp. 152–3).

Turning to Cypriote seals (Knapp 1986*b*: 37–42, table 2), we find what *appear* to be miniature and/or standard oxhide ingots amidst a very cluttered scene that

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includes bucrania, an anthropomorphic figure and stylised trees. The association of ingot-shaped forms with bucrania recalls the actual physical association of bucrania with ingots and bronze figurines in the 'Ingot' and 'Horned' god sanctuaries (Porada 1976: 102). What seems to be depicted is a human figure bearing a series of objects—including a miniature and a full-sized ingot—to be placed before a tree, whatever the last may represent. The seals portray, in other words, the same thematic composition portrayed in two dimensions on the 'Zeus Crater' and in three dimensions on the London and Jerusalem bronze stands. It seems plausible to suggest that these seals connected symbolically the producers, overseers or even the managerial elite of the Cypriote copper industry to some sort of political, religious or economic authority.

Metallurgical installations and 'religious' architecture

Archaeologists have argued that close proximity between metallurgical installations and 'religious' structures at Enkomi, Kition, Athienou and perhaps Kalopsidha (see fig. 1), indicate religious domination over copper production on Bronze Age Cyprus (Catling 1971; Ionas 1984*a*; Karageorghis 1982: 100–6; 1973*a*; Karageorghis & Demas 1985: 240–62). Stech suggested that the organising authority may have varied locally, and that the intricacies of copper extraction and production may have prompted primary and secondary producers into forming religious organisations or into seeking divine protection (1982: 113). Nonetheless the implications of such spatial relationships for understanding the nature of the organisation, or identifying the regulative authorities of the copper industry, remain little-considered.

While the Enkomi 'sanctuaries' of the 'Ingot' and 'Horned' gods were near the centre of Enkomi's grid-planned, urban layout (Al-Radi 1983: 70–2), the main metallurgical production centre lay near the north gate (Courtois 1982: 155–8; Dikaios 1969–1971: 18–34). The area around the 'Sanctuary of the Ingot God', however, also revealed sound indications of metallurgical activity datable to most periods of the Late Bronze Age (Courtois 1982: 161). Situated within ten metres of the northwest corner of the 'Ingot God Sanctuary', French excavations have revealed one of two important bronze workshops; just across Rue 4 to the north lay the second (Courtois 1982: 161–2, fig. 3).

At Kition, workshops and storage rooms associated with copper production were in use in Area II, along the northern walls of 'Temple 1' and west of 'Temenos A'; the northern limits of this industrial area are marked by the city wall (Karageorghis & Demas 1985: Plates LXIII: 2, LXIV: 2, Plan 1). Data pertaining to a number of other Cypriote sites (e.g. Athienou, Kalopsidha, Kouklia, Myrtou, Idalion) have been discussed elsewhere (Knapp 1986*b*: 43–56).

Similar associations between metallurgical activity and 'sanctuaries' exist at contemporary (thirteenth century B.C.) Timna in the Negev (Muhly 1984: 277, 291), and at Kea in the Aegean (J. L. Davis 1983; Caskey 1984; 1981: 132–3; Gale & Stos-Gale 1984); later survivals may be seen at Kition and Tamassos in Cyprus, in the Athenian Agora (see the collected references in Karageorghis

