Bronze Age Aegean Influence in the Mediterranean: Dissecting Reflections of Globalization in Prehistory

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Abstract of Thesis

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For many years the disciplines of archaeology and socio-cultural anthropological studies have become "hyper-specialized" and diverged in such a way that they no longer rely upon one another's research for theoretical development. The concept of globalization theory and its underlying and intertwined processes, most notably transnationalism, is a socio-cultural process that has practical applications to a broad analysis of the archaeological material of the Mediterranean and Near East. By analyzing the hybrid cultural characteristics evident in the material culture of the Mediterranean it will be possible to see the influence of Aegean culture during the Middle and Late Bronze Ages as well as into the Iron Age. In addition such analysis will reveal the underlying structure of transnationalism and globalization that cycles throughout the annals of history.

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Introduction:

The reach of Aegean cultural influence throughout the Levant and Near East is reflected in the material cultural transmission evident in the archaeological record. There are a number of sites in the Levant and Near East spanning the Middle Bronze to Early Iron ages that clearly exhibit Aegean influence in their ceramic assemblages.

Though the influence discussed is collectively Aegean, the focus is the Greek particularities manifested in the cultural material spanning the Bronze and Iron ages. The global spread of Greek culture is clearly evident in the archaeological record at these periods. The sites discussed will span a number of periods within the Bronze and Iron ages and will focus on three main factors of Greek globalization of the ancient world: Greek imported materials at non-Greek sites, locally reproduced wares representative of Greek styles, and Greek settlement colonies[1] spanning from the Levant to modern day Spain and Italy as will be discussed later. Though Greek influence was heavy in material evidence of the imports and reproductions found in the Levant, the Greek settlements later in the Black Sea region [2] and elsewhere[3] (though not as numerous) also point to an interest on the part of the Greeks in the expansion of their influence (Keller 1908: 46).

Sites such as Ashkelon, Mesad Hashavyahu, and Megiddo, among others, serve as local snapshots of the wider umbrella of Greek cultural influence in prehistory. By

[1] In his discussion of Greek colonial influence, A.J. Graham notes that, "In the context of the eighth and seventh centuries BC the fact that such and such a city sent a colony to such and such a place constitutes a rare piece of definite and valuable knowledge" (Graham 2001: 1).

[2] "Toward the north-east, likewise, attention was directed. Greek cities… early conceived an interest in the Black and Marmora seas; of the former, they made with their many trading-settlements, an 'hospitable sea'" (Keller 1908: 46).

[3] "Colonization scattered Greek cities over a great expanse of the Black Sea and Mediterranean coasts. Whether on the hot coast of Africa, fertile Sicily, or the lands of the Gauls and Thracians, the Greeks founded many cities that survived for millennia" (Trofimova 2007: 8).

incorporating examples on the local scale into the overall processes of the global scale[4] it will be possible to understand the different types of processes of cultural production and transmission taking place at all levels and scales involved.[5] Using the frameworks of globalization theory for broad analysis of the global scale, and transnational theory for analysis of the local perspective, the social and economic processes taking place at these sites can be more definitively articulated. But it is not simply that transnational processes inform the local and globalization processes inform the global, but these processes entwinement with one another also suggests that the global secondarily informs the local and vice versa by way of their intertwined processes.

Application of globalization frameworks will reveal that the global cultural and socio-economic domination evident in the Levant and Near East during the Middle and Late Bronze Age was Aegean. This does not necessarily mean that Greeks had settlements at the sites to be discussed. Rather, it indicates that there was sustained contact between many of these sites and traders of Greek goods, which presumably spurred a growth in taste for Greek style wares.

Using the framework of modern socio-cultural globalization theory, I will exhibit the processes of globalization through which regional economies, cultures and societies are integrated within a global network in the Middle and Late Bronze Age of the Mediterranean region. The purpose of applying modern socio-cultural theory that is foundational to globalization studies is in response to one of the larger issues underlying

[4] Scale is an important determinant in understanding how the transnational framework fits into the local because it serves as both a contributor to globalization and as a reflection of it.

[5] National states organize… between globalization and other scales in their own ways… in a continual pursuit of a spatial fix between the abstract moments of global accumulation and concrete material moments… the argument that state itself is the author of globalization" (Kofman and Youngs 2003: 25).

this study which regards the issue of scale of research in anthropology as a discipline. "Whether interpreting alternative modernities, cultural hybridities, commodity circulations, transnational migrations, or identity politics, globalization theory largely looks to the future… eschewing notions of linearity, teleology, and predictability" (Appadurai 2001: 220). Much of what is discovered in archaeological work is not only revealing information about the past but also outlining clues to the future (Lacher 2006: 7). The model of modern socio-cultural theory can answer the same type of questions in a more organized and predictable framework to help archaeologists and anthropologists develop more accurate models for globalization and prediction for future hierarchical formation.[6] Thus, the application of socio-cultural theory to archaeological material provides them the tools to do so by way of tracing the patterns of the past within their organizational framework that will be dissected throughout this discussion.

The discipline of anthropology has moved away from the multi-field approach due to a trend toward increasing specific specialization in a particular era, region, and field. Archaeological studies, particularly in the Mediterranean, tend to be characterized by a severe 'hyper-specialization' (Cherry 2004: 235-6) which in turn limits the scope of comparative research that is necessary to reveal the socio-cultural interconnections of the region.[7] This study will use the underlying theme of scale to understand how and why

[6] "By framing the interpretation of social and international change in terms of an essentially linear narrative that takes us from the (inter)national to the global, globalization theory situates the present between an imagined future and an imaginary past" (Lacher 2006: 7).

[7] In the most recent attempt to analyze the overall interconnections of the Mediterranean region, Peter van Dommelen and A. Bernard Knapp address one of the scholarly issues facing Ancient Mediterranean archaeology, "much current fieldwork and research in the Mediterranean are typically concluded on a local or at most a regional scale and lack systematic comparison of distinctive cultural developments in different regions…" (van Dommelen and Knapp 2010:3).

all-encompassing understandings of local and global processes can be missed when varying levels of scale are not incorporated.

Analyzing evidence from Greek, Levantine, and Near Eastern sites I will expose the globalization structure present in the Bronze Age focusing on both global and local scales with emphasis on transnationalism as a contributing process in globalization. An exploration of the material culture for ancient interconnections on a wider scale has become more evident[8] as sites continue to yield non-local cultural materials and archaeologists take greater interest in them (van Dommelen and Knapp 2010: 1). A theoretical breakdown of the underlying structure behind the economic and cultural exchanges taking place during the Late and Middle Bronze as well as Iron Ages will reveal that the same globalizing processes found in contemporary discourse occurred in the ancient world.

