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Crielaard, Jan Paul

published in

Change, Continuity, and Connectivity
2018

document version

Publisher's PDF, also known as Version of record

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citation for published version (APA)

Crielaard, J. P. (2018). Hybrid go-betweens: the role of individuals with multiple identities in cross-cultural contacts in the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age central and eastern Mediterranean. In Ł. Niesiołowski-Spanò, & M. Węcowski (Eds.), *Change, Continuity, and Connectivity: North-Eastern Mediterranean at the Turn of the Bronze Age and in the early Iron Age* (pp. 196-220). (Philippika - Altertumswissenschaftliche Abhandlungen = Contributions to the Study of Ancient World Cultures; Vol. 118). Harrassowitz Verlag.
https://www.academia.edu/38231652/Hybrid_go_betweens_the_role_of_individuals_with_multiple_identities_in_cross_cultural_contacts_in_the_Late_Bronze_Age_and_Iron_Age_central_and_eastern_Mediterranean_2018_

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Hybrid go-betweens: the role of individuals with multiple identities in cross-cultural contacts in the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age central and eastern Mediterranean¹

Jan Paul Crielaard

Introduction

The point of departure for this paper is a number of tombs found in locations scattered over the central and eastern Mediterranean. Together they cover a period that encompasses the outgoing Bronze Age and the Iron Age. Although dispersed in time and space, these tombs have in common that each of them has features that are definitely of a non-local nature and is different or unusual in comparison to the graves that accompany them. The ambiguity of these tombs and the individuals buried in them has confused archaeologists, which is another element that these burials share. Scholars are divided over the question how to evaluate these individuals and, more in particular, what kind of ethnic identity they had. In this contribution I take a closer look at these tombs with two main aims in mind. First, I wish to offer a different perspective on these ambiguous individuals. I will treat them not in isolation but consider them as manifestations of a more widely occurring phenomenon. I will argue that these individuals had hybrid or multiple identities, and compare them to other individuals attested in the archaeological and textual records who seem to have possessed comparable positions in intercultural or transcultural situations of increasing interconnectivity. In many recent studies on culture contact, the focus is on larger collectives, such as migrants or colonists.² In this paper, however, I will highlight the possible role of individuals in culture contacts and explore the phenomenon of cultural hybrids, which constitutes the second aim of my paper.³

Four ambiguous tombs

The first of our group of ambiguous tombs is Kourion-Kaloriziki tomb 40 (fig. 1a). This burial chamber dating to the Late Cypriot IIIB period (early 11th c. BCE) probably originally held two bronze amphoroid kraters, covered by bronze sieves. One krater was found in 1953 inside the tomb and supposedly served as an ash container for a middle-aged female. A large bronze krater and a gold and cloisonné enamel sceptre head that some 50 years earlier had been confiscated by the local police, were probably looted from the same tomb

1 I am grateful to the organizers for their invitation to participate in the conference and for the kind hospitality received in Warsaw. I presented the lecture on which the present paper is based also at the international conference 'Mistaken Identity. Identities as resources in the central Mediterranean' at Eberhard Karls Universität Tübingen, 17-19 November 2016. I should like to thank the participants in both conferences and Dr. Andrea Babbi for their feedback.

2 See e.g. Raaflaub 2004.

3 I have discussed aspects of these tombs in previous articles, see esp. Crielaard 1998; 2011: 101-3; 2012: 145-51; 2016: 50-67; in press, but in this article I wish to explore their hybrid character.

and may be attributed to a male co-occupant of the grave.⁴ The deceased had been buried with other bronze vessels, two bronze tripod stands, a spearhead, bronze shield bosses and pieces of bronze sheet⁵ that were thought to belong to a type of shield that is depicted on the LH IIIC Warrior krater from Mycenae.⁶ Cremation was little known in Late Bronze Age Cyprus, but was practiced in the Aegean where it gained in popularity from the LH IIIC period onwards.⁷ In addition, there are many other tomb goods that are Aegean imports or testify to connections with the Aegean.⁸ Taking all these peculiar elements together, it was thought that the tomb belonged to 'a stranger in the land', perhaps an Achaean royal, buried in a typically Cypriot chamber tomb, but accompanied by a Mycenaean-style sceptre and other kinds of prestigious items taken from the homeland.⁹ A number of other scholars have questioned this interpretation, however, and feel that the burials have to be regarded within a Cypriot context.¹⁰

The second tomb is that of the male and female buried in one of the two burial shafts (fig. 1b) under the Toumba building at Lefkandi (Middle Protogeometric, early 10th c. BCE). The male was cremated, after which the bone remains were gathered in a cloth and stored in a large amphoroid krater of bronze that also contained a linen robe, a cloth band and a bronze hemispherical bowl. The bronze amphoroid krater, which was an antique at the time of the burial, has close parallels in one of the kraters from Kaloriziki t. 40, and like the bronze hemispherical bowl it was identified as an import from Cyprus. An iron sword, a spearhead and a whetstone were found next to the bronze krater. The same shaft contained the inhumation of a richly adorned female. She was buried wearing an Old-Babylonian gold pendant, a faience necklace and two unique disks of gold sheet that might stem from Italian prototypes. Part of the funerary rites was the killing of four horses that were dumped in a neighbouring shaft.¹¹ Some scholars have acknowledged this tomb's Cypriot connection but set the burial in a Greek tradition, pointing at the Homeric or heroic character of the funerary rituals. Others have stressed the Cypriot character of the funerary rites – especially the sacrifice of horses, which has parallels in Cyprus – and the Oriental origin of the grave goods. On these grounds they suggest that the couple buried under the Toumba building were immigrants from Cyprus or even further east.¹² At this point it may be noted that this type of argument is very similar to those that are put forward to suggest that the incumbent of Kaloriziki t. 40 had been an Aegean immigrant to Cyprus.

4 McFadden 1954: 134; Benson 1973: 20-2; Vandenabeele 1987: 230; Matthäus, Schumacher-Matthäus 2012: 51-3.

5 Inventory of tomb finds: Matthäus, Schumacher-Matthäus 2012: 75-79.

6 Catling, Catling 1973; also Snodgrass 1967: 44. Matthäus, Schumacher-Matthäus (2012: 63-75) have recently suggested that the pieces of bronze belong to a helmet that again testifies to Aegean connections.

7 See Crielaard 2015: 45-47, with refs.

8 Matthäus, Schumacher-Matthäus 2012: 56-59. Both kraters are rooted in a Minoan-Mycenaean artistic tradition, and seem to have been antiques at the time of their burial: Matthäus, Schumacher-Matthäus 2012: 56-7; Papasavvas 2015; Crouwel, Morris 2015. Also the sceptre and rod tripods are considered antiques.

9 McFadden 1954: 134; Matthäus, Schumacher-Matthäus 2012: 70-74; Kourou 1994: 204-6: sceptre is Cypriot work under Egyptian influence.

10 Cf. Knapp 2013: 465.

11 Burials: Popham, Calligas, Sackett 1993: 17-22, 71. Bronze amphora: Catling 1993: 81-96. Pendant: Antonaccio 2002: 18-9 with n. 26. Disks: Jung 2007: 225.

