

A MEAL FIT FOR A HERO. ON THE ORIGINS OF ROASTED MEAT, SPITS AND THE MALE IDEAL

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ABSTRACT

Changes in manly aesthetics and in cooking and eating fashions occurred in the Mediterranean Bronze age/Iron Age transition. These changes are rooted in the ideology of the Patrimonial Kingdom, typical of the Near East Ethnic States and in the Symbol of the King as People's Shepherd.

Key words. Flesh-hooks, cauldrons, spits, bearded men, King-Shepherd

RESUMEN

En la transición Edad del Bronce/edad del Hierro se produjeron en el Mediterráneo cambios en la estética varonil y en las formas de cocinar y comer. Tales cambios están enraizados en la ideología del reino patrimonial, propia de los Estados Étnicos del Próximo Oriente y en la simbología del rey como pastor de hombres.

Palabras clave. Ganchos para la carne, calderos, asadores, hombres barbados, rey-pastor.

INTRODUCTION

A monograph by the journal *Hesperia* (2004) has enlightened us on Mycenaean culinary habits. Within the papers included, some of them point out that the Mycenaean had a taste for stewed meat cooked in large cauldrons heated by braziers (Palaima 2004: 233 y 236; Sherratt 2004:314; Wright 2004:146-148).

Susan Sherratt (2004:312), on the contrary, stresses the Homeric's heroes taste for meat roasted on obeloi, and Wright (2004:160) adds quoting Hamilakis (2003), that Homeric heroes did not eat but meat roasted by themselves. This is an important point, since, as Steel (2004:281-282; see also Goody 1982; Hamilakis & Sherratt 2012:187), writes in that same issue, cooking and eating is more than a biological act, it is primarily a socially and culturally constructed behavior. In that way, although stewed meat may imply commensality, each fellow diner has to catch his/her share of meat with a fork or with a hook in an individual act. On the contrary, roasted meat on spits means a closer sharing of food among diners, whit the possibility of the spit passing from hand to hand. At least twice, the Iliad mentions that every diner shared equal portions (Iliad. Book 1.457-474. and Book VII.313), and this way of sharing implies a certain communion or mystic union among heroes, or among mortals and divine or semi divine beings. Contrary to this, faunal analysis as well as textual evidences stress the unequal and hierarchical access to the best portions of food by some privileged individuals in the Bronze Age (Stocker. & Davi. 2004:191; Lev-Tov & McGeorgh 2006: 104-106; Isaakidou 2007:17-19).

Susan Sherratt (2004:312) claims that roasting was a foreign fashion in Iron Age Greece and suggests a Cypriot origin for it, owing to meat spits are recorded in 11th century B.C. tombs as those of Skales 49 and 67 (Karageorghis

1983: 56 and ff.), while in Protogeometric Greece they are known only from 10th century B.C., although she has recently changed her mind and now thinks that they came originally to Cyprus from the Central or Western Mediterranean (Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012: 19). Her latest view is perhaps due to the fact that obeloi/spits are unknown in Cyprus, both in domestic and funerary domains in the Bronze Age (Steel 2004) and they do not make their appearance until the Iron Age. In favor of a western origin for this new cooking fashion, Sherratt reminds us that Mesopotamian, Hittite and Aegean records describe recipes of meat stewed for banquets, but not of roasted meat (Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012:197).

But the Western Bronze Age forerunners mentioned by Sherratt are inconsistent. These are two: 1.⁹) a meat spit from the Gelidonya wreck (Bass, 1967:109), that Sherratt considers culturally connected with a European sword in the same cargo, and that were assembled as scrap, and 2.⁹) an articulated spit of the Monte Sa Idda hoard, (Sardinia) (Taramelli, 1921: fig 5 and ff.). It is with this second that Karageorghis and Lo Schiavo (1989) compared the spit of Amathus tomb 523.

Yet, in the first case, Sherratt forgets that most hammers and tools of the Gelidonya cargo as well as the weights were of Cypriot or Levantine origin, and that the spit and the «European» sword were only meant as scrap for melting down (Bass 1967 and 2012:800). The same could be said of the Monte Sa Idda articulated spit, the only one known up to day in Sardinia that, in our view (Ruiz-Galvez, 1998 a y b and 2013), had no social meaning and was meant just as scrap for recast as the rest of the objects collected in the hoard, which were mostly non-local and broken, as the articulated spit itself.

Closer to each other, both in time and in geographical location, are the two spits from the Tiryns treasure dated to the 12th century BC (HRIIC) and interpreted as a *keimelion* by Maran (2006: fig 8.1 and footnote 15 page 132), and another two from the Levant dated to the 11th /10th century B.C. (Artzy, 2007:64 and fig. 2.10; Pl 17.2), and we think that it is precisely to the Levant where we should look for the origin of the fashion of roasted meat, that as Sherratt maintains (Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012:195-196), is narrowly linked to the warrior's ethos.

Our point in the present paper is that changes in eating habits in the Second/First Millennium B.C. are connected with others in male's aesthetics and clothing, that both of them are rooted in the Levantine pastoral people lifeways, and that it is from that area that this way of consumption spread through the Mediterranean not before 1200 B.C.

FEASTING AND AESTHETICS IN MYCENAEAN PALACES AND IN BRONZE AGE BARBARIAN CHIEFS' RESIDENCES

As we have seen, after the above mentioned authors, culinary tastes did include in Mycenae, as in other Mediterranean courts, stewed but not roasted meat.

Also according to the Minoan and Mycenaean iconography, males wore no beard (fig. 1 C) (Crowley, 1995 and 2008; Knappett, 2008; Pelon, 1995; Marinatos, 1995; Laffineur & Crowley eds., 1992; Voutsaki, 2010: fig.5e and fig.7, fig.9; Haas-Lebegyev, (2012:429), and razors were non infrequent in Mycenaean graves from the MH/LH transition onwards, in occasions accompanied by tweezers and/or mirrors. (Forsdyke, 1926-1927: 253; Popham, 1974: 228-230; Wilkie, N. 1987: 133; Graziadio, 1991: 422 and 429). The same is true in the Egyptian iconography, where only in special occasions Pharaohs wore a false beard as a symbol of power (Martín, 2010).

We see also Mycenaean diners sitting in folding stools and enjoying the music of a lyre player while feasting. Folding stools are well known in Egypt from the Middle Kingdom and one of the most remarkable examples comes from Tutankhamen's tomb. They are also known in the Levantine areas under Egyptian control as Canaan in the Late Bronze Age (Deroches Noblecourt, 1963: Plates IX a and b and fig.117; Ziffer 2005: fig.21; Wesolowski 2006: 124 ;). Lyres are also depicted in Egyptian art, although it is not a native instrument but comes from Mesopotamia and the Levant (King & Stager, 2001: 292 Mitchell, 1992; Braun, 2002; Francheschetti, 2008:321). In her analysis of musical instruments at the Mycenaean courts, Francheschetti (2008:313-315; see also Baurain, 1980:286; Cauvet, 1987:733-734) points out that the word *ki-nu-ra*¹ is attested several times in Pylos records and seems to be related to the West Semitic name for the lyre, known already in the mid III Millennium BC Ebla connected with the Sumerian form *kinnārum*, and also in the Mid Second Millennium archives of Mari as well as in Alalakash in its derivation *Lyre player*. It is known in Ugarit as *knr* (Cauvet, 1987:733) and there is a God player named *Kinnāru*, (Francheschetti

1. The above mentioned author related the form *me-nu-ra* that in Pylos tablet Qa 1301 follows *ki-nu-ra* with a male name probably meaning lyre player.

