

4 Agencement, matter flows and itinerary of object in the Bronze Age East Mediterranean

A new materialities approach to globalization

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Introduction

This chapter explores the materiality of trade in the East Mediterranean (Figure 4.1) during the Late Bronze Age (LBA; c. 1600–1200 BCE). This period was characterized by the development of complex over-lapping trade networks exemplified by the bulk movement of raw materials (copper and tin in particular)¹ and pottery – both as commodity containers² and as objects traded in their own right.³ Additionally, the exchange of luxury crafted



Figure 4.1 Map of East Mediterranean, showing key sites involved in Late Bronze Age trade

Source: Author's drawing.

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objects, the work of high-status craft specialists,⁴ is well documented throughout the region. The connectivity evident in the movement of these goods and materials might be examined as potentially one of the earliest examples of globalization,⁵ focusing on the interconnectedness of trading and diplomatic networks. In this chapter however, I want to explore the movement of things, peoples and materials through the lens of another relational ontology: the concept of assemblage⁶ (*agencement*),⁷ which emphasizes the ongoing flow of matter (both human and nonhuman) at multiple scales. To shed light on how such an approach might be explored I focus on the surviving material evidence for long-distance trade identified at Aredhiou Vouppes in the Cypriot hinterland,⁸ a small nodal point in the posited LBA exchange networks which would normally be considered peripheral to international interactions.

Bronze Age globalization?

There is considerable archaeological evidence for long-distance trade around the shores of the East Mediterranean in the LBA and stretching into wider Eurasia.⁹ Archaeologists have proposed theoretical constructs to shed light on the nature and practice of this trade. On such approach that is gaining some traction is globalization.¹⁰ Globalization describes inter-regional connectivity and expanding exchange networks precipitated by the demand for raw materials, desirable (branded) commodities¹¹ and restricted luxuries.¹² While we cannot claim trading contacts to have been a truly *global* phenomenon in the Bronze Age (*c.* third-second millennia BCE) there is certainly evidence for ever-expanding and overlapping spheres of interaction throughout a hyper-region of Eurasia and north-east Africa.¹³ This transregional trading system fits some of the criteria for globalization as outlined above, in particular its interconnectedness, the ‘spatially spreading and changing networks’,¹⁴ and a complex relationship between increasing demand for raw materials, technological development and social change.¹⁵ In particular, Vandkilde highlights the demand for tin (more so than copper),¹⁶ commenting that ‘[e]ngagement in wide-ranging networks was no longer merely an option. It was a necessity to the function of the Bronze Age world’,¹⁷ which increasingly depended upon bronze technologies.

Bronze Age inter-regional trade has previously been examined as an early example of a world system – namely the movement of much needed raw materials (primarily metals) from a less developed periphery into a more politically advanced core.¹⁸ More recently, Kohl has challenged the perception of Bronze Age Eurasia and Egypt as ‘multiple core areas loosely integrated or overlapping’,¹⁹ instead highlighting a more fluid relationship and exchange of knowledges between the so-called periphery and core. For example, many of the technological and social developments that shaped LBA material worlds, such as the horse-drawn chariot and (*c.* 1200 BCE), the cut-and-thrust sword, were innovations of the apparent marginal European edges of the Eurasian contact systems. Moreover, our knowledge of

different areas is deficient in detail and impedes comparison. In some areas there is an emphasis on the urban context, in others the focus is on the funerary domain, and while our knowledge and understanding are ever-changing with new archaeological discoveries, 'the picture in hand at the moment remains incomplete with certain vital pieces missing to complete the puzzle'.²⁰

There is an inevitable tension between the local and interregional within these models of globalization. The consequence of exchanges across vastly distant geographic regions is inevitably cultural contact and, as a result, the transformation of material worlds. As Vandkilde notes, the '[l]ocal and global are mutually constitutive'.²¹ The mixing of material culture and new knowledges within 'a place of encounter',²² or Homi Bhabha's third space,²³ has been variously explored by archaeologists as cultural hybridity,²⁴ transculturalism²⁵ and glocalization²⁶ – approaches that highlight the agency of local populations and their (re)consumption of the exotic, new and different. The emphasis in studies of Bronze Age globalization therefore, is not simply on how local worlds are situated within wider social and economic networks, but more particularly on how local agents mediate the integration of imported goods, as well as any accompanying new ideas and social practices, and meld them into their own way of life. These are creative choices, encapsulating both acceptance and rejection of the new and foreign and their manipulation into new cultural constructs. As Kopytoff notes, '[w]hat is significant about the adoption of alien objects – as of alien ideas – is not the fact that they are adopted, but the way they are culturally redefined and put to use'.²⁷

Bernbeck²⁸ has developed a tripartite model of Bronze Age globalization, highlighting three material, non-human components that make up the overlapping exchange networks. The *nodes* of the network he identifies with the major trading centres – namely the towns, ports, palaces and storage facilities – sites such as Ugarit and Enkomi, the palace centres of Knossos on Crete and Mycenae, Pylos and Tiryns in the Peloponnese. These nodal points are interlinked by the *connectors*, the technologies of communication, including transport systems such as roads, riverways, shipping and sea-routes, as well as the writing tools such as cuneiform tablets, writing boards and associated writing and sphragistic paraphernalia. The third component, which he views as underpinning the whole system, is what he terms the *interstitial spaces* that comprise the rural hinterland of the nodes.²⁹ Surely however, the rural hinterland supporting the whole infrastructure, as well as the other 'peripheral' sites in the hinterland, such as the mines supplying raw materials, clay beds for pottery, and the production centres, as well as the materials supporting them – the timber for shipbuilding and the textiles and twines making the sails and ropes used in the shipping industry – are all equally *chains* embedded in the network of exchanges, and likewise the people (actors) entangled in the flow of production – the farmers, potters, miners, shipwrights, weavers and ropemakers.

