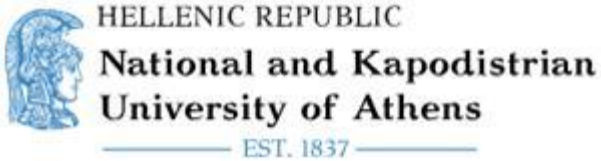

Department of History and Archaeology

MA in Greek and Eastern Mediterranean Archaeology: From the Bronze Age Palaces to the Hellenistic Kingdoms

Title: Cultural Hybridization in the LBI Cyclades

MA Dissertation

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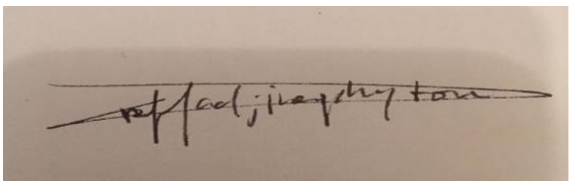

Cultural experience or indeed every cultural form is radically, quintessentially hybrid, and if it has been the practice in the West since Immanuel Kant to isolate cultural and aesthetic realms from the worldly domain, it is now time to rejoin them.
—Edward Said, Culture and Imperialism

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Abstract

Any society that comes into contact with other civilizations is bound to undergo change. Our study examines the cultural influences of the Minoan civilization on the Cyclades in the Late Bronze Age. Utilizing archaeological material evidence from the site we attempt to understand the processes and the motivation behind the infiltration of aspects of the Minoan culture on the Keian way of life. Our analysis illustrates that indeed, the Minoan civilization influenced significantly the Cycladic islands, with changes occurring in their pottery patterns, masonry work, and architectural designs. Did the Minoans impose these changes as mighty colonizers or did the indigenous population of the islands choose to emulate Cretan trends and tradition? Were the changes a byproduct of the fact that Ayia Irini was an important part of the trade route known as the Western String? And if the Keians actively sought to integrate Minoan traits into their culture and their way of living could we apply the concept of cultural hybridization to understand the underlying processes? Our study will examine the different perspectives and terms that scholars have developed in order to describe and to interpret the various degrees of Minoan presence in the Cyclades and its effect on the formation of the identity of the people of the islands.

Keywords: Assemblage Theory, Cyclades, Colonization, Hybridization, Material Culture, Pottery.

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CHAPTER 1. Introduction

The nature of the expansion of the Minoan culture in the Aegean during the Middle and at the beginning of the Late Bronze Age (ca 2000-1600 BC) was indeed complex. Various aspects of Minoan culture spread to settlements in the Cyclades, Dodecanese, west coast of Anatolia and Mainland Greece. Many of the settlements on these sites which include Phylakopi on Melos, Ayia Irini on Kea, and Seraglio on Kos, Miletos, and Iasos on the Anatolian west coast already had an indigenous population, a fact which created a discussion amongst scholars on whether the Minoan remains found at these sites represented trading links or colonies. Scholars developed different terms and explanatory models to describe the various degrees of Minoan presence in these areas. In addition to colonization, terms included the *Minoan Thalassocracy* and "*Minoanization*". The first describes an empire, whereas the second refers more to cultural adaptation. Research findings show that the majority of the Southern Aegean Islands and some of the Northern ones experienced during the MBA and at the beginning of the LBA, a process, which has come to be termed as "Minoanisation" (Broodbank, 2004). The term indicates that many sites across the Aegean "*started sharing a whole set of specific cultural traits, individually or in combination*" as interactions between them increased (Girella & Pavuk 2015:388). Many of the specific cultural traits found on the Cyclades originated on Crete, especially its palatial site of Knossos. The

Minoan Civilization existed in the Bronze Age, between c.2700 to c.1450 BC, with its final decline estimated at c. 1100 BC (Tsonis et al. 2010:528) and has been characterized as the earliest advanced civilization in Europe as well as the first link to the European Chain (Vallance, 2013:3).

Davis (2008:188) poses that considerable evidence documents that in the Minoan New Palace Period (from MMII through LMIB) the contact between Crete and the islands of the Aegean Sea was frequent and had a profound influence on the development of preexisting local cultures. The expansion of the Minoan civilization in areas such as mainland Greece, Crete, and the Cyclades resulted in the introduction of new ideas and techniques in the specific area that was affected by outside influences.

Knapp (2009) uses the term "cultural hybridization" to describe a process in which new cultures from migrants and tradesmen became integrated with those of the people of the Cyclades (2009:224). Indeed, the expansion of Minoan culture beyond Crete has raised a larger set of questions regarding cultural influence, colonialism and even control (Branigan 1981; Hägg and Marinatos 1984; Broodbank 2004; Laffineur and Greco 2005; Burns 2010 in Alberti, 2016: 281).

Stockhammer expressed his disagreement with the use of the term "hybridization" in archaeological analysis. He finds that the term does not take into account the active role of the indigenous population (human agency – appropriation). He therefore introduced a different term, namely "entanglement" to describe the process of the creation of a new cultural

identity that is more than just a sum of its parts. Stockhammer and Maran proposed a methodology driven by the transcultural perspective in order to gain a better insight of the interrelationship between humans and objects. In this context perhaps the perspective gained from the assemblage theory in archaeology that cultures are heterogeneous social assemblages made of self-subsident parts (DeLanda, 2006:18) could help us understand the way that e.g. economy and cultural identity are related.

1.1. Purpose

As Girella & Pavuk point out, the debate on the Minoan presence outside of Crete varies between differing interpretative models, ranging from "*forceful colonization to a more active role of the local culture"* (2015:388). The first model that was introduced attempted to identify Cretan colonial activity in many areas of the Aegean and adopted a colonialist background (Branigan, 1981, 1984; Niemeier, 1988, 2009). This model spoke more of "acculturation" instead of "colonization", a term that also indicates that less complex societies lose their cultural traits once their members become acculturated to the structures of the more dominant society. Whether we speak of colonization or acculturation, it seems that both concepts imply a passive role of the receiving population. Another model, introduced by Davis (1979, 1980, 1984) and Schofield (1984) focused more on the active role of local communities and stressed the cumulative increase of Minoan

traits through time. More recent studies of Davis and Gorogianni (2008) have brought in yet another perspective, namely that areas interacting with Crete during the Neopalatial period may have functioned as "new environments" where the competition between communities encouraged the "*emulation of Minoan material and non-material culture*" (2008:379).

The aim of this study is to investigate the spread of cultural influences of the Minoan civilization on the Cyclades in the Late Bronze Age from the point of view of the use of the term "cultural hybridization" as well as to examine it under different terms and theoretical perspectives (Colonization, Cultural Hybridization, and Entanglement, Transculturation). According to Voskos & Knapp, the concept of "hybridization" refers to the social interactions and negotiations that take place between colonists and the colonized, thus emphasizing more the processes that underlie the "*cultural mixture [that] is the effect of the practice of mixed origins"* (2008:661).

In this quest, we will utilize archaeological evidence from Ayia Irini on Kea to show examples of the infiltration of local culture by Cretan ideas and traditions (Davis, 2008:188) in an attempt to argue whether the findings indicate that the culture of the inhabitants of Ayia Irini contained "Minoan" or "Minoanized" elements.

The questions that this study will attempt to answer are:

- Which elements of Minoan cultural influence do we encounter in the material culture of the Cyclades of the LBI at Ayia Irini on Kea?

- Was Minoanisation in the LBI Cyclades a result of colonization/acculturation processes or rather an outcome of the active participation of the receiving population in emulating Cretan trends and habits?

1.2. Method

The archeological evidence will be studied qualitatively when it comes to the ceramics in particular but also to the other material culture available, which will be analyzed and discussed in the text. Knapp and van Dommelen pose that studying material culture is an interdisciplinary undertaking by its very nature, as objects are always examined in their wider context. This context may be scientific when their material make-up is analyzed, or it may be social and cultural when the ways in which objects are perceived and used come under scrutiny (2010:4).

