

KEEPING HOUSE: OUR DEVELOPING UNDERSTANDING OF THE EARLY AND MIDDLE CYPRIOT HOUSEHOLD (1926–2006)

Jennifer M. Webb

La Trobe University, Melbourne, Australia

Introduction

Prior to initiating the Swedish Cyprus Expedition (1927–1931), Einar Gjerstad undertook a detailed study of the Cypriot Bronze Age for his doctoral dissertation (published as *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus* in 1926). Aware that “the places where man lived his daily life” were still “untouched by the archaeologist’s spade”,¹ he excavated two houses in 1924. With the exception of a small, still unpublished exposure at Ambelikou-*Aletti*, excavated by the Department of Antiquities in 1942,² these remained for 50 years the only known domestic structures of the Early and Middle Bronze Age on the island. Since the mid-1970s, however, excavations at Sotira-*Kaminoudhia*, Alambra-*Mouttes*, Episkopi-*Phaneromeni* and Marki-*Alonia* (Fig. 1) have greatly improved our understanding of domestic architecture,³ at the same time adding a considerable measure of confusion. This paper looks at the form and structure of households in Early and Middle Bronze Age Cyprus, using recent data from Marki as a starting point for a broader discussion of social relationships within and between households, including that of gender.



Fig. 1. Map of Cyprus showing sites mentioned in the text.

The evidence

Alambra

Gjerstad excavated his first house at Alambra in central Cyprus.⁴ He identified two non-communicating rectangular rooms set within a rectangular courtyard (Fig. 2a). The northern room was interpreted as a cooking, eating, sleeping and work room, and the southern room, which had several benches and a “grinding-place”, as a storage and work room. The courtyard surrounded the house on three sides. It was walled to the east only, leading Gjerstad to con-

clude that it was otherwise enclosed by a wooden or brush fence. He noted its similarity to “what the Cypriotes call a mandra”,⁵ and suggested that it was used to house sheep and goats. The excavated complex was identified as a semi-rural shepherd’s house and dated to Early Cypriot III. Subsequent study of the ceramic material, however, suggests a Middle Cypriot I date.⁶

Kalopsidha

Gjerstad excavated a second, larger and more complex house at Kalopsidha.⁷ It is an eleven-roomed rectili-

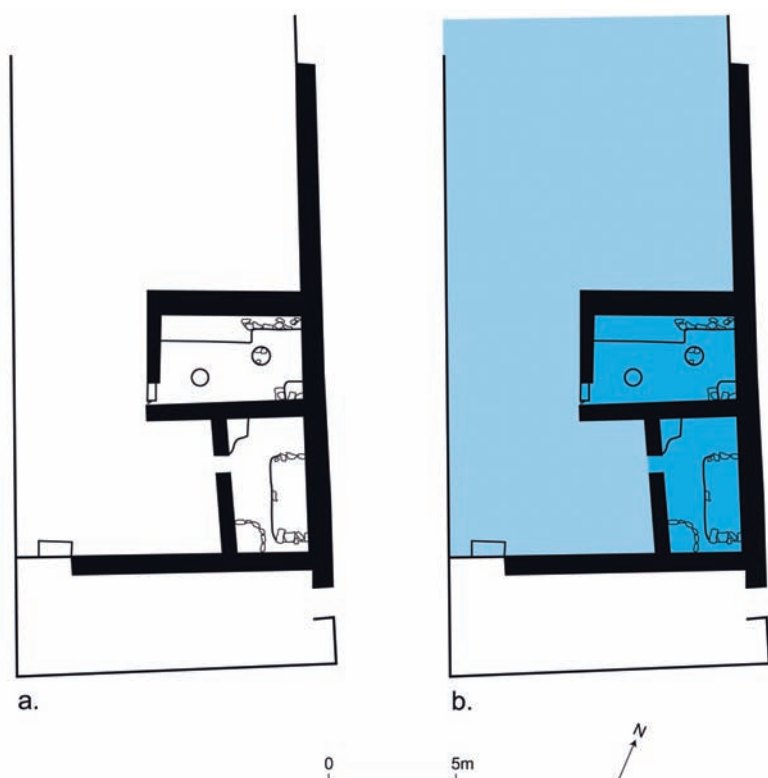
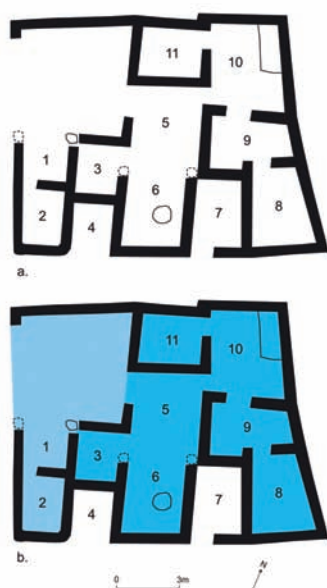


Fig. 2a–b. Plan of an EC III/MC I house at Alambra excavated by Gjerstad in 1924. (After Gjerstad 1926, fig. 1.)

Fig. 3a–b. Plan of an MC III house at Kalopsidha excavated by Gjerstad in 1924. (After Gjerstad 1926, fig. 3.)



near building measuring some 15 by 12 metres, located within a settlement and built over the remains of earlier structures (Fig. 3a). Considerable quantities of material remained on the floors, suggesting relatively rapid abandonment and allowing Gjerstad to identify room function with some confidence.⁸ A central room, Room 5, produced substantial evidence for cooking, large numbers of domestic vessels and two saddle querns. In the belief that intensive use of fire could only have taken place in an unroofed space, Gjerstad identified this as an open inner court. In Room 6, effectively an extension of Room 5, a lime concrete feature with a central cavity

was identified as a secondary hearth for warmth and light or an altar. The room produced storage and table vessels and was identified as the “*salle de reception*”. Rooms to the south and east, also accessed from Room 5, were identified as storage/work areas (Rooms 9, 10, 11) and a sleeping room (Room 8), and Rooms 4 and 7, which open onto unexcavated space to the west, as stables or out-houses.⁹ A semi-enclosed rectangular area north of Room 5 was not numbered by Gjerstad and does not appear to have been considered part of the house unit.¹⁰

The building was identified as a merchant’s house, on the basis of quantities of wheel-made vessels believed to be imports from Syria. Its construction and use were attributed to Middle Cypriot III.¹¹ Recent analyses of the ceramic material by Åström,¹² and Crewe,¹³ however, suggest a date, at least for final abandonment, in Late Cypriot I.