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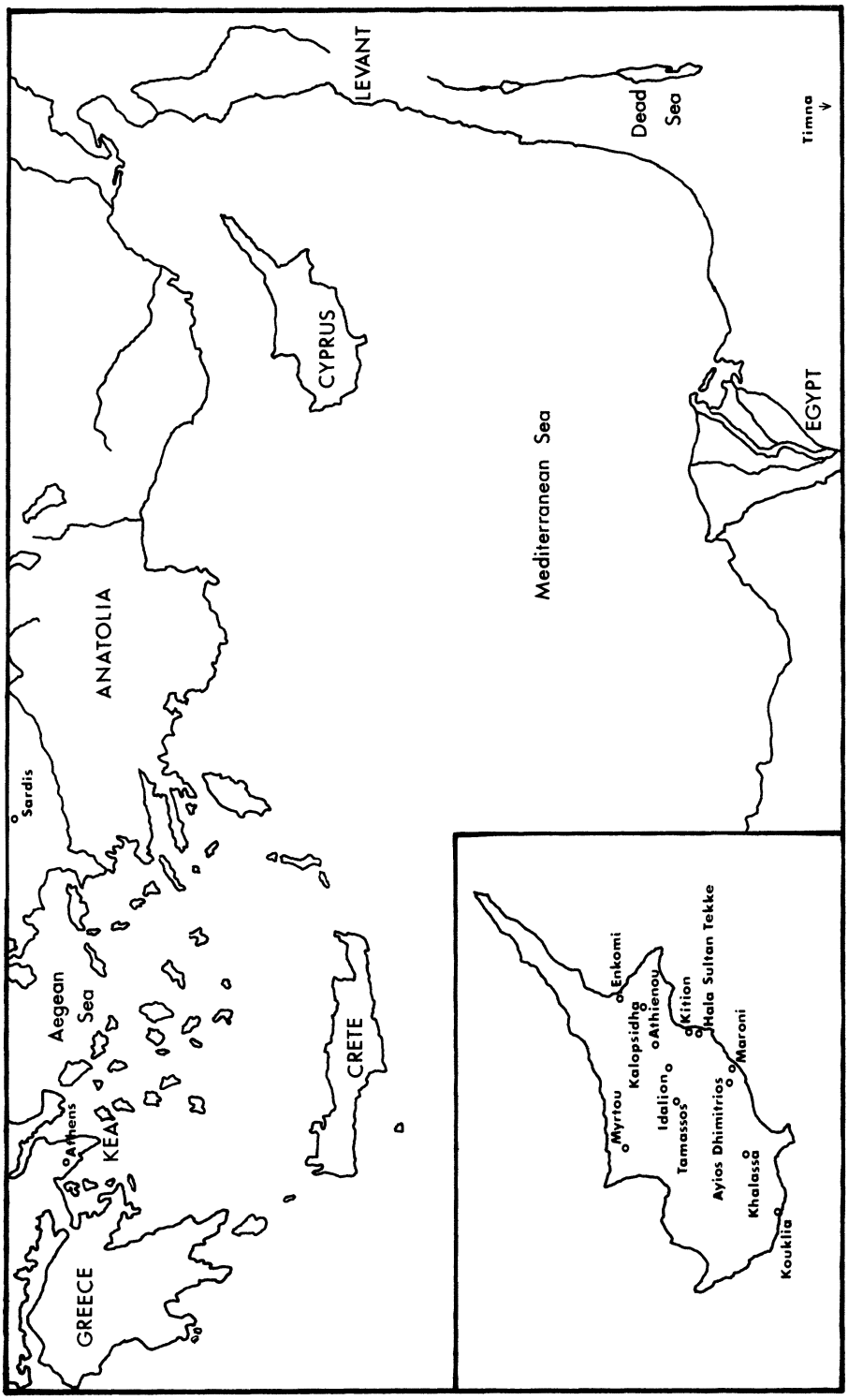

FIGURE 1. Cyprus and the Eastern Mediterranean: archaeological sites and geographic regions mentioned in the text (drawn by Christina Sumner).

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1973*a*: 108 n. 10), and at Sardis in Anatolia (Hanfmann & Waldbaum 1970: 17–26, fig. 8—all noted in Karageorghis 1976: 75–6, notes 58–61).

The basic question—*why* was metallurgical activity so closely associated with 'religious' structures?—lends itself to myriad answers that reflect individual theoretical or disciplinary viewpoints. Is there, for example, some economic connexion between the industrial need for bone ash as a fluxing agent, on the one hand, and the proximity of a 'sacred' area where animals would have been slaughtered, dedicated, eaten, and dissected, on the other? In such a case, the skull bones would have been left in the 'temple', to serve some unknown (ritual ?) function, while the postcranial bones might have been used in some phase of metallurgical production.

An even more pragmatic parallel might be drawn with olive oil production on Cyprus. At the dawn of the Byzantine era, the manifold interests of the Greek community became identified with those of the Cypriote church (Hoffman 1972: 25). Tenant farmers and artisans alike were organised into guilds that lacked any real political or economic influence; the clergy, however, together with landowners and civic officials, comprised a small ruling elite. The Cypriote church promulgated this lopsided social structure, set up convents that served as foci of feudal authority, and consequently wielded influence in almost every sphere of Cypriote life (Maier 1968: 58–9). Olive oil production has been centred upon churches ever since.[3] While the 'religious' connexion is no longer readily apparent, it seems clear that economic reasons must have fostered if not instigated the association. (For similar associations at Bronze and Iron Age sites in Israel, see Dothan & Gitin 1985: 69–71, fig. 1; Stager & Wolff 1981).

