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FORUM RESPONSE

Cyprus at the End of the Late Bronze Age: Crisis and Colonization or Continuity and Hybridization?

IOANNIS VOSKOS AND A. BERNARD KNAPP

Abstract

Ancient cultural encounters in the Mediterranean were conditioned by everything from barter and exchange through migration and military engagement to colonization and conquest. Within the Mediterranean, island relations with overseas polities were also affected by factors such as insularity and connectivity. In this study, we reconsider earlier interpretations of cultural and social interactions on Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age and beginning of the Iron Age, between ca. 1200 and 1000 B.C.E. Examining a wide range of material evidence (pottery, metalwork, ivory, architecture, coroplastic art), we revisit notions (the "colonization narrative") of a major migration of Aegean peoples to Cyprus during that time. We argue that the material culture of 12th–11th-century B.C.E. Cyprus reflects an amalgamation of Cypriot, Aegean, and even Levantine trends and, along with new mortuary traditions, may be seen as representative of a new elite identity emerging on Cyprus at this time. Neither colonists nor conquerors, these newcomers to Cyprus—alongside indigenous Cypriots—established new social identities as a result of cultural encounters and mixings here defined as aspects of hybridization.*

INTRODUCTION

The "great historical inscription" of Ramesses III offers a simplified, propaganda-driven view of encounters between the Sea Peoples (Peleset, Tjeker, Shekelesh, Denyen, Weshesh) and the Bronze Age kingdoms of Cyprus (Alashiya), Anatolia (Hatti, Arzawa), and north Syria (Qodi).[1] Did these Sea Peoples ever constitute a unified force? How widespread were their movements? Were their actions any different from those carried out in previous centuries by groups such as the Lukki, the Sherden (reign of Amenophis III, 14th century B.C.E.), or Madduwatta and the Ahhijawa? In our view, the diverse groups known as the Sea Peoples never united with a collective purpose, nor did they precipitate the collapse of the economic, artistic, and ideological system(s) that linked so many Bronze Age polities throughout the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean. Instead, they too suffered from the gradual disintegration of so many wealthy, closely interlinked Late Bronze Age states and kingdoms.

In this study, we reconsider the proposed movements of people from the Aegean region, some of whom—like the Sea Peoples—were certainly migrants fleeing from the unsettled conditions of their homeland at the end of the Late Bronze Age. We begin by outlining our approach and discussing briefly the archaeological background to the situation on Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age, particularly its last phases in the 12th century B.C.E. We then discuss in some detail a multitude of continuities and changes in material and social practices during the centuries between ca. 1200 and 1000 B.C.E. Basing our arguments on the Cypriot archaeological record, we reassess the proposed migration of Aegean colonists to Cyprus in terms of the two prevailing views: (1) the "colonization narrative" and (2) the "mercantile perspective." In particular, we consider how these metanarratives have been established with reference to the archaeological record. Viewing some of the same materials—pottery, architecture, metalwork, ivories, coroplastic art—from a postcolonial perspective centered on the concept of hybridization, we propose an alternative understanding of the migratory events that characterized the end

* This manuscript is a collaborative and extensive reworking of an earlier study, "Cyprus at the End of the Bronze Age: Material Culture, Ethnicity, Migration and Hybridisation," written by Voskos for the M.Phil. degree in the program in Mediterranean Archaeology at the University of Glasgow in 2004/2005. The thesis was supervised by Knapp and examined by him and Richard Jones (University of Glasgow); John Bennet (University of Sheffield) served as external examiner. We thank James D. Muhly and in particular Susan Sherratt for comments and corrections on an earlier draft of the manuscript. We would also like to thank Pavlos Flourentzos, director of the Cypriot Department of Antiquities, for permission to publish several objects held in the Cyprus Museum and district museums, and Euthymios Shaftacolas of the Cyprus Museum for facilitating our receipt of the relevant digital images. Thanks are also due to Editor-in-Chief Naomi J. Norman and three anonymous reviewers for the *AJA*, whose incisive comments helped us tighten our arguments.

[1] Kitchen 1983, 39–40; Knapp 1996, 48 (Ockinga).

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of the Late Bronze Age on Cyprus, themselves embedded in social and economic transactions that had been underway for at least 200 years.

BACKGROUND AND APPROACH

Despite the breadth and intensity of fieldwork and research carried out on Cyprus since the mid 19th century, many periods—in particular transitional periods—remain the focus of debate.[2] One of the better studied but still most controversial periods is the transition between the end of the Late Bronze Age (Late Cypriot [LC] IIC–IIIA) and the Early Iron Age (LC IIIB–Cypro-Geometric [CG] I), between ca. 1300 and 1000 B.C.E. Scholars have long argued that Cyprus had been colonized during these crucial years by Mycenaeans (or "Achaeans") after the widespread collapse of Late Bronze Age polities and trading networks throughout the eastern Mediterranean.[3]

Any attempt to evoke the social aspects of a time during which intensive meetings, mixings, and interactions of different peoples took place invariably involves several classes of archaeological material, which in turn elicit diverse interpretations. In the case of Cyprus, many such interpretations remain firmly focused on descriptive approaches to the material record or on literary-mythological allusions. Newer attempts at interpretation call upon concepts such as materiality, social identity, migration, and hybridization, all of which have singular importance for understanding the critical period between ca. 1300 and 1000 B.C.E. on Cyprus.

Unlike the Forum Article by Iacovou,[4] in this study we do not hesitate to engage with concepts stemming from work elsewhere in archaeology and anthropology. Indeed, we believe this is crucial to supplement the kind of literary-based, macrohistorical approach espoused by Iacovou. Here, and in several other recent articles that aim for a more "balanced" view of Iron Age Cyprus, Iacovou emphasizes that "the information supplied by the surviving literary evidence is far less important and should be viewed as less reliable than that extracted from evidence collected via archaeological methods, for example, inscriptions, especially those issued by eponymous state leaders."[5] In her Forum Article, Iacovou focuses on such inscriptional (and literary) evidence, leaving aside most of the archaeological evidence we discuss in this paper. The theme that underpins her paper in this Forum, and several others, is the superiority of the incoming Greek-speaking migrants over the native Cypriot population, an approach that not only accommodates the Hellenization perspective so widely criticized in Mediterranean archaeology but actually advocates it.[6]

This notion of an Aegean (or "Achaean" or Mycenaean) migration to or colonization of Cyprus during the 12th century B.C.E. is deeply ingrained in Cypriot archaeology.[7] Most scholars involved employ the terms "migration" and "colonization" as though they had the same meaning.[8] Colonization, however, usually refers to "the act of establishing colonies,"[9] a notion heavily influenced by ancient as well as modern conceptions. Ancient Greeks used the term "apoikiai" (αποικίαι), which means "away from home," while modern European nations tend to use colonization in the sense of Latin *colonia*, meaning "settlement deliberately established elsewhere."[10] In the latter sense, colonization typically involves manipulation or domination by the colonizers and submission or resistance by the colonized. Any cultural analysis that invokes the concept of colonization depends on what scholars intend to emphasize by using that term: is it the foundation of settlements in alien lands or the sociopolitical and economic aspects of domination over local people?

Migration is a completely separate but equally complex issue. From a constructivist perspective, migration is seen as "a behavior that is typically performed by defined subgroups with specific goals, targeted on known destinations and likely to use familiar routes" and "as a process that tends to develop in a broadly predictable manner."[11] The current significance attached to migration may be linked to postmodern and postcolonial approaches that aim to empower indigenous peoples at the expense of imperial or colonial regimes. Migration, of course, will not be applicable in every historic or prehistoric context.[12] Moreover, before it becomes a useful tool for archaeological interpretation, migration must be recognizable materially as patterned behavior, and archaeologists must realize that there are many different types of migration.

Postcolonial studies increasingly play a key role in social archaeology, not least in reaction to one-sided

[2] E.g., on the Chalcolithic–Early Bronze Age transition, see Webb and Frankel 1999; Frankel 2000; cf. Manning 1993; Knapp 2001; 2008, 103–30; Webb et al. 2006.

[3] E.g., Myres 1914, xxx–xxxi, 45–6, 374; Karageorghis 1994, 2001, 2002b; Iacovou 1999b, 2003, 2005, 2007.

[4] Iacovou 2008.

[5] Iacovou 2007, 462; see also 2003, 2005, 2006a, 2006b.

[6] Iacovou 2008; see esp. 2007.

[7] Leriou 2002, 2007.

[8] E.g., Karageorghis 1990, 29, 32.

[9] Dietler 2005, 53.

[10] van Dommelen 2002, 121; 2005, 110.

[11] Anthony 1990, 895–96.

[12] Chapman and Hamerow 1997, 2.

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interpretative models such as Hellenization or Romanization.[13] The basis of postcolonial theory lies in the notion that a colonial situation involves an interactive process resulting from the cultural entanglements that occur between intrusive groups and local inhabitants.[14] This process is based on the reciprocity of interchangeable features that result in equal alterations of both intrusive and indigenous social groups.[15]

The concept of "hybridization" characterizes well this social and cultural mixture. As employed in postcolonial and cultural studies, hybridization refers to the social interactions and negotiations that take place between colonists and the colonized, that is, the processes that lay behind the "cultural mixture [that] is the effect of the practice of mixed origins."[16] Hybridization neither presupposes the dominance of colonial cultures over indigenous ones nor maintains any sociocultural divisions. All groups engaged in such entanglements contribute to the shaping of hybridized cultures through interaction and negotiation. The outcome of the colonial encounter is a totally new social situation forged by diverse customs, traditions, and values. A new sociocultural identity is also created through a wide range of behaviors, differences, exclusions, and choices of self-representation between these groups.[17]

All indigenous societies already had at the moment of contact with colonizers "complex and dynamic histories that were very much in motion."[18] Any analysis that perceives power relations as one-sided and central to social exchange misconstrues such relations, which seldom entailed the subordination of natives, unequal exchange partners, or socially less complex groups.[19] In archaeological cases, careful consideration of the products and outcomes of colonial encounters results in quite a different picture. By focusing on how hybridization works and is given material expression, it becomes possible to analyze and understand better the mechanisms by which innovations were adopted and adapted to prevailing material and social practices, how their mixing—while drawing on locally available materials—led to entirely new forms and meanings of the objects involved.