Sotira-Kaminoudhia

Larger-scale excavations at Sotira-Kaminoudhia between 1981 and 1986 uncovered substantial remains of domestic buildings dated to Early Cypriot III (Fig. 4). Swiny,¹⁴ and Wright,¹⁵ characterise the architectural system at this site as “agglutinative” (or additive); that is, as belonging to a tradition in which rooms were added to one another “in any and every manner – without any regard for part or whole”.¹⁶ They see no unitary buildings, only a “random settlement plan” with “room conglomerations” which extend more or less over the whole area. Wright used the word “hive” to evoke the character of what he called “this strange building”, and

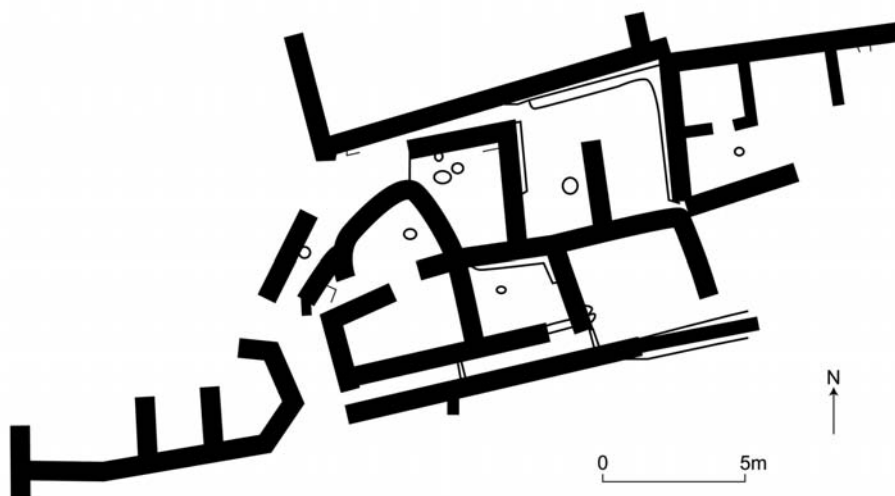


Fig. 4. Plan of the domestic architecture in Area A at Sotira-Kaminoudhia. (After Swiny 1989, fig. 2.2a.)



Fig. 5a–b. Plan of the domestic architecture at Alambra-Mouttes. (After Coleman et al. 1996, fig. 14.)

further speculated that it might be indicative of “an early (regional?) type of communal living settlement”.¹⁷

Alambra-Mouttes

Excavations by Cornell University (1974–1985) at Alambra-Mouttes, some 450 m northeast of the structure uncovered by Gjerstad, produced full or partial remains of six houses of early Middle Cypriot date.¹⁸ These are terrace or “long house” units with party walls and entrances opening from a street (Fig. 5a). Each has a major transverse wall which divides the house into a front and rear section, with the rear further divided to produce a total of three to five rooms per house. The front sections may have been partly or fully enclosed with their front walls perhaps lost in an erosion gully.

Episkopi-Phaneromeni

A small area of housing in Area G at Episkopi-Phaneromeni, excavated in 1975–1978, is dated to Middle Cypriot III. Unfortunately it, and the more extensive Late Cypriot I remains in Area A, still await full publication.¹⁹ The architectural system in both areas is described by the excavator as “agglutinative”, with “rambling multi-roomed complexes arranged around courtyards”.²⁰

Marki-Alonia

By far the largest domestic exposure currently available is that at Marki-Alonia, excavated between 1991 and 2000.²¹ Here a nine phase stratigraphic sequence represents over 500 years of occupation, from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age (Philia period) to Middle Cypriot II. This allows an unusually comprehensive view of