12 E.g. S.P. Morris 1992, 140-141; Boardman 2002, 72-4.

The third example is Toumba tomb 79, also at Lefkandi (fig. 1c). It belongs to a male individual who died some 100 years after the burial of the couple under the Toumba building (Sub-Protogeometric II, ca. 875–850 BCE). After his body was cremated, his ashes were deposited in a bronze cauldron of Cypriot type, covered by a second bowl and placed in a shaft grave together with a set of terracotta vases (which had probably been used during the funerary feast), a sword, a spearhead, knives, a bunch of arrowheads and a bronze grater.¹³ The burial rites as well as the bronze grater are reminiscent of Homeric practices.¹⁴ There is again an eastern link, as the deceased was buried with several Phoenician and Cypriot flasks, a possible bronze weighing balance, a seal stone (an early second-millennium antique from North Syria), and 16 haematite weights and fragments that are of eastern type and represent weight standards that were current in the Near East.¹⁵ For some scholars, including the excavators, the grave goods allow this individual to be identified as a ‘Euboean warrior–trader’.¹⁶ Others doubt this identification and variably prefer to see him as a *proxenos* assisting the interests of eastern merchants,¹⁷ a Cypriot who had returned to the land of his forebears,¹⁸ an émigré Phoenician buried in Greek lands¹⁹ or indeed a Phoenician aristocrat based at Lefkandi.²⁰

To elaborate somewhat on Toumba t. 79’s connections with the Near East, as Bert Nijboer has pointed out the tomb inventory bears remarkable resemblances to the assemblage of grave goods buried with one of the individuals in Achziv tomb 1 (10th/9th century BCE), a Phoenician site in today’s northern Israel.²¹ We may add that the Achziv burial assemblage has good parallels in tomb 67 at Palaepaphos-Skales in Cyprus (early Cypro-Geometric IA - IB/II, i.e. mid 11th to mid 10th century BCE).²² Both contain earrings, weighing balances, stone weights,²³ seals and Phoenician oil flasks, as well as locally made terracotta dining sets. Furthermore, the Achziv burial held knives and weapons, including a large number of arrowheads, while the Palaepaphos burial contained bronze vessels.²⁴ Thus, the Lefkandi, Achziv and Palaepaphos tombs constitute a group of three, almost contemporary tombs with a highly comparable assemblage of grave goods. It may be pointed out that this similarity in grave goods cannot be explained merely in terms of trade. The grave goods in question are not simply trade commodities; quite the contrary, there is a whole world beyond these items. Weighing balances, for instance, had symbolic and ideological connotations. We find

13 Popham, Lemos 1995; Lemos 2003: 190–1.

14 Graters in Homer: *Il.* II. 639–40; *Od.* 20. 234, with Ridgway 1997a; West 1998.

15 Kroll 2008.

16 Popham, Lemos 1995: 156.

17 Antonaccio 2002: 28–29; also Lemos 2003: 191–2.

18 Kopcke 1990: 93, who feels that this interpretation solves the mystery of the deceased’s liking for Eastern objects and monumental building types. Cf. H.W. Catling 1995: 128, who on the basis of grave goods suggests that the 11th-c. tombs 186 and 201 in the Knossos-North Cemetery belonged to Cretans who spent part of their lives in Cyprus.

19 Papadopoulos 1997: 192; 2011: 115–6.

20 Niemeyer 2006: 149.

21 Nijboer 2008: 299–301.

22 Karageorghis 1983: 158–76.

23 The haematite sphendonoid weights found in Lefkandi-Toumba t. 79 have parallels in Palaepaphos-Skales t. 67 and t. 89, see Kroll 2008: 42; J.-C. Courtois in Karageorghis 1983: 424–5. For references to Cypriot tombs with bronze scales dating to either the Late Bronze Age or the Iron Age, see Karageorghis 1983: 183–4.

24 See further Crielaard 2012: 148–51.

testimony of this in Mycenaean Greece, the Homeric epics and also in the Near East, where high-ranking officials are sometimes portrayed carrying weighing balances.²⁵ But weighing balances most probably also had a practical function, presumably in weighing precious metals (*Hacksilber* or *Hackgold*) as part of economic transactions. Because several weight standards were in use in the ancient Near East and Mediterranean, merchants were obliged to travel with multiple sets. This is vividly illustrated by, for instance, the balance weights from the Uluburun shipwreck, which represent nine or ten complete and partial sets. What is of particular interest is that the eastern weights could indicate that the individual buried in Toumba t. 79 at Lefkandi was also familiar with the multiple metric systems that were current in the Near East.²⁶

To add a last, mundane but interesting detail, the Achziv, Palaepaphos and Lefkandi males all wore earrings. If we look at other tombs containing weapons at Lefkandi, we find that the wearing of earrings was not a custom among high-status males at Early Iron Age Lefkandi. We may cautiously conclude that in bodily adornment the individual buried in Toumba t. 79 differed from his fellow Lefkandiot, following a custom or fashion that he may have picked up in the East.

In addition to all this, a number of distinct elements connect Toumba t. 79 to local traditions, such as the use of a shaft grave (en vogue at Lefkandi since the MPG period note, however, that the niche is unusual) and especially the custom of secondary cremation employing a metal urn that seems to emulate the interment of the important male buried under the Toumba building.²⁷ Moreover, the majority of the pottery as well as the weapons and the combination of a cheese grater with weaponry all have close parallels in other graves at Lefkandi.²⁸ This forms a clear indication that the individual buried in Toumba t. 79 had in addition to his eastern connections roots in the Lefkandiot society and followed certain local traditions.

Taking everything together we may suggest that this individual had an intimate knowledge of different social and economic cultures, and could function in more than one world at the same time. The mixed character of the tomb type, burial rites and grave goods may be considered indicative of his mixed or multiple identity. This may also relate to the other tombs discussed thus far, and it certainly relates to the last grave assemblage that I will discuss here.

Our fourth and last example brings us to Fondo Artiaco, tomb 104 at Kyme in Campania in Italy. In the last quarter of the 8th century BCE an important individual was buried with elaborate ceremonial and exceptional grave goods (fig. 1d) in one of the grave plots north of the acropolis (ca. 720–700 BCE). His burnt bone remains were put in a silver urn that was placed inside two bronze cauldrons, the outer one covered by a bronze shield made in

25 Crielaard 2011: 101–3.

26 Kroll 2008: 43; also Alberti 2016: 299, 303. They are virtual duplicates of balance weights that were commonly employed in the LBA Levant and Cyprus, and can be linked to three current mass standards (Mesopotamian, Egypto-Syrian and Palestinian). The sphendonoid weights that are fractions or denominations of the c. 8.4 g standard might represent a single, graduated set, but the other weight shapes are too few and too varied in form and standard to make up one or more series. Kroll (*idem*) suggests that these miscellaneous weights were brought together from several old, broken sets, specifically for funerary use, as *symbolic* possessions or tokens of the deceased's way of life.

27 See also Antonaccio 2002: 28; Lemos 2003: 190–2; Nijboer 2008: 301.

28 Crielaard 2012: 151 n. 36 for further refs. For other tombs at Lefkandi combining graters and weapons, see Popham, Lemos 1995: 153, with n. 6.