For those who realize that peoples and cultures are perpetually engaged in a conversation with other cultures and peoples, and that all cultural products are parts of such a conversation, the concept of hybridization may seem to offer little beyond a language with dubious overtones from plant breeding. Archaeology, however, offers important insights into colonial situations and culturally mixed societies. The outcome of hybridization practices may be imprinted in a wide range of material culture.[20] The ambivalence and ambiguity that characterize many contact situations result from constant negotiations over the differences and similarities between the distinctive groups involved. Such ambiguity is an inherent feature of colonialism and should not be seen as an exclusively modern or Western phenomenon.[21] Hybridization, therefore, is just as likely to have occurred in ancient contact and colonizing situations as in modern ones.[22]

All these issues must be kept in mind when we attempt to analyze the situation on Cyprus between the 13th and 11th centuries B.C.E. In our opinion, colonization and colonialism alike have been misrepresented by many archaeologists working in Cypriot prehistory and protohistory. Merrillees long ago criticized their obsession with widely adopted ideas such as "pots equal people" and what he termed the "invasion syndrome" in Cypriot historiography.[23] Despite the fact that many more archaeologists now focus on internal processes in attempting to define social change, there is still a tendency to regard Cyprus as a bridge between superior cultures and to see Cypriot culture as a continuous reflection of those in surrounding regions. Those who support the notion of a Mycenaean colonization also tend to adopt and embrace the Hellenization perspective, which assumes that high culture, like water, flows downhill.[24] In such arguments, the superiority of Mycenaean culture, as well as its inevitable passive acceptance by native Cypriots, is taken for granted.[25]

In the case of Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age, many archaeologists have constructed a crude "us vs. them" cultural division between Mycenaean colonizers and local Cypriots. Such a division is already apparent, for example, in the much earlier work of Snodgrass, where settlers from the west are thought to have introduced a system of warlike monarchies that evolved into the city-kingdoms of the Cypro-Archaic period.[26] It continues, somewhat less divisively, in the accompanying paper of Iacovou, where a power

[13] Dietler 1998, 295–98; 2005, 55–61; Keay and Terrenato 2001.
[14] van Dommelen 2005, 117.
[15] Lyons 1996, 177; Dietler 2005, 54.
[16] Friedman 1995, 84.
[17] van Dommelen 2005, 117–18, 136.
[18] Dietler 1998, 289.
[19] Thomas 1991, 83–4.
[20] van Dommelen 2005, 118.
[21] van Dommelen 2002, 2006.
[22] Rowlands 1994.
[23] Merrillees 1975, 37.
[24] Dietler 1998, 295–96; 2005, 56–7.
[25] For a similar critical view, see Bikai 1994, 35.
[26] Snodgrass 1988, 12. On "us vs. them" divisions elsewhere, see Mattingly 1996, 58; van Dommelen 2005, 116.

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struggle for state authority is seen to have begun in the 11th century B.C.E., fomented by the heirs of the Greek-speaking *basileis* who migrated to Cyprus and who, with specialist craftsmen under their wing, reinvigorated the island's metals industry.[27] Thus, it took Aegean migrants little more than a generation to gain the upper hand, politically and culturally, over the local inhabitants. By the seventh century B.C.E., these same migrants are said to have laid claim successfully to land, power, and state authority on Cyprus.

Such one-sided views stem in part from the modern historical situation on Cyprus. Cypriot archaeology emerged as a distinctive discipline when the island came under British colonial administration at the end of the 19th century. Not only were British archaeologists influenced by the then-dominant antiquarian approach, but British colonists also had many reasons to support a deep-time connection between Cyprus and Greece, not least because the Ottoman empire still "owned" the island.[28] Indeed, the tendency to connect ancient colonialism with modern situations was common practice for many contemporary European colonizers who sought to justify their presence in foreign territories by presenting themselves as the successors of ancient Greek or Roman colonists.[29] And from the first decades of the 20th century up to at least 1960, many Greek-speaking Cypriots embraced the concept of an Aegean colonization to support their stand against the British, particularly in their demand for *enosis* ("unification") with Greece.

Those who support an Aegean colonization of Cyprus naturally emphasize the Aegean aspects of the island's post-13th-century B.C.E. material culture. Although the movement of Greek-speaking peoples to Cyprus at some point toward the end of the second millennium B.C.E. is hard to deny, virtually all arguments supporting this movement have failed to consider the wider implications of using concepts such as acculturation, migration, and colonization. The Forum Article by Iacovou represents well this approach. What remains elusive is a nuanced understanding of what actually took place on Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age: colonization, or migration and hybridization? Which is better supported by the actual archaeological data? Given the mutability of ethnicity or an ethnic identity, is it even possible to identify the intrusive groups as "Mycenaean"? What about the identity, ethnic or otherwise, of the offspring of intermarriage between Aegean and Cypriot people? Which material aspects might form the boundaries and markers of distinction between newly arrived and indigenous ethnic or social groups? How can they be recognized? Such questions underscore the problematic character of prevailing interpretations.

Nearly 40 years ago, based on his seminal fieldwork with Afghani nomadic groups, Barth argued that ethnic identity should not be analyzed in terms of dress, food, language, blood, or culture but rather with respect to the spatial, notional, and ideological limits of these features.[30] Indeed, no single factor can be equated directly with ethnicity—neither biology or physical difference nor technology nor material culture, not even culture and language. Iacovou, however, takes it for granted that linguistic identity is a secure marker of ethnicity. In her view, the survival of the Greek language and its ultimate preponderance over an unknown local language in the centuries after ca. 1100 B.C.E. is concomitant with the political predominance of Greek speakers—an interpretation she seeks to prove by calling upon epigraphic data and Greek literature, including mythology, of the following six–seven centuries. That the Greek language survived and became predominant in Cyprus during the first millennium B.C.E. has nothing to do with a political takeover of the island by Greek speakers. If we were to adopt such a linguistic-based perspective to assess the predominance of the Ottoman empire, for example, how would we explain ethnically Muslim Greek speakers or ethnically Christian Orthodox Turkish speakers? The inhabitants of the Ottoman empire expressed their identity through their religion, not their language.

In this study, we seek to demonstrate that by adopting certain crucial aspects of postcolonial theory, in particular the concept of hybridization, we stand to gain a much clearer understanding of the situation on Late Bronze–Early Iron Age Cyprus than we would by adopting Iacovou's long-term perspective rooted in much later inscriptions, literature, and myth. We argue that what happened on Cyprus during the crucial centuries between ca. 1200 and 1000 B.C.E. has little to do with an outright colonization of the island, no matter what terms are applied. Before turning to these matters, however, we discuss briefly the internal situation on Cyprus during the two centuries preceding the end of the Bronze Age. We believe the meetings and mixings that took place between local Cypriots, Aegean, and Levantine peoples during these 200 years shed crucial light on what followed.

One could argue, along with Iacovou, that we must also look forward, to the centuries after 1000 B.C.E., to

[27] Iacovou 2008; see also 2006b.
[28] Given 1998.
[29] Mattingly 1996, 50; van Dommelen 2002, 122; Dietler 2005, 42.
[30] Barth 1969.

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understand what happened during the Late Bronze–Early Iron Age transition. But that would form the subject of another study entirely, one constrained in many respects by the predominantly mortuary record of the Cypro-Geometric period. In any case, Iacovou demonstrates well in her study the importance of engaging with epigraphic and other evidence from these later centuries if we wish to gain a fuller picture of the Late Bronze–Iron Age transition. Our studies, whatever their divergent perspectives, agree on several crucial points: (1) the considerable material continuities between LC IIIA and IIIB; (2) the migration of an indeterminate number of Aegean people to Cyprus; (3) the difficulties in tracing the material expression of this migration on Cyprus; and (4) the initial, peaceful symbiosis between these people and the local Cypriots. Where we part company is her interpretation of the epigraphic and literary data of the following centuries to mean that much of Cyprus' territory, economy, and culture were controlled by Greek-speaking ex-Mycenaean *basileis* and their followers.

THE LATE BRONZE AGE: MATERIAL CULTURE AND SOCIAL PRACTICES

Before Middle Cypriot (MC) III–LC I, beginning ca. 1650 B.C.E. (table 1), only a moderate amount of material evidence demonstrates any sort of sustained contacts between Cyprus and the surrounding regions.[31] Thereafter, the discovery of numerous foreign goods in early levels at Enkomi and in LC I mortuary deposits (mainly in north and northwest Cyprus—e.g., at Morphou-Toumba tou Skourou and Ayia Irini-Palaeokastro; fig. 1)[32] represent the first signs of intensifying economic activities that promoted and necessitated overseas contacts.[33] Several factors lay behind the initiation and enhancement of these foreign contacts: (1) the involvement of emergent elites in the international trading system(s) that operated in the eastern Mediterranean; (2) Cyprus' strategic position within the wider Mediterranean; and above all (3) the rich copper ore deposits in the island's Troodos massif.

At Enkomi, remarkable mortuary deposits represent wealthy social groups who were able not only to acquire precious luxury and exotic goods (gold jewelry, various artifacts made of silver, copper, faience, ivory) but also to remove them from circulation.[34] Such goods served to establish symbolic links with overseas powers and played a transformative role in developing local ideologies of prestige and new social hierarchies based on the control of copper production and trade.[35] People of diverse social and geographic origins—local and foreign—resided in the island's coastal towns, which helped to mark out their international, cosmopolitan character. One material witness to this situation is a silver bowl from Hala Sultan Tekke bearing an Ugaritic cuneiform inscription translated as "'Aky, son of Ykhd, made [this] bowl." 'Aky is a Hurrian name, and Ykhd is Semitic.[36]

Stylistic analyses of other items excavated in these town sites and dated to LC II reveal a mixture of local, Levantine, Egyptian, and Aegean elements, early indicators of hybridization practices that became much more intensified during the 12th–11th centuries B.C.E.[37] Here, as examples, we mention only a couple of well-known objects, such as the inlaid gold and niello silver bowl from Enkomi dated to the 14th century B.C.E. (fig. 2).[38] The ornate bulls' heads and flowers that decorate this object, as well as its production technique, are regarded as Aegean in derivation.[39] Its shape, however, is typically Cypriot, with strong roots in the traditional wishbone-handled White Slip Ware milk bowl. Another object worth noting is a gold necklace from Ayios Iakovos, also dated to the 14th century B.C.E.[40] The pomegranate-shaped beads are regarded as being of Aegean type, whereas the pendant is deemed "oriental."[41]

Another good example can be seen in the female figurines dated mainly to LC II, during the 15th–14th centuries B.C.E. (e.g., fig. 3).[42] Both Merrillees and Karageorghis have cited their wide distribution on the island to argue for a Cypriot origin.[43] Nonetheless, they are typically dubbed "Astarte" figurines because they reveal strong iconographic and stylistic affinities with Levantine examples.[44] Budin argues that they were modeled on figurines from the Orontes region in northern Syria, dated to the mid second millennium

[31] Knapp 1994, 409–24; 2008, 74–81.

[32] In this paper, for hyphenated Cypriot place names, the first name is that of the nearest village/town and the second name is that of the site or locality (nearest the actual site) as indicated on cadastral maps of Cyprus.

[33] Pecorella 1977, 21, fig. 30a, b; 26, fig. 44a, b; 113, fig. 269; Vermeule and Wolsky 1990, 381–83, figs. 167–74; Keswani 2004, 84, 125.

[34] Keswani 2004, 126–27; 2007, 520–24.

[35] Keswani 2004, 136.

[36] Åström and Masson 1982.

[37] E.g., on seals: Keswani 2004, 136; in jewelry: Maxwell-Hyslop 1971, 107, 112–31; Lagarce and Lagarce 1986, 109–17; Keswani 2004, 138.

[38] French Tomb 2 (Schaeffer 1952, 379–80, pl. 116).

[39] Karageorghis 1982, 80.

[40] Swedish excavations (P. Åström 1972, 1).

[41] Karageorghis 1982, 82–3, fig. 67.

[42] Merrillees 1988, 56.

[43] Merrillees 1988, 55; Karageorghis 1993, 21.

[44] Matthiae et al. 1995, 416, figs. 270–72.

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Table 1. Chronological Schema for Cyprus: Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age.