The goal of this discussion is not to draw a comparison between ancient globalized societies and contemporary examples. It is rather to reveal the processes of globalization that take place and unveil the presence of globalization in the ancient world by applying the framework of globalization theory and its overlapping processes of transnationalization to the civilizations of the Mediterranean world during the Middle and Late Bronze and Early Iron Ages. By applying contemporary globalization theory and classic socio-cultural theory to the archaeological evidence of the Bronze Age Mediterranean, the cyclical nature of globalizing civilizations will be more clearly

[8] "Preliminary studies, past and recent, have suggested that material connections in the widest sense of the term- i.e. processes such as long-distance and prolonged migrations, hybrid practices and object diasporas- may have been far more prevalent than generally accepted" (van Dommelen and Knapp 2010:1).

revealed through the global systems and structures of the Bronze Age world that are dually present in contemporary globalization.

Academic Boundaries and Problems to be solved:

An understanding of globalization and transnationalism requires understanding of cultural relation scales and a transcendence of borders, both physical and abstract, which will be the underlying themes of this discussion. But the discussion itself also serves to cross borders and bridge gaps in academia. Though they are under the umbrella of anthropology, archaeology and cultural theory have routinely been explored as separate disciplines with little to no reconciliation between competing theories (cultural theory and anthropology) that didn't involve modern and historical comparisons. In understanding broader archaeological analysis it is often difficult, and sometimes taboo to draw cross-cultural cross-historical comparisons between ethnography and socio-cultural theory, and archaeology when trying to develop an understanding of prehistoric processes that have no other pretext for comparison. Ethno-archaeology has been sought by some scholars to bridge this gap, but a comprehensive understanding of the processes at work during a particular period in time cannot be fully achieved through cross-historical cultural comparisons.

The processes of globalization can be understood through a careful dissection of the frameworks they follow, recognizing the cyclical nature of such processes will allow the analysis and frameworks presented here to serve as a unit of analysis for any period involving *global exchange interactions*. The concept of globalization and global exchange interactions between contemporary and ancient examples; globalization in this

analysis is more represented as being contingent on a set of processes and overlapping transnational relationships and interactions. This analysis of globalization theory seeks to create a more harmonious marriage between the socio-cultural and archaeological fields by using contemporary theoretical frameworks as they have been applied to ongoing modern processes as a means of understanding prehistoric exchange processes that have run their course.

This essay does not seek to simply analyze Bronze Age material culture, but rather find its place within the structure of a greater global system operating under the same fundamental processes as our own. Application of globalization theoretical frameworks to archaeological data allows for a broader range of analysis in the global landscape while maintaining a grasp of local significance. Transnational theory allows for analysis on a site by site basis, while global theory analyzes the exchanges as a whole during the Bronze Age. The theoretical structures and frameworks established here can serve as a tool to better analyze the processes occurring in the ancient world as can be derived from archaeological evidence. By expanding the units of analysis we apply to the field of archaeology we can expand the depth of understanding of global exchange in the ancient world.

The Shortfalls of Systems Theory:

Some archaeologists and socio-cultural anthropologists have employed world-systems theory as a framework to understand global exchange processes of the past. However, world-systems theory fails to encompass the range in the scale of forces that

drive globalization and the intertwined relationships between the processes taking place on all scales.[9]

Several attempts have been made at a re-conceptualization of world systems theory. In their article, "Comparing World-Systems: Concepts and working Hypothesis," Christopher Chase-Dunn and Thomas D. Hall attempt to employ world-systems theory as a unit of explanation for intersocietal interactions. They do so by broadening the parameters of the theory to serve for comparing historical world-systems. Regarding the comparison of world-systems, they state,

> Even though all world-systems share some broad features in common, there are important differences between different types of world-systems, and the most important differences cluster around the problems of how social labor is mobilized and how accumulation is realized (Chase-Dunn and Hall 853: 1993).

Several of the principal ideals and aims of Chase-Dunn and Hall's re-conceptualized world-systems comparison fundamentally conflict with one another even with the broadened scope of world-systems theory structured specifically to reconcile them. These ideals conflict such, that to broaden world-systems theory in a way that truly incorporated them would reconfigure word-systems theory to the point where it evolved into globalization theory. The nature of comparative aspect alone in their analysis along an expanded timeline implies that change over time follows a linear process which builds upon itself.

[9] The great connective narrative of capitalism and class drive the engines of social reproduction, but do not in themselves, provide a foundational frame for those modes of cultural identification… that form around issues of sexuality, race, refugees or migrants… (Bhabha 1994: 336).

Though time may be linear, globalization processes are not. Comparing the products of historical world-systems, or any manner of ongoing global processes, does not yield the appropriate evidence necessary to understand the variable social and structural phenomena shaping the direction of the processes such, that they are able to cycle through the same framework and produce different individual culturally influenced outcomes. Recognition of the differences and similarities manufactured by these processes do not provide any structural basis for understanding why the changes took place or how the driving force behind them was established and continually reproduced. The deliberate disregard for any scale of agency in the process other than on the broadened world-systems scale ignores how the units within a world-system are themselves developed and influenced under a structural framework, as well as ignoring how the processes shaping the development of the units within the world-system are inextricably linked to the global discourse.

> Those features that appear to be wholly new often turn out to be reincarnations of older structural features or cyclical processes. Thus, world-system theory provides a better understanding of continuities, and therefore a better basis on which to evaluate change. But even this approach is somewhat limited because those enduring structural features that appear to be constants of the modern world-system (e.g. the interstate system, the core/periphery hierarchy) are actually variable when a longer time horizon is used as the scope of comparison (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1993: 852).

Chase-Dunn and Hall believe that the differences found in comparisons represent structural differences (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1993). But theoretically, if it is structural change that they believe is taking place, comparison serves as a futile attempt in developing prediction models of future world-systems processes because there is no structure to base any model off of. If there is no continuous structure to be followed then how is it possible that these comparisons can fall under the structure of a single global theory?

The mere presence of the same processes under the umbrella of world-systems theory at different historical junctures does not serve as an analytical framework for determining future outcomes as the authors suggest. "We claim that the fundamental unit of social change is the world-system, not the society. . . We define world-systems as intersocietal networks in which the interactions (e.g., trade, warfare, inter-marriage) are important for the reproduction of internal structure of the composite units [small world-systems] and importantly affect changes that occur in these local structures" (Chase-Dunn and Hall 1993: 851,855). Though they are correct in recognizing the lack of consideration for intersocietal interactions in globally centered societal structures, their emphasis on comparison between historical world-systems truncates their ability to gain a comprehensive understanding of the intersocietal interactions and the processes occurring at the various dimensions of scale that foster these interactions.