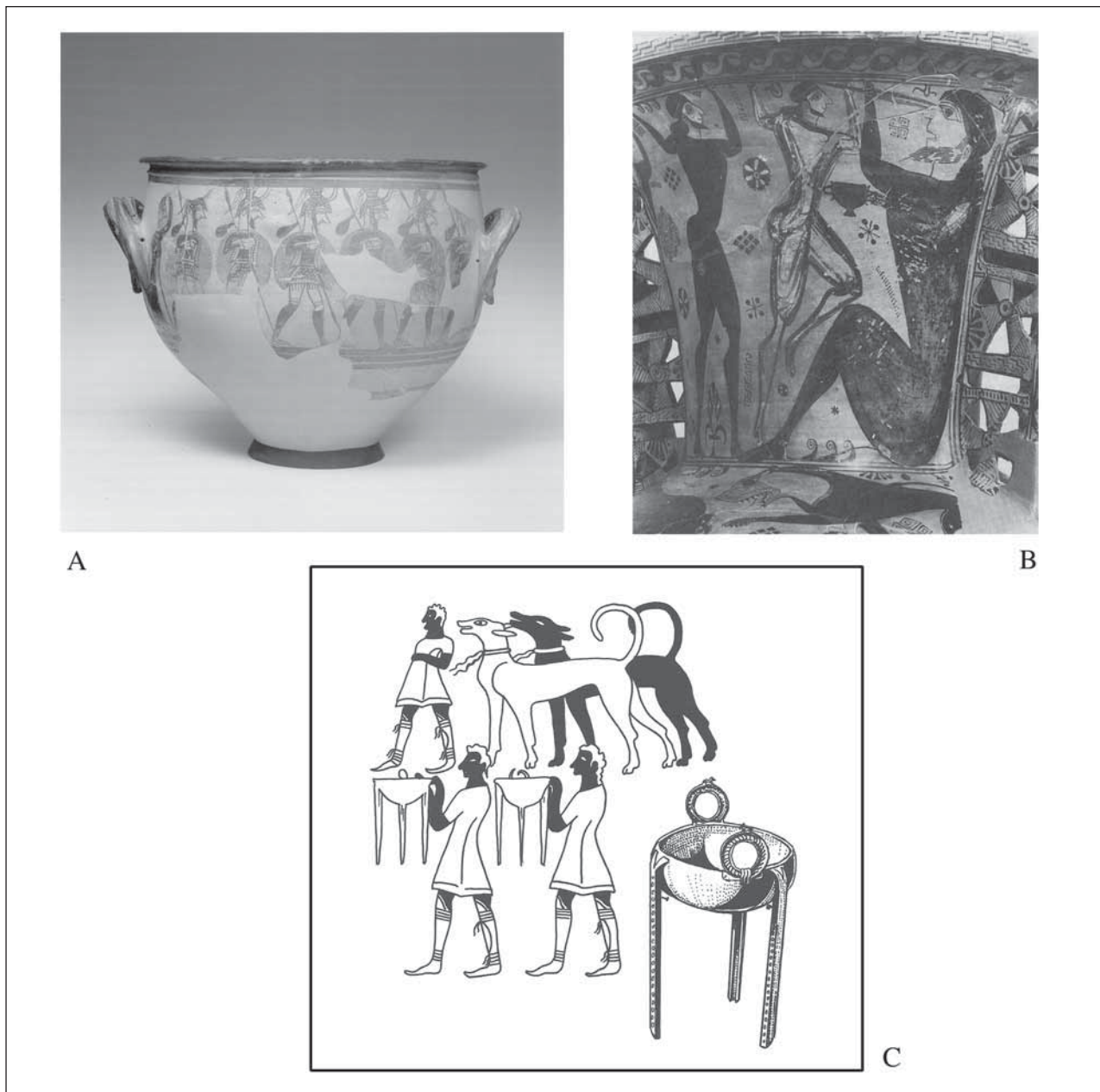


FIGURE 1. A) The warrior base HRIIC (After Demakopoulou & Melena, 1992). B) The blinding of Polyphemos from a Proto-Attic amphora. Eleusis Museum. (After Richter 1974) C) Fragment of a Fresco from Nestor's palace, Pylos (after Wright 2004)

ti, 2008:320-321). It exists also in Egyptian Amarna under the name *knrr* and in Hebrew as *kinnor*. Lastly, there is a Cypriot King-priest called *Kivipngs*, mentioned in the Illiad (Book 11.20), who according to a late legend, dared to compete with Apollo as lyre player and was killed. So the fashion of feasting on folding stools while enjoying a lyre player seems to have arrived to Mycenae from Egypt and the Levant, probably through Crete (Francheschetti, 2008:321).

That males in «barbarian» Europe shaved their beards can be inferred from the great amount of razors in male's graves and from the absence of beard hairs in Nordic Bronze Age graves, where on the contrary hair, skin and other

organic material are well preserved (Threherne, 1995; Bergerbrant, 2007:63). Razors can be dated from the Middle Bronze Age at the periphery of the Mycenaean World, i.e. the Carpathian and Bohemian areas, and from Bronze D to Hallstatt A1 and Hallstatt A2 periods in Central Europe (Jockenhövel, 1971: 19-20), the chronology of this last area being contemporary with the apex of the Mycenaean trade to the Central Mediterranean.

On the contrary, among Levantine people from the steppes and semi-desert areas, the so-called by the Egyptians, *Asians*, such as Amorites, Syrians, Canaanites or the First Millennium Assyrians, Phoenicians or Arameans, are represented as bearded as much Kings and Gods as most of the common people (Derosches-Noblecourt, 1963: Pl. XI a & c; Pl. XVIII b; Pl. XIX a & b; Grubel: 643; Neuling Porter, 2000:figs.3-8 and fig.16). The shaving of head and beard by Semites was a sign of mourning and King & Stager (2001:283), write that to shave the beard of another was a humiliation in Israel and that the Torah forbade to shave the edges of the beard.

Bearded Aegeans make their appearance in the iconography at the LHIIIC, (fig.1A), and a warrior's ideology begins then to be emphasize (Senn, 2013: 70). Together with weapons, the toiletry (combs, mirrors, razors and tweezers) are not infrequent in warriors' graves (Deger-Jalkozwsky, 2006: Table 9.1 and 2008:404; Senn 2013). And although razors continued to appear in geometric tombs, from then on, bearded characters are not unusual in Greek



FIGURE 2. Eight century Semite male dress. Amman Archaeological Museum. (After King & Stager, 2001).

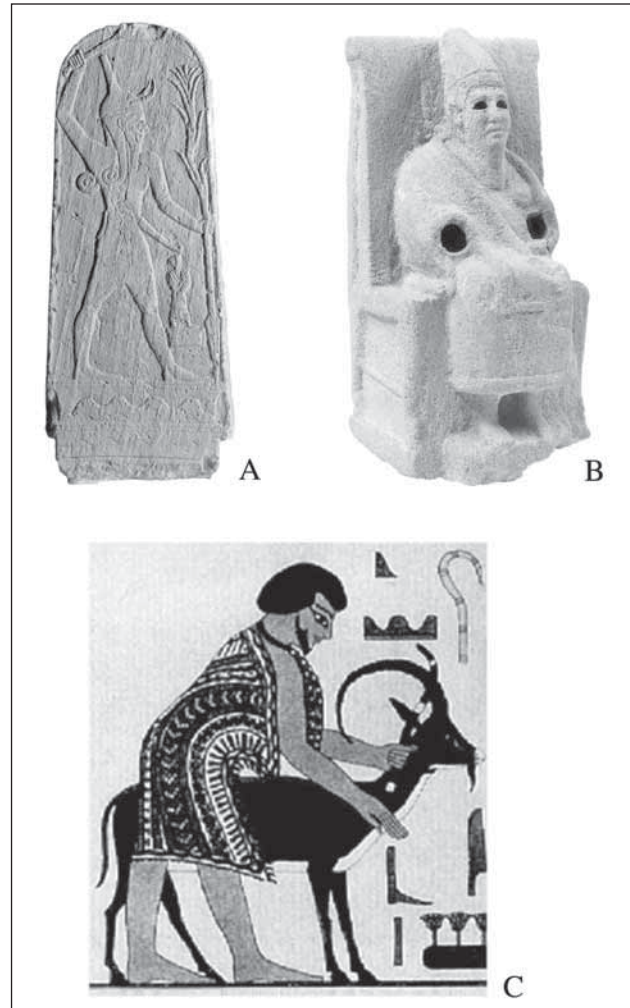


FIGURE 3. A) Stele of the god Baal. Ugarit. Louvre Museum (After Schaeffer, 1979). B) Statue of the god El. Ugarit. (After Yon, 2006). C) Depiction of an Aamu in the tomb 3 at Beni Hassan (after Newberry, 1893).

art, conveying the ideal of maturity and wisdom (Langdom, S. 2008: page 57, fig.21 and page 97 fig. 2.13; Downd, 2010:39) (fig.1B).

Tweezers and razors, either together or separately are common in Cyprus tombs from Early Bronze Age to the beginning of Late Bronze Age (LCHI), but from LCHII to LCHIIIB (14th century B.C. to mid 11th century B.C.), there are still mirrors but less tweezers and no razors (Keswani, 2004:186-248). In the tombs of the mid 11th century B.C. (Early Iron Age) cemetery of Skales, there are no razors and only in two cases, tombs 72 and 87, tweezers were deposited as grave goods. Neither of these two tombs was especially rich, and after the anthropological identification of tomb 72, one could conclude that both of them belonged to women. Quite on the contrary, pins and fibulae are not infrequent in the tombs of Skales (Karagheroghis, 1983:189-192 and figs LXI, LXXI, LXXXIX, C, CXX, CXXXIII, CXXXV, CLVIII, CLXV, CLXXXI and CXCIII; Schulte-Cambell, 1983:440). It seems possible then, that a change in male aesthetics could have been taking place at around the Bronze Age/Iron Age transition in Cyprus, perhaps connected to the ideal of the bearded male dressed in tunics with folds, which needed to be fasten to the shoulders (fig 2).