Traditional Period(s)	Date Range
Late Bronze Age	
Middle Cypriot III–Late Cypriot I	1650–1450 B.C.E.
Late Cypriot IIA–C (early)	1450–1250 B.C.E.
Late Cypriot IIC (late)–IIIA	1250–1125 B.C.E.
Iron Age	
Late Cypriot IIIB	1125–1050 B.C.E.
Cypro-Geometric I	1050–1000 B.C.E.

B.C.E.[45] One common variant holding an infant (*kourotrophos*) also resembles a similar category of Middle Cypriot plank figurines.[46] These striking bird-faced figurines, produced in the standard Cypriot Base Ring Ware technique, indicate that already in the 15th–14th centuries B.C.E., foreign elements were being reinterpreted in a distinctively Cypriot manner.

In sum, during LC I–IIC (early), craftspeople and consumers produced and used a range of objects that exhibit clear signs of fusion—early examples of hybridization practices. At this point, we simply emphasize that these objects should be seen in the context of Cypriot culture and with respect to the social practices of diverse local Cypriot groups. Moreover, even though such practices were still active—and became much more intense—in the 13th–11th centuries B.C.E., most archaeologists studying that period invoke intrusive peoples and external influences when they attempt to interpret these hybrid objects.

Late Cypriot IIC (Late)–Late Cypriot IIIA

The prosperous LC II period (ca. 1450–1250 B.C.E.) was followed by the LC IIC (late)—LC IIIA era (ca. 1250–1125 B.C.E.), during which the archaeological record throughout the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean shows a series of site abandonments or destructions.[47] Inscriptions and reliefs from the funerary temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu in Egypt attribute these destructions to the Sea Peoples, although the precise period of their activities, the coherence of their attack on Egypt, and even the veracity of Ramesses' account remain the subjects of ongoing debate.[48] Moreover, given the mutable character of ethnicity, it is doubtful if the names of these groups of people as they are known from Medinet Habu (Peleset, Tjeker, Shekelesh, Denyen, Weshesh) can in any way be taken to indicate an ethnic affiliation.[49]

Despite differing interpretations of the motivations and movements of the Sea Peoples,[50] many scholars continue to link their appearance to the economic collapse of the mercantile systems prevalent throughout the Late Bronze Age and the subsequent Aegean colonization of Cyprus.[51] During the "crisis years" at the end of the 13th century B.C.E., most palatial complexes in the Aegean and many town centers in the Levant were destroyed or ultimately abandoned, while the contemporary Hittite and Egyptian states went into terminal decline.[52] On Cyprus, we find extensive evidence of site destructions and in some cases abandonment (e.g., at Maroni-Vournes, Morphou-Toumba tou Skourou, and Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios).[53] Subsequently, however, several of the destroyed sites were rebuilt (e.g., Enkomi, Kition, Kouklia-Palaepaphos) and at the same time, the material culture within them reveals certain elements linked by many scholars to the Aegean world. Overall, the late 13th century B.C.E. was an unstable time in which we see both striking continuities and an influx of new material and social practices. On Cyprus, however, the quality of life seems to have been maintained at a high standard within the town centers, and industrial activities continued at a significant level.[54]

[45] Budin 2003, 140–44.

[46] Type Aii (Merrillees 1988; Karageorghis 1993, 3–10, pls. 1–7).

[47] Karageorghis 1990, 7–26; Ward and Joukowsky 1992; Knapp 1997, 54–5, table 2; Oren 2000.

[48] Lesko 1980; Muhly 1984, 39–41, 55; Cifola 1988; Liverani 1990, 121.

[49] Muhly 1984, 40 n. 6; Sherratt 1998, 292–94.

[50] E.g., various papers in Gitin et al. 1998; Oren 2000; Killebrew 2005.

[51] E.g., Karageorghis 1990, 29; Mazar 1991, 103; cf. Muhly 1984, 53.

[52] Ward and Joukowsky 1992; Iacovou 1999a, 141.

[53] Knapp 1997, 54–5, table 2 (with references).

[54] Muhly 1992, 19; Negbi 2005.

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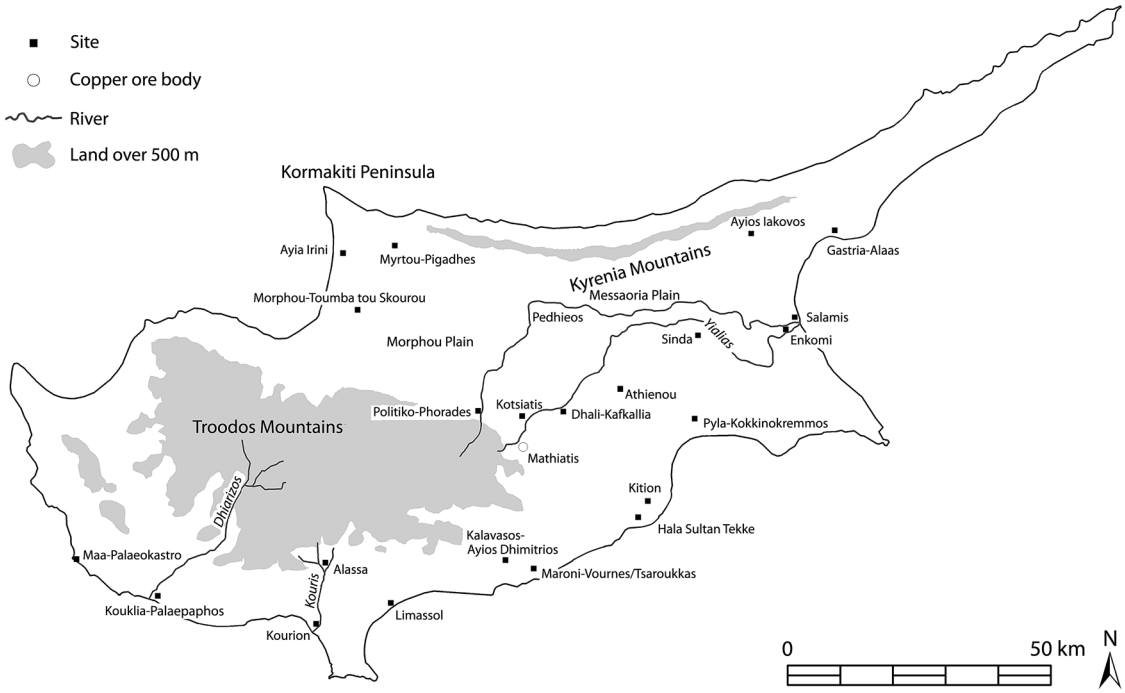

Fig. 1. Late Bronze Age Cyprus: sites, (modern) towns, and other areas mentioned in the text (modified from Knapp 2008, fig. 22).

In the following sections, we discuss a wide range of material culture from LC IIC to IIIA—objects, architecture and architectural elements, symbols, and representations—cited repeatedly by diverse scholars to reinforce the Aegean colonization narrative. Although these material points of reference are familiar to many readers, we discuss them in our own terms, taking them out of the hands of foreigners and placing them within hybridization practices that occurred on Cyprus at this time. Space does not permit us to discuss every class of material (e.g., cylinder seals and sealing practices, gendered representations, and many aspects of mortuary practices). Those aspects of Cyprus' material record during the 14th–12th centuries B.C.E., however, are treated in appropriate detail elsewhere.[55]

Architecture. At Enkomi, level IIIA (LC IIIA) coincides with a major reorganization of the city plan (fig. 4).[56] The previous layout, with domestic quarters arranged between large open areas, was replaced by a town-planning grid with a remarkable network of crisscrossing streets.[57] Ashlar masonry was used extensively to enhance buildings typically characterized as public or sacred, while the town itself was at least partly surrounded by a wall not dissimilar to "cyclopean" constructions seen in Anatolia and mainland Greece.[58] At the same time, locally made White Painted Wheelmade

Fig. 2. Silver bowl from Enkomi, 14th century B.C.E. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, French Mission, Tomb 2, no. 4207 (courtesy Cyprus Museum).

[55] Knapp 2008, 153–201.
[56] Courtois 1982, 155–58, fig. 1.
[57] Dikaios 1971, 514–18.

[58] Similar walls have been excavated at Maa-Palaeokastro, Kition, Sinda-Siri Dash, and elsewhere (Karageorghis 2002a, 91).

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Fig. 3. Bird-faced, nude female figurine holding an infant, 14th century B.C.E. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. no. 1934/IV-27/23 (courtesy Cyprus Museum).

III Wares, in part following Late Helladic prototypes, made their appearance and quickly became the predominant pottery in use (at Enkomi, it makes up about 90% of the total assemblage in some contexts).[59]

Although Dikaios, the excavator of Enkomi, attributed all these changes to "Achaean" colonists, his views have not gone unchallenged.[60] The best parallel for the town's grid plan seems to come not from the Aegean but from the Levant and may be noted particularly at Ras Ibn Hani, the coastal port of Ugarit.[61] Given the exceptionally close relationship between Alashiya and Ugarit known from the documentary record,[62] the Cypriots most likely adopted this element from the Levant.[63] A comprehensive study of Cypriot architecture also concluded that the widespread use of ashlar masonry on the island resulted from ongoing contacts with the Levant, notably with Ugarit.[64]

The prototypes of cyclopean fortification walls—an intrusive feature in Cypriot Bronze Age architecture—have been traced to Anatolia, in particular to the fortified Hittite towns of Boğazköy and Alishar.[65] Karageorghis suggested that Mycenaean Greeks might have borrowed the technique through contacts with Miletus as early as the 14th century B.C.E.[66] In Wright's view, the cyclopean walls and dog-leg gates uncovered at Maa-Palaeokastro and Lara recall constructions seen at Boğazköy in Anatolia, Mycenae and Tiryns in Greece, and Shechem in the southern Levant.[67] Rather than seeing such fortifications as a uniquely Aegean phenomenon, then, they should be regarded as representing a broader, eastern Mediterranean tradition, perhaps another sign of the general upheaval and unrest associated with this period.[68]

Other architectural components seen at Enkomi, Kition, Alassa-Paliotaverna, Kouklia-Palaepaphos, and Maa-Palaeokastro—megaron-like halls, hearths, and bathrooms—have been argued to show strong Aegean associations.[69] Karageorghis believes that hearths and bathtubs were part of the widespread material changes introduced into Cyprus by "newcomers from the west" during the transitional LC IIIA period.[70] Based on the monumental structures excavated at Alassa-Paliotaverna, the excavator concluded that the megaron-like hall with freestanding hearth was a new architectural concept "due to a migration from the West, most probably associated with the Sea Peoples."[71] These large rooms with central hearths are widely believed to have served as places where elites gathered for feasting and associated activities;[72] at Maa-Palaeokastro, they were found in context with large numbers of bones and pottery vessels suitable for consuming food and drink.[73] The halls with central hearths found on Cyprus, however,

[59] Dikaios 1971, 457–59; Kling 1989b, 165.
[60] Dikaios 1971, 519.
[61] Lagarce et al. 1987; Cadogan 1998, 7.
[62] Knapp 2008, 318–23; see also Barako 2001, 521.
[63] Negbi 2005, 7.
[64] Hult 1983.
[65] Furumark 1965, 105, 112; Dikaios 1971, 910.
[66] Karageorghis 1990, 28; see also Fortin 1978, 67; 1981, 553; Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 63.
[67] Wright 1992, 253.
[68] Steel 2004a, 199.
[69] Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 60–2; Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavva 1997.
[70] Karageorghis 1998; 2000, 266–70.
[71] Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavva 1997, 146–48.
[72] See Fisher 2006.
[73] Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 60–1.