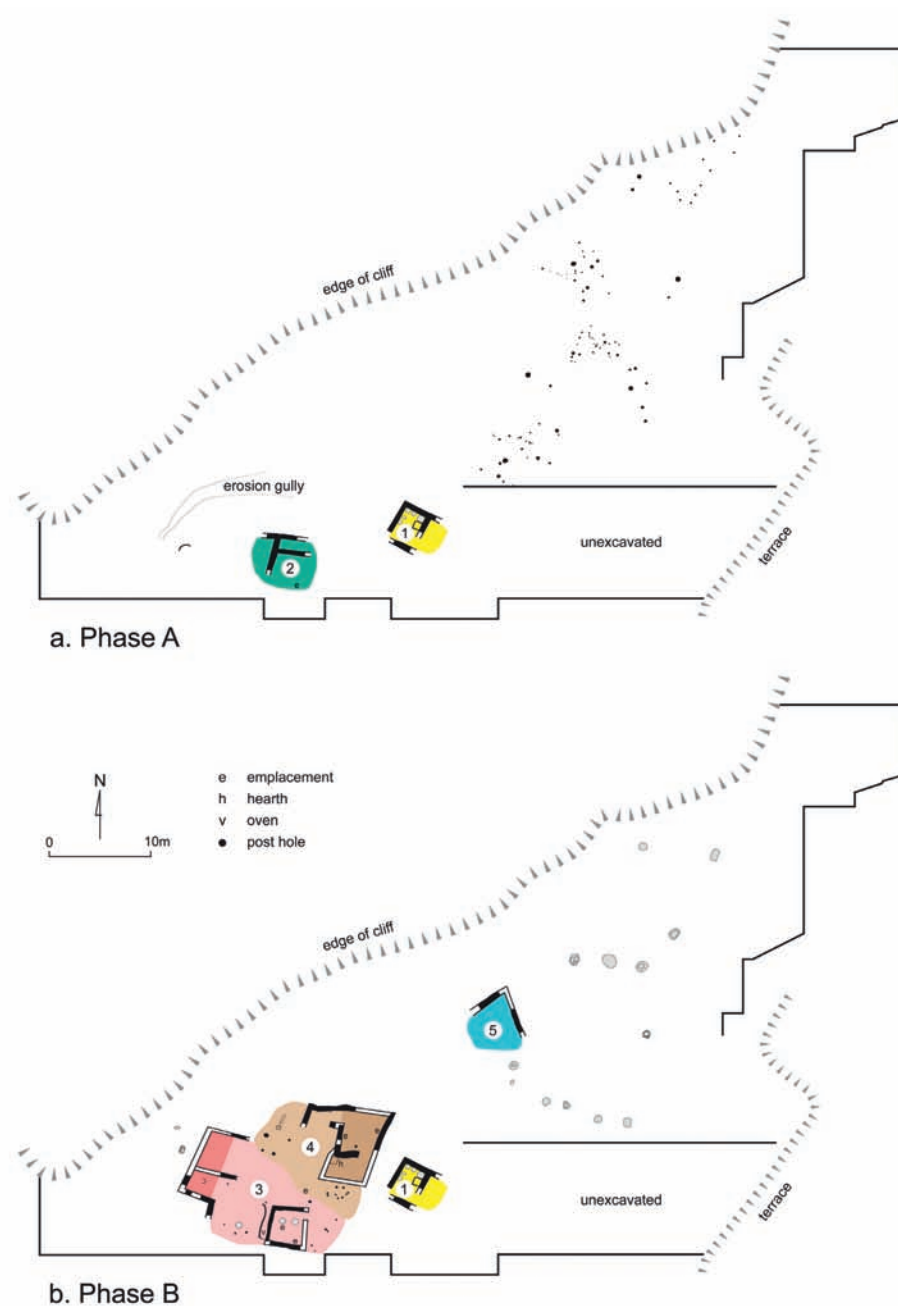


Fig. 6a–b. Plan of the domestic architecture of Phases A and B at Marki. (After Frankel & Webb 2006a, figs. 11.1–2.)

settlement history and of changing patterns of relationship within the village. In total, 33 architectural households or house compounds have been identified. Most are comprised of two or more covered rooms set within a partly or fully enclosed courtyard (see Figs. 6–10, where compounds are differentiated by colour with courtyards designated by lighter and inner rooms by darker shading).²²

The settlement at Marki was founded in about 2300 BC (Phase A, Fig. 6a). The two excavated complexes of this phase (Compounds 1 and 2) are very poorly preserved but appear to have been on the edge of the village. To the east arrays of post holes suggest the presence of animal pens and work stations beyond the built-up area. A generation or two later, in Phase B (Fig. 6b), several new compounds were constructed. The best preserved (Compounds 3 and 4) were two-room units set within a common courtyard. The courtyard was used for flint-knapping, antler- and shell-working, pottery production and baking in a large oven. Sets of post holes suggest animal pens and sheds; a fence and a *pithos* burial mark the southern boundary and a freestanding room in the southeast served as a storage and processing facility. These compounds appear to represent two households with separate inner rooms and shared courtyard space, forming a cooperative residential and economic unit.

As the population of the village increased, the built-up area expanded. In Phase C (Early Cypriot I, Fig. 7a) the two Phase B compounds were replaced by Compounds 6 and 7. These again take the form of covered rooms within a courtyard, but the courtyard

was now enclosed by a stone wall on three sides. Compounds 6 and 7 share a common wall but there was no access between them. Compound 6 and the smaller Compound 8 to the north communicated through an opening, which led from the courtyard of 6 to the courtyard of 8. This suggests a connection between these two households, perhaps involving the establishment by Compound 6 of an off-shoot compound housing an extended family unit. Other households built in Phase C are similar in structure with covered rooms set within partly walled courtyards. Although some share walls, they were clearly independent units of relatively similar size, each with a total area of about 100 m².

The inhabited area expanded further in Phase D (Early Cypriot II, Fig. 7b), requiring the establishment of a north/south laneway to provide access through this part of the settlement. While Compound 7 remained unchanged, Compound 6 was substantially modified and both Compounds 6 and 8 were now entered via a short passage from the lane. Compound 9 was restructured to become a three-roomed house entered from the laneway and a number of new compounds were built on either side of the lane. These include two-room Compounds 14 and 15 without courtyards on the west and a larger Compound 13, with two inner rooms and a courtyard, on the east. Three new compounds of the usual type were constructed in previously open space to the northeast.

In Phase E (Early Cypriot III, Fig. 8a), Compound 7 was completely walled off and reoriented to the north. In Compound 8 the two inner