The politico-economic basis of Cypriote ideology

Changes in social organisation necessitate the adoption of a new set of social conventions, as well as recognition and acceptance of the insignia, information and power that characterise those conventions. To ensure that members of society adopt such norms, especially where the capacity for social organisation may still have been limited, or where the ability to impose obedience by force was still underdeveloped, belief systems, rituals of sanctification, and sacred propositions would have played a critical role. Sanctified ritual action would also ensure reiteration of the intended message, especially as specific paraphernalia of power came to be associated with prescribed ritual performance (Minc 1986: 44).

Once certain individuals established unequal access to essential resources or prestige goods, they would also have acquired or adopted symbols that legitimised their position, and enabled them to co-opt goods and labour—ostensibly on the community's behalf—for their own political and economic goals. Figure 2 presents a very schematic model—based on Drennan's work in Formative Oaxaca—of the Cypriote situation, in which the 'operation' of religion is depicted in a circular relationship: ritual induces religious experience, which supports 'ultimate sacred propositions', which in turn direct the ritual activity (Drennan 1976: 347; Rappaport 1971*a*: 28–32). Ritual activities likewise serve as the interface between religion and techno-economic or socio-political activities.

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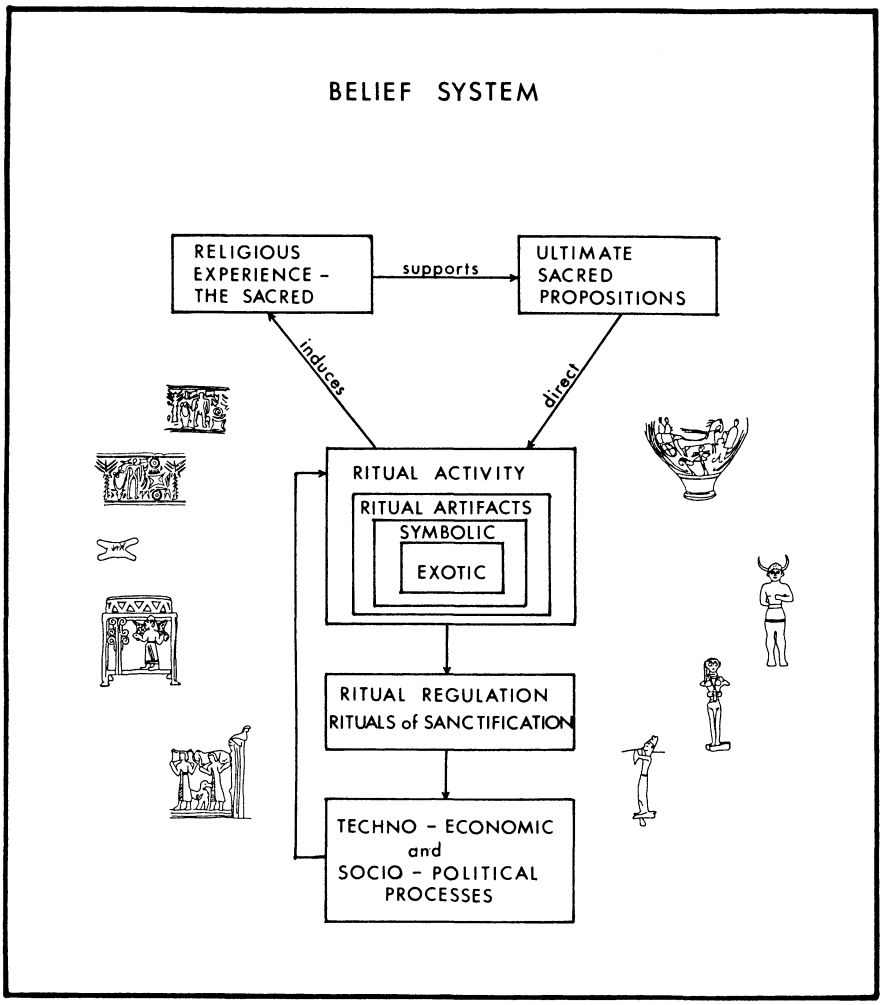

With exotic and symbolic artifacts
Model based on Drennan 1976: Figure 11.8

LEFT	RIGHT
Kourion – Seal	Enkomi – "Zeus" Crater
Hala Sultan Tekke – Seal	Enkomi – Horned god
Enkomi (?) – Miniature Ingot	?? – Female Figurine
Kourion – Bronze Stand (London)	Enkomi – Ingot god
?? – Bronze Stand (Jerusalem)	

FIGURE 2. Hypothetical model of belief system on Bronze Age Cyprus. Drawings of *exotic* and *symbolic* artefacts discussed in text are not to scale (drawn by Christina Sumner).

