OLD WINE IN NEW VESSELS: INTERCULTURAL CONTACT, INNOVATION AND AEGEAN, CANAANITE AND PHILISTINE FOODWAYS

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Abstract

This article explores two case studies of innovation that occurred within the context of interregional interaction: the use of Mycenaean drinking ware in the southern Levant during the 14th–13th centuries BCE and the use of Aegean cooking vessels and cooking facilities in Philistia during the 12th century. These cases demonstrate how intercultural differences function as a potent obstacle to the processes of the cultural transmission of innovations. Variability in the interaction range, trade versus migration, creates different mechanisms of social transmission. The long-term situation of intercultural close contact characteristic of migration greatly facilitates the processes of invention, intended to amplify the relative advantages, as well as the compatibility values of the product in a way that may be sufficient to overcome cultural boundaries.

INTERCULTURAL CONTACT AND INNOVATION

Over the last decade, feasts and foodways have entered archaeological discourse as a potent field for understanding power relations within ancient societies. Theoretical studies, such as those by Hayden and Dietler (2001), have used anthropological case studies in order to form a theoretical framework for the study of the material remains of feasts in the archaeological record, as well as their symbolic and ideological meaning. However, one may observe a clear asymmetry in the role played by feasting in the archaeology of the eastern Mediterranean: In Aegean archaeology, much has been written about the subject, mainly in relation to its political role within the Mycenaean palatial system. The plethora of recent studies, especially the 2004 volume, *Mycenaean Feast* (Wright 2004a), greatly facilitates the understanding of important aspects such as the political and social roles of Mycenaean feasting, the anthropology of food and drink consumption in the Aegean (Wright 2004b; Hamilakis 1999), as well as the organizational and bureaucratic procedures involved (e.g., Piteros, Olivier and Melena 1990; Killen 1994; Palaima 2000; 2004). Shelmerdine (1998) and Carter (1995) ventured into preliminary intercultural comparisons between Aegean and Near Eastern feasts, the latter suggesting interregional similarity in feasting activities (Carter 1995: 304). Sherratt (1992; 1998; 2003), supported by Bauer (1998), strongly argued for the role of trade in Aegean pottery in cultural transmission and in change of drinking

practices in Cyprus and the Levant. Demand for Aegean-style fineware in Cyprus and in the Levant in the 12th century BCE resulted from the formation of a regional traders' circle and led to the manufacture of Aegean fineware suited to the taste of the new class of elites. Sherratt's economy-based reconstruction prompted responses by scholars that support an explanation of Aegean migration for the phenomenon of the locally-made 'Monochrome/Mycenaean IIIC:1b' pottery in the Levant (e.g., Dothan and Zukerman 2003; Barako 2000; Yasur-Landau 2002: 168–192).

The topic of this conference prompts a discussion of the questions of innovation that stem from intercultural contact. Thus, the influence of Aegean feasting practices and foodways on the feasting practices and foodways of the Canaanites during the 13th and 12th centuries BCE will be viewed through a study of innovations in the material culture of the southern Levant that can be attributed to the interregional contact with Aegean culture.

Diffusion of Innovation theory (DOI; Rogers 1983: 36; Shortland 2004: 4–6) has defined five stages in the innovation process which follow invention:

- *knowledge* of the existence of the innovation and understanding of its function
- *persuasion* of the merits of the innovation
- *decision* to use the innovation
- *implementation* into actual use
- *confirmation*: reinforcement based on the positive outcomes emerging from the use

The first, crucial, stages of *knowledge* and *persuasion* are intimately linked and dependent upon the process of cultural transmission, whose material aspects may be broadly defined as the transfer of knowledge regarding behavioural patterns concerning the production and/or use of artefacts. This transmission is carried out through teaching, imitation and other socialization processes (Gosselain 1998: 94–97). Schiffer and Skibo (1987: 597) describe the crucial role of the teaching process in technology transmission: "...knowledge in technology is embodied in its teaching framework...a series of practices that can include imitation, verbal instruction, hands-on demonstration and even self teaching". Strong cultural-specific attributes are connected to the process of teaching which "...can involve toys and models as well as mnemonic devices, magic, parables, myths and legends" (*ibid.*). The complexity of the teaching processes needed for the production of pottery was also duly noted in Aegean archaeology. Papadopoulos (1997: 453) noted that "to see a pot, or handle it, or even discuss how it is made, is not sufficient experience to be able to reproduce it", supporting the idea that itinerant Mycenaean and Minoan potters played an important role in the production of high-quality ceramic 'imitation'.

The acceptance and implementation of innovation depends on several interrelated parameters, among them: the relative advantage of the innovation, its compatibility

with present values and past experience, as well as its complexity and the level of difficulty of use and understanding (Rogers 1983: 163–206; Shortland 2004: 5).

The process of pre-industrialized production is usually conservative, often preserved and taught within a kin-based group (Arnold 1994). Thus, the majority of artisans adhere to norms and do not regularly innovate: Arnold (1989: 220) cites evidence indicating that innovation may occur at the extremities of the continuum of specialization; innovation conducted either by the high-status individuals who wish to maintain their status, or by semi-skilled, poorly trained artisans who innovate to survive or to 'beat the system'. Additional reasons have been offered as the cause of innovation, such as subsistence stress (Arnold 1989: 224; Schiffer and Skibo 1987: 598). Market demand may lead to intensification or to change in the repertoire of vessels produced (Schiffer and Skibo *ibid.*; Kramer 1985: 92–94). Feedback from use may create a demand for improvement (Schiffer and Skibo 1987: 598). Other reasons for innovation may include restricted access to resources such as fuel or clay (Kramer 1985: 92–94) or change in cultural demands, such as the introduction of a new religion (*ibid.*).

