Hybridity and Representation in an Ancient Mediterranean Context:
The Cultures *In*-Between Cypriote Culture

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The following brief contribution represents an attempt to tease out the theoretical framework of a larger project in which I am currently engaged that focuses on the iconography and function of the principal male divinity worshipped in the sanctuaries of ancient Cyprus during the first millennium B.C.E. In particular, I am examining the role of religious cult in the creation of communal identity, as well as the relationship between cult and ethnicity in the formation of communities across the religious landscape of Cyprus during this period. More specifically, I have isolated a series of male divine statues dedicated by worshippers in sanctuaries throughout the island; these images represent hybrid forms that are clearly the products of the recombination of existing cultural (and cultic) traditions present among the diverse communities of ancient Cyprus and the broader Mediterranean region during this period. The complexity of cultural exchange witnessed in the archaeological record of ancient Cyprus and its impact on the iconographical repertoire of divine images led me to search for a more nuanced theoretical model within which to interrogate the intersection of art and difference in an ancient contact zone. The subtleties of postcolonial theory, especially within the broader discourse of social responses to difference, have provided a surprisingly compatible 'toolkit' for studying ancient Cypriote cultural interactions and artistic production.

The foundations of this essay took form during my tenure as a Fellow at the Center for 21st Century Studies (University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee) in 2004-2005. The Center's research theme for that period, "Geographies of Difference," as played out in the internal dialogue of Center fellows, as well as the full program of invited speakers, proved to be an intellectual catalyst for my own thinking about concepts of culture and difference in the ancient world. Contemporary critiques of postcolonial encounters and the creation of hybrid forms and new identities appeared as common threads in many of the Center's activities. As I investigated the range of contemporary intellectual responses to postcolonial theory, I began to see the potential viability of such a framework for approaching the productive capacity of culture contact in the ancient world. Likewise, pioneering work in postcolonial theory by several scholars in my own field (referenced in the text below) provided much needed comparanda for the application of postcolonial theory to the archaeologies of religion, difference, and identity in ancient Cyprus. The following essay is a "work-in-progress" and thus carries with it all of the customary apologetics; it is my hope, however, that through an interdisciplinary forum such the Center's Working Paper series, I can obtain some feedback that will allow me to refine my thinking about hybridity and difference in its modern and ancient contexts.[*]

"Ancient Globalization"?: Limits and Liabilities

In a recent article discussing the restlessness of cultural boundaries in the modern world, Jan

Nederveen Pieterse provides a thought-provoking characterization of cultural complexity

witnessed through the lens of contemporary globalization:

> An English Princess with an Egyptian boyfriend, uses a Norwegian telephone,
> crashes in a French tunnel in a German car with a Dutch engine, driven by a Belgian
> driver, who was high on Scotch whiskey, followed closely by Italian Paparazzi on
> Japanese motorcycles, is treated by an American doctor, assisted by Filipino para-
> medical staff, using Brazilian medicine, and dies.[1]

In the context of the twenty-first century, as advances in cyber communication and

information technology and the economic—even socio-political—interventions of NGOs

continue to feed the myth of a "global community," Nederveen Pieterse's reflection on what

he characterizes as the current "mixing of cultural elements across places and identities" is

perhaps not so surprising.[2]

But to what extent can the ancient Mediterranean be studied as a global community? As

scholars have often noted, many of the recognized mechanisms of modern globalization find

their roots in ancient practices of trade and exchange; thus, we often talk about periods of

"internationalism" or "cultural koinai" across the Mediterranean basin.[3] Such a concept is

deeply embedded in the archaeological literature of the last several decades, which has

sought to interrogate cultural diversity and reconstruct the Mediterranean as a patchwork

quilt of distinct units sewn together through trade and exchange, colonization, and

domination. The recognition of cultural difference and interaction within a Mediterranean

context has certainly produced positive results. In many cases, however, this same approach

has exposed various essentializing trends that still treat culture contact as a linear process of

diffusion and reception, export and import. Too often, the recognition of cultural influence

assumes a purity of source or a coherence of meaning that is thin at best.[4] In other words, studies of our Mediterranean quilt have all too often privileged the bounded divisions of each patch, and not the seam in-between that binds them together. It is true that the "End of the Mediterranean" and the on-going debates regarding its usefulness as a tangible or even intelligible unit of study, have moved to the forefront of recent scholarship. The work of Peregrine Horden and Nicholas Purcell, as well as the essays in Bernard Knapp and Emma Blake's 2005 volume on Mediterranean prehistory are but two examples.[5] The value (and burden) of questioning the concepts of culture, difference, and boundaries within a system as large and volatile as the Mediterranean is clear; but it seems equally clear, as Knapp and Blake suggest, that such studies are perhaps only meaningful (or even possible) when more specialized research can be integrated and contextualized within this larger framework.[6]