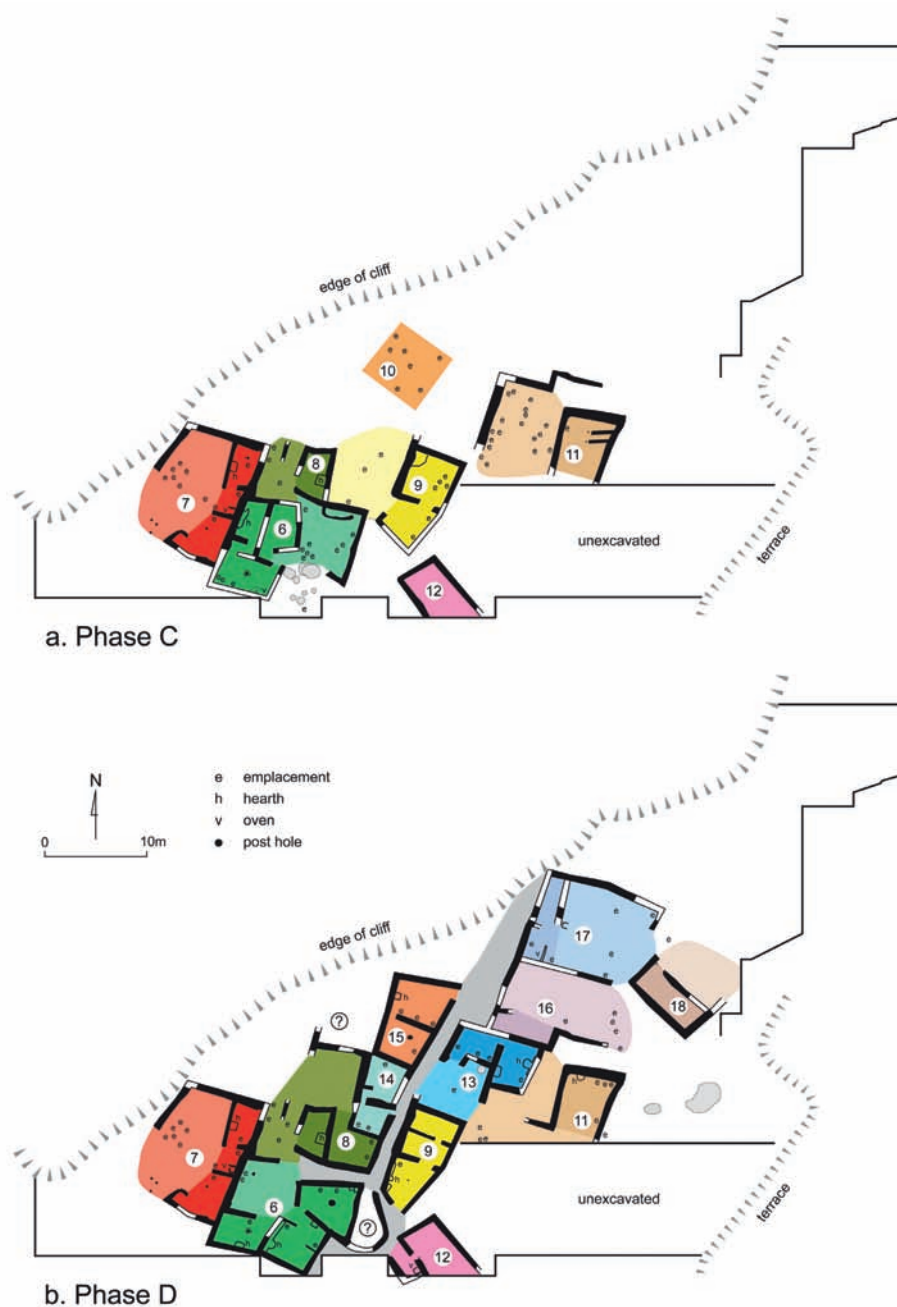


Fig. 7a–b. Plan of the domestic architecture of Phases C and D at Marki. (After Frankel & Webb 2006a, figs. 11.3–4.)

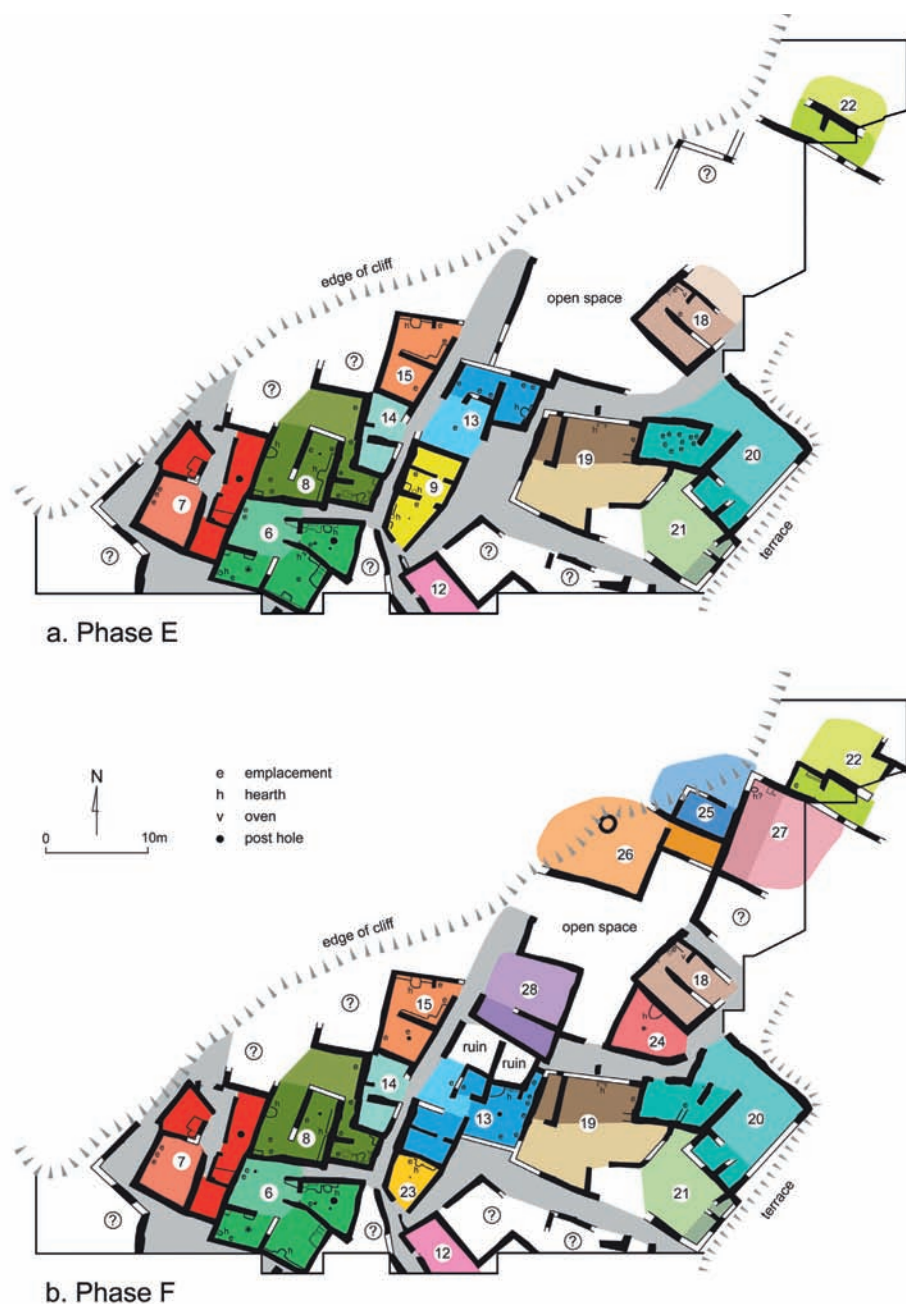


Fig. 8a–b. Plan of the domestic architecture of Phases E and F at Marki. (After Frankel & Webb 2006a, figs. 11.5–6.)

