



## THE MANY FACES OF COLONIZATION: 12th CENTURY AEGEAN SETTLEMENTS IN CYPRUS AND THE LEVANT

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### ABSTRACT

This paper focuses on the 12th Century Aegean settlements in Cyprus and the broader environment of the Near East and the Levant. The main acculturation strategies of the Aegean migrants are presented and the factors led to this migration are examined. Very important Aegean settlements in Cyprus and the Levant are examined.

**KEYWORDS:** Aegean, Cyprus, Levant, Paleokastro, Kition, Philistia

### EXAMINING VARIABILITY IN MIGRATION

An often neglected aspect in the study of migration is the acceptance that every migration event is unique. The uniqueness stems from both 'internal' and 'external' factors:

1. 'Internal': each migrating group is different from the other in its composition. Such variability stems from the both intercultural differentiation and variability within a single population (see, for example, in Clarke's [1978, 251-258] term "subcultures"). This differentiation can be manifested in different values variables such as ethnicity, status, gender relation, ideology, number and age of the migrants (Berry 1997, 15-16; Yasur-Landau 2002, 33-36. A detailed study of variables con-

nected with migration is currently prepared by the present author.).

2. 'External': the conditions in which the migrants travel and settle and the obstacles they have to negotiate are never the same. In addition, the society of settlement can react differently to the migrants, according to variables such as attitudes towards migrants, multiculturalism ideology and the balance of power between the migrants and the local society (Berry 1997, 16-17; Yasur-Landau 2002, 36).

Changes in political and social structures in the Aegean in the 12th century B.C. (LHIIIC) had led to phenomena of Aegean people leaving their homes and migrating to areas east the Aegean world (e.g. Stager 1995; Niemeier 1998; Karageorghis 2000). While much was

written on the common material culture aspects of this migration in Cyprus, Cilicia and the Levant in many symposia, papers and books addressing the problem of the 'Sea Peoples', (e.g. the two most recent ones edited by Gitin, Mazar and Stern 1998 and by Oren 2000), little was said on the vast variability between the different settlements to which the migrants have arrived and its causes.

Berry (1992; 1997, 9-11) offers a simple system of acculturation strategies taken by migrants, based on two factors: the will of the migrants to maintain their cultural identity, and the importance given to maintaining relationships with other groups. *Integration* is the result of the will of the migrants to maintain their identity while having daily interactions with other groups. *Assimilation* is a strategy taken by migrants groups who do not wish to maintain their culture of origin. *Separation* or *Segregation* will happen when migrants prefer to have no connection with other cultures while protecting their own heritage. *Marginalization* is the situation in which the migrant group loses both its own culture and the ability to contact other cultures. How can we employ the idea of variability in acculturation strategies to the study of the Aegean migration?

Bunimovitz (1998, 105-107) was one of the few to notice the variability within the 'Sea People' settlement in Cyprus. He looked at the 'Sea People' as aggressors and 'sackers of cities' and the differentiation as a result of the policy of the Cypriot cities: some cities, as Kition opened their gates before them thus spared. Other cities, as Enkomi, were destroyed, yet later rebuilt by both migrants and local population. While not accepting Bunimovitz argument in its entirety, it does bring an important component affecting the strategy of acculturation chosen: the balance of power between the migrating group and local groups at the target country. The Syrian coast, the Levantine coast, and Cyprus were densely populated at the close of the 13th century. Destructions during this century, if occurred, had little effect on the small farming communities by the larger urban cen-

ters. There was very little, if at all, unclaimed farmland. Combining Berry's terms for cultural integration with the restricting factor of the balance of power between migrants and locals,

The Aegean migrants had therefore three main acculturation strategies, all expected to be visible in the archaeological record:

1. *Separation* or *segregation*: to minimize interaction with the local population by settling in remote or empty places
2. *Integration*: to settle within existing local settlements and to share resources
3. *Violent colonization*, followed by cultural *integration*: to destroy or subdue local settlements, and to take over their countryside and available arable land.

