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THE HANDLE WAGGING THE CUP. FORMAL ASPECTS OF ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION IN THE TRANSFER OF IDEOLOGY: ANATOLIA AND THE AEGEAN TOWARDS THE END OF THE THIRD MILLENNIUM BC

Summary. Fermented drinks have been socially and economically important since their advent, not only because they are functionally significant in preserving calories, but also as value-added foodstuffs incorporated into symbolically important ceremonies and feasts to increase the social value of an individual or a group's status. Towards the end of the third millennium BC, just as wine was becoming an important commodity, the manifestation of this emphasis on the communal consumption of alcoholic beverages can be observed in the material culture of Anatolia and the Aegean with the so-called 'west Anatolian drinking set' consisting of drinking cups with characteristically oversized handles and beak-spouted pitchers. Against the backdrop of the socio-economic reasons for the distribution of this particular drinking set over a wide geographical area, the focus of this article is on their impact upon the prevailing local pottery traditions and the local adaptation of these vessels into the traditional repertoire where the importance of the oversized handles is recognized.

INTRODUCTION

Although ceramics are by far the most studied medium in archaeology owing to their indestructibility and survival in large numbers, their study primarily remains concerned with their functional, technological and stylistic aspects. However, human interaction with the material goes beyond that, and rather complex mechanisms involving a series of sensuous processes and deeply encoded tactile information play an important part in incorporating a thing into perceived reality (Hahn 2012, 10). But ceramic vessels are rarely evaluated on the basis of their sensory effect on the human body even though when being handled this must also have been of importance in determining shape, particularly in relation to how the material they contain interacts with the person through the vessel.

Equally, there appears to be a bias against foodstuffs in archaeology, especially those of value-added foodstuffs, like wine and olive oil, whereby these are generally considered in a somewhat reductionist economic role as part of subsistence strategies by social groups (Sherratt 1999, 13–14). This is despite the fact that the consumption of foodstuffs has always been an

important part of ritual and ceremony, since it constitutes a fundamental vehicle for the creation of social classes and groups (Hayden 1995; Sherratt 2007, 14). Cultural ecology proposes that widespread, persistent and expensive behaviours should have had adaptive values for communities beyond the short-term, distinct advantages, and feasting qualifies as one (Hayden 2010, 24–5; for significance of food sharing in primates, see Gremillion 2011, 97–8). Similarly, Dietler defines feasts as embodied material culture, emphasizing the importance of food consumption as part of a basic biological need which renders feasts as highly symbolic acts where, during consumption, the body and the material can be converted into an abstract and symbolically charged political arena (Dietler 2010, 71–2). It is also particular to human societies where food surpluses are transformed into other kinds of, and not necessarily food-related, useful goods and services by creating social storage (Hayden 2010, 27). Moreover, when commodified, value-added foodstuffs become a special kind of commodity, because by their very nature they can only be consumed once,¹ and therefore can be transvalued radically by social groups. Thus, they have the potential to be placed at the centre of politics of value and to be a seminal part of ideologically motivated socio-cultural norms and patterns.²

Alcoholic beverages often accompany, and in many instances are an integral part of, communal feasts. Within a practical context, fermented foodstuffs represent an important transformation in food technology because they provide a crucial method of storing excess calories for later (see Sherratt 2002 for west Asia, but more generally see Gremillion 2011, 68–9). Added to this more practical value is the mind-altering quality of alcoholic beverages, which increases their mystical, symbolic but also dangerous aspects. Alcohol production and consumption in a given society have therefore been accorded an exceptional level of importance, especially in social and cultural spheres (Dietler 1990, 359). This manifests itself in various ways from regulation and restriction of its consumption by the authorities, to creation of accepted social consumption patterns through a combination of taboo, social norms and cultic ceremonies. This paper examines specific forms of alcohol consumption seen in Anatolia and the Aegean, where the corporeal body and the paraphernalia used are of great importance in the performance of consumption, during the course of the third millennium BC just as wine production and consumption were becoming widespread in the eastern Mediterranean.