These interconnected avenues are lost in the narrowed focus of world-systems theory which is often used to explain global economy on a historical scale. "The world-system approach, by definitional *fiat*, cannot conceive of globalization…" (Robinson 2003: 12). As this study will show, economy does play a vital role in the globalization

process, but it is only a single part of the machine. Reapplying globalization theoretical frameworks of current discourse to Bronze Age global systems, rather than making cross historical comparisons between contemporary cultural examples and the Bronze Age world, allows for avoidance of the gaps left by world-systems theory analysis of the global economy. The differences between the societal interconnections that influence variation in how globalizing processes take shape can be reconciled under the framework of globalization theory and the interrelated processes of transnationalism.

Transnational Theory:

Understanding what is taking place on the local scale serves a dual purpose in analysis of globalization. On one hand, it can be viewed as a sample of the dominant global forces at a particular time and a product of a globalizing process and that provide an understanding of globalization processes through the specific. On the other hand, it also can be analyzed as a general theoretical source from its role as a motivator of globalization processes. This motivating aspect is best understood through the process of transnationalism. The 'local scale' being addressed by transnationalism in this contact will refer to the interactions taking place between two cultures in one or both of their sites. A focus on transnational cultural interconnections at a number of sites reveals the importance of the finely contoured and 'hyper-specialized' scale of research taking place in Ancient Mediterranean Archaeology. Utilizing the information from these 'hyper-specialized' scales of research allows for an in-depth understanding of the intricate natures of each individual site. But each of these excavations will be seen as unique loci of agency in the overall global process. By transforming these excavation results into

pseudo cultural case studies each site can be understood in both a local and global scale context. An examination of specific materiality of particular sites, such as Tel el Dab'a and Megiddo, will not only reveal the panoramic picture of global processes, but also the reflections of the importance of scale when understanding what can be missed in 'hyper-specialized' research in archaeology and its distancing from the encompassing anthropological discipline.[10]

My exploration of transnationalism (Smith 2001; Basch *et. al.* 1994; Huhndorf 2009; Kearney 2008; Robinson 2003; Vertovec 2009) is influenced by a multitude of transnational theories that all touch upon different pieces of the system, therefore my definition seeks to encompass all of these aspects which I consider crucial to the understanding of transnational processes. Transnationalism is sustained interaction and exchange between two or more entities which occurs across borders both within and/or outside of national boundaries by sustaining both tangible and intangible communication. Both entities are mutually affected and are organized into the greater global hierarchal structure based on economic and political power, wealth, and social stance.

As a *process* this is true when sustained communication among entities occurs within or outside of nation-state borders. The ongoing trade relations occurring imply this sustained communication was occurring, particularly in examples where back and forth transfer and modification of cultural styles can be seen through the local reproductions of globally influenced goods.

Transnational theory usually holds that communication occurs in the form of verbal or written transactions, but lack of these types of communication does not imply a

[10] Regarding archeological research in Africa, MacEachern (1998: 123) states that "archaeologists should arguably pay more attention to long-lasting ties of amity between individuals and communities, even over relatively long distances' than to ethnicity." See in M. Stark 1998.

lack of transnational processes. Angela M. Crack's discussion of Karl Deutsch's work on communication in transnationalism identifies the variations that can be examined in communication,

> Deutsch was interested in communication flows as indicators of levels of social integration… he prioritized communication flow as a measurable variable, thereby demonstrating how different national communities can be identified through concentrated clusters of communication patterns (such as the density of postal…exchange) (Crack 2008: 6).

Thus a reconceptualization of communication requires a slightly more abstract interpretation of the term. If communication from individual to individual could not be achieved through the vehicles of time-space compression as they are conceived today, as was the case during the Middle and Late Bronze periods, it must be realized in terms of one culture "communicating" its positions (geographically, politically, hierarchically) to others visually by maintaining unique cultural characteristics and styles in the production of cultural materials being traded.

This type of communication can be understood as communication through "visual economy" which Poole describes as "the field of vision is organized in some systematic way…. [having] as much to do with social relationships, inequality, and power, as with shared meanings and community" (Poole 1997: 8).[11] Therefore, isn't it true that sustained communication is inherently evident through recognition of ongoing trade relations? Hence, communication should be viewed as a means of sustaining social relations. In this sense the "entities" communicating will be understood in terms of a flexible scale

[11] "Visual economy" is not to be confused with "visual culture" which describes the shared meanings within a small community rather than the global channels where these dialogues take place (Huhndorf 2009: 22).

rather than narrowly focused on individuals. However, the flexibility of agency focus does not limit the discussion to exclude the human factor which is often left out of idealistic armchair theory.

Communication as a means of sustaining social relations is reflected in Michael Peter Smith's discussion of transnational urbanism - "… the forging of *trans local* connections and the social construction of transnational social ties generally require the maintenance that is sustained in one of two ways. … transnational social actors are materially connected to socioeconomic opportunities, political structures, or cultural practices found in cities at some point in their transnational communication circuit, (e.g… consumption practices…)" (Smith 2001: 5). This analysis will focus on materiality rather than documentary evidence from the Bronze and Iron Ages, one cannot rely on the pure objectivity of written documents[12] and thus for the purposes of this study the employment of the "visual economy" approach allow for more objective analysis of the cultural material in context, as the material culture, particularly ceramic assemblages can be cross-referenced with scientific testing and ceramic chronological analysis.[13]

Globalization Theory:

[12] "The issue of interrelationships between the Bronze Age Aegean and Egypt or the Levant has always been a volatile one, based largely on archaeological evidence (or on controversial documentary evidence). It is, moreover, charged and constrained by nineteenth century preconceptions that disallowed any significant level of Semitic cultural impact upon the Bronze Age precursors of Classical Greek civilization" (Knapp 1992: 122). However, the disproportionate attention given to the recording of Greek material at sites in the Levant or Egypt, over different excavation periods will also be taken into account when considering the amount of Greek cultural material recorded as being represented at a particular site.

[13] "In his basic and indispensable study Mycenaean pottery from the Levant, published in 195I, Stubbings pointed out that it is only by cross-contacts with the civilizations of the Middle East that any absolute dating for the Aegean Bronze Age can be reached" (Hankey 1967: 107).

Globalization theory requires an analysis of not only the global economy, but all major facets of cultural and societal phenomena that have overlapping effects on the processes of the global system. There are a vast number of wide ranging interpretations of globalization theory, for the purposes of this discussion, globalization will be primarily defined under Michael Kearney's interpretation, with some modifications to be addressed and explored throughout the analysis. "Globalization as used herein refers to social, economic, cultural, and demographic processes that take place within nations but also transcend them, such that attention limited to local processes, identities, and units of analysis yields incomplete understanding of the local" (Kearney 1995: 273). Application of Kearney's definition of globalization will allow for a 'macro-historical-structural perspective on social change'[14] in which the Foucaultian concept of the panoptic structure will serve as a structural roadmap for the behavioral aspect of cultural analysis.

