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THE "AEGEANIZATION" OF CYPRUS AT THE END OF THE BRONZE AGE: AN ARCHITECTURAL PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

The "aegeanization" (or, alternatively, "mycenaeanization" or "hellenization") of Cyprus is one of the more contentious debates for those engaged in the study of the island's Late Bronze and early Iron Age periods. In spite of an ever-growing collection of conference proceedings and edited volumes (e.g., Gitin et al. 1998; Karageorghis ed. 1994; Karageorghis and Muhly 1984; Oren 2000), books and monographs (e.g., Burdajewicz 1990) and individual articles (e.g., Barako 2000; Iacovou 1999; Sherratt 1992) that relate to this issue, it is apparent that we have yet to achieve widespread agreement on the nature, timing and impact of this process. My own contribution to this debate arises from my study of the relationship between architecture and power on Cyprus during the Late Bronze Age (Fisher 2006, 2007). In reviewing previous studies of this architecture, it has become abundantly clear that claims of foreign influence are often an important aspect of how Late Cypriot buildings are interpreted and that the origins and nature of such influences have important implications for our understanding of Late Bronze Age (LBA) sociopolitical dynamics. The following study therefore represents an initial foray into addressing the issue of Aegean elements in LBA Cypriot architecture based on an approach that views built space as the context for social interaction.

I will begin by outlining the differing viewpoints in the ongoing debate regarding the aegeanization of Cyprus and then discuss the supposed architectural manifestations of this process. I will then introduce a method for analyzing built space that might shed light on the sociopolitical dynamics surrounding one particular innovation—large halls with central hearths. I will demonstrate that any aegeanization represented by this innovation should be viewed in the context of selective borrowing and adapting of Mycenaean cultural traits by Cypriot elites, rather than as the product of Mycenaean colonization.

Outline of Current Views

At the risk of oversimplifying matters, two broad models for the aegeanization of Cyprus can be discerned. What I would call the colonization model holds that a significant population (or populations)

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of Aegean people (also referred to as Mycenaeans or Achaeans) arrived in Cyprus in and around 1200 BCE, toward the end of the Late Cypriot (LC) IIC.[1] Proponents of this model see these people as refugees, settlers or colonists, who left their homelands in search of a "better life" or economic opportunity following the collapse of the Mycenaean palatial system (e.g., Burdajewicz 1990; Catling 1975; Coldstream 1994; Dikaios 1969–71: 509–23; Iakovou 1989, 1999; Karageorghis 1994, 1998, 2000, 2002: 71–113). While those who support this model assume the arrival of significant populations of Aegean settlers on the island, opinions vary as to their initial visibility and immediate cultural impact as reflected in the archaeological record.

Karageorghis, who historically has been the primary advocate of this model, argues that the settlers served as the catalyst for the "radical social and religious innovations that occurred in Cypriote society during the Late Cypriote IIIA period" (2000: 258). Whether they were mainland Greek Mycenaeans or "Mycenaeanized" peoples from elsewhere in the Aegean sphere (or a combination of both), the colonists are often credited with bringing to Cyprus a number of innovations in the fields of metallurgy, ceramics, art and architecture (see summaries in Karageorghis 2000; 2002: 84–113; Steel 2004a: table 7.1). They began locally to produce pottery in the Mycenaean style—the Mycenaean IIIC:1b "calling card" of Aegean settlers throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Proponents of the colonization model often cite various foundation legends relating to the arrival of Greek heroes in Cyprus (and elsewhere in the eastern Mediterranean) following the Trojan War as additional evidence for Aegean migrations to the east (e.g., Catling 1994: 137; Gjerstad 1944). In contrast with Karageorghis' view, other scholars (e.g., Catling 1994; Iacovou 1999), while accepting the idea of large-scale Aegean colonization, are less sanguine about the degree to which the settlers achieved any sort of dominance, either politically or culturally, before the LC IIIB (i.e. the beginning of the Iron Age). Iacovou (2001, 2006) argues that the Mycenaean immigrants, while introducing Greek language to the island, were initially largely invisible in archaeological terms and resettled in the LC IIIA urban centres.[2]

The Mycenaean settlers are typically equated with the Sea Peoples, or at least one of perhaps several groups that made up the Sea Peoples, who are thought to have played a key role in the disruptions and population movements that characterized the end of the LBA in the eastern Mediterranean. On Cyprus, they are usually associated with the destructions, reconstructions and population displacement that mark the LC IIC to IIIA transition. Over the course of the 11th century, these colonists, bolstered by additional waves of Aegean immigration, completed the process of hellenizing Cyprus. What the colonization model essentially describes then is a process of acculturation by which Greek culture came to dominate the island in the early Iron Age, save

[1] Recent radiocarbon evidence places the date of the LC IIC period at 1340–1315 to 1200 BCE +20/-10 (Manning et al. 2001).

[2] Iacovou further suggests that these settlers upheld the island's metal industry during the twelfth century and, "to judge from the outcome and the literary tradition" (2006: 327), took the lead in the reorganization of the island's Early Iron Age settlement pattern.

initially for localized pockets of native Cypriot (often referred to in the literature as "Eteocypriot") and Phoenician culture.

A number of scholars have taken issue with various aspects of the colonization model and have emphasized the great degree of continuity seen in most aspects of Cypriot material culture between the LC IIC and LC IIIA periods. They prefer instead to see any aegeanization at that time in terms of influences that developed out of intensifying economic interaction between Cyprus and the Aegean during the 14th and 13th centuries, as well as other interregional contacts that characterized the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean more generally (e.g., Kling 1989, 1991, 2000; Sherratt 1991, 1992; Steel 2004a: 187–210; Webb 1999: 6–8). The result was the addition or, more accurately, adapting of foreign elements, both Aegean and Levantine, to Cypriot culture as reflected in many aspects of Late Cypriot material culture. In a forthcoming book, Knapp (in press) sees this process as one of "hybridization."

A frequent criticism of the colonization model is the assumption by a number of its adherents that Mycenaean IIIC:1b pottery, which came to dominate the LC IIIA repertoire, was made and used by Mycenaean/Aegean people—but one example of the much-discussed problem of equating people with pots in archaeological studies of ethnic or cultural identity. Studies by Kling (1989, 1991, 2000) and others (e.g., Sherratt 1991) have demonstrated that this pottery cannot be reliably used to mark the transition from LC IIC to IIIA, or for that matter, the appearance of an Aegean ethnic element on the island at that time.