The earliest evidence of wine consumption in the region goes back to the Neolithic period in the Zagros Range at Haji Firuz Tepe and Godin Tepe IV (McGovern 2003, 65–8 and 40–61 respectively), and definite evidence of large-scale wine production is found in the Caucasus Range during the Chalcolithic at Areni-1 Cave in Armenia (Barnard *et al.* 2011). These regions are the native home of the hermaphroditic wild grape *Vitis vinifera silvestris* (McGovern 2009, 84). From these areas, wine-making technology seems to have spread further into Anatolia and the Levant during the course of the third millennium BC (Zohary and Spiegel-Roy 1975, 321; see Batiuk 2013 for the role of the Early Transcaucasian Culture in the spread of *viti*- and *vini*-culture into these regions).³ Wine production requires technological knowledge, particularly if it is to be used as a

1 This is an adaptation of a term called a terminal commodity, defined by Appadurai for objects that make only a single journey from production to consumption after which they are decommodified (like sacred objects) (Appadurai 1988, 23). For foodstuffs, perhaps the only difference would be that there is no conscious decommodification required.

2 For the term politics of value, see Appadurai 1988.

3 It is also possible that wine could have been produced and consumed even before the domestication of the grapevine as proposed for the PPNB levels of Göbeklitepe in south-eastern Turkey (Dietrich *et al.* 2012, 687–91) and for the Neolithic site of Dikili Tash in northern Greece (Valamoti *et al.* 2007).

value-added, surplus product and a stable, storable commodity that can be exchanged over long distances. This becomes evident as wine develops into an important cash crop for the eastern Mediterranean and Aegean civilizations and a central foodstuff within cult practices, evidenced by many textual sources from Anatolia as well as the Aegean, by the second millennium BC (Sherratt 2007, 18–19 for the importance of wine in the prehistoric Mediterranean diet).⁴ In Anatolia, as wine production and consumption spread, evidence of an incipient economy for such a value-added foodstuff with complex properties can already be traced during the third millennium BC (Ünlü 2011, 16–18).

Wine, like any newly emerging technological advancement with profound economic consequences and symbolic value, seems quickly to have become part of conspicuous consumption towards the end of the third millennium BC, particularly in communal ceremonies as a status marker, utilizing elite paraphernalia in the process and employing another emergent economically value-added material and technology, namely metals (Mellink 1993, 504–6; Sherratt and Sherratt 2001, 24; Sherratt 2002, 67). However, in sharp contrast to foodstuffs, metal vessels could remain in use over generations and maintain their commodity status. Specifically, metals can be considered as enclaved commodities during the third and second millennia BC where the raw materials and technological knowledge of production were controlled by the elites in order to maintain exclusivity, creating a different method of enforcing rank.⁵ These metal vessels were reproduced in ceramic for wider use, disseminating the specific traditions of their consumption within society. As the only means available for the majority of the population who wanted to imitate and partake in such ceremonies, the ceramic imitations of these vessels should not be considered as just a cheap substitute, but as a conscious attempt at acknowledging their politico-ideological meaning and thus their value as markers of status. However, the issue of skeuomorphism is a complex one, as vessels made from different materials (some of which may even be organic) could influence each other in a multifaceted manner that did not necessarily extend from the most valuable raw material to the cheapest.⁶

The combined use of metal drinking vessels (or their ceramic counterparts) and value-added foodstuffs as part of conspicuous consumption at the onset of the initial phases of state formation in Anatolia was one of the main strategies utilized to distinguish social class and to maintain status (for state formation processes in Anatolia during the third millennium BC, see Özdoğan 2006, 572–4). Moreover, during this period of changing economic conditions the emergent elites engendered an environment of increasing connections and interactions between regions in the east Mediterranean. These interactions went beyond the exchange of basic raw materials (such as metals, lithics, etc., for which exchange routes had already been established since the Neolithic) and extended into value-added products, such as pigments and related paraphernalia for colouring (for example bone tubes), precious perfumed oils (Syrian bottles⁷), and probably also

4 For validity of the term cash crop for pre-industrial societies, see Sherratt 1999.

5 For the term enclaved commodity, see Appadurai 1988, 22.

6 For example, Nakau proposes that it is rather the importance and frequency of their use in communal cult settings that determined whether certain forms of a vessel would prevail and not necessarily the material it was made of; see Nakau 2007, 237.

7 It is intriguing to observe that the metal versions of Syrian bottles, which is a Syro-Anatolian shape, are predominantly found in Anatolia and not in the source region (for distribution, see Rahmstorf 2006, abb. 5). In their source region, they are made of so-called Metallic Ware, a highly fired, non-porous, very good quality clay. Do we see here high quality clay vessels being imitated in metal?