The conflict between innovation and conservatism in traditional pottery production has been studied by Nicklin (1971: 31–33) and Arnold (1989: 221–224). The acceptance of innovations may depend on the availability of resources, and the organizational patterns of production, such as the motor habits of the potter. Perhaps even more important are the non-economic barriers or sanctions societies place on innovation in pottery production. Customs and ideology operate in order to preserve group norms by discouraging innovation that may lead to change of the power relations within the group. Traditionalism is also strongly reflected in behavioural patterns or motor patterns, "...habitual postures, actions, and ways of doing things" (Rice 1987: 462). These are manifested in the way vessels are formed, as the motor habits of potters or other artisans (Arnold 1989: 224; Shanks and Tilley 1992: 141) have a profound effect on the style of objects, since they are the 'style of action' (Dietler and Herbich 1998: 236), the *chaîne opératoire* which determines the 'material style'.

However, well embedded behavioural or motor patterns are also linked to the way vessels are *used* and these patterns "...are resistant to change because they are related not only to the positions in which implements are used, but to the shapes and sizes of the implements themselves" (Rice 1987: 462). Schiffer and Skibo's (1987: 598) term, "functional field", is useful in characterizing the barriers to the introduction and acceptance of new object types via interregional interaction. It is "...the set of techno-functions, socio-functions, and ideo-function that the artifacts in a society have to perform". These aspects may be partly or entirely culturally specific; their different aspects, from production to use, represent a rich set of behavioural patterns

that may simply not exist outside the cultural boundaries of the manufacturing society. Negotiation between behavioural patterns associated with production and use occurs within the realms of the *habitus* (Dietler and Herbich 1998: 247), with durable dispositions towards certain perceptions and practices (Jones 1997: 88). Hence, specific behavioural patterns are closely connected to perception of group identity, and will be less prone to changes, as the *habitus* of a group is likely to persist even in situations of great social stress, as in cases of migrants in a foreign society (Burmeister 2000: 542).

Innovations which do occur within the context of interregional interaction, despite these limitations, may still be afflicted with severe problems in cultural transmission, as cultural constraints prevent the completion of the socialization process. These incomplete transmissions may in their turn result in yet more innovations, creating new behavioural patterns and new types of artefacts.

The encounter with foreign items, without full knowledge of the behavioural patterns connected with their 'functional field', without a complete teaching mechanism for the cultural transmission, or even the encounter with objects with a modified cultural message (such as those made for export) may trigger a vast array of innovation processes. Innovation may be expressed by:

- Finding new uses for 'foreign' pottery types and connecting them to existing behavioural patterns
- Imitating 'foreign' forms while using local materials and local production methods
- Adopting some traits or elements of 'foreign' object types and incorporating them into new types, fit to local demands and behavioural patterns

It will be demonstrated here that Aegean behavioural patterns were not readily accepted by the Canaanite population, which was spectacularly innovative in both the use of Aegean imported wares as well as in the production and use of locally-produced Aegean-style wares.

Furthermore, it will be argued that cultural difference rather than the intensity of the interaction was the cause of the Canaanite reluctance to acquire Aegean behavioural patterns. Accordingly, innovations will be examined in two contexts of interaction: The first is the question of whether Aegean feasting practices were accepted by the Canaanite aristocracy of the 13th century BCE as a result of trade in Mycenaean pottery. The second is the question of the adoption and use of Aegean cooking vessels and cooking installations in 12th- and 11th-century Philistia as a result of the Aegean migration of the Philistines.

MYCENAEAN DRINKING WARE IN THE SOUTHERN LEVANT

A comparison between Mycenaean and Canaanite iconography of the 14th and 13th centuries BCE exposed, *contra* Carter (1995), a fundamental difference in the feasting practices of the two societies. The 14th-century-BCE "Campstool Fresco" from Knossos (Evans 1964: 381–396; Immerwahr 1990: 95; Wright 2004b: 163–164) and the throne room fresco at Pylos (Lang 1969: Pls. 125–126; McCallum 1987: 94–97; Wright 2004b: 161–161) (Fig. 1: 4) show pairs of individuals of similar rank seated facing each other. There are also figures larger than the participants present: a woman, "la Parissienne", in Knossos, and the lyre player in Pylos, both possibly divinities. However, as is customary in Aegean art, no rulers are depicted in dominant positions (Rehak 1995; Davis 1995). The drinking vessels, preserved only in the Knossos fresco, are Aegean: a chalice and a two-handled goblet (Wright 2004 b: 162). Similarly, a LHIIIB amphoroid krater from Enkomi (Karageorghis 1983: 164–167; Buchholz 1999: 406–408; Fig. 1: 7) shows pairs of Mycenaean warriors clad in armour and wearing helmets, standing at a tall table holding kylikes.

This picture of participants who enjoy a similar status stands in stark contrast to the hierarchy seen in the Canaanite feasting scenes depicted on Canaanite-style ivories from Megiddo (Loud 1939: nos. 2, 160, 162; Liebowitz 1980: 164–165; Bryan 1996: 73–75) and the Egyptianizing ivory from Tell el-Farʿah (Petrie 1930: Pl. LV; Liebowitz 1980: 165–166; Bryan 1996: 62–66) (Fig. 1 and front and back covers). In Canaan, the drinking ruler is the focal point of the banquet scene, and his seated presence dictates the positioning of the other figures. In Megiddo Ivory 2 and in the Tell el-Farʿah ivory the ruler is the only seated figure, and he is surrounded by his wife, who is serving him a beverage, and by servants and entertainers (a dancer at Tell el-Farʿah, a lyre player at Megiddo). The drinking vessels are Canaanite in the Canaanite-style depiction from Megiddo: a krater, round handleless cups and zoomorphic rhyta, while the Egyptianizing Tell el-Farʿah representation shows a drinking bowl and an Egyptian style jug.

A complex feasting hierarchy is evident in Megiddo Ivory 160. The ruler is seated in front of two rows of participating aristocrats. Hierarchy is evident not only by proximity to the ruler, but also in the size of the drinking bowls: the largest is placed in the hand of the ruler, the smaller bowl in the hand of the nobleman in the first row, and the smallest bowl is held by the nobleman seated in the second row, furthest from the ruler.