With this in mind and in the context of a "working paper" series that seeks to promote dialogues across the disciplines, I would thus like to reduce our scale to a much smaller unit – the island of Cyprus during the first millennium B.C. – and try to build a theoretical model for problematizing the concept of culture in a place often described as a "bridge" or "crossroads" where the cultures of the Mediterranean converge. In the search for a more sophisticated approach to cultural contact, negotiation, and the social responses to difference, Cyprus offers an ideal laboratory. Situated at an intersection of ancient Mediterranean trade and contact, the island of Cyprus possesses an exciting and incredibly diverse archaeological record (**Figure 1**, following the text).

Contact with Greece, Anatolia, the Near East, and Egypt guaranteed a constant movement of art, ideas, and people to and from the island. Likewise, archaeological and historical evidence

points to constant exposure to extra-insular elements throughout the island's long and rather

chaotic history. In particular, the first half of the first millennium B.C.E. (ca. 1000-500

B.C.E.) witnesses a series of defining moments in the maturation of Cypriote cultural

identity.[7] It is at the beginning of this period, in eleventh or perhaps the tenth century B.C.E.,

that the social and political organization of the island is compartmentalized into a group of

autonomous city-kingdoms under the authority of a centralized monarch. While the exact

date of the formation of these kingdoms is by no means secure, there is little doubt that by

the Archaic period (ca. 750-475 B.C.E.), the physical landscape of Cyprus had been

effectively divided into separate, autonomous kingdoms; the map illustrated here developed

by David Rupp represents an attempt, albeit purely hypothetical, to sketch out the boundaries

of these states during the Archaic period (**Figure 2**).[8] Not surprisingly, in light of the rich

variety of material excavated in the tombs and sanctuaries of these cities, the ethnic identity

of the communities subsumed by these political divisions has often been emphasized. The

evidence, primarily in the form of inscriptions, has been marshaled to reveal population

diversity among the Cypriote city-kingdoms and their environs. In general, scholars have

isolated three communities inhabiting Cyprus during this period: Greeks, Phoenicians, and an

indigenous population referred to as "Eteocypriote."[9] Most scholars argue that at least two

separate waves of colonization lie at the foundation of this socio-political organization

characteristic of the Archaic period. The first involves the introduction of Greek-speaking

peoples sometime during the transition from the Bronze age to the Iron age on Cyprus (in the

eleventh century B.C.E.), the second wave is traditionally placed within the ninth century

B.C.E. when Phoenician settlers establish themselves at the site of Kition on the southern

coast of the island. Evidence for the third community, the so-called "Eteocypriote" group, is

solely linguistic and possibly represents a survival from the preceding prehistoric period. The difficulty in reconstructing the exact nature and extent of competing ethnicities (topographically and politically) in Cypriote material culture during this period has been well documented. At the heart of this debate is the association of certain Cypriote city-kingdoms with specific ethnic identities. For example, the kingdom of Kition has long been recognized as staging ground for Phoenician expansion across the island, which eventually led to the takeover of both the kingdoms of Idalion and Tamassos in the mid-fifth century B.C (as evidenced in royal inscriptions from Kition and other sites). Other city-kingdoms, on the other hand, have been associated with Greek (e.g., Salamis, Kourion, Marion) or Eteocypriote (e.g., Amathous) communities.

Faced with the complexities inherent in defining cultural identities in Cyprus during the first millennium B.C.E., scholarly debate since the nineteenth century has focused on the significance of the island's geographical position . Since that time, the island's history has been systematically presented as a series of foreign dominations by not only Greeks and Phoenicians, but also a host of other emerging foreign polities throughout the Mediterranean. The impact of this tradition is readily apparent in much of the archaeological literature dealing with Cyprus during the first millennium B.C.E. Take, for example, the opening remarks of Ino Nicolaou in her contribution to the international congress *Cyprus: Between Orient and Occident*. Nicolaou writes:

> Cyprus due to its geographical position never ceased and never will in the future to be a "meeting place" and at the same time a "bridge" between the Orient and the Occident [sic]. In Antiquity, with which I am concerned here (Archaic-Roman period), the Cypriots never accepted passively this situation but tried always to make the best out of it and to be in constant relations with both the East and the West, the one scale of the balance, however, tipping according to the political situation prevailing in the island. For, as we know, during the Archaic period Cyprus came

under the Assyrians (709 or 707-650 B.C.). After a period of about a century of political independence (650-570 B.C.) during which the power and importance of the Cypriot Kings increased, a period which is one of the most brilliant of the Cypriot culture, Cyprus came under the Egyptians (570-525 B.C.). By the end of the Archaic period it submitted to Persia under the domination of which it remained approximately throughout the Classical period (525-333 B.C.), to be liberated by Alexander the Great (333 B.C.). After the death of Alexander in 323 B.C. and the struggles of his successors, the Ptolemies of Egypt mastered the island for almost two and a half centuries (294-58, 47-31 B.C.). All these events coincide with the Hellenistic period. From 58 B.C. to 395 A.D. Cyprus was under the Romans…Throughout all those centuries Cyprus had continuous commercial, economic, and cultural intercourse with the East and the West.[10]

Nicolaou's text can be taken as representative of a common narrative of ancient Cyprus that relies heavily upon the earliest syntheses of Cypriote material culture from the nineteenth century.[11] Such approaches were solidified by the multi-volume publication of the Swedish Cyprus Expedition.[12] While not always explicit, these interpretations stem from a point of view that favors the polarization of archaeological data in the face of cultural interactions on the island. Thus the manifestations of culture contact in Cyprus (e.g., iconography, language, ritual behavior) are understood and interpreted primarily with reference to a perceived external source and not via their subsequent translation in a Cypriote context. Not only is there an unwillingness to recognize novel cultural forms and meanings produced in this context, but the *reflexivity* of culture and the multidirectional streams of contact in ancient Mediterranean contexts are rarely considered. To return to Nicolaou's picture of Cyprus engaged in cultural intercourse with a variety of foreign polities, it is not so much the island's partners that we should be interested in, but the offspring of these various unions.

I would now like to return to the notion of an ancient global community. In light of the cultural koine in the eastern Mediterranean during the eighth-fifth centuries B.C.E., brought about by sophisticated networks of communication and exchange, to what extent should

Cypriote art be viewed as the by-product of some ancient form of globalization? For that matter, what does a theoretical model based on a modern concept such as globalization add to our understanding of ancient Cypriote culture?

Let us consider, for example, the following monument from the seventh century B.C.E. (**Figure 3**). Here a Phoenician sculptor has carved a votive pillar from Cypriote limestone, on which he invokes a Canaanite deity (Reshef) with the image of an Egyptian god (Bes). This monument illustrates well the *longue durée* of interactions within the region, as well as the complex relationship between culture, religion, and iconography that characterizes much of the archaeological record of Archaic and Classical Cyprus. Still, as a theoretical model, the assumption of globalized cultures is not entirely satisfactory. For example, while my description of the votive pillar from Kition, similar to the notion of globalization encapsulated in the opening quote, captures the variety of cultural forces at work in a particular moment, it simultaneously falls victim to many of the same essentializing trends that I am seeking to avoid. In both cases, a series of culturally-defined parts (English, Norwegian, German or Phoenician, Canaanite, Egyptian) is privileged over the much more culturally-meaningful whole. As is often the case, the descriptors used to reconstruct cultural complexity are garnished with an assumption of originary purity. In the case of ancient culture it is worth recalling that interactions across the Mediterranean have always yielded some degree of cultural, religious, and artistic hybridization. Such processes have often been associated with the *long durée* of ancient Mediterranean history and few, if any, would argue that perceived "Phoenician," "Canaanite," or "Egyptian" elements are not without their own hybrid foundations. Moreover, both modern and ancient notions of globalization inevitably presuppose the movement of ideas from a few large "lending" centers to smaller, outlying

"borrowers" in the periphery. While a concept such as globalization might lead us to recognize the multi-dimensional interaction of culture in zones of contact, it does not always account adequately for the productive capacity of that interaction. As Jonathan Hall has observed, commenting on the work of Michael Dietler, does a bottle of Coca-Cola in Africa represent the Americanization of Africa, or the Africanization of Coca-Cola?[14] In the case of Cypriote religious iconography, for example, discussions often focus on Hellenizing, Egyptianizing or Phoenicianizing processes as opposed to a "Cypriot-izing" of Greek, Egyptian, and Phoenician elements. By focusing on the internal or Cypriote response to cultural diversity on the island, we are better able to avoid culture-historical paradigms that favor hierarchical systems of reception and diffusion in the interpretation of foreign influence.

