



AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY

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www.jstor.org/stable/10.3764/aja.120.4.0511.

Volume 120, Number 4
October 2016

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ARCHAEOLOGY

The Journal of the Archaeological Institute of America



www.ajaonline.org

Exploring Aredhiou: New Light on the Rural Communities of the Cypriot Hinterland During the Late Bronze Age

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This article explores social practices and the material world at Aredhiou Vouppes, a Late Bronze Age rural community in the Cypriot hinterland. In-depth analysis of the excavation results demonstrates that this site was more complex than current typologies of inland production centers, based mainly on survey data, would suggest. Instead, it was multifunctional and played an important economic role within the wider Cypriot landscape. This article addresses the evidence for initial occupation at Aredhiou during Middle Cypriot III–Late Cypriot (LC) I, but the main focus is on the substantial LC IIC remains. Through a detailed contextual analysis and the identification of a multiplicity of activities practiced at the site, I examine social practice, gender relations, and ritual performance within a small farming community.¹

INTRODUCTION

The Late Bronze Age on Cyprus (ca. 1650–1050 B.C.E.; table 1) is characterized by significant social and economic changes associated with the emergence of urban communities along the coastal strip, formation and monumentalization of the urban landscape, intensification of production (esp. of copper), the appearance of nascent administrative economies, and increasing participation in international maritime trade.² There is evidence that some individuals were involved in diplomatic gift exchanges with the Egyptian pharaohs at least during the late 18th Dynasty.³ All these archaeological phenomena represent significant changes in the daily experiences of the island's inhabitants, their household practices, their production base, and the organization of their communities. The strategies employed by emergent

¹ I would like to thank Steve Thomas for his continued support and encouragement of fieldwork at Aredhiou, for the photography, and for reading preliminary drafts of this article. Also, I am indebted to colleagues from the School of Archaeology, History and Anthropology at the University of Wales Trinity Saint David for their helpful comments made in a seminar presentation of this article. The insightful comments of the anonymous reviewers for the *AJA* have helped to refine the arguments presented here. Thanks also to Alison South for preparation of the finds drawings. Fieldwork at Aredhiou has been possible only with the support of the Department of Antiquities, in particular Pavlos Flourentzos, Despo Pilides, and Eftychia Zachariou, and the dedicated work by the team of students from the University of Wales Trinity Saint David. Above all I would like to thank Andreas Petevnos and Ioannis Ioannou (the previous and current *koinotarchis* of Aredhiou), Papa Petros Photiou, Maria Vasileios, and all the villagers of Aredhiou for their warm welcome and ongoing support for the project. Figures are my own unless otherwise noted.

² Crewe 2007b, 213–14; Knapp 2008, 134–36; 2013a, 348–49.

³ Goren et al. 2003; Knapp 2003, 560.

TABLE 1. Relative chronological phases on Cyprus (after Crewe 2007b, table 1).

Relative Chronological Period	Approximate Date B.C.E.
Middle Cypriot III	1750–1650
Late Cypriot IA	1650–1550
Late Cypriot IB	1550–1400
Late Cypriot IIA–B	1400–1340/15
Late Cypriot IIC	1340/15–1200
Late Cypriot IIIA	1200–1100
Late Cypriot IIIB	1100–1050

elite groups—who, through their control of agricultural resources, the growing demand for Cypriot copper, and maritime trade, were increasingly able to manipulate the social, ideological, and political landscape—have been extensively discussed. The changing social and material worlds of the average Late Bronze Age Cypriot, however, have received less attention.⁴ This situation stands in stark contrast to the much more socialized picture archaeologists have developed for the preceding Early to Middle Cypriot (MC) periods—in particular, the extensive discussion of household activities.⁵ Instead, there has been considerable emphasis on trying to assess the level of Late Cypriot (LC) sociopolitical organization according to anthropologically derived models.⁶

The focus of this article is social practice within a rural community in the Cypriot hinterland, Aredhiou Vouppes, with the aim of exploring the *habitus* and material experiences of its inhabitants. Other than survey of Analiondas Palioklichia and the excavation of a supposed sanctuary at Ayia Irini,⁷ these inland farm-

ing communities have been largely unstudied. Even so, they form the linchpin of the various models of complex settlement hierarchy that have been put forward for the LC II period according to site size, location, and material remains (fig. 1 shows the locations of the sites discussed in this article).⁸ Originally, Catling proposed a three-tiered model comprising the coastal urban centers that had been extensively explored in various excavations; inland agricultural settlements, such as Aredhiou; and copper-production centers.⁹ Keswani has argued that these settlements coexisted within a nexus of regional exchanges of wealth and staple finance, the interior effectively providing foodstuffs and other resources to support the coastal towns.¹⁰ Knapp has proposed a refined four-tiered model, which takes into consideration the diversity of settlement type identified within the interior.¹¹ At the apex of this hierarchy are the large urban centers located in the coastal plains. Inhabitants of these towns were involved in maritime trade with the Aegean, Egypt, and the Levant; there is also evidence for some centralized administration, monumental religious buildings, and some industrial activity. Examples include Enkomi, Hala Sultan Tekke, Kalavassos Ayios Dhimitrios, and Episkopi Bamboula. The remaining levels in Knapp's settlement hierarchy are made up of hinterland sites. The second level comprises inland towns with evidence for a variety of activities (administrative, production, transport, and some storage)—for example, Pyla Kokkinokremos. The tertiary level comprises smaller inland sites that are primarily religious but also show evidence for some production and storage activities, such as Myrtou Pigadhes and Athienou Pamboulari tis Koukounninas. At the base of the settlement hierarchy, Knapp places various specialized production sites: agricultural sites, such as Aredhiou Vouppes; mining sites, such as Apliki Karamallos and Politiko Phorades; and industrial sites, such as Sanidha Moutti tou Ayiou Serkhon, involved in specialized pottery production.

⁴ See, however, Fisher's (2014) recent discussion of household practices within the Late Cypriot urban environment.

⁵ See, e.g., Frankel and Webb 2001, 2012; Webb 2002, 2009.

⁶ See, e.g., Smith 1994; Keswani 1996; Peltenburg 1996; Knapp 2013b.

⁷ Analiondas Palioklichia: Webb and Frankel 1994. Ayia Irini: Gjerstad et al. 1935, 667–68, 820–21. Ayia Irini was identified by Gjerstad as a rural sanctuary and dated to LC III; however, the ritual function was largely extrapolated from the later Iron Age sanctuary at the site. Instead, analogy between the architectural remains and the recorded finds suggests an agricultural rather than a ritual function and also a LC IIC date. This agricultural function need not preclude some ritual element to ac-

tivities performed at the site, an aspect that the excavation team from the University of Wales Trinity Saint David has also explored at Aredhiou (discussed below).

⁸ Catling 1962; Keswani 1993, 1996; Knapp 1997; see also Knapp and Kassianidou 2008.

⁹ Catling 1962.

¹⁰ Keswani 1993.

¹¹ Knapp 1997; 2013b, 32.

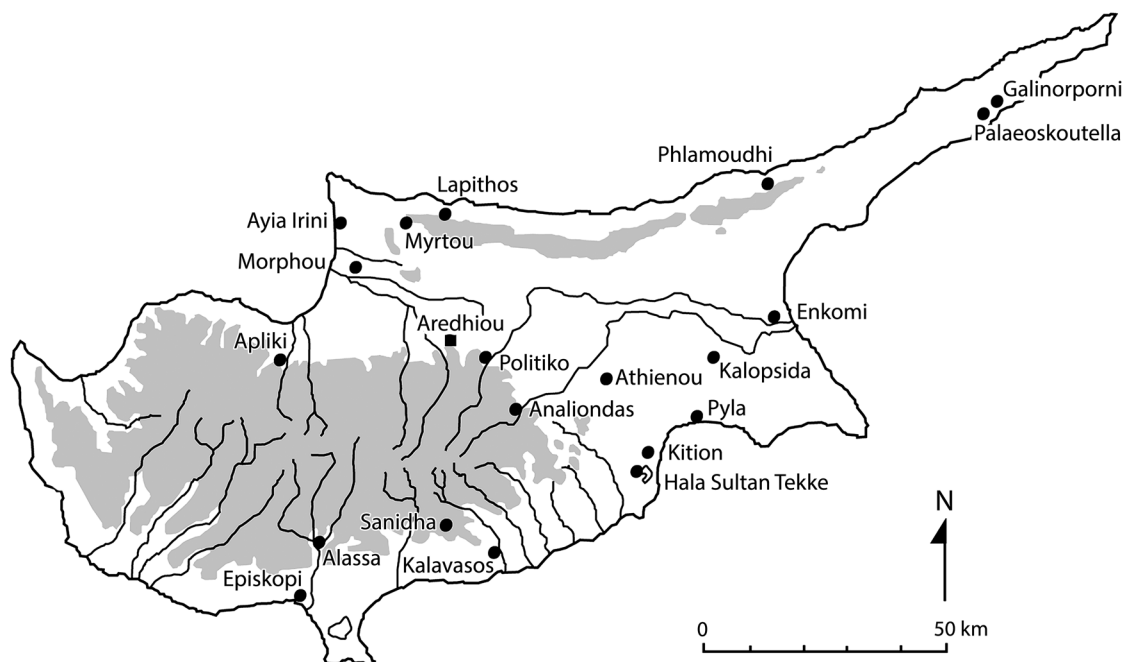


FIG. 1. Map of Cyprus.

While this article broadly adheres to Knapp's four-tiered settlement model, analysis of the excavations at Aredhiou indicates that the designation of the inland production sites requires some refinement. The excavated material from Aredhiou demonstrates that the posited agricultural sites were far more complex than the current typology, which for the most part is based on survey data, would suggest. Instead, these sites were multifunctional and played an important economic role within the wider Cypriot landscape. This paper examines the evidence for initial activity at Aredhiou in MC III to LC I, which is seen as part of the increasing exploitation of the island's metalliferous zone during this period. The main focus, however, is the substantial LC IIC remains; contextual analyses reveal significant information relating to the range of activities practiced at the site during this period, opening a whole new window on the social practices of the Late Cypriot community at Aredhiou.

HOUSEHOLD AND COMMUNITY IN ARCHAEOLOGY

As described so evocatively by Tringham,¹² it is difficult to envisage the inhabitants of archaeological sites as any more than "a lot of faceless blobs," and the social

relations and lifeways experienced by ancient peoples remain elusive within the archaeological record. Nonetheless, this paper sets out to "people" the settlement at Aredhiou and animate Tringham's "faceless blobs" by considering the structures and activities identified at the site from the perspectives of the household and the community.¹³ The household underpins social interaction at many levels. Individuals (social actors) become culturally informed beings at the hearth;¹⁴ learning a range of cultural practices, including language, subsistence strategies and technologies, traditions, and ideologies, and through these things, their *habitus*, they develop their own unique sense of identity (as individuals, members of the household, and members of the wider community). The household is more than the material remains of ancient dwellings and the residues of activities (food processing, cooking, pottery, and

¹³ On the household perspective, see Tringham 1991; Papaconstantinou 2002; Webb 2002; Nanoglou 2008. For a detailed discussion of the household, kinship, coresidency, productions, consumption, the house, and social reproduction, see Souvatzis 2008, 7–31. On the community perspective, see Isbell 2000; Yaeger and Canuto 2000; Knapp 2003.