1.2.1. The Choice of Ayia Irini for our Case Study

The extended communication and exchange networks that developed between the Cyclades with "outside" societies have been well researched (Broodbank 2002; Dickinson 1994). Earlier publications by Barber (1978) emphasize the diversity of the culture and history of the Cyclades as a result of hybridization and integration, posing that it was affected by the Minoan

and later by the Mycenaean civilization. In 1979 J.Davis addressed the phenomenon of great numbers of Minoan imports and Minoanizing items at the sites of Agia Irini on Kea, Phylakopi on Melos and Akrotiri on Thera, pointing to the fact that other Cycladic islands presented very little evidence for contact with Crete. The "Western String" is what Davis calls the presumed route along the principal ports of call (Akrotiri, Phylakopi and Ayia Irini) for Minoan traders traveling toward the Lavrion metal mines (Berg, 2006: 1). In fact, Davis supports the argument that Ayia Irini became Minoanized as it was one of the important trade centers in the area. He points to Theran finds on Melos and Kea, Melian finds on Thera and Kea and Keian finds on Melos. He poses, that the three islands might have served as redistributive centers of Minoan goods to other Cycladic islands (Davis 1979). One of the common artifacts of material culture found in the Cyclades, belonging to the Minoan civilization, includes pottery. Stirrup jars constitute a good example of pottery that was used in trade for the movement of valuable liquids including wine and olive oil. Other examples of artifacts include stone as well as bronze vases which, in the sense of hybridization might be objects that became a part of the daily activities of the people of the Cyclades (Barber, 1978).

The analyses of changes in ceramics that were used at Ayia Irini, indicates a complex picture of interaction and influence. According to Abbell (2014), minoanizing pottery and technology were applied at Ayia Irini already in the earlier Middle Bronze Age, a period that preceded

Minoanisation. During the peak of Minoanisation, Keian potters continued to manufacture non-Minoanizing vessels. Furthermore, the local stock of drinking and eating vessels, though partially Minoanized, was at no time completely comparable to Cretan or other Cycladic assemblages. Scholars believe that Ayia Irini represented a middle ground in the sense that people from different origins and cultural backgrounds shared food and drink in culturally similar practices and that the habits of the Keian ceramics did not result from the fact that geographically Ayia Irini is positioned at the intersection of regional exchange networks. In this context, according to Abbell (2014) Keians adopted Minoan practices not because of the increase in Cretan cultural or political power but rather as a part of the Cretans' strategies to promote interaction with the Cycladic islanders. The inhabitants of Ayia Irini on Kea seem to have been actively involved as the receiving population of Minoan influences.

Feldman (2006:61) poses that hybridity can represent strength and vitality as a way to establish channels of interaction. She claims that the state of being hybrid is always determined by the participants in any exchange just as cultures from which hybridity derives are themselves constantly in flux, and always in the state of "becoming" (in Stockhammer, 2012: 52).

1.3. Structure of the dissertation

Following our introduction, Chapter 2 contains the review of literature, including past narratives on the spread of Minoan influence in the LCB I period to the Cyclades. We will present traditional approaches such as colonization and the politico-economic argument as well as the "new environments" approach in an effort to examine how the interrelationship between the Cretans and the people of the Cyclades might have led to the development of a new culture. Chapter 3 will analyze the concept of cultural hybridization in terms of fusion, appropriation, and translation. We will delve into the use of the term hybridization in Archaeology and discuss Stockhammer's concept of 'entanglement' as well as DeLanda's Theory of Assemblage. Chapter 4 will analyze the archaeological findings on the site of Ayia Irini on Kea in order to gain understanding as to the "Minoan" and "Minoanizing" influences on Ayia Irini's material culture. Chapter 5 includes the conclusion drawn from the analysis of the issues presented in this study and discusses the new elements that it has attempted to demonstrate on the discussion of cultural hybridization, identity and social organization in the LB I Cyclades.

CHAPTER 2: Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

At the center of our current study are the various processes which are associated with the interregional contact of Minoan Crete and the Cyclades and the resulting cultural changes in the material culture of the Cyclades in the Late Bronze Age. The process of understanding the impact that Crete had on the Cyclades during the Minoan civilization is dependent on understanding the social-political and economic motivations behind interactions between the two places. The Island networks of the Cyclades and their connection with Crete during the late Bronze Age were dynamic resulting in the continuous evolution of relationships, political, social and economic. But what was actually the major motivation for the movement and exchange? Was it to develop settlement and hence exert power through a socio-political and economic aspect (Voskos and Knapp, 2008:660), thus indicating colonization, or was Minoanisation a factor of active interaction and the resulting emulation of material culture? Minoan pottery has been found in excavation sites on the Cyclades furthering the debate, with some scholars viewing the artefacts as evidence of trade, while others argue that they are an indicator of the culture and ethnicity of the large migration and small-scale movement that took place by refugees, merchants, and potters. The archaeological evidence found in Crete and the Cyclades has been used to support both arguments. According to Knapp (2009:224) the former

viewpoint, i.e. pottery as trade, tends to prevail today even though the latter – pottery as people – is still supported by some researchers, wherever the local production of previously imported wares can be demonstrated.

As we indicated in Chapter 1 (Introduction), indeed various questions can be raised as to the causes that promoted the cultural assimilation of one group by another, or regarding the ways that opposing forces of socioeconomic domination and resistance manifest themselves in material culture (Davis, 2004:186). As indicated by Broodbank & Kyriazi (2007:244) archaeologists have started to acknowledge the extent of the imitative strategies practiced among Southern Aegean communities. Consequently, they also acknowledge the difficulty in differentiating between Cretan colonists and local consumers who became "Minoan" in aspects of their lifestyle. Such issues became even more complex with assumptions about the nature of the power of Palatial Crete and its off-island projection (the "Minoan Thalassocracy Debate"). It is believed that three off-islands of the Cyclades, the Akrotiri on Thera, Kastri on Kythera and Trianda on Rhodes, were used as centers for governing and trade during the Minoan civilization (Koh, 2016). Conduct and control of the metal trade in the Cyclades by distinct social groups may have instigated an early form of social stratification. Social drinking and feasting, presumably but not necessarily at an elite group level, are a concomitant aspect of strengthening ties within a 'shared cultural milieu' and group inclusion/identity articulation practices (Knappett & Nikolakopoulou, 2015).

Wiener posed (1984) that societies on Aegean islands other than Crete may have aspired to become as culturally advanced as Crete through the adoption of cultural traits, techniques and practices that were native to Crete. This phenomenon is known as the "Versailles effect" and derives from the absorption of "fashions" from the court of Versailles during the 17th and 18th century. When applying the notion of a "Versailles effect" in the Cyclades one could also hypothesize that rather than Crete forcing its tradition and culture over the Southern Aegean, the islands were autonomous and chose to adopt and imitate specific fashions because they perceived Crete to be culturally superior to them. Weiner provided his view for the phenomenon of the spreading of Cretan culture throughout the southern Aegean. He divided interaction into two types taking into account the "movement of people versus the adoption of culture" using the terms "karum contact" and "Versailles effect" respectively (1984:17). So we are faced with two notions, namely, that of Crete's hegemony over the Cycladic islands and the exact opposite, that of a strong circuit of islands whose inhabitants chose to emulate and to adopt Minoan features and characteristics.

2.2. Minoanisation

The term "Minoanisation" has come to characterize a cultural phenomenon that "…*describes changes in the material culture of Aegean*

communities spurred by fashions, technologies or tropes connected to the palatial communities of Crete during the MBA and the LBA (Girella, Gorogianni & Pavuk, 2016:1). It is believed that Minoanisation was a process that took place through contact amongst the people of various areas, who were connected between them by a network of associations that "*transmitted not only commodities but also people"* (ibid). Indeed, Aegean trade during the Bronze Age is a well documented and well-studied phenomenon. Exchanges took place between different regions, independent of whether one island was pre-eminent in this interaction or not. A series of localized, yet interconnected maritime circuits were well established, which enabled the circulation of people, goods, and ideas. Let it be noted, that the term "Minoan" was established in the literature by Evans (*Palace of Minos),* although it seems to have been in use long before that time. Evans used the term to refer to not only the culture but also to the people of Crete during the Bronze Age. However, because the term implies a homogenous and undifferentiated culture, scholars like Hamilakis (2002) and Broodbank (2004:50-54 in Gorogianni et al., 2016:2) have warned against the impression that the Minoans operated as an "ethnic state". In fact, another consideration when discussing the process of minoanisation is that the Minoan civilization developed over a long period of time as it is placed chronologically from 3500 – 1100 BC and is divided into several different periods.

Table 1. Chronology of the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean

TABLE 1. Chronology of the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean

Period	Crete[1] *Minoan*	Mainland Greece[1] *Helladic*
AGE		
Late Bronze III	1415–1100 B.C.E.	1405–1100 B.C.E. (developed palaces)
Late Bronze I–II	1680–1415 B.C.E. (Neopalatial)	1650–1405 B.C.E.
Middle Bronze Age	2000–1680 B.C.E. (Protopalatial)	2000–1650 B.C.E.
Early Bronze Age	3100–2000 B.C.E. (Prepalatial)	3100–2000 B.C.E.
Neolithic	ca. 6800–3100 B.C.E.	ca. 7000–3100 B.C.E.

