

Archaeological Review from Cambridge
Volume 28.1 · April 2013

Archaeology and Cultural Mixture



Edited by W. Paul van Pelt

About ARC

The *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* is a bi-annual journal of archaeology. It is run on a non-profit, voluntary basis by postgraduate research students at the University of Cambridge.

Although primarily rooted in archaeological theory and practice, *ARC* increasingly invites a range of perspectives with the aim of establishing a strong, interdisciplinary journal which will be of interest in a range of fields.

Archaeological Review from Cambridge
Division of Archaeology
University of Cambridge
Downing Street
Cambridge
CB2 3DZ
UK

<http://www.societies.cam.ac.uk/arc>

Volume 28.1 Archaeology and Cultural Mixture

Theme Editor W. Paul van Pelt

Production W. Paul van Pelt

Cover Image Designed by Beatalic, 2013 (www.beatalic.com; hola@beatalic.com)

Printed and bound in the UK by the MPG Books Group, Bodmin and King's Lynn.

Published in April 2013. Copyright remains with the authors. Opinions expressed in contributions do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the editors.

All images are the authors' own except where otherwise stated.
ISSN 0261-4332

Committee, *Archaeological Review from Cambridge* April 2013

General Editors

Katie Hall
Danika Parikh

Editors

Tessa de Roo
Georgie Peters

Publicity and Events

Renate Fellingner
Leanne Philpot

Treasurer

W. Paul van Pelt

Book Reviews

Penny Jones

Back Issue Sales

Sarah Evans

Secretary

Kate Boulden

Subscriptions

Sarah Musselwhite

IT

Kathrin Felder
Mat Dalton

Contents

| | |
|---|-----|
| Introduction W. Paul van Pelt | 1 |
| From Hybridity to Entanglement, from Essentialism to Practice Philipp W. Stockhammer | 11 |
| Postcolonial Baggage at the End of the Road: How to Put the Genie Back into its Bottle and Where to Go from There Eleftheria Pappa | 29 |
| Beyond Creolization and Hybridity: Entangled and Transcultural Identities in Philistia Louise A. Hitchcock and Aren M. Maeir | 51 |
| <i>Convivencia</i> in a Borderland: The Danish-Slavic Border in the Middle Ages Magdalena Naum | 75 |
| Problematizing Typology and Discarding the Colonialist Legacy: Approaches to Hybridity in the Terracotta Figurines of Hellenistic Babylonia Stephanie M. Langin-Hooper | 95 |
| Signal and Noise: Digging up the Dead in Archaeology and Afro-Cuban Palo Monte Stephan Palmié | 115 |
| Hybridity at the Contact Zone: Ethnoarchaeological Perspectives from the Lower Omo Valley, Ethiopia Marcus Brittain, Timothy Clack and Juan Salazar Bonet | 133 |
| Considering Mimicry and Hybridity in Early Colonial New England: Health, Sin and the Body "Behung with Beades" Diana D. Loren | 151 |
| Our Children Might be Strangers: Frontier Migration and the Meeting of Cultures across Generations Hendrik van Gijsegem | 169 |
| Ethnogenesis and Hybridity in Proto-Historic Period Nicaragua Geoffrey G. McCafferty and Carrie L. Dennett | 191 |
| Bi-Directional Forced Deportations in the Neo-Assyrian Empire and the Origins of the Samaritans: Colonialism and Hybridity Yigal Levin | 217 |
| Networking the Middle Ground? The Greek Diaspora, Tenth to Fifth Century BC Carla M. Antonaccio | 241 |

| | |
|--|-----|
| Cultural Mixing in Egyptian Archaeology: The 'Hyksos' as a Case Study Bettina Bader | 257 |
| Mixing Food, Mixing Cultures: Archaeological Perspectives Mary C. Beaudry | 287 |
| Hybridity, Creolization, Mestizaje: A Comment Parker VanValkenburgh | 301 |
| Book Reviews—EDITED BY PENNY JONES | |
| <i>The Oxford Handbook of the Archaeology of Ritual and Religion</i> edited by Timothy Insoll —REVIEWED BY PAMELA J. CROSS | 323 |
| <i>The Idea of Order: The Circular Archetype in Prehistoric Europa</i> by Richard Bradley —REVIEWED BY JOHN MANLEY | 331 |
| <i>The Funerary Kit: Mortuary Practices in the Archaeological Record</i> by Jill L. Baker —REVIEWED BY VAN PIGTAIN | 335 |
| <i>The Ten Thousand Year Fever: Rethinking Human and Wild-Primate Malaria</i> by Loretta A. Cormier —REVIEWED BY LEONIE RAUJMAKERS | 341 |
| <i>Human Adaptation in the Asian Palaeolithic: Hominin Dispersal and Behaviour during the Late Quaternary</i> by Ryan J. Rabett —REVIEWED BY PATRICK J. ROBERTS | 346 |
| <i>Ethnozoarchaeology: The Present and Past of Human-Animal Relationships</i> edited by Umberto Albarella and Angela Trentacoste —REVIEWED BY JANE SANFORD | 352 |
| <i>Archaeological Theory in Practice</i> by Patricia Urban and Edward Schortman —REVIEWED BY VALERIA RIEDEMANN L. | 356 |
| <i>Ancient Egyptian Technology and Innovation: Transformations in Pharaonic Material Culture</i> by Ian Shaw —REVIEWED BY KIMBERLEY WATT | 360 |
| Forthcoming Issues | 364 |
| Subscription Information | 366 |
| Available Back Issues | 367 |