Globalization theory does not encompass a single system of analysis, but is comprised multiple theoretical processes. Employing the "visual economy" (Huhndorf 2009; Poole 1997) as a means of analysis "allows us to think more clearly about the global…channels through which images…[and materials] have flowed… across national and cultural boundaries" (Poole 1997: 8). A comprehensive study of these systems and processes requires attention to scale and an understanding of the processes driving inter-societal interactions on the local scale. Understanding the nature and reach of the borders being transcended on the local scale serves a dual purpose in analysis of globalization. On one hand, it can be viewed as a sample of the dominant global forces at a particular

[14] The 'macro-historical-structural perspective' was used as part of the methodology for William I. Robinson's study of modern transnational conflicts in Central America. According to Robinson, in use of this approach, "…structural analysis frames and informs behavioral analysis and relational accounts" (Robinson 2003:2).

time and a product of a globalizing process and provide an understanding of globalization processes through the specific. On the other hand, it also can be analyzed as a general theoretical source from its role as a motivator of globalization processes, the macro versus micro scale of socio-cultural analysis. This motivating aspect is best understood through the process of transnationalism.

Defining the Roles of Borders and Scales:

Traditional definitions require a reconceptualization of the notions of "border" and "communication" in order for the theoretical framework to be applicable on a trans-historical level—lack of these qualifiers (in their traditional definitions) does not mean that the processes and effects of transnationalism were not occurring at any given point in time.

It is necessary to explore a multitude of transnational theories to gain an expansive understanding of the dual role of local processes in globalization analysis. One of the broader interpretations of transnationalism centers on the migration of nationals across national borders. Understanding the manner of borders that are being crossed requires definition of the geographic or geo-political limitations. For the purposes of this essay, as well as to maintain linguistic homogeny between discussions of the global and local, Kearney's definition of nation as "the 'nation' in transnationalism usually refers to the territorial, social, and cultural aspects of the nation concerned" (Kearney 1995: 273) will also be the nation in globalization analysis.

Local-scale and global processes are intertwined with transnational processes, "there are 'subnational' development processes. Different regions within a single country

develop at entirely different levels and rhythms in… center-periphery relations within a single country." (Robinson 2003: 31). The geographic notion suggested by these subnational development processes is misleading—though it is misleading with regard to the subnational processes, geographic borders are relevant in overall globalization (such as nations that have access to easily accessible exchange routes i.e. Cyprus). The geographic situation of the Mediterranean islands on major routes of trade and exchange made these islands frequent participators in global trends that spanned outside of their local region and have repeatedly shared involvement in region's cultural exchange networks and encounters (Antoniadou and Pace 2007; van Dommelen and Knapp 2010). The crossing of these geographic borders is essential to recognize in the big picture of globalization development, particularly in the ancient world when geographic borders played a more crucial role in establishing borders marking the extent of a culture's control.

Mycenaean-Canaanite hybrid ivories manufactured in Cyprus and imported at Megiddo represent two of Robinson's "subnational" groups in their transnational processes, as well as the entanglement of transnationalization with the greater globalization process involving intimate connections with a multitude of cultures.[15]

On the local and more regionalized level these geographic boundaries can serve to isolate or enhance the development and level of transnational interactions of a local group, those living in cities and ports on the Levantine coast were more influenced by the

[15] There are several overlapping transnational processes occurring with regard to the Megiddo hybrid ivories, the collective Greek involvement in the Levant (i.e. Mycenaean representation on Cyprus if, as suggested by Mazar (1992), Mycenaean- Canaanite hybrid ivories were being at produced on Cyprus). In addition, the intricate subnational connection between the two Greek groups represented. The interwoven, multi- layered processes that incorporate and rely on all of these connections is the embodiment of globalization.

technology and culture of neighboring nations than were the Levantine cultures further inland. In large part the geographic borders posed difficult boundaries to move goods by foot. In the modern world this gap is bridged by time-space compression and technological advancements. "Globalization entails a shift from two-dimensional Euclidian space with its centers and peripheries and sharp boundaries, to a multidimensional global space with unbounded, often discontinuous and interpenetrating sub-spaces" (Kearney 1995: 549). These 'discontinuous and interpenetrating sub-spaces' are evident in the overlapping transnational interconnections at sites like Megiddo.

Cultural production and expansion on the scale of world society, as discussed by Meyer, Boli, Thomas and Ramirez, notes the importance of transcending realizations of state boundaries in blurring hierarchical organization.

> The operation of world society through peculiarly cultural and associational processes depends heavily on its statelessness. . . . has the seemingly paradoxical result of diminishing the causal importance of the organized hierarchies of power and interests celebrated. . . (Meyer *et. al*. 2008: 359).

These hierarchies as described by Meyer can be seen in local and global manifestations of power. On the local scale class power hierarchies, though not necessarily markers of *cultural identity*, were evident in societies. While on the global scale, the relation of cities and ethnic powers to one another organized on a global hierarchy.

The importance of these hierarchies is diminished when society operates "through cultural and associational processes," this can be seen in the discussion of people relating to one another based on socio-economic similarity rather than cultural identification as

illustrated in A. Mazar's (1992: 103) discussion of the presence of Greek pottery traditions in the Levant. Even during periods under control by the Persians, Greek cultural influence still has strong hold on the coast as well as inland as displayed by the cultural material.[16]

It is necessary to understand the nature of the different physical and metaphorical borders present in globalization and transnationalism in order to properly analyze how they are being crossed.

Scale has yet another dimension of application in this analysis, the scales referent to the levels of structure at work. The fields of structure that belie the overlapping and intertwined global and transnational processes are layered as well. William Robinson's structural labels of analysis are applicable here as his contemporary globalization models follow a pattern of complex-layered processes; beginning with the most foundational, they include "deep structure," "structure," and structural-conjunctural analysis" (Robinson 2003: 4-5).

Understanding the Structural Skeleton of Globalizing Power Dynamics:

"Deep Structure" serves as a level of analysis for "…the most underlying historical processes at work" (Robinson 2003: 4). In the process of globalization this structured historical process remains the same whether it is used as a lens to view the Late Bonze Age of the Late Twentieth Century. The hierarchical nature and organized systems of the structural processes at work need new consideration beyond the one-dimensional world-systems theory.

[16] Sites such as Shiqmona and Tell el-Hesi, discussed later, display the strong evidence of Greek culture during the Perisan period.