Figure 1
Map of the region with sites mentioned in the text.

textiles⁸ (Rahmstorf 2006), as well as several transfers of technological knowledge with clearly discernible traces within the material culture.⁹ This dissemination of information and materials was facilitated via a combination of maritime and overland routes connecting regions for the first time (even though indirectly) as far away from each other as Mesopotamia and even Afghanistan to the east, the Balkans and the Aegean to the west, and the Baltic Sea in the north¹⁰ (Maran 2007; Renfrew 1972; Mellink 1986, 142; 1998; for Anatolia: Efe 2007, 60–1; for the Aegean: Şahođlu 2005, 341–2, figure 1; for Mesopotamia: Kelly-Buccellati 1990; Pettinato 1991, fig. 11). These routes must have functioned intensively within a localized region, with the peripheral nodes that would have connected to neighbouring regions forming a very complex web of direct and indirect interactions (Maran 2007). These necessarily also led to formations of more complex administrative and redistributive tools to assist, and also to benefit from, new economic and political possibilities. The reasons for the enigmatic spread of distinctively shaped drinking vessels, which are the subject of this paper, over a wide geographical area, spanning the Aegean to Syro-Anatolia, during the second half of the third millennium BC should be understood within this context (Fig. 1).

8 Although textiles do not leave much direct evidence in the archaeological record, their technology can be discerned through weaving paraphernalia, such as spindle whorls and loom weights.

9 For example, wheel-made pottery and use of copper-tin alloy to produce bronze can be counted among the most profound technological changes.

10 For instance, the Troy treasures provide an excellent example of this; see Tolstikov *et al.* 1996 for the array of diverse materials, finished and raw, found together, and Korfmann 2001, where the case of Troia as an important node within these exchange networks is considered.

THE FORM AND THE BODY

In the second half of the third millennium BC in Anatolia and the Aegean, the evidence of wine consumption as a ceremonial beverage manifests itself in pottery production techniques, as well as in changes in pottery shapes, especially in the sudden appearance of the so-called ‘west Anatolian drinking set’, consisting of the bell-shaped cup, the tankard with one or two handles, and the depas (Fig. 2). The tankard and the bell-shaped cup appear somewhat earlier than the depas (Blegen *et al.* 1950, 64–5, 209; Çalış-Sazcı 2007, 155; Efe and İlaslı 1997, 603; Wilson 1999, 230). Together with the pitcher, a long-standing member of the Anatolian ceramic repertoire, they form a drinking set used both in elite contexts, especially indicated by their metal counterparts, but also in common households based on their frequency within domestic contexts. It is beyond the scope of this paper to elaborate on the origin and the associated chronology related to the appearance of these vessels, but their place of origin seems to be south-west Anatolia in the Early Bronze II (hereafter EB) period (Mellink 1986, 146–7). From there they attain an unprecedented distribution in the eastern Mediterranean from the Cycladic islands and mainland Greece to south-east Anatolia, with infrequent attestations as far east as Syro-Anatolia during EB III (for further discussion, see Spanos 1972; Mellink 1998; Rahmstorf 2006, abb. 3 for the depas).

Close observation reveals that these are peculiar both as ceramics and as drinking vessels. First, if we consider the distinctive shapes of the tankard and the depas, it becomes clear that they are awkward vessels to produce in clay. The tankard with its exaggerated flaring rim and the depas with its long, narrow, tubular body and its oversized handles do not conform well with the natural qualities of clay and clay manipulation, and with wheel production. They would have required extra steps during production, as well as extra tools. This is exemplified in a tankard from Kastro on



Figure 2

West Anatolian drinking set vessels: tankard (National Archaeological Museum, Athens, Museum no. 5306); bell-shaped cup, and depas (Kastri on Syros, Museum nos. 679 and 459).

Paros, where the flaring rim and the body are made separately and then attached to each other to complete the form (Fig. 3). This was one solution to the sharp change in angle required to accommodate the widely flaring mouth of the body, creating a difficult form to produce in clay.