From Hybridity to Entanglement, From Essentialism to Practice

Philipp W. Stockhammer

Cluster of Excellence 'Asia and Europe in a Global Context' and the Institute for Prehistory and Early History and Near Eastern Archaeology, Heidelberg University
philipp.stockhammer@zaw.uni-heidelberg.de

Introduction

Hybridity and hybridization have recently become buzzwords in archaeological studies. In particular archaeologists working in the Mediterranean on Bronze Age networks of interaction (e.g. Feldman 2006; Knapp 2008, 2009, 2012; Steel 2002; Voskos and Knapp 2008), on Early Iron Age colonization (Antonaccio 2003, 2010; Dietler 2010; van Dommelen 2006; Hodos 2010; Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez 2005, 2007, 2008) and on Romanization (van Dommelen and Terrenato 2007; Hodos 2006; Webster 2001) have found it a highly useful term to describe archaeological phenomena. Whereas Bhabha (2007) defined hybridity as a strategy of the suppressed and subaltern against their suppressors in a colonial context, archaeologists particularly perceive those objects as 'hybrid' which seem to resist classification within predefined taxonomies.

Thus, hybridity is most often a phenomenon which cannot be clearly attributed to a certain archaeologically defined culture such as—in the case of Mediterranean archaeology—the Mycenaean, Canaanite, Greek, Phoenician or Roman culture. The subliminal perception of an object's resistance to classification is most easily handled by creating the loosely defined category of the hybrid.

Hybridity and Purity—It Takes Two to Tango

In my view, the epistemological process of the categorization of an object or practice as hybrid still needs further reflection. 'Hybridity' cannot exist without 'purity', 'international' not without 'nation states' and 'transculturality' cannot be used without acknowledging the existence of distinct 'cultures' in a container-like understanding of the term (Stockhammer 2012a: 1–2). Therefore, the notion of purity has been unconsciously reintroduced into postcolonial studies, which originally aimed to overcome exactly this politically so often misused division of human existence into 'pure' and 'impure'. There is no way out: every scientific aim to transcend borders begins with the acknowledgement of the existence of those borders, confirming the existence of what originally is hoped to be overcome. Without doubt, individuals or groups can perceive something as pure on ideological grounds. However, this perception of purity is often deeply linked with xenophobia and racism. Purity has so frequently been manipulated by the powerful as a strategy of suppression that this term must be handled with the utmost caution.

Whereas purity has to be abolished from political discourse, to my mind it remains indispensable in the humanities from an epistemological point of view. If we discuss hybridity, we have to define what we understand to be pure. If nothing can be designated as pure everything is hybrid and hybridity becomes a redundant term which might then be used in a metaphorical way for stimulating discussion, but not as a conceptual tool. In my view, it is possible to develop the metaphor into an epistemologically useful concept by using terms such as hybridity

and others only for the analysis of distinct processes of appropriation (Stockhammer 2012b: 48).

It may come as a surprise, but we are already operating with purity on a daily basis in our disciplines: every taxonomic category created by the observer is pure and distinctive by definition. In archaeology, we most often operate with so-called monothetic types.¹ A monothetic type is defined as a representative for a class of phenomena (objects, practices, etc.) that all share at least two predefined features. Every type, every classificatory unit is therefore a pure entity—which does not mean that the phenomena attributed to the class of a certain type are also pure. The type is pure as a concept, whereas the object as such can never be something pure. The use of terms like 'Mycenaean', 'Roman' or 'Asian' already means accepting the existence of something pure from an epistemological point of view, at least in the context of the analytical process. When Bhabha (2007) speaks of the 'postcolonial society', he creates another pure entity that he himself perceives as social reality. Thereby he ignores the fact that postcolonial society is also a product of scientific classification and not an entity that exists in reality. Most archaeologists are nowadays aware that our archaeologically defined cultures are nothing but—more or less—arbitrarily created entities that are more the result of our discipline's history of research than an adequate representation of past realities.

If we acknowledge the arbitrary and pure character of the entities defined in the course of our analyses, what is then the hybrid? From an epistemological point of view, the hybrid is what falls between the analytical categories defined by us. One could call it the double bias of the hybrid: it is 'in-between' our categories;² it comprises myriad features that remain unclassified; it is the accidental remainder that does not fit into the arbitrarily classified. As our categories are never all-inclusive, we should not wonder that there are always remaining phenomena that

¹ For the differentiation and definition of types and types of types cf. Rouse (1960: 315–316, 1970: 8, 1972: 48, 300) and Stockhammer (2004: 17–18).