Image and Identity in Ancient Cypriote Religion

An internal approach as outlined above seems especially warranted in the study of ancient Cypriote religion and iconography. In particular, my research focuses on a cluster of sanctuaries (e.g., Golgoi-*Ayios Photios*, Athienou-*Malloura*, Idalion, Potamia, Tamassos-*Frangissa*, and Lefkoniko) dedicated to a principal male divinity located in and around the fertile plains of the Mesaoria in central and eastern Cyprus (see Figure 2). Such sanctuaries and their associated artifacts were principal features of the religious and social landscape of ancient Cyprus and were almost assuredly connected to one or more of the local city-kingdoms in the region. These sanctuaries are firmly established in the Archaic period and are characterized by relatively uninterrupted occupation throughout the Classical and Hellenistic periods down to the second or first centuries B.C.E. Sculptural dedications displaying a wealth of foreign iconography, as well multi-lingual inscriptions in Greek,

Phoenician, and local scripts, testify to the intense movement of artistic and religious symbolism. Votive limestone and terracotta sculptures, dedicated in large numbers in sanctuaries throughout the island, were the primary mode of communication with the divinity. As such they often functioned simultaneously as thank offerings to insure present and future prosperity and as sculpted proxies for continuous worship—a practice well documented in Greek and Near Eastern religions.

These material remains of ritual activity and religious organization have played a prominent role in the reconstruction of not only identity, but also community in ancient Cyprus. While most of the votive sculptures represent generic facsimiles of the donors themselves, many portray the patron deity of the sanctuary; identifiable influences from Near Eastern, Egyptian, or Greek artistic traditions have often been isolated as evidence of ethnic division among participating groups across the religious landscape of Cyprus, even within the same sanctuary. The resulting model, however, often disengages the evidence for relative homogeneity in the material culture of the period. Likewise, the interpretation of religious rituals and iconography associated with the various sanctuaries reflects the scholarly preoccupation with isolating cultural differences among the various Cypriote communities. Consequently, many Cypriote sanctuaries are interpreted as host to a pantheon of foreign and local divine personalities. In the case of male divine images interpretations of iconography rely heavily on exacting identifications of attributes and associated theonyms and have subsequently failed to provide meaningful reference to broader religious or even socio-political contexts.

Postcolonial Theory and the Cultures *In*-Between Cypriote Culture

The shortcomings of such interpretations led me to explore contemporary postcolonial theory

as an alternative model for thinking about the nuanced behavior of culture in Cypriote

religion. In order to understand the relationship between cult, iconography, and identity in

ancient Cyprus, it is necessary to move beyond the simple recognition of cultural influences

and examine the response to these various episodes of interaction. The postcolonial concepts

of *Third Space* and *hybridity* are useful tools of analysis for Cypriote cult, where the resultant

material culture emerges from a zone of contact that is neither purely indigenous nor purely

foreign, but somewhere in between. The hallmark of postcolonial inquiry is the recognition

of the ambiguity that arises when culture is taken out of the realm of binary oppositions. The

contemporary cultural theorist Homi Bhabha, a leading figure in postcolonial studies, has

developed the notion of a Third Space as a means of foregrounding distinctions between

cultural diversity and the products of cultural difference. Bhabha's Third Space represents a

space of communication and negotiation in the midst of two or more extremes. As Bhabha

puts it, the intervention of a Third Space

> challenges our sense of the historical identity of culture as a homogenizing, unifying
> force, authenticated by the originary Past, kept alive in the national tradition of the
> People … It is that Third Space, though unrepresentable in itself, which constitutes
> the discursive conditions of ennunciation that ensures that the meaning of symbols of
> culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be
> appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew.[15]

Postcolonial critiques, which are grounded in the challenges put forth by Edward Said's

Orientalism (1978), traditionally function within a modern socio-political context. However,

scholars such as Peter van Dommelen and Carla Antonaccio have highlighted the value of

postcolonial theory for classical archaeologists.[16] In a recent volume investigating the

multiplicity of *Greek* culture, Antonaccio writes:

such a framework has great appeal for the study of material culture in an ancient contact or colonial context that moves away from binary oppositions between Greek and Other, and the essentialism inherent in interpreting every Greek artefact as the material trace of a Greek person, and vice versa.[17]