It is important to note that it is possible that some migrants, as small groups or as individuals, had chosen to lose all aspects of their former culture, thus taking the *assimilation* or *marginalization* strategies. These, however, will probably not be noticeable in the archaeological record from non-migrants.

The choice between these possibilities was closely dependent on the 'internal' and 'external' factors which characterized each migration event, the most noticeable of which are the number of migrants, their relative power, and the level of pluralism and tolerance within the interacting societies. Therefore it is expected that the study of acculturation strategies taken may teach us much on the human composition of different migrant's communities as well as their interactions with the local populations.

### CYPRUS: VARIABILITY IN ACCULTURATION STRATEGIES

The settlement in Maa-Palaeokastro (Figure 1) may be an example for a strategy of separation chosen by small, but organized community of migrants, with probably relative little power. The site is located in a remote part of western Cyprus, very far from local Cypriot settlements. This location enabled to settlers to avoid confrontation with the local population, and to 'duplicate' as much as possible their Aegean lifestyle. The predominantly Aegean material cul-

ture of the settlement, including the use of hearth buildings, LHIIC fineware (Deger-Jalkotzy 1998, 117-119), Aegean cooking jugs and Aegean loom weights (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 127-128 for cooking jugs; *ibid.*, 34, 117-118 for loom weights; Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 2002, 216) suggests that the small settlement was composed of complete household units—men, women and possibly children of Aegean origin. The choice of a rocky promontory site for natural defense sheds light on the cultural preferences of the settlers of landscapes fit for colonization. This choice is a typical Aegean one, connected with the LHIIC phenomenon of fortified or defensible settlements (Karageorghis 1998; Nowicki 2001) some, such as Koukounaries on Paros (Schilardi 1984; 1992) and Palaikastro-Kastri on Crete (Sackett and Popham 1965) are located on a coastal acropolis, or such as Emborio on Chios (Hood 1982), on a defensible promontory. Others, as Ayios Andreas in Siphnos (Telavantou 2001) were built in a more inland location. *Maa-Palaeokastro* shares another feature of these settlements—they were too small to survive, and as most Aegean fortified settlements, it existed only for the duration of one or two generations.

Somewhat similar may be the case of Ras ibn Hani (Bounni *et al.* 1976; 1978; 1979; 1981; Lagarde and Lagarde 1988) on the Syrian coast. This promontory site was until the beginning of the 12th century a harbor of the kingdom of Ugarit. Following the destruction of the site, locally made LHIIC ware appears, probably indicating settlement of Aegean migrants. Although waiting final publication, Ras ibn Hani may be seen as bridgeheads in the first phases of Aegean colonization, similar perhaps to the Sea People's bridgehead in amurru mentioned by Ramses III in Medinet Habu.

*Conta* Bunimovitz (above), I believe that the large urban Cypriot centers were too powerful for the migrants to conquer or even to leave an 'Aegean impact' on the urban landscape. Instead, the migrants had joined the Cypriot population as individuals or as groups, leaving traces of their activities only inside of buildings

and tombs. At Enkomi, the destruction of level IIB was *preceded* by the appearance of LHIIC locally-made pottery (Karageorghis and Demas 1988, 259, fig. 1), thus indicating the arrival of the 'Sea People' was not the immediate cause for destruction. The famous Enkomi ivory game box (Murray and Walters 1900, pl. 1, fig. 19) shows two 'Sea People' hunters with their 'feather hats' running in front of the chariot of a local lord. These men came as individuals to serve as mercenaries the Cypriot elite. Other indications for the presence of Aegean warriors in Enkomi comes from a seal depicting a warrior wearing a typical 'feather helmet' (Porada 1971, 801-802), as well as the greaves and the sword of Naue IIa type found in tomb 18 (Aqvist 1934, 546-558; Catling 1955, 34-35; Sandars 1978, 188, Karageorghis 1990, 19), which is associated with either level IIB or assigned to the period just before the building of IIIA (LCIIC late to transitional to LCIIIA).