² In addition to the term hybridity the notions 'in-between' and 'third space' are crucial in Bhabha's (2007) work.

cannot be attributed to a certain type of class. Something always remains outside. In archaeology, this 'something' most often comprises unique objects with singular features or uncommon combinations of features. However, it is only the second step which transforms the by-product of any classification (the 'unclassifiable') into a category of its own that is considered as meaningful in its perception for past human beings. In the end, we propose that those phenomena which we were not able to include in our categories were also meaningful and perceived as being in-between by past human beings.³ We force the hybrid to speak and propose that it has always done so. We forget the genesis of this category and try to emphasize the particular character of the hybrid, instead of considering its dynamic and creative character as an artificial bridge between artificial categories.

Archaeology as Experiment

My analysis of the epistemological process of defining something as hybrid brings archaeology surprisingly close to the natural sciences. Our archaeological evidence is like water with salt dissolved in it. Initially the salty water and material culture evidence seem to be in a state of chaos that has to be ordered first. A chemist uses a series of analytical methods to determine which elements make up compounds based on the unique properties of those elements. (S)he uses electrodes and electric current in order to separate the different ions into substances like sodium and chlorine. Archaeologists use the toolbox of taxonomy to differentiate their heap of sherds into vessel shapes, time periods, etc. From a conceptual perspective, a vessel type is as pure as a chemical element. Both processes are structurally identical from an epistemological point of view. The purity of the substances is the prerequisite for the chemist to study their subsequent intermixture. (S)he initiates the encounter of the substances and describes the process of intermixture, i.e. their reaction and the result of the reaction, which is often a new substance

³ I am fully aware of the fact that the perception of objects changes per time frame and individuals. Thus, a 'correct' or 'normal' perception is nonexistent. Archaeologists can only grasp momentary individual perceptions of objects as long as they resulted in practices that materialized in the context.

with new attributes and properties. Precisely this step of the reaction cannot be studied by archaeologists in its dynamics: we can only analyze what remains of the end product. We are confronted with the unique character of an object that resulted from the creative power triggered by intercultural encounter (i.e. the reaction of formerly distinct substances) and we are unable to document the process of reaction. Of course, we can try to split the hybrid into its former substances and imagine how those may have reacted with each other. In this respect, however, the difference between the humanities and the natural sciences poses the major problem. Whereas chemical substances always react the same way under the same conditions, humans (fortunately) do not. Therefore, we are only able to hypothesize about the possible dynamics of the reaction, but we will never be able to understand it completely.

Another danger is engendered by the arbitrary construction of etic entities: it is the notion that these entities possess agency. Latour (2005) rightly criticizes that many scholars perceive sociologically constructed entities like 'elite' or 'lower classes' as meaningful agents. He argues that these categories must not stand at the beginning of any analysis as an explanation for individual action, but only at the end. However, he is not aware of the fact that these terms can also be understood as abstract types, as descriptive categories for classes of objects, humans or social practices that share the same predefined features—in the sense of a descriptive type. Every time we use these terms, we have to be aware of their genesis, their epistemological potential and their necessity. They are "crutches for understanding" as Geiger (1964 [1947]: 126–127) so aptly stated.

From Hybridity to Degrees of Entanglement

After having demonstrated that it is possible and necessary to create the hybrid, I would now like to argue for the use of a different term, albeit with the same epistemological meaning. In my view, the present-day understanding of hybridity is either governed by its biological origin as a means of classifying, for example, the offspring of two individuals of

different races as something 'impure' (Ackermann 2012: 6; Papastergiadis 1997; Stewart 1999: 45; Weißköppel 2005: 317–319; Young 1995) or by its purely political definition in postcolonial studies with Bhabha (2007) as its most prominent advocate (cf. Stockhammer 2012b: 45–46). In order to navigate through this Scylla and Charybdis of the term's inherent problems, I instead chose the German terms 'Geflecht' and 'Verflechtung', or, in English, 'entanglement':

Both terms comprise the aspects of agency, processuality and the creation of something new which is more than just an addition of its origins. 'Entanglement' and 'Geflecht/Verflechtung' avoid the notion of text—and therefore culture as a text—which is connected with terms like 'texture' or 'Gewebe', and point rather to the unstructuredness of human creativity (Stockhammer 2012b: 47).

The term entanglement is also favoured by Thomas (1991), Dietler (1998) and, more recently, by Hodder (2011a, 2011b) to term human-thing-relationships. The historians Conrad and Randeria (2002) proposed 'entangled history' in order to enforce the manifold intercultural entanglements, particularly in the context of colonial systems (cf. also Kaelble 2005). Thus, in the discussion that follows, I will use the term entanglement instead of hybridity to describe phenomena that are the result of the creative processes triggered by intercultural encounters.