In many respects Bernbeck's model elides with Latour's Actor Network Theory (ANT), which embeds human actors and non-human actants as equal

participants in networks,³⁰ although within ANT the connectors (actants, or non-human entities with agentive capacities) would equally be classed as nodes entwined within a network through a string of actions. I would argue that his model, grounded within a spatial representation of networks, serves to *separate* the productive hinterland – the source of agricultural and mineral wealth – from the wider Bronze Age exchange. Instead, I would argue that the primary producers were in fact vital components of globalized communities, providing the starting link in the chains of communication. Rather than attempting to impose networks of human and material agency onto a partially mapped East Mediterranean LBA land and seascape, this chapter examines the interconnectedness of the East Mediterranean more explicitly through the lens of the new materialisms,³¹ specifically as agencement.³² It is worth noting that Bernbeck similarly in fact characterizes his tripartite model of globalization as a Deleuzian assemblage/agencement.³³ This approach highlights the ongoing flow and entanglements of matter and allows for a more fluid understanding of how people, materials and things became connected at multiple levels from small-scale local interactions to more wide-ranging cosmopolitan exchanges. The following discussion explores the concept of new materialist agencement, which I argue provides a more flexible perspective for interrogating the evidence than the rigid categories of globalization outlined above.

Matter flows and agencement

‘Matter is always in flux and can only be followed...This perspective requires new analytical models of movement or flow in archaeology’.³⁴

Rather than the models of globalization discussed above, this chapter focuses on a new materialist perspective to explore the interconnectedness of the LBA East Mediterranean. Here, relationality is explored as an assemblage, an approach developed by Deleuze and Guattari³⁵ that has gained traction throughout the social sciences, including archaeology.³⁶ In this chapter, however, I choose to use the original French term *agencement* (the processes of organization, ordering or arrangement), ‘with its connotations of continual emergence and becoming’,³⁷ as it captures the fluidity of the concept described by Deleuze and Guattari, more precisely that the more static term of assemblage and, moreover, avoids inevitable confusion between the theoretical construct and an archaeological assemblage.³⁸ An agencement describes the continual emergence, ebb and flow of ‘ad hoc groupings of diverse elements, of vibrant materials of all sorts [...] living, throbbing confederations’³⁹ both human and non-human. It alludes to the process of these things coming together and moreover, ‘actively links these parts together by establishing relations between them’.⁴⁰ This is a recursive relationship within which the ‘properties of a whole are produced by

the ongoing interactions between its parts, while the whole ... reacts back on this part'.⁴¹ The relationality of an agencement therefore references the flux, flow and entanglements of matter within 'a meshwork of interwoven lines of growth and movement'.⁴² The challenge here is to move beyond the physical remains that survive in the archaeological record; rather than simply focusing on the tangible evidence it encourages us to think about how this emerged through ongoing interactions between people and things. Certainly, the framing of Bernbeck's globalization model (see above) suggests such an interplay of human/non-human entities at varying scales commensurate with agencement and suggests that this approach has potential for exploring the connectivity of trade in the LBA.

The continual reconfiguration of the human and non-human, the tangible and intangible, within an agencement is inevitably multi-scalar.⁴³ Indeed, as an archaeologist examining interactions between people and the wider material world, the concept of agencement is particularly attractive as it enables us to think about materials at different levels, from the microscopic (residue analyses, environmental data etc.), through the materials and substances with which people worked, to individual artefacts and groupings of materials, to a wider geographical, even inter-regional, scale. This has particular relevance for the analysis of interregional connectivity, previously explored through the lens of globalization or world systems theory, since the archaeologist's starting point of analysis is typically an archaeological artefact (or group/assemblage of such objects). Situating this archaeological material within an agencement facilitates a clearer understanding of how the object was embedded within the material world and likewise allows us to consider its (im)material interactions, thereby elucidating how objects and materials moved between diverse value systems and social structures, along with thoughts, knowledges, ideologies and novel technologies. The flexibility of agencement also allows us to engage with the vagaries of an incomplete and ever-changing archaeological record as discussed above.⁴⁴ 'By keeping our attention on movement, temporality, and scale',⁴⁵ agencement allows us to move beyond the residual remains of the archaeological record and to direct our attention on more intangible aspects of relationality in the past.

