

## CONSTRUCTING AUTHORITY: THE VOUNOUS ENCLOSURE MODEL

BY

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### Abstract

The Vounous Model has hitherto been interpreted by retrospective analogy, stylistic comparisons with kindred Red Polished pottery and in its funerary context. Another approach is adopted here, one that takes its lead from the profound changes that occurred at the start of the Bronze Age in Cyprus. The model is viewed as a mechanism for social reintegration upon the death of a member of society, as much as funerary furniture *per se*. As such, it comments upon, and played an active role in the changing socio-political dynamics of Early Cypriot society. The analysis emphasizes the formal, hierarchical composition of the Vounous model and considers it as an active method of legitimizing the new order. It is argued that the model helped to underpin the emerging ideology in which elites sought to justify transformations by their privileged status within the new religious symbolism. Contrasts with the earlier Kissonerga model demonstrate the irreversible shifts that took place in society in which males, bulls, hierarchies and symbols of transcendent powers come to dominate.

Recently, Paul Åström has tangibly demonstrated his abiding interest in material correlates for early religion by launching the *Journal of Prehistoric Religion*. In volume 2, he discusses the journal's vignette, an Early Bronze Age bucranian model from Kotchati, Cyprus, summarizing previous interpretations and then deftly showing his awareness of the entrancing ambiguities of Cypriot prehistoric art before offering a range of possible meanings.<sup>1</sup> He is doubtful that there is "only one explanation" for the evocative model and this accords well with post-modernist approaches to the archaeological record. With Paul Åström's cautionary injunction in mind, I will re-consider here a related, contemporary prehistoric Cypriot representation, the Vounous enclosure model (*Fig. 1* left), as a token of esteem for all his assiduous researches into the prehistory of Cyprus.

### PREVIOUS INTERPRETATIONS OF THE VOUNOUS ENCLOSURE MODEL

The Vounous enclosure model has been called "the boldest creation of Bronze Age coroplastic art in Cyprus" and it has been described, analyzed and illustrated so often that detailed description here is superfluous.<sup>2</sup> In summary, 19 figures and four panned bulls are modelled in the round inside

and attached to the outside of a modified circular bowl with an entrance surmounted by a raised lintel (*Fig. 1* left). Opposite the entrance, the largest figure is seated on an elaborate chair. He oversees a male who kneels at a high, semi-circular floor ridge that demarcates a zone in front of three bucranian pillars with snakes(?) dependent from a cross bar, all attached to the back wall of the vessel where they are flanked by seated figures. Standing males and a single female holding a child occupy the spaces between the entrance and the major scene.

Since Dikaïos' 1932 publication, this Red Polished ware bowl from Vounous has commonly been referred to as a sacred enclosure model and hailed as the earliest archaeological evidence for Cypriot sanctuaries.<sup>3</sup> Dikaïos found it in disturbed Tomb 22 at Vounous, an unpretentious tomb save, perhaps, for its preferential location as the first in a discrete cluster as one ascends the slope of the cemetery. Radiocarbon and cross-dates from Sotira-Kaminoudhia suggest that it belongs to the very late third millennium BC.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> P. Åström, 'A Cypriote cult scene', *JPR* 2, 1988, 5–11.

<sup>2</sup> V. Karageorghis, *The coroplastic art of ancient Cyprus I. Chalcolithic–Late Cypriote I*, Nicosia, 1991, 140. Both Karageorghis (*ibid.*) and Åström (*supra* n. 1) give references to earlier studies. See also footnotes below.

<sup>3</sup> P. Dikaïos, 'Early Bronze Age cults in Cyprus as revealed by the excavations at "Vounous", Bellapais', in *Proceedings of the First International Congress of Prehistoric and Protohistoric Sciences*, London 1932; B. Rutkowski, 'Religious architecture in Cyprus and Crete in the Late Bronze Age', in *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "The Relations between Cyprus and Crete, ca. 2000–500 B.C."*, Nicosia 1979, 223–227.