The introduction of post-processual critiques to Cypriot archaeology has also brought about a recognition that the colonial and post-colonial political circumstances on the island have very much influenced archaeological analysis and interpretation (e.g., Given 1998; Knapp and Antoniadou 1998; Leriou 2002; various papers in Tatton-Brown 2001), and that current interpretations of the hellenization of Cyprus cannot be divorced from the present sociopolitical milieu. In a recent re-assessment of the colonization model, Leriou (2002) demonstrates that political considerations and academic trends have played a central role in constructing the hellenization narrative throughout the 19th and 20th centuries.

Even so, proponents of the *interaction model* do not entirely discount the presence of Aegean settlers on Cyprus during the LC IIIA (e.g., Sherratt 1991: 195, 1992: 325). As Sherratt argues, however, they were individuals or small groups that were relatively invisible in archaeological terms, being

> evidently quite content to live and work in Cypriot domestic and administrative buildings of the sort which had been in use during LC II, to worship in sanctuaries whose foundations went back to the same period, to bury their dead in traditional Cypriot tombs...and to make use of workshops and industrial installations which continued in most respects unchanged from the previous period (1992: 324).

This statement raises the issue of the degree to which any aegeanization might have manifested itself in the architecture of the LC IIIA period. In spite of the various problems with the colonization model outlined above, it continues to inform current interpretations of Cypriot material culture in general, and Late Cypriot architecture in particular. Sherratt's suggestion of the relative invisibility of any Aegean presence notwithstanding, several architectural features are often cited as evidence for aegeanization in Cyprus during this time.

Architectural Manifestations of Aegeanization

There is insufficient space here to fully discuss each of the architectural features typically associated with Aegean colonization. I wish only to mention the more commonly cited of these features and to briefly outline how they have been interpreted.

Monumental Ashlar Architecture

The appearance of monumental ashlar buildings, such as the Ashlar Building at Enkomi, was initially associated with the coming to Cyprus of Mycenaean colonists in the LC IIIA period (e.g., Dikaios 1969–71: 519–21). Subsequent discoveries of monumental ashlar buildings at Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maroni-*Vournes* and Alassa-*Paliotaverna* dating to the LC IIC period have made it clear, however, even to advocates of the colonization model, that ashlar construction was well established on Cyprus before the disruptions and population movements that accompanied the transition to the LC IIIA. In addition, Hult's (1983) in-depth study of ashlar masonry in the eastern Mediterranean demonstrates that ashlar architecture on Cyprus was not derived from the Aegean tradition. Although Syria is a more likely point of origin or inspiration (Hult 1983), Wright (1992: 521) concludes that the LC ashlar style seems to be its own creation using basic masonry devices common to an extended area of the eastern Mediterranean.

Cyclopean Fortifications

Cyclopean fortifications, made with a base of large boulders (sometimes hammer-trimmed) around a rubble core and topped with a mudbrick superstructure, appear on Cyprus during the LC IIIA period at sites such as Enkomi, Kition, Maa-*Palaeokastro*, and Sinda. While used at various Mycenaean sites on the mainland, this style of fortification is known from a wide range of sites in both the Aegean and Anatolia. Wright (1992: 515) argues that the Cypriot fortifications drew on knowledge of these neighbouring regions while incorporating devices of locally-derived tradition of non-urban fortresses dating back to the MC III–LC I.

Horns of Consecration

As architectural elements, stone horns of consecration are known on Cyprus from the sanctuaries at Myrtou-*Pigadhes*, Kouklia-*Palaepaphos* and Area II at Kition, dating to the LC IIIA periods (or possibly the LC IIC at Myrtou). Most scholars would agree that these horns are inspired by Minoan examples (e.g., Hägg 1991: 78–9). Arguments that they were brought by Aegean immigrants (e.g., Loulloupis 1973: 242; Karageorghis 2000: 261), however, are highly questionable, given the different formal attributes and uses of Cypriot and Aegean horns of consecration. While Aegean examples have high pointed horns, Cypriot horns have lower, flat terminals. Although both are likely linked iconically to a bull deity or bull sacrifice, Webb suggests that the horns also served as "sacred, sanctifying or apotropaic symbols" (1999: 179). However, while Cypriot examples appear to be exclusively associated with monumental altars, those in the Aegean are more often used to crown important buildings or walls.

Stepped Capitals

Stepped ashlar capitals, examples of which are known from Area II at Kition, Sanctuary I at Kouklia-*Palaepahos*, Myrtou-*Pigadhes* and from an ashlar building in Quarter 6W in Enkomi, were thought by Karageorghis (1971) to have been introduced to Cyprus by Mycenaean immigrants, despite a lack of any Aegean parallels. The "Mycenaean" appellation of these capitals has, unfortunately, stuck (e.g., Burdajewicz 1990), although Wright's (1992: 520) suggestion that they are of indigenous origins is far more plausible. The capitals appear to be typically associated with urban cult buildings dating from LC IIC–IIIA (Webb 1999: 181).

Bathrooms and Bathtubs

Terracotta or stone tubs, usually with a drain hole in the bottom, are known from a number of LC IIC–IIIA sites including Enkomi, Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios*, Maa-*Palaeokastro* and Alassa-*Paliotaverna*. In some cases, these are found in elite domestic contexts in rooms with wells and/or toilets and fine concrete floors that have been identified as bathrooms. Karageorghis (1998, 2000: 266–74, 2002: 90–1) assumes that these facilities were used for bathing and suggests that they were introduced by settlers from the Aegean, where they are known from a number of sites including palatial contexts at Pylos and Tiryns. He adds that bathrooms were previously unknown in Cyprus and that their introduction marked "a high degree of progress in hygienic installations in the houses of the elite" (Karageorghis 2002: 79). I argue elsewhere, however, for the possible existence of bathrooms in the Ashlar Building at Enkomi, even in the absence of such bathtubs (Fisher 2007). Bathtubs found in non-domestic contexts (e.g., in tombs or sanctuaries) are assumed to have been used for purification rituals (Karageorghis 1998: 281). A recent reassessment of Cypriot bathtubs and the contexts in which they are found

suggests that many of them were instead used in industrial processes associated with the textile industry (Mazow, this volume).