Background to Aredhiou

The focus of this chapter is the agencement, or flow of matter (people, materials, commodities, ideas and knowledges), into (and out from) a small LBA site located in the rural hinterland of Cyprus, at the interface of the Mesaoria plain and the northern foothills of the Troodos massif – Aredhiou Voupes (Figure 4.2).⁴⁶ Aredhiou has been identified as a farming site supporting copper extraction in the hilly flank zones of the Troodos, which was then traded from the coastal urban centres such as Enkomi. Large-scale agricultural production at Aredhiou is illustrated by the substantial number

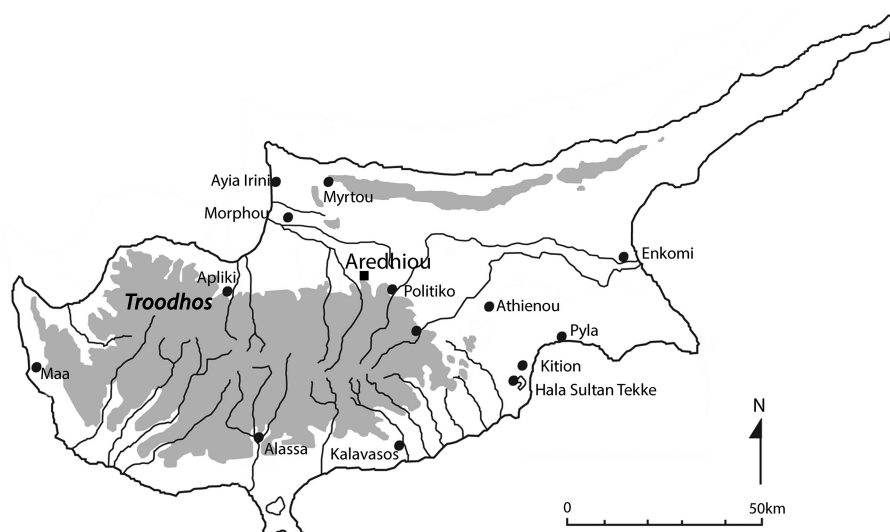


Figure 4.2 Map of Cyprus, showing location of Aredhiou Vouppes

Source: Author's drawing.

of ground stone tools as well as significant quantities of pithos sherds⁴⁷ and this picture of intensive food production is further reiterated by impressive storage facilities and workrooms that have been excavated at the site.

According to Bernbeck's model,⁴⁸ Aredhiou would be one of the *interstitial spaces* surrounding the interregional exchange networks of the Bronze Age. Here, however, I argue that the site was not simply a rural backdrop to Cypriot involvement in the East Mediterranean trading systems, but instead should be viewed as a key element within an agencement that emerged from the interactions comprising the island's economic network, and by extension those of the wider Mediterranean. Certainly, excavations at the site have demonstrated that the activities centred on this farming community were more diverse than might be expected according to the settlement and economic models previously developed for LBA Cyprus.⁴⁹ Intriguingly, significant quantities of traded commodities (pottery from the Aegean, the Levant and Egypt) have been identified amongst the material remains from the site, suggesting it was firmly embedded within the matter flows within and beyond the Cypriot coastal urban centres.

Imported pottery from Aredhiou

The discussion here focuses on the flow of imported goods and commodities into Aredhiou as evidenced by the pottery (Figure 4.3). Several distinct wares have been identified at the site, from the wider East Mediterranean: these include fine tableware and possible perfume bottles from the Aegean

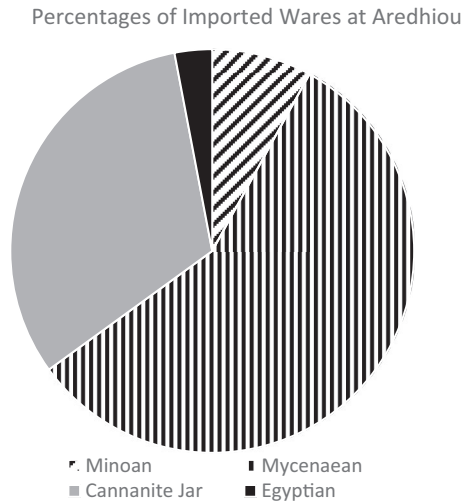


Figure 4.3 Graph showing percentages of imported wares at Aredhiou
Source: Author's drawing.

(Minoan and Mycenaean), as well as transport vessels from Crete, Egypt and the Levant. Although not included in the following discussion, other wares further illustrate the connectivity of the community at Aredhiou – namely, small quantities of Red Lustrous wheelmade ware⁵⁰ and White Shaved ware dipper juglets.⁵¹

The imported wares were found throughout the site of Aredhiou but most commonly either in association with the sunken Room 103, identified as a restricted place for commensality and hospitality,⁵² or otherwise in the fill of Tomb 1 excavated at the eastern edge of the site.⁵³ This might suggest that the vessels and/or their contents were reserved for use within liminal spaces rather than being incorporated within everyday consumption, suggesting some attribution of value to the vessels and/or their contents. Nonetheless, with only a few exceptions, detailed below, the imported pottery was found in a very fragmented state, even within sealed deposits, similar in fact to the preservation of the locally manufactured wares. This demonstrates how the imported wares were regularly embedded in social praxis at the site, albeit within delimited spaces, resulting in regular breakage and discard alongside the local ceramics. To better understand their presence at the site ‘we have to follow the things themselves’.⁵⁴