In addition, both the tankard and the depas are awkward drinking vessels. The tankard, with its widely flaring rim, would be difficult to drink from because, ideally, a drinking vessel's rim diameter should not exceed the diameter of the mouth by too much, otherwise it is easy to spill the liquid while drinking. The sharp restriction where the spherical body meets the funnel-like flaring rim would also create an unequal flow of liquid while drinking and result in difficulty especially when emptying the cup. The vessel had to be tilted just right to allow the liquid to escape the restricted part, but not too much to cause it to flow too fast. The depas, on the other hand, has the opposite problem of having too narrow a rim which would then get in the way of the nose, particularly when finishing up the liquid. Moreover, because of its narrow base (sometimes even rounded or pointed) and its oversized handles compared with its slender, tubular body, the vessel is at best very unstable, but usually cannot even stand upright on its own. A closer look is therefore required to determine how it could have functioned as a drinking cup. It has widely been accepted that these vessels were meant to be used for communal drinking ceremonies, where a cup like a depas would be handed on by its handles to the next person without being put down until the liquid in it was fully consumed (Spanos 1972; Mellink 1989, 325; Çalış-Sazıcı 2007; Nakau 2007, 237). Anthropomorphic vessels holding cups from a drinking set by both handles also indicate how they were held, at the same time further emphasizing their importance in cult (an anthropomorphic vessel holding a two-handled bell-shaped cup from Troia: Sakıp Sabancı 2011, no. 149; similarly from Seyitömer: Bilgen 2012). They show us how these cups were ideally expected to be held by

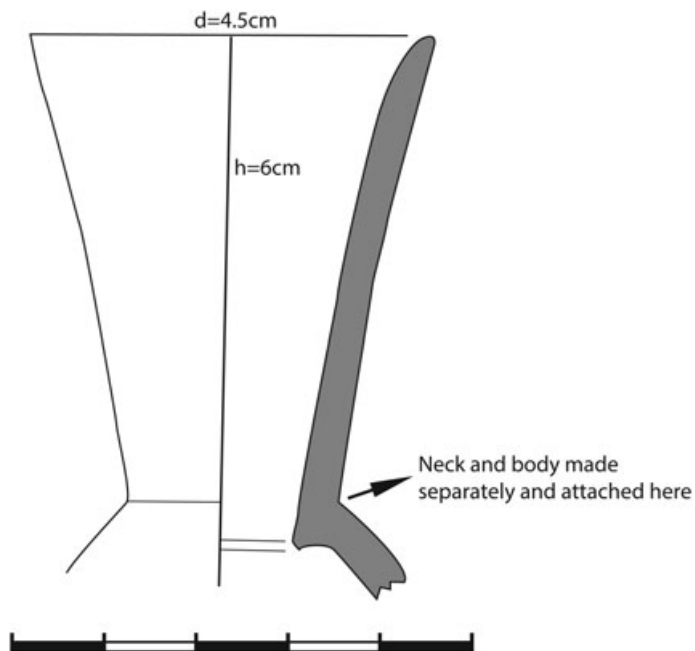


Figure 3
Tankard from Kastro on Paros.

individuals during consumption, marking the importance of the handles in forcing the body to perform in a particular manner. Handling a cup in a certain way and sharing a drink from the same cup with such peculiar and distinctive attributes would have provided a level of performativity to the act of drinking and hence added a highly charged symbolism during consumption.