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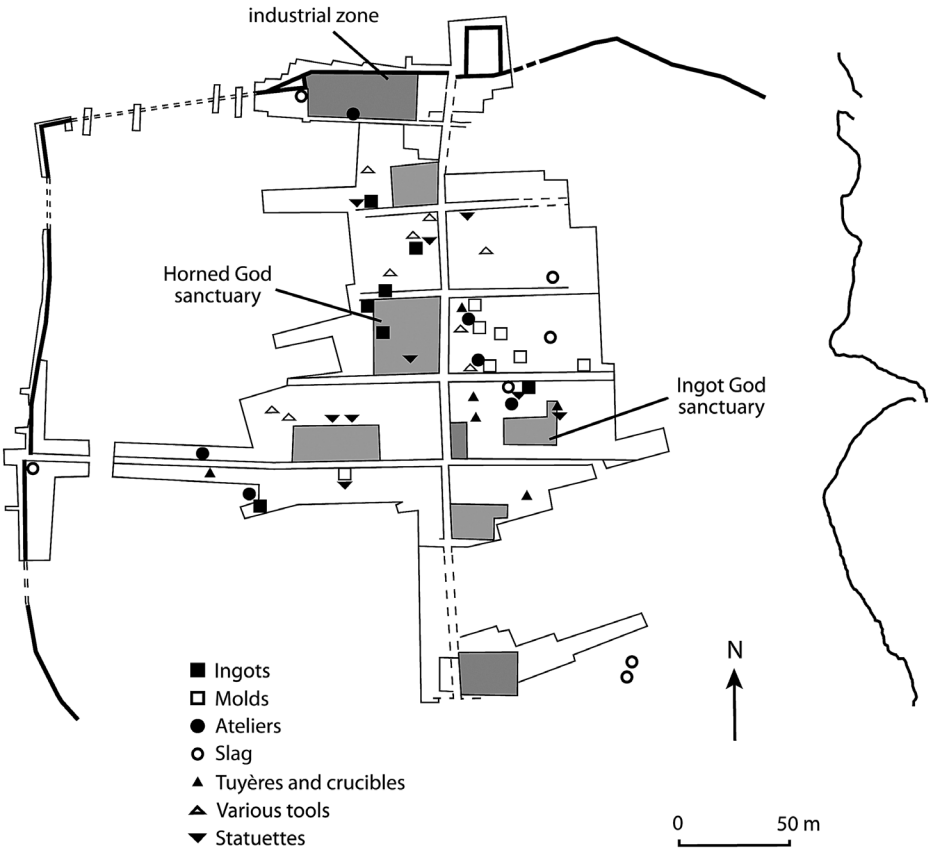

Fig. 4. Plan of Enkomi, showing grid network of streets, level IIIA (LC IIIA) (drawing by L. Sollars; adapted from Courtois 1982, fig. 1).

show only superficial affinities with typical Mycenaean megara; even the form and construction of Cypriot hearths vary regionally. Closely similar architectural units may also be found at several sites in the southern Levant and at Tarsus in Anatolia.[74] In short, true Mycenaean megara did not exist on Cyprus and cannot be regarded as material support even for an Aegean presence on the island, much less its colonization.

Architectural Elements. Several architectural features said to be of "Aegean inspiration" are also linked to ideological aspects of LC IIIA society.[75] These include horns of consecration found at Kition, Kouklia-Palaepaphos, and Myrtou-Pigadhes, and stepped capitals found at Kition, Enkomi, Kouklia, Myrtou-Pigadhes, and Erimi-Pitharka.[76] There are no secure Aegean parallels for the stepped capitals, which were probably integral to the construction of monumental ashlar buildings, themselves related to Levantine rather than Aegean architectural traditions.[77] Webb also pointed out distinctive differences between the horns of consecration found on Cyprus and their Aegean counterparts: the Cypriot versions' horns have flat, square terminals, while those on the Aegean examples are more naturalistic and resemble actual bulls' horns. Steel has suggested that the depiction of bulls' horns in Cypriot ceremonial traditions can be traced back to the Early Cypriot period—for example, on the clay model said to be from Kotsiatis (fig. 5) and the "Vounous bowl."[78] Finally, Webb discusses three Late Helladic (LH) IIIA–B kraters decorated with horns of consecration,[79] which indicate that the symbolism associated with architectural horns of consecration had

[74] Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 60–2; Mazar 1991, 97–9, fig. 2.

[75] Karageorghis 2002a, 91.

[76] Karageorghis 1990, 28; 2000, 261; Papadopoulos and Kontorli-Papadopoulou 1992; Papadopoulos 1997, 176; Steel 2003–2004, 100.

[77] Webb 1999, 179–82.

[78] Steel 2004a, 203–4.

[79] Webb 1999, 176, 178, fig. 68.

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Fig. 5. Clay model of a sanctuary, said to be from Kotsiatis. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. no. 1970/V-28/1 (courtesy Cyprus Museum).

already reached Cyprus during the 14th–13th centuries B.C.E., long before their supposed introduction with colonists from the Aegean.

Pottery. The matter of locally made, Late Helladic–influenced pottery is more complex. Various terms (Mycenaean IIIC1b, Late Mycenaean IIIB, Rude Style, Decorated LC III, Levanto-Helladic) have been used to describe the wheelmade, matt-painted pottery that began to dominate Cypriot assemblages during LC IIIA. Because all these terms were applied to pottery wares with many overlapping features, most specialists now agree that, collectively, they should be termed White Painted Wheelmade III Ware.[80] This realignment and combination of formerly separate pottery types demonstrates that locally produced Late Helladic–type wares found on Cyprus may be dated prior to the destructions at the end of the 13th century B.C.E.,[81] about the same time such wares were being produced locally elsewhere in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean.[82] The identification of these wares in several post–LC IIC destruction deposits (e.g., at Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kouklia-Palaepaphos, Maa-Palaeokastro, Alassa-Paliotaverna), however, has been used to argue that such deposits herald the arrival of Aegean colonists.

Moreover, because a coarsely made pottery type known as Handmade Burnished Ware, previously known in the Aegean, appeared in LC IIIA contexts alongside these locally manufactured Late Helladic–type wares (at Maa-Palaeokastro, Kition, Enkomi, Sinda, and Hala Sultan Tekke),[83] it, too, has been attributed to displaced Aegean settlers.[84] Karageorghis later commented that this coarse ware "could not have been imported for its own beauty" and thus may have been introduced along with the arrival of a new ethnic group whose members used it to prepare certain kinds of food.[85] Steel, however, usefully cautions that Handmade Burnished Ware, like all Late Helladic wares found on Cyprus, makes up only "a statistically insignificant percentage of the total LC ceramic repertoire" and thus should not be used to argue for an Aegean colonization of Cyprus.[86]

Kling also has argued against this colonization scenario and the pottery-driven methodology used to establish it. She has discussed in detail the pottery types and decorative motifs that continued in use, as well as the gradual changes in White Painted Wheelmade III Wares that bear new Aegean and Levantine elements, such as the krater from Enkomi illustrated in figure 6.[87] The Base Ring and White Slip Wares so typical of LC II gradually disappeared, but some new wheelmade pottery wares imitated these earlier handmade forms (e.g., Wheelmade Plain Ware carinated cups from Enkomi imitating canonical Base Ring II Ware forms).[88] Bucchero and Plain White Wares continued to be produced but were now wheelmade.[89] As already noted, however, the dominant ware in most LC IIIA contexts was White Painted Wheelmade III Ware, which made its first appearance before any Cypriot towns were destroyed at the end of 13th century B.C.E.

Pottery specialists have referred to "stylistic hybrids"[90] or "hybrid potters"[91] when discussing the painted pottery of LC IIIA. Mountjoy defines the lo-

[80] P. Åström 1972, 276; Kling 1989b, 166; 2000, 281–82; Sherratt 1991, 186–87; Steel 1998, 288.
[81] Steel 2004a, 193.
[82] Cadogan 1973, 169–70; Sherratt 1982.
[83] Pilides 1992; 1994, 49–67.
[84] E.g., by Karageorghis 1986.
[85] Karageorghis 2002a, 87.
[86] Steel 2004b, 74.
[87] Kling 1989a, 171–76; 2000.
[88] Courtois 1971, 254–55.
[89] Kling 1989b, 160.
[90] Kling 1991, 182.
[91] Sherratt 1992, 320 (albeit in an ironic sense).

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cally made LH IIIC1b pottery of 12th-century B.C.E. Cyprus as "a hybrid style, combining Mycenaean, Minoan and Cypriot elements."[92] Others refer to the "blending of local, Levantine and Aegean elements" apparent in these White Painted Wheelmade III Wares.[93] More specifically, we find traditional Cypriot shapes (or Aegean vessel types already integrated in the local repertoire) decorated with foreign stylistic features. Kling discusses a low, hemispherical bowl with raised wishbone handle that is decorated with abstract Aegean-style designs.[94] Some of the numerous bell kraters—an Aegean shape integrated into the Cypriot ceramic tradition before the end of 13th century B.C.E. and produced in the Rude Style—found at LC IIIA Enkomi were decorated with motifs deriving from the Aegean, the Levant, and Cyprus itself.[95] An amphoroid krater from Kition is often assumed to represent an Aegean vessel type produced locally in Plain White Ware since the 14th century B.C.E.[96] Kraters of this type, however, already appear on Cyprus in LC I–II, in both White Painted Wheelmade I–II Ware and Proto-White Wheelmade I Ware before they are ever found in the Aegean.[97] In the Levant, moreover, vessels of very similar shape and size go back to the Middle Bronze Age.[98] The decoration on the Kition krater, arranged in panels, resembles some Levantine examples, but the individual motifs reveal influences from both the Aegean (the bird and a specific type of fish) and the Levant (butterfly ornament, fish in vertical row).[99] The end product, however, is purely Cypriot.

There are also cases where earlier decorative elements were combined in new and creative ways.[100] Kling, for example, describes a strainer jug from Kouklia with Aegean- or Levantine-style birds and Cypriot Rude (or Pastoral) Style bulls (fig. 7).[101] These features combine some aspects of earlier Aegean pictorial traditions (birds of similar style are found on examples from Rhodes and the Greek mainland) with the predominant White Painted Wheelmade III Ware of the 12th century B.C.E.[102] The prototype of the strainer jug, however, is problematic. Widely thought to be of Aegean origin, such vessels are rare in Mycenaean pottery (excepting LH IIIC examples from the Dodecanese); they combine features of the Near Eastern wine set (strainer and jug) in one vessel and are not uncommon in the Levant.[103] The end result in the Kouklia jug, at least, is a new, distinctively Cypriot creation formed from old and new elements.

Fig. 6. White Painted Wheelmade III Ware (early Pastoral Style) bell krater from Enkomi. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, Swedish Tomb 9, no. 66 (courtesy Cyprus Museum).