Past research into the process of Minoanisation (Knapp, 2009 "*Aegean colonization*") speaks of two prevailing perspectives: (1) the «colonization narrative» and (2) the «politico-economic argument». However, there is possibly a third perspective, one that could provide a "middle ground" between the two approaches. In examining some of the materials, e.g. pottery, ivory, bronze work, glyptic, etc. – through the lens of hybridization, one could take into account the socio-economic mechanisms and migratory movements that characterized the Cyclades in the LBI while at the same time acknowledging the cultural influence of Crete on the inhabitants of these islands, who were at the receiving end of Cretan trends in ways of living or technologies.

In the following, we will analyze and discuss these interpretative models.

2.3. Traditional approaches: Colonization, Trade Centers

Evans initially proposed the existence of a Minoan Empire in the Aegean (1935:283 in Gorogianni, 2016:3). He based his proposal on the archaeological evidence, but also on the Myth of Minoan Thalassocracy in Thucydides (I.4.). In fact, as Davis poses, (2008:186) Thucydides states that "*Minos ruled the Cycladic islands and was first to colonize most after he drove out the Carians and established his own sons in them as sovereigns"* (Book I. 4, ed. H.S. Jones, trans. by the author). Despite the fact that Evans's assumption was disputed by many scholars (Hagg & Marinatos, 1984; Wiener, 1990; Knapp, 1993) his suggestions of colonization cannot be ignored up to this day. In this sense, even until recently, many descriptions of the phenomenon of Minoanisation approached it as a process of bringing civilization to barbarian countries (Girella et al., 2016:4).

The term colonialism during the 19th and 20th centuries focused on territorial expansion and foreign settlement. The colonizers and the colonized were considered separate sides with distinct and with separate material cultures, with the colonial powers assuming a culturally superior position to the indigenous population. The dualist conception of colonialism represents it as a confrontation between two distinct homogenous groups, placing colonialism in an antagonistic point of view. Voskos & Knapp disagree with the use of the terms "colonization" and "migration" in a way

that implies that they have the same meaning. According to them, colonization refers to the "act of establishing colonies" (2008:660). The use of the word in the sense of Latin '*colonia'*, meaning "settlement deliberately established elsewhere" involves manipulation or domination by the colonizers and submission or resistance by the colonized. On the other hand, in the ancient Greek conception, the term '*apoikiai*' means "away from home". So, they argue that any cultural analysis that applies the concept of colonization depends on what the scholars intent to emphasize by the use of the term, i.e. do they mean the foundation of settlements in foreign lands or do they mean the sociopolitical and economic aspects of domination over local people?

Following the major archaeological projects of the 1960s and 1970's in the Aegean sites of Agia Irene, Phylakopi, Akrotiri, and Kythera, new perspectives emerged to interpret the findings. The two conferences held in the 1980's, namely *The Minoan Thalassocracy: Myth and Reality* as well as *Thera and the Aegean World* presented a vast volume of information about the work that had been done on those sites. According to Berg, (2007a:66), the information that was presented at these conferences promoted the critical refinement of the terms "Thalassocracy", "colony" and "control" and documented the argument of political domination by Crete over other forms of control, such as religious or economic. However, even though these "new" approaches did not speak directly of colonization, they did, according to Girella et al. (2016:2), continue Evans's colonial legacy.

Datasets from other excavations brought to light the fact that the Aegean was not homogenous in terms of absorbing or emulating the new Cretan trends, some localities were more receptive than others. The analyses of Schofield and Davis on the Cyclades went beyond the passive acculturation model and rather focused on the active role of local communities as trade centers. According to the Western String trade center theories (Davis, 1979; Schofield, 1982, Davis et al., 1983) Minoanized sites were thought to be either located or organized in proximity to busy travel and communication routes which connected the palatial societies of Crete with resources. Davis (1979) addressed the phenomenon of great numbers of Minoan imports and Minoanizing items at the sites of Ayia Irini on Kea, Phylakopi on Melos, and Akrotiri on Thera, and compared it to less evidence for contact with Crete from other Cycladic islands. Davis suggested that this observed pattern is representative of the actual distribution and contact and not a result of an excavation bias. The 'Western String' is what he calls the presumed route along the principal ports of call (Akrotiri, Phylakopi and Ayia Irini - each one a convenient day trip from the next) for Minoan traders traveling northwards towards the Lavrion metal mines. As evidence for frequent contact between these islands, Davis points to Theran finds on Melos and Kea, Melian finds on Thera and Kea and Keian finds on Melos. Silver, lead, saffron and unguents, wool, and stone are the items most likely to have been traded along this network. Directional exchange is the most likely model of exchange as no distance related fall-off curve from Crete

has been observed. The three islands might have served as redistributive trade centers of Minoan goods to other Cycladic islands (Davis 1979). According to Schofield (1982), these sites had a special relationship with Crete which influenced the process of adoption and emulation of Cretan trends and technologies. The work of Davis and Schofield on the Cyclades focused principally on the cumulative increase of Minoan traits through time (Davis 1979; 1980; 1984; Schofield 1984).

However in discussing the role of trade routes and centers in the process of Minoanisation, Renfrew argued that trade was not just an economic but also a social and symbolic activity (1993). According to Berg (2006:135-150) the "Western String" model placed more emphasis on the economic rather than the social dimension of trading activities (for traders, their families, and the receiving societies). Broodbank (2000) pointed to the social dimensions of trading, such as labor requirements during times of harvest, or even prolonged absences from home. Renfrew stresses that trade and communications are linked together in very complex ways. He points to social gatherings, marriage ceremonies with all their social, political and ritual connotations (1993). Even though scholars like Helms, (1988) have pointed to the cosmopolitan dimension of travel per se, thus adding new dimensions to trade and seafaring, these approaches tend to emphasize more the traders rather than the islanders who are assigned a rather passive role. Traders are being portrayed as active but the role of the indigenous population in structuring and negotiating their trade contacts is still

neglected (Berg, 2006). Berg postulates that in the case of Ayia Irini, the settlement had developed certain strategies to "market" itself to those that had trade exchanges with Crete. It had quickly and easily accepted Minoan features in the pottery production, architecture, religious symbolism, and stone vases. Jones (1997:115) interprets this openness to adopt Minoan features as the product of an internal motivation to take over new items and trends. He says that merely the exposure to new objects or cultures does not suffice to instigate changes in one's own culture. In this sense, Berg (2006) proposes that the responsiveness towards Minoan features could be seen as the islanders' way to not only facilitate but to also profit from interregional trade. Ayia Irini appeared to have been "one big 'workshop'" (Schofield 1990: 209). Thus, a partial reason for such an openness towards Minoan cultural features may have been the result of tactical considerations to enhance Ayia Irini's attractiveness for traders (Berg 2000).

2.4. The "New Environments" Perspective

At the turn of the century Broodbank criticized the placement of large settlements under the umbrella of Minoanisation (2004:58) and stressed the fact that the interpretative models at the time had made no progress. By that, he posed that scholars adopted emulation models without analyzing the mechanisms and the modes of adoption. In the example of Kythera, Broodbank illustrated that the analysis of the Minoanisation process should

take into consideration Pre-Minoanizing traits as well as the relationship between Minoanized and non-Minoanized settlements in regards to the spatial and chronological shifts of the phenomenon. In the same context, Broodbank suggested that the results should be integrated into independently grounded models of networks of power and human mobility (Girella et al., 2016:4).

Around the same time that Broodbank expressed his criticisms, there was another surge of publications that actually explored the very aspect that he had criticized. For example, Whitelaw (2005) illustrated that the variability that existed in the landscapes of Minoanized Aegean was also a characteristic of the main urban sites in the Cyclades. Using Phylakopi as an example, he demonstrated that the adoption of Minoan material and non-material culture was not spread on all levels of society. He postulated that it was rather an elite strategy that aimed at establishing the elite's pre-eminence in the local culture.

Perspectives that delved into the analysis of the ways in which areas interacting with Crete in the Neopalatial period functioned as "new environments," were explored by Davis and Gorogianni. In fact, they postulated that such environments provided "*…a more globalized setting in which competition between communities or groups within communities encouraged emulation of Minoan material and non–material culture*" (2008:379) . They considered Minoan fashions, technologies, and practices as part of the power that Aegean communities

exerted that actually chose to participate in the so-called “new environment” as shown above, in the example of Ayia Irini.