As even this brief outline suggests, few of these features are demonstrably or exclusively Aegean in origin, and the Aegean elements that are apparent are perhaps better explained as Cypriot adaptations of Aegean elements within a framework of long-term socio-economic interrelations, rather than the products of Aegean colonists. I will discuss this process further in terms of another architectural innovation often associated with an Aegean presence on Cyprus: the appearance of large halls with formal (or monumental) central hearths (Karageoghis 1998, 2000, 2002: 87–8; Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavva 1997). While these hearth-rooms have been identified at a number of LC IIC–IIIA sites, including Enkomi, Alassa-*Paliotaverna*, Kiton and Maa-*Palaeokastro*, Steel (2004a: 199) notes that the social transformation associated with their use remains elusive. I will argue that hearth-rooms might be one of the few actual manifestations of some form of aegeanization in Late Cypriot architecture, but that they demonstrate the adapting of a Mycenaean concept by Cypriot elites as part of their sociopolitical and ideological strategies for maintaining or enhancing power, rather than the presence of Mycenaean colonists.

An Integrative Approach to Analyzing Buildings

In order to investigate this, I take an approach based on the idea that "no matter what happens in the world of human beings, it happens in a spatial setting, and the design of that setting has a deep and persisting influence on the people in that setting" (Hall 1966: xi). I see monumental architecture, therefore, as symbolizing not only elite control over material and human resources, but also the appropriation of space that organizes and materializes social relationships and boundaries. Consequently, buildings play a vital role as the primary contexts for movement and social interaction.

But how might we characterize this interaction? Goffman (1963: 18–24) has developed a useful typology in which he uses the term *gathering* to refer to any set of two or more individuals who are mutually aware of one another's presence. Gatherings tend to have a loose and transitory form, such as fleeting exchanges as people pass in a hallway. *Social occasions*, on the other hand, are wider affairs involving a plurality of individuals. They range from routine aspects of daily life, such as the preparation and consumption of food, to events such as funerals or weddings that are more irregular, formal and delineated in terms of their spatial and temporal boundaries and the composition of their participants. As the context of these interactions, built space is more than just their backdrop or stage, but is an integral part of their occurrence and, by extension, the development of social positions, roles, and identities. This premise owes much to Foucault (1977), who has demonstrated how architecture as an institution contributes to the maintenance of power of one group over another through the control and surveillance of the movement of bodies through space. Buildings therefore play a vital role in structuring movement and interaction, and according to Giddens' theory of structuration (1984),

it is through such interactions that sociopolitical structures are created and reproduced.

While these ideas set the theoretical boundaries of my research on LBA Cypriot architecture, they do not offer the tools needed to analyze the material remains on the ground. This has led me to develop an "integrative approach" to studying the built environment—so-called because it integrates three analytical methods: access analysis, nonverbal communication, and viewshed analysis.[3]

Access Analysis

The first stage of this approach is based on space syntax, an analytical approach and conceptual framework developed for the analysis of spatial configurations in built form (Hillier and Hanson 1984). A component of space syntax known as *access analysis* can be applied to building interiors and allows us to study movement and social interaction by indicating how each room or space is integrated with the rest of the spaces in the building. The first step involves translating a building into a graph in which each space is represented as a circle, with direct access between rooms represented as lines linking the circles together. The graph can be "justified" by lining up all of the spaces that are of the same depth in horizontal rows above the starting point (usually the outside, or *carrier*; for example see fig. 5). Access analysis allows us to readily see pathways of accessibility and movement through a structure, providing insight into potential locations for interaction between occupants and visitors. Using the access graph, one can then calculate a number of variables, three of which are relevant to the current study:

> *Control value* (CV): a measure of the degree of control of access a space exercises over its immediate neighbours. It therefore measures "local" relations among spaces. Each space in the building is assigned a value of 1, which is divided among each of the neighbouring spaces to which it is connected. These are then totalled and the higher the number, the more control the space exerts over its neighbours.
>
> *Relative asymmetry* (RA): a measure of how accessible a space is from any other point in the structure. It is therefore a measure of "global" relations. To calculate it, one must first calculate the *mean depth* (MD), which measures how deep a space is relative to the other spaces in the building (MD = the cumulative depth of each space/p-1, where p is the number of points in the system). RA = 2(MD-1)/k-2 where MD is the mean depth and k is the number of spaces in the system).[4] RA values are standardized to provide a

[3] What follows is a very cursory outline of the integrative approach. See Fisher (2007: chps. 3–5) for a full discussion.

[4] In order to compare RA values of spaces from buildings with different

value between 0 and 1 with a score approaching 1 indicating a low level of accessibility.

Depth: the minimum number of spaces one must traverse to reach a space from another designated space (usually the carrier). It can therefore provide some measure of how accessible a space is to a person entering from the outside. [5]

These measurements can be used to isolate rooms that are particularly important in structuring space, and therefore social interaction, within a building.

Nonverbal Communication

The built environment structures interaction not only through the physical layout of buildings, but also through the nonverbal communication of meanings that influence human behaviour. A substantial body of research in the fields of environmental psychology, semiotics, and environment-behaviour studies has convincingly demonstrated that meanings are produced or encoded in elements of the built environment and are communicated to people interacting with those elements. Rapoport's (1990) nonverbal communication approach provides a useful basis for studying how the built environment conveys meaning to its users (Fig. 1). According to Rapoport (1990: chp. 4) there are three elements of the built environment that encode and communicate messages. Fixed-feature elements are relatively permanent architectural components integral to a building's structure, including walls, floors and ceilings. Semifixed-feature elements are easily changeable and include various furnishings and portable artifacts, while nonfixed-feature elements include the physical and verbal expressions of the building's occupants. With few exceptions, only the fixed and semifixed-feature elements can be directly attested in the archaeological record.