At Alassa-Pano Mandilares, other strainer jugs are decorated with a range of Aegean-style motifs (spirals, net patterns, geometric designs), while one of the shapes (tall, ovoid strainer jug) is unparalleled in Aegean-type wares on Cyprus and ultimately may have derived from the Levant.[104] Commenting on Catling's (unpublished) description in her own study of the Kouklia strainer jug, Kling states that "it was produced during that period [LC IIIA] and displays a hybridization of strains operating in Cypriot ceramics at that time."[105] In our view, these vessels reveal the mixture or "in-betweeness" involved in many social interactions during this transitional period: they relate the material products in an active manner to those who made them and who embraced current cultural traditions. All the pottery examples cited above offer but a glimpse of the material practices that accompanied the complex hybridization processes that lasted throughout the

[92] Mountjoy 2005, 209–10.
[93] Kling 1989a, 175; see also Karageorghis 1977b, 197.
[94] Kling 1989b, 164.
[95] Kling 1991, 182.
[96] Karageorghis 1977b; Kling 1989b, 167.
[97] E.g., Sjöqvist 1940, 56, fig. 14; 63, fig. 17.
[98] Yannai 2006, 98–102; S. Sherratt, pers. comm. 2007.
[99] Karageorghis 1977b, 195–96.
[100] Kling 1989b, 167; Sherratt 1991, 187.
[101] Kling 1988.
[102] Kling 1988, 272.
[103] Franken 1992, 79, 82, figs. 5–7; S. Sherratt, pers. comm. 2007.
[104] Hadjisavvas 1991, 175–77, figs. 17.1, 17.2, 17.4, 17.5; Dothan 1982, 191–218; Kling 2000, 282, 286.
[105] Kling 1988, 272.

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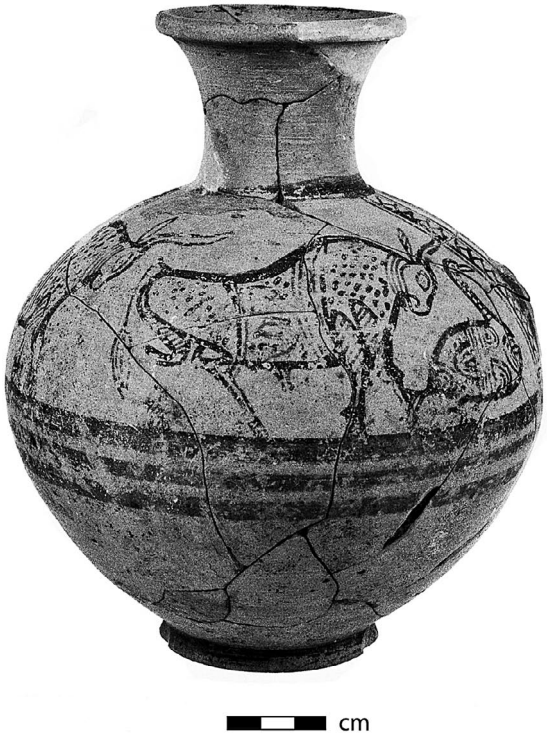

Fig. 7. Strainer jug from Kouklia, showing hybridized Aegean- or Levantine-style birds and Cypriot-style bulls. Kouklia Museum, Cyprus, inv. no. KAT 1–33 (courtesy Kouklia Museum).

12th century B.C.E., when new typological and decorative elements continuously penetrated the Cypriot ceramic repertoire.

Metalwork and Bronze Figurines. Turning to metals and bronze artifacts, the LC IIIA period is also marked by the appearance of a new complex of warrior equipment whose origins have been traced to northern Europe.[106] These new metal weapons include socketed spears, bronze greaves, and the Naue II type cut-and-thrust sword that had already appeared in the Aegean during LH IIIB (13th century B.C.E.) and thence perhaps came to Cyprus. A full set of this equipment (sword, greaves, and helmet) from the upper level of Tomb 18 at Enkomi has been interpreted as belonging to an Aegean warrior who had participated in the destruction of level IIB (end of LC IIC) at Enkomi.[107] All this new weaponry, however, might just as well reflect a response by Cypriot elite warriors to changing military tactics or the elite appropriation of exotic weaponry to enhance their military prowess symbolically.[108] Another metal item often associated with the Aegean is the violin-bow fibula, examples of which have been found at Enkomi, Kition, and Maa-Palaeokastro.[109] Thought to signal the use of a garment that had to be pinned together (for use in colder climates), these fibulas may have originated somewhere to the north of Greece. It was pointed out long ago, however, that they are also found in Italy as well as the Balkans and were not in common use in the Aegean before the 12th century B.C.E. (LH IIIC), about the same time they appeared in Cyprus.[110]

Pervasive foreign elements are evident in many 12th-century B.C.E. Cypriot bronzes.[111] Such elements are particularly noticeable in the four-sided bronze stands and the rod- or cast-tripod stands.[112] On the four-sided stands, a wide range of subjects and themes—ingot bearers and lyre players, antithetic sphinxes, chariot scenes, bulls fighting with lions and griffins—engage and mix hybridized Aegean, Levantine, and Cypriot motifs.[113] One well-known example is a wheeled bronze stand of unknown provenance, decorated with pairs of animals—bulls with lions and a bull with a griffin—in three vertical panels (fig. 8).[114] The bull and lion may be Aegean in inspiration (seen in ivory carving), while the griffin is common in both Aegean and Levantine art, although only rarely seen in combat with a bull (e.g., on ivories from Byblos and Megiddo).[115] It has now been demonstrated that the technology, typology, and design of most four-sided bronze stands were Cypriot in origin and had nothing to do with the Aegean bronze industry.[116] Once again we see the creation of singularly Cypriot artifacts whose diverse stylistic and iconographical features reveal hybridization practices. In Catling's view, this was not the outcome of commercial activity but rather the result of "the mobility of partly destabilised individuals, families or communities whose interaction . . . produced that amalgam of Cypriot, Near Eastern and Aegean features that is so much easier to sense than to understand and explain."[117]

Hybridization practices are also evident in a number of bronze anthropomorphic figurines, most promi-

[106] Desborough 1964, 69–72; Muhly 1984, 41–3.
[107] Catling 1955; Dikaios 1969, 1:406–8; Karageorghis 1990, 19.
[108] Steel 2004a, 196.
[109] Giesen 2001, 40–55; Karageorghis 2002a, 93.
[110] Desborough 1964, 54–8.
[111] Catling 1984, 78; 1986, 99.
[112] Catling 1964, 192–211; Papasavvas 2001.
[113] See, e.g., Karageorghis 2002a, 98–9, figs. 198–204.
[114] Karageorghis 1979.
[115] Karageorghis 1979, 207 n. 10.
[116] Karageorghis and Papasavvas 2001, 348, 351; Papasavvas 2001; see also Catling 1984, 71.
[117] Catling 1986, 99.

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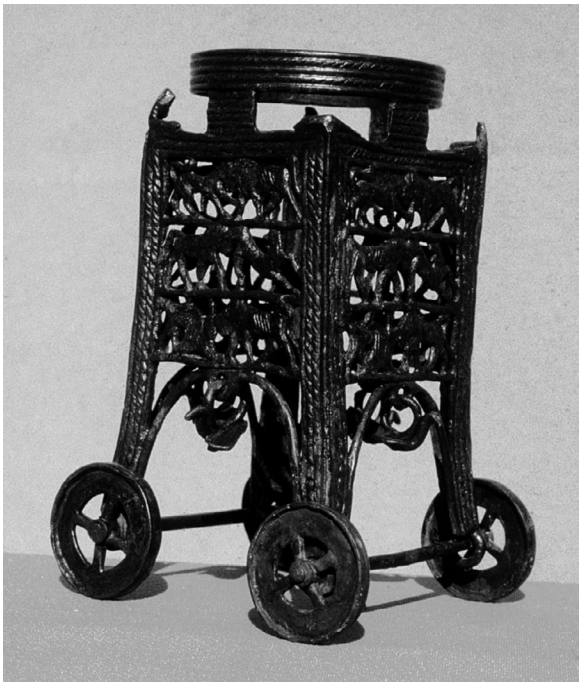

Fig. 8. Bronze wheeled stand, perhaps from Episkopi. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. no. 1978/XI-21/1 (courtesy Cyprus Museum).

nently on two well-known 12th-century B.C.E. statuettes from Enkomi: the "Horned God" and the "Ingot God" (fig. 9).[118] The origin and identification of these figurines have long been debated. The general appearance of the Horned God (facial features, body, kilt, greaves) is reminiscent of ivory specimens from both the Aegean and Cyprus, while its attitude has been linked to Near Eastern prototypes.[119] Negbi feels that the Horned God displays the mixed inspirations of Syrian, Anatolian, and Aegean art but personifies a "local shepherd deity" that she regards as Cypro-Aegean in origin.[120] Similarly, a fusion of Aegean and Near Eastern elements seems evident in the Ingot God's appearance. His pose has been likened to that of various Levantine smiting figurines,[121] but there are also elements of Aegean (greaves), Hittite (shield), and Sardinian (headgear) iconography.[122]

Although most scholars recognize this eclectic mixture of stylistic elements in both figurines, often they assign origins based on their area of training and expertise or on the features they believe to be most significant.[123] Catling, for example, linked the Ingot God with the Greek divinity Hephaistos, while Dikaios argued that the Horned God was Mycenaean in origin, brought to Cyprus or produced there locally by Mycenaean immigrants.[124] Schaeffer, best known for his work at Ugarit in Syria, identified the Ingot God with the Semitic deity Resheph.[125] Still others have equated the Horned God with local, mythic heroes (Kinyras) or gods.[126] The equation of these figurines with divinities from the Aegean or the Levant ignores local agency and maintains the cultural division between local Cypriots and intrusive groups. Given all the other signs of continuity from LC IIC to IIIA and the mixture of stylistic elements visible in these statuettes, they should be regarded as Cypriot in origin and design. Steel believes

Fig. 9. Ingot God statuette from Enkomi. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, French Mission 1963, no. 16.16b (courtesy Cyprus Museum).

[118] Knapp 1986b, 9–14; Webb 1999, 223, 227.
[119] Webb 1999, 227 (with references).
[120] Negbi 2005, 26.
[121] Seeden 1980, 102–23.
[122] Negbi 1976, 39; 2005, 25; Webb 1999, 223 (with references).
[123] Similarly Hulin 1989.
[124] Catling 1971, 29–30; Dikaios 1971, 527–30.
[125] Schaeffer 1971, 509–10.
[126] See Webb (1999, 228) for discussion and references.

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they reflect the ideological and cultural syncretism of Late Cypriot society;[127] to our minds, they serve as two more examples of the hybridized material and social practices that characterize this era.