Profound differences between Canaanite and Aegean drinking practices can be seen in toasting and in the way the vessels are held. Aegean toasting is characterized by the use of stemmed vessels always firmly held by their stems using the entire fist: thus in the chalice and goblet in the campstool fresco (Evans 1964: Figs. 324–325; Wright 1996: Fig. 18.8), the chalice in the Tiryns gold ring (Sakellariou, A. 1964:

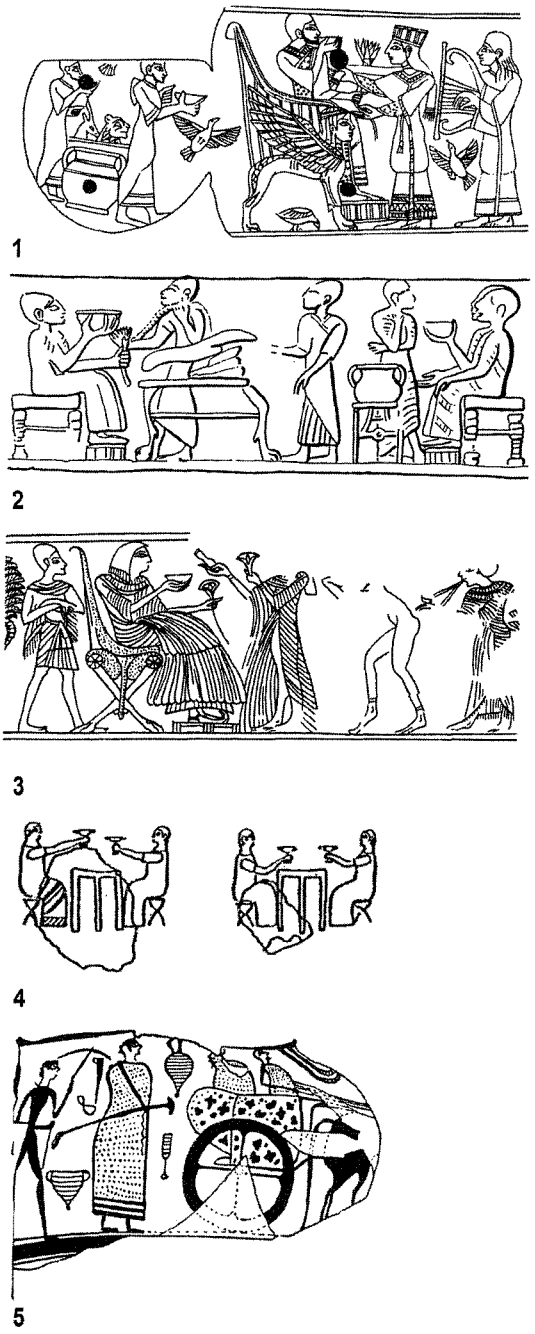

Fig. 1. (1) Megiddo Ivory no. 2, redrawn after Loud 1939; (2) Megiddo Ivory no. 160, redrawn after Loud 1939; (3) Ivory from Tell el-Farʿah, redrawn after Petrie 1930: Pl. LV; (4) Pylos, throne room fresco, redrawn after McCallum 1987: Pl. X; (5) Krater from Enkomi, redrawn after Furumark 1941: Fig. 75.

202–203, no. 179; Rehak 1995: 103), the Kylix held by the hand of the Amykleion terracotta statue(s) (Δημακοπούλου 1982: 54–56; Petterson 1992: 95–96; Rehak 1995: 108), and the kylix in the Tiryns "chariot race" krater (Kilian 1980; Rehak 1995: 108; Wright 1996: Fig. 18.19; Wright 2004b: Figs. 15–17) (Fig. 2: 4–6). In contrast, Canaanite depiction in the Megiddo and Tell el-Farʿah ivories (Fig. 2: 1–3), as well as on one Middle and two Late Bronze Age basalt statues from Hazor (Beck 1989: 322–327) show that rulers and nobles drank while nursing the round-based drinking bowl in the open palm of the hand. This is a Syrian tradition that began in the early second millennium BCE (Beck 1989: 327; Ziffer 1999: 195–196). A similar manner of holding the drinking vessel is mentioned in the Hurrian-Hittite epic, *The Song of Release,* in which Allani, the goddess of the netherworld, is holding an animal-head drinking vessel flat on her hand, her four fingers resting below it (Hoffner 1998: 73). The *ks*, i.e., drinking bowl, is most likely similarly held by Baʿal in KTU 1.3 I 10–11: *ytn. ks. bdh/ krp[[m]]nm. bklat. ydh* (Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín 1995: 10): he will put a *ks* (drinking bowl) in his hand, a *krpnm* (pot, from Akkadian *karpatu, CAD* K: 219) in both hands.

The ideology of Canaanite aristocrats drinking from a bowl is well represented in the archaeological record, which yielded dozens of bronze bowls in elite tombs in the Levant as well as in Cyprus (Gershuni 1985; 2002: 203). However, stemmed forms, as the handleless goblets (Amiran 1969: Pl. 40; Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: Pl. XLVII), although present in the local ceramic repertoire, were not found in metal, that is, more prestigious versions. The preference for drinking bowls in the southern Levant and for stemmed vessels in the Aegean is therefore most likely to be connected to elite ideology which manifests itself in toasting ceremonies that combine specific drinking vessels with the appropriate hand gestures that should be performed during toasting.

The existence of intercultural barriers to the spread of consumption of imported Aegean tableware in the Levant may be hinted at by the fact that Mycenaean drinking ware is found in considerably smaller numbers than Mycenaean containers that were imported for their contents.[1] According to Sherratt and Killebrew (1998: 169) only *ca.* 30% of the Mycenaean imports to the Levant were non-containers. A similar figure is given to the newly-published Lachish assemblage (French and Sherratt 2004: 1446). However, most published deposits point to even lower figures. In Aphek, only 20% of the imported Mycenaean vessels were open shapes (Guzowska and Yasur-Landau forthcoming). In Beth Shean, an Egyptian stronghold (Hankey 1993: 103), only 15%

[1] It is also important to note that while resinated Canaanite wine was exported to the Mycenaean mainland, as found in residue analysis (Tzedakis and Martlew 1999: 155–158), the large stirrup jars used for transporting wine in the Aegean (*ibid.*: 152–153) are rather an infrequent find in Israel, indicating that Aegean wine was not commonly imported and consumed by Canaanite elites.

