Chapter 9

Heterotopias and Hospitality: What Happened in Room 103 at Aredhiou?

by Louise Steel

INTRODUCTION

It is with great pleasure that I dedicate this chapter to Stuart Swiny in thanks for his help and support in Cyprus over many years. I was fortunate to benefit from Stuart's advice and experience as both a postgraduate and postdoctoral student, resident in the new CAARI building, and our friendship has continued as colleagues working on cognate aspects of Bronze Age settlement archaeology on Cyprus. Many of the interpretations presented here have been influenced by Stuart's detailed engagement with the use and meaning of spaces in Bronze Age Cyprus.

This chapter examines an unusual structure excavated at the LC IIC settlement of Aredhiou *Vouppes* between 2005 and 2008. Adjacent to an apparent industrial structure (Building 1), comprised of small work rooms arranged in an L-shape around an open courtyard space, was a large single-roomed structure—Room 103, the focus of this paper. Room 103 stands out from the other buildings at Aredhiou, as well as those identified at other contemporary sites on the island, for its architectural features and, likewise, for the unusual range of materials uncovered within it, which are distinct from the more usual utilitarian objects found elsewhere in the settlement. Drawing upon a detailed discussion of the finds found in this structure, this chapter questions how this space might have been used and experienced, to interrogate how Room 103 was incorporated within social praxis at the site. The discussion is informed by sensory archaeology, embedded within theoretical approaches such as embodiment and phenomenology, as well as recent anthropological discussions of hospitality, Specifically, I make a case that this space was somewhere that (elements of) the community of Aredhiou used for gatherings, commensality, and ceremonial action, and, moreover, that it conforms to Foucault's notion of a heterotopia, or a special space where rules and temporality of daily life were upturned or suspended.

BACKGROUND: THE SOCIOECONOMIC CONTEXT OF AREDHIOU

Aredhiou *Vouppes* (fig. 9.1) is located in the rural hinterland of Late Bronze Age Cyprus, in the hilly flank zone of the northern Troodos massif. Fieldwork at Aredhiou has sought to redress a perceived imbalance in the socio-economic nar-

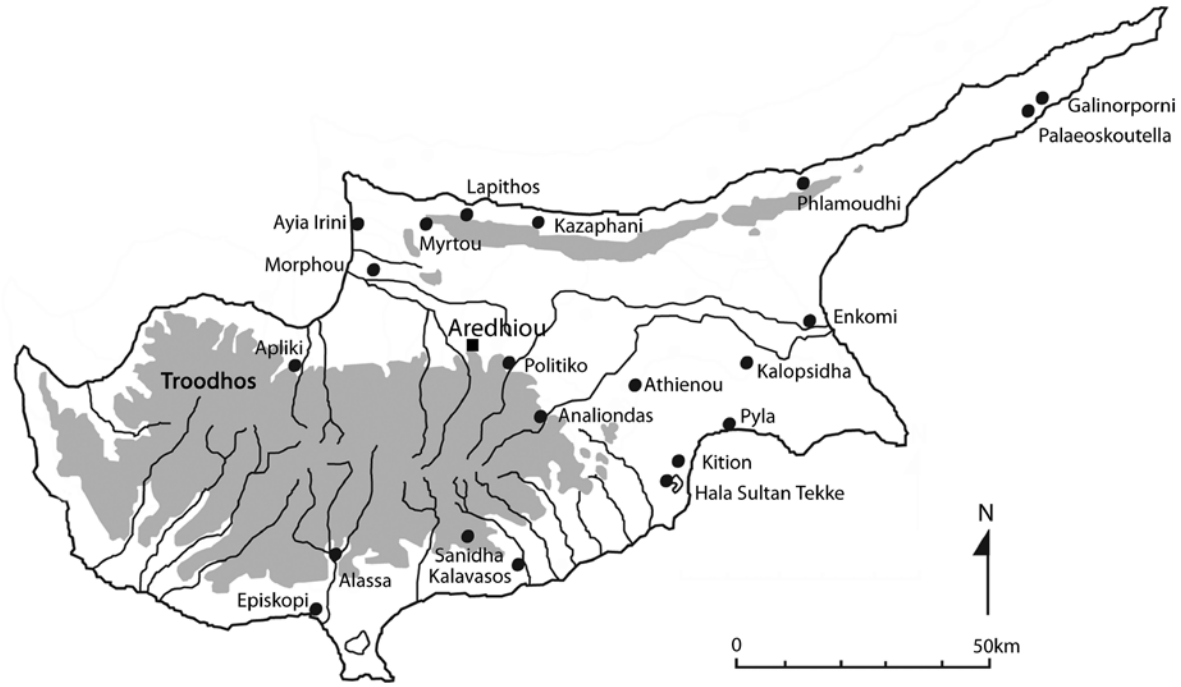

Fig. 9.1 *Map of Cyprus indicating location of Aredhiou (courtesy of Louise Steel).*