Ivory. Ivory provides some striking cases of hybridized Aegean, Levantine, and local Cypriot elements. Two pyxis lids from Kouklia-Evreti, for example, are decorated in a mixed style characterized as "exhibiting Oriental as well as strong Mycenaean influences."[128] On one of these lids, from Well TE III 165, and on a very fragmentary ivory plaque from Kition,[129] a lion is represented attacking a bull, a motif well known from Minoan art and thought to be Aegean in origin.[130] On the other Evreti lid, from Pit KD 137, a griffin depicted in front of a tree recalls Near Eastern prototypes. The same kind of mixture is observable on two ivory mirror handles, one from Evreti (fig. 10) and the other from Enkomi.[131] These objects depict armed warriors in Aegean-style kilts striking a recumbent lion (Evreti) and a griffin (Enkomi). The theme of warriors slaying real or mythical animals, it must be added, has a long tradition in Near Eastern art.[132]

Another ivory mirror handle from Swedish Tomb 19 at Enkomi was made in the form of a nude woman grasping her breasts,[133] a concept that recalls works in both Egyptian and western Asian art.[134] In technical and typological terms, this handle reveals Aegean inspiration, while the design of the figure may derive from a Levantine school of carving. Overall, the composition may have been stimulated by Egyptian mirror handles that typically take the form of nude females.[135] While this object represents another superb example of a hybrid product, with mixed influences deriving from diverse eastern Mediterranean sources, there is no reason to believe it was manufactured outside Cyprus.

Finally, on one of the long sides of an ivory gaming box from Enkomi, there is a hunting scene that depicts various horned and hoofed animals pursued by an archer in a chariot; a large bull with lowered horns faces the chariot.[136] While the chariot scene is Near Eastern in inspiration, all the animals are depicted in flying gallop style, an Aegean motif. The bull and a small scene that depicts a hunter killing a lion may be compared with similar details on a gold bowl and gold plate from Ugarit.[137] On a side panel, two bulls lie beneath a tree, in Aegean fashion. There are no exact parallels for this unique object that, like all the other ivory pieces discussed above, reveals a mixture of styles characteristic of hybridized artisanal and social practices on 12th-century B.C.E. Cyprus.

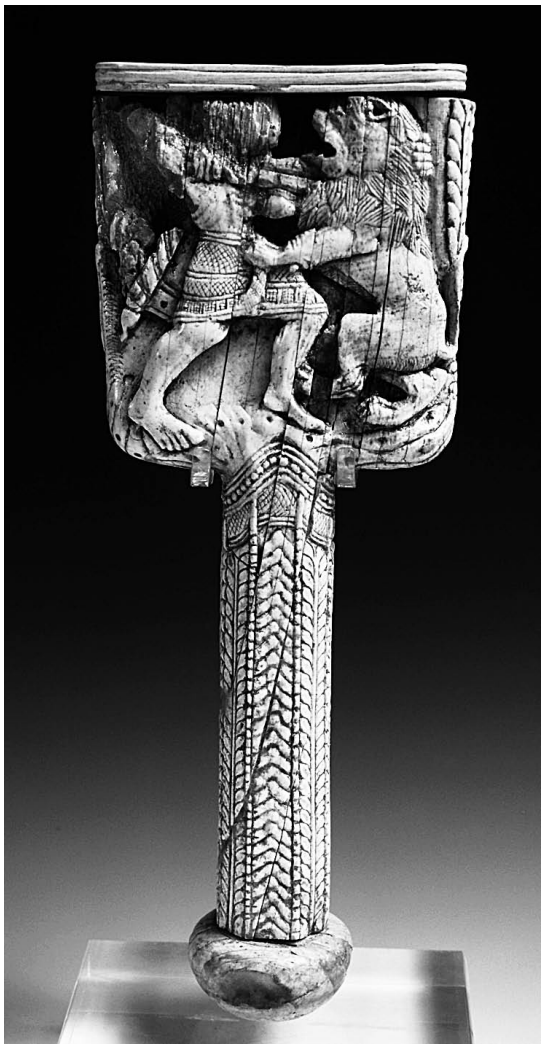

Fig. 10. Ivory mirror handle depicting Aegean-style clad warrior, from Kouklia-Evreti. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, inv. no. KTE T.8/34 (courtesy Cyprus Museum).

Chamber Tombs. During LC IIIA, the use of traditional rock-cut chamber tombs was largely replaced by the construction of shaft tombs and pit graves.[138] Karageorghis regards such tombs as "yet another novelty in

[127] Steel 2004a, 205.
[128] Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 70, 77, figs. 59, 60.
[129] Karageorghis 1985, 332–33, pl. 175, no. 4097.
[130] Kantor 1947, 98.
[131] Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 68, 74–5, figs. 55, 58; Murray et al. 1900, 31, pl. 2, no. 872a.
[132] Maier and Karageorghis 1984, 68; Feldman 2002, 17–23; 2006, 73–81.
[133] Gjerstad et al. 1934, 1:565, no. 91; 568, pls. 92.2, 152.7.
[134] Kantor 1947, 89–90; L. Åström 1972, 612.
[135] Kantor 1947, 90 nn. 75–7.
[136] Murray et al. 1900, 12–15, 31, pl. 1; Karageorghis 2002a, 100, fig. 205.
[137] Feldman 2006, 65–6.
[138] Keswani 2004, 159.

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the culture of Cyprus in the LC IIIA, without excluding an influence from the Aegean."[139] Niklasson-Sonnerby also suggests that such changes in mortuary architecture may be due to (unspecified) external factors, while Iacovou emphasizes continuity in the location and reuse of earlier tombs.[140] Leriou, in contrast, maintains that we are dealing with "a hybrid tomb type morphologically combining the new Mycenaeanising type with the traditional LC chamber tomb."[141] Although these new grave types clearly indicate changes in mortuary practice, they most likely resulted from internal social changes: while some people became detached from their ancestral descent groups, others created different contexts for accumulating and displaying wealth or social status.[142]

The End of LC IIIA

The collapse of the international exchange system(s) of the Late Bronze Age meant that Cyprus lost access to certain overseas markets. Although trade with Cilicia and the Levant continued on some level,[143] commercial relations with the Aegean and the central Mediterranean actually seem to have increased.[144] With the loss of state control over trade, however, Cypriot elites could no longer display foreign luxury goods as a means to enhance their status.[145] Yet there is nothing in the archaeological record to indicate that colonizers or migrants were able to capitalize on this situation. Instead we see remarkable continuity in local material and social practices, and it has been argued that one of the most distinctive features of Late Cypriot social practices is the "external referencing and hybridization of Aegean and Near Eastern iconography and equipment."[146] Beyond the objects and materials presented here, Steel discusses skeptically various other features associated with mortuary practices, religion, metal hoards, and other crafts that have been linked to an Aegean colonization of Cyprus during LC IIIA.[147] Although several of these features derive from the Aegean, there are just as many exceptions; not least among these are (1) the mirror handles and other ivories from Enkomi whose iconography has been linked to Near Eastern royal ideologies[148] and (2) the unfinished stone cylinders found in the Enkomi level IIIA (LC IIIA) "seal-cutter's workshop," with a western Asian provenance and arguably produced by Levantine craftsmen.[149] Other classes of material goods not discussed here—from clay torches and loomweights to seals and sealings to the iconography of ship representations—also have been associated with an Aegean or Sea Peoples origin. They, too, however, typically reveal an amalgam of Cypriot, Levantine, and Aegean elements and reflect much less a single origin than a mixture of ideas and influences from all these areas.

The Transition to the Iron Age: Late Cypriot IIIB and Cypro-Geometric IA

In many respects, the internal situation on Cyprus became more stable and coherent by the end of the 12th century B.C.E. Although this is the beginning of Cyprus' Early Iron Age, it is conventionally termed LC IIIB (ca. 1125–1050 B.C.E.).[150] Cypriot material culture once again appears predominantly homogeneous, but the practices involved indicate a clear break in tradition.[151] Proto-White Painted Wares became the predominant pottery type throughout the island (fig. 11).[152] Given the long tradition of eclectic mixing in pottery shapes and decoration, it is no surprise that these Proto-White Painted Wares were produced in a standardized style that represents a striking amalgamation of local Cypriot, Aegean, and Levantine traditions.[153] The same applies to the characteristic White Painted I Ware of CG IA (ca. 1050–1000 B.C.E.), clearly a derivative of Proto-White Painted Ware, but whose appearance coincides with the renewal of contact with the Levant and the advent of Phoenician vessels—imported and locally produced—in cemeteries throughout southern and eastern Cyprus.[154]

Beyond the pottery, several other objects and materials demonstrate various levels of hybridization. New terracotta zoomorphic vessels in the form of bulls, horses, dogs, birds, and two bicephalous human-animal examples are larger and more abstract than earlier varieties.[155] Although Karageorghis suggests an Aegean origin for some iconographic features seen on these objects,[156] their fabric and decoration nicely complement the Proto-White Painted Ware tradition, with its amalgamation of Aegean, Levantine, and local Cypriot elements. In addition, a new class of figurine often executed in the Proto-White Painted Ware style,

[139] Karageorghis 2000, 263–64.
[140] Niklasson-Sonnerby 1987, 224–25; Iacovou 1989, 52–3.
[141] Leriou 2007, 574–75.
[142] Keswani 2004, 159–60.
[143] Gilboa 1989, 2005; Sherratt 1999.
[144] Knapp 1990.
[145] Sherratt 1998.
[146] Steel 2004a, 204.
[147] Steel 2004a, 200–10.
[148] Keswani 1989, 68; 2004, 127.
[149] Joyner et al. 2006, 140–48; Merrillees 2006.
[150] Iacovou 1999b, 2002.
[151] Catling 1994, 134–35; Steel 2004a, 210.
[152] Iacovou 1988, 84.
[153] Iacovou 1991, 204; Sherratt 1991, 193; 1992, 329–38.
[154] Negbi 1992; Iacovou 1994, 159; Raptou 2002.
[155] Courtois 1971, 287–308; Webb 1999, 216–19.
[156] Karageorghis 1993, 53, 60.

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Fig. 11. Proto-White Painted Ware stirrup jar from Gastria-Alaas. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, Tomb 19, no. 3 (courtesy Cyprus Museum).

the "goddess with upraised arms," appears with increasing frequency in LC IIIB.[157] The earlier (LC II) nude female, mainly Base Ring Ware figurines (of "Astarte" type) declined and then went out of use, much as the traditional handmade wares did.[158] Karageorghis believes these new female anthropomorphic vessels represent "a new economic elite" of Aegean origin, perhaps originating in Crete along with shrine models, or *naiskoi*.[159] Very similar Aegean-type figurines, however, are also known from several 12th-century B.C.E. Philistine sites,[160] and the earlier "Astarte" figurines were, on stylistic grounds and as their name indicates, typically assumed to be of Levantine derivation. Whatever the iconographic differences between the Aegean-type goddesses with upraised arms[161] and its local variants (e.g., fig. 12), the more crucial point is how this new Aegean-type figurine was integrated into the local repertoire in a typically Cypriot manner.