Villanovan central Italy. These were then put in a tufa box placed in a large *fossa*. The box and fossa contained a collection of personal ornaments of gold and electrum, eight vessels of silver, a bronze stand (*holmos*) with two cauldrons, an SOS amphora, iron weapons, two horse bits and, possibly, *obeloi* and parts of a wheeled vehicle.²⁹

The interpretation of this tomb has led to the kind of confusion that is familiar by now. The rite of secondary cremation and the use of metal urns are reminiscent of burial practices described in the Homeric epics, and have parallels in contemporary graves at Eretria, one of the places that ancient sources mention as Kyme's mother city.³⁰ From a Greek perspective, this alleged match forms a solid ground to attribute Fondo Artiaco t. 104, as well as similar metal urn cremations at Kyme, to members of the early colonial elite, recruited from the ranks of Euboian *hippeis* or *hippobotai*.³¹ For Etruscan archaeologists, on the other hand, the many grave goods with parallels in the Villanovan world and in the somewhat later 'princely tombs' in Latium and Etruria (especially the bronze shield and ornaments of precious metals) leave no doubt that Artiaco t. 104 belonged to a rich Etruscan warrior, who lived in the Greek colony and was buried with a set of objects, most of which originated in his native country.³² Still others have pointed out that the tomb inventory testifies to a 'hybridization' of Greek and Tyrrhenian elements, whether or not as the result of mixed marriages.³³ Pier Giovanni Guzzo identifies a mixed material culture and ideology consisting of an even greater diversity of elements, and distinguishes between indigenous, Etruscan, Eretrian-Greek, and colonial/Pithekoussan Greek traits. He hypothesizes that the deceased was a local chief who had been a key figure in the relationships with both Greeks at Pithekoussai and Etruscans at Capua in inland Campania.³⁴

What is striking about the discussion of the above four tombs and the six individuals they contain is that the various authors tend to have an eye for one category of objects or burial customs only, overlooking the mixed character of the grave goods or burial rites and perhaps the mixed or multiple identity of the deceased. Toumba t. 79 at Lefkandi provides a particularly clear example of tomb type, burial rites and types of grave goods forming a mixed bag, but to a greater or lesser extent this also applies to the other tombs. The rite of cremation and possibly the sceptre and other items in Kaloriziki t. 40 might testify to Aegean connections, but the majority of the objects as well as the tomb type link in with Cypriot traditions. The bronze krater and bowl from the tomb under the Toumba building are Cypriot, but the shaft grave and the apsidal building standing over the burial shafts follow local practices. The sacrifice and burial of horses in connection with high-status funerary ritual might be ultimately traced back to a 'local', Mycenaean tradition, although in the course of the Early Iron Age such burials became part of a wider, Mediterranean phenomenon, linked to high-status or heroic burial ritual.³⁵ What is also noticeable is that in each case those involved in the debate

29 Pellegrini 1903; Guzzo 2000: 135-40: inventory and discussion of grave items and date of tomb.

30 Dion. Hal. 7.3; Strabo 5.4.9.

31 E.g. Albore Livadie 1975; Buchner 1979: 129-30; Frederiksen 1984; Crielaard 1992/93.

32 Ström 1990: 90-1; see also Gabrici 1913: 429; Johannowsky 1975: 103, 133-5; Kilian 1977: 124; Barker, Rasmussen 1998: 125.

33 D'Agostino 1996: 463; Coldstream 1993: 95-6; 1998: 308-9, who suggests that metal-urn cremations at Cumae belong to members of an elite of second-generation Pithekoussans of mixed Euboeo-Etruscan parentage, who had moved over to Cumae and consolidated their power and prosperity.

34 Guzzo 2000: 139-43. See also Donnellan 2012: 489.

35 Kosmetatou 1993; Karageorghis 2003; Ruby 2007.

feel a need to narrow the discussion about the identity of the deceased to a binary choice: the deceased is either Greek or Cypriot, Euboean or Phoenician, Greek or Etruscan, or Etruscan or indigenous. This type of reasoning seems to be the result of a tunnel vision fostered by the selective focus on particular objects and burial rites in combination with scholarly preoccupation with social classifications and delineation of boundaries. There are, however, no good *a priori* reasons to assume that these individuals possessed just one identity, or to think that their 'real' identity could be established. My thesis is that the mixed nature of the tombs and rituals allows us to attribute them to hybrid individuals. In the rest of this contribution, I will argue that these individuals could be both at the same time, and offer an explanation as to when and why such bicultural individuals or individuals with multiple identities came to the fore. This is not to say that I would favour employing such labels as 'Greek', 'Euboean', 'Phoenician', 'Cypriot' and 'Etruscan'. There is little evidence that these were operative during the end of the second millennium and the first half of the first millennium BCE. More generally, such ethnic categories probably did not play a role in self-identification before the Classical period. Of course, there must have been a sense of ethnic self-awareness and linguistic or ethnic differentiation between Self and Other, but this generally seems to have operated at the level of local or regional identities.³⁶

To make one last remark in relation to the above six ambiguous individuals, it may be clear that these are not the only cases that can be found in the archaeological record. A few additional examples, all from a somewhat earlier period, may suffice to illustrate this point. At the end of the Bronze Age, contacts between the Aegean and the central Mediterranean intensified. Spread over the Aegean we find a number of cases of individuals who stand out because they were buried with either Italian-type weapons (e.g. Kos-Langada, t. 21; warrior tomb at Kouvaras near Ambrakia in Acarnania) or Italian-type personal items (e.g. Achaia-Klauss, tomb H, burial Γ).³⁷ It has been suggested that these tombs belong to Italian migrants. It is true that for this period there is evidence of communities of migrants from the central Mediterranean having settled in, for instance, Tiryns³⁸ or Kastrokephala³⁹ near Heraklion, Crete. However, considering that the Achaia-Klauss male, for example, was buried in an existing chamber tomb possibly belonging to a particular family, it seems more plausible that he and the other two individuals were not migrants but locals who had spent some years overseas.⁴⁰ They would thus have supposedly adopted a mixed or hybrid cultural identity, and acquired, as Kimberley van den Berg in her discussion of the Klauss burial puts

36 Hall 2002; Crielaard 2009.

37 Kos: Italian-type Naue II sword and Italian-type spearhead (LH IIIB:2-LH IIIC Early), Jung 2009: 75. Kouvaras: two greaves, Type F sword, Naue II sword with gold wire (Italic import, as scientific analysis indicates), spearheads, arrowheads, tripod-cauldron, clay vases, and gold kylix (end of LH IIIC), Stavropoulou-Gatsi 2009: 417-8; Stavropoulou-Gatsi, Jung, Mehofer 2012. Klauss: 25- to 35-year-old male, buried with a Mycenaean-type flask, deep bowl, stirrup jar, handmade tripod cup and imported razor, possibly from northern Italy (LH IIIB:2-LH IIIC Early); Paschalidis, McGeorge 2009: 85-6.

38 Kilian 2007: 80. In reference to the presence of Handmade Burnished Ware at Tiryns, Kilian suggests that the users of this class of pottery were *Gastarbeiter*.

39 Fortified settlement, large but short-lived (ca. 50 to 70 years around 1200 BCE), which has yielded a Naue II sword, sub-Apennine-type of pottery and an Italian razor, very similar to the one from Achaia-Klauss, tomb H, see Kanta, Kontopodi 2011: 133.