The postcolonial framework has clear advantages for anyone wishing to reconstruct an archaeological narrative of Cypriote society and especially Cypriote religion, primarily because it highlights the complexity of exchange within dynamic zones of cultural contact. This is especially true for Iron Age Cyprus, which witnessed settlement by Greeks and Phoenicians, as well as subsequent episodes of economic and socio-political interactions with a variety of foreign polities. Carol Dougherty and Leslie Kurke have addressed the process of cultural exchange in the ancient world more generally and provided a valuable analysis of its complexity: "in the multiplicity of practices, members of different subcultures confront each other, clash, reconcile, and contest value and meaning, and that contestation forms the material record that is available to us."[18]

Hybridity, a term intimately related to Bhabha's Third Space, can be defined as the creation of transcultural forms in zones of contact that reject specificity and at the same time promote their own ambivalence.[19] In a recent survey of postcolonial theory, Robert Young has discussed hybridity within the specific context of agency and artistic production. In discussing the genesis of the counter-cultural musical genre of Algerian Raï, Young emphasizes that the artists themselves "took elements from a wide range of existent cultural forms – sacred, secular, classical, popular – and represented them in ways that took them out of the conventional contexts into new kinds of cultural expression."[20] Bhabha, too, has broadened the concept of hybridity to include artistic production:

> The value of art lies not in its transcendent reach but in its translational capacity: in the possibility of moving between media, materials, and genres, each time both marking and remaking the material borders of difference….[21]

For the archaeologist, it is the productive and performative capacity of the Third Space that we must interrogate in order to understand fully the formation processes that produced the artifactual data available to us. Moreover, in the context of the ancient world, an analytical tool such as hybridity has obvious advantages for the study of archaeological data where culture is materialized. The iconography characteristic of Cypriote cult immediately signals the creation of new identities through the recombination and recomposition of existing referential modes—at once recognizable, yet equally incommensurable.[22] As Antonaccio has observed, "the question to answer is whether what we perceive to be distinct modes in various forms of material culture…can in fact be said to have been distinct in antiquity."[23]

The material remains of religious practice in Cypriote sanctuaries provide an excellent place to examine cultural hybridity and the products of artistic and cultural negotiation. Hybrid forms and recomposed identities are perhaps the most distinguishing feature of religious iconography in Cyprus during the first millennium B.C.E. To illustrate this point, we can look at one divine image characteristic of the late sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E. (**Figure 4**). The type features a male divinity donning the skin of a lion as a cape and headdress. The god advances forward in a smiting god position with the right arm raised to attack holding a club, and the left arm subduing a small lion. Clearly this god is a hybrid – his attributes and stance are easily documented as translations of existing iconographical modes common in the Aegean and eastern Mediterranean. The lion skin and club are trappings familiar from the milieu of contemporary Greek art; likewise, the active stance, smiting attack, and mastered lion can be traced to the Near Eastern coast and beyond. As the product of cultural

negotiation, artistic agency, and religious translation, the figure is conspicuously familiar, yet nonetheless difficult to label. Still, on the surface at least, we are forced into simplified interpretations of the meaning of this iconography in antiquity. The type illustrated here is often referred to as "Cypriote-Herakles" or "Herakles-Melqart." Without any epigraphical evidence for the worship of Herakles in Cyprus or any direct evidence to connect this image with the Phoenician divinity Melqart, however, it is perhaps better to refer to him as the Master of the Lion.

When viewed through the lens of postcolonial theory and the subtleties of hybridity, the Master of the Lion is freed from the limitations of essentializing labels and emerges as a novel identity navigating the boundaries between cultural communities. The presence of this hybrid form in the archaeological record reflects the predisposition of Cypriote artists to appropriate foreign symbols into a local religious tradition; in a way, the artists themselves helped structure a Third Space of "communication, negotiation and, by implication, translation" in Cypriote religion.[24] As a result, the relative success of this image is now solely dependent upon its ability to negotiate meaning in the context of a Cypriote sanctuary and its patrons, regardless of any original significance. The simple shift in nomenclature, as proposed above, isolates the most significant aspect of this iconography: the mastery over lions in the form of the skin, as well as the small lion held in the left hand. Likewise, it situates him more confidently within a broader ideological trend in Cypriote cult typified by the emergence of the Master of the Animals, or what I have elsewhere coined the *Potnios Theron*, in Cypriote religious iconography during the first millennium B.C.E.[25] In his capacity as a master of animals—and by extension, as master over the forces of nature—the distinct iconography of this figure reinforces his role as both a guardian and a guarantor of

prosperity. At the same time, the imaging of this deity responds to a specific cultural and physical landscape on Cyprus, especially among the communities within and around the agricultural plains of the Mesaoria in central Cyprus.