Due to the particular character of archaeological sources I distinguish two different states of entanglement after the encounter with a foreign object: 'relational entanglement' and 'material entanglement' (Stockhammer 2012b: 49–51). The first stage, relational entanglement, is reached when the object is appropriated and thus integrated into local practices, systems of meaning and worldviews.⁴ Whereas the human relation to the object and—in consequence—human perception

⁴ Most important for the understanding and conceptualization of processes of appropriation are several works by Hahn (e.g. 2004: 218–220, 2005: 102–104).

of the surrounding material world and the related practices have changed within the process of appropriation, the object in its sheer materiality remains unchanged. This is important from an archaeologist's epistemological point of view as only the context of the object reveals whether processes of appropriation have taken place. If the context has been lost, an appropriated object cannot be identified as the state of relational entanglement can only be identified through context. It is only the second step, material entanglement, which signifies the creation of something new that is more than just the sum of its parts and combines the familiar with the previously foreign. This object is more than just a sum of the entities from which it originated and clearly not the result of local continuities. It can be taken as a representative of a new taxonomic entity, what I would call the Geflecht and others would call the hybrid. We can still identify such an object as an entangled artefact in the archaeological evidence from an etic perspective, even if it has lost its context over time (Stockhammer 2012b: 49–51).

My distinction between relational and material entanglement helps us to characterize states and grades of transcultural entanglement more clearly than has hitherto been the case. Moreover, it draws our attention to the dynamics and processuality of the Geflecht. Whereas many scholars place their focus on the distinction of the hybrid from other phenomena, I argue that we have to study the way in which the entangled phenomenon creatively connects the formerly separated entities and how entanglements might have played an active role within daily practices and—in the end—world views. We have to study the practices associated with the entangled object in order to understand its meaning(s) and function(s) instead of ending with the declaration of its state of entanglement. Taking the practice turn of the humanities seriously means acknowledging the active role of objects as proposed by Latour's (2005) actor-network theory and also the complexity of the human-object relationship in the course of archaeological analysis (Stockhammer 2012c).

Case Study: Philistine Fine Ware Pottery

The phenomenon of the so-called Philistine settlements, known from the Biblical narrative, which started in the early twelfth century BC in the southern Levant, has been at the centre of scholarly research especially since Dothan's (1982) influential publication *The Philistines and Their Material Culture*. The emergence of the Philistine settlements (i.e. the five 'cities' of Ekron, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gath and Gaza) is accompanied by a radical change in material culture and social practices. This is connected by most scholars with the immigration of a foreign population from either the Aegean or Cyprus or both areas. Philistine fine ware pottery has always been considered one of the hallmarks of Philistine material culture.

I am aware of the fact that speaking of 'Philistine fine ware pottery' means creating another analytically pure entity that is positioned between the categories Mycenaean and Canaanite into which it does not fit. On a higher taxonomic level, the term Aegean-type pottery comprises both Mycenaean and Philistine fine ware pottery, but not the Canaanite-type vessels.⁵

So far, Philistine fine ware pottery has been perceived as a local imitation of a foreign, Aegean-type set of dishes in order to enable the migrants to continue their traditional eating and drinking practices. Therefore, this pottery has been intensely studied with regard to the existing range of shapes and motifs (see Dothan and Zukerman 2004) as well as their possible non-Levantine region(s) of origin (see Killebrew 2005). However, although of major importance for the whole argument, the social practices connected with the use of these vessels have not found equal interest.⁶ Moreover, the emphasis has always been placed on the differences between the local Canaanite and the Philistine fine ware pottery. Only recently, scholars have demonstrated the integration of

⁵ In my understanding, Aegean-type pottery comprises all vessels produced in a Mycenaean or Minoan (Cretan) tradition of vessel forming irrespective of where such vessels were actually produced.

⁶ In contrast to the Philistine fine ware, the Philistine cooking pottery was excellently studied with regard to related cooking practices by Yasur-Landau (2005: 180–183, 2010: 124–132, 234–240).

Canaanite stylistic elements in the shaping and painting of the Philistine fine ware pottery (e.g. Mountjoy 2010) or have enforced the overall transcultural character of the Philistine culture, thereby questioning the dominating narrative (Hitchcock 2011).