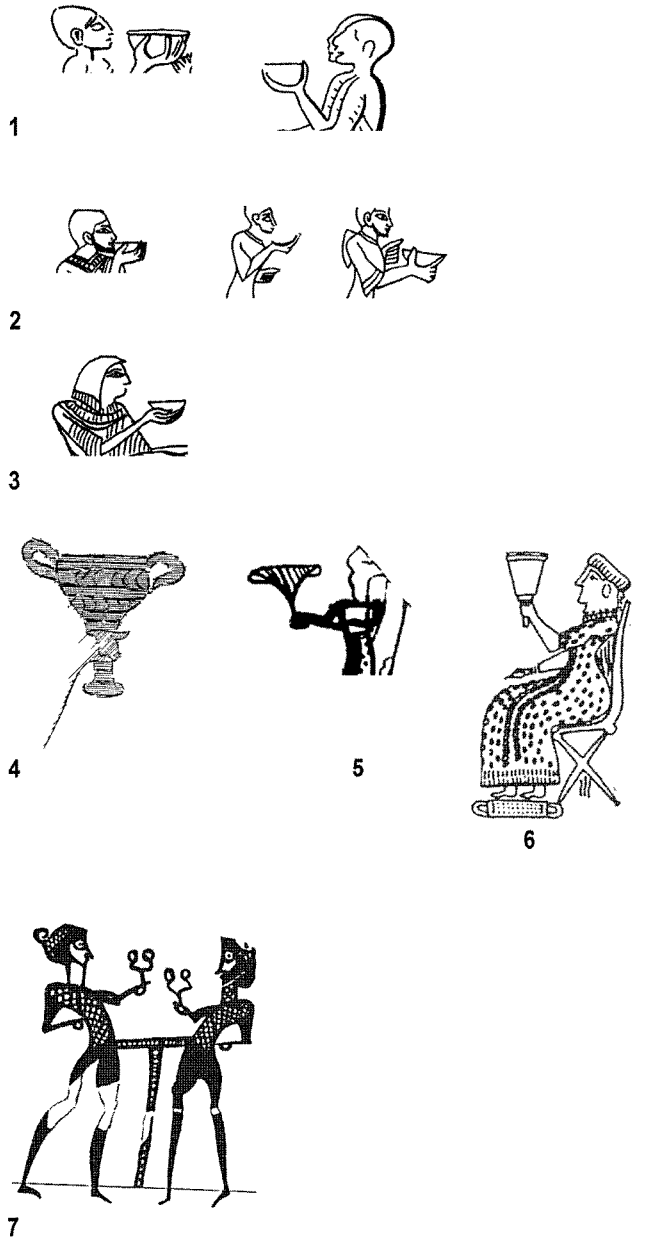

Fig. 2. (1) Detail: Megiddo Ivory no. 160, redrawn after Loud 1939; (2) Detail: Megiddo Ivory no. 2, redrawn after Loud 1939; (3) Detail: Ivory from Tell el-Farʿah, redrawn after Petrie 1930: Pl. LV; (4) Detail: Campstool fresco, Knossos, redrawn after Evans 1964: Fig. 324; (5) Detail: LHIIIC krater from Tiryns, redrawn after Kilian 1980: 23 Fig. 2; (6) Detail: LHII? gold signet ring from Tiryns, redrawn after Sakellariou, A. 1964. 202–203 (no. 179); (7) LHIIIB Amphoroid krater from Enkomi, after Karageorghis 1983: Fig. 2, detail.

of the imported Mycenaean vessels of Strata VIII and VII were open shapes. In the 'Mycenaean' tomb at Dan (Ben-Dov 2002: 98–118), the ratios of vessels belonging to the elite of the site in the 14th and 13th centuries BCE include 18% open vessels and 82% closed vessels. In Tell el-'Ajjul (Steel 2002: 33, Fig. 3), less than 10 % of the imported Mycenaean pottery had open forms. Given the very small number of Mycenaean pottery imports found in habitation contexts, Steel (2002: 36) argues that "...Mycenaean imports...represent an exotic rarity that had a limited appeal or use within the LBA occupation of the site." Only two sites seem to be clear exceptions to this rule: Ugarit and Tell Abu-Hawam (Van Wijngaarden 2002: 109), the entry point for Mycenaean pottery to large parts of Syria and the southern Levant.

The smaller ratio of imported tableware may reflect a phenomenon similar to that in LCIIC Kalavassos/Ayios Dhimitrios in Cyprus (South and Russell 1993: 306–308), where imports of fine Aegean tableware pottery were connected to high-status dwellings, while more numerous closed shapes were found in more varied contexts. Those ratios indicate a more restricted access to high-status imported tableware than to closed forms. Steel (1998: 296) made a similar generalization for the patterns of use of Mycenaean pottery in Cyprus: "...the dinner services and pictorial style were appropriated by the élite as status symbols to define their own exclusivity". If the use of imported Myceanean drinking ware is connected also in the Levant with aristocracy and elite dwelling, as possibly seen in Hazor (Van Wijngaarden 2002: 96), Aphek (Guzowska and Yasur-Landau forthcoming) and Tell el-'Ajjul (Steel 2002: 36–38), we can expect that the types imported will reflect choices dictated by the Canaanite elite ideology. Therefore, the intercultural difference in feasting habits demonstrated by the elite iconography may, in theory, predict that Aegean feasting vessels, which embody a set of behaviours different from the Canaanite, will be less frequent imports to the Levant than those in accord with Canaanite feasting practices.