We need not look far to explain the popularity of this divine iconography. The god, as *potnios theron*, personified a potent force for insuring future prosperity in the fields, in the folds, and at home, while also offering protection in the manner of a divine shepherd. But we should also consider the significance of this deity in light of the topography of sanctuaries dedicated to him. Established in the midst of Cyprus's agricultural heartland, many of the sanctuaries dedicated to the *potnios theron* were located outside the urban center and thus also served a rural population. The power of the god, in his ability both to control and, if necessary, conquer natural forces would certainly have appealed to farmers, shepherds, soldiers and merchants alike. The preference for this deity and the divine spheres of power, protection, and prosperity he embodied surely represented the collective goals of ancient Cypriote worshippers regardless of their particular cultural roots or social status. The entanglement of varying iconographical traditions in the midst of cultural difference perhaps solidified this religious *koine* in the Cypriote Mesaoria and provided a visual counterpart to the combined needs of local worshippers. It was through the very practice of cult and its associated iconography that existing cultural and socio-political boundaries began to be blurred.

Postscript: Hybridty, Representation and the Reflexivity of Culture

Having rescued this image from the baggage of culturally-defined labels, we are now able to

see more clearly the open-ended movement of culture. For as quickly as our Master of the

Lion was settled into the sacred landscape of Cyprus, he reentered the Third Space of

Mediterranean interactions and emerged re-constituted and re-defined, translated into new

cultural contexts such as the Phoenician sanctuary of Amrit (ancient Marathus) on the

Levantine coast (see Figure 1). Here, a cache of Cypriote sculptures, including many in the

guise of the Master of the Lion, were dedicated during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.E.[26]

The material, form, and iconography of these statues can all be traced back to Cyprus. Thus

we see the nuanced behavior of cultural signs and artistic practice; the presence of the Master

of the Lion at Amrit reveals a Cypriote hybrid born from the intercourse of (at least) two

hybrid cultures (Greek and Phoenician) and reborn again on the Levantine coast. This

movement of culture illustrates what Kurke and Dougherty have called the *reflexivity* of

cultural exchange, where

> elements absorbed into another culture and transformed within it may then also affect
> their function or configuration within the original culture in an ongoing and reciprocal
> negotiation.[27]

In this case, Near Eastern elements that had been absorbed and transformed in a Cypriote

religious context, have returned to their source – fully reconfigured – in order to

communicate a new identity and navigate new cultural boundaries.

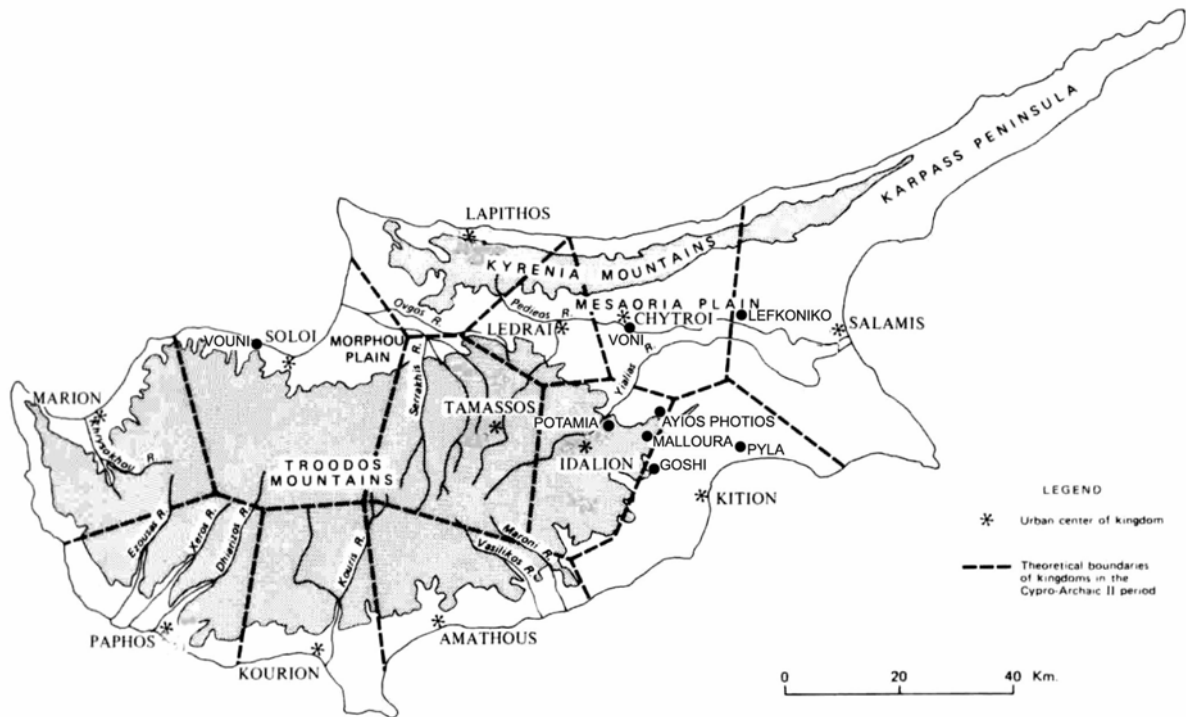**Figure 1**: Map of the Eastern Mediterranean