¹⁴ They reproduce themselves socially through the vertical transmission of knowledge down the generations, as exemplified by Bourdieu's (1977) notion of *habitus*; see also Allison 1999, 1.

¹² Tringham 1991, 94.

tool production, to name but a few) enacted therein. It is the social hub where children learn and develop into fully functioning members of the community and in which knowledge is disseminated through the generations, as members of the household commune around the hearth exchanging knowledge, ideas, gossip, and stories on a daily basis. A community might be defined as a group of individuals or households with a common residential base, shared (cultural) experiences, and shared identities.¹⁵ Social relations are performed and recreated within the community on a daily basis, and the community forms the wider arena for social reproduction. Consequently, communities are more than the residual remains of residential nucleation and specific patterns of activities and material culture within the archaeological record; instead, they are “a dynamic and complex social institution”¹⁶ in which social relations are continually reiterated, reinforced, and renegotiated through specific actions on the part of socialized individuals.¹⁷ Archaeologists, however, are left with “abandoned and/or destroyed sites . . . the way life ended in a community,”¹⁸ and the challenge lies in inferring daily life and the repeated activities that formed the core of a community’s *habitus* from the excavated remains.¹⁹

At Aredhiou the excavation team from the University of Wales Trinity Saint David used the Museum of London’s single context recording system,²⁰ which allowed us to analyze the finds in detail according to context and specifically to distinguish between sealed deposits on floors and the accumulation of fill above them. As noted by Frankel and Webb, “In the main, it is only the latest or final use and abandonment episodes that preserve assemblages closely related to room or area function and activity”;²¹ the problem we faced was determining which materials formed the residue of activities within the different rooms, courtyards, and other work spaces and which materials ended up in a context as a result of other taxonomic processes—or perhaps simply represented background noise. Frankel and Webb suggest that the distinction between ad

hoc and curated tools is one means of distinguishing between different types of formation episodes.²² In addition, we considered the completeness or otherwise of the deposit, in particular whether there were restorable vessels among the sherds; the depth of the deposit sealing a context; and whether we could identify the results of conscious, deliberate action in the creation of a deposit, such as a foundation deposit.

AREDHIOU VOUPPES (LITHOSOUIROS)

The site of Aredhiou Voupes (fig. 2) was first identified in survey by the Sydney Cyprus Survey Project (SCSP) in 1993.²³ Although it has become known to the archaeological community as Aredhiou Voupes, the local name is in fact Lithosouros, meaning “mound of stones.”²⁴ The site lies at the interface between the fertile Mesaoria Plain, which was probably heavily forested in antiquity, and the foothills of the Troodos Massif. Aredhiou was initially ranked with other small production sites of the hinterland (mining, pottery, agricultural), specifically as an agricultural production center, on the basis of the surface finds—namely, the high frequency of groundstone tools and pithos sherds.²⁵ According to the current settlement hierarchy, such sites provided agricultural surplus to support mining communities in the agriculturally nonproductive lower slopes of the Troodos Massif and possibly also supplied the coastal towns.²⁶ However, it has also been suggested that they were subsidiary to larger inland settlements, which functioned as economic intermediaries between the production sites of the interior and the coastal towns. The current model posits that these secondary/tertiary sites acted as communication nodes for redistribution of agricultural surplus and the movement of semiprocessed copper.²⁷

The team from the University of Wales Trinity Saint David has completed five seasons of fieldwork at Aredhiou, the results of which have allowed us to refine and

²² Frankel and Webb 2012, 479–80.

²³ Knapp et al. 1994, 337–38; Given and Knapp 2003, 179–82, 268; Steel and Janes 2005, 231.

²⁴ The name given by SCSP to the site was that visible on the 1923 cadastral map for fields in the adjacent riverbed; during excavation the local farmers told us the locality name for the fields in which the site is located.

²⁵ See, e.g., Catling 1976; Webb and Frankel 1994.

²⁶ Keswani 1993, 76; Knapp et al. 1994; Given 2002, 7; Given and Knapp 2003, 179–82.

²⁷ Keswani 1993, 79–80; Knapp and Kassianidou 2008, 147.

¹⁵ Isbell 2000, 243; Yaeger and Canuto 2000, 2–4.

¹⁶ Yaeger and Canuto 2000, 4.

¹⁷ Isbell 2000, 249; Yaeger and Canuto 2000, 11.

¹⁸ Papaconstantinou 2002, 36 (emphasis original).

¹⁹ See, e.g., discussion in Frankel and Webb 2012, 479–80. See also Fisher’s (2014) analysis of space and social action in the Late Cypriot urban landscape.

²⁰ Museum of London Archaeological Service 1994.

²¹ Frankel and Webb 2012, 479.

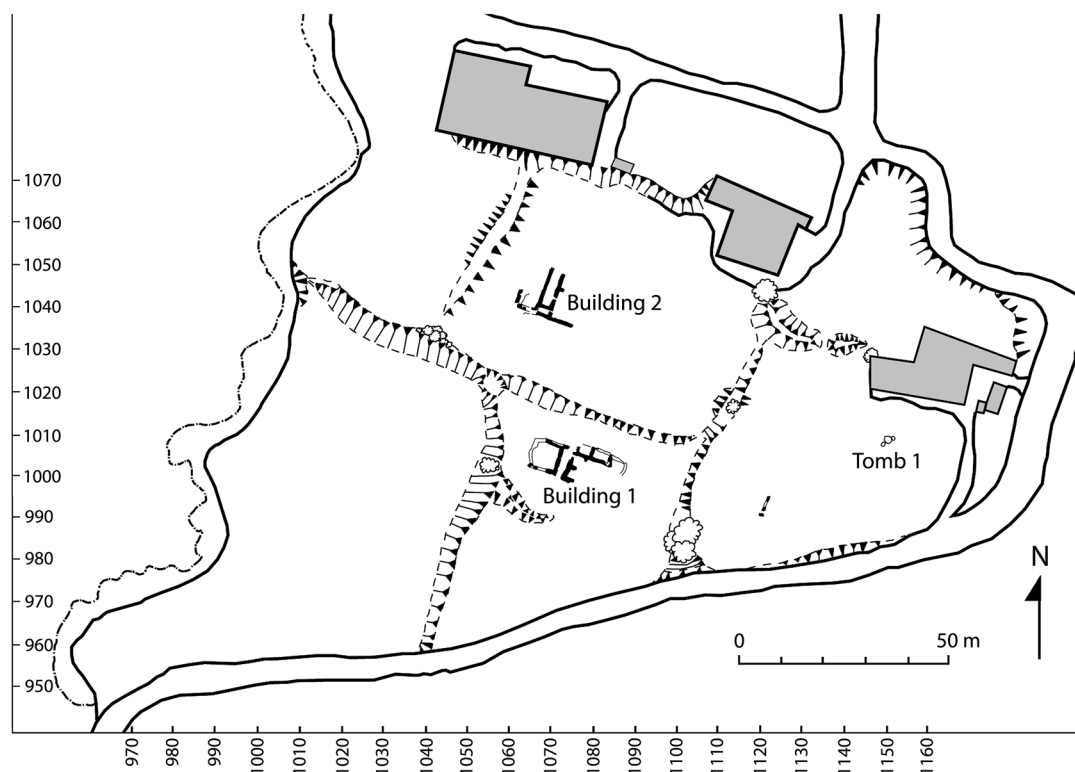


FIG. 2. Plan of Aredhiou Vouppes (Lithosouros) (drawing by S. Thomas).

develop our interpretation of the site.²⁸ First, the extent of Late Bronze Age activity at Aredhiou is greater than initially thought. In addition to the 2 ha originally identified and surveyed by SCSP, we have also surveyed the field systems immediately to the north, across which we consistently recovered Late Bronze Age material, including a possible Late Minoan (LM) IIIB stirrup jar handle with an incised Cypro-Minoan sign.²⁹ Moreover, Late Cypriot material, including a fine example of a gaming stone (fig. 3), has been recovered in fields 500 m north of the main site. These are associated with possible Bronze Age walls eroding out from the scarp at the edge of the field (fig. 4). While the spread of material might suggest a site of some size—possibly as large as 10 ha, which is close to the size suggested for some of the coastal urban centers—present evidence indicates dispersed scatters of activity, rather than a large planned complex covering the site. The full extent of the site is impossible to determine, however, as



FIG. 3. Gaming stone found in survey in 2008 (S. Thomas).

extensive terracing and more recent leveling associated with intensive modern farming practices have removed much of the archaeological deposits down to bedrock.

Pithoi are predominant among the Late Cypriot pottery recovered during intensive survey,³⁰ primarily

²⁸ Steel and Janes 2005; Steel and McCartney 2008; Steel and Thomas 2008.

²⁹ Steel and McCartney 2008, 20–1, fig. 14.

³⁰ Steel and McCartney 2008, 15–16; Steel 2009, 139.



FIG. 4. Bronze Age wall eroding out of scarp (S. Thomas).

smaller, short-necked pithoi, which were probably used for short-term storage of foodstuffs that were accessed on a regular basis.³¹ In addition, there are local reports of a row of storage pithoi found during construction of the main agricultural building at the site. Another striking aspect of continued fieldwalking over the site is the discovery of a large volume of groundstone tools, including numerous rubbers, grinders, polishers, and hammerstones, and several querns. A limestone basin fragment,³² with parallels at Analiondas Palioklichia,³³ was possibly used in the processing of agricultural produce. In addition to the groundstone identified in survey, local farmers report cartloads of worked stones being removed from the site over the past 50 years. It is likely that this material represents continuous processing of agricultural produce by members of the community over a long period of time. Furthermore, occasional anvils,³⁴ including a

broken quern reused as an anvil, illustrate some metallurgical activity at the site (fig. 5).

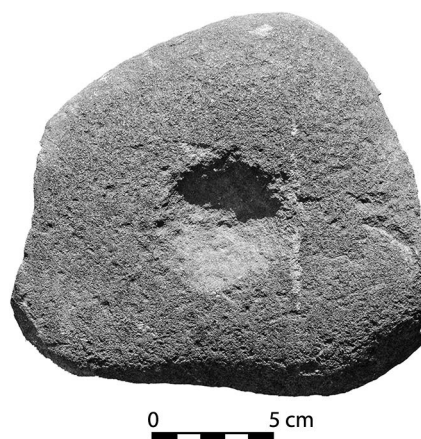


FIG. 5. Groundstone anvil, surface find (S. Thomas).