ratives developed for understanding settlement in the Late Cypriot rural hinterland (Steel and McCartney 2009; Steel and Thomas 2008). These narratives have primarily been developed from survey data (e.g., Andreou 2016; Catling 1962; Keswani 1993; Webb and Frankel 1994), whereas the coastal urban centers have been the main focus of excavation. Current understanding of Aredhiou (Steel 2009; 2016a), based on the results of excavation, indicates this to be a farming site and a key nodal point within the island's economic network based around staple and wealth finance (cf. Keswani 1993). This model assumes that agricultural produce from Aredhiou was intended to support copper extraction in the nearby Troodos foothills, which was subsequently exported to the urban coastal centers such as Enkomi. Certainly, large-scale agricultural production at Aredhiou has been demonstrated by the large numbers of ground stone tools and significant quantities of pithos sherds present throughout the site (see discussion in Steel and McCartney 2008); moreover, excavations have revealed impressive storage facilities and workrooms (Steel 2009; 2016a). Explicit links to the nearby copper production sites are illustrated by the presence of copper slag, associated with Building 1 (see van Brempte in press), and are further supported by certain tool types with parallels at Apliki (Steel 2016a: 524–25, 527), while small quantities of extra-Cypriot pottery (imports from the Aegean, the Levant, and Egypt; cf. Steel 2009: figs. 5, 8; Steel and McCartney 2008: 19–21, figs. 13–14) provide tangible evidence that the community of Aredhiou communicated and traded with and beyond the coastal urban centers.

ROOM 103

Architecture

Room 103 (fig. 9.2A) is located in the southern part of the excavated area of Aredhiou, immediately to the west of Building 1 (Steel 2009: 139; 2016a: 525–27, figs. 2, 11). At present, it is unclear whether Room 103 belongs to this structure or should be considered a separate, freestanding building, but given the nature of the finds (discussed below), Room 103 appears to be a distinct architectural unit that is an unusual structure within the range of known Late Cypriot buildings. The builders had taken advantage of the topography of the site, using a substantial dip in the bedrock to build a

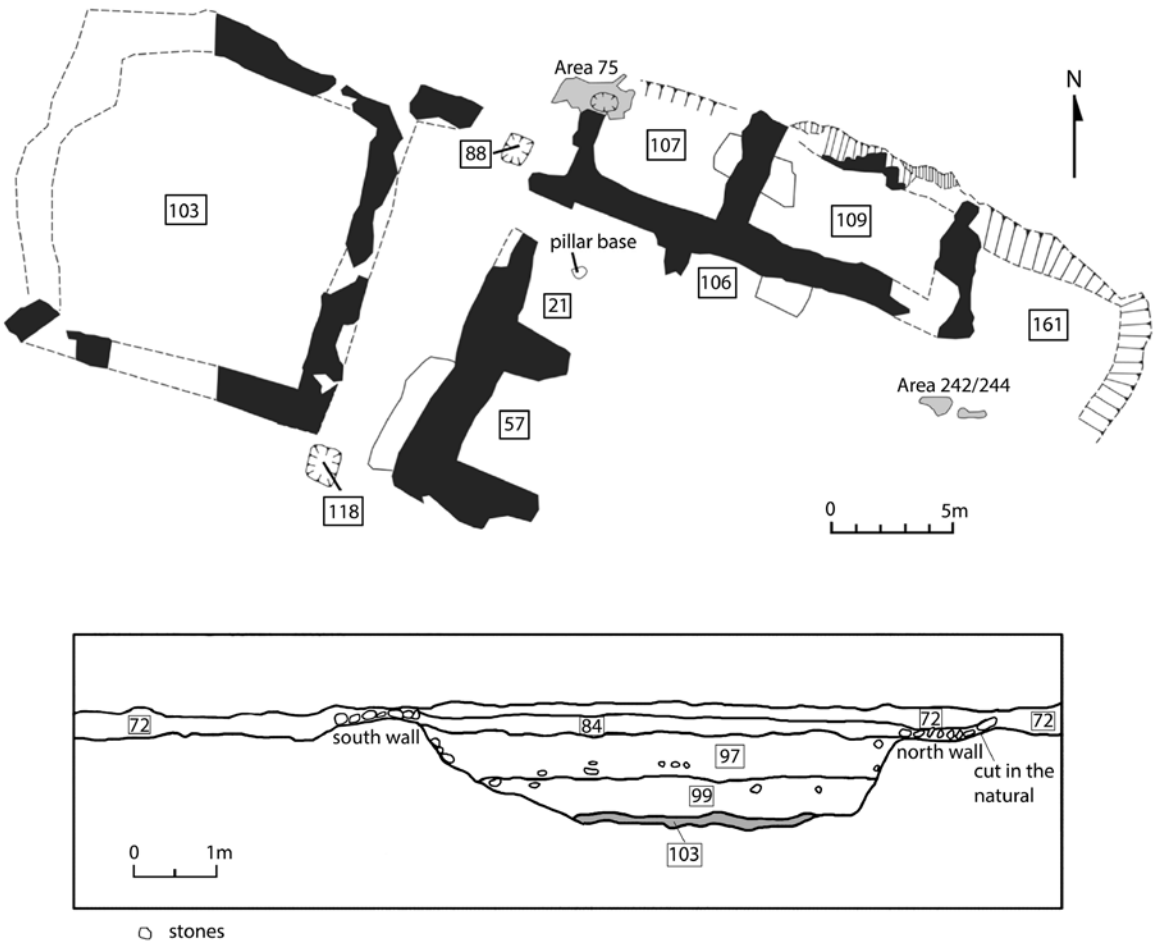

Fig. 9.2 *A. Plan of Room 103 and Building 1; B: North–south section through Room 103, showing depth of deposit (courtesy of Louise Steel).*