Ritual activity revolves around ritual artefacts—exotic or symbolic—and in this sphere the material record manifests itself most clearly. On Late Bronze Age Cyprus, *exotic* ritual artefacts are represented by the bronze figurines, the miniature ingots, the bronze stands and the imported pottery depicting ingot-bearers.

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Symbolic ritual artefacts include all the exotica, particularly the figurines and miniature ingots. All objects with representations of an ingot-bearer before a tree must have imparted a message of some significance and may have belonged to a specific sanctification ritual. Bucrania from the 'sanctuaries', especially those worn as masks (Karageorghis 1976: 102–5), certainly would have served some ritual function, as would the bucrania and gold model horns of the 'Horned God sanctuary'. (For other likely symbolic artefacts from the Enkomi 'sanctuaries', see Knapp 1986*b*: 46–7.)

While religious ritual would occasionally have induced some sort of sacred experience, the *specific* nature of ritual activity in which these artefacts were used will remain obscure. Ritual artefacts—exotic or symbolic—may also have been used in rituals of sanctification, in order to ensure the conveyance, or to signify the importance, of certain *messages* (Drennan 1976: 348). One such message is surely evident on the various media that depicted the ingot-bearer before a tree. Propagated, perhaps, by a managerial elite to encourage copper production, the iconography represented the desired goal. Whether the tree represents a religious deity, a secular administration, or, perhaps most likely, the 'fuel' used to produce metallic copper, is not the major issue: it *symbolises* the societal power that made production socially feasible and economically viable.

The Enkomi 'sanctuaries', the Kition 'temples' and '*temenoi*', and perhaps the courtyard at Athienou would have served as foci of ritual activity. The use and development of public or ceremonial architecture on Cyprus, often distinguished by the use of ashlar masonry, may at once mark the presence of elites, affirm their personal glory, and link them to the 'ultimate sacred propositions' of society. At the very least the monumental scale singles out these structures as public buildings.

But how may we understand those public or ceremonial structures built in close proximity to areas of metalworking activity? And what of the ashlar structures at sites where no clear indications exist of religious activity?

Values as well as *institutions* may be sanctified and thus take on the nature of ultimate sacred propositions (Drennan 1976: 348; Shennan 1982: 156). The proximity to metalworking areas of the large-scale structures at Kition, Enkomi and Athienou may signify such a sanctified value or institution. Like the ingot-bearer before a tree, this spatial situation may play on the familiarity of a well-entrenched, symbolic association between managers and producers, between the forces and the social relations of production.

The functions of the 'public' structures at Ayios Dhimitrios, and of the 'ceremonial' structures at Enkomi, Kition and elsewhere (Kouklia, perhaps Athienou) are usually distinguished on the basis of finds: ritual artefacts such as bucrania, metal figurines, miniature ingots and the like have been cited to define the ceremonial; gold jewellery, bronze tools, weapons and weights, and Cypro-Minoan clay cylinders to define the public. These distinctions are surely not as significant as the association of these structures and/or the high-status burials (as at Ayios Dhimitrios or Hala Sultan Tekke) with sound evidence of copper production, distribution or exchange. The more complex the politico-economic system, the more abstract and intractable its insignia and associations will be.

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The symbols representative of the belief system linked managers and producers, and presumably also served to link industrial villages such as Athienou (Dothan & Ben-Tor 1983), mining villages such as Apliki (Du Plat Taylor 1952), and smaller agricultural villages to the coastal emporia. As production in the urban centres increasingly depended on raw materials from mining villages, or on subsistence from agricultural villages, the necessity to maintain the integrity of the entire system increased while tolerance for disruptions decreased. Such a crucial economic *message* might well have been subject to direct ritual regulation, to ensure co-operation amongst all social groups (Rappaport 1971*b*: 70–2; 1968: 3–4, 221–3).