<sup>4</sup> S. Swiny & S. Manning, 'The first radiocarbon dates for the Early Cypriot Bronze Age', paper delivered at the 92nd Annual General Meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research, San Francisco, 1992. A distinctive north coast EC III/MC I Red Polished bottle was found in a late context at Sotira-Kaminoudhia, the site which provides radiocarbon dates for this period: E. Herscher, 'Beyond regionalism: toward an islandwide Early and Middle Cypriot sequence', in *Cypriot ceramics: reading the prehistoric record*, eds. J. Barlow, D. Bolger & B. Kling, Philadelphia 1991, 46.

Åström and Karageorghis have recently reviewed previous considerations of the Vounous enclosure model.<sup>5</sup> Varied as discussions of it have been, virtually all interpretations are based on inferences from two methodological approaches: retrospective analogy and contextual analysis.

The former largely subscribe to Dikaios' initial, 1932 and 1940, treatments in which he argued that the model is populated by bull and serpent divinities, a high priest, mother goddess or priestess, officiants and sacrificial bulls, all in a ceremony connected with fertility and chthonian deities.<sup>6</sup> As Morris trenchantly observes, there are a number of imaginative leaps involved in this analysis of the composition, one that owes more to Classical views of the past than the study of prehistoric iconography in its own setting.<sup>7</sup>

The latter, contextual school, may be sub-divided into two further groups: funerary and stylistic. Frankel and Tamvaki suggest that it represents a burial scene in a tomb, an explanation that, as Webb points out, has the merit of being consistent with its recovery in a tomb deposit.<sup>8</sup> Others note that tombs and, less convincingly, cemeteries are not large enough to contain all the activities represented in the model.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, Morris treats the model stylistically, that is as one more example of a genre of scenic compositions created by Vounous potters. These, he asserts, are all "relentlessly secular in subject matter and infused throughout with a charming informality and domesticity".<sup>10</sup> The enclosure model is thus regarded as a peaceful village scene. His interpretation has been censured by several commentators because it fails to account for all compositional elements.<sup>11</sup>

## THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT

While it is unlikely that any of these interpretations of the model will ever command universal adherence or unswerving allegiance, recent discoveries and studies permit a better understanding of the background to the model and the possibility of further insights.<sup>12</sup> I would argue that its general socio-political and economic context is relevant to any interpretation, since funerary goods had meaning for the living as well as for the dead.<sup>13</sup> Its historical context was a particularly volatile one when viewed in terms of the long durée of Cypriot prehistory. The following comments expand upon brief remarks by Peltenburg and Manning who have already alluded to the model in this broader context.<sup>14</sup>

During the largely preceding LChal period of Cyprus, increasing differentiation of building sizes, grave types and funerary furniture, numbers of imports and intrasite specialization are noticeable.<sup>15</sup> What was a tendency to change and greater heterogeneity in the LChal became a profound transformation in the Philia/EC. The causes and timing of this discontinuity have been the subject of lively and continuing debate, but the general nature of the contrasts is not in doubt.<sup>16</sup> Thus, the free-standing circular buildings characteristic of the chalcolithic period were replaced by recti-

linear structures in the E-MC, an accretive tradition more amenable to population growth.<sup>17</sup> Goods were no longer left inside buildings during domestic closure ceremonies as in the neolithic and chalcolithic, and instead, they were deposited as part of funerary rites in graves.<sup>18</sup> This inverse relationship between house and grave deposits promoted specialized production of fragile funerary furniture in the Philia/EC and suggests the emergence of more explicit determinants of private property. A major addition to funerary assemblages was metal weaponry. Weapons were a new feature of Cypriot society and both the weapons themselves and the conspicuous destruction of so many prestige items in graves in the manner of Levantines are indications of the emergence of status conscious elites in Cyprus.<sup>19</sup> Single in-

<sup>5</sup> Åström (supra n. 1); Karageorghis (supra n. 2), 140f.

<sup>6</sup> Most fully treated in P. Dikaios, 'Excavations at Vounous-Bellapais in Cyprus, 1931-2', *Archaeologia* 83, 1940, 1-168.