Michel Foucault's discussion of the panoptic structure and the forces that maintain and reproduce its presence illustrates it as a prime foundational point of research, thus serving as the deep structure for this globalization analysis. Foucault's panopticism is structured around the maintenance of discipline through hierarchical tiers, and in *Discipline and Punish* the effect of his panopticon is reliant on the enforcement of discipline by occupants of higher and more powerful hierarchical tiers within systems to create "docile bodies" (Foucault 1977). This analysis will exhibit that the structural imprint of panopticism and its tiered nature are evident in both global and local processes, reflected in the development of the structures of the hierarchies within them.

The presence of this deep structure in both global and local analysis carries with it the concepts of reflection and scale which are present throughout this analysis. The panoptic structure that is the deep structural, foundational (i.e. broad scale) level of analysis both produces and is reproduced by *structure* "… the patterns and processes that become fixed on top of the foundations of deep structure" (Robinson 2003: 4). This structural level of analysis corresponds with the regional scale of transnational processes.

Furthermore, the *structural-conjunctural analysis* which "…focuses on the point of convergence of structure and agency, on consciousness and forms of knowledge as reflection on social structure and consequent social action as the medium between structure and agency" (Robinson 2003: 4-5), allows for a further narrowed down scale beyond the structural level. The "point of convergence of structure and agency" serves as a repertoire of analysis for attempting to measure the "human factor" which is often left out of region-spanning theory. This structural level of analysis corresponds with the local socio-cultural and economic transnational interactions within the more micro-focused

scale of greater Greek community.[17]

By utilizing the imprint of the structure I do not intend for panopticism to be taken as synonymous with the natural consequences and repercussions inherent of hierarchical societies and systems. Rather, the imprint of the disciplinary framework of this deep structure (Robinson 2003: 4) can be used to understand *how* these hierarchies produce such effects. The nature of the power hierarchy within the global system allows for the more elite tiers to have greater influence over their subordinates through their control and influence of economic and political power, creating a conditioning effect that spans any scale of society.

The discipline Foucault discusses can be understood more abstractly as a conditioning effect over populations and the transnational actors occupying the lower and less powerful levels of global and local society. The "docile bodies" (Foucault 1977) they are conditioned into are malleable to the shifts in society and the influence of the elite global and local classes; they become conductors of cultural change and activity. This is the imprint of panoptic structure found on the natural hierarchy that is formed in the processes of globalization and transnationalism.

This structural imprint of panopticism serves to hinder and make exclusive some cultural material, while it can also foster economic growth by promoting top down popularity in others. Examples of each of these effects regarding Greek influence in the Bronze and Iron Age Mediterranean will be discussed below.

Vertovec's (2009) discourse regarding the effects of embeddedness in understanding social outcomes serves as a concept surrounding transnational social-class

[17] For example of intra-Greek community transnational processes on the structural-conjunctural scale see note 6, further examples will be discussed below.

formation that compliments the panoptic imprint left on hierarchical processes. The idea of embeddedness (context) observes that transnational actions are not carried out by actors but embedded in ongoing social networks (Vertovec 2009: 37). [18]

> From the viewpoint of material culture, the critical element of mobility resides in the co-presence of both people and objects in a specific context- as a result of their movements. In other words, the actual physical encounters that take place between different people, or between those people and objects old or new, oblige us to acknowledge the existence of these encounters and to come to terms with their significance (van Dommelen and Knapp 2010: 5).

For instance, "In considering what pottery may say about ethnic identity, the multiple contexts in which pottery is used are critical" (Antonaccio 2004: 64). The embeddedness of the material culture that is produced cannot be separated from social meaning (Antonaccio 2004: 65; Schiffer 1999). Thus, social outcomes are affected by the relationships and overall structure of the environment; this is but one by-product of the effect of the intimately tied structural levels.

The structure of the environment can be analyzed through the structural-organizational effect of the panopticon, which both affects social outcomes while at the same time being affected by them (a *cyclical cultural-reproduction process*), there is a cyclical relationship occurring between the phenomena upholding and producing the imprint of the panoptic structure and what is produced by it.

"Globalization as a historic process rather than an event represents *not* a new

[18] For instance, the presence of Mycenaean wares in the palace contexts at Tel Megiddo exhibits a direct connection between those imported wares and a more elite economic class. The context of the artifact represented the transnational actions that are embedded in these ongoing social networks.

social system but a qualitatively new stage in the evolution of the system of world capitalism. It involves agency as much as structure even though it is *not* a project conceived, planned, and implemented at the level of intentionality" (Robinson 2003: 9). The historic process of globalization then must be understood through the lens of deep structural analysis, in this case the Foucaultian panoptic structural framework. In his illustration of globalization Robinson (2003: 9) discusses the establishment of it as a "process" and not an "event" that speaks to the implicit reproductive nature of globalization. In addition, his proposal of globalization as representative of "a qualitatively new stage in the evolution of the system of world capitalism" not only reinforces the reproductive nature of the process, but also suggests a cyclical structure that each reproductive stage can be patterned under.

The flows facilitated by the hierarchical structure and control dynamics on the global and local scales require a metaphorical conceptualization of borders as well. Social borders are often defined by the class divisions relative to the dominating forces present in globalization during a particular period. "The social configuration of space can no longer be conceived… in the nation-state terms that development theories posit, but rather in processes of uneven development denoted primarily by social group rather than territorial differentiation" (Robinson 2003: 28).

Global cultural signifiers: Communication and Identity

Mastery in the use of the Early Bronze invention of the pottery wheel manifested as a way for more distinctive forms of cultural representation in pottery to develop (Mazar 1992: 214). This development and the technological advancement of the wheel-

spun pottery generated a realm of more easily mass produced pottery with patterns that could be more easily mimicked during manufacture. The "Aegean technique of making wheel-made pottery may have influenced the local manufacture of fine handmade wares" (Knapp 1992: 121), in addition, it created a newer, faster vehicle of cultural communication that is necessary in transnational relations. Could this be the true beginning of time-space compression?

Greek pottery was widely exported to the Levant and surrounding regions, the increased distinctiveness in pottery types not only allows for more *cultural communication,* but also allows for more clear typologies to be detected by archaeologists, such as that found in the Middle Bronze Age Cypriot tradition. *Cultural Communication* is to be understood as communication between transnational actors that is fostered by economic development and technological advancements (i.e. the development of the potters' wheel), and carried out by transnational agents through the vehicle of material culture (i.e. distinctive pottery traditions, imported wares, 'hybrid'[19] cultural material and so on).

The more distinctive, and thus detectable, typologies allows for a form of cultural communication that occurs by the mere act of analysis as well. "The Cypriot pottery displays distinct manufacture and decoration techniques which allow scholars to classify it according to well-defined typological groups" (Mazar 1992: 218). This allows for a form of cultural communication that can be best understood as *trans-historical transnational communication.* Even after the culminating growth of globalization in the

[19] Archaeologists "…have, moreover, begun to discuss the concept of hybridity, a true fusing of different cultures into something new, as already employed in the analysis of modern post-colonial situations, a concept suggested for the ancient Mediterranean by Peter van Dommelen and echoed recently by John Papadopolous in a review of the publication of the Pantancello necropolis near Metapontion…" (Antonaccio 2004: 70).