All these artefacts, architectural elements and decorative features represent a veritable iconography of power intended to *bend* reality, not reflect it directly (Trinkaus 1984: 36–7). The belief system represented in the Cypriote archaeological record would seem to have placed strong emphasis on legitimising the social status—and concomitantly the political power—of a non-ascriptive group closely linked to the overall production, transport and distribution of copper. The cumulative effect of simultaneous control over copper production and distribution, interregional trade, and the resulting access to exotic foreign goods, was to increase social stratification, wealth and centralisation. Profits from copper production and long-distance exchange were reinvested into commercial enterprise and into the stabilisation and legitimisation of the centralising authority. The centralisation of production may be regarded as an elite strategy to maintain the co-operation of the rural sector (mining and agricultural village) and to increase their dependence on specialised services and goods provided by the ruling elite (Tosi 1984: 42). The archaeological association of public or ceremonial structures with the means of production, and with the symbolic insignia of status, wealth and power suggests that the organisational requirements of the new authority had been met and its position and power within society sanctified.

Although the current state of the archaeological record precludes more detailed discussion of the origins of this ideological system, archaeological and textual records of post-1400 B.C. Cyprus allow some evaluation of the outcome of these attempts at organisation and legitimisation. Evidence of regionalism diminishes noticeably. Cypriote potters shifted to the mass production of easily transportable goods (Artzy 1985). Expanding trade relations with the Aegean and the Levant after about 1400 B.C., and participation in the manufacture of ceramics or textiles, may have limited regionalism and helped to unify separate cultural or political units. Whereas local polities initially may have dominated copper production, it seems likely that, by the fourteenth century B.C., a single central authority controlled the mining, internal shipment and processing of copper ores for export (see following paragraph). Coastal sites of the LCII period demonstrate archaeologically the refinement of *metallic* copper (Stech 1982). Near-coastal and inland sites have revealed substantial evidence of copper production in the form of ingot fragments, casting spillage, scrap metal and furnace conglomerate (J. D. Muhly, personal communication; South 1984*a*: 16; Cadogan 1985).

The cuneiform Amarna letters sent to pharaoh in Egypt from *Alashiya*

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(=Cyprus) imply that the island had a king (the paramount ?) who controlled the copper industry. On the basis of these letters, it has been calculated that the Cypriote polity had the capacity to dispatch a *minimum* total of 897 talents of copper (presumably pure copper in ingot form to Egypt over a period of twenty-five years (Knapp 1985: 237–8, and n. 47). This speaks clearly for the productive output, shipping capacity and organisational and administrative efficiency of a highly specialised and unified system. The success of that system and the effectiveness of the insignia that represented it are demonstrated by Cyprus's increasing involvement in the social, economic and political spheres of the contemporary eastern Mediterranean, Aegean and Near Eastern worlds.

The final problem in linking the elements of the above scenario is chronological in nature. What is the relationship of these archaeological data, dated mainly to the thirteenth and twelfth centuries B.C., to the politico-economic developments (outlined above) that led to the rise of social complexity on Cyprus during the seventeenth to fifteenth centuries B.C. (Knapp 1986*a*; for an extended discussion of chronological issues, see Knapp 1986*b*: 86–96)?

I suggest that the figurines represent objects of sanctification in Cypriote society that had long been revered before their final, twelfth-century B.C. deposition; as such they would have been cared for and protected by both the elites that fostered their worship and the producers who carried it out. The schematic composition depicted on the bronze stands—an ingot-bearer before a tree—appears on pottery dated to the early fourteenth century B.C. and probably on seals dated from the fifteenth to thirteenth centuries B.C. (Achilles 1980: 256–7; Porada 1976: 99).

Excavations at Enkomi and Athienou demonstrate the competence, capacity and longevity of the Cypriote copper industry. These metalworking traditions and their reflection in other media are linked directly to earlier developments in the intensification of copper production. Architectural traditions provide another link with the formative MCIII–LCI stage. On the analogy of the differential burial practices that began during the eighteenth century B.C. and continued until the twelfth century B.C., it is difficult to imagine that the unique public or ceremonial structures of the thirteenth century B.C. lacked antecedents in the sixteenth to fifteenth centuries B.C.

All these factors indicate that a chronological impasse no longer confronts us. The material falls into a sequence that lends itself to explanation; it should be evaluated in light of processes of continuity and change that characterised the rise of social complexity and the entrenchment of social stratification on Bronze Age Cyprus.