An examination of the appearance of imported Myceanean drinking ware in the Southern Levant strongly supports this hypothesis. The most conspicuous example of a Mycenaean vessel probably incorporated into Canaanite feasts is the 'Chariot Krater', by itself a product of innovative potteries in the Argolid (below). It is noticeable that amphoroid kraters with vertical handles appear in both Aegean and Canaanite feasting vessel repertoires. The typological similarity between the depictions of Amphoroid kraters in the Canaanite feasting scenes in Megiddo, locally made kraters of the Late Bronze Age II and Mycenaean Amphoroid kraters FS 53–55 (Fig. 3), enables us to easily envision the mechanism facilitating the adoption of imported Aegean kraters by the Canaanite elite. The mercantile potential in the export of Mycenaean kraters to Cyprus and the Levant did not go unnoticed by the mass-producers of pottery in the Argolid, who both invented and innovated: they created a

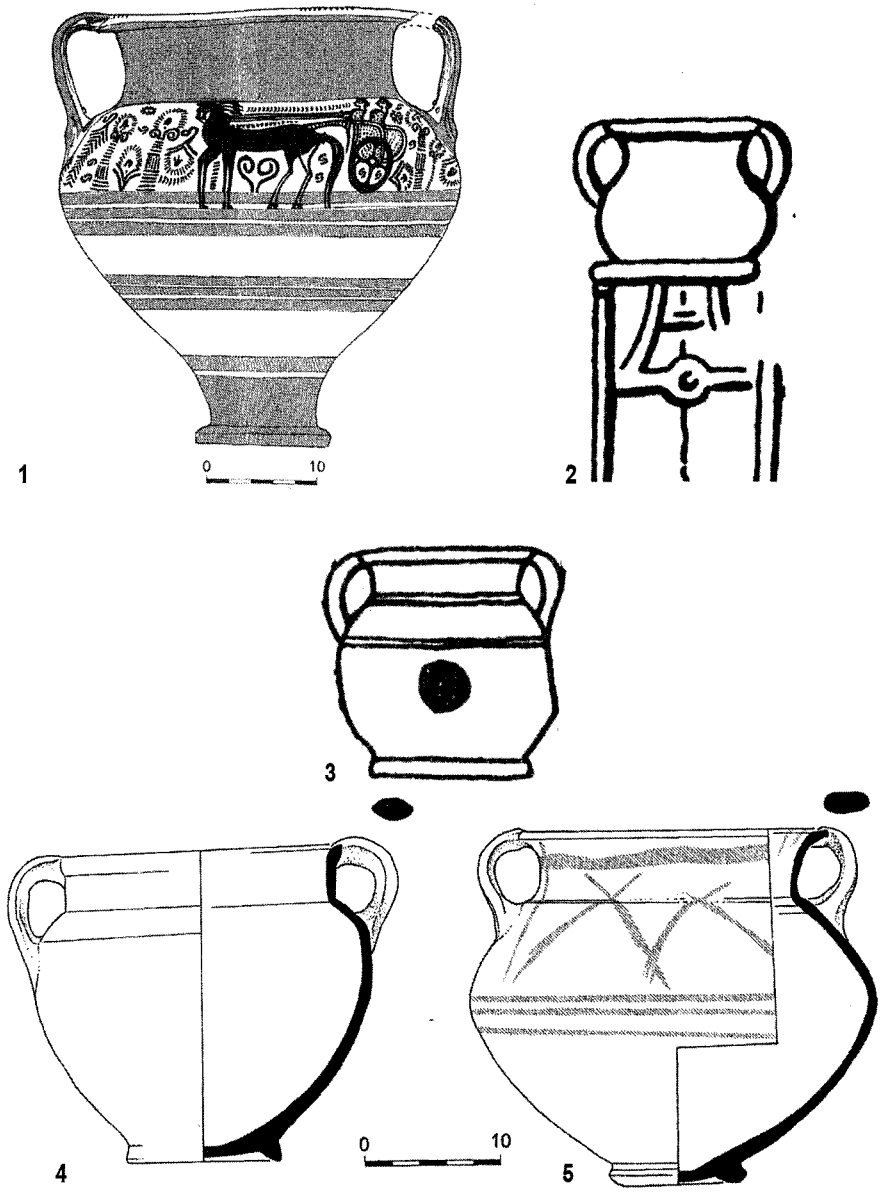

Fig. 3. (1) Mycenaean krater from tomb 387 at Dan (after Ben-Dov 2002: Fig. 86); (2) Krater used in Canaanite feast. Detail of Megiddo Ivory no. 2, redrawn after Loud 1939; (3) Krater used in Canaanite feast. Detail of Megiddo Ivory no. 160, redrawn after Loud 1939; (4) Local krater from tomb 387 at Dan (after Ben-Dov 2002: Fig. 2.54: 14); (5) Local krater from tomb 387 at Dan (after Ben-Dov 2002: Fig. 2.54: 16).

special product tailored to the markets of the East and the taste of the foreign elites: the chariot kraters, mass produced with scenes of Mycenaean elite riding chariots, yet marketed almost exclusively outside the boundaries of Mycenaean culture (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982: 8–9; Åkerström 1987: 117ff.; Mountjoy 1993: 73; Halstead 1994: 208; Gunneweg *et al.* 1992; Leonard 1994: 22–33; South and Todd 1997: 75).

In the absence of a mechanism to directly convey Aegean drinking practices, which was necessary for the *knowledge* and *persuasion* stages of innovation, the scenes on these kraters, which depict chariots with members of the Mycenaean elite, deliver a message of the aristocratic, military status of the chariot driver that is very clear to elite societies of the Late Bronze Age (Steel 1999: 808–809). Furthermore, the message wisely combines elite status with the consumption of wine in Aegean tableware, yet with typological features that can be used by non-Mycenaean consumers, answering to the *compatibility* factor of innovation adoption.

The message is most explicit in case of a krater fragment from Enkomi (Furumark 1941: Fig. 75; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982: III.21; Wright 1996: 304; 2004 b: 168) (Fig. 1: 5), in which a Mycenaean dignitary clad in long robes and a servant carrying a parasol and a staff walk behind a chariot. The nobleman is surrounded by a complete Mycenaean drinking kit, including a rhyton, ladle or cup, goblet or krater, a jug and a chalice. The message to the Cypriots at Enkomi may say something like: 'This is how a true Aegean nobleman drinks; buy the complete Mycenaean drinking kit!'