The picture is slightly different for Kition, in which we see evidence for larger groups of Aegean migrants, who left much more varied evidence for Aegean behavioral patterns. Aegean cooking jugs indicate that Aegean culinary practices were with Cypriot ones. In the western workshops room 126 Aegean spool-shaped loom-weights are found side by side with Cypriot pyramidal loom weights in both floor IIIA (Karageorghis 1985, 125-126; Karageorghis and Demas 1985b, pl. CXCV) and III (Karageorghis and Demas 1985a, 112-113). Those indicated the co-existence of two weaving traditions—the Aegean and the Cypriot, perhaps practices by women of different origin (Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 2002, 216), but nevertheless incorporated into the Kition temple economy.

#### **THE SOUTHERN LEVANT: HOMOGENEITY IN ACCULTURATION STRATEGY, VARIABILITY IN THE ORIGIN OF THE MIGRANTS?**

If separation and integration were the two strategies practiced by the Aegean migrants in

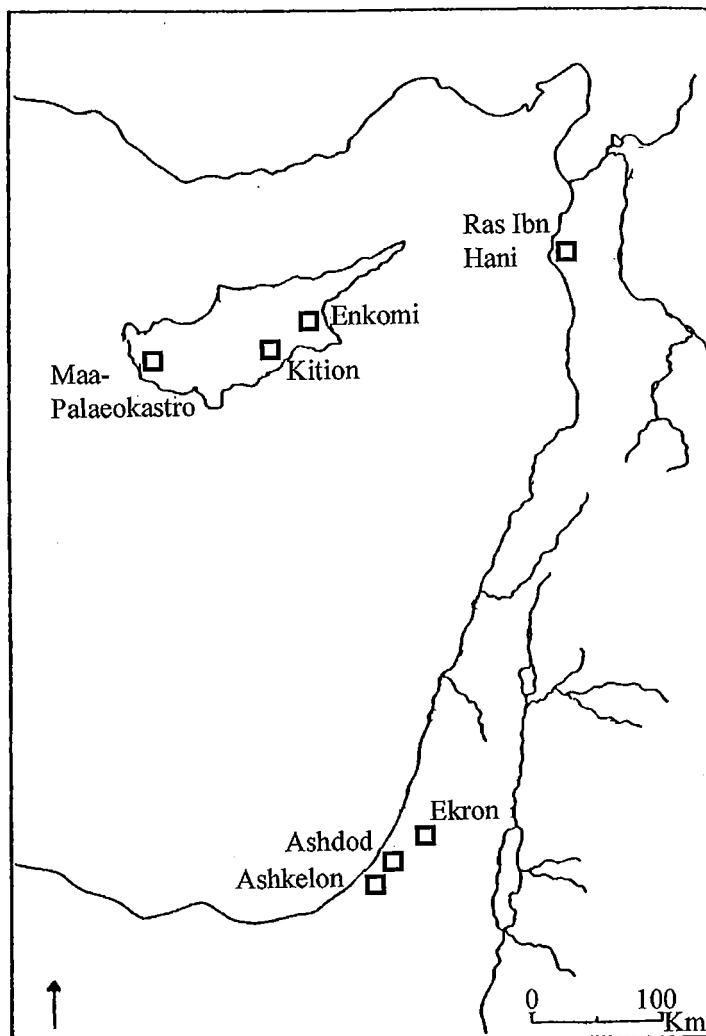


Fig. 1: Cyprus and the Levant with sites mentioned in the text.

Cyprus, armed conflict and occupation were the preferred methods along the southern Levantine coast. Excavations at Ashdod (Dothan 1993, 96; 1971: 25; Dothan and Porath 1993, 47), and Tel Miqne Ekron (Dothan 1998a, 150-151), located in the southern coastal plain of present-days Israel, had shown that at the beginning of the 12th century the Canaanite cities were partially or destroyed by the newco-

mers. Ashkelon (Stager 1993, 107) may have been destroyed at the same time or by the Egyptian at an earlier date. New towns were built on their ruins, towns manifesting Aegean features of architecture, as the hearth rooms (Mazar 1986; 1988, 257-260; Dothan 1998a; Stager 1995, 347) as well as complete Aegean material culture assemblages, including locally made LHIIIC pottery (e.g. Dothan 1998b for