Our claims in this respect are:

- 1) That prior to the Bronze Age/Iron Age transition non bearded men were the usual iconography among Egyptians, Aegeans and Hittites (Collins, 2010). Bearded men were considered barbarian under the Egyptian ideal and only the Pharaoh wore a false beard in public acts as a symbol of power. Contrary to them, shepherds from the desert or the steppe and non-Egyptians were represented as bearded. Conversely, in the Semite World Gods and Kings frequently wore beard (Schaeffer, 1979: fig.6).(fig. 3 A-C).
- 2) During the Late Bronze Age both in Egypt and in Syria and Canaan meat could be eaten under different ways, two of them stewed and roasted, as well in public or private banquets as in religious festivities (Grubel, 1995:637; Smith, 2003:48; Lev-Tov & Mc Geogh, 2007; Zuckermann, 2007; Ruiz-Gálvez, 2013:110-113) ; Kings & Stager, (2001:64-65) specify that stewing was the common way of cooking in Canaan, being roasted meat reserved to festivities or to sacrifices.

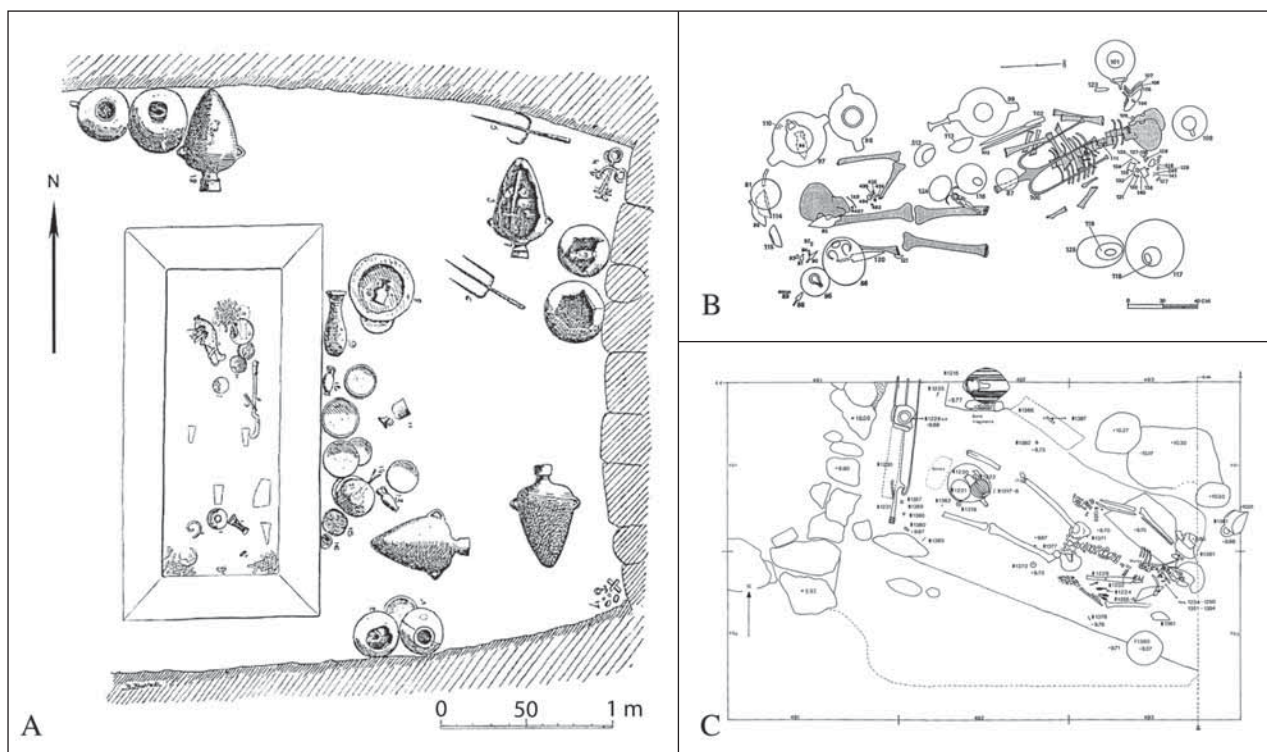


FIGURE 4. A) Royal tomb. Byblos (18th century B.C.). (After Schiestl, 2007). B) Tomb B3. Akko (14th century B.C.). (After Ben-Arieh y Edelstein, 1977). C) Shaft grave. Hala Sultan Tekke (s. 12th century B.C.). (After Niklasson, 1983)

Stewed meat could be served using hooks as in the 14th century BC tomb 30 of Gezer (Maclister, 1912) and the 13th/12th tomb 912b of Megiddo (Guy, 1938), or with tridents, as described in the Bible (I Samuel, 2:13-14), where the priest's servant grabbed for his patron as much meat he could catch with the trident. Most of the tridents known in archaeological context come from rich tombs as those from the mid Third Millennium B.C. at Ur and Kültepe ((Bean Arieah & Edelstein, 1977:30-31), the coffin tomb I at Byblos dated at the beginning of the Second Millennium B.C. (Virolleaud, 1922; Schiest 2007: fig.1), the 14th century B.C. tomb B3 from the Akko Persian Garden (Bean Arieah & Edelstein, 1977: fig 15.2 and page 30), the 12th century B.C. Hala Sultan Tekke tomb 23 (LCIIIA) (Niklasson) or the 11th/10th century B.C. Jatt «hoard», which Artzy wonders whether it could have originally been a tomb's grave goods (Artzy, 20006:17). A last one trident, cast in iron and dated to the 10th century B.C. comes from Tell Hammah, near Beth Shean apparently in a domestic context (Artzy, 2006:64). With two exceptions, the 14th century BC Uluburum wreck (Pulac, 1997:fig.19) and the 10th century B.C. one from Tell Hammah, tridents are always found in funerary context. Taking into account the Bible quote, we could consider that men buried with tridents as insignia, even if they could not stand for real use as is the case of the one of Akko, (Ben-Arieah & Edelstein, 1977:31) were priests. In a later and geographically different context, we find a magnificent trident deposited as a grave good in an Orientalizing (8th/7th century B.C.) princely tomb at Vetulonia (Italy) (Bartoloni ed., 2000) (fig. 4).

Hooks and tridents are also found in palatial Aegean contexts. Isaakidou, based on faunal analysis (2007:17-19), claims that meat could have been consumed roasted in pits or in open fires in pre-palatial times. On the contrary, the more dismembering and filleting of meat indicates another ways of cooking as stewing or frying in palatial ones (See also Sherratt, 2004:314). The stewing of meat in cauldrons as we see in the Pylos scene of the banquet (see fig. 1C), or we find as grave goods at Sellopoulo (tomb 4 burial 1 and in tomb3), or Dendra (tomb 2) (Popham, 1974 and Catling, 1974:231 and ff. and 240 and ff. specially 247), would imply too, the use of hooks or tridents to grasp the pieces of meat. At least in two cases, the burial 1 of Sellopoulo tomb 4 (Catling, 1974:229-230 and fig.18.n.º 11) the Mycenae's shaft tomb IV ((Ben-Arieah & Edelstein, 1977:30-31), hooks were included as part of the funerary dining set.

- 3) The fashion of communal eating meat stewed in bronze cauldrons and caught with hooks was transferred to Central and Western Europe through the Mycenaean trade in the central Mediterranean together with the aesthetics linked to the shaving of men's faces.

HOLDING OUT FOR A HERO: THE WESTWARDS EXPANSION OF MEDITERRANEAN FEASTING AND PERSONAL CARE EQUIPMENT.

Feasting among warriors was not new in Middle to Late Bronze Age Central and Western Europe, but it was already practiced with the occasion of some individual outstanding Bell Beaker Burials (Vandlike, 2007: 65 and ff).

But it was at the height of the Mycenaean trade in the Central Mediterranean, i.e., the 14th -13th centuries B.C., when the kit of the Mediterranean feast and the male's aesthetics began to be generalized in the Carpathian area and Central Europe, the Mycenaean periphery. It should be stressed that not just individual vessels, tweezers or razors were exported, but also and more important, the meaning and the use context of the kit as well as the male's moral and political ideals (Thrane, 1990; Kristiansen & Larsson, 2006: 241-260; Vandlike, 2007: 153), although they were probably translated and incorporated into their own previous social codes.

Razors were first known in Bronze D Hallstatt A1/A2 in the Danube area, and a bit later in Western Europe (Jockenhövel, 1971 and 1980; Bianco, 1979). They were frequent in Late Bronze Age tombs and into the Iron Age, together with weapons and other toiletry as tweezers. Its generalization in most part of Europe involved a profound visual change that should be noted (Treherne, 1995).