Despite these attempts to communicate via iconography, innovation related to the influence of Aegean drinking practices in the 14th and 13th centuries BCE was limited. It included mainly the adoption of Mycenaean kraters as replacing local types in aristocratic feasts, as well as the more sporadic use of imported Mycenaean bowls and cups, supplementing the Canaanite bronze drinking bowls. Such is the case of the Tel Dan elite tomb, which contained three local kraters side by side with an imported Mycenaean chariot krater, indicating that the imported krater was incorporated into the local drinking kit (Ben-Dov 2002: 67) (Fig. 3: 1, 4, 5). Drinking vessels included both shallow angular Mycenaean bowls (FS 296) and a semi-globular cup (Ben-Dov 2002: 106–107) as well as Canaanite bronze drinking bowls (Gershuny 2002: 200–203). Similarly, sherds of chariot kraters have been found in the elite dwelling areas at Aphek (Guzowska and Yasur-Landau forthcoming) and Tell el-'Ajjul (Steel 2002: 36–38).

In the 13th century, LHIIIB (FS 282) ring base kraters were imported to the Levant, yet they are very rare: only 13 examples, excluding Ugarit, are extant (Leonard 1994: 114–117). Although this form, foreign to the local repertoire, was purchased, it did not change the local behavioural patterns, and was not imitated by

local potters except on very rare occasions, as in the case of the two kraters, made by the same artisan, from T. 912, B, D belonging to Stratum VII at Megiddo (Amiran 1969: Pl. 57: 12, 13). However, locally-made ring base kraters do appear in large numbers in 12th-century Philistia (Yasur-Landau 2002: 179; Dothan and Zukerman 2004: 12); their production was induced not by the minute import, but rather by the Aegean migration to the Levant.

Kylikes are arguably the most popular Aegean drinking form. Thus, for example, thousands have been found in Pantries 9, 18, 19, 20 at the Palace of Pylos (Blegen and Rawson 1966: 100–102, 118–128), more than 600 at the House of Sphinxes at Mycenae (Tournavitou 1995: 117–121, tables 7 and 8), and approximately 400 at the 'Potter's Shop' at Zygouries (Blegen 1928: 33–38, 143–167; Thomas 1992: 271–272, 334).

However, kylikes and other stemmed vessels are not common imports to the Levant. Excluding Ugarit and its ports, only 18 clear examples of FS 256–258 are listed in Leonard's catalogue (1994: 106–109). Other stemmed drinking vessels are even rarer, as the stemmed cup, FS 278 (*ibid.*: 110–111) with 9 examples and about 30 more examples of unidentified stemmed vessels (*ibid.*: 11–112). However, stemless drinking vessels are considerably more common imports: more than 110 semi-globular cups (FS 219, 220) (*ibid.*: 96–102), and a dozen of other types of cup were found, as well as more than 40 shallow angular bowls (FS 296) (Leonard 1994: 123–126). FS 296 is also a common import to Cyprus, although not as common in the Aegean, and may be a specialized form, made, as the 'Chariot Kraters', to be exported to the east, to fit tastes different from the Aegean (French and Sherratt 2004: 1446–1447). Stemmed drinking vessels had to be held differently, and required a toasting gesture contrary to the motor patterns of Canaanite toasting. The different languages of gesture (cf. Morris 2001; Wedde 1999), each with its rich symbolic vocabulary, may have functioned as a cultural barrier to the widespread innovative use of kylikes by Canaanite aristocracy. The latter, however, was more prone to use the stemless cups and bowls, which can be held in the same way as Canaanite drinking bowls.

The 'tailor made' FS 296 did not enter the local ceramic repertoire. Like the Ring Base Krater FS 282, it was not manufactured locally. Furthermore, FS 295, a shallow, angular bowl, was probably never imported to the southern Levant from the Aegean (French and Sherrat 2004: 1447–1448), yet was produced in large numbers in Philistia during the 12th century BCE (*ibid.*; Yasur-Landau 2002: 179; Dothan and Zukerman 2004: 7–8). As in the case of the ring base krater, this local production was not prompted by trade (Barako 2000) and should therefore be attributed to the migration and settlement of Aegean populations.

Even in places with intensive feasting activity, such as in the Fosse Temple at

Lachish (Bietak 2002: 74–76; 2003: 159–162), no Aegean influence on behavioural patterns is seen. Mass-scale cooking was conducted in more than 60 open 'Canaanite' cooking-pots (Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: Pls. LV, LVI; Bietak 2002: 74) and local-style kraters and bowls were the common drinking ware (Tufnell, Inge and Harding 1940: Pls. XL, XLVIII). The number of Aegean imports was negligible, consisting of mostly small containers (*ibid.*: Pls. LVIII: 5; LXIII), certainly in comparison to the imported Cypriot White Slip and Monochrome bowls and Base Ring kraters which may also have supplemented the local drinking ware (*ibid.*: 1940: Pl. XLIII, XLIV; Bietak 2002: 74). This lack of influence of Mycenaean feasting behaviours was by no means a mark of traditionalism and lack of innovation in the Lachish cult. The deep architectural changes occurring between Temple I and Temple II, which include the doubling of the area of the temple and addition of benches, were most likely connected with the type of feasting activities. These innovations, however, were instigated by the influence of Egyptian mortuary architecture and its incorporation into local cultic traditions (Bietak 2002: 79).

It seems, therefore, that cultural constraints related to specific Canaanite aristocratic feasting motor habits and behavioural patterns had prevented the widespread use of some imported Aegean forms, such as the kylix and the ring base krater. These constraints, which may be expressed in low *compatibility* and *relative advantage* values for these forms, may also have served as barriers to innovation processes by Canaanite potters, making local imitations of Aegean tableware an extreme rarity in the 13th century BCE. These constraints did, however, serve as a catalyst for innovation in the Aegean potteries, which produced specialized forms derived from Aegean types not yet marketed in the Aegean, but aimed at being culturally compatible with the needs of the Cypriot and Levantine aristocratic clientele.