Bronze Age, the material culture still communicates a peoples' "*cultural identity*" and its origin through the characteristics of its distinct designs.

The Bichrome Ware pottery group, whose manufacturing technique and form variety are distinctive yet and also very homogeneous (Mazar 1992: 259), illustrate the communication of *cultural identity* through material culture. Though the Bichrome pottery tradition is primarily composed of local Syro-Palestinian Middle Bronze wares, varieties of forms including bowls and jugs display Cypriot traits (Mazar 1992: 259; Artzy *et. al.* 1973). In discussing the identification of Bichrome Wares, Mazar suggests that "This duality can be seen also in the decoration: the Canaanite frieze … is prevalent, yet some vessels are painted with cross-lines over the whole body, a typical Cypriot decorative approach" (Mazar 1992: 259-60) this duality is a form of *cultural communication* which also represents a distinctive material culture marker of transnationalism.

The use of the term "identity" must be clearly contoured, for it is often misrepresented or under-represented and rarely encompasses all of the facets of culture and society that are crucial in the in the production, establishment, maintenance, and reproduction of identity. Hyper-specialized[20] archaeological research in the Mediterranean has typically taken a one-dimensional perspective of identity in terms of ethnicity or class. These terms do not singly encompass identity, nor are they synonymous or interchangeable, a three-dimensional understanding of identity, like a

[20] van Dommelen and Knapp (2010) discuss the consequences of the narrowly focused "hyper-specialization" of archaeology in the Mediterranean region "that discourages comparative research of the many material, cultural and socio-economic features and trends that overlap and interconnect in this region" (van Dommelen and Knapp 2010: 3).; For "hyper-specialization" also see J.F. Cherry 2004: 233-48.

three-dimensional understanding of globalization, encompasses all of the concepts that can be taken as definitions of "identity" (Diaz-Andreu *et. al.* 2005). One example of three-dimensional identity formation is reflected in the "hybrid" Cypriot-Canaanite materials found locally reproduced at Tel Megiddo (Mazar 1992). However, application of the socio-cultural globalization framework to the Bronze and Iron Ages also requires evidence outside of these periods that exhibits the same processes. The Pontian Greek culture that manifested in North Eastern Ohio also exhibits the three dimensional identity formation that is evident in the archaeological record.

Transcending ethnic and even religious differences, Pontian Greek immigrants formed solidarity with the larger white-ethnic immigrant community of the United States. Growing up in an era when safety for immigrants was found by relating to those sharing in the discrimination by the greater white populous came from the empathetic essence of understanding shared struggles. In her exploration of her own heritage, Zeese Papanikolas (2003) breaks from dialogue about Greeks alone and fervently calls attention to the plight of struggling and discriminated "Others" in the U.S. immigrant population.

Another issue within the discipline that becomes increasingly problematic when trying to discern the identities of particular cultural groups and their interactions is the ways in which archaeologists name pottery, giving pottery categorical names that are typically associated with cultural groups, thus giving immediate ethnic assumptions to the wares. The researchers' interpretation or teleological mindset to support a thesis can determine the ethnic identities associated with the cultural material. The absence of Siculo-Geometric wares in Sicily has been interpreted as a marker

> to prove the subjugation and removal or absorption of natives… Siculo-Geometric in the period of contact and colonization is thus intimately bound up with the issue of identity in the western Mediterranean… The association of this pottery with native Sikel makers and users depends directly on assigning a style of pottery to an ethnic group… (Antonaccio 2004: 59-60)

although these periods of pottery immediately follow the Bronze Age pottery the academic issue remains the same.

This analysis explores the concept of *cultural identity* recognized as the message sent through material culture reflecting an agent's transnational identity, as it is manifested in trade and other forms of cultural exchange relations. *Cultural identity* is the term that will be applied to the information that can be gathered from transnational material culture. The process of receiving said information (*cultural identity)*[21] and the process of producing the *cultural identity* both exhibit *cultural communication.*

In contrast, the concept of *ethnic identity* [22] can be realized as "…the operation of socially dynamic relationships which are constructed on the basis of a putative shared ancestral heritage" (Hall 1997: 16). The shared heritage noted here does not necessarily imply a shared biological heritage, but a shared cultural heritage, and a shared experience of interaction between two groups—these groups may not necessarily be 'hybrid" but are rather transnational, the identities formed cannot be reliant on mixing of two biological

[21] Distinctive style in material cultural goods actively conveys information on identification, but it must be kept in mind that these types as identifiers are not to be mutually exclusive with the differences and similarities between varying types (Antonaccio 2004: 66); "Archaeologists cannot then assume that degrees of similarity and difference in material culture provide a straight forward index of interaction" (Jones 1997: 115).

[22] Ethnic identity will not be explored in depth because this analysis is centrally focused on *cultural* connections represented in material culture, for more on ethnic identity see Hall 1997.

ethnicities or two cultures because those two cultures being considered hybrid are simply at a particular stage of evolution born out of the influences of other cultures and their prior interaction.

***Reading the visual**:*

In order to understand cultural materials that represent products of transnationalism I will be employing the visual as a transnational approach similar to the approach used by Shari Huhndorf and Deborah Poole's concept of "visual economy" (Huhndorf 2009; Poole 1997). In the past as now, communication manifested in physical material form took place through the materials produced. Archaeologists' job is to read the pottery, metal work, architecture, and other cultural material finds in order to decode the past, they must read the messages left in the trail of cultural material. Therefore this analysis will be treating the visual as a subject that one can have a dialogue with in terms of the narrative of transnationalism.

> The notion of visual economy is useful because it illustrates that the meaning of images derives in part from their global circulation and their complex role in transnational social relationships . . . the production, circulation, and consumption of images takes place in multiple, intersecting social practices. . ." (Huhndorf 2009: 23).

This concept of visual economy reinforces the *cyclical cultural-reproduction process* discussed above; it further represents the back-and-forth relationship between the producer and the produced. This *cyclical cultural-reproduction process* occurs within the boundaries of structural levels and simultaneously crosses them.

The notion of visual economy is clearly evident in a re-reading of the shifting and "hybridizing" [23] pottery styles as a means of understanding the transnational processes occurring in the Aegean during the Bronze and Iron Ages. Analyzing archaeological material leaves little room for use of ethnography or behavioral analysis as employed by Robinson (2003). However, unique cultural characteristics evident in the materials leave behind a trail of interactions and global and transnational relations that can be followed using the patterned road map of the panoptically-formed and hierarchically-structured process of globalization when analyzing archaeological evidence on a macro-scale rather than a regionally or locally specific scale.