Razors are infrequent in Iberia and the few known to us, as those from the Huerta de Arriba (Burgos) hoard or the Abrigo Grande das Bocas shelter in Portugal, are very old types, similar to the Hènon type and dated to the Atlantic Rosnöen Phase, or Atlantic Late Bronze Age I (Jockenhövel, 1980). Neither of them seems to have been used but they are broken and mixed with other items of later date. Therefore they appear to have been appreciated simply as raw material.

Bronze hooks and dining sets —cauldrons and buckets—, were usually considered to have arrived to the Western Europe at a later date. Nevertheless, Gerloff (1986) as well as Needham & Bowman (2005), have proved they are very much older than was previously thought and could be dated to the Bishopland/Penard Phases, i.e. 1300-

1200 B.C., being thus coeval of those from Central Europe and Scandinavia, dated respectively to Bronze D/Hallstatt AI and Montelius III Period (Hunt, 1953; Jockenhövel, 1980; Gerloff, 1986).

While there are no clear similarities among cauldrons and flesh-hooks in the different areas, what could betray some kind of local translations of the dining-set into their own social codes (Armada, 2002: 99), 14C proves that all of them are dated approximately to the same age. This reveals a quick adoption not only of models, symbols and eating labels all around Europe, but also of its sophisticated lost-wax casting technique.

Although it is assumed that flesh-hooks and cauldrons belong to the same eating-set, there are not many undoubted cases where they appear coupled. One of them and the clearest case is Feltwell Fen, where a hook and a cauldron of an ancient type were found together. Unfortunately the Feltwell Fen set was discovered during ploughing, being the cauldron upper part damaged by the plough (www.heritage.norfolk.gov.uk/SingleResult.aspx?uid. Entry, 04/07/2013). Anyway we know some interesting details about its finding, as that the hook was lying inside the cauldron and that the finds were apparently neither connected with a tomb or a settlement, nor assembled with other broken or damaged items as part of a scrap hoard. Taking into account these facts and that Feltwell Fen is a marshy area, we suggest it could be interpreted as a votive deposition in a liminal area. A 14C sample was obtained from the wooden shaft of the hook and dated to 1390-1120 cal BC2σ. (Needham & Bowman, 2005:100). In that same way, Needham and Bowman (2005) stress that most cauldrons and flesh-hooks in Ireland come from marshy areas.

Other examples are better explained as belonging to scrap hoards, since hooks of different types are found together with broken riveted bronze plates, as in the Eriswell, Prairie des Mauves or Hío hoards, and therefore exempt of any social or symbolic value (Needham & Bowman, 2005:119).

Contexts of deposition for flesh-hooks and cauldrons also differ between Central and Western Europe. While in the first area flesh-hooks are mainly found deposited in tombs (Hunt, 1953; Mariën, 1958), those from Western Europe, when the finding context is known to us, sometimes come from settlement areas, but mostly from wet or liminal areas. This is the case of Feltwell Fen and others as Flag Fenn, found under the wooden platform and interpreted as a foundation deposit, the cauldron in the Shipton on Cherwell river bed, the Dunnaverney flesh-hook discovered in a peat and dated to 1050-910 cal BC2σ from a wood sample of the shaft, and the other from Litte Thetford (Needham & Bowman, 2005:118; Gerloff 1986:92; Bowman & Needham 2007:56,63, 81-82). This last flesh-hook is said to have been found in a bog and its very name *Thetford*, suggests the existence of a ford nearby. It is relevant to remember in that sense, the meaning of fords as symbolic equivalents to thresholds, i.e. liminal points between human world and underworld (Cirlot, 1997:459) (fig.5).

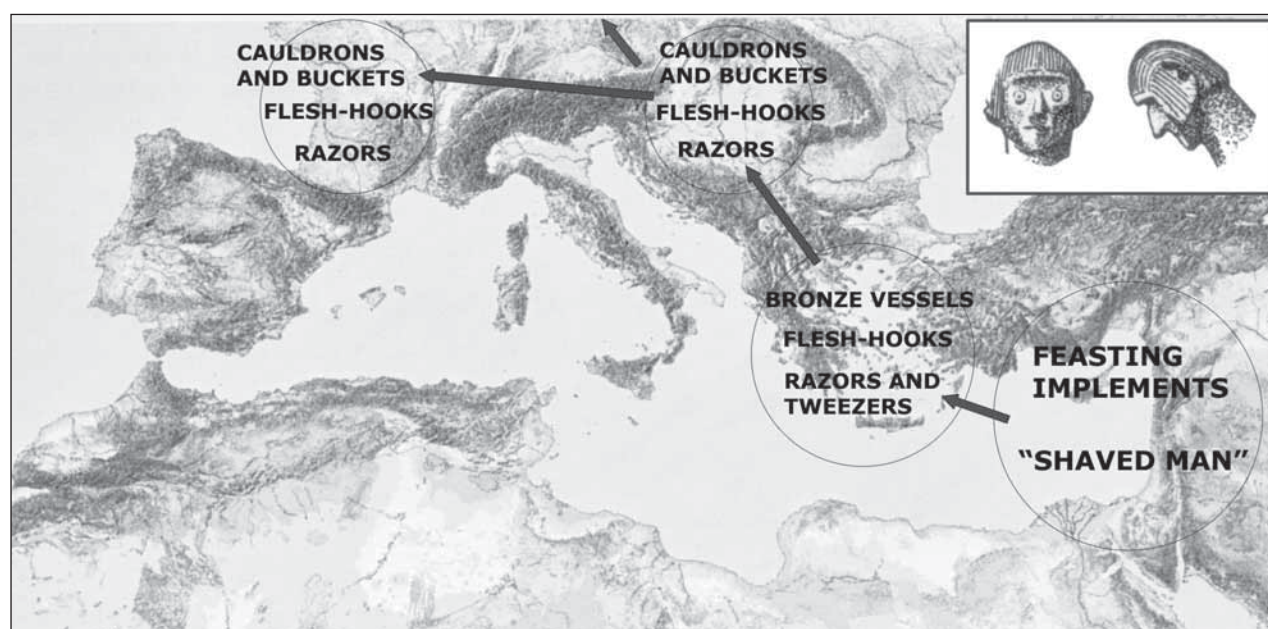


FIGURE 5. Spread of the feasting-set and male iconography before 1200 B.C.

Flesh-hooks and cauldrons are not unknown in Iberia, although with just one exception, they are only found in the Atlantic area. Of a list of twenty one findings of cauldrons produced by Armada (2008:133, Table 1), only two, those from Lois (Spain) and Cabárceno, (Spain), can be wholly reconstructed. These are also the only ones for which one can guess a votive or religious meaning, since they are single finds in the interior of mine's shafts. It is known that holes, shafts and caves are perceived by many societies as a symbolic ὀμφαλός or *Axis Mundi*, and dwelling of an underworld divinity (Blas, 2007; Eliade, 1972; Sallnow, 1989; Cirlot, 1997; Gispert, 2010).

The remaining nineteen findings of cauldrons, consist of fragmented, occasionally very small riveted bronze sheets, of which not always is easy to find out whether they belong to cauldrons or not, and coming from dwelling areas or scrap hoards. In a few cases as Hío, broken flesh-hooks and fragmented riveted sheets of cauldrons are gathered together, but just as scrap (Ruiz-Gálvez, 1979). The same could probably be said of other cases, as the bronze riveted sheets of the Huerta de Arriba hoard (Spain) (Martínez Santa-Olalla, 1942).

In a recent paper Armada (2008:141-147), «dissects» methodically all these findings, to conclude that some of them could have had a ritual meaning, as the one found in a hut of Chao Sanmartin hillfort (Spain).

Eventually, there are cases, as Baiões (Portugal), where a cauldron and a flesh-hook are attested on the spot, but they are not connected (Armada, 2008).

Regarding to flesh-hooks, the finding list is even shorter, thus there are just six of them known up to now in Iberia (Needham & Bowman, 2005). The one of the Hío hoard is clearly scrap, meant for recycling. In that sense, its finding context can give us a clue, since it was found in a crevice of a cliff, close to a beach of the Morrazo Peninsula. One could conclude then, that it was a metal cargo ready to be embarked or, more probably in our view, just disembarked for recycling (Ruiz-Gálvez, 1982 and 1998:270-271).