large sunken room, the floor of which lies around 1 m below the surrounding Late Cypriot surface level. The area of this sunken room, which had probably been dug into the bedrock to form a roughly rectangular shape, measures some 7.5 × 5 m. This is significantly larger than any other built area on the site, suggesting it served a special function, perhaps as a gathering place.

Only the first course of the stone socle survives, and it had been robbed or ploughed out in places. Large diabase pebbles, brought up to the site from the nearby Aloupos riverbed, were walled on a mud-mortar shuttered directly onto the leveled marl bedrock surface immediately around the rim of the dip in the bedrock. Only one entrance was identified, at the south-west corner. We have assumed that Room 103 was roofed, in particular given the effort involved in walling the space, but there is no extant evidence for pillars to support a roof, which might be expected in a room of over 3 m in width (Swiny personal communication, November 2017). However, a pillar base compacted into a tamped earthen surface has been identified in the adjacent Building 1 (Steel 2016a: fig. 11). Although Room 103 was sealed by around 1.5 m of deposit (fig. 9.2B), seemingly mudbrick collapse from the upper walls, we were not able to identify a floor surface—even in microstratigraphic analysis. It is possible that internal furnishings, including pillar bases, might have been removed. If we are correct that this was a roofed space, the enclosed room would have been dark and in need of lighting. While it may have been illuminated to some extent by windows, there is evidence for the use of lamps inside this space (see below), reiterating our interpretation of Room 103 as having been roofed.

Finds

Despite the depth of deposit, ca. 1.5 m thick, sealing Room 103, the pottery and other objects found immediately above the surface and mixed in the overlying deposits of decayed mudbrick were very fragmentary. A single wall bracket scoop (see Steel 2016a: fig. 12) was found in the upper fill against the southern side of the room near the doorway, suggesting this had been suspended from the upper wall. In contrast to the adjacent Building 1, where sherds from several broken pots had been found *in situ* on the tamped earth surface, it appears that the contents of Room 103 had been carefully retrieved by the occupants of Aredhiou when the site was abandoned. Nonetheless, the range of fragmentary finds from Room 103 stands out from the complement of utilitarian objects identified elsewhere at Aredhiou, indicating that this space served a special function (Steel 2009: 139; 2016a: 526–27); i.e., it was distinct from the more practical concerns of production and storage prevalent elsewhere on the site.

Although a sizeable quantity of fragmentary Plain Ware and pithos sherds was found in the deposit overlying the extant surface in Room 103, a substantial number of other wares not commonly found elsewhere on the settlement was represented. These largely comprised of a diverse range of tablewares, which included some imported wares, such as Mycenaean pottery (including a fragment from a pictorial krater), a sherd from a Minoan krater, and a Levantine platter bowl fragment with a stringcut base (fig. 9.3). Alongside these imports were sherds from local tableware: Base Ring carinated cups and juglets, White Slip hemispherical bowls, White Painted Wheelmade III (WPWM III) bowls and kraters, a Plain Wheelmade bowl, Monochrome jugs, bowls and kraters, and single sherds from a White Shaved dipper juglet and a Red Lustrous flask. Together with a sizable quantity of Cooking Ware sherds, this distribution of pottery might indicate some communal consumption within the building, to which we will return below. There were also a number of other finds not typically represented elsewhere at the site (fig. 9.4). These include fragments of Base Ring bull vases and a Plain Ware horse figurine fragment from the fill in the room, and the foot—possibly of an anthropomorphic Base Ring figurine—mixed in with the rubble tumble sealing the southeast part of the room. Also mixed in the fill were a bronze finger ring and several wall bracket fragments, including the scoop mentioned above, and a couple of Plain Ware lamp fragments; for the latter, it is worth noting that these were identified by the burning around the rim of the nozzle, meaning that this form is probably underrepresented in our count of the sherd fragments.

SPECIAL PLACE OR HETEROTOPIA?

"Control of space lies at the heart of social power."
(Chapman 2000: 184)

The physical manipulation of space and its incorporation within ritual action is a means through which social, cultural, and economic capital are articulated, reinforced, and perpetuated. Meaningful cultural spaces (or places; cf. Casey 1996) are created and shaped through human action and are defined through people's embodied experiences. Equally, space/place shapes and structures people's actions (Maran 2006: 10). As Ingold notes,

> A place owes its character to the experiences it affords to those who spend time there—to the sights, sounds and indeed smells that constitute its specific ambience. And these, in turn, depend on the kinds of activities in which its inhabitants engage. The essence of a place therefore and its unique cultural significance derive from the experiences of embodied people interacting with material objects and engaged in particular actions within it (Ingold 1993: 154).