New approaches to the analysis of technologies, production traditions and their transmission, have explored yet other paths, especially in terms of emerging elites (Davis & Gorogianni, 2008). Berg (2007b) demonstrated that Cretan technologies as well as Cretan inspired shapes, which were produced on the wheel, were incorporated into the local sequence of production (Girella et al., 2016:5). According to Berg (ibid.) it was the introduction of the potter’s wheel at Phylakopi on Melos, for instance, that permitted participation in Minoan style drinking and feasting habits by increasing the output of drinking vessels, mostly conical cups. This cultural dimension of technology has turned out to be quite useful to explore affiliation networks in the Cyclades at the very end of MBA (Girella & Pavuk, 2015:389). Carl Knappett and Irini Nikolakopoulou noted that local production and imitation of Cretan shapes and decorations during Middle Cycladic III at Akrotiri (Thera) are very selective. They argued that the increase of “intrusive” elements in a given culture over time as in the case of Akrotiri MM IIIA, indicates an indigenous emulation rather than a colonial presence (2008:3). Archaeological evidence from Akrotiri indicates that most of the imports came from the North-Central region of Crete, suggesting also a two-way exchange. Perhaps the relationship between Crete and certain islands on the Cyclades was more subtle than that of the colonizer-colonized (ibid.). Maybe Akrotiri seized the opportunity to

become more involved in the trading network with Crete, and imported products from Crete, which gradually let to their appropriation and to their integration of the local culture. That would mean that on the receiving end of the Minoan influences, the people of Cyclades chose to imitate trends and traditions and to integrate them over time with their own, local traditions. Knappett & Nicolakopoulou's (2008) new perspective, namely that Akrotiri "*is gradually culturally colonized, without postulating colonists per se*" follows the work of Gosden (1993) who postulated that where imported artefacts are viewed as social capital that the indigenous population can use to fulfill its own aims, they become the agents that promote change.

In the first decade of the 21st century, mostly prompted by Broodbank's criticism of the existing interpretational models of Minoanisation, a vast amount of research placed emphasis on the production of material culture. The aim was not only to examine technology and skills but also to develop an understanding of human mobility through material culture and the transfer of technological skills (Girella et al. 2016:5). Studying material culture may be placed in both a scientific as well as in a social and cultural context. According to De Marrais et al. (2005), it is hard to understand human behavior or social interaction without taking into account the role of objects (e.g. DeMarrais et al. 2005; Meskell 2005). Therefore the study of cultural encounters and of the ways that people interact with objects in the Mediterranean enables us to understand their role in restructuring existing

identities and formulating new, hybrid identities. According to Knapp & Van Dommelen (2010) when we are discussing mobility we must inevitably take into account the co-presence of both people and objects. In other words, the actual physical encounters that take place between different people, or between those people and objects old or new, oblige us to acknowledge the existence of these encounters and to come to terms with their significance. Depending on the nature and intensity of the meeting, people will seek ways – both physical and conceptual – to fit new people and/or new objects into their existing lives, often by developing new hybrid practices in which old and new items, as well as traditions, can be accommodated. Regardless of whether people themselves arrived at a new place or encountered other people or objects coming from elsewhere, the process of constructing a new world, literally and mentally, holds the key to understanding mobility and the ensuing engagements that result in the restructuring of existing identities and/or the formulation of new, hybrid identities (van Dommelen 2006; Voskos and Knapp 2008)

CHAPTER 3: CULTURAL HYBRIDIZATION

3.1. Cultural Hybridization: The Origins and Uses of the Term

A simple way to understand "Cultural Hybridization" is to conceptualize it as a process of integration of different cultural elements into one. In fact, in today's world, especially within the context of globalization, cultural transformations are being increasingly analyzed as hybridization processes (Stockhammer, 2012:1). This process is characterized by diversity in beliefs, values, identities, way of life, religion, art, music and many other elements of culture that are mostly built through the process of blending together of the different aspects. According to Albert & Paes (in Banks, 2012:523-524) *Cultural hybridity* constitutes the effort to maintain a sense of balance among practices, values, and customs of two or more different cultures. In cultural hybridization, one constructs a new identity that reflects a dual sense of being, which resides both within and beyond the margins of nationality, race, ethnicity, class, and linguistic diversity. In fact, Ackerman (2012) places the question "*...which culture is not hybrid - and have 'original' cultures ever existed?"* (in Stockhammer, 2012:5).

The term hybrid is founded on botanical and biological roots mostly referred to as half-breed or having parents of different races. It, therefore,

bears metaphorical meanings concerned with being composed of elements that are incongruent or different. Because of these kinds of definitions and concepts, hybridity has for many years been associated with racial elements and its understanding and application had a negative connotation. According to Young (1995:16), the term came to be associated with "impurity" in terms of mixing together different species.

Cultural hybridity is a concept that became important in the study of anthropology, sociology, and history since the beginning of the twentieth century. In anthropology and sociology, hybridity was used in the studies of migration; Robert Ezra Park (1864-1944) implemented the term in regards to the massive influx of immigrants from Europe to the United States. Migrants can, in this sense, be considered as cultural hybrids by the fact that they hold specific cultural identity and move to new locations, where there are different elements of culture and where they have to adapt to a new way of life (Knapp, 2009:225). Consequently, cultural hybridity based on the field of anthropology, describes the coming together of different people and the development of a new and unique ethos and culture. Although the process of integration does not disregard the fact that differences between different groups do exist, it focuses more on the resulting new cultural developments. Ackerman quotes Gilberto Freyre (1900-1987) who analyzed cultural hybridity in positive terms, as a "cultural product" of long-term climatic, economic, and ecological adaptations resulting from interactions between different communities (in

Stockhammer, 2012:7). In this sense, a good example is the hybridization of culture that occurred in Brazil during the colonial times; the relationships between the Portuguese and people of color in the colonial plantation society created a dynamic system and generated a specific ethos and culture, with harmonic and creative social relations (ibid.). In this definition, hybridization is associated with contributions from different groups and the development of one cultural identity. The situation of colonial Latin American, especially in Brazil represents racial miscegenation, which was a result of the need for adaptation and integration, and was responsible for the development of a highly diverse society (ibid.).

Most of the aforementioned uses of the term "cultural hybridization" deal with the process of integration but with a strong foundation associated with the phenomenon of colonization. The colonial perspective is one of the important aspects that help to explain cultural hybridization in many societies, as is linked with the exertion of influence by one society onto another.

3.2.“Hybrid” Phenomena: The Metaphors of Borrowing, Mixing, and Translation

Burke (2009) distinguishes three metaphorical fields as dominating the discussion on phenomena considered as “hybrid”. These metaphors include *Borrowing*, *Mixing, and Translating.*

In the context of *Borrowing*, cultural interaction and integration are often discussed under the perspective of *imitation* whereas the connotations might be positive as well as negative. Edward Said (in Ackerman, 2012:15) believes that cultural borrowing is part of the history of all cultures. In the discourse of migration, the term *Acculturation* suggests that a subordinate culture adopts traits from the dominant culture and it can be equated with *Assimilation,* which refers to the processes of cultural transformation in the course of migration (ibid.:15). In this sense, it is implied that the borrowers’ culture is not sufficiently original (Ackermann, 2012:15). The above processes of cultural borrowing indicate a one-way process, whereas the introduction of the term *Transculturation* refers to cultural borrowing as a bidirectional process. There are also other significant terms used to refer to the process of borrowing, and they include *Accommodation* and *Negotiation.* Accommodation is associated with making a cultural element suitable for a particular group of people (ibid.). A good example is the modification of the message of Christianity to make it more acceptable to pagans. The term *Negotiation* is, according to Burke (2009:42-45)

characterized by the fluid nature of developing a new cultural identity from various cultural identities, which can be modified according to different situations. Borrowing, however, occurs through the process of interaction and adaptation to different ways of life. According to Ackerman, cultural borrowing has both negative and positive connotations even though **a**ll describe the process of integration, acceptance of new cultural elements and their incorporation into respective cultural identities to establish a new way of life (in Stockhammer, 2012:15). In the context of this study, one could argue, that the Minoan traits found in the material culture of the Cyclades were at first "borrowed" from the Cretan traders and/or migrants by the indigenous people of the Cyclades to later be adopted and incorporated into their daily practices, and to eventually become an integrated part of a "new way" of life.