In my view, it is time to modify our perspective on the Philistine fine ware pottery. I conceptualize this pottery and the practices connected therewith as the result of cultural encounter and, therefore, as a creative and highly dynamic phenomenon. In the discussion that follows, I will concentrate on the feasting practices associated with Philistine fine ware pottery in comparison to Mycenaean and Canaanite feasting dishes. On the basis of the vast amount of excavated, documented and published Philistine, Mycenaean and Canaanite pottery, I make the assumption that the quantity of a certain shape of feasting vessel in the archaeological record is 1) very roughly representative of the quantitative relationship of the different shapes in the prehistoric households and 2) that a high number of vessels of a certain shape indicates more frequent use in daily practices.⁷

In Mycenaean Greece of the thirteenth and early twelfth century BC the most common feasting set comprised one krater for mixing water, wine and probably spices and several pairs of nearly identical kylikes of a different kind (painted or unpainted, with a conical, rounded or carinated bowl) used for drinking (fig. 1; Stockhammer 2008: 135, 169, 306, 314, 320, 325). Sometimes, shallow or deep cups or mugs were used as alternative drinking vessels. However, from the late fourteenth until the early twelfth century BC the kylix is clearly the most prominent drinking vessel shape.⁸

⁷ I am fully aware of the fact that the number of sherds of a certain vessel shape in the archaeological record is the result of a highly complex process of pre- and post-vessel breakage practices, ranging from the size of the vessel and the frequency of its prehistoric use to its identifiability by the archaeologist.

⁸ Whereas it was common to paint kylikes very elaborately in the late fourteenth and first half of the thirteenth century BC, the number of painted kylikes sharply decreased after the mid-thirteenth century. As unpainted kylikes unfortunately did not find the same scholarly interest and, therefore, remained mostly unpublished, the number of kylikes published from the second half of the thirteenth century BC (LH III B2) is no way representative of the actual recovered quantity of this vessel type in pottery inventories, at least in the Argolid. In Tiryns, there is clear evidence for a continuous preference to use kylikes in the context of feasting in LH III C Early in the first half of the twelfth century BC. It is only after 1150 BC that there is a marked decrease in the number of both painted and unpainted kylikes at Tiryns which points

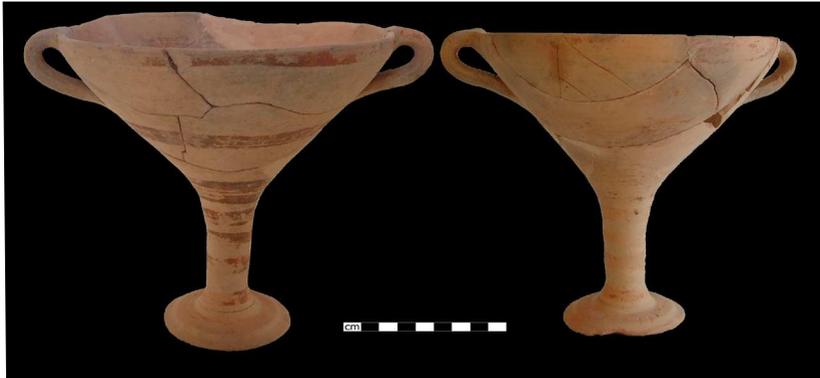


Fig. 1. Kylikes from Tiryns, North-Eastern Lower Town (Courtesy of the author; cf. Stockhammer 2008: Catalogue Nos. 1194–1195).



Fig. 2. Philistine deep bowl from Tell es-Safi/Gath (Courtesy of Prof. Aren Maeir, Tell es-Safi/Gath Archaeological Project).

Shallow bowls FS (Furumark shape) 295 and deep bowls FS 284 were also used in great numbers—most probably for eating, although I do not want to exclude that they were also sometimes used for consuming more liquid food.

The Canaanite ceramic repertoire is dominated by a large number of more or less shallow bowls of different sizes. Kraters can also be identified which were either used for ladling an alcoholic beverage or for drinking from them with straws. Mixing water and wine is so far unattested in the Late Bronze Age southern Levant. Drinking vessels, however, are surprisingly rare in the archaeological evidence. The very small number of chalices and stemmed bowls that have long been used to fill this gap were obviously used as incense burners, not as drinking vessels (Namdar et al. 2010; Stockhammer 2012c: 24–29).⁹ There is no doubt that the inhabitants of the southern Levant drank beverages. However, they obviously did not have a specific shape for drinking vessels, but used numerous bowls for both eating and drinking. This is an interesting difference in comparison to the apparently more specific functions of feasting vessels in Mycenaean pottery.

Like the Mycenaean ceramics, the Philistine fine ware repertoire comprises a large number of shallow carinated bowls FS 295 and deep bowls FS 284 (fig. 2) as well as a certain number of kraters (Dothan and Zukerman 2004: 7–16). Kylikes, however, are almost completely absent in the Philistine settlements (Dothan and Zukerman 2004: 22)—as are cups and mugs. This is in clear contrast to the range of Aegean-type pottery shapes outside Philistia. As the migrants did not stop drinking after arriving

to the end of this preference (Stockhammer 2008: 143, 157, 163, 169, 186–187). Hitchcock and Zukerman (2011) have recently proposed an innovative interpretation for the genesis of the deep bowl as a feasting vessel in Mycenaean Greece, explaining it as the local appropriation of the Near Eastern practice of using a vast amount of bowls for feasting practices. However, their idea is based on the notion that there was a decline in the number of kylikes in Mycenaean Greece from the middle of the thirteenth century BC onwards. As I have argued above, such a decline cannot be seen at least in the settlements in the Argolid.