Figure 2: Theoretical boundaries of the Cypriote city-kingdoms in the Archaic period showing principal urban centers, as well as rural sanctuaries. (After Rupp 1989, fig. 38.5; reproduced with permission of the author).
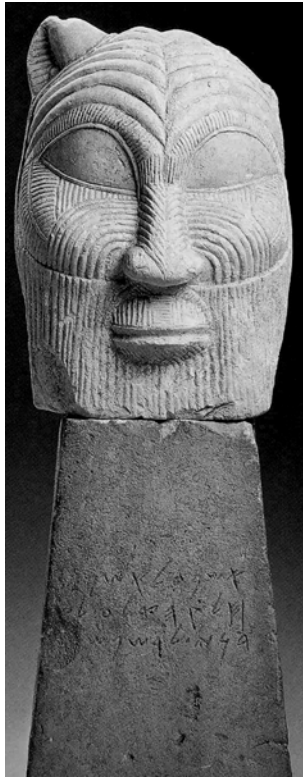
Figure 3: Limestone cippus with head of Bes from Palaikastro. H: (cippus) 40 cm (head) 28 cm. c. 650 B.C. Inv. no. AM 1196 + AO 4411; Musée du Louvre, Paris. (Photo courtesy of the Département des antiquités orientales du Musée du Louvre)

Figure 4: Limestone statuette of *Cypriote-Herakles* from Idalion. H: 55 cm. ca. 490-470 B.C. Inv. no. AM 641; Musée du Louvre, Paris. (Photo courtesy of the Département des antiquités orientales du Musée du Louvre)

[*] I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the director and staff of the Center for 21st Century Studies at UWM for providing an intellectually stimulating and congenial environment during my tenure as a research fellow. I am also grateful to my colleagues who served as Fellows during the 2004-2005 academic year; conversations during seminars, or just in the hallways, were always appreciated. Finally, I would like to thank Daniel Sherman for the invitation to publish this essay within the Center's *Working Paper* series, as well as for many useful suggestions he and Rutger van Dijk offered regarding the manuscript during its preparation.

[1] J. Nederveen Pieterse, "Hybridity, So What? The Anti-Hybridity Backlash and the Riddles of Recognition," *Theory, Culture & Society* 18 (2001), 237 (n. 16).

[2] Ibid.

[3] It should come as no surprise that scholars of ancient material culture have invoked notions of globalization in their interpretation of the archaeological record; for a recent discussion, with particular attention to Cyprus (albeit in the Bronze age), see S. Sherratt, "The Mediterranean Economy: 'Globalization' at the End of the Second Millennium B.C.E.,' in W. G. Dever and S. Gitin (eds.), *Symbiosis, Symbolism, and the Power of the Past: Canaan, Ancient Israel, and Their Neighbors from the Late Bronze Age through Roman Palaestina* (Winona Lake, IA, 2003), 37-62.

[4] On the "thin coherence of culture," see W. H. Sewell, Jr. "The Concept(s) of Culture," in V. E. Bonnell and L. Hunt (eds.) *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture* (Berkeley, 1999), 49-50. Cf. the comments on the *longue durée* of cultural hybridity in Nederveen Pieterse, "Hybridity, So What?," 220-1.

[5] P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea. A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford, 2000) and B. Knapp and E. Blake (eds.), *The Archaeology of Mediterranean Prehistory* (Oxford, 2005).

[6] Knapp and Blake, *Mediterranean Prehistory*, 15.

[7] The debates surrounding the foundation date and subsequent development of the Cypriote city-kingdoms remains a "hot-button" issue in Cypriote archaeology. The bibliography is extensive. For a recent, balanced appraisal of this period with relevant bibliography, see M. Iacovou, "From Ten to Naught: Formation, Consolidation and Abolition of Cyprus' Iron Age Polities," *Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* (2002), 73-87.