Other buildings and spaces on the site (the workrooms, courtyards, and storage facilities; cf. Steel 2016a) were probably visited and used on a regular basis, being incorporated in daily acts of production, subsistence, and interactions. In contrast, current evidence suggests that Room 103 was a special place, perhaps visited only on certain occasions for very specific activities. Its size indi-

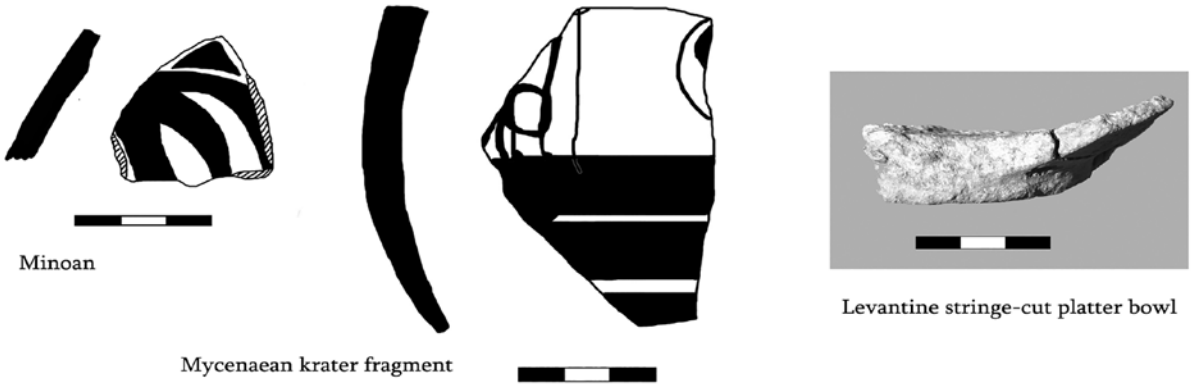

Fig. 9.3 *Examples of imported wares from Room 103 (courtesy of Louise Steel; photo by Steve Thomas).*