The most abundant evidence of hybridized material goods comes from burials that, especially after ca. 1100 B.C.E., often provide our only source of information for this period. Mortuary practices had changed once again by the 11th century B.C.E. At Salamis, several infants interred in Levantine-type storage jars represent new funerary rites.[162] Moreover, many burials were accompanied by new status symbols such as gold jewelry, bronze vessels, imported Levantine unguent vessels, and Canaanite amphoras.[163] All earlier cemeteries were abandoned and new ones established on isolated plots of land well away from the town centers.[164] The dead, both cremated and inhumed, and accompanied by numerous grave goods, were now placed in the hybrid "Mycenaean type" chamber tombs with both long and narrow as well as short and wide dromoi.[165] No longer do we find secondary burials; nor was any special treatment accorded to the skeletons.[166] The act of consciously removing the dead from living areas stands in stark contrast with previous (intramural) practices and probably reflects a different ideological horizon among the inhabitants of Early Iron Age Cyprus. Iacovou believes that these new mortuary practices were carried out by "the foreigners [who] were no longer foreigners."[167] In our view, the Aegean, Levantine, and indigenous population elements on Cyprus had by now become fully hybridized.[168]

One crucial question that arises at this point is the extent to which Aegean Greek-speaking people were involved in all the changes associated with LC IIIB. The often-cited inscribed bronze spit from Tomb 49 at Palaepaphos-Skales is engraved with five syllabic signs that form the Greek personal name Opheltas (fig. 13).[169] The rendering of this name in the genitive (*o-pe-le-ta-u*) points to the Arcadian dialect.[170] This single object has come to stand as an inviolable reference point for those who support the notion of an Aegean colonization of Cyprus during LC IIIB or who argue that Greek-speaking people were not only present but politically preeminent on Cyprus by this time.[171]

The importance assigned to this object seems quite out of proportion. Sherratt pointed out that it is "at

[157] Karageorghis 1993, 1, 58–61 (Type GA[i]); Webb 1999, 213–14, fig. 75.
[158] Kling 1989b, 160.
[159] Karageorghis 2000, 258–59; see also Karageorghis 1977a, 5; Courtois 1971, 343; Hägg 1991.
[160] Dothan 1982, 234–49.
[161] Karageorghis 2000, 259, fig. 13.5.
[162] Calvet 1980.
[163] Coldstream 1989, 1994; Rupp 1989.
[164] Iacovou 1994, 158.
[165] Leriou 2007, 575.
[166] Steel 1995, 199–200.
[167] Iacovou 2005, 130–31.
[168] See also Iacovou 2006a, 36–44.
[169] Karageorghis 1983, 59–76.
[170] Masson and Masson 1983.
[171] E.g., Snodgrass 1988, 18–19; Deger-Jalkotzy 1994, 11; Iacovou 1999b, 11–12.

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least in the eleventh century, a thoroughly Cypriot artifact," and that Opheltas belonged to "a Greek-speaking community whose culture generally is indistinguishable from that of other contemporary Cypriots, who is using a peculiarly Cypriot form of writing in a thoroughly Cypriot, or rather non-Greek manner" (i.e., to indicate personal ownership by inscribing one's name on an object, a practice common to both Cyprus and the Levant but quite foreign to Linear B usage).[172] Moreover, the person who inscribed "Opheltas" on this spit was using the common Cypriot syllabary alongside a local Paphian variant (signs for *le* and *u*),[173] a script that had been employed in Cyprus for at least three centuries before any proposed Aegean colonization of Cyprus. Finally, Tomb 49, the richest burial at Skales, with its elliptical chamber and short dromos, is quite similar to earlier Late Cypriot tomb types.[174]

In our view, the human remains in Tomb 49 at Palaepaphos-Skales belonged to a member of the local Cypriot elite, one who may have had a Greek name but who was not in the least concerned about being buried in a distinctively Cypriot manner. Sherratt argued that there is "no demarcation in the general character and background of the material culture of this time to suggest that Greek-speakers and non-Greek-speakers on the island were differentiating themselves in this way."[175] Whether Opheltas was aware of any of this is most unlikely, yet his burial exhibits a striking indicator of the cultural hybridization apparent over all of Cyprus during the 11th century B.C.E.

The final, also rather striking change we wish to note is the patterning of Early Iron Age settlements.[176] With the exceptions of Palaepaphos, Kition, and Enkomi, all the towns that had been rebuilt and inhabited during LC IIIA were now abandoned or relocated, and several new towns or cemeteries were established, most of which would develop into the kingdoms of Iron Age Cyprus (e.g., Salamis, Idalion, Episkopi-Kaloriziki, Gastria-Alaas, Soloi, Marion, Lapithos). Whether or not those kingdoms actually emerged during the 11th century B.C.E. or some three centuries later is a matter of ongoing debate, one that cannot detain us further here.[177]

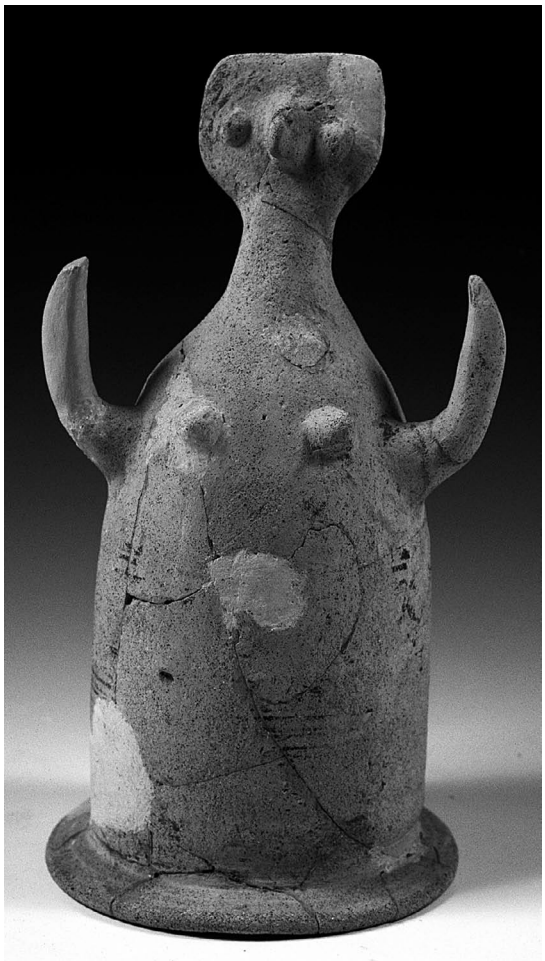

Fig. 12. LC IIIB Cypriot variant of the "goddess with uplifted arms" from Limassol-Komissariato. Limassol District Museum, inv. no. 580/8 (courtesy Cyprus Museum).

COLONIZATION, OR MIGRATION AND HYBRIDIZATION?

So what actually happened during the 12th–11th centuries B.C.E.? Are we dealing with an Aegean colonization of Cyprus or a migration incident or neither? How should we identify intrusive and native groups on Cyprus at this time: Achaeans? Greeks? Phoenicians? Eteocypriots? Or should we abandon all such attempts?[178] From the 11th century B.C.E. onward, the archaeological record of Cyprus bears little resemblance to that of the preceding centuries. This was a time of intensive human movements in the eastern Mediterranean, when newcomers and natives on Cyprus transformed the island's material and social practices. We next look at previous explanations and then present our own interpretation of the manifold

[172] Sherratt 2003, 226.
[173] Palaima 2005, 38.
[174] Karageorghis 1983, 59–60; Leriou 2002, 175.
[175] Sherratt 1992, 330; similarly Leriou 2007, 577.
[176] Iacovou 1989, 1994, 2002.
[177] Snodgrass 1994; Iacovou 1999b, 2002, 2003; cf. Rupp 1998; Petit 2001. For a fuller discussion, see Knapp 2008, 290–97.
[178] Iacovou 2006a.

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Fig. 13. Bronze *obelos* from Palaepaphos-Skales. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum, Tomb 49-16 (courtesy Cyprus Museum).

changes that characterized 12th–11th-century B.C.E. Cyprus.

Previous Interpretative Models: Colonization/Hellenization and Mercantile Confederation

Until the 1970s, archaeologists often approached the issue of Mycenaean expansion by focusing on material remains thought to reflect historical incidents, such as the return of the Achaean heroes from the Trojan War.[179] Based on the amount of LH IIIA–B pottery found on Cyprus, some scholars even argued that the Mycenaeans had colonized Cyprus as early as the 15th–14th centuries B.C.E.[180] The amount of Mycenaean pottery found on Cyprus, however, must be seen in relation to the overall Late Cypriot ceramic component.[181] For example, at Kalavasos-Ayios Dhimitrios, Mycenaean wares make up less than 1% of the total pottery corpus, and the situation islandwide is little different.[182] Sherratt has discussed the long-standing tension that exists between those who see pottery as evidence of trade (from Gjerstad to Steel) and those who see it as an "ethnocultural" indicator of large-scale migrations or smaller movements of people (from Myres to Nicolaou and Karageorghis).[183] Although most scholars today see pottery as evidence of trade, its ethnocultural status still looms large where it can be demonstrated that previously imported wares were being produced locally, precisely the case for Aegean-style pottery found in Cyprus and the Levant during the 13th and 12th centuries B.C.E.

The notion of an Aegean colonization of Cyprus still permeates the literature related to this period.[184] The appearance of some innovative Aegean features on Cyprus during the 12th century B.C.E. and the fact that Cyprus had become a "largely Greek-speaking island"[185] by the Cypro-Archaic period has led many scholars to conclude that Cyprus was colonized by at least two different waves of immigrants—Aegean people and the Sea Peoples—during the 12th and 11th centuries B.C.E. or that some of the latter actually came from the Aegean region. The prominence of Mycenaean IIIC1 pottery in 12th-century B.C.E. deposits, furthermore, seems to have cemented a notion that it takes a Mycenaean to make or even use a Mycenaean pot.[186] During the 11th century B.C.E., the apparent predominance of some Aegean customs (e.g., the use of Aegean-type figurines, Mycenaean-type chamber tombs) came to be seen as a sign of the Hellenization of the island.[187] Although Vanschoonwinkel critiques the notion of either a Mycenaean colonization or a Mycenaean commercial empire anywhere in the Mediterranean during the 13th–11th centuries B.C.E. and argues for a "progressive fusion" of Mycenaean and Cypriot material culture, he concludes that the island had become Hellenized by the end of the 11th century B.C.E.[188] The deeply felt hold of the "colonization narrative" and the notion of Cyprus' Hellenization during the earliest Iron Age are nowhere more obvious.

We have already critiqued this "Hellenization perspective." In the case of Cyprus at the transition to the Iron Age, it is obvious that those who support an "Achaean" colonization of the island have stressed the Aegean features of some classes of material whose character is ambivalent. Moreover, the noticeable continuities in architecture, pottery, burial practices, and ideology (e.g., similar mortuary rituals) tend to be ignored, while emphasis is given to some individual features (cult symbols, weaponry) whose interpretation is at best equivocal. The Cypriots of the 12th–11th centuries B.C.E. were neither "civilized" nor finally

[179] E.g., Gjerstad 1944; Dikaios 1967; cf. Vanschoonwinkel 2006, 78–83.
[180] E.g., Myres 1914, xxx; Nicolaou 1973.
[181] Steel 1998; 2004b, 74–5.
[182] Steel 1998, 286 n. 5.
[183] Sherratt 1999, 164–68.
[184] Leriou (2002) provides numerous references.
[185] Sherratt 1992, 326; Karageorghis 1994, 7.
[186] Sherratt 1992, 318–20.
[187] E.g., Karageorghis 1990, 29–30.
[188] Vanschoonwinkel 2006, 90–104.

