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**ON COOKING POTS, DRINKING CUPS,
LOOMWEIGHTS AND ETHNICITY IN BRONZE AGE
CYPRUS AND NEIGHBOURING REGIONS**

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Edited by

VASSOS KARAGEORGHIS and OURANIA KOUKA



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Hearth and home as identifiers of community in mid-third millennium Cyprus

Jennifer M. Webb and David Frankel

Introduction

The earliest phase of the Early Bronze Age in Cyprus – known as the Philia period (*c.* 2500/2400-2300 BC) – was one of profound social and economic transformation. Prominent amongst changes visible at this time are innovations in domestic architecture and technology (specifically in cooking practices and textile production). We have argued that these and other innovations, which include the introduction of cattle, donkeys and possibly new species of goat and sheep, plough agriculture, intensive metallurgy and new burial practices, were brought about by a migration to the island from southwestern Anatolia or Cilicia (Webb and Frankel 1999; Webb 2002; Frankel 2000; Frankel and Webb 1998; Frankel, Webb and Eslick 1995). More specifically, we have proposed that the introduction of new food preparation and domestic maintenance activities suggests that women were present among these groups as producers and reproducers of material culture – and that these everyday technologies, in particular, are encoded with information on bounded cultural practices which allow us to recognise and differentiate communities (Webb and Frankel 2007).

Migration has re-emerged as a respectable concept in archaeology, after a long period of marginalisation (Lightfoot 1995; Erlandson 2010, 193-5; Lucassen, Lucassen and Manning 2010). It is increasingly clear that migration has contributed significantly to the complex process of transformation in human societies and been widely responsible for cultural proliferation (from technology to value systems) and the spread of languages in all eras (McConwell 2010, 186). Taking its cue from these recent discussions, this paper will focus on shared cultural practices in the belief that these provide a visible and useful classification of social difference. Ethnic groups can be remarkably changeable, while communities of practice and, by implication, of shared language have been shown to have long-term stability (Manning 2005, 3-4). This approach also builds on recent work by Dietler (2005, 2009), Knapp and van Dommelen (2010) and others, who argue for the adoption of a material culture perspective for the study of the meetings and mixings of people and objects, enabling a focus on the materiality of migratory and colonial encounters and their role in formulating and restructuring identities.

Analyses of migration need, however, to be specific about what, precisely, is in movement – individuals, families, societies, languages, material culture, ideas, genetic material – as this determines the ensuing processes of encounter, interaction, exchange and hybridisation as well as the social mechanisms available for the creation and sharing of cultural practices and new knowledge (Lucassen, Lucassen and Manning 2010, 29, 32). In a recent volume, Patrick Manning (2005, 4-7) identifies four categories of human migration. These may be defined, briefly, as follows:

- home-community migration: internal movement within a community
- whole-community migration: the displacement of entire communities (as in nomadism or transhumance or in response to violence or natural disaster)
- cross-community migration: the movement of some individuals from one community to another
- colonisation: the departure of individuals from one community to establish a new community that replicates the home community

In our view the category of migration most relevant to mid-third millennium Cyprus is colonisation. The movement of human groups to the island at this time appears to have been well-resourced, highly organised and based on explicit prior knowledge. It involved a ‘transported landscape’ – that is, incoming groups brought with them resources which they knew were not available on the island (cattle, donkeys) and targeted a specific resource (copper) which they knew was available. The establishment of an integrated Philia settlement system involved the founding of new villages with a remarkably homogeneous material culture near copper ore bodies and along communication and transport routes, from the north coast across the Panagra pass and up the Ovgos valley to the foothills of the northern and southern Troodos (Webb and Frankel 2008; Dikomitou 2010) (Fig. 1).

Cyprus – its geography and resources – was clearly part of the cognitive map of incoming groups before they arrived to live permanently on the island. Copper is likely to have provided the main incentive but this need not mean that there was a disruption in access to Anatolian sources. Colonisation is typically associated with communities that are thriving (Manning 2005, 5) and a desire to find new sources of raw materials for ‘prestige goods’ networks may have been a critical factor. This can be understood in the context of both the long-distance exchange systems which linked southeastern Anatolia to the northeast Aegean, the Cyclades and mainland Greece in the early to mid-third millennium (Şahoğlu 2005; Efe 2007), and advances in maritime technology, possibly involving the use of sail boats (Broodbank 2010, 255). These may together have provided the preconditions and the motive for an expansion into Cyprus. The point of entry and on-going authority was almost certainly located at Vasilia on the north coast, where we have evidence of elaborate tombs and metal hoards (Hennessy, Eriksson and Kehrberg 1988, 25-39; Webb *et al.* 2006). Vasilia was involved in the raw metals trade at this time, both exporting Cypriote copper and importing Cycladic and Anatolian copper and finished artefacts (Webb *et al.* 2006).

Several aspects of the above are critical for the argument which follows. Colonists, typically, settle in an environment very like home and attempt to maintain the same way of life. Colonisation involves the establishment of new communities, obviating the immediate need to learn new languages or customs. This is a significantly different process to cross-community migration, where individuals or groups leave one community to join another. Cross-community migration, in particular, leads to transculturation and hybridisation. While we believe that the Philia phenomenon was primarily a case of colonisation, some cross-community migration may have taken place in a preceding phase or once Philia communities were established, extending the process of creating and spreading change on the island.