40 Jung 2009: 75; Jung, Moschos, Mehofer 2008: 91.

it, a 'state of in-betweenness'.⁴¹ This is just to illustrate that the six burials from Kourion, Lefkandi and Kyme are part of a broader phenomenon that, as I will discuss below, seems to become salient especially in times when intercultural contacts are first made or become more intense.⁴²

Hybridity

The terms 'hybrid', 'hybridity' and 'in-between-ness' have been extensively discussed in recent decades, especially in relation to colonial and diaspora situations and other instances of intense culture contact between groups of different origins. The terms figure prominently in post-colonial thinking, as they are considered to offer a welcome alternative to traditional (colonial) conceptions stemming from such binary oppositions as colonizer vs colonized, Greeks vs barbarians, etc.⁴³ Hybridity is not simply equated with adaptation, fusion or synthesis, but is considered to be a creation in its own right, a mixture of differences and similarities, producing a new social and cultural domain to which new meanings are given that are mutually comprehensible but are neither purely native nor entirely imported.⁴⁴ A point of critique on this notion of hybridity is that it goes back on to determinist and essentialist presumptions that see cultures as well-defined, coherent and autonomous entities, which in a first-contact situation are supposedly pure and authentic. In this paper, however, the focus is not so much on culture contact between groups of people as on individuals who interact with other groups and cultures. The application of the term hybridity to individuals seems to be less problematic. The individuals to whom it applies are at home in more than one culture and are in a position to mediate as go-betweens between different cultures.

In the following section I will further explore aspects of ambiguity and hybridity with the help of a number of cases of individuals attested to have switched between cultures. I have gathered these examples from the central and eastern Mediterranean. Most come from the first half of the first millennium BCE, whereas some date to more recent periods, with a few even from our own, modern world. As will be clear in a moment, a substantial number involve Egypt, which traditionally attracted many people who wished to expose themselves to a foreign culture for a longer or shorter period of time. I will use archaeological and, quite frequently, historical and epigraphic sources as these are particularly informative for studying individuals in the past. In the end I will try to make clear how these insights may help us to understand our six burials.

41 Van den Berg 2018. I thank her for discussing these examples with me, and for providing references to some of the recent literature.

42 For other examples, see Giangiulio 2010, discussing individuals with multiple and multi-layered personal identities, belonging to more than one world, in 6th- and 5th-century inland Sicily.

43 Van Dommelen 1998: 17-24; Antonaccio 2003; 2005.

44 See e.g. Van Dommelen 1998: 24-33; 2006: 136-8; Antonaccio 2003; 2005 (both discussing the work of Homi K. Bhabha, who introduced the concept of hybridity in post-colonial studies). Scholars studying creolization in the domain of, for instance, language or music emphasize that creolization arises from the need to communicate across linguistic and cultural boundaries. Creole languages or cultures facilitate the transfer of goods and capital, and are therefore a potential locus of power relations. Moreover, creolization is not a matter of blending, leading to the loss of the 'purer' original, but implies the creation of new cultural expressions that often continue to exist next to the original, resulting in the plural coexistence of cultures or cultural expressions. See Kapchan, Turner Strong 1999: 241.

Heterophily

In today's multicultural world the influx of foreign people, customs and ideas is sometimes thought to be a threat to the traditional order that for long had managed to keep these influences out. I wish to use this short, introductory section just to remind us that highly adaptive individuals familiarizing themselves with other cultures are of all times. A telling example is Yariri, who round 800 BCE was regent of Karkemish following the death of king Astiruwa. He claimed to have been educated to speak twelve languages, including Urartian, Assyrian and perhaps Aramaean, and master four written systems, Assyrian, Aramaean and probably Urartian and Phoenician scripts, next to Luwian hieroglyphic. During his reign he maintained diplomatic contacts with almost all of the surrounding nations, elevating Karkemish to international status.⁴⁵ His exceptional knowledge of other cultures and languages was probably largely professional, acquired during his previous function as Astiruwa's vizier,⁴⁶ but it was surely something to boast about and an important asset that contributed to his successes.

To give just another example of a complex form of hybridity and possibly heterophily we may refer to Cellarka t. 33 at Salamis in Cyprus (first half of the 5th c. BCE). The syllabic inscription cut on the tomb's façade is read by O. Masson as Αβδ(ο)υβάλω ἡμι τῷ Μόληφος. Abdoubalos is identified as a Phoenician name; his father's name, Moles, is a common Lycian name, and points to Asia Minor. However, the epitaph uses Cypriot syllabary, while the formula (inscription in the first person singular) is typically Greek.⁴⁷

Already in Homer we find clear statements that travelling to interact with other people was held as a mark of civilization.⁴⁸ This is also apparent from the theme of the wandering hero, who was away from home long enough to acquaint him- or herself with the customs of people in faraway places.⁴⁹ For instance, according to the *Odyssey*, Menelaus and Helen travelled to Cyprus, Phoenicia, Egypt and Africa on their way home from Troy. In Egypt, Helen was taught how to use particular drugs by Polydamna, the wife of the Egyptian Thon.⁵⁰ Egypt in particular was a source of knowledge and a popular travel destination. Phoenicians, Greeks and Karians came to Egypt to trade or offer their services to the Egyptian army, as well as for leisure, pleasure and adventure, or to acquire knowledge and wisdom. Solon, one Rhoikos attested by graffiti from Naukratis and possibly to be identified as the Samian architect, Thales, Hippokrates the mathematician and, much later, Plato visited Egypt for a longer or shorter period of time.⁵¹ As Herodotus (3.139) remarks, 'a great many Greeks visited [Egypt] for one reason or another' and in this manner exposed themselves to Egyptian society and culture. They brought back trade goods, special items, and specific knowledge that influenced the architecture and sculpture of the time, cult places and perhaps cult itself.

45 Hawkins 2000: 130-3, par. A15b, 19-21; Bryce 2012: 94-7.

46 'My Lord [prob. Astiruwa] gathered every country's son to me by wayfaring concerning language, and he caused me know every skill' (transl. J.D. Hawkins), see Bryce 2012: 95.

47 Karageorghis 1970: 269-73.

48 E.g. *Od.* 1. 3; 4. 226-32, 267-9, with Crielaard 2012.

49 Lane Fox 2008.

50 Wanderings and riches: *Od.* 4. 78-85, 125-32, 617-9; Egyptian drugs: 4.220-32 (so powerful that one 'forgot all sorrows'; perhaps opium or kyphi?; see Heubeck, West, Hainsworth 1988: 206-7.

51 Trade: Yardeni 1993; Möller 2000. Military service: Haider 1996; Raaflaub 2004: 206-10. Pleasure: Crielaard in press. Knowledge: Solon fr. 28 [West]; Plut. *Solon* 2.1-2, 2.4, 26.1; cf. Hdt. 2.177; Möller 2000: 97-8, 175-6 (Rhoikos).

Egyptian inspiration – or, if one wishes, hybridization of Greek culture – is detectable in, for example, the colossal marble kouroi (in Samos, Delos, Klaros and Delphi), sculptures of seated temple officials and other figures (Samos and Didyma) and the rows of couching lions and sphinxes (Didyma and Delos).⁵² Naukratis was the place *par excellence* where Greeks and other foreigners came together.⁵³ Similar hubs that seem to have housed, on a temporary or semi-permanent basis, individuals from different cultural or ethnic backgrounds were also found in other places in the Mediterranean – the most notable of these being the port towns of Pithekoussai, Al Mina and perhaps Methone in the northern Aegean.⁵⁴ How profound the effects of cultural submersion were, varied from one individual to the next.