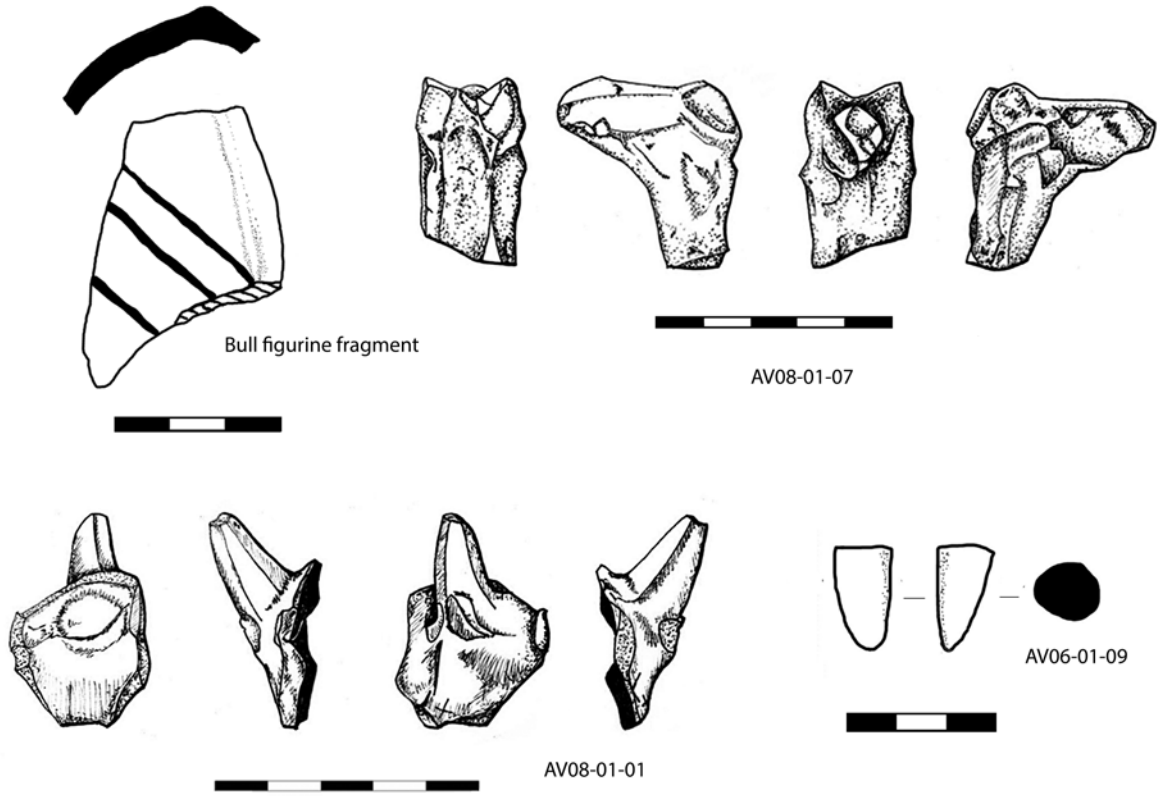

Fig. 9.4 *Other finds from Room 103 (courtesy of Louise Steel).*

cates that Room 103 was a place for gatherings, the coming together of groups of people. Other aspects, such as the range of ritual equipment and the implicit manipulation of the senses (see discussion below)—namely the descent into a darkened subterranean room—suggest that this structure was specifically constructed as a special place, possibly for a select and restricted group within the community at Aredhiou. Certainly, enclosed and concealed places represent a recurring motif in Cypriot coroplastic art, bracketing the Late Cypriot period. The earliest example, dating to the Early–Middle Cypriot transition, is the Vounous Bowl: here, an excluded person is depicted peering over the wall, adjacent to the doorway, into the circular enclosed space of the bowl where the social action is taking place (Steel 2013: 53, fig. 2a). Similar spatial exclusion represented in ceramic form is evident at the transition from Bronze to Iron Age with the example of a shrine model showing an individual peering through a window into an enclosed space (Karageorghis 1993: 86–87, fig. 69, pl. 38.1a–d). These rare images give us fleeting glimpses of the social and physical construction and control of special places, which served as the location of esoteric knowledge and performative practices in Bronze Age Cyprus.

Foucault's concept of a heterotopia (1986) provides us with a possible means of exploring this special place and interpreting how Room 103 was embedded within social praxis at Aredhiou. A heterotopia literally means an "other space;" this is somewhere that lies outside the repeated, habitual rhythms of daily life. A heterotopia is a real, tangible space "locatable in physical space-time" (Saldanha 2008: 2081) and which exists outside the norms of society. It is a space/place of a different order, which inverts social norms and throws up a mirror to normal spaces, somewhere which "reflects and contests simultaneously" (Johnson 2007: 76). Thus, a heterotopia is "an alternate space of ordering while paradoxically remaining both separate from and connected to all other spaces" (Topinka 2010: 55). I would argue that Room 103 was a heterotopia for the Late Bronze Age community of Aredhiou, an isolated ritual counter-space that was not freely or easily accessible; this was a performative space, where specific rituals and/or ceremonies were enacted. A closer examination of the finds should help us shed some light on the nature of these activities.

THE MATERIALITY OF EMBODIED PRAXIS IN ROOM 103

The range of pottery from Room 103, with an emphasis on pouring and drinking vessels, along with the occasional krater, suggests that consumption of liquids was the primary activity that took place within this space. Commensality—the shared consumption of food and drink—is a means by which social bonds are created, mediated and reiterated; moreover, people are able to garner prestige and status from their largesse, while at the same time binding their guests within a social network of obligation and reciprocity. Recent work (e.g., Hamilakis 2017; Hamilakis and Sherratt 2012; Steel 2017) has also focused on the sensual experiences embedded in the shared consumption of food and drink:

> …a theatre of the senses, an arena of high drama, be it the screams of animals to be killed/sacrificed, the streams of blood, the smells of cooking food, or the performative gestures of serving, toasting, eating and drinking, and of ritually disposing of the paraphernalia and remnants of the occasion (Hamilakis and Sherratt 2012: 194).

The smell and taste of substances consumed, haptic engagement with specialized feasting equipment, and the sounds of the event combine to create embodied, incorporated knowledges (cf. Connerton 1989) and play a key role in the creation of social memory, which fosters shared understandings of identity, thereby reinforcing the social and political dynamics of a community.

I have previously argued that kraters (Mycenaean and local imitations) were used for mixing wine as part of a dining set (Steel 2004: 293–94). The association of the krater and White Shaved dipper juglet in Room 103 is intriguing, as it seemingly illustrates an Ugaritic mode of wine consumption exemplified by a scene ~~depicting~~ the god El drinking wine served from a krater using a dipper juglet

~~painted on pictorial vessel~~ (Schaeffer 1969: fig. 13). The sherds suggest that a range of different types of drinking equipment were used in Room 103. The full range of local bowls and cups is represented alongside imported Mycenaean shallow bowls, reflecting the expected range of drinking equipment documented in LC IIC urban contexts (Steel 2004: 296; 2016b: 86). That Room 103 was used for communal gatherings and ritualized consumption of food and drink is reiterated by a smash of sherds from a cooking pot found on the surface immediately outside Room 103, by its southeast external wall. Also found in the area immediately outside Room 103 were a group of sherds from White Slip hemispherical bowls and the rim (very worn) of a WPWM III krater. Other pottery from Room 103 hints towards sensory manipulation, no doubt further enhancing the experiences of the participants. Red Lustrous flasks and a Base Ring juglet were containers of valuable substances, including perfumed oils (Steele and Stern 2017), medicines, or psychoactive substances (Chovanec 2018; Chovanec et al. 2015; Collard 2017; and see Chapter 12). Distribution of these forms within Late Cypriot settlements suggests that access to the substances they contained was controlled and restricted, as a form of "social differentiation and the legitimation of authority" (Collard 2017: 240).