The Baiões finding appeared in a workshop area, mixed with other metal items, either local or of foreign origin, as well Mediterranean (metal vessels and burners) as Atlantic (the flesh-hook), that were either broken or, as some palstaves and sickles, still carrying casting burrs. All these details allow us to conclude that the flesh hook as well as the burners and the metal vessels were intended just for casting. (Vilaça, 1995; Ruiz-Gálvez, 1998:299-300; Senna, 2005: 904; Armada *et al*, 2008:478-479). Of two other flesh-hooks coming respectively from Cantabrana and Barrios de Luna (Spain), we ignore their finding circumstances. There is another from the Geníl river (Spain), that was recovered in a meandering stretch of the river, locally known as the Swallows» backwater (Armada & López, 2003). From the same place come other findings occurred at different times from the 1960» onwards, among them three fragmented carp's tong swords, a carp's tong dagger, a bronze bracelet, a spearhead and a *tranchet* (Lopez 1983; Armada & López, 2003 fig.5). Some details suggest, in our view, that all these findings belong to a single set, a scrap hoard probably connected to a site nearby, that may have been either Alhonz or Los Castellares (López, 1983:239). Firstly there is their poor condition, being almost all of them fragmented. And secondly, the spot where all the findings took place was in the past, and still is today despite a river dam, a flooding area. All in all, it seems quite probable that these findings were part of a scrap hoard swept away by a river flood (López, 1983:240). A last find comes from Solveira in Portugal and was recorded together with a palstave and two spearheads. The set was in a hole 1.5 m depth, and Vilaça (2006) suggests that it might originally be a wet deposit because there is a small brook six m. away, yet she speculates with a change in the stream of which there is no proof (Gonçalves da Costa, 1963; Vilaça, 2006a:53-54).

Summing up, the banquet set, connected to the consumption of stewed meat, seems to have been introduced in Central and Western Europe through the Mycenaean trade in Italy. Yet its acceptance was apparently scarce among the Iberian elites, since only the Lois and Cabárceno cauldrons prove to have had a social and ritual meaning (fig.5).

THOSE WHO SING LOUDLY TO THE LYRE (AMOS 6.5.)

At the Bronze Age/Iron Age transition, meat spits are found either together with tridents or instead of them. It is the case of the aforementioned Tiryns treasure, recently revisited by Maran (2006) who considers the bronze spits and the other metal and ivory items being the riches or κειμελίον of the aristocratic group residing in the megaron W. These objects were valuable because they owned biography and were a reminder of their previous aristocratic holders, and of the way they were passed on their current possessors (see also Whitley, 2002). No less important is the fact that the Tiryns treasure belongs to a period, the LHIIIC, when there is no centralized power at Tiryns but new leaders, the *basilei*, are competing for power and attracting followers (Mazarakis Anian, 2006).

The «hoard» or grave goods of Jatt (Artzy, 2006), is another interesting case because it combines the elements of the Canaanite banquet —cauldron, trident, spit and bowls for eating stewed and roasted meat, strainer and juglets

for drinking spice wine – together with others as weapons, horse bits and weights— which alludes to the warrior/trader status of the dead, a macehead as status symbol, tripods and incense-burners connected with cultic practices and possibly to the transformation of the dead into a divine or semi-divine ancestor. Eventually, mirrors are perhaps symbolically connected to a rite of passage (Cirlot, 1997: 200-201), but also with the aesthetics and the building of an icon of power. In her analysis of the objects of the «hoard», Artzy (2006:93) reminds us of the long tradition of feasting in the Northern Canaan and points to the Mesopotamian *Kispu* or banquet for the dead, described in Mari texts and into Neo-Babylonian Period (King & Stager, 2001: 380), as the origin of both, the Levantine and the Greek symposium. Nevertheless as King & Stager (*ibidem*) stress, the *Kispu* was focussed on the Royalty, while the *Marzēah* was a communal meal in honour of the defunct in which symbolically the Gods partook (Dever, 2005:123). In that sense it is more appropriate, in our view, a comparison between the *Marzēah* and the processes of heroization or divinization that start to be seen at the Bronze Age/Iron Age transition in the Levant and at the beginning of the Iron Age in Cyprus, Greece, Italy and the Western Mediterranean. In fact, Hammilakis and Sherrat (2012:199) have recently suggested the adoption of some elements of the *Marzēah* in Cyprus.

The institution of the *Marzēah* is very old and is known to us through the Ugaritic texts and the Old Testament, only recently being detected in the archaeological record too. Thanks to them we know that it was a male social and religious institution, whose membership passed down from father to son. It consisted of banquets sponsored by its members in honour of a certain divinity, such as El, Ishtar or Anat, or in the memory of the *rephaim*, a heroic ancestor of warrior status, celebrated in the *bêt Marzēah* or house of mourning. The house belonged to the *Marzēah* brotherhood and it had lands and properties assigned to it, in order to provide food and drink for the banquets (Carter, 1997:76-77; King & Stager, 2001: 335 and 379; Dever, 2005:123; Baker, 2012: 42-47). *Mutatis mutandis* its organization reminds the present authors, the Andalusian's Holly Week *Cofradias* (fig.6).

Special *Marzēah* meals of lambs and calves were served to the participants lying on couches, abundantly irrigated with wine and entertained with lyre music, and frequently derived in inebriation and sexual intercourse as

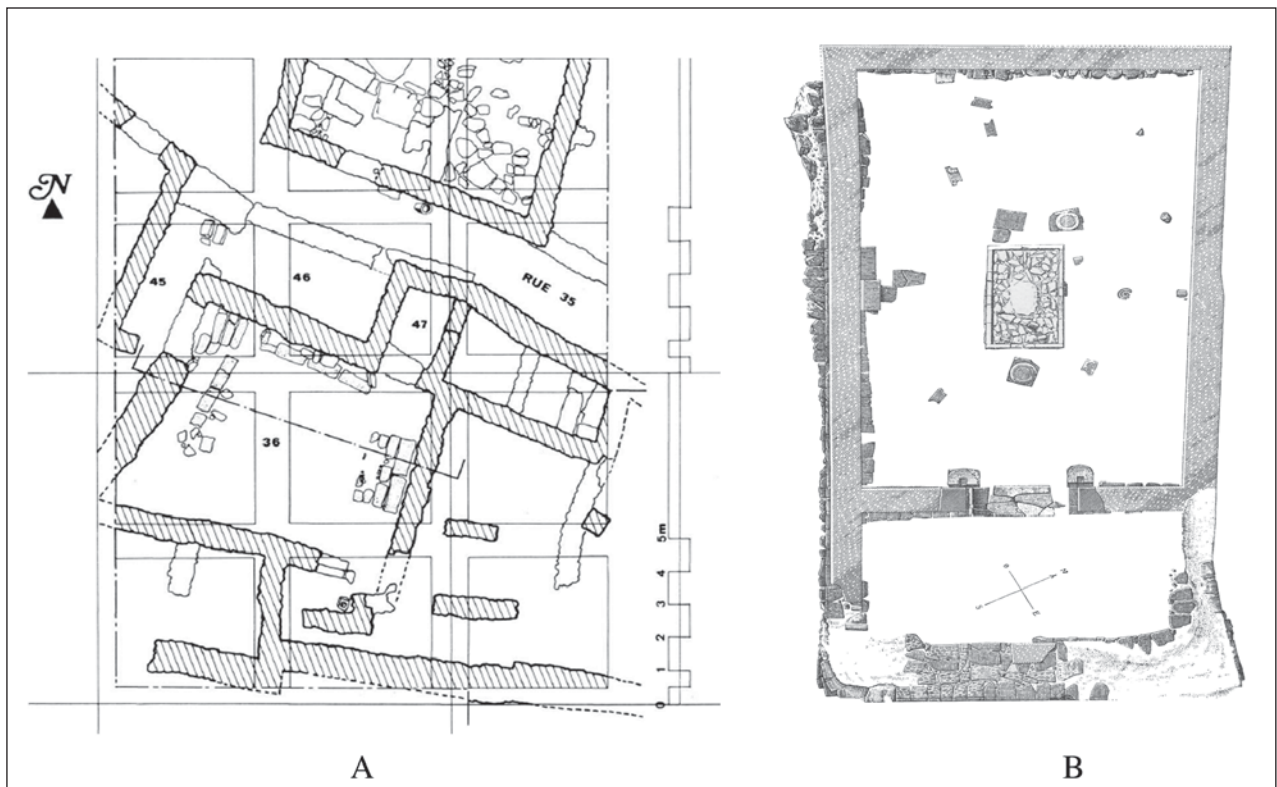


FIGURE 6. A) Temple of the Rhytons. Ugarit. Late Bronze Age. (After Yon, 1984). B) Plan of the Temple A at Prusias. (After Carter, 1997)

described by a shocked Prophet Amos (6.4-7), and depicted on the Phoenician bowl from Salamis (King & Stager, 356 and III.222). Recently some special buildings have been interpreted as a *bêt Marzēab*: the Ugaritic *Temple aux rythons* and the *Bâtiment au vase de pierre*, the Sacred Precinct at Tell-el-Dab'a, the fosse Temple at Lachish, the Shrine of the Calf at Askhelon and the Rectangular Temple at Nahariya (fig. 6A). All of them share similar characteristics: a large rectangular room with benches along the walls, a platform and side rooms with evidence of food storage (Baker 2012:44). Even more interesting is the comparison made by Carter (1997:76) between the Cretan institution of the *andreia*, and its Spartan equivalent, the *syssitia* and the *Marzēab*. The first two were upper class male associations for drinking and eating. Carter (1997:75) mentions a 4th century B.C. Athenian writer according to whom, after dining and singing their hymn, every Spartan should sing from the polemarch who awarded a piece of meat to the winner.