<sup>7</sup> D. Morris, *The art of ancient Cyprus*, Oxford 1985, 282.

<sup>8</sup> D. Frankel & A. Tamvaki, 'Cypriote shrine models and decorated tombs', *The Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 2, 1973, 39-44; J. Webb, 'Funerary ideology in Bronze Age Cyprus—toward the recognition and analysis of Cypriote ritual data', in *Studies in Honor of Vassos Karageorghis*, ed. G. Ioannides, Nicosia 1992, 92.

<sup>9</sup> M. Mogelonsky, *Early and Middle Cypriote terracotta figurines*, Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell University, 1988; Karageorghis (supra n. 2), 141.

<sup>10</sup> Morris (supra n. 7), 290.

<sup>11</sup> See, for example, H. Catling, Review of Morris (supra n. 7), *Antiquity* 229, 1986, 157f.; J.N. Coldstream, *The originality of ancient Cypriot art*, Nicosia 1986, 7; Karageorghis (supra n. 2), 141. Caubet agrees with some, minor, aspects of Morris' assessment: A. Caubet, Review, *Syria* 62, 1985, 359-362.

<sup>12</sup> For surveys of this period see A. Knapp, 'Production, location and integration in Bronze Age Cyprus', *CA* 31, 1990, 147-176, with references. It should be noted that many innovative Kissonerga features ascribed by Knapp to the Philia period (ibid., 157, table 5) belong to earlier periods. The suddenness of their appearance is unduly accentuated by that table.

<sup>13</sup> There is an extensive literature on this topic. See, for example, P. Metcalf & P. Huntington, *Celebrations of death: the anthropology of mortuary ritual*, Cambridge 1991.

<sup>14</sup> E. Peltenburg, et al., *Lemba Archaeological Project 2.2. A ceremonial area at Kissonerga* (SIMA, 70:3), Göteborg 1991, 105-107; S. Manning, forthcoming. 'On the anatomy of the development of socio-economic complexity in 4th-2nd millennium BC Cyprus', paper delivered at the 92nd Annual General Meeting of the American Schools of Oriental Research, San Francisco, 1992.

<sup>15</sup> For a summary of developments in the LChal, see E. Peltenburg, 'Kissonerga-Mosphilia: a major chalcolithic site in Cyprus', *BASOR* 282/3, 1991, 27-30. The divisions of the Chalcolithic used here are: EChal (Early Chalcolithic), MChal (Middle Chalcolithic) and LChal (Late Chalcolithic).

<sup>16</sup> Many, though not all the arguments are noted in E. Peltenburg, 'Toward definition of the Late Chalcolithic in Cyprus: the Monochrome Pottery debate', in Barlow, Bolger & Kling (supra n. 4), 9-20 and Diane L. Bolger, 'Early Red Polished Ware and the origin of the "Philia Culture"', in ibid., 29-35.

<sup>17</sup> S. Swiny, 'From round house to duplex: a reassessment of prehistoric Cypriot Bronze Age society', in *Early society in Cyprus*, ed. E. Peltenburg, Edinburgh 1989, 18-22.

<sup>18</sup> For a description of the existence of domestic closure rites, see Peltenburg (supra n. 14), 93.

<sup>19</sup> G. Philip, 'Cypriot bronzework in the Levantine world: conservatism, innovation and social change', *JMA* 4, 1991, 59-107.

humation pit graves and multiple burial chamber tombs already co-existed in the LChal, but the difference is now heightened by pronounced contrasts between elaborate collective burials and simple pit graves.