Tel Miqne/Ekron), Aegean cooking jugs (Yasur-Landau 1992; Killebrew 1992; 1998, 397; 1999, 106-108) and Aegean spool-shaped loom weights (Stager 1995, 346; Bierling 1998, pl. 7b; Dothan and Porath 1993, fig. 24,3-5; Stager 1991, 14-15) indicating the migration of complete households and people of all professions, as pictorially describes by Stager (1995, 345) "Behind the archaeological residues of the Pentapolis one can detect, however faintly, the activities of a diverse community of warriors, farmers, sailors, merchants, rulers, shamans, priests, artisans and architects". A study of the rural sites in Philistia by Finkelstein (1996) had demonstrated that almost all villages and other small settlements disappear in the transition to the 12th century or immediately after. This phenomenon can best be interpreted as an attempt of the migrants to seize control over arable land by destroying the local Canaanite small farming communities. They immediately embarked on making the landscape into an Aegean one. Obstacles such as the lack of natural rocky hills to build Aegean-type acropolises settlements were overcome by using the earthen mounds, the tells, for large settlements, finding security in not only in walls, but also in large numbers of settlers. The new settlement patterns, of a large city states inside an empty countryside resulted also in new configurations of intensified economy and animal husbandry. Studies by Hesse and Wapnish (Hesse 1986; 1990; Hesse and Wapnish 1997) of the faunal remains of Ashkelon and Tel Miqne/Ekron, as well as those from Tel Batash, showed changes in the ratios of swine, cattle, and sheep/goats between the beginning the Late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. This change is characterized by two phenomena a massive increase in the proportion of swine remains found, and an increase in cattle in comparison to a decrease in sheep/goat bones. These new patterns, very different from the Canaanite patterns of animal husbandry, display a ratio of ca. 2:2:1 between cattle, sheep/goat and pigs, find their best parallel in Tiryns at the LHIIIC period (von den Driesch

and Boessneck 1990, 93; for a detailed comparison between patterns of animal husbandry in the Aegean, Cyprus and the Levant in the 13th and 12th centuries B.C. and further arguments for the Aegean origin of the patterns in 12th century Philistia see Yasur-Landau 2002, 393-398.).

Can we see variability even within Philistia? From a superficial look Ashdod, Ashkelon and Tel Miqne/Ekron show many similarities: they present the same type of settlement, and the same type of non-Canaanite animal husbandry, within the settlements they use locally made LHIIIC-type pottery, cook in Aegean cooking jugs and wove with Aegean spool weights. However, some differences between the settlements suggest that differences between the different Aegean communities existed already from the beginning of settlement. The organizational abilities and number of settlers varied between the communities. Tel Miqne Ekron have been fortified in an early stage of the 12th century by wall which encircled an area of 20 hectares, five times as much as the previous Canaanite town (Killebrew 1998, 383; Dothan, Gitin and Bierling 1998, 13-15). Ashdod and Ashkelon remained unfortified until a late stage of the 11th century, and their 12th century habitation area was substantially smaller than that of Tel Miqne/Ekron. The strength of the Miqne elite can be seen in long continuation of the location of the ruler's dwelling in Field IV (Dothan and Dothan 1992, 243, 244 pl. 23-25; Dothan and Gitin 1993, 1054; Dothan 1995, 44, fig. 3.3). This structure, containing monumental hearth, have maintained its position and was re-built several times between the 12th and the 10th centuries (strata VII to V), and used again for palace in the 7th century. In contrast, the ruler's dwelling in Ashdod Area G was much shorter lived, suggesting a less stable rulership. This building, a former Egyptian-style 'governor's residency' was modified in stratum XIIIb to resemble an Aegean corridor house (Dothan and Porath 1993, 53-68; Bunimovitz and Yasur Landau 2002, 215; Yasur Landau 2002, 406-408) including the addition of a ser-

vice wing and the creation of a hall equipped with central hearth. The building was in use for a short time, perhaps only one generation, after which it was destroyed, before the beginning of stratum XII, never to be rebuilt.