Mycenaean pottery

The most commonly attested imported pottery (57 per cent of the imported wares, 285 sherds) from Aredhiou was Mycenaean (LH IIIA-B). For the most part it has not been possible to identify specific forms, but where identified

the sherds largely came from kraters or shallow bowls, with a small number of stirrup jar sherds and some possible sherds from Mycenaean jugs. These were found in contexts throughout the site with no specific concentrations of use. Among the extant grave goods in Tomb 1 there was a complete stirrup jar (AV06-01-06; FS171; Figure 4.4, 1). This vessel was imported to Cyprus, most probably as a container of a luxury perfume,⁵⁵ one of the prized products of the Mycenaean palaces, although the contents of these vessels has not been demonstrated through a coherent programme of residue analysis.⁵⁶ Nonetheless, its narrow aperture was designed to pour a thin, easily poured liquid, consistent with a perfumed oil and perhaps to be identified with the *po-ro-ko-wa* (*prochoë*) mentioned on Linear B tablets.⁵⁷ The distinctive form of the Mycenaean stirrup jar, its decoration and likewise its lustrous surface, all served to advertise the prestigious contents to a Cypriot and Near Eastern market – a form of commodity branding.⁵⁸ The Aredhiou stirrup jar was marked with a X-sign in fugitive washy red paint on its base. Nicolle Hirschfeld's detailed study of LBA pot marks in the Aegean and Near East indicates that such painted marks were almost exclusively applied to Mycenaean pottery; moreover, this type of painted mark is rarely attested in the Aegean and instead belongs to a marking system most commonly identified on Cyprus and to a lesser extent in the Levant, in particular Ugarit.⁵⁹ The precise meaning and function of these painted signs remains

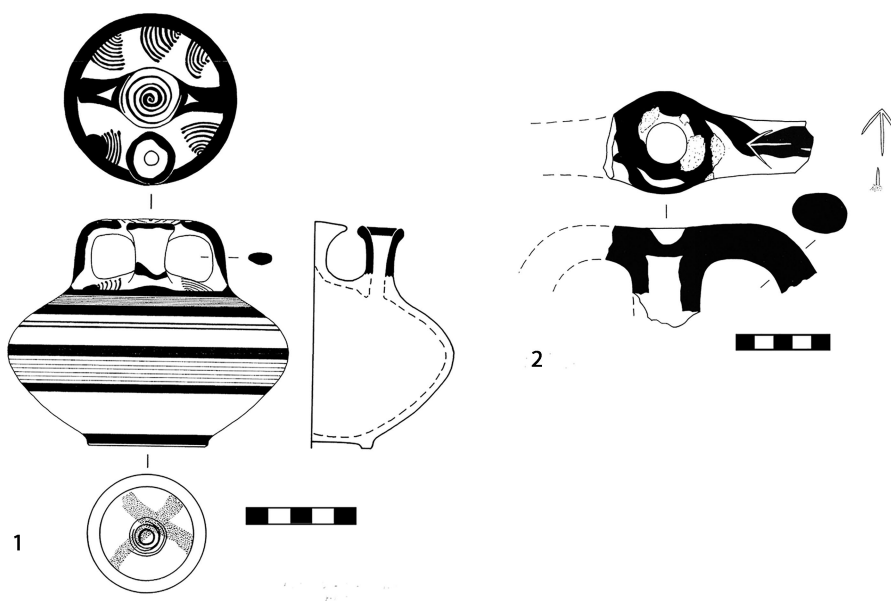


Figure 4.4 1: Drawing of Mycenaean stirrup jar: AV06-01-06; 2: Drawing of incised Minoan stirrup jar: AV06-01-01

Source: Author's drawing.

elusive, however, the very occurrence of such a mark at Aredhiou demonstrates relationality with wider socio-economic practices binding Cyprus and Ugarit.

Mycenaean pottery has been found in large quantities on Cyprus, where it was widely consumed in the coastal trading towns, in particular at Enkomi and also the sites around the Bay of Larnaca.⁶⁰ With the possible exception of Ugarit, more has been found on the island than elsewhere in the East Mediterranean; moreover, in the Levant, Mycenaean pottery is always found alongside larger quantities of Cypriot pottery. This distribution suggested to Hankey that Cyprus acted as a middleman for the exchange and distribution of Mycenaean pottery in the east,⁶¹ selecting the choice pieces before shipping the remainder to the Levant. Studies of other sites in the Cypriot hinterland, such as the sanctuary at Athienou *Bamboulari tis Koukouninas* and the mining settlement of Apliki *Karamallos*, suggest that Mycenaean pottery was part of an internal exchange of prestige goods supplied to local elites by the coastal trading sites in return for raw materials such as copper or agricultural produce.⁶² While the range of forms represented at both these sites⁶³ corresponds with those identified at Aredhiou, the quantities of Mycenaean imports at the latter stands out. Moreover, it is interesting to note that there was a clear emphasis on the krater for mixing wine and drinking vessels at Aredhiou, suggesting that practices involving the use of Aegean drinking sets were fully embedded at the site. Viewing these imported vessels as part of an agencement, comprising not simply the flow of materials but equally the movement of the immaterial, illustrates complex relationality at several scales between the Aegean and multiple communities in Cyprus and the Levant. The ongoing gathering and becoming of materials people and social concepts place Aredhiou in a nexus of connectivity both material – potters working with clay in the Aegean, sailors, merchants and ships traversing the East Mediterranean, the accumulation of goods at a Cypriot quayside, its movement inland – and immaterial – the knowledge of social practices and value systems, such as the Cypro-Ugaritic consumption of alcoholic beverages served in a krater⁶⁴ and the administrative systems implicit in the marking of pottery.