Evidence for expansion of long-distance trade is not as clear as innovations in the settlement and mortuary records. There is a consensus that foreign, specifically Anatolian, traits are distinctly evident in Philia/EC, but these include only a few imported items. And, in spite of arguments that contact was deliberately initiated by Anatolians in order to exploit newly appreciated Cypriot copper sources, there are few known coppers consistent with lead isotope values for Cyprus outside the island at this time.<sup>20</sup> Regular imports of bronze only start in MC I.<sup>21</sup> Contacts there undoubtedly were, however, and the Sherratts' sequential model of the formation of Mediterranean trading contacts is potentially a useful paradigm for this period.<sup>22</sup> Their stage (1) is "contact, followed by the provision of high-value, low bulk raw materials, in exchange for a few high-value, low bulk manufactured goods ('luxuries')." LChal faience beads from Kissonerga and the EC gold spiral ear or hairring from Sotira-Kaminoudhia exemplify such prestigious luxuries imported into Cyprus.<sup>23</sup> Later, in (2), there is "some transfer of lifestyle and technology, together with participation, in the form of providing its own high-value, low-bulk manufactured goods." Transfers in fashion are indicated by the introduction to Cyprus of dress pins, hairrings and specially made spindle whorls. We still lack good evidence for reciprocal exports of luxuries from Cyprus however, unless some of the Red-on-White and Red and Black Streak Burnished ware closed vessels from Tarsus represent the inception of an export in rare organics which was to become so important in Cypriot long-distance exchanges in the Bronze Age.<sup>24</sup> The third stage, "full linkage, involving the restructuring of agrarian production to provide bulk materials for local manufacturing processes, and full participation in complex bulk exchanges" may not have happened until MC III. Unlike Crete, which entered stage 3 well before Cyprus, radical restructuring of the Cypriot economy was a prolonged process, one that given all the other changes at this time, may have retarded the establishment of stratified society. The poverty of evidence for long-distance trade before MC III is significant, since manipulation of such exchanges was necessary for the maintenance of formal political stratification.<sup>25</sup> That, however, is a different issue. The point here is that enough evidence exists to demonstrate the radical nature of social, political and economic transformations in Cypriot society in the second half of the 3rd millennium BC when the enclosure model was inserted in Tomb 22 at Vounous. A weapon-bearing elite emerged in northern Cyprus at this juncture. In similar cases, emergent special interest groups consolidated their power and attempted to stabilize the new ideological system through the use of religious authority. We would expect to see increased occurrences and elaboration of religious symbols at that juncture.<sup>26</sup> The Kotchati model and Vounous enclosure model may well exemplify this social process.

## THE ENCLOSURE MODEL AS A CONSTRUCTION OF AUTHORITY

Returning to the Vounous enclosure model, the sheer diversity of actions and figures, and the absence of a single point of reference on which all attention is focussed, have struck me as evocative of a series of inter-related scenes rather than the depiction of one scene or a single event.<sup>27</sup> That is not to say that the representation of events was excluded from the composition or that it lacks a unifying idea. The bowl is a complex symbol and, as Cohen defines them, symbols are "objects, acts, relationships or linguistic formations that stand ambiguously for a multiplicity of meanings, evoke emotions and impel men to actions".<sup>28</sup> If the separate scenes prove intractable to particularizing interpretations, the general idea behind the object may be susceptible to appraisal in the broad historical context of Philia/EC Cyprus. We have seen that there were fundamental social, political and economic changes in which sub-groups conspicuously asserted themselves. This radical restructuring of power required new sets of social conventions, a new order that, given the small scale of Cypriot society, is more likely to have sought legitimation through sanctification than by the use of coercive bodies. As Rappaport observes, "in the technologically undeveloped society, au-

<sup>20</sup> The suggestion is made by Mellink (M. Mellink, 'Anatolian contacts with chalcolithic Cyprus', *BASOR* 282/3, 1991, 167-175) who proposes that "knowledge of copper sources in Cyprus as potential suppliers for Cilicia" led to an Anatolian initiative (*ibid.*, 173). For the possible existence of Cypriot copper in EM II(?) Crete see Z. Stos-Gale & C. Macdonald, 'Sources of metals and trade in the Bronze Age Aegean', in N. Gale, ed., *Bronze Age trade in the Mediterranean* (SIMA, 90), Jonsered 1991, 267. For general evidence of the slow increase of trade in E-MC, see Knapp (*supra* n. 12).