³¹ Keswani 2009, 107.

³² Steel and McCartney 2008, 30, fig. 22.

³³ Webb and Frankel 1994, 14–16.

³⁴ I am grateful to Carole McCartney (pers. comm. 2012) for identifying flattened stones with pecked-out cup marks as prob-

able anvils. The pecking resulted from repeated blows to the surface by a heavy pounding tool, probably one used for crushing copper ore.

EARLY OCCUPATION AT AREDHIOU: MC III–LC I COMMUNITY

The main phase of occupation at Aredhiou dates to the LC IIC period (13th century B.C.E.); at present there is no clear evidence that activity at the site continued into LC IIIA, although there is some evidence for discrete pockets of Early Iron Age activity.³⁵ There is, moreover, significant evidence for an early phase of occupation at Aredhiou, in MC III–LC I (ca. 1750/1700–1400 B.C.E.). Survey material included quantities of LC I pottery;³⁶ small quantities of Red Polished Ware and LC I pottery also occur in excavated contexts, apparently background noise from the earliest occupation at the site. The community represented by these finds remains enigmatic; to date, there is limited evidence, if any, of their living space and only residual remains of their activities. Indeed, the fragmentary pottery represents the only window into the daily life and household experiences of this early community. Among the pottery, there are occasional Plain White Handmade Ware sherds from storage jars,³⁷ which are paralleled by those from MC III–LC I settlements such as Kalopsida³⁸ and tomb groups at Palaeoskoutella, Galinorporni, and Lapithos.³⁹ These suggest a small household storing agricultural produce for its own subsistence needs. The presence of this ware also demonstrates that the early community at Aredhiou was aware of developments in ceramic technology and social behavior current in eastern Cyprus, in particular within the emergent urban community of Enkomi, and was also influenced by knowledge of Levantine ceramic technologies.⁴⁰ The earliest occupants not only continued to use Red Polished bowls within the household but also had access to the new Monochrome, Base Ring I, and White Slip I Wares and occasionally even Red-on-Black Ware vessels, which were produced at Phlamoudhi Melissa and used in ceremonial feasting at sites along the north coast and Karpas Peninsula, most notably at Phlamoudhi Vounari.⁴¹ The pottery record also indicates that Black Slip and

Red Slip Wares (both hand- and wheelmade) were frequently used by this early community: the quantities of both wares, attested in survey⁴² and excavation, suggest they were used on a daily basis within the household and consequently were frequently broken, thus entering the archaeological record in some quantity. A tantalizing picture therefore is emerging of a small, self-sufficient community at Aredhiou with access to the latest modes of household and ritual consumption prevalent in eastern Cyprus and along the north coast.

Although the evidence is somewhat limited, we might make some inferences as to the type of household or community represented by this fragmentary pottery through analogy with contemporary settlements; however, the archaeological evidence for the MC III–LC I occupation remains sporadic. While the most comprehensive record for this period is provided by the area of the so-called fortress at Enkomi, perhaps the single-building settlement at Kalopsida provides a better analogy. Here Gjerstad identified the remains of a freestanding, multiroomed structure built around a courtyard.⁴³ Bolger suggests that the arrangement of space at Kalopsida reflects major changes in the organization of the household and the practice of domestic activities in the transitional Middle Cypriot to Late Cypriot period,⁴⁴ representing a shift away from shared, communal interaction toward a privatization of labor perhaps associated with the emerging unit of the nuclear family. A more recent assessment of the architecture, however, suggests that, rather than a freestanding structure, the Kalopsida house in fact corresponded with the courtyard house compounds identified at Marki Alonia in the MC III levels.⁴⁵

Limited MC III–LC I occupation at Aredhiou is further indicated by the tomb group excavated in 2006; among the grave goods were a Black Slip Wheelmade jug (fig. 6) and a fine hook-tanged bronze spear.⁴⁶ The jug is intriguing for its continued, archaizing use of a round base; in general, flat bases were preferred for Black and Red Slip Wheelmade Wares.⁴⁷ This preference throws some light on the household choices made

³⁵ Steel and Thomas 2008, 235, fig. 13. Some imported Levantine Red Slip Burnished Ware was also identified in excavations in 2008.

³⁶ Steel and McCartney 2008, 16, 17, 19, table 1.

³⁷ Steel and McCartney 2008, 16.

³⁸ Pilides 1996, 108–9.

³⁹ Crewe 2009, fig. 3, pl. 1, nos. 7–9.

⁴⁰ Crewe 2009, 79–80.

⁴¹ Horowitz 2008, 77; Smith 2008, 61–2.

⁴² Steel and McCartney 2008, 17–18, table 1.

⁴³ Gjerstad 1926, 27–37.

⁴⁴ Bolger 2003, 35–6.

⁴⁵ Webb 2012, 52–3, fig. 5.

⁴⁶ Steel and Thomas 2008, fig. 26; Steel 2009, fig. 7.

⁴⁷ Crewe 2007b, 227.

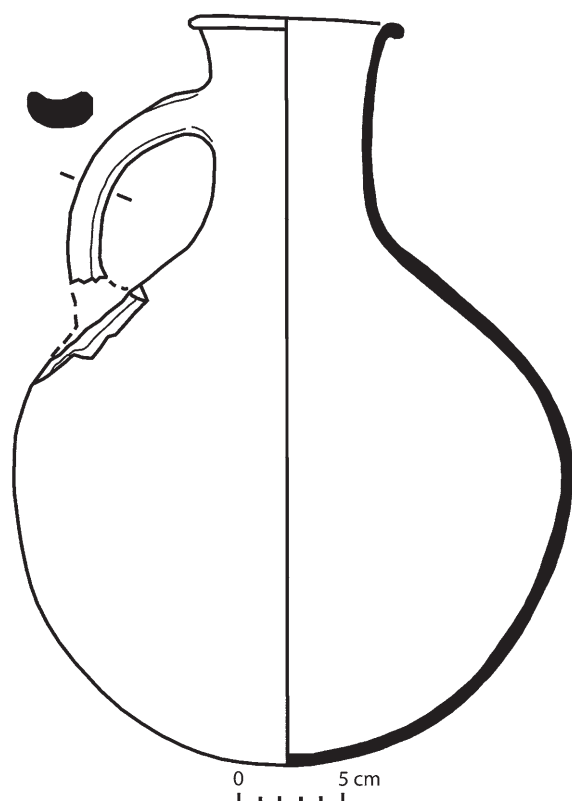


FIG. 6. Black-slipped jug, Aredhiou Vouppes Tomb 1 (drawing by A. South).

by the early community at Aredhiou, specifically those associated with changing practices in storing and serving liquids.⁴⁸ The introduction of vessels with flat or ring bases suggests that these pots were intended to be placed on a flat surface and may be indicative of dining around the table. For the individuals using these new vessels, this might suggest “a radically different engagement with the physical, material world which undoubtedly affected social relations within the Cypriot household.”⁴⁹ At Aredhiou, however, we might posit some cultural conservatism at least in the practices surrounding the serving and consumption of liquids.

The spear (fig. 7) indicates the early burial phase was of an individual (or family) of some importance and wealth within the local community. Other wealthy Middle Cypriot to Late Cypriot tombs furnished with metal weaponry and other status goods have been identified in the nearby area, around the village

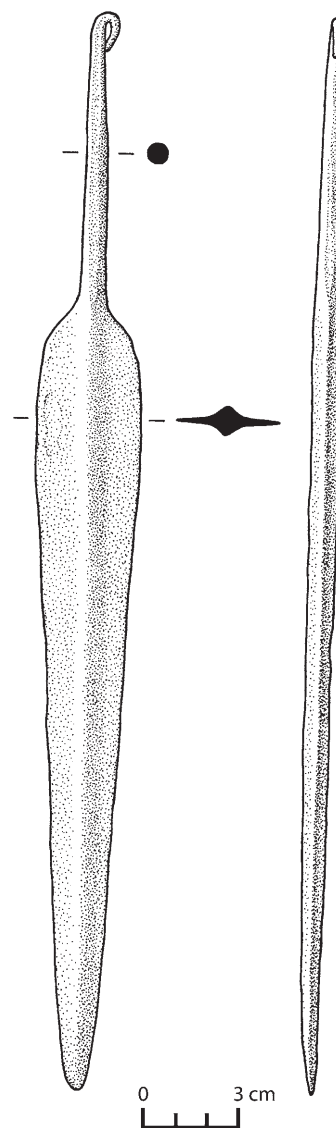


FIG. 7. Spear, Aredhiou Vouppes Tomb 1 (drawing by A. South).

of Politiko.⁵⁰ In contrast, there is no evidence that individuals at Aredhiou either had access to imported Levantine luxuries or chose to place them in their tombs, although it should be emphasized that the tomb had been looted (indeed almost emptied out) in antiquity. The early community at Aredhiou therefore can be placed within a wider socioeconomic framework, as one of several wealthy tombs in the central

⁴⁸ Crewe 2007b, 227–28.

⁴⁹ Steel 2013a, 227.

⁵⁰ Masson 1964; Karageorghis 1965; Keswani 1989a, fig. 6.1; 2004, 143; Given and Knapp 2003, 268; Knapp and Kassianidou 2008, 147; Steel 2013a, 148–52.

copper-production zone. It is usually agreed that the emergent elites of this region acquired access to such wealth through control over copper resources and chose to exhibit it in their mortuary display. Certainly, Aredhiou is well placed in this respect; in addition to the contemporary LC I copper-extraction site at Politiko Phorades, SCSP identified several other ancient copper-production locales in the immediate vicinity. Therefore, we might envisage a small community, possibly even only a handful of households, at Aredhiou in MC III–LC I whose inhabitants had access to prestige goods and an interest in copper extraction. This community may well have acted as an intermediary between small mining communities, such as Phorades,⁵¹ and the emergent coastal towns, such as Enkomi and Morphou Toumba tou Skourou,⁵² in response to external demand for Cypriot copper.⁵³ Plausibly, the relationship between mining communities and farming settlements posited for the LC II period was already developing in the formative stages of the Late Bronze Age. Given the significant quantity of surface pottery of this date, a key future research aim would be to identify some settlement remains—assuming these had not been leveled either to make way for the later, 13th-century B.C.E. occupation or, more recently, in terracing and agricultural activity.