For each space in the buildings examined in my study, I record its size and convexity (that is, how "square" the room is), as well as the presence and characteristics of various features and artifacts, such as ashlar walls, doorways, hearths, wells and columns.[6] I was able to code the presence and certain characteristics of some of these features, such as door widths and the elaborateness of the masonry directly on the access map (see Fig. 5). This process allowed me to define the characteristics of spaces that would host the different types of interaction proposed by Goffman. I further refined Goffman's

numbers of spaces, they can be converted to *real relative asymmetry* scores by dividing the RA value of a space by its D-value provided by Hillier and Hanson (1984: table 3).

[5] For a full discussion of access analysis and details regarding the calculation of these variables see Hillier and Hanson (1984: chp. 4).

[6] A space's convexity is calculated by dividing its width by its length, resulting in a value between 0 and 1, with values closer to 1 being more "square" and therefore generally better suited to hosting social occasions.

typology by also distinguishing between spaces that would likely host "public" or inclusive social occasions and those that would host "private" or exclusive occasions (Fig. 2).

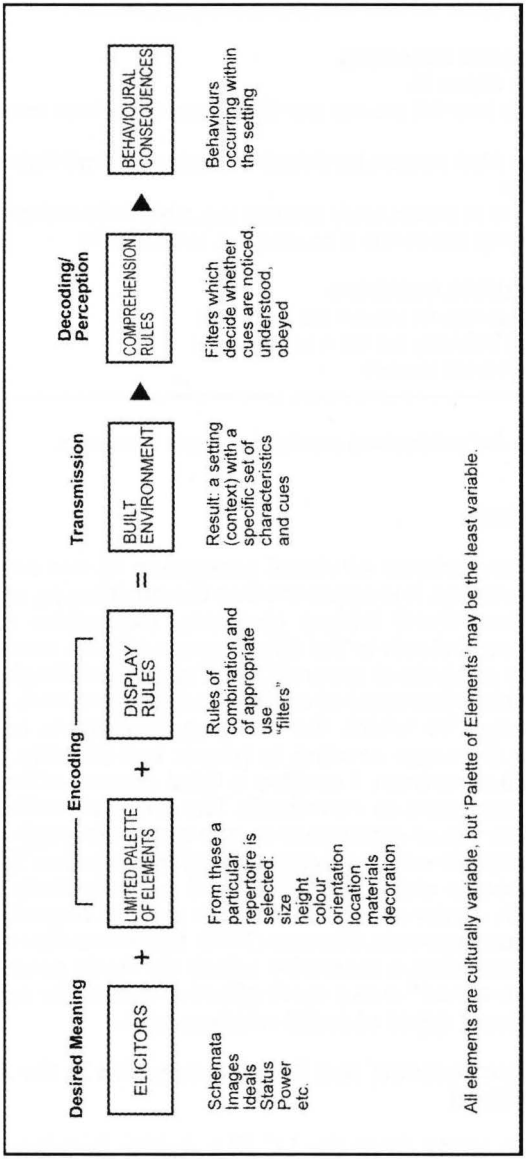

Fig. 1. Nonverbal communication approach to the built environment (modified from Rapport 1990: fig. 17).

GATHERINGS
" medium-high Control Value (CV)
" low Relative Asymmetry (RA) measure (room is readily accessible)
" low convexity (space will tend toward long and narrow shape)

"PUBLIC"-INCLUSIVE OCCASIONS
" medium-high CV; low RA
" high convexity (over 0.6) and area over 12 m2 (space will be large and tend toward square)
" generally low depth measure, but if depth measure is high it will likely be on major axial route
" room is likely to be architecturally elaborate (e.g., ashlar walls) and contain features/furnishings appropriate to occasion (e.g., formal hearth)

"PRIVATE"-EXCLUSIVE OCCASIONS
" low CV; medium-high RA (room is less accessible)
" generally high convexity, but size is not important
" may have high depth measure

Fig. 2. Syntactic and architectural correlates of social interaction.

Interior Viewsheds

Given the importance of visual perception to our negotiation of the built environment, it is apparent that the positioning and visibility of fixed and semi-fixed feature elements, like ashlar masonry or hearths, play a central role in the effectiveness of their communication of meaning. My analysis of several LBA Cypriot buildings has led me to suggest that the placement of such elements represents a deliberate program of design by which the building inhabitants encoded and communicated messages relating to power and identity. In order to examine this phenomenon, I employ a third avenue of investigation: visibility analyses based on viewsheds. The use of viewsheds captures something of the visual experience as one moves through a structure. I generate viewsheds using a Geographical Information System (GIS) from and into rooms and entries identified as particularly controlling or integrating in access analysis, or which contain important fixed or semifixed-feature elements. Hanson (1998: 106) notes that the relations with visibility are often a means by which the basic accessibility of a complex is "fine-tuned" into a more effective device for interfacing or distancing different types of social relationships.

Case Study: Hearth-rooms and Social Interaction in the Ashlar Building at Enkomi

A brief case study from the LC IIIA Ashlar Building at Enkomi will illustrate facets of the integrative approach just outlined, while examining the role of hearth-rooms as contexts for social

interaction. The LC IIIA period to which this building dates witnessed a massive reconstruction of the city on an orthogonal grid surrounded by cyclopean fortifications (Courtois et al. 1986: 2–7). The most characteristic feature of the architecture of this period is the extensive use of ashlar masonry in the construction of elite buildings. One such structure is the Ashlar Building, a 32.5 x 28.5 m monumental structure located near the centre of the city (see fig. 3) that, in its first incarnation, served elite ceremonial and residential functions.[7]