That these distinctive vessels attained such a wide distribution has attracted intensive scholarly attention. They are correctly treated as a whole set, representing the greater phenomenon of inter- and intraregional interactions and the transfer of not only goods but also technology and ideology. However, this overarching treatment seems to have obscured certain regional characteristics and local preferences. For example, clay analysis of these vessels from several sites in the Aegean clearly shows the complex processes behind imports and local imitations, and the preferences are marked by variability even within small-scale regions (Day *et al.* 2007). In particular, when the form of these vessels is scrutinized, it becomes clear that of all their components it was their handles that mattered the most within the context of the local material during the process of transfer. This is most obvious in Tarsus-Gözlükule, an important eastern Mediterranean settlement. The Early Bronze Age (hereafter EBA) material comes from the earlier American excavations conducted in the first half of the twentieth century. A step trench at Operation A extended 34 m below the surface and reached Chalcolithic and Neolithic levels, of which 19 m of the EBA accumulation constitute the majority of the vertical elevation of the mound (Goldman 1956, plan 26). The EBA occupation on the site spans almost a millennium without major disruptions (Goldman 1956, 346–7). Only towards the end of this long-standing stability did certain drastic changes occur, which are especially evident within the pottery repertoire at the beginning of EB III; there is a shift in the configuration of local fabric types as well as in vessel shapes, with the ‘west Anatolian drinking set’ members making their appearance suddenly and without precedence (Goldman 1956, 347; Mellink 1989, 325–6). However, these new drinking vessels do not replace the indigenous drinking vessel, the goblet; they rather coexist with it, being found together in ordinary domestic, storage and workshop areas. Petrographic and mineralogical analyses firmly established that most of these vessels were locally produced (Ünlü 2009, 68). After these vessels are introduced into the local repertoire a hybrid byproduct, the goblet-depas-type vessel, appears (Fig. 4a–b) (Mellink 1989, 327; 1993, 504). Goblets are the dominant drinking vessels at the site, especially since EB II. They are suitable as drinking vessels, with an appropriately proportioned cylindrical form and a stable base. They are handleless meaning that one has to grasp them by their body, using a single hand, during consumption. Hence, they represent a different type of drinking custom based in Syro-Anatolia (Sconzo 2007, as exemplified within burial contexts in the Carchemish region in south-east Turkey; Goldman 1956, 106–7; Mellink 1989, 322–4). In this region, goblets are commonly found within burials as part of communal feasting activities, indicating that they were part of the ritual paraphernalia; and in the later part of the third millennium BC, in a few cases they even coexist with the depas-type vessels within a single funerary assemblage (see, for example, cremation burials at Gedikli, Alkim 1966, 15–16, figs. 34–5; at Titrış for a burial where a depas vessel and goblets are found together, Laneri 2007, 254, fig. 5). At Tarsus-Gözlükule, the goblet-depas type appears late in the EB III period (Goldman 1956, 133; also evident at Kültepe-Kaneş in central Anatolia, appearing in levels 12–11b, Özgüç 1986), merging these two drinking traditions. This was achieved by attaching the distinctive, oversized handles of these new drinking cups to the traditionally handleless goblet and consequently accomplishing a complete change in the performance of the body during consumption.

The ‘west Anatolian drinking set’ also spread into the Aegean, and especially in west Anatolian coastal settlements where they are represented in significant amounts. Troia is one of

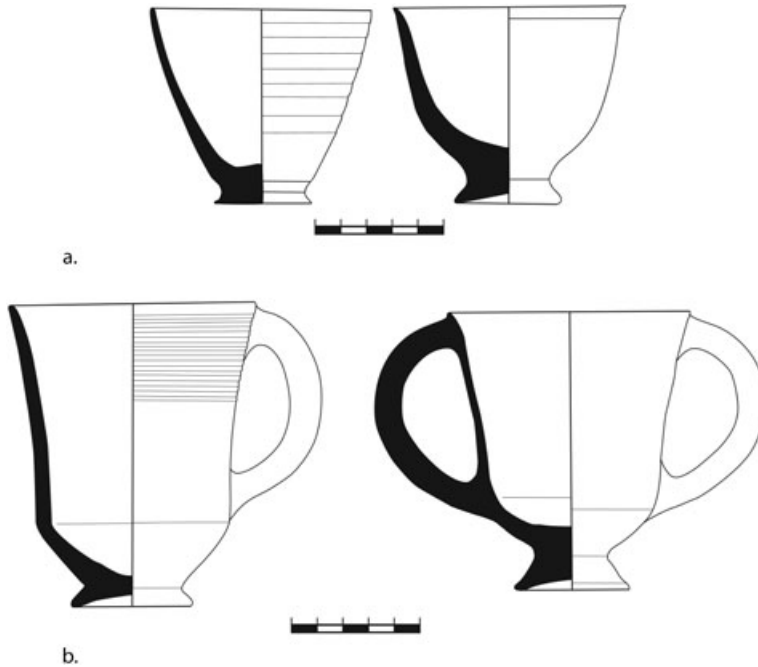


Figure 4

(a) Tarsus-Gözlükule goblets (redrawn from Goldman 1956, fig. 266, nos. 524 and 519). (b) Tarsus-Gözlükule goblets with large handles (redrawn from Goldman 1956, fig. 266, nos. 466 and 512).

the important EBA coastal urban centres in the Aegean with a strong representation of the drinking set. The hoards found in the Troia IIg levels give us a sense of the wealth that was accumulated by individuals or groups during the later part of the EBA (Tolstikov *et al.* 1996). Furthermore, the vessels of gold, silver and bronze from these hoards provide us with a rare glimpse into the importance of metals within the elite consumption of foodstuffs. The gold sauceboat decked out with the oversized handles from Troia treasure A is a prime example of the hybridization process of these vessels with the local drinking customs (Tolstikov *et al.* 1996, 32–5, no. 5; Mellink 1998, 3). The sauceboat was part of the local drinking set of the previous period in the Aegean (see below for more detail on the sauceboat), like the goblet for the more easterly site of Tarsus-Gözlükule. The fact that this particular sauceboat was produced in gold indicates that the hybridization process was also part of the elite reproduction of value.