What appear to be minute differentiations between the sites in the Aegean material culture may suggest that not all the migrants came from the same origin. Locally made LHIIIC Pictorial pottery in Ashdod (Dothan and Porath 1993, fig. 15:11, fig. 16:19; fig. 17:10) and Tel Mique/Ekron (e.g. Killebrew 1998, fig. 7:15; Dothan 2000, 154, fig. 7.7: 8) is characterized by the frequent appearance of Bird and Fish motives, and the absence of human motives. However, human figures, somewhat resembling those from Kynos, were found on LHIIIC pottery from Ashkelon (Stager 1998, fig. in p. 157, p.164, fig. a; Wachsmann 2000, 134, fig. 6.29). In addition, the Aegean cooking jugs in Ashdod seems to be dominated by the two-handle variant, while those in Tel Mique/Ekron are dominated by the one-handle variant. Finally, the appearance of Cypriot traits suggests that different sites had different interactions with Cyprus. Ashdod is unique in the use of seals in general, and the use of seals inscribed with Cypro-Minoan signs in particular, indicating either contact or presence of Cypriot elite members. The Ashdod evidence for seals and sealing include: a cylinder seal from stratum XIII (Dothan 1982, 41, pl. 6; Dothan and Dothan 1992, 167, pl. 11), a stamp seal from stratum XII (Dothan and Porath 1993, 81, fig. 36:9; Keel 1994, 22-23; 1997, 672-673 no. 27; pl. 8.4: 1), a stamped bulla from stratum XII (*ibid.*, 82, fig. 38:2; Pl. 8.4: 4) and another from stratum X (Dothan 1971, fig. 76:1; Keel 1997, 666-667 no. 15; Pl. 8.4: 2). For the iconography of the seals see Yasur-Landau 2001, 334 note 34. The frequent occurrence of incised bovid scapulae in tel Mique/Ekron (e.g. Dothan and Gittin 1993, 1053; Hesse 1986, 25 fig. 4) and not in Ashkelon or Ashdod indicate that Cypriot divination practices were brought to the site either by Cypriot specialist, or by an Aegean learning in Cyprus.

The minute regional differentiation in the migrant's material culture in Philistia suggest a situation in Philistia which may be paralleled to that in Sicily and southern Italy in the late 8th early 7th centuries B.C. Greek colonies, settled by Greeks which use Greek material culture to perform distinctively Greek behavioral patterns, yet differ somewhat from one another in the origin of the settlers, the political structure, and the economic and political strength.

## TOWARDS AN EXPLANATION OF VARIABILITY

Summing up, we can try to explain the variability within the Aegean migration to Cyprus and the Levant. The inability of the Aegean migrants in Cyprus to perform forceful colonization may be explained by two major reasons:

1. the limitations of maritime migration in terms of capacity had probably caused the Aegean migrants to Cyprus to be always outnumbered by the local population
2. the apparent strength of the Cypriot polities, which seemed to be left relatively unhurt by the political turmoil of the early 12th century B.C. which affected both the Aegean world and the Orient.

The balance of power in favor of the Cypriot towns, and the will of the locals to accept the newcomers led to two strategies of acculturation: integration in Enkomi and Kition, and separation in Maa-Palaeokastro. The choice of acculturation strategy may have been related to the size of the migrants groups and its occupation, as can be seen in the settlement of Aegean individuals, probably mercenaries in Enkomi, compared to the settlement of complete households in Maa-Palaeokastro.

In contrast to the situation on Cyprus, a land route, in addition to the sea route, was available to the Aegean migrants arriving at the Levantine coast (Yasur-Landau 2003). Their larger numbers than in Cyprus, and their military advantage over the local Canaanite towns, left exposed by the weakening

Egyptian empire of the end of the 19th dynasty, enabled various migrant groups, which probably differed in their area of origin within

the Aegean world, to choose a similar acculturation strategy of a violent colonization.

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