LC IIC OCCUPATION AT AREDHIYOU

Excavation has uncovered significant evidence for the LC IIC activity at Aredhiou.⁵⁴ Although the preservation of architectural remains across the excavated areas is fragmentary, two main buildings and several walls (which at present cannot be resolved into a meaningful plan) have been identified. These were all built on the same alignment, slightly off the north–south axis. Present evidence suggests that these buildings do not form part of a continuous planned settlement across the site; instead, the site was subdivided into discrete activity zones, at some distance from one another. Although we have yet to identify and excavate domestic, residential buildings, the massive architecture and the variety of associated activities suggest a reasonably sized and well-organized commu-

nity.⁵⁵ The absence of household remains is probably a result of the degradation of archaeological deposits across much of the site due to intensive terracing and agricultural activity. At present, the funerary evidence is restricted to the eastern edge of the site. Tomb 1 was associated with badly robbed-out walls; given the close association between domestic space and tombs at many Late Cypriot settlements, it is suggested that this was where the population of Aredhiou resided and buried their dead.

Seasonality of activity is certainly an important question to consider, particularly given the apparent link between Aredhiou and the surrounding mining communities. One possibility we might explore is whether members of the community worked in the mines during the summer months, returning to Aredhiou to complete agricultural activities over the autumn, winter, and spring months. It has been argued that seasonal mining was common in ancient mining communities, performed for the most part by individuals drawn from agricultural communities during the months when they were unable to farm their fields.⁵⁶ The material remains demonstrate some connectivity between Aredhiou and the nearby mines, although there is no actual evidence for metalworking itself at the site: several of the groundstone tools are of types commonly associated with copper working at sites such as Apliki, and I would suggest that these were valued and curated objects that were brought back to Aredhiou for storage when not in use;⁵⁷ moreover, approximately 10 kg of copper slag has been found in association with Building 1, where it was incorporated within the built environment (discussed below).⁵⁸ Other seasonal occupations might include pottery production and possible procurement of clay and other resources over some distance,⁵⁹ as well as other specialist craft activities. Most of the pottery conforms to Late Cypriot standards and was presumably imported into the site from production centers elsewhere on the island; however, the pithoi and

⁵¹ Knapp and Kassianidou 2008.

⁵² Enkomi: Crewe 2007a. Morphou Toumba tou Skourou: Vermeule and Wolsky 1990.

⁵³ Knapp 2009, 136.

⁵⁴ Steel and Thomas 2008; Steel 2009.

⁵⁵ Given the problems inherent in the estimation of population size from archaeological sites, and the still-limited extent of the site excavated, it would be unwise and misleading at this stage to propose a population figure.

⁵⁶ Knapp 2013c, 4.

⁵⁷ Kassianidou 2007.

⁵⁸ The nature and extent of metallurgical activity at Aredhiou is currently being investigated by Lente van Brempt, University of Cyprus.

⁵⁹ London 2002, 271.

possibly also the plain ware demonstrate some local idiosyncrasies in terms of fabric and decoration that might illustrate local production.⁶⁰ The social consequences of the implied labor migration certainly would have had a significant impact on the community at Aredhiou, not least on gender relations.⁶¹

Buildings 1 and 2 have been the main focus of excavation;⁶² neither building conforms to the range of known Late Bronze Age buildings on Cyprus in terms of their architectural layout and some of the architectural practices. Moreover, detailed examination of the architecture suggests careful building construction rather than the rude or rustic architecture that might be expected from a small farming settlement. Except in a few places, the architecture does not survive above the lowest course of stones. The building material for the most part comprises large diabase pebbles procured from the adjacent Aloupos riverbed—but on occasion other, more distinctive stones are used. The main entrance to Building 1 (fig. 8) is elaborated: a large igneous stone was used as a quoin, and large white pebbles were embedded into the floor to mark the threshold. Both stones are intrusive to the site and were brought from some distance. Likewise, in certain work areas sedimentary stone slabs are used to create flat emplacements; this is seen in a work area in the southern courtyard of Building 1, a low stone bench/platform abutting the southern wall of the portico of Building 1, and around the well in Building 2.⁶³ Local information suggests that these stones were procured over a distance of several kilometers. Clearly some effort was expended in construction at the site—the care in architecture is particularly evident in Building 2 (fig. 9). Unlike the more typical Bronze Age architecture attested on the site, it consists of only right angles; this applies to the outside wall, the internal partition, and the southern wall of the courtyard. The building demonstrates careful, well thought-out planning; the importance of this building to the community at Aredhiou is reiterated by the occurrence of a foundation deposit in the southern wall—the only one attested on-site to date.

⁶⁰ Some pithos samples from Aredhiou are being analyzed by Priscilla Keswani as part of an island-wide project examining pithos production on Cyprus.

⁶¹ Davis 1977, 38.

⁶² Steel and Thomas 2008.

⁶³ Steel 2009, 140, 142.

IDENTIFICATION OF ACTIVITY AREAS

One of the key outcomes of excavation has been an understanding of the multiplicity of activities represented at Aredhiou. These are organized within discrete activity zones and, in contrast to Late Cypriot urban areas as they are currently understood, were housed within communal buildings rather than within separate households.⁶⁴ The activities practiced at the site can only be inferred from the material remains.⁶⁵ The predominance of pithoi and groundstone tools found in the survey is the basis of the site's identification as an agricultural center,⁶⁶ but the pottery and other finds recovered in excavation reveal a more complex web of social and economic interactions: in addition to farming, storage, and processing of foodstuffs, there is limited evidence for animal herding, textile production, and food consumption—namely, the range of activities we might expect in any Bronze Age household. Moreover, the community at Aredhiou was embedded in economic ties with, and beyond, the coastal urban communities, as is indicated by imported pottery from Egypt, the Aegean, and the Levant. How these objects were incorporated within social practices is the focus of ongoing research.⁶⁷

Building 2

There is some evidence for control over specific resources at Aredhiou, most notably water. The site was well positioned in antiquity for access to water resources, lying on the eastern side of the Aloupos River. There is no way at present to assess the nature and extent to which this resource was exploited by the community at Aredhiou; however, it might be suggested

⁶⁴ Bolger (2003, 43–9) provides a clear overview of Late Cypriot household organization of space and activities at sites such as Kalavassos, Enkomi, and Kourion. Fisher (2014) discusses the social use of space within Late Cypriot urban households, considering specific activities within discrete areas, the agency of the built environment, and *habitus*. Analysis of space and *habitus* at Aredhiou adds a further dimension to this discussion with complementary observations of the rural dimension.

⁶⁵ Despite flotation of various deposits, in particular from pits, no meaningful botanical remains have been recovered from the site. The animal bones, primarily from deposits south of Building 2, are currently being analyzed by Ros Coard, University of Wales Trinity Saint David.

⁶⁶ Steel and McCartney 2008.

⁶⁷ The pottery is currently being analyzed by the author, and results will be presented in the final publication of the site.

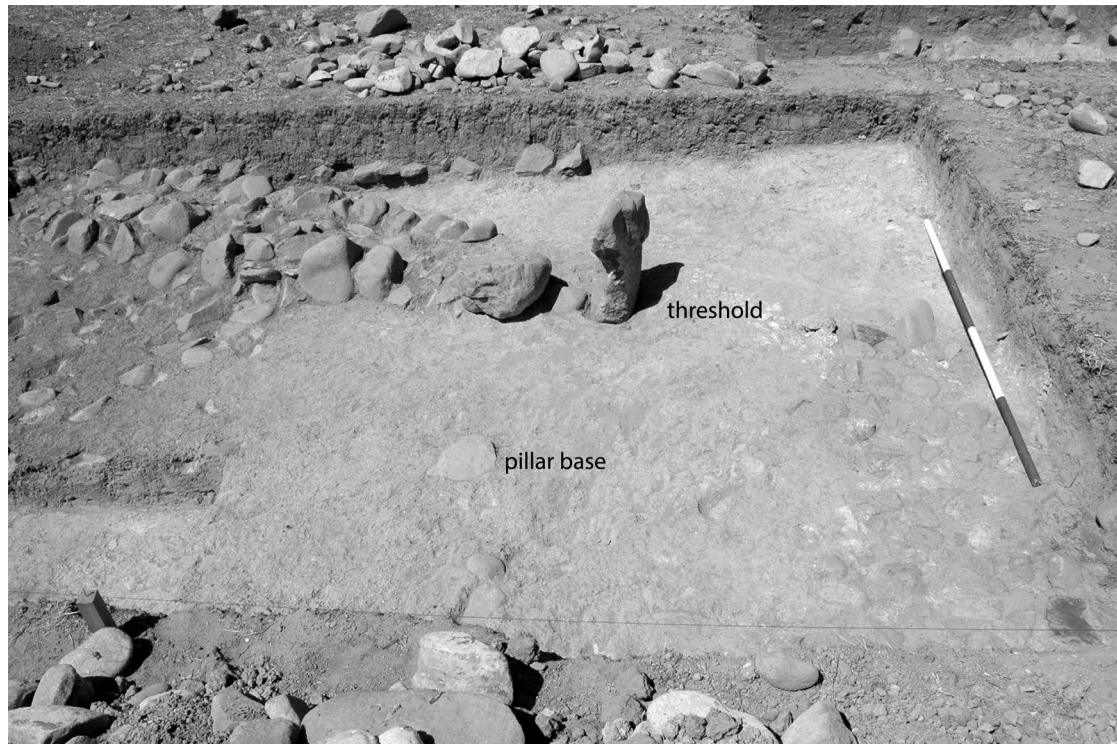


FIG. 8. Entrance to Building 1, view from east balk (S. Thomas).

that collection of water from the river was a gendered communal activity, one that ethnographic analogy and ancient sources indicate to be a female task.⁶⁸ There was, however, some perceived need for access to water within the limits of the settlement, as demonstrated by the construction of a well within the southern room of Building 2. The well is typical of the Late Cypriot period: the upper meter was lined with stone, and a fine stone emplacement was constructed around its opening. The location of the well within a small room is also paralleled elsewhere on the island—no doubt the need for clean water necessitated some covering of the well to keep animals out. Unusually, the well yielded few finds. Only 14 sherds and a large quern were recovered from the fill, from which we might surmise that the receptacles used to draw water were made from perishable materials; moreover, it was not reused for rubbish disposal, unlike wells in the urban centers.⁶⁹ Significantly, most of the sherds from the well appear

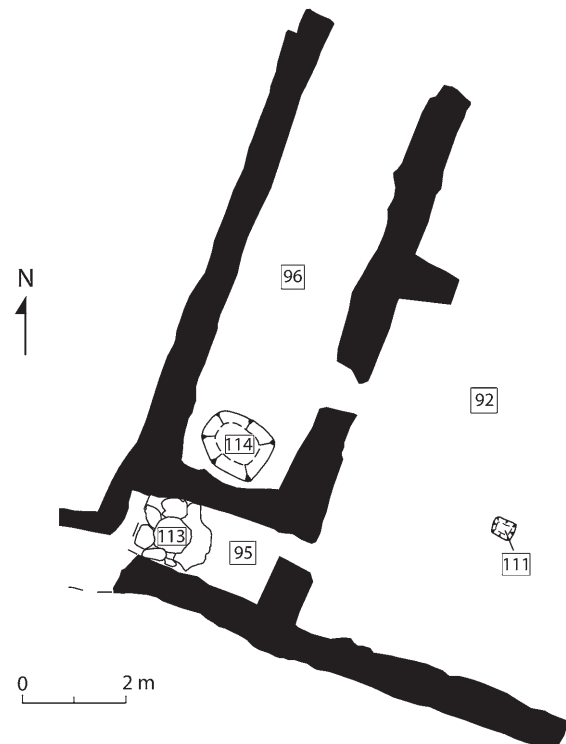


FIG. 9. Plan of Building 2, showing context numbers and room numbers, as referred to in the text.