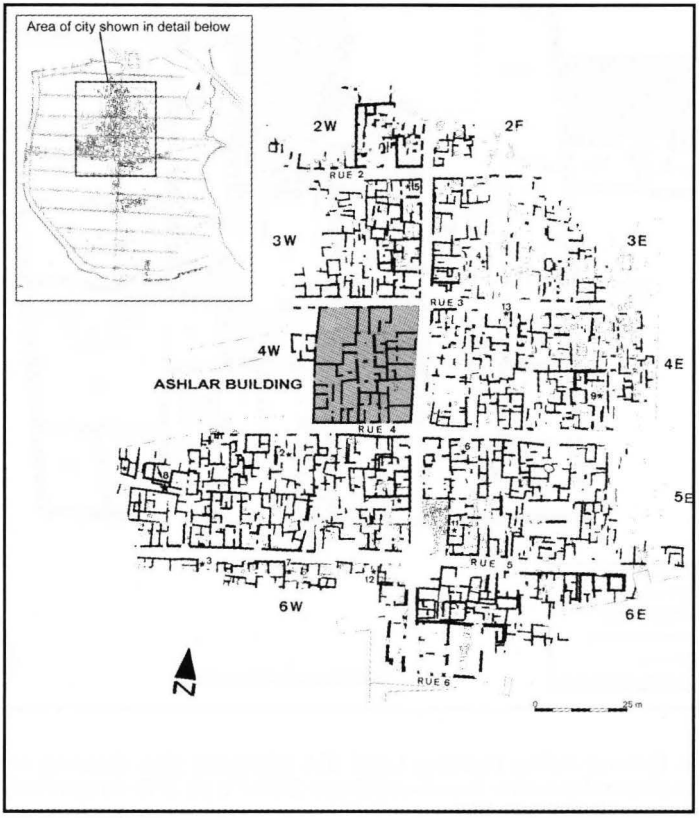

Fig. 3. Enkomi site plan and detail of excavated area in city centre showing location of the Ashlar Building (modified from Courtois et al. 1986: figs. 1 and 2).

[7] The Ashlar Building was destroyed and rebuilt twice before finally being destroyed and abandoned in the late LC IIIA or early LC IIIB. It is the first reconstruction of the Ashlar Building (Level IIIB) that housed the famous Sanctuary of the Horned God. While most scholars accept an early LC IIIA initial construction date for the building (contra Negbi 1986), there is a great deal of disagreement over the dating of its subsequent phasing, and its relationship to buildings excavated by the French elsewhere in Enkomi. See Ionas (1984) and Webb (1999: 91–2) for a summarized discussion of these chronological problems.

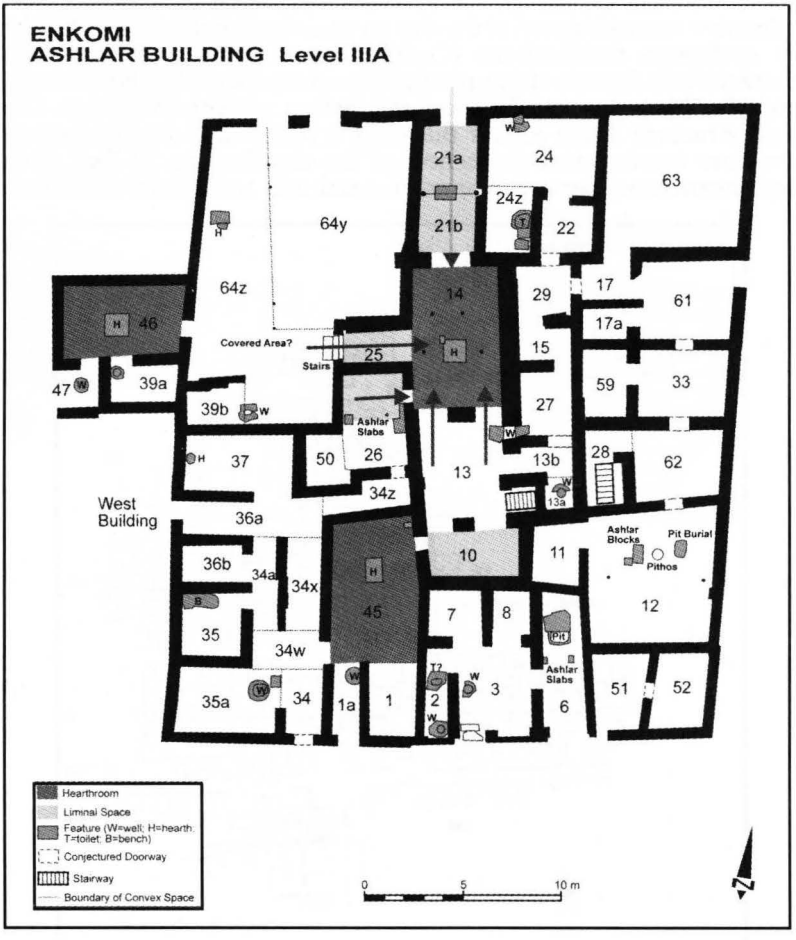

Fig. 4. Enkomi Ashlar Building Level IIIA schematic plan showing convex spaces (drawn by author based on Dikaios 1969–71: pl. 273). Arrows indicate access routes into Room 14.

Dikaios excavated the building during his work at Enkomi from 1948–58 and the high quality of the subsequent publication allows for detailed architectural and spatial analyses of this building (see Dikaios 1969–71: 171–220). Figure 4 shows a schematic plan of the building's ground floor during its initial occupation around 1200 BCE (Level IIIA), while Figure 5 shows the access graph for this plan.

Room 14, which forms the main part of a divided central hall, is of particular importance. The room exhibits a high control value and low relative asymmetry score and it is clear that it played a key role in structuring access within the building, particularly from the front

(that is, north) entrance. Combined with the room's large size and high convexity, I would suggest that it was most likely used for public or inclusive social occasions that centred on the formal reception of visitors. Room 14 is on the axial path that leads from the building's