Domestic practice in Philia and indigenous Late Chalcolithic communities

In presenting the evidence for domestic practices in Philia and indigenous Late Chalcolithic communities it is important to note that the database is limited. Marki-*Alonia*, in the centre of the island, is currently the only substantially excavated Philia settlement (Frankel and Webb 1996, 2006). Kissonerga-*Mosphilia* and Lemba-*Lakkous* in the southwest are the only two substantially excavated Late Chalcolithic settlements (Peltenburg (ed.) 1985, 1998). Marki was a Philia foundation. Lemba was destroyed and abandoned at the end of the Late Chalcolithic. The larger site at Kissonerga continued to be occupied across the Late Chalcolithic/Philia transition, dated to *c.* 2400 BC (Manning and Peltenburg 1998, 18-21). The remains of the Philia period, however, lie within the plough zone and are poorly preserved (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 52-4).

It is also important to remember that by the time we can identify Philia communities archaeologically they were already adapted to their new environment, having developed new strategies, techniques and styles of material culture and established communities across much of the island. The initial phase of adaptation, expansion and settlement must have taken place concurrently with the later years of the Late

Chalcolithic. Late Chalcolithic Kissonerga, far distant from the likely area of Philia arrival, should not be viewed as a chronological precursor of Philia Marki but as at least in part contemporary. We may expect, then, to see evidence of the impact of an established Philia presence on this substantial Late Chalcolithic community.

How did people at Late Chalcolithic Kissonerga and Philia Marki experience hearth and home? Domestic buildings at Late Chalcolithic Kissonerga were circular and mono-cellular with walls of small stones and mud (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 36-52, fig. 17) – while Philia architecture at Marki is rectilinear, multi-roomed and built of mudbricks on stone footings (Frankel and Webb 2006, figs 3.41-3.42, 11.1-11.2) (Fig. 2). The experience of domestic space would thus have been very different in these two communities. This is likely to have been the case also with regard to notions of privacy, family, gender and age relationships and the organisation of domestic tasks (Bolger 2003, 29-41; Webb 2009).

Late Chalcolithic domestic hearths were typically circular platforms with central fire bowls, located at the centre of the building (Thomas 1998, 58-9, figs 3.19, 3.21). The only preserved hearth from Philia Marki is rectangular and set against a wall (Frankel and Webb 2006, 17, hearth 3204, fig. 3.42, pl. 6a) (Fig. 2). Examples from succeeding Early Cypriote I and II periods of occupation are similar in form or semicircular and set into wall benches (Frankel and Webb 2006, 14-17, figs 2.3-2.4, pl. 6b-g) (Fig. 3a). Other post-Philia examples have lined rectangular fireboxes and semi-circular or rectangular plaster kerbs (Frankel and Webb 2006, 14-17, figs 2.3-2.4, pls 6h, 7-8) (Fig. 3b-d). At Marki Bronze Age hearths were also furnished with built-in or portable clay andirons or hobs, which contained the heat and supported cooking pots over the fire (Frankel and Webb 2006, 17-21, figs 2.5-2.7, pl. 9) (Fig. 3b). While no examples were found in Philia hearths, a fragmentary hob was associated with Philia material (Frankel and Webb 2006, 19, fig. 2.6, pl. 9, P1000) and there is certain evidence of their use from Early Cypriote I onwards (Fig. 4).

Ovens were also different in form and probably in function. At Kissonerga several examples are set into oval pits and roughly built of stone and mud (Thomas 1998, 59, fig. 22). More common are earth ovens, which take the form of circular pits which contain heat-cracked stones and ash (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 62-4, Type 8.2). These were located in open spaces and possibly used for bulk cooking. At Marki a Philia oven built against a wall in an enclosed courtyard is a large above-ground mudbrick and plaster structure (Frankel and Webb 2006, 71, 22, fig. 2.8, pls 10.a-c, 26c-d, oven 2468) (Fig. 2).

Cooking pots were unknown in the Late Chalcolithic but are present in Philia deposits at Marki and in some Philia tombs (Frankel and Webb 2006, 100-101, fig. 4.10, pls 40-41; Dikaios 1962, 173, fig. 83.21, LII.12; Benson 1972, 66, B47, pl. 16; Herscher 2003, 186, fig. 4.15, pl. 4.6a) (Fig. 5a-c). Those found at Marki are of two types, perhaps used in different ways or in the preparation of different foodstuffs: type a vessels have a wide mouth, globular body, flat base, short everted rim and loop handles; type b vessels have a more ovoid body, short wide neck, flat base and handles rising slightly from the rim. Both types are made of darker-coloured, coarser, harder-fired fabrics than non-cooking vessels and have darker slips. Their morphology and fabrics correspond closely to the optimum properties of cooking vessels and leave no doubt that Philia potters understood the requirements of their raw materials in relation to thermal stress.

Other equipment characteristic of Philia and later Early Bronze Age domestic practices includes low-walled, occasionally tripod-based pans with mat-impressed or punctured bases, probably used as baking pans, braziers or portable hearths, and large D-shaped coarse ware basins or mealing bins (Fig. 5d-g). Examples appear in Philia and all subsequent phases at Marki (Frankel and Webb 2006, 24-6, 130-3, figs 2.9-2.10, 4.42-4.45, pls 13, 47). Both vessel types have widespread parallels in Anatolia (e.g. Symington 2007, 298-9, 306, fig. 371; Seeher 1987, 143-5, pls 35, 44, 47, 50, 56; Duru 1996, Tables 4, 7, pl. 57.103).