Limantepe in the Izmir area is another third millennium settlement and an important node within the maritime routes operational during this period in the Aegean (Şahoğlu 2005). A tripod-footed tankard with holes in its body from the EB levels at Limantepe exemplifies local interpretation of the ‘west Anatolian drinking cup’ (Sakıp Sabancı 2011, 269, cat. no. 123). Tripod feet are a very common element within the local repertoire of this region, but are usually found on serving and cooking vessels (for example: Cultraro 2013, especially here within a feasting context). With the addition of the oversized handles, this ordinary domestic vessel type is transformed into a cult vessel, either as an incense burner or a libation cup.

On the other side of the sea, the distribution pattern of the drinking set was weaker than in west Anatolia and the Cycladic islands and was mainly concentrated on the eastern central part of



Figure 5

(a) Kolonna-Aegina sauceboats from Stadt II (Early Helladic II). (b) Kolonna-Aegina sauceboat from Stadt III (Early Helladic II).

mainland Greece. Kolonna, on the island of Aegina, is a site that provides a good stratigraphy, which flourished throughout the EBA owing to its strategic location at the centre of the Saronic Gulf, controlling the maritime routes from the Aegean into mainland Greece. There, the impact of the 'west Anatolian drinking set' can be observed first on the sauceboats, which have daintier horizontal (even in some cases non-functional) handles in the earlier Stadt II level (Fig. 5a). These become large vertical handles during the later level in Stadt III, just as the tankard vessels appear on the site (Fig. 5b). The sauceboat is the prevailing serving vessel of the earlier period on mainland Greece. They were also used in ceremonial contexts because not only are there the rare metal examples (at the Louvre: Childe 1924, figure 1; at the Israel Museum: Weinberg 1969, figure 2, pl. 2),¹¹ but also as reported from Lerna they are usually found in pairs indicating their importance as ceremonial vessels, probably as part of a performative act (Wiencke 2000, 591). The marble

11 See above for the gold sauceboat with large handles from Troia.

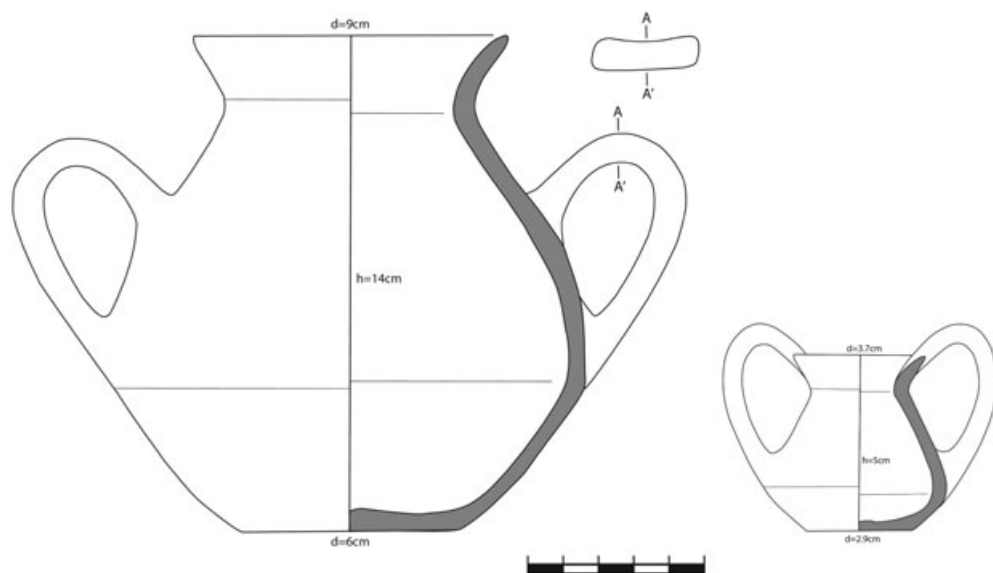


Figure 6

Kolonna-Aegina local tankards from Stadt V showing the size range (Early Helladic III).