Minoan pottery

Small quantities of Minoan pottery (41 sherds, comprising 8 per cent of the imported wares) were identified scattered throughout the site. For the most part these are non-diagnostic, but where forms can be identified these are large amphoroid kraters, similar to that at Pyla *Kokkinokremos*,⁶⁵ and stirrup jars. The former were undoubtedly imported in their own right as decorative vessels, whereas the stirrup jars were more plausibly imported for their liquid contents. Smaller stirrups, such as those from the tombs in Enkomi, have been identified as perfume containers,⁶⁶ while large stirrup jars were designed for the bulk movement of liquid commodities within and

beyond the Aegean; the precise contents have not been identified through residue analysis, in part because the potential complications inevitable due to the repeated re-use of the vessels in antiquity.⁶⁷ Both forms illustrate how imported objects and substances were incorporated within embodied practices at Aredhiou, including feasting (the large kraters being used for mixing alcoholic beverages) and the anointing of the body with perfumed oils.⁶⁸ The false neck and inscribed handle of an imported transport stirrup jar (AV06-01-01; Figure 4.4, 2), made of a fabric identified as Minoan ‘oatmeal ware’,⁶⁹ was found on the surface in fields to the north of the main site during the 2006 season.⁷⁰ The form is usually interpreted as an olive oil container used in large-scale commodity trade,⁷¹ a form which circulated widely throughout the Aegean and the East Mediterranean in the thirteenth century BCE, with significant quantities identified at Tiryns found in association with Canaanite jars (see discussion below).⁷² The handle had been incised after firing with an arrowhead-shaped mark with lengthened central prong (CM 028). Parallels to this sign have been identified at Kition *Bamboula* and Maa *Palaekastro* on Cyprus,⁷³ as well as at Ugarit.⁷⁴ There is also the trace of a second incised sign, represented by vertical stroke, below the arrow sign, identifying this as an inscription rather than simply a marked pot.⁷⁵ Post-firing marking of Aegean wares relates specifically to Cypriot administrative activities,⁷⁶ plausibly taking place at the port on arrival as part of the mercantile handling practices and illustrative of internal communication between sites (and individuals) on the island. In this respect it is interesting to note Ferrera and Bell’s recent discussion of writing (specifically of short inscriptions) as a form of commodity branding, specifically as an indicator of quality⁷⁷ – a similar concern might underpin the complex marking on the Minoan stirrup jar identified here. In the inscribed stirrup jar we see multiple flows of material engagements (both tangible and intangible) resulting in its eventual incorporation within the recorded ceramic assemblage of Aredhiou: olive cultivation and oil production in the Aegean, potters working clay, merchants assembling a shipload of commodities for export to the east, mercantile practices involving the marking of the stirrup jar, plausibly in the Cypriot port, and the movement inland to Aredhiou (possibly endorsing the contents with a mark of authenticity).

Levantine pottery

Two joining sherds from a Levantine shallow bowl with string-cut base were found in the fill sealing the floor of Room 103.⁷⁸ A base from a second such platter bowl was found in the fill overlying the southern wall of the adjacent Building 1 (Figure 4.5, 1).

Shallow bowls with a flat base are typical elements of the LBA ceramic repertoire in the southern Levant,⁷⁹ but are unusual on Cyprus. As an open shape associated with the consumption of food and drink, we might assume this was a vessel that would have been taken to Cyprus in its own right rather

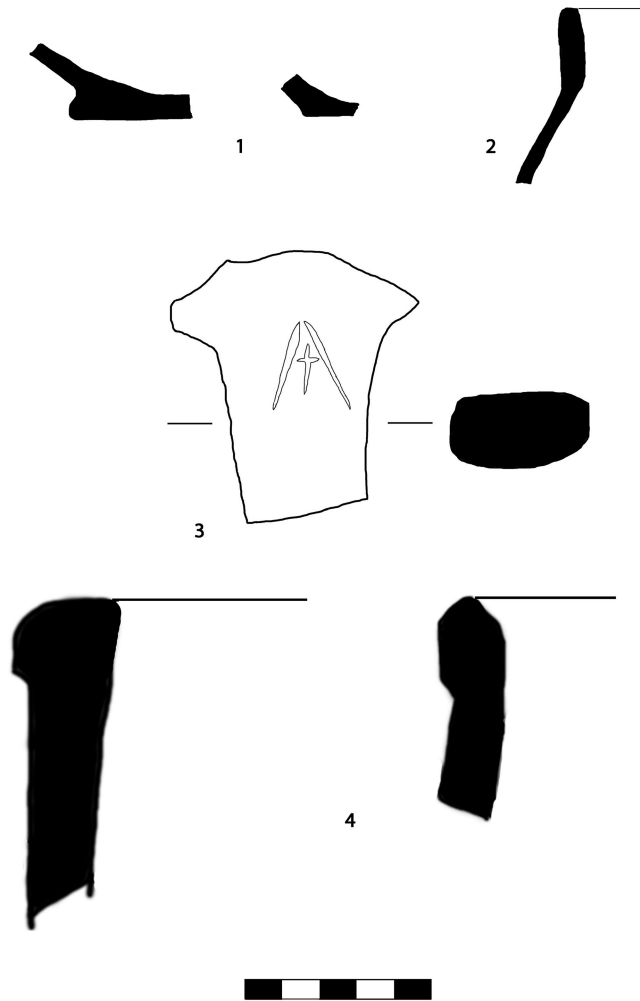


Figure 4.5 1: Drawing of Levantine platter bowl bases: AV06-01-08 and uncatalogued; 2: Drawing of Canaanite jar rim sherd (uncatalogued); 3: Drawing of incised Canaanite jar handle: AV06-01-03; 4: Drawing of Egyptian amphorae rim sherds (uncatalogued)

Source: Author's drawing.

than for any contents, either as a gift, traded commodity or personal possession. While Cypriots eagerly adopted (and imitated) Mycenaean bowls (see above), their preference otherwise was for local eating and drinking equipment.⁸⁰ These bowls, therefore are an oddity and attest to unusual social and material engagements at Aredhiou. We can only conjecture as to how and why the Levantine bowls made their way to the site, possibly as

the personal possessions of Canaanite traders, perhaps who were resident on Cyprus.⁸¹ Certainly, the association of AV06-01-08 with Room 103 (and the second fragment was found close by), a space identified with hospitality, commensality and reciprocity,⁸² is intriguing and might substantiate the idea of a non-Cypriot presence at the site. Alternatively, it might indicate the adoption of the exotic or unknown as a means of advertising knowledge of outside practices on the part of one of Aredhiou's inhabitants.