Another metaphor for the term hybridity is *Mixing*, which can also be used to refer to the process of fusion. Fusion, as a term, signifies the process of the crossing of two or more different cultures. Cultural entanglements result in mixing and the establishment of new cultural identities with elements and features of the respective groups that came together. Ackerman argues that mixing also represents a critical element of hybridization and has been a strong foundation for the development of many civilizations around the world and throughout history (in Stockhammer, 2012:15). A more contemporary understanding of the concept of mixing can be achieved by the phenomenon of the 'melting pot', which describes the

acceptance of immigrants as “Americans” in a pot where melting and refining takes place (in Stockhammer, 2012:15-16). In the sense of political alliances, Plutarch (c.46-120) was the first to use the term *Syncretism.* Syncretism refers to the amalgamation of cultural elements and has been used to identify common elements of religions, in an effort to develop unity between different religious groups. Mixing and fusion, therefore, demonstrate the process of the intermingling of cultures and the amalgamation of varied cultural elements.

The other important representation of hybridity as a metaphor is through *Translation.* Malinowski claimed that “*the learning of a foreign culture is like the learning of a foreign tongue*” (1929:25-26). In this case, the concept of hybridity is based on viewing culture in the form of text, an idea that has sparked intense debates regarding the limits of the metaphor. However, anthropologists supported the use of language, and consequently the use of its translation, as a possible tool to relate to other cultures. Translation, therefore, refers to the process of learning something new and converting to a preferential understanding in order to make sense out of something “foreign” and thus different. Language is an integral part of cultural identity, and the process of translation of language by one group of people in response to the integration with one or more groups becomes a part of the process of cultural hybridization. The need for translation lies in the need for people to understand one another and ultimately intermingle more effectively (Ackerman, 2012:16). Translation thus represents a way in

which two or more groups, in contact with one another, build upon their affinities towards each other, and eventually change in the process of cultural convergence. In this way, they create a third cultural identity formed with strong foundations from the individual cultures. Language seems to stand at the forefront of the process of sharing different vocabulary, syntax, and structure from one another. A common example is the process of creolization which is characterized by the development of pidgins or lingua franca into a more complex structure which becomes a creole. It represents a process where people with different backgrounds and language come together and share culture, and through extended time, the sharing of elements of language becomes complex and results to the development of a new language common between the two cultures that contributed to them (Burke, 2009:61-62).

In order to provide some empirical grounding Burke (2009) suggested the following three aspects of hybridity:

(a) *Varieties of Object*: Hybridity can be found regarding artefacts. In the example of Architecture, one may see on buildings the combination of elements of different traditions. The same can be said of art, music and religious practices. Regarding people, hybridity may be seen in the development of groups of people within the context of migration.

(b) Varieties of Situation: When analyzing hybridity factors such as situation, context, locale in which cultural encounters occur as well as their differences have to be taken into consideration. As Burke says *"when*

cultures meet, some individuals and groups participate in the process more than others" (2009:67). This raises the issue of power, in the sense that a "strong lender" is in a different position of power than a "weak borrower".

(c) Varieties of Response: Ackerman (2012:20) postulates that the discourse on the global and the local has reignited the interest in traditions of appropriation and resistance Robertson (1995) introduced the idea of "glocalization", a term that directs the perspective toward strategies of local responses to global developments. According to Burke's model, the following are four possible local responses to cultural exchange: *Acceptance* which means the development of love for the foreign. The opposite can also take place, namely *Rejection* either in the form of resistance or purification. *Segregation* is the third possible way to respond to foreign influences, where the culture as a whole is protected from "contamination". Finally, *Adaptation* is another strategy whereby an item is lifted out of its original setting and modified to fit its new environment (Ackerman, 2012:21).

3.3. Cultural Hybridization: The Discourse on the Use of the Term in Archaeology

Stockhammer (2012:43) identifies an increase in the use of the term "hybridity" in archaeological publications. Indeed, often in the discourse aiming to show, for example, the integration of the Aegean-type pottery

into local practices and to analyze which members of the local population were willing to appropriate this pottery one comes across the term "hybridization" to describe these processes. However, Stockhammer (ibid.) poses that little thought has actually been given to the use of this term. In looking at the potential as well as the limitations of the sources used by archaeologists, he argues that one must always keep in mind the fact that prehistoric archaeology analyses artefacts and social practices for which literary sources are either scarce or missing completely. Apart from that, such artefacts are often separated from their past original functional context, thus making the conceptualization of cultural hybridization for archaeology, even harder.

In archaeology, the term "cultural hybridization" refers mostly to the concept as defined by the post-colonial theorist Homi Bhabha. In the 1980s, prominent scholars from the field of literary studies (e.g. Edward W. Said, Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, Homi Bhabha) developed a new interest in the hybrid, as they were exploring problems concerned with the representation of "the Other" in literature. Their main argument is that culture is a hybrid per se since all cultures are affected by the global circulation of people, artefacts, signs, and information. According to Ackerman (2012:12), post-colonial theorists focus more on transitions and disruptions instead of origins and homogeneity.

In his book, *The Location of Culture* (2007), Bhabha initially defines the concept of "cultural hybridization" by comparing it to a stairwell, which he

portrays as a limited space connecting the upper and the lower. Bhabha poses that "... *the temporal movement and passage that it* [the stairwell] *allows, prevents identities at either end of it from settling into primordial polarities and […….] opens up the possibility of cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy"* (2007:5). Bhabha's understanding is that cultural hybridity can emerge from the time between the 'what was' and the 'what next', a space where two different cultural entities overlap, whereas space itself is free from the cultural hierarchies of the entities themselves (Stockhammer, 2012:45). In the course of Bhabha's writings (*The Identification of Culture)* he tends to gradually politicize the concept of hybridity so much so, that ultimately it loses the adjective "cultural", which is replaced by the term "colonial" (Bhabha, 2007:5 and 2007: 160-161). In the end, and because, as Stockhammer argues, Bhabha equates "the theoretical" with the "political" one might distinguish between two kinds of definitions for hybridity: a cultural-theoretical one and a political-theoretical one.

In expressing his disagreement with the use of the concept of hybridity in either way, Stockhammer argues that if one uses the political definition, then the concept can not be applied in any colonial or postcolonial context. Furthermore, once we "strip" the term from its political dimension, then "hybridity" returns back to its biological connotations. For these reasons, Stockhammer deems the term "cultural hybridity" as "problematic" (ibid.:46).

Burke (2009:65) attempted an evaluation of all the different terms which might be used instead of "hybridity", including for example terms such as "borrowing", "melting pot", "creolization", "cultural mixing", "cultural translation" and "glocalization". He argues that the concepts of hybridity and mixing do not encompass the factor of individual agency in the process. He therefore suggests that a number of terms and concepts would be useful in the description and analysis of the processes involved, in order to do justice both to the human agency (as in the case of "appropriation") and to those changes that the agents are unaware of (as in the case of "hybridization") (Burke, 2009:54-55).

3.4. The Concept of Cultural Entanglement

Stockhammer claims that having a multitude of terminologies is often rather an obstacle when it comes to expanding and applying the concept of the "hybridity" metaphor to archaeology (2012:46). In this sense, he proposes the use of a different term, namely '*entanglement*' to replace the term "cultural hybridization". The term "entanglement" ('Geflecht' and 'Verflechtung' in German) (Stockhammer 2012:47) encapsulates in both languages, aspects of agency, and the process of the creation of something new that is more than just the sum of its parts.

The transfer of the concept of entanglement to the analysis of archaeological sources requires a methodological approach to processes of

appropriation in the sense of acceptance and resistance. In the words of Kopytoff: "*What is significant about the adoption of alien objects - as of alien ideas - is not the fact that they are adopted, but the way they are culturally redefined and put to use"* (1986:67).

Hahn (2004) defines the following four aspects of what he calls the process of appropriation, namely:

1. Appropriation, meaning the process whereby objects transit from wares to goods by becoming personal possessions.
2. Objectivization, an object is placed in an existing category of one's own objects and it is thus given a certain meaning.
3. Incorporation refers to the competence to use the object in the "right" way.
4. Transformation meaning the attribution of new meanings to objects, in accordance with the local context where the object is used.

Stockhammer (2012:49) believes that the encounter with an object triggers a process, which contains all four aforementioned aspects and which results in what he calls the state of 'relational entanglement'.

Maran and Stockhammer (2012) pose that one should focus on the transformative potential, which results from the interaction between material forms, social practices, and intercultural relations. However, they argue that such an approach requires a methodology from the transcultural perspective i.e. *"... a broader understanding of the inter-relationship between humans and objects* (ibid.1). If one were to embrace a transcultural

approach, then archaeology would need to change its attitude toward items introduced to a culture from the “outside”. Maran and Stockhammer claim that in archaeology objects have been used mostly for reconstructing systems of exchange or for determining chronology. Thus, archaeology reduced objects to merely their properties as objects and as being foreign (2012:1). The different approach that they suggest is based on the idea that objects are significant not by the fact that they were transferred from one place to another but rather by the ways that they were conceptualized and used. In this sense, the discussion focuses on the ways that new meaning was created conforming neither with what had existed in the receiving society nor in the area that the objects originated from. Maran (2012) suggests that the focus must shift to the generative rather than the representative character of culture whereas the investigation of the effects of intercultural relations will focus on phenomena of appropriation and on studying how “foreign” cultural forms acquired a new context via their integration in the social practices of the receiving population.