There were significant differences, also, in the diet of these two communities (Fig. 6). Deer and pig constitute almost 80% by meat weight of the faunal sample at Late Chalcolithic Lemba and Kissonerga (Croft 1985, 1998). These animals, on the contrary, comprise only 11% of animal bone from Philia levels at Marki, while cattle are present at 24% and reliance on caprines is three times higher at 62% (Croft 2006, 263, Text Table 9.1). The ground stone assemblage at Marki also implies a much greater dependence on cereals following the introduction of the cattle-plough complex. Rubbers and querns account for 69% of all curated artefacts at Marki (Frankel and Webb 2006, 219), compared with 14% in Chalcolithic levels at Kissonerga (Elliott-Xenophontos 1998, Table 19.2) and 18% at Lemba (Elliott 1985). In sum, it is clear that the Philia community at Marki was engaged in different agricultural and animal husbandry practices, had different dietary options and preferences and was preparing food in different ways using different equipment and hearth-related installations to the community at Kissonerga.

Turning, briefly, to other domestic technologies, Philia levels at Marki provide evidence for the use of clay spindle whorls and loomweights, the latter indicating the presence on the island for the first time of the vertical warp-weighted loom (Frankel and Webb 2006, 160-2, 175-7, figs 5.5-5.6, 5.17; Webb 2002). We have argued elsewhere, also, for fundamental differences in attitudes and behaviours relating to domestic maintenance and discard practices among Chalcolithic and Bronze Age Cypriots (Webb 1995; Frankel and Webb 1996, 72-73); and for the introduction at Marki and elsewhere of new childcare practices, in particular the use of cradleboards (Webb and Frankel 2007, 203; also Lorentz 2006).

Within the domestic sphere, then, the evidence suggests major differences in the daily practice of these two communities. Since domestic tasks involve habitual, small-scale, personal interactions between closely related individuals, they are likely to reflect deeply embedded, intergenerational expressions of family and community identity. If we look beyond the domestic realm the situation is rather different.

Encountering Kissonerga

Late Chalcolithic Kissonerga is, architecturally, a two-phase period. Period 4a is dated by the excavators to *c.* 2700-2500 BC; Period 4b to the century from 2500 to 2400 BC, and thus to the generations immediately before the Late Chalcolithic was replaced at this site by the culturally distinct Philia Period 5 (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 249-58). If there was a chronological overlap between an early phase of the Philia and the Late Chalcolithic, this ought to coincide with Kissonerga Period 4b and it is in Period 4b that we would expect to see the impact on this community of the incursive Philia system.

While there is no indication of Philia influence on domestic traditions at Kissonerga at any time in Period 4, there are a number of changes in burial practice. The Late Chalcolithic mortuary tradition normally involved single burial in intramural pits or shallow scoops (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 68-73, fig. 4.1). Period 4 saw the limited introduction of the chamber tomb, a facility commonly found, alongside pit burials, in extramural cemeteries associated with the start of the Bronze Age. In another significant departure from Chalcolithic burial traditions, the chamber tombs at Kissonerga were reserved primarily for adults and more than half held multiple burials. The timing of the introduction of the chamber tomb is not entirely clear. While possible use in Period 4a is cited in one instance, this could not be confirmed and other stratified examples belong to Period 4b (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 71). Notably, grave goods recovered from chamber tombs belong exclusively to the Chalcolithic tradition (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 71-2, fig. 4.1). Of interest, also, is a discrete group of chamber and pit tombs enclosed by a timber palisade (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 46, 88-9, fig. 3.14) – a unique mortuary facility described by the excavators as a ‘pseudo-cemetery’ (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 89).

Period 4 also yielded material suggestive of small-scale copper processing – specifically several fragments of pure smelted copper, a piece of smelted ore and two stone dishes identified as possible crucibles

(Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 188-9, figs 95.14-15, 97.1-5, pl. 36.1-5). In addition, two chisels were recovered in Period 4a deposits and one from Period 4b and a spiral earring of diagnostic Philia type in Grave 529 of Period 4/5. Peltenburg associates much of this evidence with B 3, the so-called Pithos House, arguing for small-scale metalworking here in Period 4a (1998, 37, 188, 252, 254). In fact the smelted ore, one of the possible crucibles and a chisel came from B 706, built directly above B 3 in Period 4b. The attribution of metalworking to the inhabitants of B 3 is entirely dependent on the argument that material from B 706 was curated from the final phase of the underlying building (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 257). Only the fragments of pure smelted copper, possibly from a finished object rather than metalworking debris (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 188, 257), and two of the three chisels can safely be associated with Period 4a. Thus, while a small number of finished metal objects were clearly present in Period 4a, there is no unequivocal evidence for metalworking at Kissonerga prior to Period 4b.

Spurred annular pendants, a diagnostic Philia ornament, are also evident in Period 4 (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 190-1, figs 97.29, 98.1, pl. 36.9). Five pendants of this type, including a possible discard, and 158 dentalium off-cuts or miniature beads were recovered from B 706 and one in Grave 529 (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 48-9, figs 97.29, 98.1, pl. 36.9). The Pithos House produced a single example, identified as a discard (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 43, KM 747, pl. 96.9 bottom left). On this slim evidence, and the inference, once again, that material found in B 706 was salvaged from the Pithos House, the excavators propose that spurred annular pendants were manufactured on-site in Period 4a (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 190-1, 256). While this cannot be ruled out, it seems safer to assign the use and manufacture of Philia type pendants to Period 4b.