<sup>21</sup> J. Balthazar, *Copper and bronze working in Early through Middle Bronze Age Cyprus* (SIMA-PB, 8), Jonsered 1990, 161f.

<sup>22</sup> A. & S. Sherratt, 'From luxuries to commodities: the nature of Mediterranean trading systems', in Gale (*supra* n. 20), 358.

<sup>23</sup> E. Peltenburg, forthcoming, 'Kissonerga in Cyprus and the appearance of faience in the East Mediterranean', in *Basil Hennessy Festschrift*; S. Swiny, 'Fouilles de Sotira-Kaminoudhia', in V. Karageorghis, 'Chronique des fouilles ... en 1983', *BCH* 108, 1984, 937, fig. 134.

<sup>24</sup> See Mellink (*supra* n. 20), 170-172, figs. 2-7 for several relevant sherds from Tarsus. The later small vessels are discussed in L. Maguire, *The circulation of Cypriot pottery in the Middle Bronze Age*, Unpublished Ph.D., University of Edinburgh, 1990.

<sup>25</sup> See T. Earle, 'Economic and social organization of a complex chiefdom', *Anthropological Paper* 63, Ann Arbor 1978.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. in this context, Cherry's explanation for the proliferation of Minoan peak sanctuaries: J. Cherry, 'Politics and palaces: some problems in Minoan state formation', in *Peer polity interaction and sociopolitical change*, eds. C. Renfrew & J. Cherry, Cambridge 1986, 29-32.

<sup>27</sup> This observation means that the bowl should be ascribed to a distinct class rather than merely a further example of Morris' 'Scenic Composition' genre in which "the abiding rule ... is that they portray ordinary people engaged in ordinary, everyday tasks", Morris (*supra* n. 7), 282.

<sup>28</sup> A. Cohen, *Two-dimensional man. An essay on the anthropology of power and symbolism in complex society*, London 1974.