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"Hellenized" by any superior Greek-speaking populations, nor did they absorb passively any specific aspects of Aegean material culture.[189] By the beginning of the 17th century B.C.E., the people of Cyprus had attained an advanced level of social complexity, and by the 14th century B.C.E., they had developed aspects of industrialization, if not "urbanization."[190] No colonizers taught them how to use the pottery wheel or how to produce iron through carburization.[191] None of this, however, means that people from the Aegean never ventured to Cyprus, nor does it mean they made no contribution to Cypriot material culture. In order to determine the nature of Aegean presence on Cyprus, it is crucial to consider how migrants and others involved in contact situations might have met and mixed, and in the process became transformed.

Over the past 15 years, partly in reaction to both the Hellenization perspective and the colonization narrative, an alternative model has emerged, what we term the "mercantile perspective."[192] The manifold changes seen in Cypriot society after the collapse of the exchange system(s) of the Late Bronze Age are attributed to new, more localized and entrepreneurial patterns of Mediterranean maritime trade that had originated in the wealthy Cypriot polities of the late 13th century B.C.E. (LC IIC). Artzy discusses how economic mercenaries could have evolved from being state-supported intermediaries in Cyprus' trade relationships with various Levantine city-states to becoming entrepreneurial competitors of those same city-states.[193] The resulting politicoeconomic configuration would have embraced Cyprus, the southern Levant, and perhaps some areas in the Aegean and southern Anatolia.

This interpretation has been contested, at least for the southern Levant.[194] With respect to Cyprus, the mercantile perspective has been criticized because it fails to explain the appearance of material elements regarded as intrusive in local assemblages.[195] Sherratt may have overstated her case by suggesting that any Aegean people who may have come to Cyprus "were more in the nature of economic and cultural migrants moving from the periphery to the core, from the Provinces to Versailles" and that "for them acculturation and integration to the cosmopolitan society of Cyprus . . . was a desired and desirable process, and there is every reason to believe from the archaeological record that—assuming they were there at all—this is what they achieved."[196] Nonetheless, the "acculturation and integration" she sees is undeniable, even if we believe it more appropriate to speak in terms of hybridization and the mixing of cultural traditions.

In all these scenarios, we find the same cultural separation between intrusive groups and local inhabitants, the "us vs. them" perspective that has permeated all interpretative models seeking to explain the complex situation on 12th–11th-century B.C.E. Cyprus. Given the inevitable movements of people that must have taken place as international relations broke down at the end of the Late Bronze Age, the concept of hybridization enables us to consider in a dynamic and nuanced manner how the material representations of such groups became transformed into something entirely new and distinctive. We consider, along with Sherratt,[197] the social contexts in which a new sense of identity may have emerged, and how that might have occurred. If people from the Aegean and the Levant (or even Anatolia) migrated to Cyprus at this time, they will have introduced both social and material diversity into different towns and regions on the island, creating new links between distant areas, and in the process obscuring any clear picture of discrete ethnic groups, of "us vs. them."

Aegean Peoples Overseas

Bearing in mind the fluid nature of ethnic identity, the first thing to question is whether any intrusive groups from the Aegean would have identified themselves as the successors of the Mycenaeans. The collapse of Mycenaean polities in the Aegean world would have led to the fragmentation of any (unlikely) collective identity synonymous with them. If identities are "always in process,"[198] the journey of any newcomers to Cyprus would also have been a journey to a new identity shaped by their social and material background, their customs, and notions of representation. Even if they were conscious of their Aegean origins in the beginning, after two or three generations of intermarriage, of living in their new world, the situation became markedly different.

The notable continuities between LC IIC and IIIA indicate that Cypriot material culture of the 12th century B.C.E. was in large part derivative of or developed from that of the preceding period. At the same time, however, there is a continuous penetration into that material culture of Aegean and Levantine elements, all of which were gradually integrated into the local

[189] Catling 1994.
[190] Knapp 1986a, 1986b; Negbi 2005.
[191] Sherratt 1994, 61–2.
[192] Sherratt 1992, 1994, 1998, 2000; Artzy 1997, 1998.
[193] Artzy 1997, 1998.
[194] Barako 2001.
[195] Karageorghis 1994, 3–4.
[196] Sherratt 1992, 325.
[197] Sherratt 1992.
[198] Hall 1996, 2.

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traditions, resulting in explicitly hybridized products. This process is perhaps most evident in the pottery assemblages of the 12th century B.C.E., where increasing numbers of shapes and types of decoration, many of Aegean derivation (or inspiration), were introduced and mixed with previous shapes and types. In metalwork, we see a similar fusion of Cypriot, Aegean, and Near Eastern elements, but one so implicit that it is impossible to point to a specific cultural region beyond Cyprus itself. Even the terracotta figurines, with their close iconographic parallels to the Aegean, are thoroughly mixed with traditional Cypriot elements.

All these hybridization practices imprinted on a wide variety of materials indicate that we are dealing with the cultural entanglement of diverse "social actors" of differing origins.[199] Such encounters would have comprised intrusive groups from the Aegean or the Levant along with local Cypriots whose material culture had long since embraced multiple and diverse Aegean and Near Eastern elements. This hybridized material culture reflects a social admixture, the entanglement of different groups of people who contributed to its outcome. All these meetings and mixings had crystallized by the 11th century B.C.E., when we observe over the entire island fairly homogeneous material and technological traditions that blend elements of local, Levantine, and Aegean ancestry.

The archaeological record that demonstrates these social and material mixings reveals no sign of a division between intrusive and local populations.[200] Certainly the newcomers did not arrive as conquering colonists. There are no separate enclaves or other markers of distinction and, more significantly, no evidence of economic or political manipulation by superior colonists against the native population. Given the manifestations and boundaries of social or ethnic identities, in a colonization horizon we would expect to find clear material distinctions between the colonizers and the colonized. What we actually find are multiple examples across virtually all classes of material that are completely ambiguous in terms of establishing distinct social or ethnic identities. In other words, any Aegean people who had arrived on Cyprus by this time had become entangled in processes of hybridization, both as social actors and in their use of material culture—in pottery, coroplastic arts, metal products, ivory, seals, use of the local script for writing, and mortuary rituals and practices. The ongoing process—if not quite end result—of this hybridization may be seen in the largely homogeneous quality of Cypriot material culture during the 11th century B.C.E., with its amalgamation of Cypriot, Levantine, and Aegean elements.

OVERVIEW AND CONCLUSION

The Cypriot archaeological record of the 12th–11th centuries B.C.E. offers an array of evidence for a movement of people that, however limited its impact at the time, would become of lasting historical significance for the island. In discussing various factors that may impel migrants to move, Anthony notes: "migration is most likely to occur when there are negative (push) stresses in the home region and positive (pull) attractions in the destination region."[201] People who undertake long-distance migrations are often those who had previously been involved in subsistence strategies that became unsustainable (e.g., specialized farmers or laborers).[202] This is just one possible scenario to explain what may have happened to all those specialized artisans and producers recorded in the Linear B tablets (e.g., makers of perfumed oils, wines, wool) in the Late Bronze Aegean after its highly centralized palatial system collapsed.

At the same time on Cyprus, however, there is no evidence of an economic collapse, and some have even argued that the island may have offered migrants the opportunity to pursue their old professions or adopt new ones.[203] Given the long-standing evidence for trade contacts, many people from the Aegean, in particular merchants and artisans, would have been quite familiar with their (Cypriot) destination. The "successive waves of settlers from Mycenaean Greece"[204] represent a movement drawn out over more than a century, one that may well have been characterized by some return migration. Thus, for example, we note the discovery of a bronze amphoroid krater used as an ash urn and found in the tomb of the "Hero of Lefkandi," as well as other bronzes, including an openwork four-sided support of Cypriot type, from the Sub-Minoan graves in the North Cemetery at Knossos.[205]

Archaeologists, ancient historians, and philologists working on Cyprus have quite different views of ethnicity on Early Iron Age Cyprus.[206] In this regard, it must be pointed out that tombs uncovered at LC IIIB (late) Skales, like those from the following CG I cemeteries around Palaepaphos (Plakes, Hasan, Lakkos tou Skarnou, Xerolimni/Xylinos), are quite uniform in type

[199] van Dommelen 2005, 117–18.
[200] Leriou 2007, 577–79.
[201] Anthony 1990, 899.
[202] Anthony 1990, 901.
[203] E.g., Coldstream 1994; Karageorghis 1994.
[204] Snodgrass 1988, 12; Karageorghis 1994, 6.
[205] Catling 1994, 137–38 (with references); Stampolidis and Kotsonas 2006, 340.
[206] E.g., Iacovou 2005, 2006a; Palaima 2005.

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(chamber tombs) and in their mortuary equipment.[207] As a result, it is impossible to establish any ethnic boundaries that would have separated those who were buried in these tombs. Iacovou, too, has criticized those who see an ethnic mosaic in the necropolis at Skales, arguing that the Early Cypro-Geometric mortuary deposits at Skales, Lapithos, Kythrea, Kition, Amathus, and Kourion were "the well-cared for burial plots of securely established, culturally homogeneous and quite prosperous communities."[208] Any focal movement of a distinctive ethnic group bent on establishing control over Cyprus would have produced quite a different material record, one represented by specific kinds of personal belongings and other intrusive items.

From all this, we conclude that at some point during the 11th century B.C.E., some people of Aegean origin (migrants, not purposive colonists) became established on Cyprus, an "event" that remained deeply rooted in the memory of Greeks, whether in Greece or on Cyprus. We cannot define this event any more precisely because the social processes involved in it—social exchange, migration, hybridization—had been going on for 200–300 years. The identities of the people involved, whatever their ethnic or social background, became altered along with their material representations. After a century or more of negotiation and reinterpretation, a new identity emerged, one that held meaning for all the inhabitants of Early Iron Age Cyprus. No doubt new elite groups emerged at this time: Phoenician elements in towns such as Kition, Eteocypriot speakers in Amathus, and a mixture of native Cypriot and intrusive Aegean elements elsewhere and everywhere. Some of them must have been speakers of Greek, and ultimately their cooperation and entanglement with local Cypriots led to the "Greek-Cypriot ethnogenesis,"[209] whose ultimate outcome would be the "Pan-Cyprian koine culture" of the 11th–10th centuries B.C.E.[210]

In this study, we have argued that the "Mycenaean colonization" of Cyprus was neither Mycenaean nor a colonization. The late 13th through 11th centuries B.C.E. was a time when some people with an Aegean cultural background came to Cyprus and in the hybridization processes that ensued underwent intensive social transformation. Given all the continuities seen in Cypriot material culture and social practices, these Aegean settlers, if such they were, seem to have become well integrated into Cypriot society. Notions that involve the passive acceptance by local Cypriots of a superior Mycenaean culture and the absorption of local inhabitants into displaced Aegean power structures need to be abandoned entirely. They must be replaced by more nuanced considerations of the ways that migrants and local peoples interacted with each other, how hybridization led to new social and material practices and to a new identity that was far more than the sum of its individual parts. In such a scenario, we neither ignore local agency nor underestimate the Aegean contribution to all the changes that took place on Cyprus at the transition to the Iron Age.

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[207] Leriou 2002, 175.
[208] Iacovou 2005, 129.
[209] Sherratt 1992, 337–38; Karageorghis 1994, 6.
[210] Iacovou 1999a, 150.

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