AEGEAN COOKING VESSELS AND COOKING FACILITIES IN PHILISTIA

During the 12th century BCE, Aegean-type cooking vessels, the cooking jugs (Fig. 4: 4), as well as the square hearth as a cooking installation, appear in Philistia for the first time, following an Aegean migration. The rectangular hearth, almost a universal feature of LHIIIC domestic architecture (Dothan 1998; Stager 1995: 347; Mazar 1986; 1988: 257–260; Karageorghis 1998; Yasur-Landau 2002: 172–174), had never been a feature of Canaanite house architecture, and reflects concepts of cooking as well as arrangement of space foreign to the local ones. Similarly, the ring or flat base cooking jugs are very frequent in LM/LHIIIC assemblages (Yasur-Landau 2002: 117–118, 171; Dothan and Zukerman 2004: 28, 30) (Fig. 4: 2–3) and were never imported to the Levant during the Late Bronze Age. Their flat bases, very different from the round bases of the open Canaanite cooking-pots (Fig. 4: 1), enabled them to stand firmly on even cooking surfaces. The burn patterns on the sides of the

cooking jugs in Philistia, the Aegean mainland and Crete are similar, and consistent with slow cooking on the edges of hearths (Yasur-Landau 2002: 174; forthcoming a and b). Even their production reflects a change in the potter's *chaîne opératoire*: Different clay recipes were used for the making of local 'Canaanite' cooking-pots and Aegean-style cooking jugs, showing a preference for sand as the main temper for the cooking jugs, while shells were the traditional temper for coastal 'Canaanite' cooking-pots (Killebrew 1999: 108–109; Buzaglo and Yasur-Landau 2005). These indicate deep processes of cultural transmission affecting a plethora of behavioural patterns: the technological aspects of the making of the vessel, its typology, and patterns of its use in connection with the hearth. This complex transmission could not have been intercultural; rather it took place within a culture of migrants arriving from the Aegean to the Levantine littoral. It would seem likely that the presence of a large Canaanite population residing within Philistia would create conditions for intercultural transfer of knowledge affecting the spread of Aegean-type cooking jugs and cooking installations. The phenomenon of intercultural marriages, common in situations of migration and postulated for the Aegean migration in Cyprus and Israel (Yasur-Landau 1999; Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 2002), is the perfect arena for acquiring behavioural patterns through socialization carried out within the family home. Despite these favourable conditions, rectangular hearths were only found in some 12th- and early-11th-century BCE buildings at Ashkelon, Ashdod and Tel Miqne/ Ekron, the main Philistine centres, and are absent elsewhere. The only conspicuous exception is the keyhole hearth at Tel Qasile (Mazar 1988: 257–260).

It is apparent that the hearth, with its rich ideological charge, associated with Aegean gathering and feasting practices (Bunimovitz and Yasur-Landau 2002), was not accepted by Canaanite society residing outside the main clusters of Aegean migrants in the large cities of Philistia. The reasons for this rejection may be a combination of its low *relative advantage* value in cooking and heating over the existing *tabun* and *tannur* with low *compatibility* to existing foodway traditions. Any advantage offered by the hearth was not as powerful as the preservation of feasting traditions of the Late Bronze Age. These were very different from the Aegean ones, and maintaining them represents the will to preserve cultural identity in a situation of possible political inferiority.

Despite the rarity of hearths, ring or flat base Aegean-style cooking jugs are frequent in both heartland and peripheral Philistia during the later 12th and the 11th centuries, at sites such as Aphek (Gadot 2003: Pl. V.70: 1), Tel Qasile (Mazar 1985: Fig. 25: 17; 26: 11) Tell ʿEitun (Edelstein and Aurant 1992: Fig. 10: 9, 11), Gezer (Gittin 1990: Pl. 5: 6, 7, 15) and Beth Shemesh (Grant and Wright 1938: Pl. LXI: 29, 31) (Fig. 4: 5). The apparent rejection of an Aegean-style hearth by the residents of the smaller settlements of Philistia indicates that the patterns of use in Aegean-style

cooking jugs were not the Aegean ones visible in Ekron, Ashdod and Ashkelon. Therefore, their use reflects innovation by the local Canaanite population, both in the shape of the vessels, adopted into the local ceramic repertoire, and also in new patterns of exploitation found for this form within a non-Aegean cultural context.

An innovative cooking vessel adopted into a traditional kitchen may be confronted with greater difficulties than other vessels, as dietary habits tend to be very conservative. The shape of the cooking-pot used has a strong correlation to the type and taste of food cooked in it and food cooked in traditional vessels is usually considered to be tastier (Rice 1987: 463; Arnold 1989: 142). It may be proposed that the traditional boundaries to the innovative use of cooking jugs by the Canaanite population were overcome because of the technological/economic advantages embedded in their form. Their closed shape and small volume enables slower cooking of smaller quantities. It is most likely more energy-efficient than the open, local cooking-pots. Their smaller mouths reduced evaporation from the pot and, accordingly, also the chances of burning the food.

The adoption of the Aegean-style cooking jug into the local Canaanite kitchens, i.e., the *persuasion* and *decision* stages of the diffusion of the innovation, was gradual. It was accompanied by invention processes that included experimentation with its shape, which were doubtlessly made in order to increase its *relative advantage* in terms of energy expenditure as well as its *compatibility* with Canaanite cooking tradition. This process was characterized by the production of experimental forms which were not widely accepted, a phenomenon encountered in the study of innovating potters (Nicklin 1971: 20–21). At Tel Gerisa (Fig. 4: 7), in an 11th-century context, a curious cooking-pot has a closed and round body as well as a ring base, similar to the Aegean cooking-pot, yet its neck is much longer. It may have been an unsuccessful attempt to produce a type of cooking-pot with minimal evaporation.