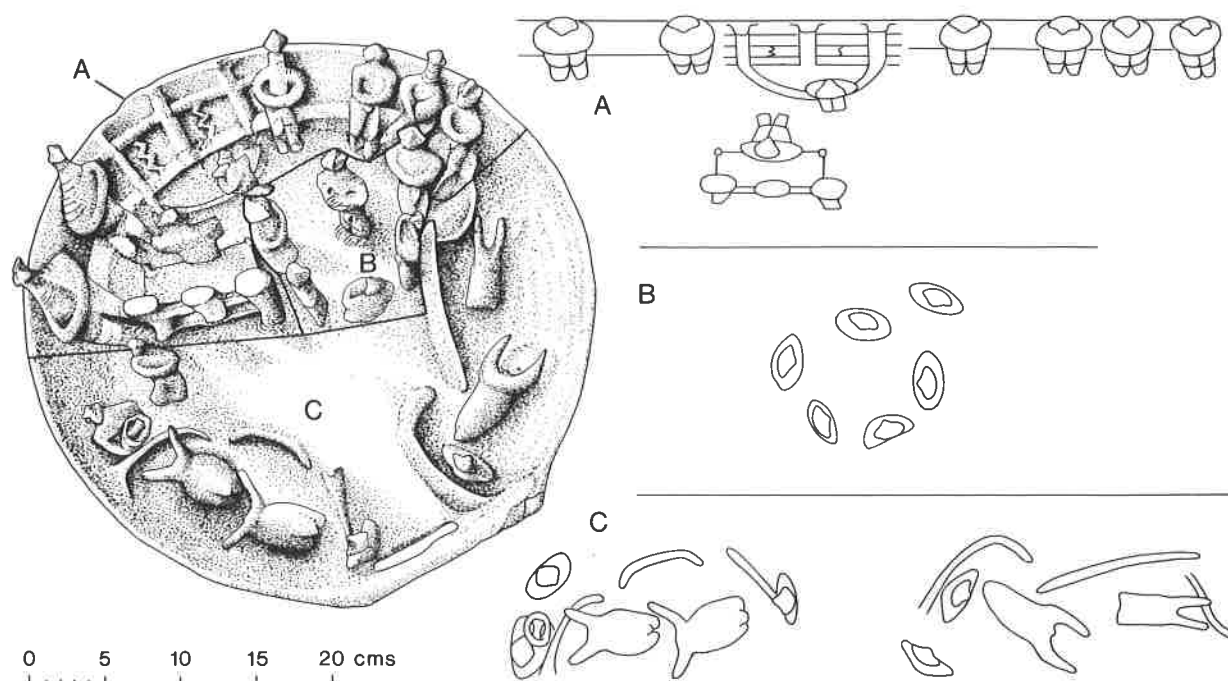


Fig. 1. The Vounous enclosure model (left) with thematic sectors A–C arranged sequentially (right).

thority is maintained by sanctification".<sup>29</sup> And, "at this stage, leaders are more concerned with symbols of power, opinion changing, and the negotiations of their social position ... That is, they are engaged in appropriating social legitimation rather than material power".<sup>30</sup> Order and sacred legitimation are two overtly signified aspects of the bowl.

Order is represented by the hierarchical disposition of the elements, their gradation in height and focusing devices. To appreciate this underlying structure it is worthwhile disengaging the figures from the crowded composition and re-assembling them according to thematic units. These units are defined by sectors A–C in the bowl and in the exploded view of Fig. 1. Sectors, or thematic units, are defined as having their own internal dynamic and focus. In C, near the entrance, are penned bulls with their keepers and, observing the cattle, the only female, holding a child. In the next sector, B, is a self-contained group of standing males, with arms folded, looking at one another. There is no hint of movement, suggestive of dance or singing, and, in the group's inward-looking stance, no contact with adjacent sectors. In A are seated and kneeling figures engaged in some rite before and to either side of bucrania pillars. The largest male, seated on an elaborate chair, presides over the proceedings and he is directly opposite the iconographic devices on the wall. Viewed in this manner, it may be seen that the compositional structure of the bowl was deliberately designed as a hierarchy, one perhaps expressive of a general social ideology. Thus, at the base of this hierarchical construct (C) are bulls, symbols of new wealth/status resources and a female with child, also suggestive of vitality, fertility and prosperity.<sup>31</sup> The woman/child figure is intentionally associated with the cattle by her position and the di-

rection of her face. Next (B), the adult world of decision-taking males. Beyond that (A), sacred rites before symbols of transcendent powers which, if conceptually related with sectors B and C, effectively legitimate the whole social structure.

The dramatically stratified progression from the domesticated animal world, through self-important human groups to the transcendent forces at the apex of the composition, furthest away from and on direct axis with the entrance, is unlikely to be fortuitous. That it is intentional is supported by the manner in which the coroplast has reinforced the progression by gradating the size of the figures so that the smallest are in sector C, the largest in A. There, the major figure on the elaborate, three-pronged chair, acts as intermediary between the human and spiritual worlds. Since the preceding, communal Erimi culture was differently organised than the Philia/EC, and acculturation ensued upon the appearance of the latter, legitimation of the new social conventions, as argued above, was probably sought through sanctification. Thus, the role of the bucrania pillars and associated rites was to impart to the portrayed new order a

<sup>29</sup> R. Rappaport, 'Ritual, sanctity, and cybernetics', *American Anthropologist* 73, 1971, 72.

<sup>30</sup> C. Hastorf, 'One path to the heights: negotiating political inequality in the Sausa of Peru', in *The evolution of political systems. Sociopolitics in small-scale sedentary societies*, ed. S. Upham, Cambridge 1990, 148.

<sup>31</sup> Cattle had recently been introduced to Cyprus and they are not attested at LChal sites in the west. See P. Croft, 'Man and beast in Chalcolithic Cyprus', *BASOR* 282/3, 1991, 63–80; they are present in tombs at Vounous and at EC Sotira-Kaminoudhia: Swiny (supra n. 17), 23.