rooms were enlarged and a third room added to the west. Major and minor changes are also visible in the compounds to the east, where new laneways were established to provide access to compounds built at this time. This reduced reliance on the main north/south access route and arranged old compounds into new configurations.

This pattern of increasing density of occupation continued during Phase F (Fig. 8b). To the north new compounds were constructed on open ground and areas of open space between compounds were enclosed. Major changes also occurred in the centre of the area with the construction of Compound 28. This involved the partial demolition of what had previously been the interior rooms of Compound 13, creating the first standing ruins in the excavated area. At the same time a new phenomenon, that of the single-room compound (Compounds 23 and 24), appears.

During Phase G (Middle Cypriot I, Fig. 9a) a process of decline set in as compounds fell out of use and were not replaced. Compounds 6 and 7 continued to be occupied within their original boundaries and some new compounds were built (notably Compound 29), but others were reduced in size or abandoned. By Phase H (Fig. 9b) the density of occupation was significantly lower in this part of the site and by Phase I (Middle Cypriot II, Fig. 10) only three compounds were still in use.

Discrete house compounds with two, three or more rooms at the rear of a courtyard were clearly the standard house form at Marki from first settlement to final abandonment. Although new household

types, specifically single room units and compounds with no courtyards, developed through time, the majority of compounds, particularly where these were not constrained by existing structures, took the traditional form. Also evident is an *intra-site* evolution from relatively open, cooperative relationships in the earliest years of occupation to an increasingly segregated, enclosed system in later periods. In Phases A and B courtyards were open or surrounded by light fences. In Phase C walls were built to close courtyards on three sides, leaving wide entrances from surrounding open space. By Phase E courtyards were fully walled with access via narrow doorways or internal passages.

Alongside these developments, interior space was progressively subdivided and there was an increased reliance on prescriptive access routes. The location of some facilities also changed. Animal pens and work stations, initially found in courtyards, are not present from Phase D onward. Ovens were relocated to interior rooms in Phase C and internal screen walls appear, apparently to conceal hearths from exterior view (these features are best seen in the well-preserved Compound 29). These changes may be seen as reflecting an increasing desire for household privacy and security, which is likely to have been linked with notions of private property, intergenerational inheritance and the control and manipulation of space and other resources.

Rectangular houses, as Flannery and others have argued,²³ reflect the practical advantages of isolating family groups as the basic unit of production and consumption within a delayed return seasonal farming econ-