Culture switching

History is full of examples of individuals who do not just expose themselves temporarily to a different culture but possess the ability to switch between cultures. Alcibiades, the 5th-century Athenian military commander and politician, is perhaps the most notorious ‘culture-switcher’. He fled to Athens’ enemy Sparta, where he served as a strategic adviser. He then had to flee again, this time to the Persians, where he became an adviser to the satrap Tissaphernes in Sardis. He changed allegiance one last time when he was recalled to Athens by his political allies.⁵⁵ The iconic example of a modern, culture-switcher is archaeologist and army officer T.E. Lawrence, a.k.a. Lawrence of Arabia, the illegitimate son of an Anglo-Irish baronet and a Scottish governess. Speaking Arabic fluently and acquainted with Bedouin life, he is believed to have led ‘his’ insurgent Arabs to guerrilla-style desert warfare, ‘[d]ressed in beautiful, flowing, white Arab dress, with the golden dagger which proclaimed him an adopted *sherif*, descendant of the Prophet’.⁵⁶ He eventually returned home to England and was tragically killed in a motor accident.

In ancient sources there are quite a few instances of individuals moving from one culture to another, participating for a prolonged period of time in their host community and subsequently returning to their original homes. In both the Bible and the *Odyssey*, Egypt plays the role of foster culture where Joseph, Moses and the Cretan figuring in one of Odysseus’ liar stories by a quirk of fate become detached from their own communities, end up at the pharaoh’s court, make a career, and after many years return to their own worlds. Odysseus’ Cretan not only stayed with the Egyptian king for seven years, but subsequently associated himself with a Phoenician trader for a further year.⁵⁷ One of the conclusions we may draw from the existence of this recurring motif is that ancient audiences were comfortable with the idea that individuals could be part of an alien society for some time and then return to their own communities.

The figures in these stories have a counterpart in the epigraphic record of the Archaic period. The Greek graffiti carved on the legs of the colossal rock-cut statues at Abu Simbel,

52 Crielaard 2009: 67–8, with further refs. Egyptianizing kouros at Delphi: Haider 1996: 113.

53 Möller 2000, with Crielaard 2005.

54 Al Mina: Pithekoussai: Ridgway 1997b; Crielaard 2012: 152 (epigraphic evidence of Greek, Levantine and Italic people present on the island). Methone: Besios et al. 2012; Papadopoulos 2016.

55 Rhodes 2011.

56 ‘Introduction’ by A. Calder to Lawrence 1997.

57 Joseph: *Gen.* 37:25–50:26; Moses: *Exod.* 1–14; Odysseus’ Cretan: *Od.* 14.199–359, esp. 246–300, with Crielaard 2012: 138–40, 145–8; Emlyn-Jones 1986.

probably during the Nubian expedition of Psammetichos II in 592/1 BCE,⁵⁸ refer to one Psammetichos, son of Theokles. He is said to have led the Greek soldiers in the Egyptian army, perhaps as a commander of a ship or fleet that sailed to ‘above Kirkis, as far as the river permitted’.⁵⁹ This testimony shows that foreigners could have a career in Egypt. We do not know what happened after the Nubian expedition to this Psammetichos (or Psammatas, as his *Kurzname* seems to have been according to another inscription⁶⁰). More informative in this respect is an Egyptian basalt block statue allegedly found in a cave near Priene in western Anatolia. Its inscription in Greek tells us that it was brought from Egypt and dedicated by Pedon, who served under Psammetichos and was rewarded with a gold bracelet and a city for his bravery. The rewards mentioned must be genuine, as these were the traditional forms of royal recompense given to officers in Egypt.⁶¹ Apparently, foreigners – in the latter case, a courageous Greek mercenary or elitist fighter – could make a career in the Egyptian army or even the Egyptian administration (taking the revenues of the city in question implies that he probably also governed the city). After an undetermined number years of living a working life in Egypt, Pedon evidently returned to his hometown in Ionia.

A similar model of migration and remigration may apply to the so-called ‘Egyptians’ who were living at Larisa on the Hermos. Xenophon mentions that Cyrus the Elder had given the place to Egyptians who had fought against him in the army of Kroisos.⁶² It is likely that, instead of being ‘real’ Egyptians, these were by origin East Greek mercenaries who had served in the Egyptian army, had become assimilated to some degree, joined Kroisos’ forces and were finally sent back to their ancestral homeland by the victorious Persian king. Also indicative of Larisa’s hybrid character is that on the Archaic acropolis a conspicuous building has been excavated that seems to be modelled on *bit hilani*-type palaces known from Syria.⁶³ If with Pedon’s career in mind we are allowed to speculate about how such a hybrid type of palace came to be erected in Larisa, we may envisage a re-émigré who had become acquainted with this sort of architecture in the Near East and once back home combined it with local architectural elements.

Culture switching may involve such relatively superficial things as changing dress or house-type, but may also reach much deeper registers. People may even switch between faiths and religious belief systems. In his brilliant *Salonica: City of Ghosts*, Mark Mazower discusses examples of faith-shifting in the Ottoman Mediterranean. Although situated in a much later period, these examples give us an insight into the flexibility of the human mind that may be quite astonishing to the modern reader. This applies in particular to the following passage, which also provides us with a very apt metaphor to characterize culture-switchers:

[Converted] Catholics returned to Judaism as they had left it, to protect their wealth or to inherit property from relatives; in Italy Jews allowed themselves to be baptized for similar reasons. Traders even switched between faiths as they sailed from the Ottoman lands to the Papal states. One seventeenth-century Marrano [Iberian crypto-Jew], Abraham Righetto, in his own words,

58 See Hdt. 2.161-3.

59 Haider 1996: 104-9; Pernigotti 1999: 53-74; Vittmann 2003: 200-3.

60 Vittmann 2003: 202.

61 Ampolo, Bresciani 1988; Masson, Yoyotte 1988; Haider 1996: 100-2; Vittmann 2003: 203-6. The pharaoh in question is either Psammetichos I (c. 665-610; favoured by Haider 2001: 200-1) or II (c. 595-589; see Pernigotti 1999: 95-6).

62 Xen., *Hell.* 3.1.5; *Cyrop.* 7.1.21.

63 Torelli 2001: 76-7; Pace 2010: 21.

'lived as a Jew but sometimes went to church and ate and drank often with the Christians'. Another, Moise Israel, also known by his Christian name of Francesco Maria Leoncini, was baptized no less than three times as he shifted to and fro [...] Such men were dismissed by contemporaries as 'ships with two rudders'.⁶⁴

Most of the examples discussed so far relate to individuals who function in a different society and culture and return to their homeland in the end. We also find culture-switchers who stayed in their foster society. Turning to the central Mediterranean for a moment, we have such a case with the story of Demaratos. According to the tradition, he was a member of the Corinthian noble Bacchiadaï family, who owned a ship and generated much profit by trading goods between Greece and Etruria. When Kypselos became tyrant in Corinth (c. 657 BCE), Demaratos decided to settle in the Etruscan town of Tarquinia, where he had many good friends. He built his own house, married a local wife of illustrious birth and had two sons, to whom he gave Tyrrhenian names, Arruns and Lucumo.⁶⁵ 'Having instructed them in both Greek and Tyrrhenian learning [*paideuas amphoterous Hellēnikēn te kai Tyrrēnikēn paideian*], he married them ... to two women of the most distinguished families.'⁶⁶ According to tradition, Demaratos introduced literacy to the Etruscans and brought Corinthian potters or, rather, terracotta workers to Tarquinia,⁶⁷ and can thus be seen as a cultural mediator. After his death, his son Lucumo, at the urging of his Tarquinian wife Tanaquil, took their household, friends and riches off to Rome. Here, Lucumo became good friends with King Ancus Marcius, succeeded him as the next king under the name of Lucius Tarquinius Priscus (c. 616 BCE) and became ancestor of the Roman *gens Tarquinia*.⁶⁸