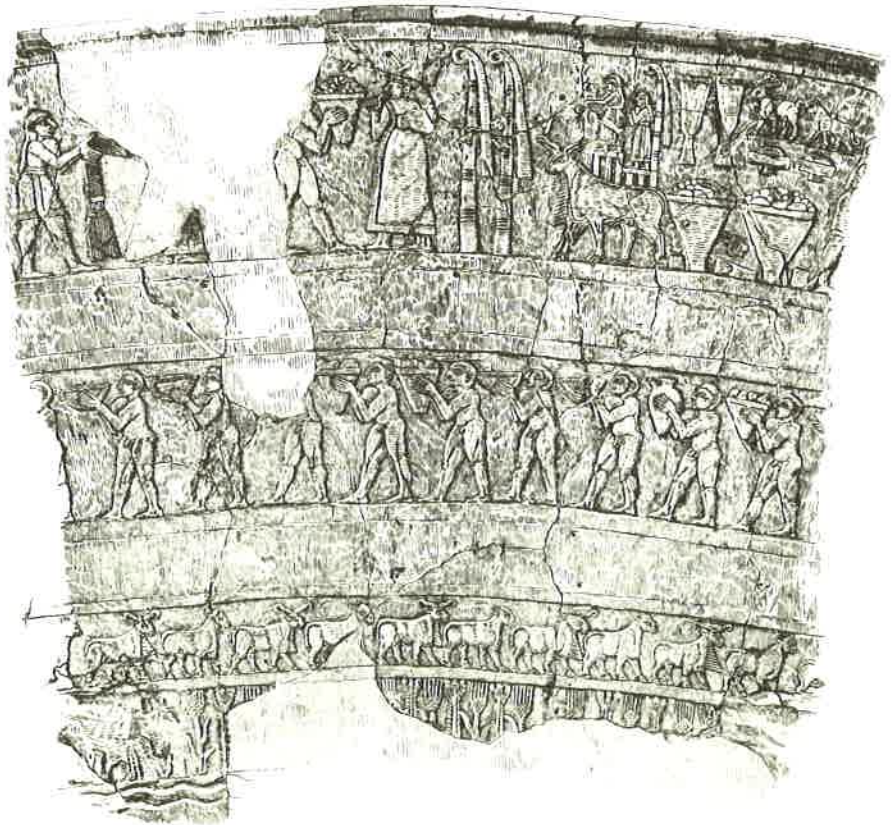


Fig. 2. Decoration on alabaster vase from the E-anna precinct, Uruk level IIIa/II.

sanctity so that “it will be accepted unquestionably as true”.<sup>32</sup>

Recourse to similar representational displays by status-conscious elites, particularly at times of profound socio-economic and political changes, is evident elsewhere in the Near East. This is obvious in the way that the kings of newly united Egypt are placed in an intermediate position between symbols of deities and the profane world.<sup>33</sup> The parallelism with the well-known alabaster vase from Uruk (Fig. 2), created at a time of nascent Mesopotamian states, is more striking. Moortgat’s description of it recalls several aspects of the Vounous enclosure model:

“Following a natural order [sic!]<sup>34</sup>—from the life-giving properties of the beneficial plants and the domesticated animals, to the men reaping the harvest, with the king leading them as their mediator with the goddess—the sculptor has, without showing a rigid constraint, turned the powerful figures of his men and animals into an organic composite picture, in which the hierarchy within the cosmos is indicated only by the relative size of the figures. His world is separated into three divisions: at the bottom water, plants and animals, mankind in the middle and the king with the goddess at the summit”.<sup>34</sup>

Although there is an obvious difference in scale—the Uruk vase documents the early stages of administered society in which the emergent state with its economic management system is sanctified while the Vounous model belongs to pre-state society<sup>35</sup>—the compositional principles are the same. In both works there is a vivid attempt to project, justify and stabilize the orderly organisation of society by a

“natural” hierarchical arrangement of many elements and, especially, to sanctify that arbitrary organisation by highlighting the privileged role of a mediator between the divine and profane worlds.