There has been a tendency to assume that Base Ring figurines and bull rhyta have ritual connotations and that they are primarily found in funerary (cf. Knapp 2009: 139–40; Nys 2001)—and less frequently in other kinds of ritual (Webb 1999: 219)—contexts, but we should emphasize that these also are found in certain settlement contexts. Knox (2012: 172–73, 202), who includes Base Ring bull rhyta in her comprehensive discussion of Cypriot Bronze Age figurines, notes that use-wear analysis and the state of preservation of these objects indicate they were regularly and repeatedly handled. She suggests these were probably being used to pour precious liquids, which were consumed within commensal drinking practices. The choice of a bull is significant, referencing as it did an ancient form of economic and symbolic capital (cf. Steel 2013: 67), conveying messages of wealth and prestige, as well as having religious connotations (Steel 2004a: 203–4). These vessels were objects of display, an attention focusing device, and I would argue that, rather than distributing beverages to the human participants, the bull rhyta were intended to pour liquid libations. Knox also notes (2012: 174) an intriguing distribution pattern in LC II settlement contexts, highlighting the frequent occurrence of these vessels in production areas (crafting and industrial), such as at Kourion *Bamboula*, Kition *Kathari*, and Kalavasos *Ayios Dhimitrios*. Of particular interest for our understanding of the incorporation of bull rhyta in ritualized pouring and drinking practices at Aredhiou is the parallel with a Base Ring bull from a sunken storage room in Area D at Kourion *Bamboula* (Benson 1972: 33–35). The significance of this association between crafting and bull figurines has not yet been explored, but I would suggest that ritual praxis was embedded in Late Cypriot production activities. Indeed, given the economic and cultural capital invested in production activities—namely, metallurgical (Steel 2004a: 178–81), textile (Smith 2002), as well as agricultural production—we might envisage ritualized action being invoked to support and protect such activities.

The horse figurine fragment is more unusual within the Late Cypriot figural repertoire. Only a handful of Base Ring horses have been identified on the island, at Kazaphani, and exported to the Levant, notably to Ugarit, which has close Cypriot ties, as well as the trading emporium at Tell Abu Hawam (Knox 2012: 171–72, 189, 204–5). The Aredhiou example, however, was fashioned from Plain Ware and has its closest parallels at Enkomi: two painted head–neck fragments from Quartier 4E (Courtois 1984: 86, nos. 823, 824, fig. 31/1, 3; pl. 15.2–3; Karageorghis 1993: 43–45, figs. 35, 36, pl. 23.3–4) and an unpainted head–neck fragment (Courtois 1984: 88, Cat. 853, fig. 31/2). Although not typical within the rich Cypriot figural tradition, horses were valued on the island, as is evident from the prominence of the horse and chariot motif on imported Mycenaean kraters, which no doubt reflects the cultural, economic, and social capital embodied by a team of chariot and horses in wider Near Eastern cultural traditions to which the Cypriot elites aspired (Steel 2012: 213). Moreover, that the only parallels to the Aredhiou figurine are found in the cosmopolitan center of Enkomi reit-

erates that within a small farming community such an object may well have been imbued with esoteric associations and knowledge of social practices in the urban centers. How it was used, handled, displayed, and viewed is unclear; but it is noteworthy that it is found in close association with other specialized ritual equipment.

Wall brackets were a typical element of the Late Bronze Age material world on Cyprus (Schlipphak 2004; Smith 2011; for detailed discussion of their form and manufacture see Panitz-Cohen 2006: 613–15) and they are also found beyond the island, in the Levant (Panitz-Cohen 2006), amongst the finds found on the Ulu Burun shipwreck (Pulak 1997), and in the Aegean (Cline 1999; Maran 2004; Rahmstorf 2014; Schlipphak 2004). Despite their common occurrence, the function of these objects remains elusive; suggestions include lamps (although none has evidence of burning) or lamp-holders, incense burners, and water scoops (Maran 2004: 16; Panitz-Cohen 2006: 615–17; Rahmstorf 2014: 187, 191; Smith 2011; Steel and McCartney 2008: 30). Wall brackets appear to have been designed to be hung on a wall and were visual objects intended to be displayed and viewed. Typically, they would be decorated with a vertical wavy line incised along the visible flat surface of the arm, which might recall water imagery. More elaborate examples are decorated with modeled figures of bulls, naked women, and snakes, suggestive of fertility (Panitz-Cohen 2006: 616). Panitz-Cohen (2006: 616) also remarks that the form of the outstretched scoop "seems to imply offering, recalling an outstretched arm." There is a growing consensus that wall brackets served some undetermined ritual purpose (cf. Smith 2011), which further reiterates the special, ceremonial nature of praxis within Room 103. This is reiterated by the distribution of wall brackets elsewhere in Cyprus and the Levant, consistently in cult places but also in domestic contexts (Panitz-Cohen 2006: 616; Schlipphak 2001: 18–20, 46); indeed, as with the Base Ring bulls, there seems to be some correlation between their use and craft production, usually metallurgical. Moreover, the repeated combination of wall brackets and kraters, identified not only in Aredhiou Room 103 but also in the Temple aux Rhytons at Ugarit, Megiddo room 1817, and in room 8/00 in the Lower Town at Tiryns (Stockhammer 2012: 22, 28) suggests that this complement of equipment was embedded in feasting practices throughout the eastern Mediterranean (Steel 2016a: 527). Likewise, I have previously highlighted the repeated combination of lamp and wall bracket within the same functional space at other sites on Cyprus (Steel 2016: 526).