It is easier to discern the global processes occurring when observing the influence of Greek cultural characteristics in Egypt or the Levant which represent a transcendence of geographic borders influenced by global hierarchical structures. But these global influences cannot be as easily interpreted without a careful understanding of the local transnational processes taking place within a particular region. Additionally, "In one sense depicted as a shorthand for several processes of cultural interpretation and blending, transnationalism is often associated with a fluidity on constructed styles, social institutions, and everyday practices" (Vertovec 2009: 7). Such fluidity is achieved as a result of the ongoing cyclical nature of the processes of globalization. The *cyclical cultural-reproduction process* upholds a system that can be filled by the next successor in

[23] Here I use hybridity in quotes because of the varying uses of the term, particularly with reference to Peter van Dommelen and A. Bernard Knapp's (2010) use of the term to refer to the process of cultural assimilation which results in what I have deemed the transnational *cultural identities* that are communicated through the cultural material record. Review of the communication and identity analyses discussed above will reveal the over-simplification evident in van Dommelen's and Knapp's "hybridization" concept (van Dommelen and Knapp 2010). This is not to say that processes resulting in "hybrid" material and phenomena do not take place, but that the "hybrid" characteristic is best applied to the cultural identity produced and represented, not the process that leads to the development of said identity.

the hierarchy line - even during natural disasters and periods of resource shortage, even if the economy is suffering - there never ceases to be a top to the global or local hierarchy.

Hybridity in Transnationalism:

It is certain that the motivation behind the distribution of various Aegean pottery assemblages in the Levant and Near East are difficult to discern from the global perspective. However, processes of transnationalism allow for a well-defined underlying framework to appear on the structural and structural-conjunctural levels of analysis (Robinson 2003: 4-5). One of the transnational processes reflected at several sites in their materially manifested expressions of "hybrid cultures", Steven Vertovec's (2009) "Mode of Cultural Production," can be utilized in identifying the transnational phenomena that contribute to prehistoric globalization.

Though he uses the term primarily with reference to contemporary media, the same effects produced by the global spread of media in creating 'new cultural spaces' (Vertovec 2009: 8) are evident in the cultural production expressed through art, pottery, and other forms of material culture. A reconceptualization of the visual cultural elements being read is necessary in order to format the essence of Vertovec's process to suit the correlating cultural products from less technologically advanced societies, thus the stylistic shifts in art and the boundaries crossed during the production of art should serve as the central locus of this unit of the analysis.

"Mode of Cultural Production" notes that hybrid cultural phenomena being produced which are manifesting 'new ethnicities' must be taken with respect to cross-current cultural fields (Vertovec 2009: 7). "The production of hybrid cultural phenomena

manifesting 'new ethnicities' is especially to be found among youth whose primary socialization has taken place with the cross-currents of different cultural fields" (Vertovec 2009: 7). This continual process of youth serving as the agents of transnationalism and producers of "hybrid" cultural materials creates a fluid system with self-fulfilling niches.

The production of "hybrid" materials and phenomena is, according to van Dommelen and Knapp (2010), a means by which "to fit new people and/or new objects into their existing lives, often by developing new hybrid practices in which old and new items as well as traditions can be accommodated" (van Dommelen and Knapp 2010: 5). Here I must disagree with van Dommelen and Knapp, I don't believe that people seek ways to fit them—but the nature of culture is fluid and as culture shifts and expands its reaches for economic reasons, the cultural interactions occur with some initial premise in mind to benefit the dominating group.

The cycle of globalization in place filters cultural material from the central nation of the hierarchy outward like branches on a tree or veins in the body delivering blood from the heart. People are not forcibly creating new physical or conceptual niches in society in order to fill them with other cultures' effects but rather, such as the case with Egyptians' need for non-local resources,[24] the niche formed naturally within the society and thus there was a void to be filled, then the cultural "hybridity" began to develop by means of interactions as a product of that relationship and in response to the niche that was created.

[24] In noting the debates regarding the extent of Aegean- Egyptian contact, Knapp states that "during the centuries between about 1600-1300 B.C.E., Cypriot copper became an important trade commodity throughout western Asia and Egypt; as the Amarna Letters demonstrate, the ruler of Cyprus was firmly in control of the Mediterranean side of this trade by the mid-fourteenth century B.C.E. Besides copper, an extraordinary variety of goods was involved in the Cypro-Asiatic or Cypro-Egyptian trade…" Knapp (1992: 122).

"In fact, while within the framework of the Greek polis in Greece proper, the cities used several mechanisms to stress the differences between themselves and other Greeks, in the colonial world the comparison is mainly between Greeks and non-Greeks" (Dominguez 2004: 429). Thus, the onset of hybridity reflected the blurring of the metaphorical border between the influencing culture and the influenced (or the "colonizer" and the "colonized"). If the similarities between Greeks and non-Greeks became such that the Greeks had to actively and consciously work to differentiate themselves, then they would not have consciously implemented a strategy "to fit new people and/or new objects" into their lives only to starkly contrast their selves from those very same identities.

According to Homi Bhabha, *hybridity* embodies the "third-space" of communication and interaction that represents the metaphorical area between the cultural "colonizer" and the culturally "colonized" (Bhabha 1994). Bhabha is using hybridity to speak about politics where with hybridity "the construction of a political object that is new, neither the one nor the other" occurs; Antonaccio (2004) extends this core idea "to include a dynamic whereby the colonizer is transformed by the encounter, which produces the necessity of communication between groups using different languages, cultures, and ideologies" (Antonaccio 2004: 70-71). Bhabha's "third-space" and Antonaccio's "necessity of communication" both comprise the phenomena of "inbetween-ness" applied by Leela Gandhi to post-contact period Sicily (Gandhi 1998).

Here Antonaccio (2004) uses the concept of "hybridity" as a simplistic explanation for the cultural materials with distinctive markers and characteristics that point to *cultural identities.* In contrast, this analysis posits that hybridity is simply an adjective to describe the physical appearance of the material culture and not necessarily

representative of the processes occurring within or among cultures. By examining the criteria for this and the "necessity of communication" (Antonaccio 2004: 70-71) the concept of hybridity is simply a piece of the transnational process. The process as a whole encompasses not only the materials but the ways in which the information they revealed was produced and how the cycle of transnationalism and globalization continuously circulates—no culture is stagnant, culture is a continually evolving creature.