Some 161 sherds (32 per cent of the imported wares, primarily body, but also two rim sherds; Figure 4.5, 2) as well as an incised handle can be attributed to Canaanite jars.

These were for the most part very fragmentary and worn. Numerous fabric categories have been identified for Canaanite jars and petrographic analyses indicate these to have multiple places of manufacture, including Cyprus, but also Egypt and various locations in the Levant.⁸³ The Aredhiou sherds have been ascribed visually to this class of pottery, but their place of origin has not been pinpointed by petrographic analysis. Nonetheless, I am including these with the imported pottery as, perhaps more than any other class of pottery, Canaanite jars illustrate the interconnectedness of the East Mediterranean, being widely distributed throughout Cyprus (in the thirteenth century BCE), the Levant, Anatolia (Tarsus) and along the Egyptian Nile.⁸⁴ They likewise comprised a substantial element of the cargo of the Ulu Burun shipwreck.⁸⁵ Canaanite jars were designed for the transport of bulk liquid commodities (oils, wines and resins) and represent the East Mediterranean counterpart to the transport stirrup jar; consequently, they were less frequently exported to the Aegean.⁸⁶ The ovoid body with pointed base was designed to be easily stacked in warehouses, perfectly illustrated by the 80 jars excavated by Schaeffer at Minet el-Beida,⁸⁷ and as cargo on ships.

The vast majority of the Canaanite jar sherds from Aredhiou were found in deposits associated with Building 1 (work rooms and storage facilities) and in the fill of the sunken Room 103. The incised handle (AV06-01-03; Figure 4.5, 3) was found in the fill overlying the floor of Room 103. The scratchiness of the incised sign, tentatively identified as CM025,⁸⁸ suggests this was made after firing, and as with the Minoan stirrup jar, we might assume this was part of Cypriot internal administrative practices. The presence of Canaanite jars therefore reinforces the picture of an economically connected site, fully integrated as a link in the chain of commercial interactions that bound together the trading emporia and urban centres of the East Mediterranean (Cyprus, Egypt and the Levant).

Egyptian pottery

More unusual are the occasional pieces of New Kingdom Egyptian amphorae (late eighteenth to twentieth Dynasty in date).⁸⁹ Sixteen body sherds have been identified in excavated deposits throughout the site – including the

fill sealing the floor in Room 103 and associated with Building 2 – and a couple of rim sherds have been identified in fieldwalking (Figure 4.5, 4). These sherds have the thick, light-coloured (yellowish-green to cream) matte slip and coarse reddish-brown fabric, sometimes with a thick grey core, typical of the Egyptian amphorae. The vessels were transported for their contents and it is suggested these contained wine⁹⁰. Similar Egyptian amphorae have been identified in small quantities at a number of LC IIC-IIIA sites on or near the coast, including Kalavassos *Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maa *Palaekastro* and Pyla *Kokkinokremos*, but most significant are the near complete examples and plentiful sherds found at Hala Sultan Tekke in Area 8, the courtyard of Building C⁹¹ and in British Museum Tomb VIII.⁹² Of particular interest is the surface find of an amphora handle stamped with the cartouche of Seti I.⁹³ Certainly, Hala Sultan Tekke stands out for the number of luxury Egyptian imports, including scarabs and amulets,⁹⁴ and might well have mediated trading relations between Cyprus and Egypt at least during the latter part of the Egyptian New Kingdom, post-Amarna period.

The presence of Egyptian imported amphorae at Aredhiou illustrates a series of matter flows connecting the inhabitants of the site not only with the traders, merchants and elites of the prosperous trading site of Hala Sultan Tekke but likewise with the potters, farmers, vintners and traders of ancient Egypt. These vessels created a series of relations between various points in Egypt before moving by ship to Cyprus and then, possibly by pack animal, into the Cypriot hinterland. They moreover demonstrate how Bernbeck's so-called *interstitial spaces* (see above) were fully integrated within the meshworks or entanglements of LBA exchanges. At some point in this itinerary of object,⁹⁵ the original Egyptian contents were consumed; plausibly this occurred at the end point in Aredhiou and in this respect it is worth highlighting the find spot of nearly a third of the excavated sherds in the fill of Room 103, which has been identified as a place for commensality, perhaps mediating relations between incomers and the site's inhabitants. We should not however, discount the possibility that these vessels had been emptied en route and refilled with different substances, perhaps on several occasions, throughout their trajectory to Aredhiou. By their very nature as transport amphorae, these things are mobile and can be detached from their original purpose (and cultural meaning) as they travel from place to place and through the hands of different people.⁹⁶