[8] The map is illustrated in D. Rupp, "Puttin' on the Ritz: Manifestations of High Statue in Iron Age Cyprus," in E. Peltenburg (ed.), *Early Society in Cyprus* (Edinburgh, 1989), 336-62 and is used here, slightly modified, with permission from the author.

[9] A. Reyes, *Archaic Cyprus*: *A Study of the Textual and Archaeological Evidence* (Oxford, 1994), 11-22.

[10] I. Nicolaou, "Cypriots in the East and West. Foreigners in Cyprus (Archaic to Roman Period)," in V. Karageorghis, ed. *Acts of the International Archaeological Symposium "Cyprus Between the Orient and the Occident"* (Nicosia, 1986), 424.

[11] On nineteenth and early twentieth century interpretations of cultural difference in Cyprus, see D. B. Counts, "Prolegomena to the Study of Cypriote Culture," *Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 31 (2001), 141-5.

[12] E. Gjerstad, et al. *The Swedish Cyprus Expedition* I-IV (Stockholm, 1934-1972). The shortcomings of such views of Cypriote history have not gone unnoticed, Reyes (*Archaic Cyprus*) questioned the extent to which the archaeological record of Cyprus provides direct evidence for periods of foreign domination. His call for a less essentialized history has been influential; for example, see the comments on supposed Assyrian and Egyptian "domination," respectively, in V. Karageorghis, *Early Cyprus: Crossroads of the Mediterranean* (Los Angeles, 2002), 151-3 and 195-7.

[14] J. Hall, "Culture, Cultures and Acculturation," in R. Rollinger and C. Ulf (eds.) *Griechische Archaik: Interne Entwicklungen, Externe Impulse* (Berlin, 2004), 44. See also M. Dietler, "Consumption, Cultural Frontiers, and Identity: Anthropological Approaches to Greek Colonial Encounters," in *Confini e frontiera nella Grecita d'Occidente* (Naples, 1999), 475-501.

[15] H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London, 1994), 37. Cf. H. Bhabha, "Third Space: An Interview with Homi Bhabha," in J. Rutherford (ed.) *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (London, 1990), 207-21.

[16] C. Antonaccio, "Hybridity and the Cultures within Greek Culture" in L. Kurke and C. Dougherty (eds.) *The Cultures within Greek Culture* (Cambridge, 2003), 57-74. Postcolonial theory has most recently been referenced by K. Lembke in her discussion of votive offerings found at the Phoenician sanctuary at Amrit in *Die*

Skulpturen aus dem Quellheiligtum von Amrit: Studie zur Akkulturation in Phèonizien (Mainz am Rhein, 2004), 2-5. See also P. van Dommelen's "Colonial Constructs: Colonialism and Archaeology in the Mediterranean" *World Archaeology* 28.3 (1997), 305-23. This issue of *World Archaeology* was dedicated to the theme *Cultural Contact and Colonialism*.

[17] Antonaccio, "Hybridity," 60.

[18] C. Dougherty and L. Kurke, "Introduction: The Cultures within Greek Culture," in Kurke and Dougherty, *Cultures within Greek Culture*, 1.

[19] Perhaps the most widely applied (and one of the more contested) terms from postcolonial theory, hybridity has been defined as "the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonization" in B. Ashcroft, et al. *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies* (London, 1998), 118.

[20] R. J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2003), 73.

[21] H. Bhabha, "Postmodernism/Postcolonialism," in R. Nelson and R. Shiff (eds.) *Critical Terms for Art History*, Rev. ed. (Chicago, 2003), 439. See also the insightful comments by Antonaccio "Hybridity," 59-60.

[22] On the *incommensurability* of cultural practice and its relation to difference, see Bhabha's comments in Rutherford, *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference,* 208-11.

[23] Antonaccio, "Hybridity," 61.

[24] L. Gandhi, *Postcolonial Theory: A Critical Introduction* (New York, 1998), 131.

[25] On the significance and distribution of the *potnios theron* in Cypriote religious iconography, see D. B. Counts, "Art and Religion in the Cypriote Mesaoria: The View from Athienou-*Malloura,*" *Cahier du Centre d'Études Chypriotes* 34 (2004), 173-90

[26] This corpus of sculptures has now been ably published in Lembke, *Die Skulpturen aus dem Quellheiligtum von Amrit.*

[27] Kurke and Dougherty, *Cultures within Greek Culture*, 5.