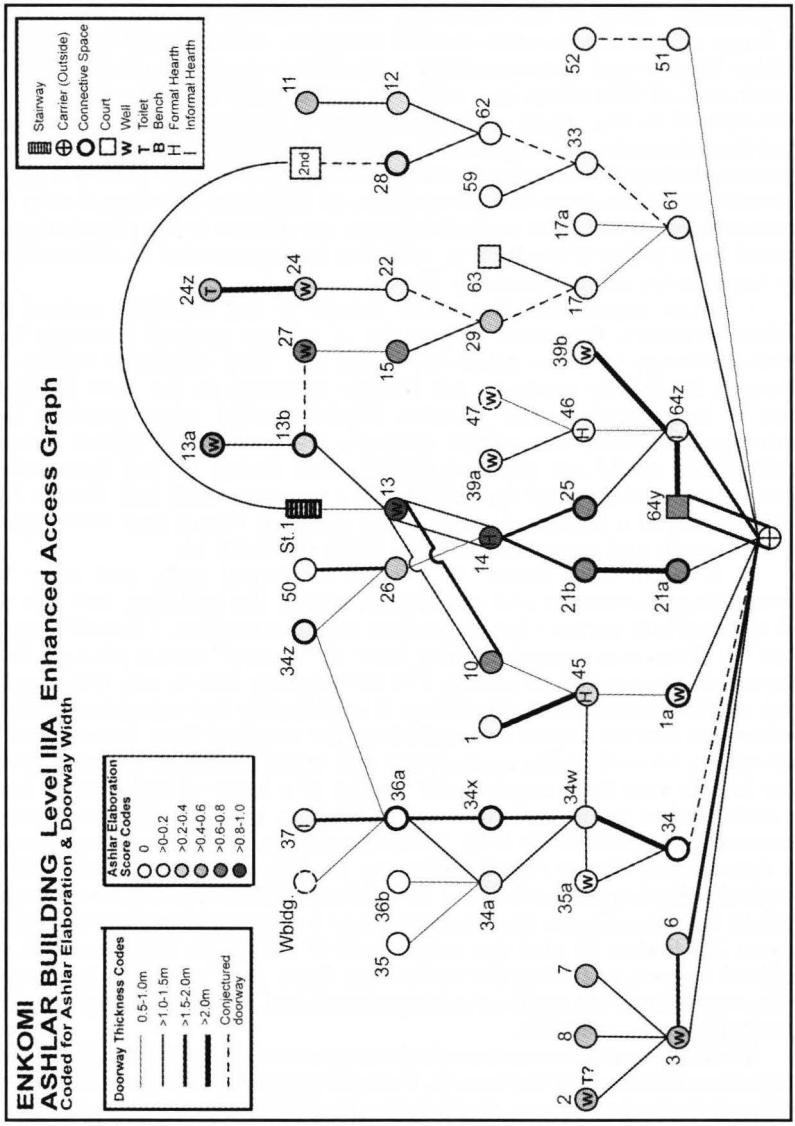

Fig. 5. Enkomi Ashlar Building Level IIIA enhanced access graph, coded for doorway width and Ashlar Elaboration score.

impressive ceremonial entrance through a two-part ashlar vestibule (Rooms 21a and 21b). Both ends of this vestibule are marked by ashlar thresholds, and its middle was distinguished by what were probably two non-structural columns and a platform that resembles a hearth (but has no evidence for burning). Room 14 had the highest Ashlar Elaboration Score in the building, with walls consisting of a plinth of large ashlar blocks with drafted margins, surmounted by smaller ashlar blocks and (presumably) a mudbrick superstructure. At the south end of this room is a massive rectangular ashlar column that also served as the south wall. This room is particularly important in that it contained a rectangular monumental hearth that may have been surrounded by three or four wooden columns (Dikaios 1969–71: 175). Viewsheds taken from the perspective of someone entering Room 14 from either the north or west doorways are drawn to the physical and visual focal point of the hearth, which is backgrounded in either view by impressive ashlar masonry (Fig. 6).

I would argue that the north façade of the building served to "filter" visitors, the more important of whom entered through the main entrance into the relatively small but very elaborate vestibule (Rooms 21a/b). By contrast, the double entrance to the west leading into a large open court (Rooms 64y&z) could accommodate far more people who, one might suspect, were of lower status. These individuals could not proceed directly into Room 14, but those who were permitted to, were funnelled into a purpose-built hall (Room 25) constructed at a higher elevation that directed views and movement to the hearth and impressive ashlar walls of Room 14.

It is clear that Room 14 played a central role, not only in structuring movement and interaction within the building, but also as an appropriate context for important social occasions. I would argue that the room was accorded some form of "sacred" status (though not necessarily in a religious sense). The rectangular hearth was the largest and most elaborate in the building. It is probably not coincidental that before the central hearth was installed, the original floor immediately beneath it, as well as the underlying soil, were removed and replaced. The hearth was then constructed on top of a layer of red mortar and a rectangular stone slab was embedded in the hearth's northwest corner (Dikaios 1969–71: 176). I would see this operation as some form of foundation rite or ritual necessary for the construction of such a symbolically important feature. In addition, there was a clear effort to isolate the room from direct access, and I suggest that the vestibule, Room 25, Room 10 and the north half of Room 26 likely served as liminal spaces, marking the transition from the "outside" (perhaps seen as profane) to a space of sociopolitical and ideological importance (perhaps seen as sacred).

The fragments of a number of Mycenaean vessels were found in Room 14 in association with the hearth, including several bowls, a dish, a jug with a side-strainer spout, a bell-shaped krater, two hydriae and a three-handled jar (Dikaios 1969–71: 314–15). I would argue that these are the remains of a social occasion(s) that involved ritual or ceremonial feasting and drinking. I contend, therefore, that this room served as the foci for

feasts that, depending on the occasion, the elite occupants could use to either build social ties with visitors or to emphasize or reinforce their distinctive social roles, status and identity. Feasts are characterized by