Matter flows and agencement at Aredhiou

One of the aims of this chapter has been to show the value of looking in depth, on a microscale, at the local context to shed light on the macrolevel of interregional exchanges. Indeed, this survey of the imported pottery from Aredhiou illustrates the interconnectedness of the site, not just within local Cypriot networks of exchange and social practices,⁹⁷ (as particularly evidenced by the pottery marking systems), but likewise within much larger

overlapping exchange systems linking together Cyprus, the Aegean (Crete and the Peloponnese), Egypt and the Levant. More than simply an interstitial space,⁹⁸ the sheer variety of traded goods illustrates Aredhiou to have been one of the many links in the chain. The presence of these imported wares, their contents, as well as knowledge of marking systems, throw light on the role played by rural communities such as Aredhiou in LBA interregional exchanges. These objects were not used in isolation but comprised an integral element of the material world of these places, shaping social practices and the lived experiences of the inhabitants. The following discussion considers the imports, their contents, and the people who made, handled, moved, consumed and discarded them as an agencement, comprising 'contingent, continually shifting relationships'.⁹⁹ Other goods and materials, including local Cypriot ceramics, agricultural produce, copper and copper slag, also circulated between this and other sites in the Cyprus and the wider Mediterranean trade networks, and should equally be considered as part of the continuing flow of matter.

The notion of object itinerary,¹⁰⁰ which considers both the spatial and temporal flow of matter, allows us to think of the ongoing movement of pottery around the East Mediterranean from its point of origin, through the hands of various traders and merchants as it moved between trading emporia across land and sea, ultimately arriving within a small farming community in the Cypriot hinterland. Each vessel would have followed its own unique route to Aredhiou, where we have but a snapshot, or segment of this itinerary,¹⁰¹ in most cases literally the moment of breakage and discard. Even at Aredhiou, the objects followed multiple distinct, albeit overlapping, paths: some pots being used on a daily basis for storage of foodstuffs, whilst others were used, perhaps more sparingly, in embodied commensal practices. Deleuzian agencement describes the flows of these entities into and out of relationships and allows us to examine such itineraries at multiple scales. We might consider the initial procurement of clay, chaff and minerals used to shape the vessels, through their firing, shipment, arrival in Cyprus and movement into the hinterland. In some instances, the vessels were filled (and possibly refilled) with a commodity, and some vessels were marked with signs, linking them into wider relationships of marking systems, administration and literacy.

Agencement not only enables us to explore the tangible material entanglements (the pots, their contents, ships, trading sites etc.) but equally to consider 'the active process of materialization of which embodied humans are an integral part'¹⁰² and to describe the relationships between them. Although archaeologically elusive, people were an integral part of the ebb and flow of vibrant matter; they were involved in material engagements with these imported objects at different stages on their itinerary and undoubtedly disseminated intangible knowledges of various foreign social practices as well as value systems and administrative activities. All the actors, materials, substances and the immaterial practices involved in these various processes

make up the matter flows of overlapping agencement. These relationships and connections continued to evolve, shift and transform as the objects entered the archaeological record, either through intentional placement or accidental discard, eventually to be excavated; and the archaeologist in doing so likewise becomes part of the agencement.¹⁰³ Exploring the imported vessels through the lens of agencement therefore recognizes multiple levels of relationality binding a small farming community in the Cypriot hinterland with producers, merchants and consumers not only in the Cypriot coastal towns, but equally from the Egyptian Nile, the Levant, Mycenaean Greece and Minoan Crete.

Notes

- 1 See for example Vandkilde (2016).
- 2 Day et al. (2011); Ben-Shlomo et al. (2011); Kardamaki et al. (2016); Steel (2013): 122–135.
- 3 The Cypriot Base Ring ware found in Niqme-pa's palace at Alalakh Level IV provides an excellent example of pottery traded as a desirable exchange object in its own right; see Bergoffen (2005).
- 4 Sherratt and Sherratt (1990); Feldman (2006).
- 5 Bernbeck (2015).
- 6 Harris (2014); Delanda (2016); Govier and Steel (in press).
- 7 Deleuze and Guattari (1980).
- 8 Steel (2016a).
- 9 Kristiansen and Suchowska-Ducke (2015).
- 10 Hodos (2017).
- 11 Appadurai defines commodities as things of value, with a specific type of social potential and intended by their producers primarily for exchange, (1986): 1, 5, 16. See Wengrow (2008) on the concept of commodity branding in the Uruk period in Mesopotamia.
- 12 Bernbeck (2015): 4; Vandkilde (2016): 103, 106; see also Sherratt and Sherratt (1990).
- 13 Beaujard (2011); Vandkilde (2016) characterises the 'globalization' of Bronze Age Eurasia and Africa as bronzization, emphasizing the significance of the trade in copper and tin.
- 14 Bernbeck (2015): 4.
- 15 Vandkilde (2016).
- 16 Vandkilde (2016): 105–106, fig. 1.
- 17 Vandkilde (2016): 106.
- 18 Sherratt (1993); Stein (1999); Ratnagar (2001); Beaujard (2011).
- 19 Kohl (2011): 81.
- 20 Kohl (2011): 82.
- 21 Vandkilde (2016): 103.
- 22 Stockhammer (2012): 49.
- 23 Bhabha (1994).
- 24 Steel (2018b).
- 25 Hitchcock (2011); Stockhammer (2012); Vandkilde (2016): 106–108.
- 26 Maran (2011).
- 27 Kopytoff (1986): 67.
- 28 Bernbeck (2015): 4–5.
- 29 Bernbeck (2015): 6–7.