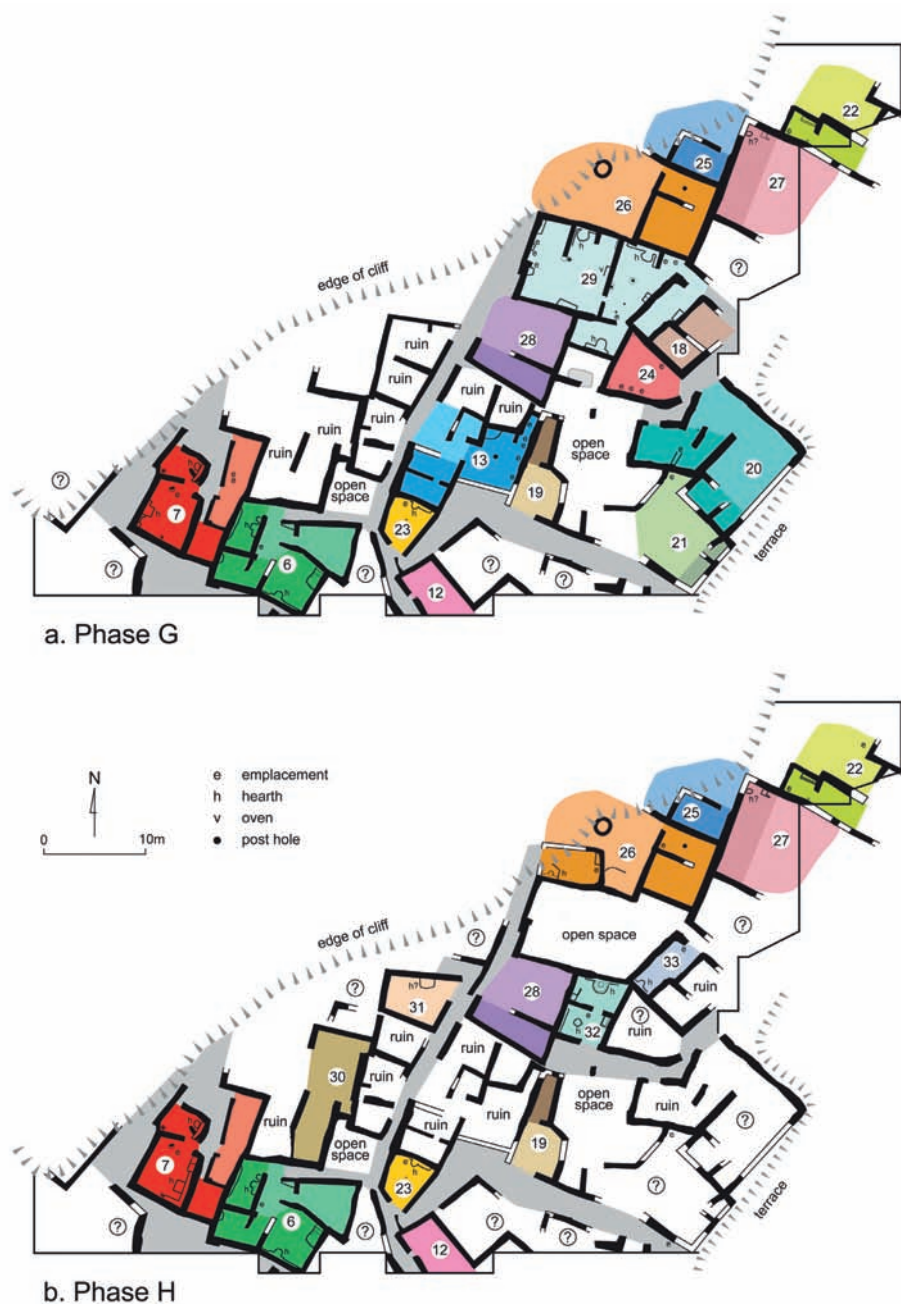


Fig. 9a–b. Plan of the domestic architecture of Phases G and H at Marki. (After Frankel & Webb 2006a, figs. 11.7–8.)



Fig. 10. Plan of the domestic architecture of Phase I at Marki. (Drawing by the author and D. Frankel.)

omy. Because a household workforce consumes its own produce, it has an incentive to increase production, but only if it can avoid obligations to share or pool resources. An increased desire for privacy and the walling off of household compounds is thus “the material expression of an ideology of hoarding, as opposed to sharing”.²⁴ House walls define household membership and mark out internally stored produce as private property. This process of household segregation, in its architectural form, is visible at Marki in Phase C (Early Cypriot I) and increasingly evident thereafter.

Other observations relate these developments to the artefactual data. In Phases A and B the structural evidence suggests co-operative storage, preparation and consumption of food between several, probably kin-related households. From Early Cypriot I onward, however, staples were stored

in closed courtyards and interior rooms and ovens were reduced in size and moved into kitchen extensions. At the same time decorated table ware, which had been prominent during the earliest, Philia periods of occupation, virtually disappears.²⁵ This suggests that social interaction between households was more restricted in Early Cypriot I and II, in keeping with the increased architectural isolation of house compounds and the location of hearths and ovens in interior rooms.

A significant innovation in Early Cypriot III, when courtyards were fully enclosed and the process of privatization of the household appears to have reached its maximum extent, is the introduction of anthropomorphic figurines, primarily if not exclusively depicting females and infants, and of zoomorphic figurines depicting cattle. This may reflect, in the first instance, an increasing

desire to control the source of future labour (i.e. the reproductive potential of adult female members of the household) in an intensive agricultural economy. Cattle, also, are a valuable form of capital and likely to have served as a form of “indirect storage” against the periodic failure of crops as well as a means of establishing social ties through exchange.²⁶ They also provided over half the meat supply at Marki and were clearly of paramount economic importance.²⁷

While there is little or no evidence at Marki for marked differences in social or economic status, the emergence of some households without courtyards in Early Cypriot II may signify an increasing differentiation in land ownership through time. Some households perhaps continued to own land, while families without land engaged in more specialised activities, in which case the latter may have provided a market for the surplus produce of the former and a source of seasonal labour. This situation is likely to have led to an increasing divergence of household activities and to changing and increasingly complex relationships between households.

Discussion

Currently Marki provides the only evidence for a developmental sequence and for evolving interactions within and between households for the earlier periods of the Cypriot Bronze Age. Insights gained here may throw light on the more short-lived or single period domestic complexes at other sites discussed above.

In the first instance there are obvious similarities between the physical structure and layout of Gjerstad’s house at Alambra and house com-

pounds at Marki: both comprise small rooms within a rectangular courtyard. The fact that the courtyard of Gjerstad's house remained only partly enclosed while contemporary compounds at Marki were fully walled may reflect its more isolated location. In any case it no longer stands wholly apart, as previously believed,²⁸ from domestic structures in more densely built-up areas.

Coleman's early Middle Cypriot houses at Alambra give the appearance of a more structured system than at Marki, no doubt in part because they are single period houses. The general design, however, of multi-roomed dwellings with a single entrance and a flow from outer to inner rooms is not dissimilar to the primary form at Marki and the outermost spaces in each case may have been courtyards, as suggested in Figure 5b. In any case, they form discrete and unitary households of similar size and with a similar array of interior features and privacy mechanisms to those in use at Marki.

The more irregular appearance of buildings at Sotira matches the complexity of the final system at Marki and may also be the end-product of settlement growth, infilling and minor and major restructuring. Courtyards are not specifically identified, but linked rooms lead off from one another, sometimes accessed through narrow passageways. Although viewed by Wright as "formless agglutinative complexes",²⁹ it is possible that conjoined but discrete and unitary households are present here as at Marki.

Excavations at Marki also prompt a reevaluation of Gjerstad's house at Kalopsidha. This building was identi-

fied by Wright as belonging to the *Hofhaus* (i.e. central courtyard) tradition,³⁰ with rooms set around the sides of a four square block and circulation by way of a central open space (Room 5). Room 5, however, was identified as a central court on the grounds that extensive use of fire could only have taken place in an unroofed area. Given the routine presence of cooking hearths and ovens in interior (i.e. roofed) units at Marki and Sotira, this is no longer convincing. Rooms 5 and 6 at Kalopsidha are better viewed as a single functional unit equivalent to the main hearth rooms found in all well preserved compounds at Marki (e.g. Unit XIII in Compound 29 in Phase G, Unit XCIV in Compound 6 in Phases E and F, Unit CIII in Compound 7 in Phases G and H).³¹ The large semi-enclosed space to the north of Room 5 may, however, be identified as a courtyard (see Fig. 3b). This brings the Kalopsidha house into line with the majority of house compounds at Marki, where a single entrance provided access to a fully or partly enclosed courtyard and subsequently to two, three or more roofed interior rooms either located side-by-side or one behind the other.