⁶⁸ Bourdieu 1966, 222; Cohen 1989, 7, 8, 10–12; Brock 1994, 339 n. 16. This is discussed in more detail below.

⁶⁹ Öbrink 1979; Maier 1997, 101; Steel 2004.

to be from drinking vessels associated with the earliest (MC III–LC I) phase of activity at the site, which might indicate its initial construction and use during this period; nonetheless, given the very limited quantities of pottery recovered and its fragmented state, it would perhaps be unwise to draw too many conclusions from this material.

Another striking aspect is the apparent control exercised over access to the well. The room in which it was located (fig. 10) was only large enough for a single individual to draw up water, and the entrance into the room was similarly only large enough for a single person to enter/leave at a time. Moreover, the southern wall of the adjacent courtyard restricted access to the well room from the southern work area of the site. This picture of water procurement gives us an insight into the daily activities of the community at Aredhiou—one that is discordant with our understanding of the communal collection of water in other cultures and that emphasizes the importance of this resource to the community at Aredhiou. This apparent control over water resources might reflect practices in other Late Cypriot communities—certainly, Bolger has argued that water resources become more privatized during the Late Bronze Age⁷⁰—but these changing cultural values were not embedded in all Late Cypriot settlements. In the urban communities of Hala Sultan Tekke and Episkopi Bamboula, for example, there was communal access to wells.⁷¹ The importance of water to the activities probably carried out in the courtyard of Building 2 is further demonstrated by the nature of a possible foundation deposit, which comprises a near-complete water jug.⁷²

The function of Building 2 remains elusive, particularly given the dearth of material recovered from the rooms, courtyard, or adjacent open areas—although a fine example of a gaming stone was recovered from among the rubble collapse immediately south of the building.⁷³ To the immediate north of the well room there were two long, narrow rooms (Rooms 96 and 208); these were open-ended with no return to the

east or west walls at their north end. The resulting wide entrance was probably designed for ease of access, allowing bulk movement of a commodity and no doubt facilitating access for pack animals and/or carts. Based on the architectural properties, I would suggest that Building 2 was a barn or warehouse—possibly for the storage of grain or straw.⁷⁴ Given that the building was north facing, it seems evident that it was also intended to be kept cooler during the summer months. The surprising lack of pithoi found inside the building suggests that storage there was primary, straight from the fields. Possibly the building was used for the storage of fodder for donkeys and oxen, which would have played an important role in production and transportation of agricultural surplus and copper between the primary production sites of the hinterland and the coastal towns. Equally, we might consider the primary storage of food intended to serve as rations for workers in the copper mines or perhaps even to supply the towns. Furthermore, the investment in architecture, albeit not monumental, indicates the structure and its contents were of economic importance to the community at Aredhiou. It also seemingly indicates control over access to and disbursement of its contents. The adjacent courtyard perhaps provided a sheltered place where animals could be contained, fed, and watered and where other tasks were undoubtedly completed, an aspect that I consider in more depth in a discussion of gendered activities later in this article.

Building 1

Building 1 (fig. 11) is located some 25 m south of Building 2 and is built on the same alignment, which suggests some form of organization of building activity at the site. This is a sizeable L-shaped structure with a substantial external wall, measuring 0.5 m thick, constructed from large diabase stones and other volcanic rocks. The size of Building 1 as extant, together with its massive construction, indicates it to be nondomestic, some form of public or communal building. This is indicated by the range of materials recovered from the floor levels, which are “industrial” rather than domestic in character. The architectural arrangement and the distribution of artifacts indicate a variety of activities were performed in and around the building.

Our understanding of the architectural layout of Building 1 has altered significantly since the initial

⁷⁰ Bolger 2003, 49.

⁷¹ A massive, square, stone-lined well located within an open area was excavated in Area B at Episkopi Bamboula (Weinberg 1983, 32, pl. 8a–d). While most wells at Hala Sultan Tekke were private, the excavators suggest that Well F1620 was communal, with access from the street (Åström 1998, 133).

⁷² Steel and Thomas 2008, fig. 29.

⁷³ Steel and Thomas 2008, fig. 31.

⁷⁴ Steel and Thomas 2008; Steel 2009, 142.



FIG. 10. Room 95, Building 2, view from the east (S. Thomas).

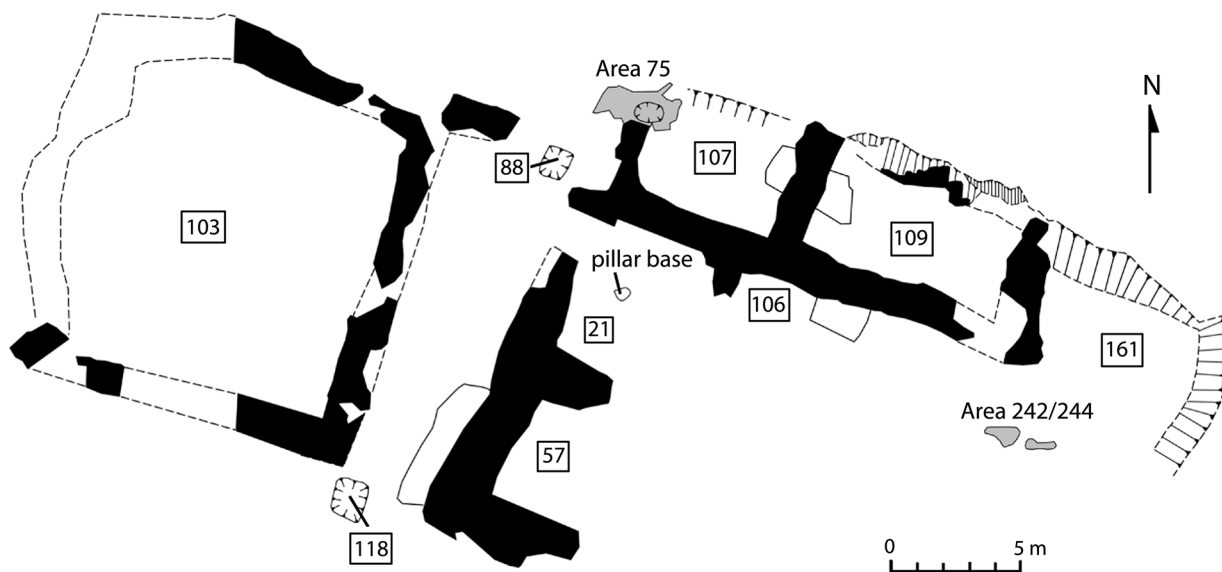


FIG. 11. Plan of Building 1, showing context numbers and room numbers, as referred to in the text.

publications of the remains excavated in 2006.⁷⁵ Originally the structure was interpreted as a colonnaded portico area that abutted the main external southern and eastern walls, sheltering the main entrance. It was assumed that the portico was south facing and would have provided a shady area for activities during the summer, a sheltered area in which to work during the winter months, and a place where members of the community might gather.⁷⁶ More detailed analyses of the plans and the associated finds, however, revealed that the series of stone piers abutting the external walls of the building were in fact badly damaged walls, the footing of which had been largely removed through various taphonomic processes, including recent plow activity. The tamped mud floor, which had been interpreted as an external surface, was extremely fragile and was worn away at roughly the same place that the walls disappeared.

Current understanding suggests Building 1 to be an L-shaped building—although the possibility of a series of rooms constituting a rectangular building, the south and east wings of which have been destroyed, should not be discounted. There is a substantial entranceway into the building at the northwest corner of Room 21. Immediately outside, there was a substantial stone bench running along the southern part of the west wall. The massive external west wall of Building 1 and its elaborated entrance (discussed above) stand out from the extant architecture elsewhere at the site and perhaps illustrate significant community engagement in its construction. The badly damaged west wing comprises two square rooms (ca. 5 x 5 m). A stone column base near the center of Room 21 indicates how the roof was supported. A well-worn quern was found upturned inside the doorway,⁷⁷ together with a small quantity of slag and a very large stone pestle or pounder⁷⁸ similar to those from Apliki Karamallos.⁷⁹ Plentiful broken pottery was found in deposits overlying the floor of the room and mixed in with the west wall (which survives to only one course in height). Joins between these sherds and sherds found directly on the surface belonged to a small number of semirestorable vessels, including two plain wheelmade bowls, two White Slip Ware bowls, and a fragmentary cooking pot.

Three square rooms (Rooms 107, 109, and 161) delimited the northern wing of the building as extant. An apparently open area (106) to the south of Room 109 and east of Room 21 had a tamped mud surface, the southern limits of which had been destroyed. That this area was integrated within the activities performed inside Building 1 is indicated by the flat stand carefully fashioned from sedimentary rocks, which abutted the southern wall of Building 1. Plain ware basin sherds were found in situ on this stand, suggesting that it was used for processing liquids. Just beyond the bench a work area was excavated in 2008 (Area 243/244): it comprised a surface of pebbles and slag set in mortar and was associated with three large stones that had perhaps been used as anvils.⁸⁰ The activities that took place in these rooms are elusive. While the quern might indicate food processing to be an important activity, its association with slag and the massive pounder are suggestive of other, “industrial” activities; indeed, there is evidence from other Late Cypriot sites that querns, pestle/pounders, and other groundstone tools were used for processing metallurgical materials.⁸¹ Likewise, the pebble/slag surface was presumably primarily associated with heavy-duty processing, or perhaps with processing liquids; certainly the basin stand/platform indicates that liquids played an important role in the activities performed here. The Canaanite jars were probably used to transport liquids to the basins, while the jugs were used to pour liquids into the bowls.

Immediately north of the main entrance there was an apparent work area (Area 75); this comprised a small pebble surface, a pit, and another series of flat sedimentary slabs set in a circular pattern. Associated finds include slag, a piece of chipped stone, some small copper/copper-alloy trinkets, and fragmentary pottery.⁸² The slag was probably originally set into mortar to create a work surface analogous to Area 243/244. Great care was taken in providing the work area with level surfaces, on which ceramic vessels and other objects could be placed securely. The fragmentary pottery primarily comprises plain ware jugs and a large number of cooking ware sherds that probably belonged to a two-handled globular pot.⁸³ Numerous sherds were from White Slip II hemispherical bowls. Also noteworthy are three sherds from a single short-

⁷⁵ Steel 2009, 139–40.