⁹ Zuckerman (2007: 193–194, 197–198) emphasizes that the consumption of liquids obviously did not play an important role in Canaanite feasting practices. She bases her argument on the ceramic inventory of the so-called royal precinct/ceremonial palace at Hazor, where 781 vessels—mostly bowls of different types—were found *in situ* and definite drinking vessels were absent.

in the southern Levant, they obviously changed their drinking practices. I would like to explain this marked difference between Mycenaean and Philistine ceramic feasting assemblages by suggesting that the Philistines used their bowls for eating and drinking in a similar manner as the local Canaanite population in the Levant, who had done so long before the arrival of the migrants.

The Philistine deep bowls also exhibit an interesting difference in vessel size in comparison to their Aegean counterparts. Deep bowls with rim diameters of less than 12cm are a rarity in the Aegean where the rim diameter almost invariably ranges between 12 and 18cm with 14 to 16cm as the most common size (e.g. Stockhammer 2008: figs 80:e, 80:f for early twelfth century Tiryns). In Mycenaean Greece, rim fragments with deep bowl-type lips and diameters of less than 12cm can quite consistently be attributed to deep cups. In the Philistine settlements, however, a surprisingly high number of very small deep bowls has been found, especially at Ashdod, with rim diameters of only 7 to 9cm (Dothan and Zukerman 2004: 8, 10, figs 6, 11, tab. 4). The average rim diameter for deep bowls in the inventories of Philistine pottery is only 12 to 14cm (Dothan and Zukerman 2004: 8). This might be interpreted as evidence that the small deep bowls were used as drinking vessels as their rim diameters are similar to those of deep cups FS 215 and carinated kylikes FS 267 (Stockhammer 2008: fig. 82).¹⁰

The abandonment of the differentiation between certain vessel shapes for eating and drinking in Philistine fine ware pottery can best be explained as the result of the encounter with local Canaanite practices of consumption that triggered a process of appropriation of these practices, but which was most interestingly not accompanied by the appropriation of Canaanite vessel shapes. In my view, the Philistine ceramic feasting assemblage may be interpreted as the translation of Canaanite practices into the stylistic vocabulary of Aegean-type pottery. Following my own terminology, we can speak of a relational entanglement of the Philistine

¹⁰ Unfortunately, the corpus of metrical data on Mycenaean pottery—specially unpainted wares—is still very small, which reduces the explanatory power of my argument.

fine ware pottery. Only those Philistine vessels which exhibit the integration of features of Canaanite pottery—such as certain motifs of decoration or certain rim shapes of kraters—should be termed material entanglements.¹¹

While the material culture of Canaanite settlements in the vicinity of the Philistine ones clearly shows the resistance of the local population against the material culture of the newcomers (e.g. Bunimovitz and Lederman 2011), the Philistines obviously saw no need to completely reject the foreign practices they encountered in their new homeland. It may have been the creative potential of a migrant community—well-known in modern day contexts/situations (Bailey 2001; Bhabha 2007)—that resulted in the creative entanglement of Aegean-type and Canaanite-type objects and practices.

Conclusion

Although often used, hybridity as an epistemological concept has long been undertheorized. I argue for an approach that acknowledges the creation of both the 'hybrid' and the 'pure' as necessary, but artificial categories. In order to better analyze the processes triggered by the encounter with otherness on the basis of archaeological sources, it is further necessary to differentiate degrees of entanglement, as it makes a huge difference for archaeologists to identify an entangled object (material entanglement) or the entanglement of past practices with an object (relational entanglement). After this second step, we have to analyze the role of entanglements in past societies, *in casu* the Philistine feasting dishes and the practices and concepts of consumption connected therewith. It is the focus on the networks, on the connectivity of humans, objects and practices that enables us to achieve new insights into past social worlds.

¹¹ It would be interesting to see what parts (shapes, motifs) of the Philistine ceramic inventory show a stronger degree of material entanglement, and what parts remained 'purely' Aegean-type from an etic point of view.

Acknowledgments

This contribution is part of my postdoctoral research on 'Material Entanglement: The Appropriation of Foreign Pottery in the Eastern Mediterranean Late Bronze Age' within the Cluster of Excellence 'Asia and Europe in a Global Context' at Heidelberg University. I would like to thank Louise Hitchcock, Hans Peter Hahn, Joseph Maran and Carol Bell for critical discussions and helpful comments.