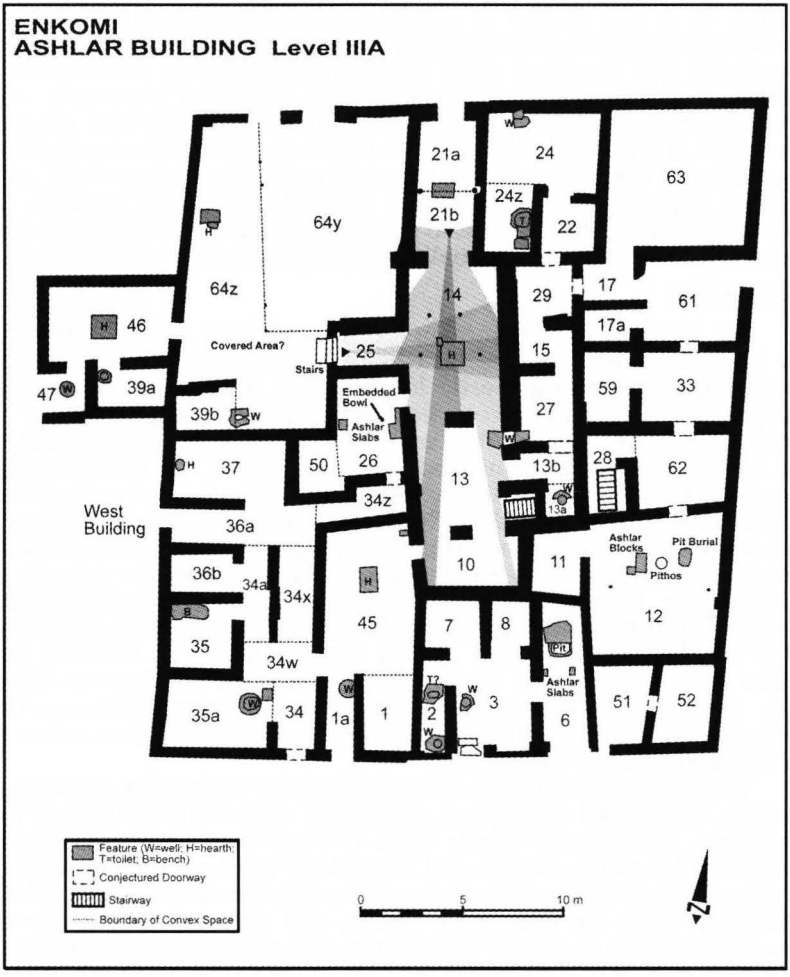

Fig. 6. Enkomi Ashlar Building Level IIIA schematic plan with viewsheds into Room 14 from Rooms 21b and 25. Note convergence of viewsheds on focal point of the hearth. Viewshed covers 200 degree range of binocular peripheral vision; darker portion of viewshed indicates 10 degree range of detailed (foveal + macular) vision.

"the communal consumption of food (including drink)—usually foods that are different from everyday practice—and the social component of display—usually of success, social status or power" (van der Veen 2003: 414–5). There is a growing recognition of the important role that

feasting played in the sociopolitical dynamics of many ancient societies (e.g., Dietler and Hayden 2001, van der Veen 2003; Wright 2004).

Rooms 45 and 46 were also hearth-rooms. Room 45 is identical in layout and size to Room 14, but is built mostly of rubble masonry. Room 46 is also similar in layout, but smaller in size and also of rubble construction. I have argued that these rooms likely also hosted occasions that involved ritual feasting and drinking, but for lower status individuals or groups who were excluded physically and visually from participating in the official occasions that took place in Room 14. It is possible that all of the hearth-rooms and their adjoining spaces were employed during the same occasion, during which only certain participants were admitted to particular rooms, perhaps on the basis of their status. It is also possible that each of these rooms was reserved for a particular spatially and temporally discrete occasion.

Discussion

We have then, evidence in LC IIIA Cyprus for the presence of large halls with central hearths, in which elite social occasions were conducted using mostly locally-made Mycenaean ceramics—phenomena typically associated with the late palatial period in mainland Greece. One might therefore be tempted to see the presence of Mycenaeans at Enkomi, and this was indeed the interpretation made by Dikaios (1969–71: 176, 180, 519–21) who further argued that the central hall in the Ashlar Building (Rooms 10, 13 and 14) was a Mycenaean-style megaron. While even proponents of the colonization model now acknowledge that there are no Mycenaean megara in Cyprus (e.g., Iacovou 1989: 53; 2001: 87–88), Karageorghis (1998, 2000, 2002: 87–88) and Hadjisavvas and Hadjisavva (1997) have suggested that the large rooms with central hearths found at Enkomi and other sites were, in fact, the products of Aegean immigrants. There are, however, a number of fundamental differences between the Mycenaean and Cypriot manifestations of this phenomenon, a few of which I will briefly outline here.

The Mycenaean hearth-room tends to be a singular occurrence within the palatial complexes, associated with the main hall of the megaron. In instances where there is more than one such hearth, the second is much smaller and found in a much smaller room (e.g., Pylos; see Fig. 7 and note the second hearth in Room 46). In the Ashlar Building, there are three such rooms, and although one is clearly marked as being of greater importance, it is nearly identical in size to one built in part of rubble masonry.

The singularity of the Mycenaean palatial hearth is related to its importance in the state-level religion. James Wright (1994) argues that it is an integral part of what he calls the "hearth-*wanax*" ideology in which the hearth symbolizes the centre of the state and the *wanax* or king was its guardian (essentially serving as the father of the state). While I would not rule out the possibility of some similar symbolism at work in the Cypriot examples, the Ashlar Building is but one of many monumental elite buildings that co-existed in the city, not a "palace" or the centre of state power. It is more likely that the monumental Cypriot hearth was symbolic of the

transformative nature of fire (raw to cooked; clay to ceramics; ore to metal), and hence elite control over these processes—particularly in terms of the latter, given the importance of metallurgy in LC society, and its frequent associations with religious ideology (Knapp 1986, 1988).

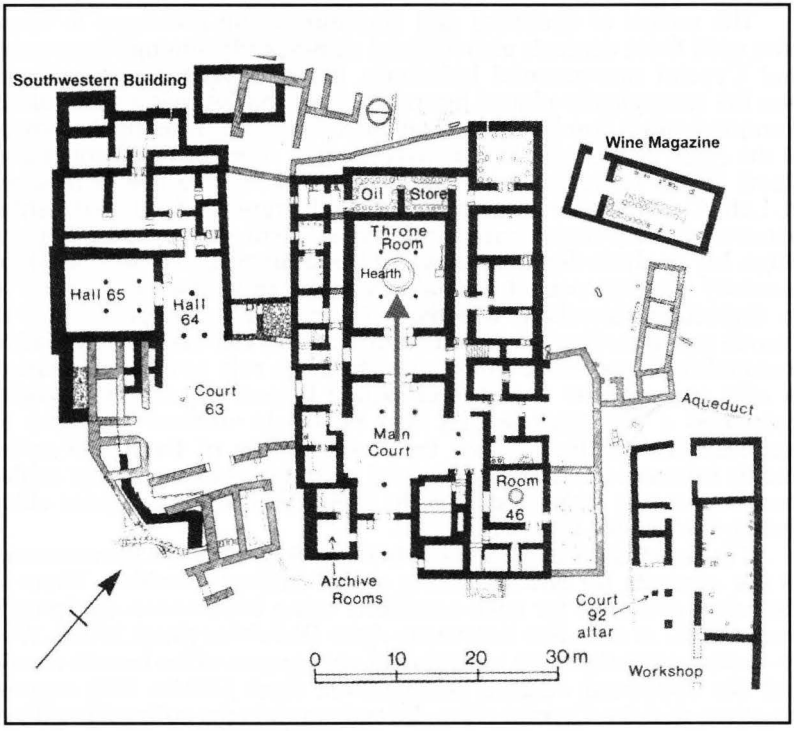

Fig. 7. Palace complex at Pylos showing access route to the hearth/throne room. Shaded area represents approximate size of the Ashlar Building at Enkomi (modified from Dickinson 1994: fig. 5.31).