A small amount of other Philia material may also be assigned to Period 4b or considered intrusive from Philia Period 5. Fifty-one Red Polished Philia ware sherds provide the only evidence for possible use of this fabric prior to Period 5 (Bolger 1998, 121). Philia pottery, however, was certainly not being produced at Kissonerga in Period 4b. Six clay whorls are of types closely paralleled at Philia sites (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 199, fig. 100.16-20, pl. 37.9). Most were recovered in disturbed contexts, but one came from a Period 4b deposit. Other diagnostic Philia elements are securely dated to Period 5. They include the only evidence of cattle, a fully Philia ceramic assemblage, jar burials for infants and a shift to extramural burial for adults. Although no structures survive, stone architecture is also indicated by remnant building material.

In sum, during Period 4b at Kissonerga domestic practices remained embedded in earlier traditions and there was no shift in architectural form or agricultural practices. Some people in this Late Chalcolithic community, however, were manufacturing Philia style pendants (alongside traditional ornament types), practising small-scale metalworking and being buried in chamber tombs. The few Red Polished Philia sherds and spindle whorl, if not intrusive from Period 5, further suggest that Philia items occasionally reached Kissonerga from a Philia site or sites in the region.

Discussion

The timing, nature and origin of the innovations in Period 4 Kissonerga have been extensively discussed by Peltenburg and Bolger (Peltenburg 1991, 27-33; Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 256-8, Tables 14.7-14.8; Peltenburg 2007, 144-54; Bolger 2007). Both attribute their appearance to Period 4a and view them as a result of long-range transmaritime interactions with Anatolia, independent of and prior to the Philia phase. Keswani, alternatively, has argued for a Philia presence at Kissonerga, suggesting that the occupants of the chamber tombs were Philia 'frontierswomen' and men integrated in the local community who chose to express their distinctive identity and claims of belonging through the use of chamber tombs inside their adopted settlement (2004, 39).

A partial chronological overlap between Late Chalcolithic and Philia communities is accepted by both Peltenburg and Bolger and is not at issue here. Our disagreement hinges on the timing of the key innovations at Kissonerga. Peltenburg identifies Period 4a as a ‘contact phase’ and Period 4b as an ‘intensive contact phase’ (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 256, Table 14.7). This allows him to decouple a period in which the Kissonerga and Philia communities are likely to have coexisted in southwest Cyprus (the intensive contact phase) from an antecedent period with what he regards as independent signs of foreign contact (the contact phase). In attributing chamber tombs, annular pendants and the evidence for metalworking to Period 4a, Peltenburg assigns these innovations to a pre-Philia phase and thus to extra-regional rather than regional contact.

We have indicated our concern with the dating of these innovations to Period 4a above. While this is not the place for a detailed discussion, several other aspects of Peltenburg’s argument need also to be addressed briefly. The ceramic assemblage in use from the outset of Period 4a marks a significant change from Period 3 traditions, with a shift to harder-fired monochrome (as opposed to painted) pottery, red and black polished surfaces, an increased use of small bowls, the introduction of several new shapes and occasional relief decoration and pattern burnishing (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 251; Peltenburg 2007, 145-51). While EB I western Anatolian antecedents are ultimately likely, recent excavations at Politiko-*Kokkinorotsos* in the central lowlands show that many if not all of these features existed elsewhere in Cyprus prior to the inception of Period 4a at Kissonerga (Webb *et al.* 2009, 196-205, figs 16-21). This provides an alternative, indigenous source for the ceramic innovations visible from the outset at Late Chalcolithic Kissonerga and dissociates this aspect of Period 4a material culture from any discussion of extra-island influence at this time.

Another novelty attributed to Period 4a is a single stratified stamp seal (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 200-1, 257, fig. 102.7, pl. 37.13). Like the evidence for metalworking, this was, however, found in B 706 and its attribution to Period 4a is dependent on the argument that material found in B 706 was recycled from the underlying Pithos House. Stamp seals are not known in Philia assemblages, though this is likely to be due to the small number of excavated settlement deposits. Other ‘contact phase’ innovations – notably the use of conical and grooved stones and faience beads – may have reached Kissonerga from an independent source or sources.

Decoupling those innovations at Kissonerga which have clear Philia connections from Period 4a (for which the evidence is equivocal at best) and from antecedent developments in material culture, which can now be shown to have emerged elsewhere on the island, allows us to refocus on Period 4b and thus on the period when the inhabitants of Kissonerga are likely to have been interacting directly with Philia communities. An actual Philia presence in the settlement (as suggested by Keswani) appears unlikely in view of the absence of any changes in domestic practice. Rather, the evidence suggests a differential take-up of elements of the Philia system by some Period 4b inhabitants. This could be seen as experimental but is more likely to have been political. The adoption, manipulation or/and emulation of Philia material culture may have served as a mechanism of prestige enhancement within this Late Chalcolithic community; with some people deploying new fashions (pendants and chamber tombs) and taking up new knowledge (metallurgy) as part of an internal strategy of social exclusion.

Peltenburg links both metalworking and the manufacture of Philia ornaments with the Pithos House, which is thought to have been the residence of a group within Kissonerga who periodically attempted to exert authority (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 254). While we have argued that the attribution of finds from B 706 to the underlying Pithos House should be treated with caution, the concentration of much of this evidence within a discrete area does suggest restricted access to these elements of Philia technology. The somewhat more widespread use of chamber tombs, their association with particular grave goods, notably spouted flasks and faience beads, and the experimentation with discrete burial zones also provide some grounds for associating the adoption and recontextualisation of Philia practices with an elite segment of society (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 91-92).