⁷⁶ Steel and Thomas 2008; Steel 2009, 139–40.

⁷⁷ Steel and Thomas 2008, fig. 16.

⁷⁸ Steel and McCartney 2008, fig. 18.

⁷⁹ Du Plat Taylor 1952, pl. 27.a1.

⁸⁰ Steel 2009, 140.

⁸¹ Kassianidou 2007, 278, 279, 281–83.

⁸² Steel and Thomas 2008, 241, fig. 18; Steel 2009, 140.

⁸³ Cf. Russell 1989, 6.

necked pithos with a wide mouth.⁸⁴ The pit contained a large sherd from a globular cooking pot and some plain ware and pithos sherds; while this material certainly reflects the range of pottery from Area 75, there is no clear evidence that it had been used there prior to deposition. The activities represented by this complement of pottery are unclear. To date, there has been at most limited discussion of the function of the specific Late Cypriot wares and forms; in a domestic context, these are primarily assumed to be associated with storage, preparation, and consumption of food-stuffs. Storage and processing of a liquid commodity might be suggested; various possibilities include beer,⁸⁵ wine, oil, or milk products, which would need to be explored through a program of residue analysis. The work area was located in the southern limits of a large courtyard.⁸⁶ A very few finds were found in situ in the courtyard—namely, the complete neck of a plain ware jug⁸⁷ and a polished stone object originally identified as a pestle. Although the nature of activities that were performed in this space remains intangible, we can infer that the north-facing, large, open space provided a venue where numbers of individuals could gather and engage in various communal tasks.

Two small rooms (Rooms 107, 109) were excavated at the southern end of the courtyard. Low benches covered with the same flat slabs of sedimentary rock were built up against the north and west wall of Room 109. A range of restorable utilitarian vessels, including plain ware basins, jugs, a small pithos, and a monochrome ladle, together with a variety of stone tools, were found in Room 109,⁸⁸ either in situ on the bench or broken in the associated building collapse. Utilitarian vessels are rarely found in such good preservation at Late Cypriot sites. The small size of the two rooms indicates that the activities implied by this assemblage probably took place in the adjacent courtyard or nearby portico; that is, Rooms 107 and 109 are more convincingly interpreted as storerooms or repositories than as work-rooms. The complement of pottery again suggests that liquids were processed here, possibly in association with the activities in the nearby work area. The tools included a large stone hammer, a second tethering stone, and a circular stone hammer, all of which have

parallels at Apliki Karamallos, Episkopi Phaneromeni, and Kalavassos Ayios Dhimitrios.⁸⁹ The stone tools are indicative of a range of activities organized by the occupants of Building 1 but probably carried out within the surrounding settlement and fields.

Formalized discard practices were typical of Late Cypriot sites; ceramics, in particular fine wares, were removed from living/working spaces and are frequently found deposited in latrines and wells.⁹⁰ Pottery debris also tended to accumulate in outside areas, such as on streets, in drains, or against the walls of buildings—for example, the pottery deposits recovered from the street running down the west side of Building X at Kalavassos Ayios Dhimitrios.⁹¹ Similar behavioral patterning is evident at Aredhiou with the accumulation of fragmentary pottery and other materials against the south side of Building 2. However, the floor deposits in Building 1 (esp. in Room 21), which contained numerous pottery fragments, contrast with the majority of floor deposits at the site, which were remarkably free of debris. This distribution is informative not only as to the use-life of pottery in and around Building 1 but also as to how the community used and viewed this space. Rather than the floors being kept clean and free of debris, broken pots were allowed to accumulate there. Pottery is more likely to break, and thus enter the archaeological record in fragmentary form, when it is used repeatedly in a variety of activities.⁹² Thus, the density of pottery by the entrance to Building 1 indicates that this area was used regularly for various activities involving the processing and movement of liquids in utilitarian ceramic vessels.

To the west of the main group of rooms constituting Building 1 was an unusual sunken room (Room 103) measuring approximately 7.5 x 5.0 m; the floor level was about 1 m or so below the surrounding surface level of the adjacent buildings. It is unclear whether this room belongs to the same structure or should be considered a separate, freestanding building. Here the builders had taken advantage of a substantial dip in the natural topography, possibly to create a cool, dark room for storage. We might expect

⁸⁴ Cf. Keswani 1989b, fig. 16.2.

⁸⁵ Crewe and Hill 2012.

⁸⁶ Steel 2009, 140.

⁸⁷ Steel and Thomas 2008, fig. 18.

⁸⁸ Steel 2009, 140.

⁸⁹ Du Plat Taylor 1952, pl. 27.a5; Swiny 1986, fig. 17; South et al. 1989, pl. 14, K-AD 417; Kassianidou 2007, 280, pl. 76.

⁹⁰ South and Russell 1993, 306; Steel 2004, 75.

⁹¹ South 1999, 798–99.

⁹² Shott 1996; Varien and Potter 1997; LaMotta and Schiffer 1999. See also discussion in Frankel and Webb 2001.

that the room was illuminated to some extent by windows, as well as by lamps; there is some evidence for the latter. Despite the depth of the deposit, no in situ remains were found on the floor; indeed, the pottery found directly on the floor, and in the thick deposits of decayed mudbrick that sealed the floor level, was very fragmentary. It appears that the contents of the room were carefully retrieved by the occupants of Aredhiou when they abandoned the site. Even so, the range of pottery and other finds that were recovered from this room suggest very different activities from those identified elsewhere on the site—distinct from storage, agricultural processing, or metallurgy. Among the finds were several wall-bracket fragments. These include a complete scoop (fig. 12) found in the upper fill adjacent to the southern wall, in situ from where it had fallen from the wall long after the building had been abandoned. Wall brackets are a common element of Late Cypriot material culture and are also found in the contemporary Levant and at Tiryns in the Argolid. Although their exact function remains unclear, they have most commonly been interpreted as lamps or incense burners and also as water scoops.⁹³ Moreover, there is a growing consensus that these objects have some cultic or ritual significance,⁹⁴ and Schlipphak has demonstrated their consistent occurrence in cult contexts in both Cyprus and the Levant.⁹⁵ It should be noted, however, that they are also found in domestic and metallurgical contexts⁹⁶—the former might relate to domestic cult, while the latter emphasize the close links evident between craft production and cult in Late Bronze Age Cyprus. Following a detailed contextual analysis of Cypriot wall brackets, Smith suggests that these objects in fact incorporated a varied range of cultural meanings and functions, although in many cases they were indeed an integral element of ceremonial performance.⁹⁷ Further indications of a cult aspect to activities in Room 103 include fragments of Base Ring Ware bulls and a plain ware horse figurine fragment.

The pottery sealed on the floor by 1 m of deposit was fragmentary and unrestorable, suggesting the room had been cleared prior to abandonment. This material, as well as the debris mixed in with the mud-



FIG. 12. Wall bracket scoop, Room 103 (S. Thomas).

brick collapse sealing the floor deposit, is significantly different in range and diversity from that found elsewhere on the site and reiterates the special nature of Room 103. There were no plain ware basins, although plain ware jugs and a single plain ware lamp sherd were represented. It is interesting to note the combination of a lamp and wall bracket in the same functional space, an association that has been noted elsewhere, such as Enkomi levels IIIB and C and Pyla Kokkinokremos Complex B, Rooms 14 and 16, and Complex C, Room 19.⁹⁸ Presumably, the sunken room, which had only one entrance, at the southwest corner, would have been dark and consequently in need of lighting. The quantity of fine tableware stands out from the typical range of ceramic material throughout the site. Particularly noteworthy is the presence of several rare and exotic wares: Minoan and Mycenaean imports, including one pictorial krater fragment, a Levantine platter bowl with a string-cut base, and fragments from a Red Lustrous Ware flask and White Shaved Ware dipper juglet. There are also fragments from a Base Ring juglet and a bucchero handmade jug.

Among the pottery from the fill overlying the floor is a second pictorial krater fragment. Certainly Minoan and Mycenaean krater fragments were used to mix wine in feasting rituals throughout the eastern Mediterranean. The wine was probably served using the dipper juglet, a mode of consumption adopted from Syrian cultural practices, best exemplified by a pictorial vase from Ugarit that depicts the god El drinking wine served from a krater using a dipper juglet.⁹⁹ The kraters

⁹³ Maran 2004, 16; Steel and McCartney 2008, 30; Smith 2011.

⁹⁴ Caubet and Yon 1974; Kling 2007, 307.

⁹⁵ Schlipphak 2001.

⁹⁶ Schlipphak 2001, 18–20, 46.

⁹⁷ Smith 2011.

⁹⁸ Enkomi: Dikaios 1969–1971, 731, 762. Pyla Kokkinokremos: Karageorghis and Demas 1984, 10–14.

⁹⁹ Schaeffer 1969, fig. 13.

were typically placed on stands.¹⁰⁰ Intriguingly, Stockhammer notes a consistent association of wall brackets and kraters in the Aegean (Tiryns Room 8/00 in the Lower Town)¹⁰¹ and the Levant (Megiddo Room 1817 and the Temple aux Rhytons Room 36 at Ugarit),¹⁰² the implication being that this complement of pottery was repeatedly used in feasting practices within a shared cultural milieu throughout the eastern Mediterranean.¹⁰³ There was, nonetheless, significant cultural variation in the choice of drinking vessel throughout the region.¹⁰⁴ At Aredhiou, the preferred vessels for consuming wine were Mycenaean shallow bowls and their local imitations in White Painted Wheelmade III Ware, but the indigenous Base Ring Ware carinated cup and White Slip Ware hemispherical bowl are also represented. This range of drinking equipment conforms to the LC IIC norm elsewhere on the island.

The range of objects recovered in Room 103 certainly suggests it played an important role in the ceremonial life of the community at Aredhiou. The size and subterranean nature of Room 103 suggest that it may have served for the gathering of a select and restricted group within the community. The lamp fragment and wall brackets suggest ceremonies staged within the darkened, sunken room, perhaps accompanied by the burning of incense using the wall brackets¹⁰⁵ and undoubtedly involving the consumption of alcohol (wine) served from a krater. Libations using the Base Ring Ware bulls were another integral part of the ritual performance, and we might equally envisage anointment with luxury unguents contained in the Red Lustrous Ware flask. Indeed, residue analyses from several sites around the eastern Mediterranean illustrate that Red Lustrous flasks were typically used to transport and store plant-based oils, which were conceivably perfumed.¹⁰⁶ Given the flasks' funerary associations in the Cypriot context,¹⁰⁷ a possible use for anointing the body has been inferred for their contents.¹⁰⁸ The implied manipulation of the senses within

an exclusive space no doubt played an important role in the embodied practices enacted within Room 103, which were perhaps used to foster a sense of identity and exclusivity and manipulated to stage power relations within the wider community.