A common element in Demaratos' story and that of Joseph, Moses and Odysseus' alter ego is that all arrived in their new country as people with an uncertain position or even as nobodies (as exile, prisoner, foundling and prisoner of war, respectively), but in the end made it to the highest social circles. One may see this as a common folk motif, but Demaratos' case may contain a certain amount of credibility and there are indeed a number of examples, both from Antiquity and more recent periods, of culture-switchers who ascended from nobodies to influential figures. To give three, random examples: Demokedes, the 6th-century physician from Kroton, was brought to Susa by the Persian satrap Oroites as a slave and ended up as court physician of Dareios I.⁶⁹ The Andalusi Berber diplomat and adventurer al-Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Wazzan al-Fasi (c. 1494 - c. 1554) was taken captive by Spanish corsairs and then brought to the Papal court in Rome, where he was baptized and became a celebrated geographer and man of learning under the name of Giovanni Leone or Leo Africanus.⁷⁰ The

64 Mazower 2004: 69.

65 For mixed Etruscan-Greek names (Larth Telicles and Rutile Hipocrates) occurring in 7th-c. graffiti from Etruria, see Coldstream 1993: 101.

66 Dion. Hal. 3.463-5; also Polyb. 6.11a.10; Livy 1.34.2; Val. Max. 3.4.2; Plut., *Rom.* 16.8; *Publ.* 14.1.

67 Tac., *Ann.* 11.14; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* 35.152, with Ridgway, Ridgway 1994; Smith 1994.

68 According to Liv. 1.34.4-5 and Dion. Hal. 3.47.1-2, Lucumo left Tarquinia because his mixed background was hampering his political ambitions; Polybius (6.11a.7) mentions that he and Tanaquil went to Rome for opportunistic reasons. See also Plut., *Publ.* 14.1.

69 Hdt. 3.129-137, with Davies 2010. For the similarly spectacular career of Rhodopis, see Hdt. 1.134.

70 Masonen 2001. At the end of his life, Leo possibly returned to North Africa and reconverted to Islam. An interesting parallel from the New World is Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca, who in 1528 shipwrecked on the coast of Texas, was enslaved by various American Indian tribes living on the coast, escaped, and travelled for eight years through what is now the American Southwest and northern Mexico to Mexico

legendary Hürrem Haseki Sultan (c. 1502-1558), finally, also known as Roxelana, was born in Polish Ruthenia, possibly as Aleksandra Lisowska. Captured by Crimean Tatars and taken as a slave to Constantinople, she was selected for the sultan's harem. She became the chief consort and legal wife of Suleiman I the Magnificent, who held her in high esteem. She acted as his counselor and chief adviser on matters of state and foreign policy, and engaged in international diplomatic relations with the king of Poland.⁷¹

For a perhaps not dissimilar story of assimilation into the upper class from the Archaic period we may turn to an Egyptian sarcophagus in the collection of the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden (fig. 2). According to the hieroglyphic inscription, it belonged to one Wahibre-em-achet. His name is connected with the throne name of Psammetichus I and the birth name of Apries (589-570 BCE), respectively. The same inscription mentions Arskares and Sentiti as his parents, in which the Greek names Alexikles and Zenodote can be recognized. These must have been Greek immigrants to Egypt. Their son became (or already was) a high ranking individual, judging from the fact that he could afford a large sarcophagus made of basalt.⁷² In this connection it should be remarked that the Egypt of the 26th Dynasty was not a closed or even segregated society. Greeks and Karians living in Egypt became increasingly assimilated. This is also indicated by the gravestones of so-called Karomemphites from Karikon Teikhos at Memphis and from Abusir (fig. 3).⁷³ What makes Wahibre-em-achet's case special is that his large stone sarcophagus imitates New Kingdom examples, which can only be seen as a powerful statement to underline his newly found Egyptian identity, which through this item acquired a flavour of antiquity or eternity.

Cultural pluralism

We end our brief survey of hybrid individuals with Herodotos' story of the Skythian king Skylas, probably set in the first half of the 5th century BCE. Skylas had a Greek mother from Istros, and could speak and read Greek. He spent part of his time living a traditional life among his fellow Skythians with his Skythian spouse (who was one of his murdered father's wives), and part of his time living, unattended by his fellow Skythians, in the city of Olbia, with his Olbian wife in, as Herodotus explicitly mentions, 'a large house decorated with marble sphinxes and griffins', wearing Greek clothes and performing Greek religious ceremonies. Living in two worlds was a satisfactory solution for Skylas, but not for his fellow Skythians who, as Herodotus mentions, had the reputation of being 'dead-set against foreign ways' and were inclined to severely punish 'anyone who introduces alien customs'. When Skylas' tribesmen learnt that he took part in the Dionysiac mystery cults, they rebelled and eventually killed him.⁷⁴

This is an extreme response by outsiders to what may be called cultural pluralism,⁷⁵ and there are examples from other cultures where people, like Skylas, were comfortably

City. After many years of living among the local tribes he became a hybrid go-between and during his wanderings he managed to support himself as a trader and earned a reputation among the local populations as a healer. See Wade 1999.

71 Peirce 1993: 58-65. I owe this example to Filiz Songu.

72 Vittmann 2003: 203.

73 Vittmann 2003: Ch. 6.

74 Hdt. 4.76-80, with Braund 2015: 359-62.

75 What is probably also at stake here is that Herodotus often uses the Skythians as a mirror for the Greeks: in contrast to the Skythians, they liked to adopt new customs. See Raaflaub 2004: 199.

bi- or tricultural. One is Abraham Righetto, the Marrano just referred to, who sometimes went to church and wine and dined with the Christians. Another is Roman poet Quintus Ennius, who ‘used to say that he had three hearts, since he spoke Greek, Oscan and Latin’, which he had acquired during different stages of his life and probably used depending on the specific context and situation.⁷⁶ Finally, in his panoramic essay *Cultural hybridity*, Peter Burke discusses how in Japan in the second half of the 19th century AD some upper-class men started to live a ‘double life’, ‘a life both Western and traditional, consuming two kinds of food according to the occasion, wearing two kinds of clothes (a kimono at home, for example, and a Western suit at the office), reading books in two kinds of script and living in traditional houses that now included a room furnished in the Western style’.⁷⁷ The last-mentioned example draws our attention to the circumstance that cultural pluralism – or ‘cultural diglossia’, as Burke prefers to call it – does not necessarily have to take place in the foster society, as in Skylas’ case, but can also be adopted in an individual’s own milieu. In the case of the Japanese gentlemen, the double life meant participating in world culture but retaining a local culture.⁷⁸

The examples that we have discussed here range from individuals who chose to expose themselves to other cultures for a limited amount of time (e.g. those visiting Naukratis) to those who switched to another culture altogether (Demaratos, Wahibre-em-achet, Hürrem Haseki Sultan), or switched and then came back (Pedon, Leo Africanus, Lawrence) or even switched frequently (Acibiades, Mazower’s Marranos). Most of our cases relate to individuals moving to a foster society that was physically far away, whereas others switched cultures or enjoyed a double life in their own town or region (Yariri, Skylas, Abraham Righetto) or even within their own home (Burke’s Japanese gentlemen). Many of our individuals belonged to the upper echelons of society (Alcibiades, Demaratos, Psammatas, Pedon, Skylas, Ennius) or moved out of and then back into the highest social circles again (Joseph, Moses, Odysseus’ Cretan, Demokedes, Leo Africanus). Switching cultures meant a new identity, which sometimes meant a new name (Wahibre-em-achet, Lucomio/Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, al-Hasan ibn Muhammad al-Wazzan al-Fasi/Giovanni Leone/Leo Africanus/Yuhanna l-Asad al-Gharnati, Anastasja Lisowska/Hürrem/Roxelana) or more than one name at the same time (Moise Israel/Francesco Maria Leoncini, T.E. Lawrence/Lawrence of Arabia). We may safely assume that there were degrees of hybridity or variations in cultural pluralism depending on situation and context. But most important is these hybrids’ knowledge of different cultures (presumably including languages) and ability to act in more than one culture.