Other aspects of this process of interaction between indigenous and Philia communities may have had more widespread repercussions. Peltenburg suggests that straight-sided flat stone axes which increase in number in Period 4 emulated cast metal axes and provide indirect evidence for the impact of Philia metalwork on the traditional ground stone industry at Kissonerga (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 188). This implies considerable familiarity with Philia material culture, as well as changing notions of the function and value of raw materials.

The emulation of 'foreign' practices in Period 4b appears, however, to have been selective. Some elements of Philia culture underwent a process of cultural negotiation and conversion, while others were either not known to the inhabitants of Kissonerga or actively rejected by them – specifically those related to the domestic domain where traditional habits, technologies and preferences continued unchanged from Period 4a. If dietary and cooking habits are sensitive indicators of shared community, the people of Period 4b Kissonerga and their Philia neighbours remained distinct and there is little or nothing to suggest permanent movement between the two.

Kissonerga Period 4b offers a unique opportunity to observe processes of cultural encounter, contact and interaction. Contact itself, however, as Peltenburg has observed (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 256), does not provide an explanation for change; it is the context and nature of the contact and internal processes of adaptation and rejection that shape the nature of the changes. At Kissonerga we see technological and social choices being made in order to signal exclusiveness and claim authority; and others rejected or ignored, perhaps to reinforce communal cultural identity or simply because they were irreconcilable with the internal coherence of this Late Chalcolithic community.

The processes involved in the transition to Philia Period 5 at Kissonerga are unfortunately obscured by poor preservation. Lack of evidence for widespread destruction of the latest Period 4 buildings or a significant temporal gap led Peltenburg to suggest a peaceful transition without settlement interruption (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 52, 259). This may have involved people coming in, although there appears to have been a significant overall diminution in population. There is also some evidence for continuity in domestic practices, with *in situ* features suggesting that domestic installations typical of Period 4 were constructed alongside new types in Period 5 (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 53, 258-9). The recycling of Period 4 vessels for two Period 5 jar burials is also suggestive of close connections with earlier traditions and inhabitants (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 54; Bolger 2007, 179). It seems possible, therefore, that the Period 4b/5 transition involved the integration of Philia and indigenous communities or the encapsulation of one by the other. At the end of Period 5, however, Kissonerga appears to have been destroyed, leaving an extensive artefact-rich ashy deposit (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 54). Beyond this the descendants of the Chalcolithic inhabitants lose archaeological visibility.

Peltenburg suggests a population of 600 to 1500 people for Kissonerga in Period 4b (Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, 255). This very substantial community appears to have been able to maintain its cultural integrity in the co-presence of Philia communities with radically different technologies and life-ways for at least a century. Indeed intercultural encounters seem specifically to have stimulated innovation and creativity, resulting in a number of hybrid practices (e.g. intramural chamber tombs and mortuary enclosures). How similar processes of contact and integration played out elsewhere is unclear in the absence of excavated mid-third millennium indigenous settlements in other parts of the island. Most importantly, Late Chalcolithic settlement in the north coast region is poorly documented (Georgiou 2007, 418-21, figs 10.1, 11.1, 6) and the extent of indigenous occupation here at the time of the Philia colonisation is unknown.

Conclusion

Migration leads not only to the development of new innovations (through hybridisation) but also to the spread of past innovations and the result of the latter – particularly where the cultural distance between

interacting groups is great – is sometimes to cause the disappearance of human communities and languages and ways of life (Manning 2005, 11). While processes of cultural encounter, exchange and hybridisation certainly occurred on Cyprus in the mid-third millennium (Knapp 2008, 114-30), it would be naïve to assume that this was necessarily an evenly bidirectional process. Indeed the concept of hybridisation has recently been criticised for offering ‘a harmonious image of what is obviously disjointed and confrontational and for ignoring cultural and social discrimination’ (Burke 2009, 7, citing Polar 1997). It may be that the choices made by Late Chalcolithic people when faced with the presence of Philia communities were maladaptive in the long term. While terms such as ‘contact’, ‘exchange’ and ‘emulation’ emphasise the reciprocal and the relative, they should not be taken to imply equal movement in both directions. The relative importance of the two directions is a matter for empirical research (Burke 2009, 42).

As argued here, the reception of different elements of Philia material culture and practice may signal different types of response within local Chalcolithic communities, with participants actively choosing which to adopt and employing them for different purposes from their original context. Some discretionary elements reflect status enhancement, where new material was manipulated to serve older ends. There was less incentive to change other practices, especially in the domestic realm, where continuity and stability are clearly apparent. In mid-third millennium Cyprus hearth and home served as primary identifiers of community within both indigenous and Philia settlements.

In attempting to understand the impact of migration, issues of timing, scale, process and cultural distance are clearly important (Yasur-Landau 2010, 9-33); the movement of people into existing communities and the establishment of new communities also involve different forms of encounter, negotiation, exchange and interaction over time. In seeking to understand the indigenous reaction to the Philia migration, we can only propose a crude model which, at best, relates to one site (Kissonerga) and the response here may have been far from typical. Interaction between Philia and Chalcolithic people on the north coast, in particular, is likely to have involved different processes from those which we see in the far southwest.

While the events of the mid-third millennium may be seen to prefigure those of the early 12th century BC which are the focus of discussion in this volume, it is perhaps more important to keep in mind the differences. Specifically, with regard to the 12th century BC, where migrants moved for the most part into existing urban communities and the cultural distance between migrant and host communities may have been less significant, we might expect different levels of receptivity, a more reciprocal process of hybridisation and a greater ambiguity of outcome.