3.5. Theory of Assemblage

The theory of Assemblage was developed in 1980 by Felix Guattari and Gilled Deleuze as an ontological framework for analyzing the complexity of society. Fundamentally the idea is that no fixed and stable ontology exists for the social world that proceeds from "atoms" to "molecules" to

"materials". Rather, social formations are assemblages of other complex configurations, and they, in turn, play roles in other, more extended configurations (Little, 2012). The theory stated that a body is composed of different components that are not fixed or stable, and hence can be displaced and replaced among and within the body. In their book, *A Thousand Plateaus,* they define society as a system that can self-organize to create a functioning assemblage.

In *A New Philosophy of Society,* DeLanda (2006a) explores assemblages as a new way of describing social ontologies. DeLanda argues that thinking of societies as assemblages offers a useful alternative to organic or totalizing accounts (Hamilakis & Jones, 2017). In his theory, Delanda, expands the concept of an assemblage, as "*...a multiplicity which is made up of many heterogeneous terms...which establishes liaisons, relations between them, across ages, sexes and reigns - different natures"* (2016:I). That means that assemblages are made up of parts that are self-subsistent and articulated by external relations, so that a part may be detached and made a component of another assemblage (DeLanda 2006:18). Furthermore he points out that assemblages are characterized along two dimensions. The first dimension specifies the variable roles that component parts may play, from a purely material to a purely expressive role, as well as mixtures of the two. The second dimension characterizes the processes in which these components are involved: these might be processes that stabilize or destabilize the identity of the assemblage (DeLanda 2006: 19). DeLanda

uses these concepts to describe the aggregate of processes involved in the formation of towns, cities, and nations. Assemblages may operate at a number of scales (DeLanda 1997; 2006a). DeLanda also examines exteriority which he suggests is made up of different components that are self-subsistent, they all retain their autonomy, based on two axes, expressive or material and deterritorializing/territorializing. Further on, he introduces a third axis, that of linguistics that could help in defining the interventions of recording, decoding and coding Assemblage (DeLanda, 2016). In his concept of assemblage, DeLanda poses that the parts that are fitted together do not need to be uniform in nature or origin, and also that the assemblage itself, actively links these parts together by establishing relations between them (ibid:2).

Archaeology can claim a special link to the term assemblage: it has been using the term for quite some time, and more intensively at least since the 1960s. Its use in archaeology seems to have taken on two distinct but related meanings: the aggregation of objects made of the same material (e.g. an assemblage of pottery or lithics) or held together by shared typological or stylistic similarities; and an aggregation of diverse objects united by a distinctive and clearly defined context of variable scale, e.g. the archaeological assemblage of a cave or the archaeological assemblage of a chronological phase (Lucas, 2012). Lucas (2012) argues that, in order to overcome problematic distinctions between the social and the material, archaeological practice should switch its focus to ‘entities and their

relations'. In this perspective '*materiality is fundamentally a relational process, not a substance, and what really matters is the relations between entities*' (Lucas 2012:167–8). Lucas develops this insight to consider assemblage in two contrasting ways familiar to archaeologists: depositional assemblages and typological assemblages. He examines a series of archaeological practices from excavation, to post excavation, to the production of archive and publication and he describes how entities undergo a constant change, assembling and disassembling, materializing and dematerializing (Hamilakis & Jones, 2017:81). His concept of assemblage discusses both archaeological practice and archaeological interpretation. (ibid.). Hamilakis speaks of *Sensorial Assemblages*, a term he introduced, which he defined as '*the contingent co-presence of heterogeneous elements such as bodies, things, substances, affects, memories, information, and ideas. Sensorial flows and exchanges are part of this sensorial assemblage and at the same time the "glue" that holds it together*' (Hamilakis 2013, 126).

Jones and Alberti (2013: 27–30) distinguish between contexts and assemblages, pointing to how when we discuss context we are mainly interested in the ways that contexts frame meaning. Indeed, Henare et al. pose, the primary aim of much of archaeology seems to be to put things into their social and historical context, '*wherein their significance is produced*' (Henare, 2007 in Hamilakis & Jones, 2017:83). By examining assemblages, on the other hand, we are more concerned with how assemblages actively

produce both meanings and affects. By focusing on assemblages, we are less concerned with searching for meaning (a contextual pursuit) and more interested in understanding the affects and effects of assemblages (ibid.). Finally an interesting question that scholars raise regarding assemblages is whether they are aleatory. Lucas (2017:188) suggests that what defines a major historic change is not so much a change in the actual assemblages as it is a change in the field of the virtual, meaning the space of possibilities they permit. In this sense DeLanda's assemblage theory through the idea of virtual reality can help archaeologists to conceptualize time in a way "*that preserves a sense of futurity in the past, while at the same time indicating that maybe different modes of explanation might be required depending on the aleatory nature of an assemblage*"(ibid).

CHAPTER 4 : Case Study

Ayia Irini, is located on the island of Kea (Figure 1), which is 30 kilometers away from the Greek mainland and 270 kilometers from the Minoan capital of Knossos on Crete. The archaeological site of Ayia Irini on Kea is, according to Weisman (2008:5) one of the best sources of evidence we have for the development of Bronze Age culture in the Cyclades. John Caskey began excavations on the site in 1960 and through stratigraphic analysis, he and his team divided the history of the site into eight sequential periods from the beginning of the Early Bronze Age to the end of the Late Bronze Age. According to Caskey (1981) at the end of Period VII, sometime in the 15th century B.C., following a big earthquake, many of the town buildings collapsed. The entire contents of the structure known as House A fell into the basement rooms and were not retrieved until the excavation, thus creating a kind of time capsule of Bronze Age artifacts which can now be used to study this Cycladic culture and the interactions between mainland Greece, the Minoan empire, and the islands of the Aegean (Weisman, 2008; Chatzineofytou 2018).

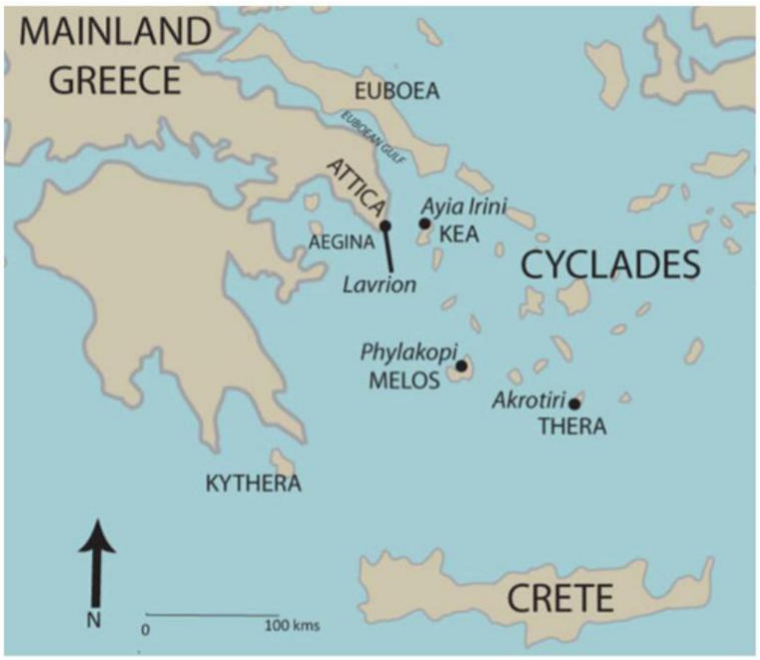

Fig. 1. Map of the Aegean showing sites referenced in the text.