In comparison with the elegance of the Uruk vase, the Vounous model remains a rustic expression, and that quality naturally raises doubts that it could have signified the ideological construct placed upon it here. As a symbolic creation, it probably signified many things, and for some the message may have been no more than specific mortuary

<sup>32</sup> R. Drennan (following Rappaport), ‘Religion and social evolution in formative Mesoamerica’, in *The early Mesoamerican village*, ed. K. Flannery, New York 1976, 348.

<sup>33</sup> See, for example, the funerary stele of king Djnet (1st Dynasty) in which the tripartite design comprises the Horus falcon surmounted on his name over his palace; or King Narmer’s (1st Dynasty) ceremonial macehead in which animals, prisoners and cities are paraded before the king and divine symbol: B. Kemp, *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a civilization*, London 1989, 38, fig. 10; 60, fig. 20G.

<sup>34</sup> A. Moortgat, *The art of ancient Mesopotamia*, London 1969, 13.

<sup>35</sup> The nature of Philia/EC society is problematic, due, in part, to the paucity of excavated settlements. While elites and hereditary social inequalities are evident from display weaponry and funerary monuments (above), authorities lack a range of clear insignia of power that focuses attention on them. The scarcity of such icons and imported goods, and the small size of surveyed settlements, suggest very restricted complexity, not even approaching chiefdom levels with polities characteristically controlling regional populations in the thousands: cf. T. Earle, ‘The evolution of chiefdoms’, in *Chiefdoms: power, economy and ideology*, ed. T. Earle, Cambridge 1991, 1–15.

rites. Direct supporting evidence for an interpretation which argues that its primary role was to convey an ideal social order will always be hard to come by. One possible, though certainly not unchallengeable, argument stems from its compatibility with other funerary items at Vounous. Typical of these are models of everyday items such as carding combs, spindles, daggers, sheaths and ploughing scenes.<sup>36</sup> These are most likely intended for the afterlife, rather than substitute grave offerings from poverty-struck participants in burial rites. The inclusion of sides of cattle in the Vounous tombs may also have been intended for the afterlife, though this does not exclude their partial consumption by the living in funerary repasts. Pottery models for a suitable afterlife were thus a feature of Vounous burial traditions, and the enclosure model which expresses the "natural" order of things, and perhaps its resuscitation after death, conforms to such outlooks and customs.

In a diachronic study of Merina ceremonies in Madagascar, Bloch has shown how symbols remain unchanged for long periods while their meaning shifts to suit evolving political needs.<sup>37</sup> Sanctification of a new social order is best achieved by a connection with pre-existing systems and symbols. Indeed, the sacred is often relied upon for stability during times of major change. Yet, when we compare the Vounous model with the only other earlier building model, from MChal Kissonerga, it is the differences more than the similarities that are so striking. In spite of the richness of its associated assemblage, the Kissonerga model lacks a fixed hierarchical arrangement, bulls, symbols of transcendent powers and the connotation of a special building.<sup>38</sup> The

Philia/EC transformation of Cypriot society was so profound that it was not possible to modify and continue pre-existing symbols, except for a basic structure. The ideological change, as indicated by the contrasts between the Kissonerga and Vounous bowl assemblages, is not so much a slight redefinition of social relations as a revolution in socio-political and economic organisation. This is unlike comparable processes of change noted by Hodder in 3rd millennium BC Europe in which there was "a gradual process of transformation and shifting of emphasis within a pre-existing cultural code."<sup>39</sup> For us, perhaps as for the islanders, the Vounous enclosure model can symbolize the radically new construct of authority that emerged at the start of the Bronze Age in Cyprus.

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<sup>36</sup> See *SCE* IV: 1A, 234–240, figs. 90–6; Dikaios (supra n. 6), pls. IX, X, XVIII.

<sup>37</sup> M. Bloch, *From blessing to violence*, Cambridge 1986.

<sup>38</sup> Peltenburg (supra n. 14), 105–107. My remarks here refer to the arrangement of the *dramatis personae*. The organisation of space, on the other hand, has important similarities in both models.

<sup>39</sup> I. Hodder, *The domestication of Europe*, Oxford 1990, 93.