Wright (1994: 58f) has also pointed out the symbolic nature of the columns surrounding the hearth as representing the palace itself in Mycenaean iconography and also as mediating between the built structure containing the hearth and the heavens. Only in Room 14 in the Ashlar Building at Enkomi is there evidence for columns surrounding the central hearth. While there may have been four, only three bases are extant, and they are not arranged symmetrically around the hearth as in the Mycenaean examples. The use of generally rectilinear shapes for the Cypriot hearths contrasts with the round hearths employed in the Mycenaean palatial examples, although this phenomenon requires further study.

In terms of physical layout and accessibility, the Mycenaean hearth-room was usually in a space at the terminus of an axial route

(Fig. 7). By contrast, Rooms 14 and 45 from the Ashlar Building are both on circulation rings (see Fig. 5) and Room 46 has two entrances. The location of Room 14 in particular allowed the elite occupant(s) the ability to appear from and disappear into a part of the building not directly accessible to visitors—an indication of their relative status (see Fig. 4).

The means of encoding and communicating messages to those who used these contexts also differed significantly among Mycenaean and Cypriot monumental buildings. In the Mycenaean megara, it was the strategically-placed figural frescoes that played a vital role in communicating "proper" modes of behaviour, legitimizing the power of the ruler, and inculcating a "Mycenaean" identity (see Bennet and Davis 1999). There is no evidence, however, for the use of frescoes in Late Cypriot elite buildings. I would argue instead that ashlar masonry was the major communicative element employed by Cypriot elites. My analysis demonstrates that the strategic placement of ashlar masonry (for instance, at liminal thresholds or as the background to an important viewshed) was the primary way for Cypriot elites to encode messages that reminded occupants and visitors of their relative sociopolitical positions. Quite apart from its role as a manifestation of elite control over wealth and skilled labour, the ashlar masonry embodied a permanence that was no doubt utilized by elites to communicate (in their view) the immutability of the social order and its inherent inequalities. I would go so far as to argue that ashlar masonry was an integral part of the identities of urban Cypriot elites during the LC IIC–IIIA periods.

It is clear that hearth-rooms in both the Aegean and Cyprus served as the contexts for ritual feasting and drinking occasions. There is abundant evidence for such occasions using Mycenaean equipment from LC IIC at sites like Kalavasos-*Ayios Dhimitrios* (Steel 2004b: 170–1)—even before the more widespread appearance of the hearth-rooms and the supposed Aegean colonization. Steel (2004b: 174) argues, however, that the Cypriot elites did not emulate the cultural practices and feasting paraphernalia of the Mycenaean elite, who preferred gold and silver equipment. Instead, they adapted Mycenaean ceramic imports to their own local practices and tastes. She suggests that they may have instead referenced Ugaritic patterns of wine consumption. Evidence from burials suggest that Mycenaean dining sets began to fall out of favour among Cypriot elites at the LC IIC–IIIA transition as bronze drinking sets became the preferred elite drinking equipment, reflecting a southern Levantine and Egyptian influence (Steel 2004b: 175).

Certainly the feasting occasions in both types of contexts provided opportunities for ritual display and for the maintenance and legitimization of sociopolitical power. While the Mycenaean occasions reflected the state-level hearth-*wanax* ideology, I would suggest that the Cypriot urban environment (at least at Enkomi) was one characterized by a more multi-focal distribution of power. The Cypriot occasions therefore provided opportunities to attract or retain followers in what was clearly a competitive environment.

Although some form of inter-group cooperation was necessary for the level of urban planning apparent in the LC IIIA reconstruction, the architecture at Enkomi, particularly when taken into account with burial evidence, points to a heterarchical power structure, with several elite buildings that likely served as foci for competing elite groups (Keswani 1989, 1996, 2004: chp. 5). The fact that hearth-rooms appear in a few elite buildings at Enkomi and beyond, beginning in the LC IIC, suggests that this architectural form and its attendant social occasions became an important part of elite strategies, particularly during the demographic, economic and sociopolitical disruptions that characterized the LC II–IIIA transition.

Conclusions

The occupants of the Ashlar Building at Enkomi were not Mycenaeans (or Aegeans/Achaeans/Sea Peoples), nor were they Mycenaean "wannabes" blindly copying Aegean architectural contexts, artifacts and rituals. Instead, these were Cypriot elites who were familiar with Mycenaean culture and adapted elements of the hearth-room/feasting phenomenon as part of a strategy aimed at consolidating and legitimizing their status and power. This is part of the same strategy by which Cypriot elites freely adapted the iconography and other aspects of Near Eastern culture, blending them with indigenous and Aegean elements. Indeed, my analysis of an admittedly limited dataset of LC IIC–IIIA elite architecture suggests that the *interaction model* of Aegean influence through interregional contact more effectively explains the appearance of the hearth-room and its associated social occasions in Late Cypriot buildings, than does the colonization model.

The identification of foreign influences in the archaeological record and the means by which they were transmitted is not necessarily a straightforward exercise, and the same can be said of attempts to identify the presence of intrusive ethnic groups. Architecture, particularly when examined as the context for social interaction, provides one avenue for investigating these thorny issues. Debate surrounding the aegeanization of Cyprus will no doubt remain controversial, not so much because of the subtleties of Mycenaean IIIC:1b ceramic classifications or due to a lack of agreement over the origins of stepped capitals, but because of the political resonance it continues to have despite the passage of over three millennia.

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