miniature sauceboats found within Cycladic burial contexts reinforce this idea further. It is significant, therefore, that at Kolonna the sauceboats acquire the characteristic handles after the introduction of the 'west Anatolian drinking set'. Another example from the site is the local tankard type which appears for the first time in Early Helladic II (hereafter EH) and becomes one of the most common vessel shapes in the next main phase, Stadt V, dated to EH III (Fig. 6). With rim diameters ranging from 4 to 11 cm, functionally they can be both serving and consumption vessels. It is also telling that during Stadt V the wheel is used for the first time on one of these local tankards, which also shows the prototype Gray Minyan surface treatment (Walter and Felten 1981, 209, no. 205). The potter's wheel is one of the important technological novelties transmitted from Anatolia to the Aegean during this period. Hence, this specific vessel makes not only stylistic reference to a particular drinking tradition, which is visible, but also embodies a technological change connected with the mechanisms of distribution of such traditions, which is intrinsic and not visible. This epitomizes the symbolic value associated with the particular drinking tradition these vessels are related to and implies the importance of the complex interaction between the technologies, customs and ideologies circulating throughout the Aegean during the second half of the third millennium BC.

CONCLUSION

During the EB III period, a more tightly connected eastern Mediterranean world started to emerge, utilizing a combination of maritime and overland caravan routes. With these networks it was not only goods that circulated, but also knowledge and ideas impacting on both economic and cultural settings within these societies. In particular, since wine production itself was becoming a significant economic resource, its consumption within specific ritual settings must have assumed

an important social and cultural role. Drinking ceremonies often accompanied feasting events in the eastern Mediterranean, probably even as early as the Neolithic. But with the EBA, wine started to acquire the status of a value-added agricultural product and, along with other new innovations, subsistence strategies of this region were transformed and intra- and interregional connections were intensified to satisfy shifting demand and supply. Along these contact zones, certain customs, styles and traditions started circulating as well. Paraphernalia which embody one or more of these changing technological and/or ideological aspects began to reach unprecedented distribution levels among the eastern Mediterranean societies.

A particular way of communal and performative drinking with its associated drinking set seems to have been one such custom to reach wide circulation. Within this context of changing economic conditions, the appropriation and adoption of new drinking customs involving the consumption of wine would have become pivotal in resolving social stress, encouraging communal solidarity, and reinforcing elite status. This was probably initiated by the subset of society connected to the wider known world in order to reinforce further their privileged status within their own local communities by using exotic products and ideas to demonstrate their ability in procurement and level of sophistication, since knowledge of the appropriate consumption manner of a commodity itself has a social value. But as distance from the source area grows, constructed ideologies and mythologies about exotic commodities become intensified (Appadurai 1988, 48). That these strategies were accepted and successful is indicated by the quick proliferation of these vessels within the local pottery repertoire. However, consumption knowledge of a commodity can easily be obscured, distorted or misunderstood as the travel distance increases, owing to ignorance and imperfect information on the part of the consumers about the customs of the source area (Appadurai 1988, 56); and in the end often formal foreign aspects lose their meaning (Dietler 1990, 377). Hence, local interpretations were generated by merging the most significant characteristic, namely the oversized handles, with the native vessels, thus emphasizing both the concept and the form of the drinking ceremonies involved. It would be these handles, when attached to any drinking vessel, which would have forced the body to perform in a particular manner, thus effectively compelling the practice to be conducted in a certain specific way. At the same time retaining some recognizable local component, these vessels would also have preserved a level of familiarity. Dietler demonstrated that wholesale adoption of all the paraphernalia of a drinking custom occurs only in rare cases; rather, partial borrowing is more typical, based on the internal dynamics of local communities, giving rise to mixed local and foreign elements. This is a way of domesticating the foreignness of not only an object but also the idea, making it conform better to the local worldview (Panagiotopoulos 2012, 57). But in a parallel process it also works the other way around; by adding these handles to the long-established local vessels, the familiar is practically rendered foreign. As is shown in this paper, in the case of the 'west Anatolian drinking set' it was the handles that clearly dictated the form of the consumption ritual and became the signifier of status. By attaching these handles to local drinking vessels, the concept and the form are fused into the native repertoire, changing how these long-standing and familiar vessels are handled during consumption, partially domesticating a foreign custom, but in doing so shifting the local to a different status. It is within such complex material and mental associations that one should consider the creation of value and status in diverse social groups as ideas and technologies are transferred, adopted and eventually incorporated into the local traditions, as is evident within the material culture of the later Middle Bronze Age period in this region.

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