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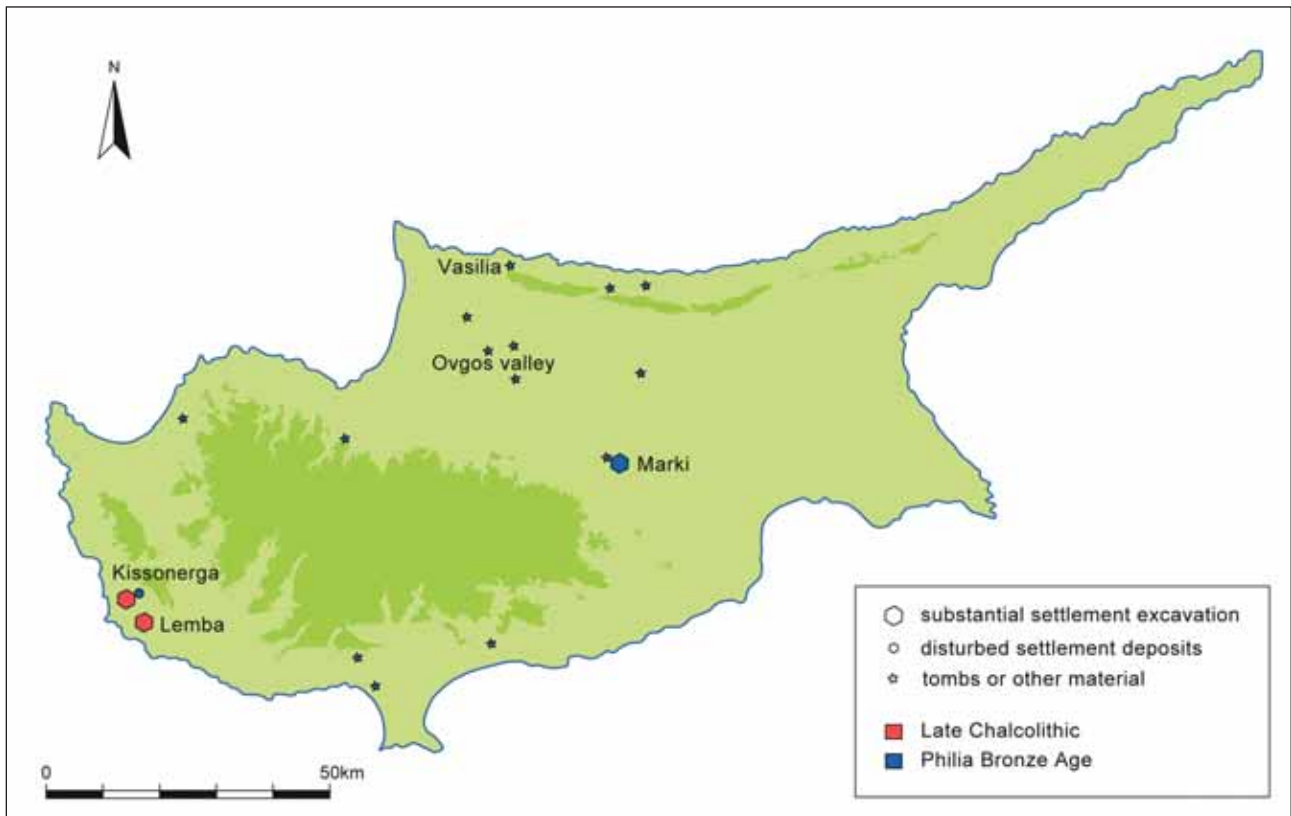


Fig. 1. Map of Cyprus showing key Late Chalcolithic and Philia Bronze Age localities.