Throughout the last two centuries of the Late Bronze Age (about 1400–1200 B.C.), Cypriote entrepreneurial and mercantile endeavours had established the island as an indispensable entrepôt for commodities—metal, luxury items, comestibles and ceramics—moving east and west in an interregional Mediterranean exchange system. Major inland (Hittite, Egyptian, Assyrian) and maritime (Mycenaean, Cypriote) powers alike thrived and depended on this extensive interaction network, and on the Levantine and Cypriote ports where vital

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commodities and basic resources in demand were available. The prosperity of the Cypriote centres, in turn, relied at least partially on conditions of security in the overall interaction sphere (Caldwell 1964), conditions best served by the precarious balance of power among Near Eastern and Mediterranean polities (Sherratt n.d.). Once that balance was lost, it was never regained.

At the end of these two centuries of highly developed interregional contact, archaeological evidence for widespread destruction or abandonment on Cyprus is unequivocal. An indeterminate *horizon* of destruction and decline in the fifty years between about 1225–1175 B.C. accords well with the material record, and in any case is as sharp as the archaeological lens will focus at this time. With the disruption of interregional exchange that accompanied the demise of Aegean and Levantine kingdoms, foreign demand for Cypriote copper must have dropped dramatically. In what can only be presumed to be anarchic conditions, copper from Cyprus—or indeed any metals in demand—would have been increasingly difficult to obtain through the usual channels.

Since metallurgical by-products continue to appear in stratified contexts on Cyprus during the twelfth century B.C. (Stech 1985: 102, 1982; Maier & Wartburg 1985: 148), some sort of metallurgical activity on the island obviously continued. But what became of the highly-specialised industry that had provided mass-produced copper for export throughout the eastern Mediterranean? And what of the elites who controlled production, or the workers who implemented it?

Two recent studies of complexity and change on Middle Minoan Crete (about 2000–1600 B.C.) help to address these questions (Cherry 1986; 1978: 426–31; Moody & Lukermann 1985: 78–83). Cherry outlined three centripetal trends that distinguish emergent (or established) state societies (1978: 428–9; concept developed by Moody & Lukermann 1985: 79–80):

1) Unidirectional and unbalanced flows of energy (goods, labour, services) to the top of the social hierarchy;
2) Increased energy costs (time, wealth, labour) to establish, maintain and increase productive output;
3) Increased investments of energy to the ideological apparatus established and perpetuated by social elites.

Whilst the first two 'energy flows' also find archaeological correlates in the Cypriote data (Knapp 1986*b*: 105), the third energy flow—in support of an elite ideology—is well exemplified by an increase in ritualised activities, and by the development of symbols that represent elite domination of those activities. In times of social stress and change, ritual activity intensifies (Cherry 1978: 429; Johnson 1982: 405); put another way, corporate groups often react to socio-economic stress by manipulating or changing patterns in material culture (D. D. Davis 1985; Hodder 1979).

On Cyprus, the establishment of elite authority between 1700–1500 B.C., and the collapse of that authority about 1200 B.C. may represent chronologically distinct but institutionally equivalent reactions to social stress and cultural change. Since the archaeological record of the earlier period shows few obvious indicators of ideological change, it may be that, on Cyprus, the establishment of

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elite authority necessitated drastic economic or political modification that was only gradually underpinned by ritual activity, by an elaborated symbolism and by sanctified messages or institutions. The appearance in the archaeological record of differential burial practices and architectural traditions by about 1600 B.C., and the symbolic media depicting an ingot-bearer before a tree by about 1400 B.C., represent the earliest material reflections of this process of elaboration.

By the end of the thirteenth century B.C., diverse strands of evidence point to the collapse of this socio-political regime. There is evidence of a marked increase in ritual activity, and no lack of ceremonial structures in which such activity was conducted. The material evidence is clear: during the half century between 1225 and 1175 B.C., symbolic and exotic artefacts, ceremonial structures and ritual activity all point to the increased expression of religious energy, and probably to a concomitant destabilisation in the social order.

The production of ritual or prestige objects, the construction of monumental buildings, and the maintenance of ritual personnel and activities all require substantial inputs of time and labour, and considerable investments of energy. Stripped of its power base, ritual communication becomes even more expensive (Rappaport 1971*a*: 28; Minc 1986: 44). The maintenance and elaboration of ritual may, in a delicately balanced system, lead to a 'fatal spiral' of increased investment, expense and production (Drennan 1976: 360).

If such a fatal spiral in ritual and religious activity had occurred, and some sort of limit to politico-economic growth had been reached, the economic calamity that crippled interaction throughout the eastern Mediterranean at this time must have had an adverse impact on the ideological basis of Cypriote society, and may have disrupted those sanctified institutions or messages established by Cypriote elites.