Building 1 therefore evidently housed a range of specialist, nondomestic activities. The stone tools and utilitarian wares indicate a range of processing activities, possibly of agricultural produce, which probably occurred within the portico and courtyard areas, while the subsidiary rooms were for storage of equipment. The copper slag demonstrates clear links with nearby mining sites and some limited metallurgical activity, which is further supported by certain tool types with parallels at Apliki. Discrete deposits of tableware might illustrate some communal consumption within this building, most notably within Room 103, and possibly with some cultic aspect.

WORKING ACTORS: GENDER AND PRODUCTION

Initial archaeological studies that attempted to identify household activity areas highlighted the need to frame analyses within the ethnographic literature;¹⁰⁹ however, we should be aware of the problems of indiscriminately applying ethnographic analogies unthinkingly to the archaeological record, in particular ascribing a task according to age/gender correlates and resulting essentialist narratives of male/female roles. As Allison noted, "the procedure should not be simply to use ethnographic data to describe household behaviour in the past but to use it also to highlight the potential for diversity and change";¹¹⁰ therefore, the following discussion is intended to draw attention to possible construction of gendered spaces through daily praxis at Aredhiou, informed by research on ancient and modern communities in the Mediterranean, rather than to paint an essentialist picture of male/female social roles. The allocation of tasks according to gender is well documented in both the ancient Near East¹¹¹ and modern societies around the Mediterranean;¹¹² thus, the extent to which production activities at Aredhiou may have been structured along such gender divisions is a worthwhile line of inquiry, as is the identification

¹⁰⁰ Stockhammer 2012, 23.

¹⁰¹ Stockhammer 2011, 288.

¹⁰² Stockhammer 2012, 22.

¹⁰³ Steel 2013a, 33–5.

¹⁰⁴ Yasur-Landau 2005, 176; Stockhammer 2011, 289; 2012, 22–6.

¹⁰⁵ Smith 2009, 86–7.

¹⁰⁶ Knappett et al. 2005, 49.

¹⁰⁷ South and Steel 2007.

¹⁰⁸ Knappett et al. 2005, 49.

¹⁰⁹ Wilk and Rathje 1982.

¹¹⁰ Allison 1999, 3.

¹¹¹ See discussion in Cohen 1989; Meyers 1998, 2003; Bolger 2003, 51–3.

¹¹² Davis 1977, 22, 38, 43–5.

of gendered space. Certainly, female and child labor is too significant an economic resource to be ignored, and we might indeed expect women and children to be engaged in many of the economic activities performed at the site, including working the fields,¹¹³ especially during the harvest.¹¹⁴ Moreover, if seasonality of the male labor force can be demonstrated, then we might expect that many household tasks and other activities would become wholly the responsibility of the women when the men left Aredhiou to work the copper mines.¹¹⁵ Similarly, we might expect both children and older members of the community to contribute to economic production as much as social reproduction.

The Late Cypriot community of Aredhiou is largely invisible to us, and the contemporary figurative repertoire is limited in scope for exploring social and economic action within the Late Bronze Age. Although the scenic compositions on elaborate Red Polished Ware funerary vessels belong to an earlier occupation of Cyprus, and thus might be significantly culturally removed from Late Cypriot experience, they are informative as to the organization of household activities in the Middle Cypriot village communities and might provide some comparative data. According to recent interpretations of these scenes, household activities were seemingly arranged along strict gender divisions, with women performing domestic tasks, such as bread making and grinding grain, while men tended the animals.¹¹⁶ Bolger attributes this gendered division of labor to agricultural intensification and the emergence of a nuclear household.¹¹⁷ Meyers' discussion of agrarian communities in Iron Age Palestine likewise highlights two activities that are specifically associated with female workers: food production (primarily grinding cereals and baking bread) and textile production (e.g., spinning, weaving, and sewing).¹¹⁸ To these we might add archaeologically intangible activities, such as water procurement; basketry;¹¹⁹ basic maintenance of the household space, including disposal of household debris; and child care. Even though Late Cypriot repre-

sentational evidence is scarce, some object types help furnish our understanding of female social/economic roles. A small number of LC II/III anthropomorphic bottles depicting women carrying water jars on their heads might serve to place water procurement within the female domain.¹²⁰ Likewise, that child care (although not necessarily motherhood) was considered an important female social role is reiterated by the many "mother and child" representations common in Middle Cypriot and Late Cypriot portable figurative art.¹²¹ The Red Polished Ware vessels suggest many of these were communal activities in the Middle Cypriot villages. Similarly, Meyers suggests women from neighboring households worked together, not only sharing their workload and transmitting skills but also engaging in important social interaction, gossiping, sharing social knowledge, and cementing social ties.¹²² We might thus extrapolate this picture of shared activities beyond the household to the Late Cypriot settlement at Aredhiou. Certainly the large, sheltered courtyard areas between the main buildings would provide appropriate areas for people to congregate and perform various tasks and activities together,¹²³ and we might envisage these as lively communal spaces.

Equally, it might be possible to identify carefully segregated gendered spaces, as has been suggested for several Bronze Age communities around the Mediterranean, based primarily on analyses of archaeological assemblages and inferred domestic activities;¹²⁴ but we should also consider whether gendered space was

¹²⁰ Karageorghis 1993, 62–4, 92, pls. 12, nos. 1–7; 41, no. 3. The possible ritual connotations of these objects are reflected by the merging of social and ritual aspects of water carrying by unmarried girls, the *hydrophoroi*, in classical Greece (discussed in Cole 2004, 45).

¹²¹ Bolger 1996, 369; 2003, 115–17; Knapp 2009, 139; Budin 2011, 221, 229–45, 259–61, 264–66; Steel 2013a, 183, 217, 221–22; 2013b, 54, 65, fig. 2c.

¹²² Meyers 2003, 428–29, 435–36.

¹²³ As did the organization of activity areas in household spaces in contemporary Late Cypriot urban communities, as discussed in Fisher 2014.

¹²⁴ Dolfini (2013) discusses the daily performance of household activities in Final Bronze Age Italian villages. See also a recent analysis of Early Bronze Age Tel Bet Yerah in Paz 2012, 414. For a Cypriot parallel, see Frankel and Webb's (2012, 491) detailed investigation into Early to Middle Bronze Age Marki Alonia. Perhaps the best-known Mediterranean ethnography for gendered spaces is Bourdieu's (1966) examination of the Kabyle village.

¹¹³ Cohen 1989, 12; Brock 1994, 342–44.

¹¹⁴ Amiry and Tamari 1989, 34.

¹¹⁵ Davis 1977, 38.

¹¹⁶ Webb 2002; Frankel and Webb 2012, 491.

¹¹⁷ Bolger 2003, 39.

¹¹⁸ Meyers 2003, 430–34. For further discussion of female textile production, see Barber 1991; Brock 1994, 339; Smith 2002.

¹¹⁹ Amiry and Tamari 1989, 42–3.

dynamic, the same area being used differently by both men and women, perhaps alongside each other, perhaps at different times.¹²⁵ In fact, it is very difficult to interpret how domestic and public spaces were structured by Late Cypriot communities, because these communities largely chose to keep their settlement areas clean and free of the accumulated debris that we as archaeologists typically use to determine activity areas.¹²⁶ Nonetheless, there are indications of gendered activities at Aredhiou. We have already discussed water procurement, presumably from the adjacent Aloupos River, as well as from the well in Building 2. Given the importance of this activity within the female domain, it is surprisingly missing from many gender studies of the eastern Mediterranean,¹²⁷ perhaps because of its intangibility in the archaeological record. Notwithstanding, the collection of water provides women with an important social arena where “they exchange news and carry on their gossip.”¹²⁸ If we accept that collecting water from the well was a female task, we might interpret the adjacent courtyard area as a predominantly shady outdoor space where women gathered, perhaps to gossip, perhaps to work. This space no doubt also sheltered other activities. Noticeably, the artifacts recovered in and around Building 2 are largely associated with what we might consider to be women’s work. A loomweight (fig. 13) and a small circular stone weight were found in soundings immediately south of Building 2, mixed in with what was predominantly “domestic” debris comprising rich deposits of pottery and animal bone. Likewise, it is plausible that the quern found in the well was originally set in this area and used for grinding grain or other foodstuffs stored in the adjacent barn. While women may have been engaged in food processing, collecting water, and textile production, this common space was undoubtedly used by men “sequentially or in overlapping temporal units depending on the time of day, the season of the year, and the nature of tasks to be done”¹²⁹—for example, the bulk movement of cereals from the fields into the barn.

The presence of a well-preserved *senet* gaming stone (fig. 14) in the rubble tumble to the south of Building 2 might further enhance our understanding of gendered



FIG. 13. Loomweight from Building 2 (S. Thomas).

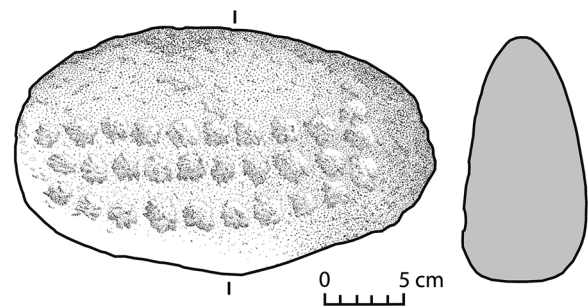


FIG. 14. *Senet* gaming stone, Building 2 (drawing by A. South).

activity in and around this structure. While it seems probable that the gaming stone had in fact been deliberately built into the southern wall of the building, we should equally not ignore that this was an object with a biography,¹³⁰ which was variously handled, perceived, and incorporated within diverse social and embodied practices during its use-life, culminating in its incorporation within the built environment at Aredhiou. The cultural significance of this object is indicated by the unusually high incidence of gaming stones (for the Late Bronze Age) at the site.¹³¹ The exact function of gaming stones remains elusive; they are commonly

¹²⁵ Meyers 2003, 428.

¹²⁶ Meyers 2003, 429.

¹²⁷ See, e.g., Meyers 1998, 2003; Webb 2002; Bolger 2003.

¹²⁸ Bourdieu 1966, 222.

¹²⁹ Meyers 2003, 428.

¹³⁰ Kopytoff 1986; Hoskins 1998. See also the discussion in Steel 2013a, 191.