References

- Ackermann, A. 2012. Cultural hybridity: Between metaphor and empiricism. In Stockhammer, P.W. (ed.), *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization: A Transdisciplinary Approach* (Heidelberg Studies on Asia and Europe in a Global Context 2). Berlin and Heidelberg: Springer Verlag, 5–25.
- Antonaccio, C.M. 2003. Hybridity and the cultures within Greek culture. In Dougherty, C. and Kurke, L. (eds), *The Cultures within Ancient Greek Culture. Contact, Conflict, Collaboration*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 57–74.
- Antonaccio, C.M. 2010. (Re)defining ethnicity: Culture, material culture, and identity. In Hales, S. and Hodos, T. (eds), *Local and Global Identities: Rethinking Identity and Material Culture in the Ancient Mediterranean*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 32–53.
- Bailey, A.J. 2001. Turning transnational: Notes on the theorisation of international migration. *International Journal of Population Geography* 7(6): 413–428.
- Bhabha, H.K. 2007. *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Bunimovitz, S. and Lederman, Z. 2011. Canaanite resistance: The Philistines and Beth-Shemesh—A case study from Iron Age I. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 364: 37–51.
- Conrad, S. and Randeria, S. 2002. Einleitung. Geteilte Geschichten—Europa in einer postkolonialen Welt. In Conrad, S. and Randeria, S. (eds), *Jenseits des Eurozentrismus. Postkoloniale Perspektiven in den Geschichts- und Kulturwissenschaften*. Frankfurt am Main and New York: Campus Verlag, 9–49.
- Dietler, M. 1998. Consumption, agency, and cultural entanglement: Theoretical implications of a Mediterranean colonial encounter. In Cusick, J. (ed.), *Studies in Culture Contact: Interaction, Culture Change and Archaeology*. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 288–315.
- Dietler, M. 2010. *Archaeologies of Colonialism: Consumption, Entanglement, and Violence in Ancient Mediterranean France*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- van Dommelen, P. 2006. The orientalizing phenomenon: Hybridity and material culture in the western Mediterranean. In Riva, C. and Vella, N.C. (eds), *Debating Orientalization. Multidisciplinary Approaches to Change in the Ancient Mediterranean*. London: Equinox Publishing, 135–152.
- van Dommelen, P. and Terrenato, N. 2007. Local cultures and the expanding Roman Republic. In van Dommelen, P. and Terrenato, N. (eds), *Articulating Local Cultures: Power and Identity under the Expanding Roman Republic* (Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplement Series 63). Portsmouth: Journal of Roman Archaeology, 7–12.
- Dothan, T. 1982. *The Philistines and Their Material Culture*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Dothan, T. and Zukerman, A. 2004. A preliminary study of the Mycenaean III C:1 pottery assemblages from Tel Miqne-Ekron and Ashdod. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 333: 1–54.
- Feldman, M.H. 2006. *Diplomacy by Design. Luxury Arts and an 'International Style' in the Ancient Near East, 1400–1200 B.C.E.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Geiger, T. 1964 [1947]. *Vorstudien zu einer Soziologie des Rechts* (Soziologische Texte 20). Neuwied and Berlin: Luchterhand.
- Hahn, H.P. 2004. Global goods and the process of appropriation. In Probst, P. and Spittler, G. (eds), *Between Resistance and Expansion. Explorations of Local Vitality in Africa* (Beiträge zur Afrikaforschung 18). Münster: LIT Verlag, 211–229.
- Hahn, H.P. 2005. *Materielle Kultur. Eine Einführung*. Berlin: Reimer.
- Hitchcock, L.A. 2011. "Transculturalism" as a model for examining migration to Cyprus and Philistia at the end of the Bronze Age. *Ancient West and East* 10: 267–280.
- Hitchcock, L.A. and Zukerman, A. 2011. *Drinking the sea dark wine: Performativity and identity in social drinking in the Bronze-Iron Age Mediterranean*. Paper presented at the Annual Conference of the American Schools of Oriental Research, San Francisco, November 16–19, 2011.
- Hodder, I. 2011a. Human-thing entanglement: Towards an integrated archaeological perspective. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute (N. S.)* 17(1): 154–177.
- Hodder, I. 2011b. Wheels of time: Some aspects of entanglement theory and the secondary products revolution. *Journal of World Prehistory* 24(2/3): 175–187.
- Hodos, T. 2006. *Local Responses to Colonization in the Iron Age Mediterranean*. London: Routledge.
- Hodos, T. 2010. Globalization and colonization: A view from Iron Age Sicily. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 23(1): 81–106.