- 30 Latour (2005).
- 31 Coole and Frost (2010).
- 32 Deleuze and Guattari (1980).
- 33 Bernbeck (2015): 5.
- 34 Joyce and Gillespie (2015): 9.
- 35 Deleuze and Guattari (1980).
- 36 Bennett (2010); Harris (2014); DeLanda (2016); Hamilakis and Jones (2017).
- 37 Van Dyke (2018): 351; see also DeLanda (2016): 1.
- 38 See discussion in Govier and Steel (in press).
- 39 Bennett (2010): 23.
- 40 DeLanda (2016): 2, my emphasis.
- 41 DeLanda (2016): 83.
- 42 Ingold (2016): 4.
- 43 Harris (2014): 332.
- 44 Kohl (2011): 82.
- 45 Van Dyke (2018): 351.
- 46 For a detailed discussion of excavations at Arediou see Steel (2009, 2016a).
- 47 Steel and McCartney (2008).
- 48 Bernbeck (2015): 4, 6–7.
- 49 Catling (1962); Keswani (1993); Webb and Frankel (1994).
- 50 There is still considerable debate as to the origin of the Red Lustrous ware, but petrographic analysis might suggest a Cypriot origin; see discussion in Steel (2018a): 198–199. These vessels are widely distributed around the East Mediterranean from central Anatolia, along the coast of the Levant and in Egypt.
- 51 These flasks, which were particularly common in the sanctuary at Athienou and at Enkomi, appear to have been a Cypriot product, which Gittlen suggests was aimed at a Levantine market (1981): 51.
- 52 Steel (in press).
- 53 Steel (2016a): 519.
- 54 Appadurai (1986): 5.
- 55 See discussion in Bushnell (2012).
- 56 Shelmerdine (1985).
- 57 Leonard (1981): 96.
- 58 Steel (2013): 128, 131–134; See Wengrow (2008) on commodity branding.
- 59 Hirschfeld (2004): 100.
- 60 Steel (2004).
- 61 Hankey (1967): 146.
- 62 Keswani (1993): 78–79; Van Wijngarden (2002): 168.
- 63 Van Wijngarden (2002): 379–387, Catalogues VI and VII.
- 64 Steel (2016b): 86.
- 65 Karageorghis and Georgiou (2010): 302–303, fig. 2.1–2.
- 66 Ben-Shlomo et al. (2011): 335; See Graziadio (2011) for discussion of Minoan perfume containers from Enkomi, and Bushnell (2012) for discussion of perfumed oils in Cyprus.
- 67 Ben Shlomo et al. (2011): 329, 335.
- 68 See Steel (in press): 113–114.
- 69 Ben-Shlomo et al. (2011): 332 notes the use of coarse pastes (similar to the Arediou example) to make the handles of Minoan transport stirrup jars. Kardamaki et al. (2016): 149 comment on the lack of macroscopic fabric criteria for provenancing Minoan transport stirrup jars, identifying three potential sources of manufacture in Crete: the Phaisto-Kommos region, Chania and the Gulf of Mirabello.
- 70 Steel and McCartney (2008): 20–21, fig. 14.

- 71 Pratt (2016): 45–46.
- 72 Kardamaki et al. (2016),
- 73 Caubet and Yon (1985): 179, figs. 80, 83; No. 133: Demas and Karageorghis (1988): pls. C, CCVII.
- 74 Schaeffer (1949): 228, no. 4.
- 75 Nicolle Hirschfeld, pers. comm.; Olivier and Godart (1978): 34 suggest that an inscription comprises a group of at least two signs.
- 76 Hirschfeld (1993).
- 77 Ferrera and Bell (2016)
- 78 AV06-01-08: Steel (in press): 108, fig. 9.3.
- 79 Fischer and Sadeq (2002): 114, 120, figs. 7.1–3 and 12.1–2.
- 80 Steel (2016b): 83–84, 86, fig. 4
- 81 For resident merchants in Ugarit and Cyprus see Steel (2013): 29–32.
- 82 See discussion in Steel (in press).
- 83 Georgiou (2014): 175.
- 84 Killebrew (2007); Georgiou (2014): 175.
- 85 Pulak (1988): 10–11.
- 86 See, however, Day et al. (2011) for the discussion of Canaanite jars and Egyptian amphorae at Kommos, southern Crete.
- 87 Sauvage (2006): figs. 3–4.
- 88 Nicolle Hirschfeld, personal communication.
- 89 Steel and McCartney (2008): 21; for discussion of these amphorae, see Eriksson (1995): figs. 2–4, and Day et al. (2011): 518–519.
- 90 Bourriau (2004): 78.
- 91 Eriksson (1995): 200–203, figs. 2–4.
- 92 Bailey (1976): 15–16, 30, pl. 15d.
- 93 Cyprus Museum inv. no. 1952/1–11/6; Eriksson (1995): 200.
- 94 Åström (1989); more recently Fischer and Bürge (2017): 174, 195.
- 95 See Joyce (2015); Joyce and Gillespie (2015).
- 96 Joyce (2015): 29.
- 97 For example, Keswani (1993).
- 98 Bernbeck (2015).
- 99 Van Dyke (2018): 350.
- 100 Joyce and Gillespie (2015).
- 101 Joyce (2015): 29.
- 102 Coole and Frost (2010): 7.
- 103 Harris (2014): 334.

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