Using Davis' analysis and division of four groups based on visually visible aesthetic differences we will attempt to classify them and assign them to a manufacturing region (Davis and Williams 1981: 292; Chatzineofytou 2018). In 1978 Davis and Williams based their classification using 30 samples on decoration and fabric which resulted in four groups: Local (A), Melian (B), Minoan (C) and Mainland (D) pottery. Indeed, local pottery mainly consisted of reddish to brown coloured pottery with their decorations mostly consisting of painted patterns using white or black paint against the plain background of the pot. The Melian group's pottery fabric on the other hand varied depending on the decoration which consisted of dark gray painted patterns with the colour going from white to reddish brown. Thirdly, the Minoan pottery fabric was very different to the previous ones with its

colours going from pink to light brown with many inclusions as opposed to the other two groups mentioned above. Indeed, the decoration is also different with light on dark patterns of white and red paint differentiating themselves from the others with a dark background (black, brown or red). Lastly, mainland pottery similarly to the Melian group consisted of light to dark gray paints that were colored with precision (Davis and Williams 1981: 292; Chatzineofytou 2018). Indeed what is important to note is that the sherds studied were sherds that could potentially be linked and attached to restored ceramics but that were unable to be mended to the ceramics. This was done to ensure that although the sherds may not have been significant to study individually, due to their artistic elements could be dated back to Period V of Ayia Irini (Davis and Williams 1981: 293). Moreover, in order for the petrographic analysis to be performed, samples of clay were collected from near the site to compare with the pottery sherds in order to identify whether or not they were locally produced. Adding on, petrographic analysis was facilitated primarily by the use of microscopes. As mentioned above group A was identified as local that is, local to Kea.

All the sherds from Group A were similar once examined under the microscope with the inclusions matching the geology of Kea. In addition, modern experiments with firing Keian clay proved it could be used for pottery making (Matson 1967: 191). Group B identified as Melian all had many similarities in composition. Indeed, petrological analysis indicated that

all samples had limestone, clearly indicating that they were not local to Kea and that a location with volcanic rocks is probably were they originated from (Davis and Williams 1981: 296; Chatzineofytou 2018). Moreover, the types of minerals found in the sherds, linked the findings with Melos given "*the heavy-mineral separation of local Melian pottery*" (Davis and Williams 1981: 297). Thirdly, microscopic analysis of Group C was linked back to Crete once again based on their fabric. Going back to fabric , identified as local keian pottery based on its composition and colour, fabric 4 grouped as Cretan cannot be of Keian origin. Indeed, fabric 4 is characterised as thick and smooth fabric with traces of black paint as opposed to the local fabric 1 which is red to brown gray. Lastly, group D was assigned to the mainland due to the petrological analysis not being able to identify the origin of the sherds that were of Gray Minyan fabric. When speaking of Ayia Irini, results indicate that fabric containing mica was in fact local and the rest are more likely to be from Melos, Crete or the mainland. In addition, although the analysis was only based on pottery from Period V, fabrics found at Ayia Irini were also found in other regions of the Aegean and fabrics not local to Kea lead us to believe they were made outside of Kea and then imported as finished goods (Davis and Williams 1981: 300; Chatzineofytou 2018). The study of the ceramics of Period V of the Keian assemblage revealed not only new shapes of pottery but also highlighted the high number of imported Melian and/or Theran vessels (Abell 2016: 71). According to Schofield Ayia Irini's location tells us much about its function.

She believes that it is much more likely, that its location "*reflect[s] the requirements of a flourishing overseas trade*"(1982:p.21).

We therefore can attest that Ayia Irini was a focal point between Crete and the mainland due to the large quantities of Minoan and Mainland imports (Berg 1999:16). In addition, based on the ceramic findings, it can be argued that by the Late Bronze Age, Ayia Irini had become a distribution center for other islands in the Cycladic region as per the increase in Cycladic imports (Cummer and Schofield 1984; Berg 1999: 16; Chatzineofytou 2018). Schofield argued that due to them being a redistribution center, Kea managed to keep its status and contacts. Furthermore turning Ayia Irini into a production site further ensured Kea would remain current and relevant in terms of trade within the Aegean (Schofield 1990: 209). What is most important is that this information allows us to prove that although it could well be that Crete enforced its power over Kea, it is without a doubt that Kea took advantage of this and its geographical location to profit from trade and ensure its position in the semiperiphery (Chatzineofytou 2018).

Our goal in the study of the ceramic assemblage of Ayia Irini is to understand Minoanisation by differentiating the Minoan (Cretan) from the Minoanising (Cretan- style) pottery in order to understand the changes in the material culture of Agia Irini (Abell 2016: 71).

As mentioned above, the study of Period V pottery has revealed that Crete did not monopolise Kea and that a great number of these imported vessels came from the surrounding Cycladic islands (namely Melos and/or

Thera) (Abell 2016: 72). Indeed, Ayia Irini is a perfect example of how multifaceted and elaborate cultural change can be. The great debate surrounding Minoanisation is that of how much power did Crete ultimately "hold" over these islands. Did Crete exercise complete power of the Cyclades essentially taking over? The single use of archaeological evidence cannot prove Crete's authoritarian regime over Ayia Irini and the surrounding Cycladic islands. In order to understand this phenomenon we must take into account the exchange networks linking Crete to these islands as well as take into account the ingenuity of the Cycladic people "*in adopting socially significant or economically beneficial objects and practices from Crete*" (Abell 2016: 72; Schofield 1982; Berg 2007b).

Knappet and Nikolakopoulou (2008) argue that one of the most important issues in the debate surrounding Minoanisation is that it is understood as more of a static process rather than a fluid one without taking into account the relationship between Minoanising and non-minoanising objects (Abell 2016: 73). Creto-centric approaches like this do not allow for a full understanding of the interaction and extent of the relationships of the Cycladic islands with the Minoanisation phenomenon and completely disregard the possibility of Minoanising imports from other places besides Crete.

The phenomenon of Minoanisation can be dated back to the last part of the MBA with Cretan technologies and practices having been adopted at Ayia Irini as well as in other Cycladic settlements. In addition, MBA

local production at Ayia Irini reveals the use of Linear A (Cretan) as well as Cretan weighting systems (Abell 2016: 74). In the analysis of the pottery assemblage of Period V at Ayia Irini, Davis (1986, 105-7) argued that there was no evidence of a military siege over the settlement and that this is evident in the continuity of the technologies used in the production of the material culture. Moreover, Davis went as far as arguing that the adoption of Minoanising technologies resulting in the material culture in Ayia Irini to have major similarities with the material culture on Crete attests to the economic incentive the Keians had to adopt these features (Abell 2016: 75). That is, that Keians had the social and economic perceptiveness to understand the importance of competing in the trade markets which at the time were dominated by Cretan products and Cretan craftsmanship. As per Davis and Gorogianni (2008), this increasing interest in the adoption of Minoan technologies and the increase in production of Minoanising objects is evidence of the rapid changes in social values within the Cyclades as well as a way for the Cycladic islands to demonstrate their elite status by associating themselves with Crete (in our case through the local production of Minoanising objects) (Abell 2016: 75). In the case of Ayia Irini during Period IV it seems that just 25% of the pottery assemblage analysed was imported. (Overbeck 1982: 40; Abell 2014b 353-4). Indeed, Figure 2 depicts the percentage of imported wares during Period IV and Period V.

In order to further understand the relationship Keians had with Crete/ Cretans during Period V we must elaborate on the interaction between Keians and Crete during Period IV. One of the most important characteristics that attest to the close relationship of the two is the adoption of the potter's wheel in the later part of the MBA. What is interesting to note is that Ayia Irini caught on to these technologies far earlier than any other Cycladic settlement, with pottery analysis confirming this. The mastering of the wheel requires a long apprenticeship under the guidance of skillful and experienced artists, therefore it is not absurd to assume the strong possibility of some Cretan potters migrating to Ayia Irini and transferring their knowledge to locals.

Table 2:

Relative percentages of imported wares in Period IV subphases and Period V, after Crego 2007, 337,

Ware	IVa (%)	IVb (%)	IVc (%)	V (%)
Grey Minyan	51	32	17	12
Other mainland wares	14	11	9	3
Minoan	20	37	53	36
Cycladic (Melian/Theran)	15	15	15	41
Other	0	5	6	8

Period IV marks the beginning of the use of the potter's wheel in Ayia Irini and is considered a prime example of a settlement and culture adopting Minoanising characteristics (Abell 2016: 76). However, as Abell highlights, although Minoanising characteristics are evident in Period IV, and a relationship of some sort between Kea and Crete can be inferred, the lack of

Cretan characteristics in other cultural aspects within the society (i.e. burial practices and architecture) cannot allow for the community of Period IV to be labelled as fully 'Minoanised'.

The trade and social networks at the time were closely related to the geographical positions each of the islands/ settlements held and Ayia Irini is no exception. Indeed, due to its location close to Lavrion, it is safe to attest that Ayia Irini was at the centre of an exchange network and was most probably a very important exchange hub linking mainland Greece, Aegina and the Cyclades to Crete (Abell 2016: 77). Due to the high levels of metals found in deposits in all the phases of Ayia Irini not only reveals that Ayia Irini was used as a stop for travellers going to Lavrion to extract the metals, but most importantly that Ayia Irini was used as a processing centre and potential exchange centre for the extracted metals on the way back (Abell 2016:77).