The range of objects recovered in Room 103 certainly suggests it played an important role in the ceremonial life of the community at Aredhiou. The lamp fragment suggests the staging of various forms of ritualized performances within a darkened space. Participants involved in these ceremonies undoubtedly partook of alcoholic beverages (perhaps wine) served from a krater and consumed in a range of vessels, the sensorial, affective properties of which would have enhanced or altered their perceptions of time and space (cf. Hamilakis 2017; Hamilakis and Sherratt 2012). Alongside this, I would suggest that libations were another important element of the ceremonies staged within this space, using the Base Ring bull(s) and possibly also the Base Ring cups (Vaughan 1991: 124). We will return to the sensory experience of these engagements and the participants' embodied experience of space below.

HOSPITALITY

A myriad ~~of~~ ideas about the social interactions that took place in Room 103 bubbled to the surface in the lively discussion following a preliminary presentation of this chapter at ASOR 2017. Particularly interesting was Dr. Mara Horowitz's suggestion that this space was intended for hosting visitors to the site. Such visitors may have been involved in the well-documented exchanges that occurred between the inhabitants of Aredhiou and people from the urban centers, who would have brought with them imported pottery, other goods, news, and ideas. Typically, archaeologists have frequently viewed such exchanges through the lens of gift exchange (Mauss [1925] 1990; e.g., Steel 2012: 95–113). Here, however, I want to explore the interactions, commensality, and ceremonial performances that took place within Room 103 as a form of hospitality (cf. Candea and da Col 2012; Still 2013).

Hospitality, through the material provision of food and drink, is a powerful means of social control, a means of regulating and managing the "other," people who are unfamiliar with a social or cultural context (Lynch et al. 2011: 5). Like gift exchange, it involves regulated reciprocal exchanges, notions of developing friendship ties with the "other" and is materially embedded (see, e.g., Lynch et al. 2011: 9–10). Despite the apparent generosity, openness, and cordiality implied by the term, hospitality in fact is an uneasy, ambivalent, indeed potentially dangerous, form of social interaction. It involves "welcoming" and admitting strangers, unknown outsiders, into private, even familial, spaces (cf. Still 2013: 14). This immediately turns the shared space into a heterotopia, an alternate space where the temporality of daily life is suspended and normal social rules are subverted. Viewing the spatial situation of hospitality as a heterotopia recognizes the very real dangers involved in allowing the "other" into public and private social spaces, which are thus exposed, vulnerable, and might even be violated and robbed. Indeed, in the absence of kinship relations (either real or created through gift exchange, cf. Mauss [1925] 1990) both parties are vulnerable. Candea and da Col (2012: 59) also highlight the very real dangers for the guest, who is at the mercy of the host and might conceivably shift from guest to prisoner, or even, on occasion, fail to leave alive. Certainly, evidence suggests that movement throughout the cosmopolitan and interconnected world of the Late Bronze Age Near East was indeed fraught with danger. Echoes of these perils are evident in the Amarna archives, which refer to envoys being robbed, detained, and even murdered (e.g., letters EA7, EA8, and EA24; Moran 1992: 14, 16–17, 70). In such an uncertain cultural environment, we might well expect to see social transactions being mediated through hospitality.

Hospitality as a social mechanism stabilizes these difficult relationships, temporarily incorporating the stranger/guest within the visited community's social world (Candea and da Col 2012: 55–56) and, at the same time, reiterating the power and position of the host and reinforcing asymmetrical power relations (Candea and da Col 2012: 59). It is primarily mediated through the sharing of food and drink (Lynch et al. 2011: 5), as is evident in Room 103. Alcohol, with its mind-altering properties, would be particularly effective in destabilizing the hosted, thereby reinforcing the unequal power relations. We should also note that the sharing of food and drink within the heterotopia of hospitality is also effectively a process of "saming." It removes perceived differences between host and stranger and ~~in effect~~ is a means of normalizing the outsider: a mutual incorporated practice through which "the host and the other were physically shaped into one" (Steel 2016b: 86). I would suggest that the varied assortment of distinctive drinking equipment present in Room 103 reinforced these hospitality strategies at Aredhiou: while the shared consumption of food and drink created bonds between host and guest, the symbolic messages embedded in the choice of pottery served to highlight their differences.