On this reading Units 1 and 2 at Kalopsidha lead off the courtyard and may be seen as storage areas or animal pens (they produced no finds), while Rooms 4 and 7, which cannot be accessed from the courtyard or inner rooms, may belong to another compound to the west. It should be noted, also, that the house excavated by Gjerstad was the last in a sequence of superimposed buildings (for the most part, the walls of the earlier structures were not excavated),³² so that its form is very likely to be a result

of a series of construction, dismantling, rebuilding and recycling events. The domestic landscape at Kalopsidha may then, like that at Marki, have developed over time from freestanding household compounds or sets of compounds surrounded by open ground to an increasingly densely inhabited area with conjoined buildings, prescribed access routes, decreased courtyard size and on-going partition and remodeling of interior space.

Wright has referred to the surprising variety of rectangular domestic buildings in Early and Middle Bronze Age Cyprus, citing "formless agglutinative complexes, well-formed regular plans for terrace houses, a *Hofhaus* type plan, [and] a rural looking *Hürdenhaus*".³³ This diversity now appears to have been considerably overstated. While the internal variety of house form at Marki is matched to some extent by differences between domestic architecture at Marki and other sites, this is likely in large part to be a result of differing settlement histories and the accidents of excavation, which may focus only on one part of a long-lived site, and influenced by differences in topography and in building techniques favoured in different areas of the island. Underlying this is a common concept of an architectural household as a series of small covered rooms established within and accessed via a fully or partially walled courtyard. This house type was in use over a long period at Marki, and in Middle Cypriot I and Middle Cypriot III, at Alambra and Kalopsidha respectively. While the situation at Sotira in the southwest is far less clear, the apparently agglutinative system at this site and at nearby Episkopi-*Phaneromeni* may be a result

of complex developmental sequences which mask the unitary nature of individual households.

Implications for understanding gender

In a recent book on gender in ancient Cyprus, Bolger argues for a unilinear development during the Early and Middle Bronze Age from an agglomerative architectural system to freestanding domestic buildings,³⁴ reflecting over time a further stage in the emergence of nuclear family structures from the earlier kin-based networks of the Neolithic and Chalcolithic. While this needs to be revised in light of the evidence for unitary house compounds from the very beginning of the Bronze Age at Marki, other elements of her broader thesis remain relevant to the present discussion.

Bolger traces changes in the spatial configuration of domestic structures from the Neolithic through the Bronze Age, noting a shift in emphasis from exterior to interior, open to closed and public to private.³⁵ Among the formal mechanisms used to regulate social interaction are the isolation of households, the compartmentalisation of interior space, the location of storage facilities within buildings and an increasing focus of domestic activities in interior locations. These are all visible at Marki. They were not, however, in place when the village was founded but emerged over time, leaving open the possibility that changes in the nature and structure of households were driven as much by local factors as by wider socio-cultural imperatives.

The privatisation of domestic space at Marki coincided with increases in the size of the commu-

nity and of individual families and with improved economic security at the household level. The social and economic cooperation visible in Phase B may have been a survival mechanism in a community perhaps numbering only a few dozen people, dispersed among a handful of households in relatively inhospitable terrain. Within a hundred years or so this was replaced by self-contained semi-enclosed households, suggesting that residential units were now secure enough to meet the majority of their needs and survive as independent economic entities. This is likely to reflect the creation of reliable production and risk-management systems and to have been accompanied by a desire to establish and maintain private ownership of buildings, land, livestock and other resources. As the population of the village continued to expand, perhaps to 300 or 400, the nature of inter-personal relationships must have changed further as distances increased and access between compounds became more difficult. This is likely to have given rise to mechanisms of social cohesion and control operating beyond the level of the household and to be reflected in the development of privacy devices, formal access routes and fully enclosed households.

The introduction to Cyprus of intensive agricultural technologies and rectilinear architecture at the beginning of the Bronze Age significantly increased the capacity for both household and settlement growth.³⁶ Agricultural intensification and accelerated birthrates gave rise, at the same time, to an increased focus on economic production at the household level and an expansion in the range and prob-

ably the duration of domestic activities, particularly in the processing and storage of cereals. These key elements of Bronze Age society were present from the foundation of the village at Marki. Subsequent localised changes in the nature of the household may be seen as a result of demographic growth and emerging concepts of private property rather than, or alongside, wider changes in socio-economic structures and concepts of the social household.

The enclosure of the household, in Cyprus as elsewhere, is likely to have led to a relegation of women and women's activities to the interior and to increasingly sharply defined gender identities within and beyond the domestic sphere. Citing both ethnographic and archaeological studies, Bolger suggests a correlation between the increasing segmentation of domestic space and a gender-based division of labour.³⁷ I have argued elsewhere that the repeated portrayal of women in secondary food processing activities on Red Polished ware vessels, and the lack of overlap between male and female tasks, infers a sexual division of labour in which men and women had consistent gender identities that were related to their productive roles within the household.³⁸ At that time our knowledge of domestic architecture was not sufficient to determine whether this was accompanied by concepts of separation or opposition. The data now available from Marki, together with residual systemic inventories which suggest that the activities depicted on the vessels (grinding, pounding, baking) were primarily carried out in hearth rooms,³⁹ does allow us, at least for the Early Cypriot III and Middle Cypriot

periods, to link female tasks with interior household space. Whether this signifies gender segregation or even seclusion remains uncertain but seems unlikely. Hearth rooms at Marki and elsewhere also produced residues from flint-knapping, wood-working and ground stone artefact production, suggesting that they were used as work spaces for a wide range of domestic maintenance activities involving both male and female members of the household.