Analysis on the fabric of the ceramics from Period V (see above: Page 50 & 51) revealed 4 different groups based on the origin of the material used to produce the pottery (Chatzineofytou, 2018) and contrary to Period IV, Period V is evidently Minoanised. Indeed, taking into account the fabric of the sherds studied by Davis in 1986 a high percentage of these deposits appear to be heavily Minoanised and made locally with the Minoanising handless cup being the most common vessel (Abell 2016: 78). As mentioned above, it is most likely that a transfer of knowledge through "*vertical apprenticeship mechanisms*" (Abell 2014: 560) occurred, whereby a strong bond between the Keian community and Crete was established.

Going back to our question of how much power and authority Crete ultimately held over the islands and communities it interacted with, the idea of the transfer of knowledge and technique allows for a blurred and not so strict distinction between Minoan (Cretan) and Minoanising (non- Cretan) given that over the years of cohabitation of Cretans on Kea and in Ayia Irene kinship as well as other social networks unavoidably developed and changed (Abell 2014: 560) with the techniques initially considered as adopted by Crete slowly becoming local practices of Ayia Irini.

In this respect, the use of Minoanising vessels not only demonstrates the changes in the production of pottery of Period V but also that Keian islanders created a new market of production of vessels and that regardless of the power exercised by Crete or not- was not identical to Crete nor to other periods in the Cyclades whether earlier or later on (Abell 2016: 89).

In conclusion, through the analysis of ceramics and the changes through the different periods of Ayia Irini the complexity of the social network is established. Indeed, as per Abell (2014) the minoanising of pottery is evident as far back as the Middle Bronze Age, when Minoanisation cannot be attested. In addition, during the peak of Minoanisation Kea and its craftsmen chose to produce vessels that lacked the characteristics to make them Minoan further illustrating that the phenomenon of Minoanisation cannot be tracked to a single origin. Ayia Irini therefore, managed to keep its identity and acted as a middle ground for people of different origins to come together via the sharing of food and drink (Abell 2014: 560) with Keians likely having adopted

Minoan cultural practices to ensure their continuous interaction with both Crete as well as with other Cycladic islands.

CHAPTER 5: Discussion and Conclusion

To study how any society changes, at any time, it is crucial to look at internal rather than external factors. In turn the changes observed must, according to Renfrew, be seen as the result of socio-cultural processes and individual human actions operating both from within and between the societies in question (2004, 263-4). Van Dommelen & Knapp (2010) inform us that material connections, past and present, such as migrations, hybrid practices and object distribution, may have been more widespread than generally accepted (Frankenstein, 1979; Voskos & Knapp, 2008). Following this thought, one could say, that bounded cultures and well-defined populations with readily distinct identities may have been far less common than usually assumed. In this case, the need for extensive and detailed analyses of migrations and connectivities of antiquity are of great importance in order to gain a better understanding of the formation of prehistoric and early historic Mediterranean identities.

This study set out to answer the following two questions: (a) Which elements of Minoan cultural influence do we encounter in the material culture of the Cyclades of the LBI at Ayia Irini on Kea? And (b) Was Minoanisation in the LBI Cyclades a result of colonization/acculturation processes or rather an outcome of the active participation of the receiving population in emulating Cretan trends and habits?

Although it is a complex topic that is continuously debated, “Minoanisation” is a term that has come to mean the spread of selected facets of a Cretan lifestyle that was considered desirable in areas outside Minoan Crete (Lindblom, Gauss & Kiriatzi, 2012:225). The chronological time frame spans the middle of the Early Bronze Age (EBA) to the early Late Bronze Age (LBA) or roughly 2400 to 1500 B.C..

The fact that archaeological findings in the Cyclades indicate that the islands started sharing a set of specific Cretan traits as the interaction between them and Palatial Crete increased led scholars to the development of various terms and explanatory models to describe the various degrees of Minoan presence in the culture of the islands. The introduction of the term “cultural hybridization” (Knapp, 2009) described a process in which new cultures from migrants and tradesmen became integrated with those of the people of the Cyclades. However, Stockhammer, disagreed with the use of this term in archaeological analysis, arguing that it did not take into account human agency and thus appropriation. Even with the application of these terms, questions remained unanswered as to whether cultures became hybrid due to phenomena of colonization, trade routes or trade centers or because the indigenous population emulated the behavior of the “foreigners”. And if indeed the local population borrowed traits from the Cretans, did they do so because they considered the Cretans “superior”? Or was the exchange a bidirectional process, where the Cretans also borrowed something from the

people of the Cyclades? In the context of this study one could argue, that the Minoan traits found in the material culture of the Cyclades might have been "borrowed" at first from Cretan traders or migrants but were later on adopted and incorporated into their daily practices. Yet another point of view is whether the cultural entanglements that took place in the Cyclades between the Cretans and the locals resulted in "mixing" and consequently in the establishment of a new identity with elements and features from both groups. A third possible scenario would be in the sense of "translating", namely a learning process, through which the people of Kea would have converted the meaning of something "foreign" to a preferential understanding in order to make sense out of it.

As mentioned in the case study above, based on the ceramic findings, it can be argued that by the Late Bronze Age, Ayia Irini had become a distribution center for other islands in the Cycladic region as per the increase in Cycladic imports (Cummer and Schofield 1984; Berg 1999: 16; Chatzineofytou 2018). In this sense the local population and the tradesmen or even migrants from Crete came into frequent contact with one another, which might have easily led to the local populations' imitating certain habits and /or manufacturing techniques which they believed would make them more efficient. Scholars like Schofield (1982), Berg (2007) and Abell (2014) indicate that the Cycladian people were ingenious and might have adopted objects that were socially significant or economically beneficial for them. A good example of borrowing is in the mastering of the wheel, which requires a

long apprenticeship, but according to the ceramic findings, the pottery masters of Ayia Irini seems to have caught on to this new - imported technology earlier than any other Cycladic settlement. This could have also been a result of transfer of knowledge by Cretan migrant potters to the Keian people, who received this knowledge readily and integrated it to their own manufacturing techniques. As mentioned above, it is most likely that a transfer of knowledge through "*vertical apprenticeship mechanisms*" (Abell 2014: 560) occurred, whereby as Kopytoff (1986) poses, in the process of adopting foreign objects into ones' own culture, what is significant is the way these objects are culturally redefined and put to use. Another example of transfer of knowledge through vertical apprenticeship mechanisms (Abell 2014) is the handless cup, which according to Davis (1986) is an example of a vessel with Cretan traits that was produced in the Cyclades, during Period V, and could be considered a "hybrid" product, one with Minoan traits, produced in Ayia Irini. However, findings on Ayia Irini show a selective approach in the practices that Keians chose to adopt, as their burial practices or their architecture lacks Cretan characteristics.

As Maran and Stockhammer (2012) argue interactions between material forms, social practices and intercultural relations have a transformative potential. In this sense objects become significant not by the ways that they came to be but rather by the ways they were conceptualized or put to use. In the example of Ayia Irini we can see that Keians did not actually become "Minoan" or "Minoanised". In their example we can see the significance of

human agency as they selected which traits suited them and served them the most and it is those traits that they appropriated into their own cultural practices. Perhaps instead of hybridization one could understand the process of Minoanisation in Kea more in the context of Stockhammer's "relational entanglement" in the sense that objects from the "foreign" Cretan culture followed a process of appropriation as described by Hahn (2004). The objects were appropriated, objectified and given a meaning, before they became incorporated in the local culture (Hahn 2004). In DeLanda's concept of Assemblage, the parts that are fitted together need not be uniform in nature or origin but are linked together by establishing relations between them. In the case of Ayia Irini we can see that it kept its identity while at the same time it became a middle ground for people of different origins to come together via the sharing of food and drink (Abell 2014: 560). Keians managed to sustain their highly regarded position as a trading center by adopting those Minoan cultural practices that best served the continuation of their interaction with Crete while in preserving parts of their own cultural traditions they maintained their ties to the other Cycladic islands.

The study of the phenomenon of Minoanisation is ongoing, with this thesis merely touching upon all the ideas and the debates surrounding it through the analysis of the core discourses presented in the 20th and 21st century. Von Dommelen & Knapp (2010) point to the need for more meaningful and effectively theorized representations of Mediterranean colonial occupations, migrations and all social exchanges for the development of new cultural and

historical understanding of how factors such as materiality, mobility, hybridization affected the formation of identity.

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