Denied access to certain imported materials (e.g. tin, ivory, silver or gold) requisite for the production of ceremonial or prestige artefacts, elites may have found it difficult to perform certain ritual activities upon which sanctified messages or institutions were based, and upon whose continuation credibility in elite authority was predicated. Hampered by their inability to alter the deepening socio-economic crisis in the surrounding world, Cypriote elites would no longer have been able to maintain the external contacts or internal control necessary for the import of basic resources or prestige goods, or for the use of those imports in ritual activities and sanctification rites that helped to legitimise their regime.

As Shennan points out for the European Early Bronze Age, such a situation had its own dynamic: ideologically power had perhaps come to depend on access to exotic raw materials and objects no longer obtainable (1982: 159–160). On Cyprus ritual paraphernalia littered 'sanctuary' floors, and the major insignia of the political elite—the bronze statuettes—were buried in the innermost cella of the sanctuaries. What prompted the burial of these statuettes, and why might the Kition and Enkomi sanctuaries have been destroyed towards the end of the horizon of destruction?

If the politico-economic basis of Cypriote society revolved around ongoing processes of copper extraction, production and distribution, and if the smooth

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functioning of that system depended upon the performance of ritual activities associated with the sanctification of copper production and the managerial elite, disruptions to the belief system—as represented by changes in or disuse of the power iconography—may well have set in motion the downfall of the politico-economic system. The burial of the figurines and the destruction of the Kition and Enkomi sanctuaries during the horizon of destruction around 1200 B.C. reflect the severe curtailment of copper production, the symbolic demise of the ideological system represented by the bronze figurines, miniature ingots, etc., and the collapse of the politico-economic structure established by the managerial elite of the copper industry.

Innovation provides an effective means of breaking such self-defeating patterns. In the Levant and Aegean alike, the complex, palace-based institutions that had supported the bronze industry were replaced by a technologically sophisticated but socially less complex, non-palace-based, iron producing industry, dependent on local resources and conducted on a local scale (Liverani 1987; Muhly 1982*b*; Snodgrass 1982; Stech-Wheeler *et al.* 1981: 265; Waldbaum 1980). On Cyprus itself, innovation and change after about 1150 B.C. is evident in ceramic production, new modes of exchange, new ritual patterns, and the spread of iron technology (references in Knapp 1986*b*: 111–13). Partially because of the island's long tradition of economic dependence on metals, perhaps also partially because of an ideological system that had supported the exploitation of copper resources, Cyprus—on present evidence—seems to have assumed the lead in iron technology during the twelfth and eleventh centuries B.C. (Knapp 1986*b*: 112–13).

Newcomers from the Aegean and the Levant introduced new doctrines and deities to Cyprus; once assimilated, they opened maritime routes westward in the Mediterranean in a quest for new supplies of metal and other raw materials in demand (Liverani 1987; Sherratt n.d.). Although revitalisation of industrial, commercial and artistic enterprise on eleventh-tenth century B.C. Cyprus therefore seems obvious, such developments no longer took place in the highly centralised socio-political milieu fostered by copper-producing elites. Whether or not a similar power structure was erected by the new regional polities, and just how they may have utilised, adapted to or altered the former ideological system are issues that may now be addressed empirically.

Conclusions

Religious ideology, and the symbolism associated with it, constitute important variables in any evaluation of social change, including the evolution of social complexity. In the absence of *effective* political power, religious sanctions provide a way to organise and develop economic strategies, and to establish the political configurations that direct these strategies. The relations of power within society are transformed, notably in terms of sanctioned force, the exercise of authority, and control over access to resources, including symbolic resources (Gamble 1986: 44).

Whether we invoke Weberian notions on the pervasiveness of religious ethics in social institutions (1956: 209), Durkheimian concepts of the impact of religion

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and religious symbolism on the development of solidarity amongst a society's members (1915), or structural Marxist convictions that religion is part of the 'internal armature' (i.e. the economic base) of society (Godelier 1978*a*: 10), common consensus is reached on the role of the sacred in the regulation of society, and on the effectiveness of sanctifying individuals, institutions and values in implementing the economic exploitation and production of basic resources.

The archaeological record of Cyprus from the seventeenth to fifteenth centuries B.C. provides ample evidence for the development of social stratification, the regulation of a developing economy, and the rise of social complexity. Power insignia adopted by the elites who controlled this industry reflect changes in politico-economic reality, and a redefinition of social relationships between people and their exploitation of material and symbolic resources.