Carter (*ibidem*) connects the iconography of the bronze lyre player, common in Crete from the Late Geometric Period, with the *andreia* and it is very tempting to relate the 8th century B.C. lyre player's scaraboid seals group, known, especially in funerary contexts from Cilicia and North Syria to Huelva (Boardman, 1990; Ridgway, 2000; Serano *et al.*, 2012), with the symbolism of the *Marzēab* and the celebration of a heroic, demigod forefather.

In a stimulating paper Cerchai and Nava (2008-2009), publish an interesting seal of the *Lyre Player* group coming from a cemetery area, although unfortunately, it was found out of archaeological context. The scene engraved on its back side is a feast. Several male characters dance to a flute and lyre players, while in the middle there is a huge amphora, from which a man is drinking with a cane. Three birds with long legs stand at the sides of the amphora. The aforementioned authors remark the Canaanite resemblances of the amphora and interpret the scene as a bacchanal, comparing it with the Greek *komos* (κῶμος) festival, but suggest in the end that the scene described on the scaraboid could be the Semite *Marzēab*.

Coming back to Carter (1997:77), she remarks the similarities between some texts concerning the veneration of the ancestor in the Cretan *andreia*, and the Ugaritic *Marzēab*, and compares the Syrian and Phoenician *Marzēab* iconographies with some Late Geometric vases as the Dipylon master amphora, and especially with the friezes of the Cretan «Temple» A at Prinias, dated to the second half of the 7th century B.C. The building was interpreted by Koehl² as an *andreion*, due to the ware found inside were mainly cups, craters and pithoi and that at the hearth in the middle of the building and on the floor, there were mixed animal bones and ashes (see Carter, 1997: footnote 28 page 89) (fig. 6B). Carter stresses the megaron-like form of the «temple» A, and quotes Mazarakis-Anian (2006), after whom the dwellings of the Dark Age Basilei ended up transformed into temples during the Archaic Period. She concludes that the Greek, Cypriot, and Italian aristocratic cult for the ancestors and elite ideology share common roots with the Syrian-Palestinian *Marzēab* (*ibidem*, 1997:108-112).

One could conclude then, that the Greek symposium came from the Syrian-Palestinian *Marzēab*. Thus, although there is plenty of evidence of libations, animal sacrifices and funeral meals connected with rites of passage in Mycenaean times (Voutszaki, 2010:79), there is no funerary evidence of a warrior ideology until the LHIII B2/LHIIIC, and no hero cult until the Euboean Late Proto-geometric Period.

THE GOOD SHEPHERD LAYS DOWN HIS LIFE FOR HIS SHEEP (JOHN 10.11-18)

In summary, neither the meat roasted on spits nor the unshaved males were aesthetics and tastes common in Greece and Europe before 1200 B.C., when the palace system collapsed. This is precisely the time when the pastoral tribes from the Transjordan steppe and the Sinai desert, inner Syria and Upper Mesopotamia started pushing against the areas controlled by the palatial states (Liverani, 2002:37-38). The first mention to the Arameans in the Assyrian annals appear in 1112 B.C. They are described as semi mobile shepherds of goats and sheep and several times the chronics refer to Assyria combating against them, as well as an Aramean invasion at the time of Tiglath-Pileser I (1114-1076) and other raids in a time of drought and famine (Klengel, 2000: 24-25; Schniedewind, 2002:276-277). Arameans are described in the Assyrian texts with the term *ablamû*, referred to their tribal condition and non urban organization (Sader, 2000:64). Anyway there is a consensus among experts, that Arameans were not foreigners in Syria, but agro-pastoral groups located at the fringes of the urban systems, having their roots in the Bronze Age Upper Mesopotamian Amorites and that their establishment in the areas left blank after the palatial collapse in the 11th-10th centuries B.C. was basically peaceful (Klengel, 2000:25-26; Sader, 2000: 66-70). The political institutions of the Aramean kingdoms, with the ruler being enthroned by his claims of descent of an heroic forefather founder of the Royal house (*biî*), or the existence of an Elders Council (Klengel, 2000:28-29), reminds us, the Semitic institution of the *House of*

the father, attested at the Kingdom of Ugarit as much as in other Semitic people, since at least the Early Bronze Age (Avalos, 1995; Schloen, 2001), being proofs of their local roots³².

The first mentions to the Israelites come from a stele dated around 1212 B.C. at the time of the Pharaoh Merneptah, who mentions a people under that name in Canaan. Levy and Holl (2002:91) think that their description as «*people*» means that they were at that time a pastoral tribe without an urban organization. Based on Biblical texts as the *Song of the Sea* (Exodus 15.1-21) and the *Song of Deborah* (Judges 5.1-32), that according to the experts could be dated respectively to around 1175 B.C. and 1125 B.C. and other texts as the Merneptah's stele or the Harris Papyrus, these authors claim, that between the late 13th century B.C. and the 12th century B.C. there was in Canaan a group of herders in transition to sedentariness, called the Israelites, whose origins could be situated in the Transjordan area, and that they were part of what generically the Egyptians Annals called the *Sbasu* people, a denomination without ethnic value and simply referred to mobile herders occupying broad areas at the Egyptian periphery (Levi & Holl, 2002:88-98).

Another group, apparently known by the Egyptians under the name *Sbasu*, were the Edomites, recently identified as those who, on a seasonal pattern, were exploiting the copper mines of Faynan, South to the Wadi Arabah in Transjordan, as early as the 11th century cal B.C. According to the sherds found in excavations, they had established international relations with Cypriots, Phoenicians, Egyptians, Israelites and others (Levi, 2009; Ben-Yossef *et alii*, 2010).

All these peoples, called by Liverani (2002), «*Ethnic States*», were filling the vacuum left by the Bronze Age State collapse, and it is very likely that it was through them that the custom of sharing food roasted on spits among warriors or demigods was transmitted to the Eastern Mediterranean during the Dark Ages. Roasting is a more economic way of cooking than boiling or stewing in areas such as the steppe or the desert where water is a scarce good. This scarcity could have been even more drastically experienced at the end of the Second Millennium B.C., when there are proofs, including textual and archaeometrical data, of severe drought in the area. The aridity was caused by the «Rapid Climatic Change» (RCC) (Newman & Parpola, 1987:162-163 and 173; Levy, 2009:150-151; Weninger, B. *et al*, 2009:44; Kanieswski *et alii*, 2010), that began around the late 13th century B.C. or the early 12th century B.C. It is possible that among the desert tribes, meat was roasted on wooden spits and that only when adopted by others with a new symbolism, the spits began to be cast in metal. Quite remarkably, the Yoqne'am spit mentioned by Artzy (2006:64-65) comes from a key site on the incense route connecting the desert areas with the Mediterranean region (Artzy, 1994 and 2007).

Bactrian camels were seemingly domesticated in the Near East at the end of the Bronze Age (Wasnisch, 1981; Artzy, 1994; Rosen, 2008; Heide, 2010). Their laden capacity is estimated between 200 and 325 Kg and can travel several days without watering (Rosen, 2008:124). This innovation, together with the palace collapse could have put in hands of a broader clientele a commodity narrowly linked to the processes of divinization such as the frankincense. It is not by accident that not only meat spits but also incense burners begin to be found deposited in princely tombs from the Iron Age onwards. One of the earliest cases is the one of the Jatt «hoard», if Artzy's interpretation of the set as belonging to a tomb is correct (Artzy, 2006).

Our claim that there is a connection among roasting on spits, herders and desert areas finds support in the quote of Exodus (12.8-9), where Yahweh orders His people that every family sacrificed a lamb, roasting it whole on a spit instead of stewing it, and eating the food standing and with shepherd's crooks in hand. According to Dever (2005: 108) the Hebrew Passover could have originally been the Canaanite Spring pastoral festivity during which lambs were sacrificed.

Not less interesting is Yahweh's mandate that men should eat, shepherd's crooks in hand. It alludes to an old symbolic image of power, according to which Gods and Kings are considered to be Men's Shepherds or Peoples' Shepherds. It is an image deeply rooted in Egypt from at least, the Middle Kingdom (Martin Rosell, 2010), but very specially in the Near East, where the King, and sometimes, the God, is viewed as a shepherd caring for his flock (Garfinkle, S., 2013:108). The very same image is repeated one and again in the Bible (Psalm 23; Ezekiel 34,2; Book of Isaiah 40,11; Saint Luke 15.3-7; Saint John 10.11-18 and 21.15-22; Dehn, 1972:126-127; Ruiz-Gálvez, 1998a: 279-281; Ruiz-Gálvez, 1998b:108-111; Ruiz-Gálvez, 2001:216 and Ruiz-Gálvez, 2013:109-110; King & Stager, 2001:114; Luke, 2003:51), but does not appear, as long as we, the present authors know, either in Linear B texts or in Mycenaean iconography.