EXPERIENCING HOSPITALITY IN ROOM 103

Hamilakis (2013; 2017) highlights the importance of the senses (and their manipulation) for understanding affective experiences within liminal or "other" spaces or heterotopias. Moving beyond the visual (and, to a lesser extent, tactile and auditory senses), he emphasizes the importance of taste, smell, and bodily movement in shaping the people's sensory, affective, and kinaesthetic engagement with the material world (Hamilakis 2013: 93–95; see also Day 2013). Such an approach has important implications for understanding not only what happened in Room 103, but equally how this was experienced.

The sensual, embodied experiences of commensality, the bedrock of hospitality, were, I would argue, enhanced by the physical experiences embedded in the alternate space of Room 103. This was a communal space for gatherings, but also a concealed, enclosed space suggesting restrictions on those admitted to the interior. In the heterotopia, the norms of society might be altered, perhaps flattening some of the social hierarchies evident in normal daily life for the duration of the ceremony, but the hospitality implied by the range of specialized drinking equipment also formed

this into a space of social control. The shared consumption of alcoholic beverages within this special, concealed space resulted in the "creation of a transcorporeal landscape, a landscape that comes alive through the sharing of sensorial effects, of feelings and emotions" (Hamilakis and Sherratt 2012: 194). The senses of the participants were assailed not simply by the act of consuming alcohol within an enclosed space, but also by the manipulation of light and dark, the physical properties of the room, the use of specialized equipment, some which lay outside the daily material habitus of the inhabitants (see Steel 2016b), and the display of visual attention focusing devices.

The embodied experiences of the participants in the ceremonial performances and rituals staged in Room 103 would have been structured by its architecture (indeed the very shape of the place) and further manipulated by the use of materials to create an ambience unique to this specific place. Implicit in the physical, corporeal, and kinaesthetic experiences of these participants was the movement from (day?)light into darkness, and from the knowable physical, daily space of the settlement into the unknown, concealed, and ambivalent space of Room 103. The sensory perceptions of the participants would be affected by the descent into the enclosed, large, dark sunken space. Furthermore, I would argue that this experience would be emotionally charged, given the physical sensations inevitable with the gathering together of a possibly large throng of people, both friends and strangers, within an enclosed and bounded space. The senses would be further assailed by the flickering light cast by the flames of the lamps and possibly the scent and smoke of burning incense in the wall brackets (e.g., Smith 2009: 86–87), although this remains debated. In addition to the haptic and visual sensations evoked by the material objects used and displayed within this space, we should also think about the sensations of smell and taste, senses with powerful mnemonic effect, shaping memories and manipulated in the expression of identities (cf. Day 2013: 14–16). Moreover, as Hamilakis notes (2013: 18), smell is one of the senses that is particularly used to define otherness: not just the aroma of food and drink but equally the embodiment of identity and otherness embedded in bodily odors. We might equally envisage how the anointing of the body with perfumed oils, such as those possibly contained in the Red Lustrous flask (Steele and Stern 2017) and Base Ring juglet, could be used to mask bodily scents and thus obscure these differences. Alternatively, we might consider that the Base Ring juglet contained a psychoactive substance (Chovanec 2018; Chovanec et al. 2015; see also Chapter 12) that was ingested within the ceremonies, as has been suggested by Collard (2017), as a means of inducing an altered state of consciousness or a liminal mindset (e.g., Smith 2009: 160, 248). Thus, I would argue that the archaeological evidence indicates a smorgasbord of sensory stimuli affecting the participants who gathered in Room 103, the combination of which mingled to create Ingold's (1993: 154) ambience of place .

CONCLUSIONS

Focusing on the architecture and finds from Room 103 has allowed a detailed understanding of how this place was socialized and how it helped to structure social interactions within the Late Bronze Age community at Aredhiou. The approach adopted here has attempted to bring together the architectural evidence and the objects found within a specific building—datasets that are frequently separated in empirical archaeological narratives—to develop a holistic understanding of people's material and sensual entanglement with place.

Central to our inquiry into what happened in Room 103 is Ingold's (1993) observation that place is shaped by the embodied and sensory experiences of the people who use it. Thinking about the physical attributes of Room 103 (its size, darkness/lightness, and the descent below the rest of the settlement), in conjunction with the objects used within this space, have allowed us to think about activities staged there and, more importantly, how they were experienced. The range of materials suggests a special place, or heterotopia. This was not religious per se but was performative—a place where ceremonies and rituals were enacted. Central to these performances were gatherings (perhaps of a select social group, perhaps a place where outsiders were admitted and hosted) and

shared consumption of food and drink. Such sensory archaeology allows us to better understand the specific ambience of Room 103. The implied manipulation of the senses within an exclusive space no doubt played an important role in the embodied practices enacted here; plausibly, the space was used to create and foster a sense of identity and exclusivity, thereby staging power relations within the wider community. Equally, we might think of it as a place of hospitality where the "other" was admitted. Either way (and the two are not mutually exclusive), Room 103 was an alternative space, or heterotopia, one which lay outside the normal activities and social praxis of Aredhiou, related to agricultural production and embedded in the economic networks of Late Bronze Age Cyprus, and where daily temporal interactions and relations were suspended.

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