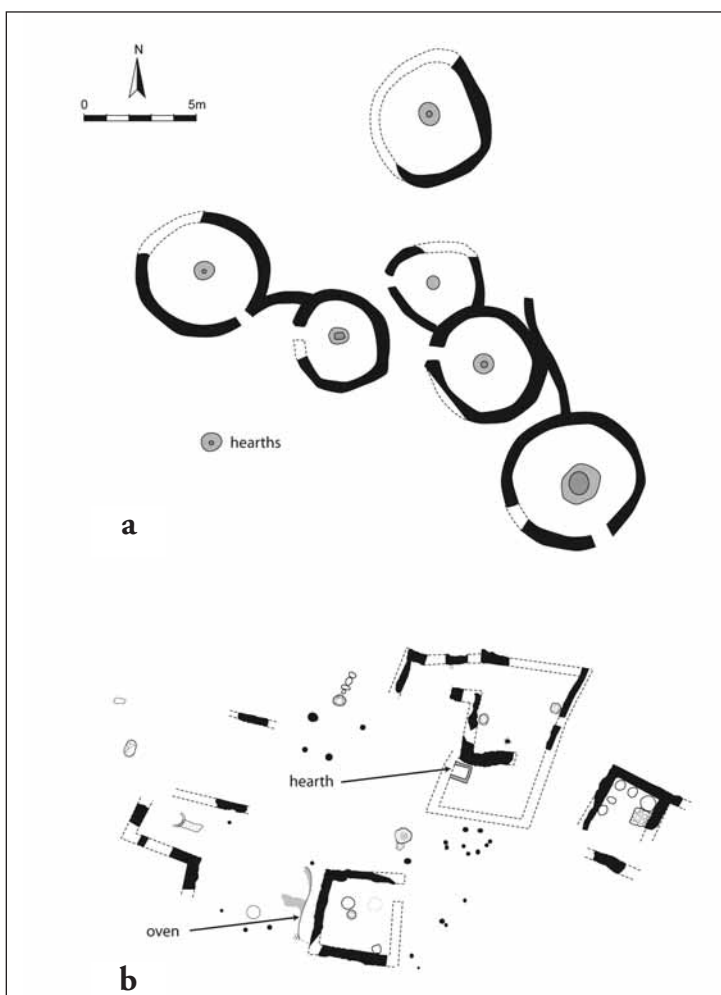


Fig. 2. Late Chalcolithic and Philia Bronze Age architecture. a. Kissonerga Period 4 circular buildings with central circular hearths (after Peltenburg (ed.) 1998, fig. 39); b. Marki Phase B rectangular buildings with cooking facilities against side walls (after Frankel and Webb 2006, fig. 11.2).

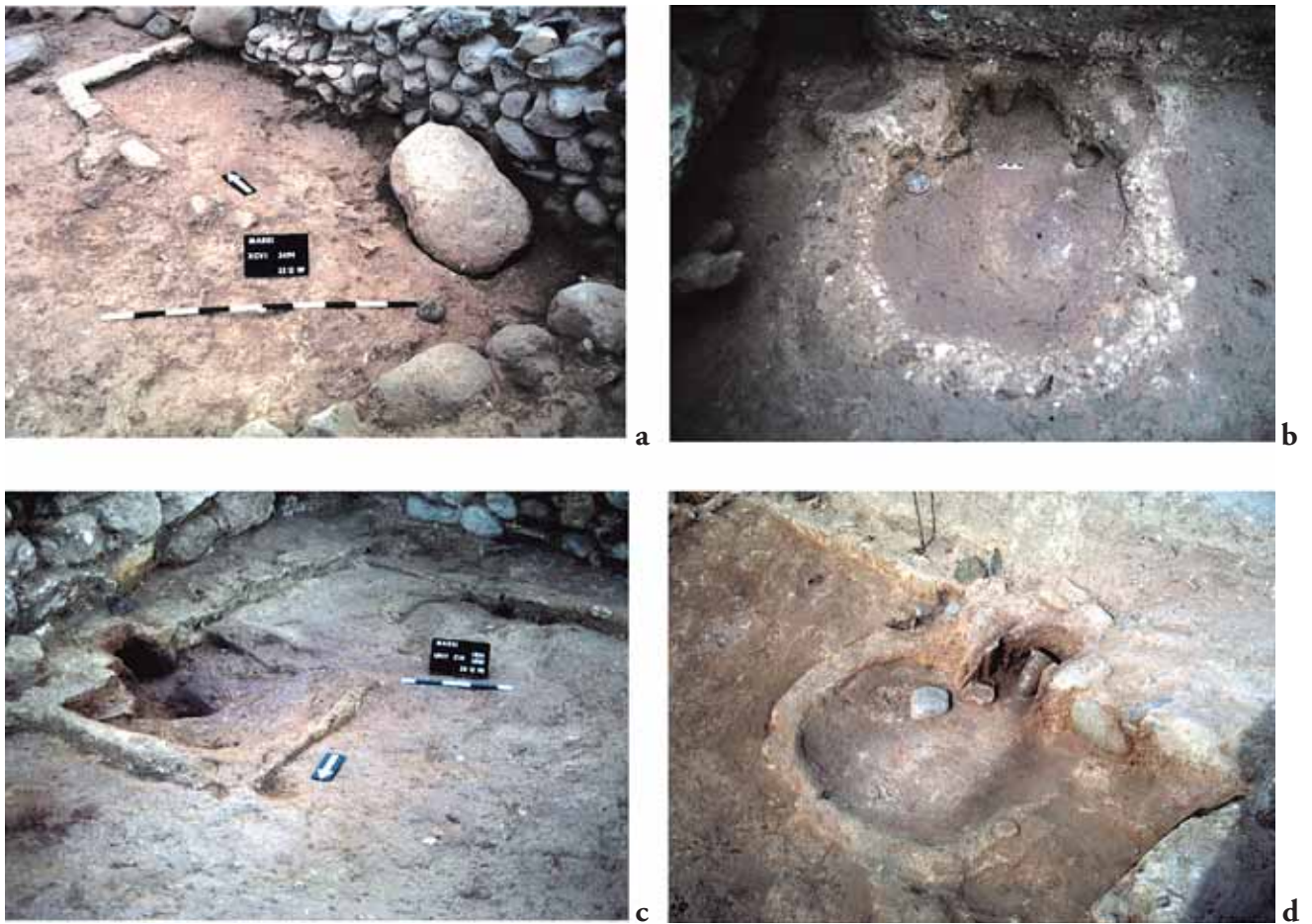


Fig. 3. Early and Middle Bronze Age hearths at Marki. a. Phases C-D hearth 2473; b. Phase D hearth 1196 with hob P16880; c. Phase H hearth 1834; d. Phase G hearth 1381.



Fig. 4. Hobs from Marki. a. Philia hob P10000; b. Early Cypriote II hob P14200.