2. One of us (M. R-G.) has recently identified the House of the father institution with Levi-Strauss' house society model (Ruiz-Gálvez, 2013:105 and González-Ruibal & Ruiz-Gálvez, in progress).

FIGURE 7. Detail of the Neo-Hitite orthostat relief from Zincirli (mid 9th century B.C.). Istanbul Archaeological Museum (after Akurgal, 1990).



Nevertheless the same symbol is present in Homer's *Iliad*, where his heroes are described as shepherds of their folk or as lords of their herds (*Iliad* Book I.148; Book XI 648; Book XX 178; Catling, 1964:260).

The Shepherd's crook was a symbol of power in Egypt and the Near East. Gods and Kings as much in Mesopotamia as in Syria and Anatolia are depicted carrying a shepherd's crook. They are known in Ugarit and in 13th century Cyprus in tombs, but also in the so-called Enkomi bronze hoard (Catling, 1964:259-260). In an inspiring paper, Ambos and Krauskopf (2010) suggest that the Etruscan *lituus* comes also from the Oriental Shepherd's crook (fig.7).

It is the Shepherd's ideal what, in our view, became widespread at the «Dark Age», a period when the Basilei and other small leaders fought for winning political control as much in the Levant as in Cyprus and the Aegean (Heltzer, 2000; Sherratt, 1992:337 and ff; Kourou, 1994; Crielaard, 2006; Mazarakis-Anian, 2006; Deger-Jalkotzy, 2008:403-404).

It is also the time when, as we argue, bilateral lineage and clan organizations, known among the Semites as *The House of the Father* (Avalos, 1995 & Shloen, 2001), emerge with renewed strength under the ruins of the Palace's structures. We have already written somewhere (Ruiz-Gálvez, 2007, Ruiz-Gálvez, 2013; Ruiz-Gálvez *et al*, 2005; and González-Ruibal & Ruiz-Gálvez, in preparation), that the aforementioned institution can be likened to Levi-Strauss's House Societies, that are on the base of the Greek Geometric and Etruscan, Latial and Nuragic societies (Levi Strauss, 1996 and Gonzalez Ruibal, 2006).



FIGURE 8. Spread of the feasting set and male iconography after 1200 B.C.

GO WEST, YOUNG MAN

In comparison with the set for eating stewed meat, that used for roasting it arrives to Western Europe a bit later, at the Second /First Millennium B.C. transition and by a different route, from the Eastern to the Western Mediterranean.

There are not known local antecedents for the so-called articulated spits (Almagro, 1974; Mohen, 1977) and the model is so homogeneous, that one could suspect of very few specialised workshops casting them. Anyway there are some coincidences between articulated spits and some of the more complex and recent in date flesh-hooks, i.e. the alternative use of lost-wax and forging of the different parts forming the items and the zoomorphic, specially birds, decoration crowning one and the other (Needham & Bowman, 2005: 119-122; Bowman & Needham, 2007:85; Ambruster, 1998: 188-191; Baumans & Chevillot, 2007). This interesting coincidence, as well as the fact that its distribution pattern points to Iberia as the most probable centre of production, suggest a local adaptation of the idea of feasting and men commensality, perhaps according to the social rules of the pastoral western Iberia. In fact, more than half of the articulated spits known to date are concentrated in Mid Portugal and its neighbour Spanish Extremadura, areas of slate, acid soils traditionally devoted to herding (Burgess & O'Connor, 2004:196-197; Almagro, 1974; Enríquez, 1982).

The rare examples of articulated spits connected with dwelling contexts come always from Iberia, as in the cases of Cachouça, Baiões, Canedotes and Reguengo do Fetal ((Kalb, 1980: 30; Vilaça, 1990; Vilaça & Cruz, 1995; Ruyvo, 1983)). The remaining findings are fragmented and come from French and British scrap hoards as those of Châlans, Notre Dame d'Or, Sainte Marguerite, Vénat and Hayne Wood ((Burgess & O'Connor, 2004: 106). There are only two complete or almost complete articulated spits outside Iberia, the one of la Fôret de Compiègne (Mohen, 1977: 34), unfortunately out of context, and that dredged at the ford of Chantier, Port-Sainte-Foy, that might have been a wet deposition, despite its deformed and rolled state of preservation (Chevillot, 2007; Baumans & Chevillot, 2007).

The only two Mediterranean findings outside Iberia deserve special attention. The one from the Monte Sa Idda (Sardinia), was part of a huge scrap hoard, a fraction of which was made of Iberian metal items (Taramelli, 1921: figs.5-32 and figs. 35-65) Regarding the articulated spit of the rich Amathus tomb 523, dated to the 10th century B.C. (Karageorghis & Lo Schiavo, 1989), it is worth mentioning that meat-spits were well known in Cypriot funerary contexts and that it is probably the exotic character of the articulated spit what was coveted (Helms, 1988). A second interesting object deposited in the tomb was a *Huelva type* knee fibula, very rare in the Near East (Giesen, 2001), but on the contrary, known in the Central Mediterranean and quite common in Iberia (Carrasco *et al*, 2012), to the point that Mederos (1996a: 101) considers them to have been cast somewhere in Iberia. Its occurrence in Amathus as in two Levantine

spots, Achziv tomb 1 (Mazar, 2004) and Megiddo phase VA (Loud, 1948: 45. figs. 100-102) could be a testimony of connections between Iberia and Cyprus, perhaps across the Central Mediterranean, where the Cypriots are established from the 13th century B.C. onwards (Lo Schiavo *et al*, 1985; Lo Schiavo, 2008; Parise, 1985; Vagnetti & Lo Schiavo, 1989; Vagnetti, 2001; Mederos, 2002 y 2005). As in the case of the articulated spit, it is the exotic character of the *Huelva-type* fibula in comparison with the local types, what probably made it valuable to its owner, perhaps as a kind of ἀγάλματα.

Meat spits, some times of simpler types, become common in the Orientalizing period, both in Iberia (Almagro, 1974; Jiménez, 2002:307-309) and in the Etruscan princely tombs, being the fashion eventually incorporated in Hallstatt tombs, again through Italy (Aigner-Foresti, L., 1992).

The fibulae, connected with new ways of dressing that are as new in Iberia as in Cyprogeometric and Greek Geometrics tombs (Karageorghis, 1983; Dickinson, 2010: 191 and ff), as well as other elements related to aesthetics



FIGURE 9. A) Bronze statuette of a lyre player Crete. Late Geometric. Shellby White & Leon Levi Collection. (After Langdon, 1993).

B) Possible depiction of a *Mârzeah* with a standing and a seated lyre players. Four wheeled Cypriot stand. British Museum.

(After Papasaivas 2009). C) Southwest warrior stele from Zarza Capilla, and detail of the depiction of a lyre. (After Dominguez *et al*, 2005)

as tweezers appear at around the 11th to 10th century B.C. Interestingly enough, they are mainly found in Portuguese sites connected with Mediterranean but not Phoenician imports, as the Roça do Casal do Meio tomb or the hillforts of Monte do Frade, Monte do Trigo, Quinta de Almaraz and Castro de Ratinhos (Berrocal & Silva, 2010:307). Other examples from the Spanish Meseta are of a bit later date, the Bronze Age/Iron Age transition (Agustí *et al.*, 2012). Contrary to other areas, tweezers are here not associated to razors. Nevertheless, Vilaça (2008) has recently suggested that the so called «*tranchets*» might have served as razors, although there are not close counterparts for them neither in the Mediterranean nor in Central or Western Europe, and only the fretwork type of shaft has counterparts in Sardinia. Anyhow, it should be noted that *tranchets* and tweezers appear in some cases together at the same sites.

The SW warrior stelae are indeed the very elements that better capture the new manly ideal, and from the very beginning the weight of the Mediterranean items depicted on them has been highlighted (Almagro, 1966; Bendala, 1977; Almagro Gorbea, 1977).

Toiletry as mirrors, combs and tweezers, but also chariots and lyres are not infrequently found, together with weapons. Lyres are depicted on up to nine stelae (Celestino, 2001:172-181). Some authors have compared them with Mycenaean instruments (Mederos, 1996b) or even Greek Geometrics (Bendala, 1983), while others consider them to be of Phoenician (Blázquez, 1983) or Syrian-Levantine type (Almagro Gorbea, 2001:245-246), being the last one the most probable model of the lyre carved on the stelae. While just the instrument and not the lyre player is depicted, there is in our view no doubt, that the scene described on these stelae is the Semite *Marzēab*, i.e. the celebration of a heroic ancestor, although filtered and translated into their own social codes (fig. 9). We point out that both, the swords and spearheads, and the toiletry depicted on the stelae have good counterparts dated to the 11th to 10th centuries B.C. and therefore, prior to the first Phoenician colonies in the area.