Conclusion

Rectilinear house compounds with recognisable individual definition

existed in Cyprus from the beginning of the Bronze Age. The courtyard house, which Gjerstad identified in a relatively simple form at Alambra in 1924, may now be seen to have been the norm over much if not all of the island from the Philia period onward. The agglutinative (or agglomerative) architectural system argued for Sotira and Phaneromeni by Swiny and Wright, with accompanying suggestions of “an early type of communal living”,⁴⁰ will need to be re-examined in light of the evidence now available from Marki. While cooperation between households is visible in the earliest phases at this site, the evolving

system is one, on the contrary, which sought to isolate house compounds, regulate social interaction, restrict visual penetration and control access and resources. This new understanding of the Early Cypriot household brings the Cypriot domestic system more into line with that of contemporary settlements in surrounding regions and argues for less singular architectural and social developments on the island at this time than those previously envisaged.

Acknowledgements

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NOTES

1 Gjerstad 1926, 19.

2 Trial excavations at Ambelikou-*Aletri*

in 1942 were partly published by Merrillees in 1984. A plan of conjoined irregular rectangular rooms appears in Dikaios 1946, 245, fig. 17; Dikaios 1960, 8, pls. 3b, 29c; Buchholz & Karageorghis 1973, fig. 53; Merrillees 1984, fig. 2; Swiny 1989, fig. 2.3, and elsewhere. The site dates to Early Cypriot III and/or Middle Cypriot I (Gjerstad 1980b, 6, pl. V; Merrillees 1984, 7; Barlow 1985, 52–53).

3 Middle Cypriot buildings recently uncovered at Pyrgos-*Mavronaki* do not appear to have been domestic.

4 Gjerstad 1926, 19–27. See also Stewart 1962, 215, fig. 85. The location of “Gjerstad’s house”, some 160 m southwest of the peak of *Mouttes* hill, is shown in Coleman et al. 1996, 110, figs. 4–8, pls. 2.f, 16.f.

5 Gjerstad 1926, 26.

6 Gjerstad’s 1926 publication of the Alambra house did not illustrate any of the finds. Subsequent study of the sherd material, housed in the Medelhavsmuseet, by K.W. and G.M.A.

Schaar in 1978 found it to be similar to the ceramic assemblage from Area A at Alambra-*Mouttes* (Coleman & Barlow in Coleman et al. 1996, 522–523). As *Mouttes* is dated to Middle Cypriot I by the excavators, a similar date is indicated for Gjerstad’s house, as suggested many years ago by Stewart 1962, 215. See also Barlow 1985, 48–49, 52.

7 Gjerstad 1926, 27–37, fig. 3. See also Åström 1966, 8–10; 1972, 1–3, 164–72, 204–205, figs. 1–2.

8 The majority of the finds belonged to Stratum 2, which thus appears to have been the main phase of use of the house. See Gjerstad, cited in Åström 1966, 139–140, n. 7.

9 Gjerstad (1980a, 65) subsequently suggested that these rooms “were in all probability shops”. See also Wright 1992, 74.

10 In Gjerstad (1980a, 64), however, this space is referred to as an “outer court”.

11 Gjerstad 1926, 36.

12 Åström 2001, 135.

- 13 Crewe 2004, 80, 104–108, Table 8.1. See also Stewart, cited in Åström 1966, 9 and n. 10.
 - 14 Swiny in Swiny, Rapp & Herscher 2003, 64–71. See also Swiny 1989, 20.
 - 15 Wright 1992, 69, 213, 306–308, 310–11.
 - 16 Wright 1992, 307.
 - 17 Wright 1992, 227. At the time when Wright was compiling his study of Cypriot architecture the excavators were suggesting an early, possibly Philia phase date for the settlement remains at Sotira. Wright thus saw their sub-rectangular features as a text book example of a process of transition from the round house architecture of the Chalcolithic to the fully rectilinear system of the Bronze Age. The excavated exposure is now dated to Early Cypriot III, with evidence of earlier occupation elsewhere on the site provided by tombs of Philia and Early Cypriot I–II date (see Herscher & Swiny in Swiny et al. 2003, 495–505).
 - 18 Coleman et al. 1996. See also Schaar 1985; Wright 1992, 72–73, 227–28.
 - 19 The only information on Area G to date appears in Carpenter 1981, 60, fig. 3.2.
 - 20 Carpenter 1981, 63.
 - 21 Frankel & Webb 1996; Frankel & Webb 2006a; Frankel & Webb 2006b.
 - 22 Our understanding of the architectural remains at Marki changed considerably during the course of excavation and analysis. Implicit if not explicit in earlier discussions is the view that it was an agglomerative system, similar to that identified at Sotira (Frankel & Webb 1996; Frankel 2000; Webb 2002). The greater quantity of evidence available upon completion of excavations, however, revealed a very different picture, which is fully described in Frankel & Webb 2006a. Unfortunately, our earlier misconceptions are now embedded in the literature (see e.g. Bolger 2003, 32).
 - 23 Flannery 1972.
 - 24 Halstead 1999, 81.
 - 25 For a more detailed discussion, see Frankel & Webb 2006a, 147–148, 315–317.
 - 26 On such “risk-buffering” mechanisms, see Halstead 1990; Halstead 1992, 24; Halstead 1993. Also Keswani 1994.
 - 27 See Croft 2006.
 - 28 Wright 1992, 71–72.
 - 29 Wright 1992, 78.
 - 30 Wright 1992, 73–74, 311.
 - 31 For a detailed description of these units, see Frankel & Webb 2006a.
 - 32 See Gjerstad 1926, 36, fig. 4.
 - 33 Wright 1992, 78.
 - 34 Bolger 2003, 36.
 - 35 Bolger 2003, 21–50.
 - 36 The transition from the Chalcolithic to the Early Bronze Age in Cyprus saw the introduction of an array of innovations in technology, society and economy, probably introduced from Anatolia. These included the plough (and cattle and donkeys), metallurgy, extra-mural burial, rectilinear architecture and ceramic cooking vessels. For a more extended discussion, see Webb & Frankel 1999; and Webb & Frankel 2006.
 - 37 Bolger 2003, 37–38.
 - 38 Webb 2002, 93–94. See also Bolger 2003, 39–41.
 - 39 See Frankel & Webb 2006a, 312.
 - 40 Wright 1992, 227.
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