Social aspects of hybrid individuals

In modern western culture there exists a certain fascination for culture-switchers, hybrids and other ambiguous characters. Think of, for instance, Lawrence of Arabia, Kimball O’Hara in Rudyard Kipling’s *Kim*, Mr Kurtz in Joseph Conrad’s *Heart of Darkness* and Colonel Kurtz in Francis Ford Coppola’s *Apocalypse Now*, or hybrid characters from popular culture, like Tarzan of the Apes, Spider-Man and Batman. Batman is even a double hybrid: not only does the character play with the human-animal boundary, he also functions

⁷⁶ Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae* 17. 17.1, with Yntema 2009: 159-60.

⁷⁷ Burke 2009: 91.

⁷⁸ Burke 2009: 61, 111-2.

in two worlds, fighting criminals of the underworld and protecting law-abiding citizens of the Gotham upperworld. In Antiquity these figures find counterparts in Aegypto-Israelite Moses, demigod Herakles and the thrice-hybrid Dioskouroi, who belonged alternately to the worlds of the living, the dead, and the immortals, and were thus immensely popular as protectors of travellers. What these characters have in common is that their hybrid or ambiguous nature puts them in a position to act as mediators between cultures and potentially assume powerful positions.⁷⁹

When discussing processes of hybridization in colonial situations, Peter van Dommelen remarks that ambiguous meanings and perceptions are instrumental in bridging cultural differences and constructing stable identities.⁸⁰ Burke takes this point further by pointing out that hybrid individuals, like émigrés, exiles, refugees, captives and converts – to whom we may now add culture-switchers – often act as cultural mediators: hybrid individuals can be translators from one cultural language to another. They take advantage of their liminal position and mediate between the two cultures to which they owe a kind of allegiance. As Burke puts it, ‘people who transferred their allegiance from one culture to another have often played an important role in the process of interpreting’. They have a ‘double consciousness’ that assists them in the task of translation.⁸¹

Time to go back to our tombs and their hybrid occupants. If we are correct to assume that the person buried in Toumba t. 79 had an intimate knowledge of different social and economic ‘cultures’, and could function in more than one world at the same time, we may compare him to such ‘situational’ culture-switchers as Mazower’s 17th-century Marranos, or rather to the type of culture-switchers participating in a different culture for a prolonged period of time, like Pedon from Priene. The individual interred in Artiaco t. 104 lived in a contact situation that started when migrants from an Aegean background settled at Pithekoussai and Kyme.⁸² The example of Skylas shows that such contact situations may produce persons with bicultural or multiple identities. It cannot be excluded that one or more of our individuals were immigrants (comparable to Demaratos) or the offspring of mixed marriages between locals and immigrants (like Demaratos’ son Lucumo), and indeed this is what Nicolas Colstream has suggested with respect to the individuals buried under the Toumba building and in Artiaco t. 104.⁸³ However, the question whether these were biological or cultural hybrids is not very relevant. What is much more important is that we have here social actors who lived in contact situations or were part of two culture communities, and had the possibility to act as intercultural mediators. This role may be performed by both men and women, as shown by the above Tanaquil and Hürrem Sultan but also by the example of Krotoa/Eva (c. 1643-1674), the linguistically gifted Khoena woman who served as translator between the Khoikhoi and the first Dutch settlers at the Cape of Good Hope and became personal trading agent of chief Oedasoa within the Dutch community.⁸⁴

79 T.E. Lawrence, Kimball O’Hara and Mr Kurtz (probably based on one or more real-life examples) can all be seen, more specifically, as agents of European imperial power; see e.g. Ghiasvand, Zarrinjooee 2014 on Kipling’s *Kim*. Cf. Herakles as the travelling, culture hero of Doric colonizers in the Mediterranean, see Malkin 2011: Ch. 4.

80 Van Dommelen 2006: 139.

81 Burke 2009: 30-3, 100-1.

82 D’Agostino 2011; Greco, Merlati 2010-2011: 109.

83 See above, n. 33.

84 Wells 1998.

What our hybrid individuals have in common is that each seems to have lived in a time of change. In Cyprus, the Cypro-Geometric period is a dynamic era that saw an increase in external contacts and a shift in settlement patterns and the adoption of new cemetery locations, possibly partly connected with incoming migrants.⁸⁵ Something similar relates to Lefkandi, where the MPG period marks a time of social diversification and what in an Aegean context was the start of unusually intense contacts with the east.⁸⁶ Fondo Artiaco 104 belongs to an individual who during his lifetime had probably seen how local people and migrants from an Aegean background started to live together in Kyme.⁸⁷ Burke points out that in contact situations, some individuals and groups participate in the process more than others.⁸⁸ We may assume that our individuals played a key role in streamlining these processes, as they were part of more than one culture and could play a role in boundary-crossing or different kinds of integrative cultural processes.

A final remark concerns the social position of our hybrid or ambiguous individuals. What is important to note is that our six burials do not mark the start of a process of further hybridization. In a way, they stand by themselves. They were not trendsetters, so to say, but the first and the last to be buried with this particular mix of burial goods and funerary rites. This is clearly the case for Kourion and Lefkandi where, for instance, the rite of urn cremation remains rare or even non-existent among the generations to come. Both graves also contained objects that are entirely unique, like the gold disks adorning the breast of the woman buried under the Toumba building. At Cumae, we see the adoption of cremation using metal vessels as a marker of high status for later tombs, but in a much more sober fashion and without the wide array of foreign elements. In that sense, Fondo Artiaco t. 104, too, stands by itself.

One explanation could be that the different way of burial was a material expression of their 'in-between-ness', being literally 'neither One nor the Other but something else besides, in-between', to quote Homi Bhabha.⁸⁹ In other words, our hybrid individuals had links with two groups but were not fully part of either group or at least were different from most other members of these groups. This liminal, ambiguous identity of the deceased was given expression in a different type of burial ritual. An alternative (or additional) explanation takes into account power relations. To judge from the special types of tomb and burial rites, these were individuals with a high status. Part of this may be related to their ability to bridge differences, cross boundaries and intermediate between communities and cultures. Especially in times of change or a proliferation of cross-cultural contact this might be an important asset. They were 'champions' of the new worlds and buried in an extraordinary fashion in accordance with this special status. For late 8th- and 7th-century central Italy, for instance, this meant that Fondo Artiaco t. 104 set a long-lasting standard, not so much for the more sober, local elite burials, as for the so-called *tombe principesche*, that is, extremely rich tombs discovered in a number of places in Etruria, Latium and Campania. They are generally later in date than Artiaco t. 104, but contain sets of comparable tomb items whose most important message seems to have been that these housed intercultural mediators.