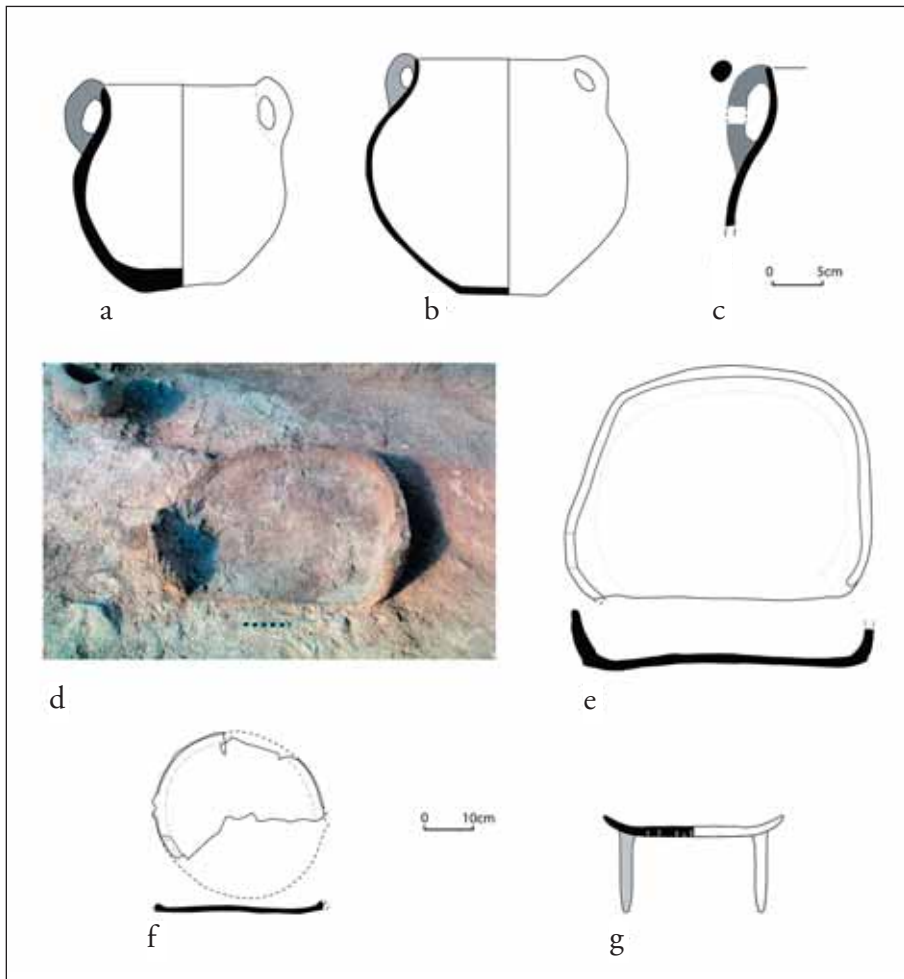


Fig. 5. Food preparation equipment. a. Philia cooking pot P91 from Sotira-Kaminoudia Tomb 15 (after Herscher 2003, fig. 4.15); b. Philia cooking pot from Philia-Vasiliko (after Dikaïos 1962, fig. 83.20); c. Philia cooking pot P16776 from Marki; d-e. mealing bin P15200 from Marki; f. pan P5990 from Marki; g. tripod brazier (after Taramides 1999, fig. 31c).

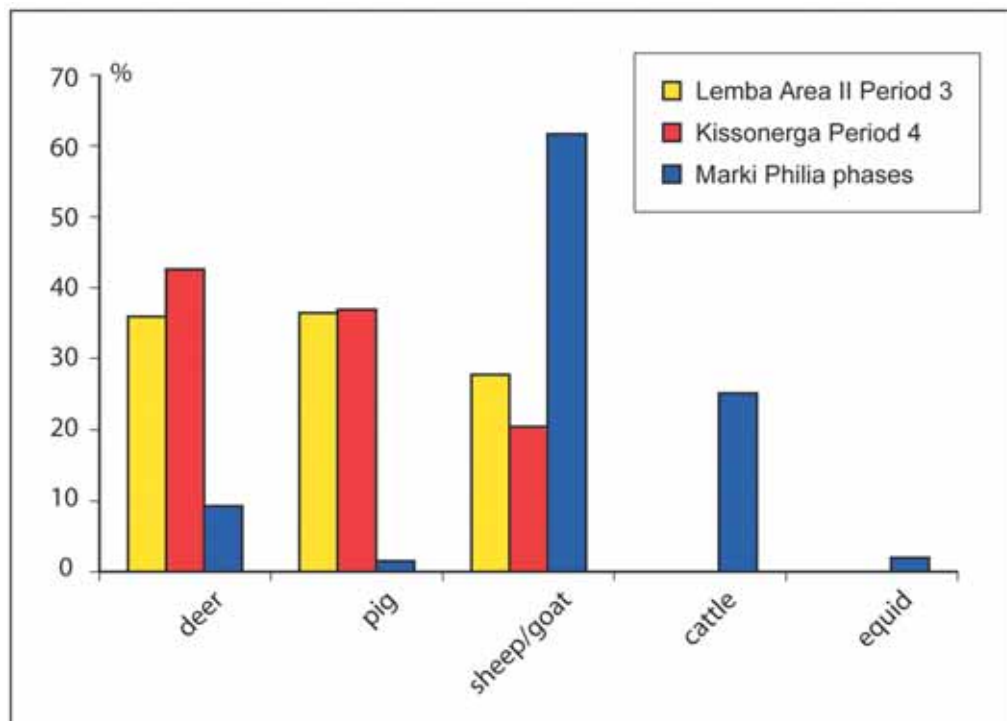


Fig. 6. Relative proportions of major animal species at Late Chalcolithic Lemba and Kissonerga and Philia Bronze Age Marki (data from Croft 1985, 1998, 2006).