The statuettes embody, in anthropomorphic reality, a divinity representing the economic basis of Bronze Age Cypriote society. The miniature ingots materially depict that base—the copper ox-hide ingot. Depictions of ingot-bearers on bronze stands and ceramics, and perhaps on seals, represent the iconography propagated by a managerial elite to stimulate production. In addition, the scene before a tree may symbolise the social power that provided the sanctions and means to develop and fulfil politico-economic goals. Proximity between metallurgical workshop and ceremonial structure symbolises directly the sanctification of copper production, and at the same time represents the association between the managers of production and the primary producers.

The interpretive framework set up in this study asserts that religious ideology was integral to and instrumental in the formation and perpetuation of politico-economic elites. Symbolic resources or prestige items that we may call the paraphernalia of power not only serve ritual functions, they also symbolise and help to focus attention on political power and the economic aspirations of emergent elites. Although Flannery gave but short shrift to the 'integrative power' of great religions or art styles in his classic discussion of the evolution of civilisation, he confirmed nonetheless that

> The critical contribution of state religions and state art styles is to legitimize . . . hierarchy, to confirm the divine affiliation of those at the top by inducing religious experience—the kind of awesome experience that Rappaport . . . refers to as the numinous (1972: 407).

The existing socio-political order, in other words, must always be couched in legitimising ideologies (Claessen & Van de Velde 1985: 254). Ideology, and the use of ideological sanctions, play a key role in establishing social position, centralising political authority, and validating the politico-economic basis of that authority (Cherry 1986; Keatinge 1981: 180; Wheatley 1971: 315–16). Power is an integral part of socio-political and economic reality; and ideological legitimisation stabilises power.

NOTES

The methodological rift separating the study of lithics/hunter-gatherer society from the study of metals/pottery/more complex society occasionally seems insuperable. At other times, it seems

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equally obvious that a trenchant archaeological discussion necessitates expertise in both realms (e.g. Gamble 1986). I wish to express my sincere thanks to two hunter-gatherer types, J. Peter White and Robin Torrence, for their most helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper. Whilst they must not be held responsible in any way for the final product, I believe their input will make this study more valuable to all practitioners of the archaeological craft. I also wish to thank Linda Hulin for comments and helpful discussion. Finally, I thank my wife, Christina Sumner, for drawing the figures, and for encouraging me to get on with this study.

[1] General studies—Miller & Tilley 1984; Spriggs 1984; Europe—Bradley 1984; Shennan 1982; China—Chang 1983; Keightly 1983; Crete and the Cyclades—Cherry 1986; 1978; Renfrew 1985; Indus Valley—Miller 1985; Mesoamerica—Cowgill 1983; Jones 1982; Keatinge 1981; Mesopotamia —Dandamayev 1979; Diakanoff 1982; Nissen 1983; Peru—Godelier 1978*a*; Peru and Mexico —Conrad & Demarest 1984; Scandinavia—Bertilsson & Larsson 1985.

[2] For full archaeological documentation and a culture-historical reconstruction of politico-economic process and events on Bronze Age Cyprus, also presented within an interpretive framework that considers the role of religious ideology, see Knapp 1986*b*. The present study develops the theoretical perspective adopted in that monograph.

[3] I thank Stuart Swiny for this observation.

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Idéologie, archéologie, et régime politique

Résumé

Des élites et d'autres groupes à intérêts spéciaux ont souvent recours à l'idéologie pour établir, défier ou changer un ordre socio-politique spécifique. En transposant cet axiome, on peut aussi observer de même que les relations de pouvoir au sein de la société servent à établir l'autorité religieuse et à légitimer des pratiques idéologiques et des insignes spécifiques. Cette relation de parfaite similitude entre l'idéologie religieuse et le pouvoir socio-politique fait l'objet d'une discussion portant sur l'élaboration et le développement de l'organisation politique dans les sociétés débutantes. Les archives archéologiques portant sur les périodes moyenne et finale de l'âge du bronze à Chypre (environ 1700–1200 avant J.C.), révèlent de nombreux exemples indicatifs d'un comportement rituel et semblent indiquer que l'idéologie religieuse faisait partie intégrante de l'économie, et des relations sociales de production. De même, l'étude du dossier Chypriote nous fournit un exemple de la façon dont une approche diachronique de l'archéologie peut promouvoir une meilleure compréhension de la relation entre l'idéologie religieuse et le pouvoir politico-économique: à travers un filtre idéologique le changement social et technologique n'est pas seulement contrôlé mais expliqué.

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