SUMMARY

Along these pages we have developed the following points:

- 1.^o Prior to the Palace collapse, banquets in the Eastern Mediterranean consisted of meat stewed in cauldrons, heated by braziers and grabbed with forks or with flesh-hooks.
- 2.^o The male ideal of that moment did exclude the beard.
- 3.^o Although there is evidences of libations, funerary meals and dinner set deposition in Mycenaean tombs, there exists no proofs of warrior's ethos or heroon cult in Greece prior to the post-palatial times
- 4.^o Trough the Mycenaean traffic in the Central Mediterranean, not only imports but, more important, male» ideals and symbols of power were transferred very fast to Central and Atlantic Europe, where they were incorporated and diversely translated to their own social codes.
- 5.^o Paraphrasing the late Andrew Sherratt, Iberia remained as a *Margin* until about the 11th century B.C, to those technical and symbolic innovations.
- 6.^o Changes in male aesthetics and culinary habits connected to a new emblem of power, first appear at the late Second to early First Millennium B.C., at the time of the palatial collapse. The new ideology is linked with the old emblem of the King-Shepherd and is rooted in a patriarchal and bilateral kinship system, known among the Semites as the *House of the Father* (Schloen, 2001).
- 7.^o The «invention» of a mythic forefather of warrior status is central in such a system, and it probably explained the wide adoption of the idea of the Semite *Marzēab*. Some tombs as Kourion 40 in Cyprus, Knossos 186 and 200-202 in Crete, the Toumba's heroon, or the Etruscan Ceri among many others, could be better understood under this view. All of them share some characteristics, such as being the oldest tomb of a long used cemetery, their lavish grave's goods among them antiques, and the choice of cremation during the first phases. Cremation inhibits the body's decay and pollution and offers public scenery for competition and for claiming rights of inheritance to the ruler's office (Ruiz-Gálvez, 2007; Rivas 2010). Aubet (2013:78-79) points out in that same sense, that cremation began to be introduced at the late 10th century B.C. in Tyre-Al Bass and was general for adults for more than 400 years. The author considers the cremation as a sign of citizenship connected with Melqart, God protector of Tyre, who through the fire, was transformed from being a mortal to becoming immortal. Traces of burn bones and crockery suggests that food and beverages were consumed in the spot while the cremation was taking place, in what Aubet (2010:153-154), interprets as a *Marzēab*. A stele was erected on top of the most conspicuous tombs as memorial, and in some cases, tombs were superimposed one above the other from the initial tomb, creating in that way a genealogy among the dead, and among them and their descendants.

- 8.⁹ To this new ideology belong: *a*) the use of Shepherd's crooks and the Etruscan *lituus*, *b*) the banquet partaken by Gods and heroic ancestors, *c*) the meat shared by male of the same rank and probably members of the same kinship group, *d*) the ideal of the bearded male, *e*) and also a new dressing fashion. According to the Aegean iconography, men usually wore kilts, leaving their chest and calves bare (Weilhartner, 2012: 289). Only in exceptional occasions some men are depicted wearing a folded cloak (Crowley 2012: 236) or wrapped in a long robe with broad diagonal bands (Lenuzza, 2012: 261; Wetlhartner, 2012:292). Contrary to this, «*the Asians*» are depicted in Egyptian iconography wearing longer robes of complex pattern as the *Aamu group* of the tomb 3 at Beni Hassan (XII dynasty) (Newberry, 1893: Plates XXVIII and XXXI) (see fig. 3C) or the «prisoners» represented on faience tiles of the Ramses III's palace at Medinet Habu (Saleh & Sorouzian, 1987). Michailidou y Voutsas (2005:24), attribute to the Hyksos the introduction in Egypt during the Second Intermediate Period, of the warp-weighted vertical loom, a technology characteristic of the Canaan pastoral tribes, that, according to the mentioned authors, facilitated the weaving of carpets, rugs and tapestries. We can, thus hypothesize that changes in dressing fashions were taken place at the Late Second/Early first Millennium transition, connected with three factors: A) The building of new social system, the so-called Ethnic States. B) The worse climatic conditions that resulted in droughts in the Near East and in colder and wetter conditions in Greece (Weninger *et al*, 2009:44 and ff. Rohling *et al*, 2009; Moody, 2009; Kaniewski *et al*, 2010), reflected in the frequent allusions to wet areas in the Iliad (Sanz, 2001:145-149). C) The expansion of the wool sheep, adapted to cold and humid conditions (Sherratt, 1993: 34). Perhaps, then, thicker and heavier robes, that needed to be fasten with pins, fibulae and belts, began to be in fashion, corresponding to colder climatic conditions and to the new political institutions (see fig.2). It is not then by accident that suddenly, geometric patterns appeared on ceramics from Iron Age Philistia, Cyprus and Greece, to the Late Bronze Age/Iron Age Iberia, and Halstattic Central Europe.
- 9.⁹ As stated above (see page 56), Cypriots were established among natives in the Central Mediterranean at the Late Bronze Age, and they continued there after the palatial collapse. We cannot rule out an Ugaritic component among them, since there are textual proofs of several merchant families of Ugaritic origin together with their servants, installed in Cyprus at the Late Bronze Age (Negbi, 2005:12), and Bell suggests that some prominent Syrian families may have taken refuge in the island after the fall of the kingdom (2006:102 y ss). In that case, there are reasons to believe that contacts between these Ugaritic merchants or their descendants and the Arameans were going on in the Early Iron Age. In fact, Gubel (2006:86), stress the importance of Byblos and Sidon at the Early Iron Age, due to their access to the Aramean markets in Northern and Central Syrian and, through them, to those of Cyprus, the Eastern Aegean and Central Mediterranean till the 9th century B.C. when Tyre took control of Northern Phoenicia. It is by this way that the Oriental Symposium, the concept of the Leader as a People's shepherd wielding a *lituus* as insignia, and the political structure of the Etruscan, Latial and Nuragic societies as House Societies were acquired by these Central Mediterranean people (Ruiz-Gálvez *et al*, 2005; Ruiz-Gálvez, 2013 chapter 4). Strøm (2001), pointed out the intense Cypriot influences in the Etruscan symposium but it is very especially Massimo Botto (1986; 2004-2005; 2005; 2008; 2011) who has insistently highlighted the strong Oriental/Phoenician influx in Sardinia and Italy in pre-colonial and even colonial times. And in our view it is through the Central Mediterranean that this oriental influx arrived to the Western Mediterranean prior the foundation of the Phoenician colonies in the West.
- 10.⁹ In such a scenery, the arrival and adoption of an ideology linked to the meaning of the Ruler as a Shepherd and of the Patrimonial Kingdom in Western Iberia, could be better understood taking into account that this area was devoted mainly to a pastoral economy during the Late Bronze Age, with people there just developing and incipient sedentariness. A remarkable growth in population in the area is detected as well through the increasing number of settlement sites, as in the number of bronze and gold findings. These are notably concentrated in Middle Portugal and the SW Iberia (Ruiz-Gálvez, 1998: 285 and ff). These are the areas too, where Mediterranean imports as iron, weights and new metal technology are concentrated in contexts datable by 14C to 11th century-to mid 9th century cal BC, and therefore before the first colonial settling in the spot. (Vilaça, 2006b; Almagro, 1993; Ruiz-Gálvez, 2009 and 2013 chapter 5). Some of these gold treasures, should be better view as personal belongings, perhaps as keimelion (κειμελιον) or as agalmata (ἀγάλματα), in view that they stored value according to a Mediterranean weigh standard (Galán & Ruiz-Gálvez, 1996; Vilaça, 2003). To the same ideological package belong cosmetic tweezers and spits, although the articulated spit was probable a local «translation» of the Mediterranean idea of commensality among heroes.

Thus, it was not an uncritical acceptance of imports, but quite on the contrary, it seems that only those objects and symbols susceptible of being incorporated to their own social and mental schemes were adopted (Galán, 1993 and 2008). An example of this are the SW warrior stelae, on which an emblem of power was depicted by using local symbols as the weapons, together with others Mediterranean of deep political meaning: fibulae, combs, mirrors or chariots, the quintessential symbol of power in the Eastern Mediterranean from the 16th century B.C. (Knapp, 1998:203; Hamilakis & Sherratt, 2012:200 and footnote 113), or lyres, the local echo of the Semite celebration of a demigod ancestor, i.e. the Marzēah.

POST SCRIPTUM

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