The innovative formula that allowed the adoption of the cooking jug into the local repertoire is well attested in the cooking jugs of the 11th century BCE, such as those found at Megiddo Stratum VIA (Loud 1948: Pl. 75: 17, 18; 77: 5, 6; Fig. 4: 8) and ʿIzbet Ṣarṭah Stratum II (Finkelstein 1986: Fig. 16: 16; 19: 8). These are jug-like vessels, with one or two handles, similar to the Aegean prototype, yet with a round base similar to that of the local 'Canaanite' open cooking-pot. In the absence of Aegean-style hearths with an even cooking surface, the need for a flat or ring base was eliminated, and was replaced by the round base, which is typical of cooking vessels in the Levant from as early as the 3rd millennium. The technological and economic advantages of this hybrid form, the result of innovation stemming from an intercultural interaction, made this type the prototype for the standard closed cooking vessel in the southern Levant throughout the Iron II and Iron III periods (Amiran 1969: Pl. 76).

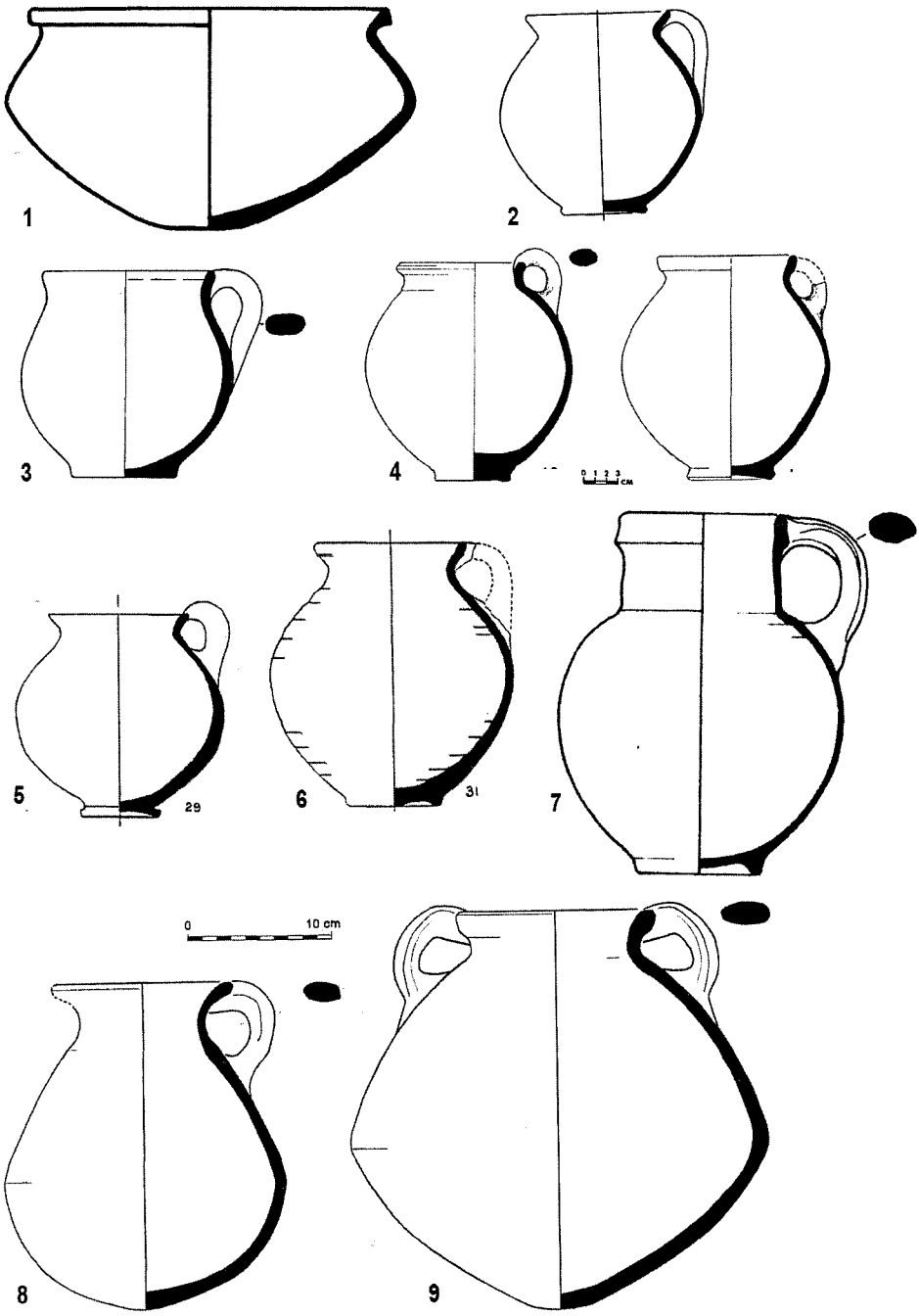

Fig. 4. (1) Canaanite cooking pot Megiddo Stratum VIII, redrawn after Loud 1948: Pl. 1: 27; (2) Korakou, redrawn after Rutter 1974: Fig. 33:2; (3) Emporio, redrawn after Hood 1982: Fig. 280: 2949; (4) Tel Miqne/Ekron. Dothan 1998: Fig. 5:16, 17; (5, 6) Beth Shemesh, redrawn after Grant and Wright 1938: Pl. LXI: 29, 31; (7) Tel Gerisa. Drawing courtesy of Prof. Ze'ev Herzog; (8, 9) Megiddo Phase K–4: Stratum VIA (after Arie 2004: Pl. 9: 8).

CONCLUSION

The case studies cited here clearly demonstrate how intercultural differences function as a potent obstacle to processes of the cultural transmission of innovations. However, problems in transmission may be rejoindered by additional processes of invention, intended to amplify the relative *advantages* as well as the *compatibility* values of the product in a way that may be sufficient to overcome the cultural boundaries.

A deeper understanding of the complexity of the mechanisms determining invention and innovation processes in a situation of interregional interaction is vital for any study examining the cultural influence of the Aegean on the Levant. Such detailed exploration focused on the behavioural patterns of cultural boundaries may be highly rewarding, as it may open the door to a better understanding of the most elementary component of group identity.

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