¹³¹ Allen 2008. Walter Crist’s ongoing doctoral research into the Bronze Age gaming stones from Cyprus will help contextualize and undoubtedly enhance final analysis of the Aredhiou gaming stones.

identified as a local, “rustic” Cypriot version of the Egyptian game *senet*,¹³² although there are alternative interpretations that they were basic counting or calendrical devices,¹³³ which no doubt would have been of practical significance to a farming community. There is certainly no reason to preclude the recreational use of gaming stones—a significant number of which have now been discovered at Aredhiou—within a farming community; if we accept this identification, then the gaming stones were interlinked within a complex network of socialized, embodied practices and cognitive actions. As suggested by Swiny, “The evident popularity of the game . . . and its widespread distribution in humble burials [in Egypt] proves it was not exclusively reserved for the literate minority. Common folk would possess *Senet* boards of wood, terracotta, stone, or could if necessary scoop out a series of holes in the ground.”¹³⁴

The question remains, however, whether the apparent popularity of *senet* at Aredhiou informs us of gendered activities and recreational practices at the site. Certainly, within a modern context around the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean, game playing (backgammon and chess) is almost exclusively a male pastime, particularly within the many *kafeneia* found in these communities.¹³⁵ Such a comparison suggests an additional and plausible use of the shaded courtyard area to the east of Building 2, this time by male actors.

INTENTIONAL DEPOSITION

Several recent archaeological studies have highlighted the diverse relationships that develop between people and their material worlds, focusing in particular on the entanglement of objects and people: as much as people do things to objects, their actions are equally shaped by the agency of these objects.¹³⁶ Objects are not bounded but instead shift into new roles and meanings depending on how people choose to perceive and categorize them; they might be considered as having agency,¹³⁷ thereby shaping the thoughts and actions of the individuals that use them. At Aredhiou, some were deliberately incorporated into the fabric of the

community, built into the foundations of walls. They became part of the “the lived-in environment,” where they continued to be interwoven within daily praxis.

The *habitus* of the communities and their culturally informed repeated actions frequently leave enigmatic traces in the archaeological record. Building 2 offers a fascinating insight into the ritualized actions of the inhabitants of Aredhiou through the intentional, structured deposition of certain objects that were deliberately removed from circulation, with no intention of recovery, and in some instances incorporated into the built environment of the site. This structured deposition may well have been part of some form of ceremony, although “nothing is implied about the scale or formality of the ritual, merely that it can be recognized as a practice distinct from the routine, taken-for-granted discard of refuse.”¹³⁸ In addition to the quern recovered from the well and the gaming stone recovered from the rubble tumble south of the building, there was also a second gaming stone intentionally built into the western wall of Room 96,¹³⁹ and there was a foundation deposit beneath the southern wall of the building.¹⁴⁰ Similarly, a gaming stone (also in fact a reused rubber) was walled into the end room of Building 1.¹⁴¹ Although the context in which these objects were found suggests they were all deliberately removed from circulation, and as such might be considered as defunct or no longer functional, “[t]he deposition of artefacts did not necessarily mark the end of use-life but the beginning of a new phase in object biography; buried artefacts continued their life as a part of a place, the lived-in environment.”¹⁴²

Daily life at Aredhiou was mediated through numerous embodied and gendered practices involving querns, rubbers, and other stone tools in a variety of economic and socialized actions. Consequently, these objects played an important role in the construction of identity, being associated with transformative practices and social reproduction.¹⁴³ For example, the decision to remove a quern from its position of use and to deposit it within the well marks a significant event within the community. The quern from the well weighed a staggering 88 kg; it demonstrated little sign of wear

¹³² Swiny 1986, 2003.

¹³³ Swiny 1986, 44.

¹³⁴ Swiny 1986, 47.

¹³⁵ See, e.g., Taylor 1996.

¹³⁶ Hodder 2012; see also, e.g., Stockhammer 2012; Steel 2013a.

¹³⁷ Gell 1998.

¹³⁸ Last 2005, 205.

¹³⁹ Steel and McCartney 2008, 31, fig. 25.

¹⁴⁰ Steel and Thomas 2008, fig. 29; Steel 2009, 142.

¹⁴¹ Steel 2013a, 191, fig. 7.1.

¹⁴² Herva 2005, 224.

¹⁴³ Lidström Holmberg 2004; Fendin 2006, 159.

and essentially was a pristine object with at most a short use-life prior to being thrown into the well; it would probably have taken two people to maneuver the quern into the room and to place it in the well. The significance of this action, how it related to the continued use or abandonment of Building 2, and the choice of object are enigmatic. One possibility is that the quern was an offering, one that was intrinsically associated with women, agricultural production, and fertility and that moreover reflected the investment of considerable time and skill to procure the raw material and fashion the quern.

A possible foundation deposit beneath the southern wall of Building 2 (fig. 15) comprises an incomplete plain ware jug, perhaps broken intentionally. Foundation deposits are an ancient practice and are well attested throughout the ancient world, in Egypt, Mesopotamia, and the Aegean.¹⁴⁴ Typically, foundation deposits were placed beneath important buildings, such as temples and palaces, and comprised quantities of high-status prestige objects fashioned in stone, metal, or faience.¹⁴⁵ They are commonly viewed as the material residue of ritual, ceremonial action. They are also frequently associated with the pouring of libations—hence the popularity of rhyta in Aegean contexts¹⁴⁶—and intended to commemorate the construction of these important buildings. High-status foundation deposits are rare on Cyprus; most significant is the group of miniature bronze weapons placed on top of the ashlar wall and sealed by mudbrick in the final reconstruction of Room 10 in the Ashlar Building at Enkomi, level IIIB.¹⁴⁷ Although several bronze hoards have been identified in Late Cypriot contexts, some of which might be considered as votive/cult deposits associated with some religious ceremony,¹⁴⁸ current evidence indicates that the Late Cypriot communities primarily chose to dispose of their valuables within the mortuary domain,¹⁴⁹ rather than within structured foundation rituals. The evidence from Aredhiou might highlight an aspect of ceremonial activity hitherto largely unrecognized in Late Cypriot settlements.

In contrast to the foundation deposits from the Near East, the Aredhiou deposit stands out for its simplicity



FIG. 15. Foundation deposit in Building 2 (S. Thomas).

(comprising a single, incomplete plain ware water jug) and its association with a nonelite, nonceremonial structure, albeit one of economic importance. Smith identifies two possible Late Bronze Age foundation deposits placed in pits at Kition, in Temenos A and the adjacent Temple 5. The contents of these pits reflect the apparent simplicity of the Aredhiou deposit, comprising a group of figurines in the former and a range of everyday objects (loomweights and fishing weights, two juglets, and a bowl, as well as a wall-bracket fragment) in the latter.¹⁵⁰ As with the jug from Aredhiou (and also the quern discussed above), the foundation objects from Kition were of a type commonly used within daily life in Late Cypriot communities, suggesting a focus on daily praxis and social reproduction in the ritual performance. A modest foundation deposit from Protopalatial Malia, a single “teapot” placed in a stone cist,¹⁵¹ similarly provides close parallels to the Aredhiou deposit. Perhaps our jug was used to pour libations to commemorate the construction of the building, as has also been suggested for the Malia deposit;¹⁵² its incomplete state might equally illustrate part of the ritual, being deliberately broken before deposition. This relates closely to Chapman’s fragmentation

¹⁴⁴ Egypt: Weinstein 1973. Mesopotamia: Ellis 1968. Aegean: Boulotis 1982; Herva 2005; Koehl 2006, 332–33.

¹⁴⁵ Pelon 1986, 10; Herva 2005, 216–17.

¹⁴⁶ Koehl 2006.

¹⁴⁷ Dikaïos 1969–1971, 295–96.

¹⁴⁸ Knapp 1988, 155–56.

¹⁴⁹ Keswani 2004.

¹⁵⁰ Smith 2009, 63–4. There is some evidence for the continuation of such practices into the Iron Age at Kition, discussed in Smith 2009, 200–201.

¹⁵¹ Pelon 1986.

¹⁵² Pelon 1986, 12.

theory, an approach that presupposes the deliberate, ritualized destruction and structured disposal of “special purpose objects” as part of their life cycle; some objects indeed might be made specifically to be broken within ritual performance. The production, exchange, possession, and eventual destruction of socialized objects create a symbiotic relationship between people and things. Chapman argues that the acts of destruction and deposition of the fragmented object emphasize this relationship, which “stands not only for the rest of the artefact but both persons concerned with the exchange.”¹⁵³ Once this relationship is established, the object needs to be removed from future interactions, the obvious solution being its ritual destruction and deposition.¹⁵⁴ I would argue that the breaking and burial of the plain ware jug represent not the ad hoc removal of a vessel that was no longer of any use but rather a coherent stage in its biography;¹⁵⁵ moreover, these actions give us a glimpse into the ritualized performances of the community at Aredhiou. Even so, we might consider other scenarios: a builder using his broken water jug to shore up the shuttering of mortar, or choosing to place a simple memento of personal rather than cultural significance, much as builders to this day still leave mementos, such as coins, in walls.¹⁵⁶

CONCLUSIONS

Excavations at Aredhiou give an intriguing insight into the otherwise unknown social worlds of a Late Bronze Age farming community. The diversity of activities at Aredhiou is unexpected: “industrial,” some form of processing, maybe metallurgical, agricultural, and storage. This diversity of activity is distinct from the posited nature of the better-known single-activity production sites, such as Sanidha Moutti tou Ayiou Serkhon (pottery) and Politiko Phorades (copper extraction). Examining these activities as part of a highly structured socialized world and attempting to recognize the people behind the archaeological record allow us to develop a more holistic understanding of the Late Cypriot economy. Many production activities carried out in the hinterland were no doubt arranged around the agricultural seasons. Members of the community at Aredhiou were surely involved in certain of these other

production activities, and this involvement suggests even stronger ties between mining and farming settlements of the interior than has hitherto been posited. Seasonality and mobility of population also have significant implications for the gender relations at sites such as Aredhiou. Certainly Aredhiou, and probably other, similar sites, such as Ayia Irini, provided a nodal point within its regional landscape, not only for agricultural, storage, and other activities but also for ceremonial practices and ritual performance. The site was also intrinsically integrated within a wider economic network with the coastal centers, as is demonstrated by its access to imported commodities and occasional use of writing systems. There is also evidence for some form of control, which was expressed physically by the investment in the architecture of Buildings 1 and 2, and for the organization of communal activities, which was mediated through ceremonial performance on the part of a select group of the community. In many respects, therefore, this agricultural production site merges squarely with the criteria Knapp set forward for secondary and tertiary centers. Although many questions remain, it is hoped that future work at Aredhiou Voupes will throw further light on the *habitus* of this rural community.

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¹⁵³ Chapman 2000, 37.

¹⁵⁴ Chapman 2000, 24–6.

¹⁵⁵ Chapman 2000; Herva 2005, 222–24.

¹⁵⁶ S. Thomas, pers. comm. 2008.

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