What the examples discussed in this paper underscore is that individuals or groups can treat their cultural identity with great flexibility. The keywords are fluidity and multiplicity.

85 Crielaard 1998: 188.

86 Crielaard 2006: 286-90.

87 Greco, Mermati 2010-2011.

88 Burke 2009: 67.

89 Bhabha 1994: 219.

We have witnessed examples of changes in identities, overlappings of identities, plural co-existence of cultures and, above all, the flexibility of mediation.

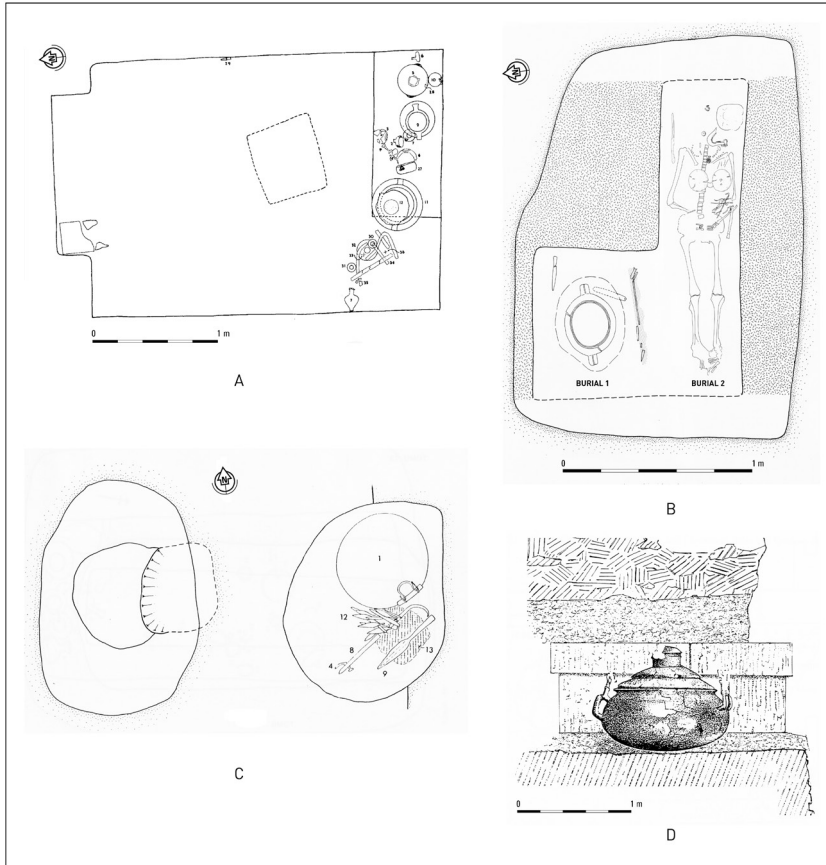


Figure 1. A. Burial chamber tomb 40 at Kourion-Kaloriziki, Cyprus (LC IIIB); B. Burial shafts of male and female under the Toumba building at Lefkandi, Euboia (MPG); C. Shaft grave of Toumba tomb 79 at Lefkandi, Euboia (SPG II); D. Fondo Artiaco tomb 104 at Kyrie, Campania (late 8th century) (b. and c. published with permission of the British School in Athens).



Figure 2. Sarcophagus of basalt of Wahibre-em-achet, National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden (courtesy National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden).

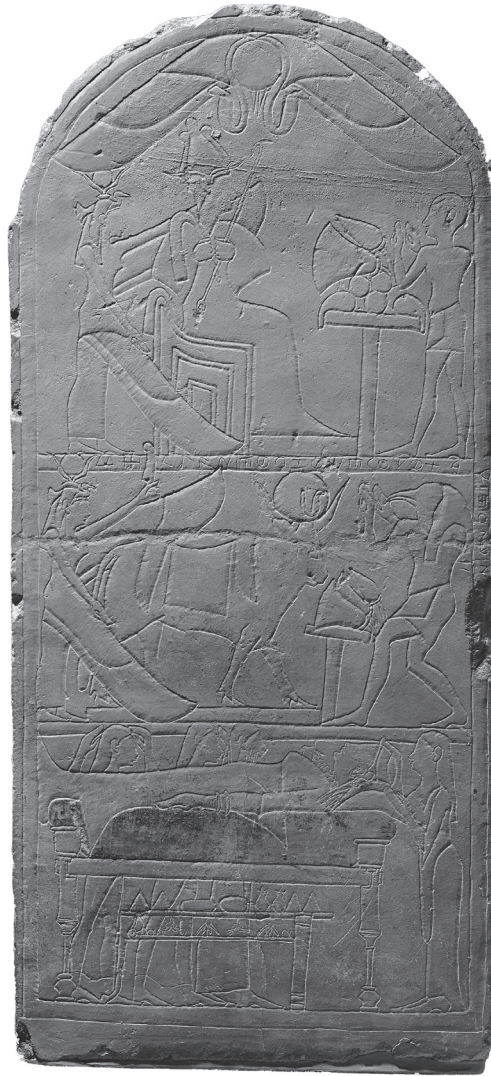


Figure 3a. Gravestone of Egypto-Carian woman found at Abusir (published with permission of the British Museum).

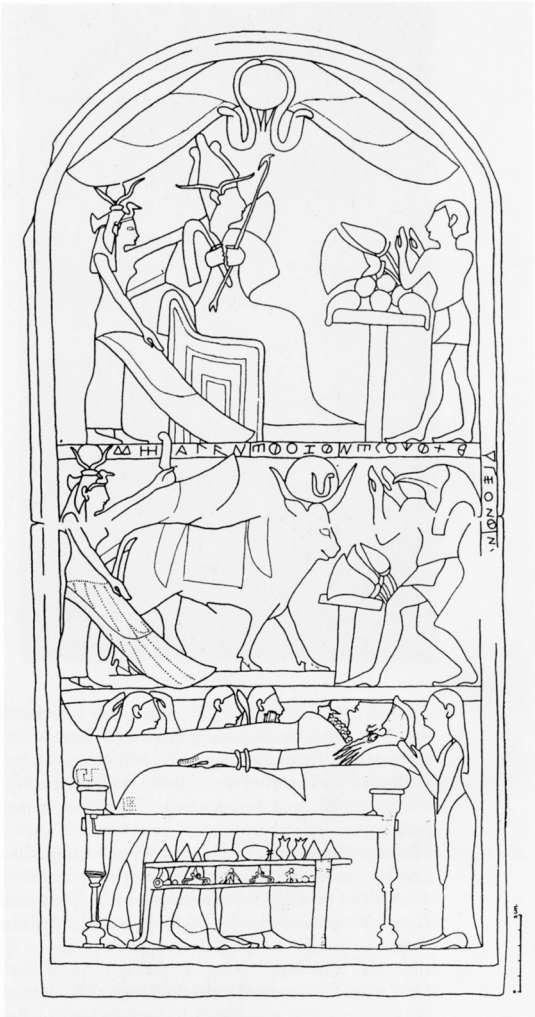


Figure 3b. Gravestone of Egypto-Carian woman found at Abusir (published with permission of the British Museum).

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