- Kaelble, H. 2005. Die Debatte über Vergleich und Transfer und was jetzt?. H-Soz-u-Kult. Website: <http://hsozkult.geschichte.hu-berlin.de/forum/id=574&type=artikel>, accessed on 25 November 2011.
- Killebrew, A.E. 2005. *Biblical Peoples and Ethnicity. An Archaeological Study of Egyptians, Canaanites, Philistines, and Early Israel, 1300–1100 BCE*. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature.
- Knapp, A.B. 2008. *Prehistoric and Protohistoric Cyprus. Identity, Insularity, and Connectivity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Knapp, A.B. 2009. Migration, hybridisation and collapse: Bronze Age Cyprus and the eastern Mediterranean. *Scienze dell'antichità. Storia, archeologia, antropologia* 15: 219–239.
- Knapp, A.B. 2012. Matter of fact: Transcultural contacts in the Late Bronze Age eastern Mediterranean. In Maran, J. and Stockhammer, P.W. (eds), *Materiality and Social Practice. Transformative Capacities of Intercultural Encounters. Papers of the Conference, Heidelberg, 25–27 März 2010*. Oxford: Oxbow Books, 32–50.
- Latour, B. 2005. *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mountjoy, P.A. 2010. A note on the mixed origins of some Philistine pottery. *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 359: 1–12.
- Namdar, D., Neumann, R. and Weiner, S. 2010. Residue analysis of chalices from the repository pit. In Kletter, R., Ziffer, I. and Zwickel, W. (eds), *Yavneh I: The Excavation of the 'Temple Hill' Repository Pit and the Cult Stands* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 30). Freiburg: Academic Press, 167–173.
- Papastergiadis, N. 1997. Tracing hybridity in theory. In Werbner, P. and Modood, T. (eds), *Debating Cultural Hybridity. Multi-Cultural Identities and the Politics of Anti-Racism*. London: Zed Books, 257–281.
- Rouse, I. 1960. The classification of artifacts in archaeology. *American Antiquity* 25(3): 313–323.
- Rouse, I. 1970. Classification for what? *Norwegian Archaeological Review* 3: 4–12.
- Rouse, I. 1972. *Introduction to Prehistory. A Systematic Approach*. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Steel, L. 2002. Consuming passions: A contextual study of the local consumption of Mycenaean pottery at Tell el-ʿAjjul. *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 15(1): 25–51.
- Stewart, C. 1999. Syncretism and its synonyms. Reflections on cultural mixture. *Diacritics* 29(3): 40–62.

- Stockhammer, P.W. 2004. *Zur Chronologie, Verbreitung und Interpretation urnenfelderzeitlicher Vollgriffschwerter* (Tübinger Texte 5). Rahden: Verlag Marie Leidorf.
- Stockhammer, P.W. 2008. *Kontinuität und Wandel—Die Keramik der Nachpalastzeit aus der Unterstadt von Tyrins*. <http://www.ub.uni-heidelberg.de/archiv/8612/>, accessed on 24 March 2009.
- Stockhammer, P.W. 2012a. Questioning hybridity. In Stockhammer, P.W. (ed.), *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization: A Transdisciplinary Approach* (Heidelberg Studies on Asia and Europe in a Global Context). Berlin and Heidelberg: Springer Verlag, 1–3.
- Stockhammer, P.W. 2012b. Conceptualizing cultural hybridization in archaeology. In Stockhammer, P.W. (ed.), *Conceptualizing Cultural Hybridization: A Transdisciplinary Approach* (Heidelberg Studies on Asia and Europe in a Global Context). Berlin and Heidelberg: Springer Verlag, 43–58.
- Stockhammer, P.W. 2012c. Performing the practice turn in archaeology. *Transcultural Studies* 1: 7–39.
- Thomas, N. 1991. *Entangled Objects: Exchange, Material Culture and Colonialism in the Pacific*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez, J. 2005. *Negociando Encuentros. Situaciones Coloniales e Intercambios en la Costa Oriental de la Península Ibérica (ss. VIII–VI a.C.)* (Cuadernos de Arqueología Mediterránea 12). Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra.
- Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez, J. 2007. Colonial encounters and the negotiation of identities in south-east Iberia. In Antoniadou, S. and Pace, A. (eds), *Mediterranean Crossroads*. Athens: Pierides Foundation, 537–562.
- Vives-Ferrándiz Sánchez, J. 2008. Negotiating colonial encounters: Hybrid practices and consumption in eastern Iberia (8th–6th centuries BC). *Journal of Mediterranean Archaeology* 21(2): 241–272.
- Voskos, I. and Knapp, A.B. 2008. Cyprus at the end of the Late Bronze Age: Crisis and colonization or continuity and hybridization? *American Journal of Archaeology* 112(4): 659–684.
- Webster, J. 2001. Creolizing the Roman provinces. *American Journal of Archaeology* 105(2): 209–225.
- Weißköppel, C. 2005. "Hybridität"—die ethnografische Annäherung an ein theoretisches Konzept. In Loimeier, R., Neubert, D. and Weißköppel, C. (eds), *Globalisierung im lokalen Kontext—Perspektiven und Konzepte von Handeln in Afrika* (Beiträge zur Afrikaforschung 20). Münster: LIT Verlag, 311–347.

- Yasur-Landau, A. 2005. Old wine in new vessels: Intercultural contact, innovation and Aegean, Canaanite and Philistine foodways. *Journal of the Institute of Archaeology of Tel Aviv University* 32(2): 168–191.
- Yasur-Landau, A. 2010. *The Philistines and Aegean Migration at the End of the Late Bronze Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Young, R.J.C. 1995. *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. New York: Routledge.
- Zuckerman, S. 2007. '...Slaying oxen and killing sheep, eating flesh and drinking wine...': Feasting in Late Bronze Age Hazor. *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* 139(3): 186–204.