Phenomena that qualify as "hybrid" from a stylistic perspective are clearly evident in late Middle Bronze II Bichrome Wares found in the Levant. Cypriot bichrome ceramics imported to the Levant around 1600 B.C.E. show evidence of Canaanite style (Mazar 1992: 260). Amihai Mazar discusses this hybrid Cypriot-Canaanite pottery style as the result of Syrian and Palestinian immigrants to Cyprus and combining the two styles (Mazar 1992: 260). These "hybrid" wares were then imported to the Levant, thus exhibiting the contribution of transnational processes in the view of the global scale. Mazar additionally notes that these Cypriot bichrome wares were also locally produced in the Levant at Tel Megiddo (1992: 261).

R.S. Merrillees discusses the presence of Minoan and Mycenaean ceramic assemblages in Egypt and the typological chronologies with Crete. "In Late Minoan II, which is distinctive ceramically at Knossos alone, and Late Helladic II, periods which coincide in time although culturally the rest of Crete preserves Late Minoan I characteristics. . . . whereas mainland Greek pottery of the Mycenaean II style makes its initial appearance" (Merrillees 1972: 284). The continuation of Later Minoan I characteristics on Crete during a period when the rest of mainland Greece initialized Mycenaean II wares is evidence of local tastes manifesting in the region. Minoan Crete

reached the height of dominant cultural influence around 1600 B.C.E. due to more "intensified agricultural (olive and grape) and textile production (for internal consumption as well as for export). Wide ranging trade contacts funneled luxury items and other goods into the economy" (Knapp 1992: 112-13).

Local tastes can negatively affect the importation of pottery according to Andrew Stewart and Rebecca Martin in their article on Attic imports at Tel Dor. "Attic imports cease soon after ca. 300, perhaps because of changes in local taste. . . The pattern seems to reflect local preferences and cannot confirm or refute the idea of a Greek presence at Dor" (Stewart and Martin 2005: 79). However, Stewart's and Martin's indecisiveness on Greek presence at Tel Dor with respect to Attic wares is in direction contradiction to Stern's suggestion that Dor represents a Greek settlement. "The finds at Dor… can serve as additional evidence of a Greek settlement on the coasts of Israel and Phoenicia at the end of the Iron Age during the Persian period. This evidence can now be added to a complete chain of discoveries, both old and new, from various sites along these coasts" (Stern 1989: 116; 1994: 169).

Furthermore, a representation in transitioning cultural tastes is seen in Dynasty XVIII in Egypt is partially represented by a scarab currently in the British Museum. One of the rows on the engraving of it is in a Cretanizing text that may serve as a transitioning (or *hybrid*) format between hieroglyphic class and Linear A. The inscription format nears borderline to such an extent that it is impossible to determine whether the scarab was made in Egypt or on Crete (Merrillees 1972: 285). This is representative of the hybrid-characterized cultural phenomena as discussed in Vertovec's cultural production.

However, Aegean-Egyptian connections are not the only reflection of transnational cultures; Amihai Mazar describes the various and overlapping forms of "hybridity" present at Megiddo during the Middle Bronze Age. Mazar details the Bichrome group of ceramic wares which appear in the Middle Bronze IIC.

> Most of its forms. . . are rooted in the local Syro-Palestinian Middle Bronze Age tradition, but some. . . have Cypriot traits. This duality can be seen also in the decoration: the Canaanite frieze. . . is prevalent, yet some vessels are painted with. . . a typical Cypriot decorative approach (Mazar 1992: 259).

Mazar notes that these Bichrome Wares are primarily produced in Cyprus and imported and distributed to the Palestinian region during this time. Therefore, the hybridity in design that included Syro-Palestinian style and Cypriot styles, as well as Canaanite influenced decoration, were being produced in Cyprus with their future destination in mind. Cypriot potters were developing wares that mildly reflected Syro-Palestinian tradition while infusing it with their own, thus creating an easier transition and greater likelihood of acceptance and expanded distribution among the Syro-Palestinian settlements.

Identifying the users of Greek pottery in the Levant has been somewhat of a gray area, with the boundaries between what can be considered a Greek settlement or imports of Greek goods are often blurred. "Pre-Hellenistic Greek pottery in varying quantities, dating from the tenth century B.C. through the Persian period (late sixth-fourth centuries B.C.) has been found all along the coastal Levant from Cilicia in the north to the Egyptian Delta in the south" (Waldbaum 1997: 1).

There are more Greek imports at sites in the territories of modern day Israel and Palentine than in Syria (Waldbaum 1997: 5). Greek imported pottery in modern day Palestine have been documented in increasing quantity and number at a growing number of sites, primarily due to a greater attention being paid to imported wares (Iliffe 1932; Clairmont 1955, 1957; Stern 1982; Wenning 1991, 1994).[25] "Although specifically Minoan goods (especially pottery) are thin on the ground in Cyprus, the Levant and Egypt, documentary and pictorial evidence for the Keftiul Kaptaru suggests that this trade was much more extensive than the material remains alone indicate" (Knapp 1992: 113).

At Tall Sukas on the Syrian Coast there is evidence indicating the possibility of Greek practice at the site (even though Periods G3-1 at Tall Sukas are labeled by the excavators as Greek building phases). However, even with the categorization of Greek building phases there were no dwellings with evidence representing Greek occupants, but there was still Greek pottery found in a number of architectural units (Waldbaum 1997; Lund 1986). A small building was erected over what had been an earlier hearth, it was identified as Greek and dated to the seventh century B.C. (Riis 1970: 54-59; Waldbaum 1997).[26]

However abundant the evidence of Greek pottery in the later periods may be, the sites in the East are still lacking in the earlier Greek shapes and styles. J. Luke proposes that "the restricted number of early Greek shapes found in the East does not demonstrate a distaste for these wares, but instead directly reflects local practice. She suggests that

[25] However these increasing numbers could be the result of archaeologists' rising interests in recording and analyzing these finds.

[26] "Although not much in its earliest phase supports the attribution, the sixth century reconstruction included fragments of terracotta roof tiles-a more Greek than eastern feature" (Waldbaum 1997).

Greek cups in particular were imported specifically to satisfy local demands relating to Near Eastern feasting and drinking customs (Luke 1992)" (Waldbaum 1997: 8).

Blurring and Re-contouring ethnic identities:

Earlier I discussed the blurring of the metaphorical border between the influencing culture and the influenced (or the "colonizer" and the "colonized"), the hybrid ethnic identity evident among the Greeks that was strengthened and re-contoured as an effect of its being blurred is a stage of the transnational cultural process. This study has employed a reapplication of theories and processes identified in modern culture to the ancient world. However, to further prove that the application of theoretical frameworks is effective it is necessary to additionally exhibit this process in reverse. The transnational colonizer-colonized effect discussed above was not only true for the Greeks in the ancient world but is a conceptual framework that can be re-applied to the processes encountered by Greek immigrants in America in the early twentieth century.

Stark County in Northeast Ohio has one of the densest populations of Pontian Greeks in the Midwest. Whereas, many large cities have only one Greek Church, this county alone in Northeast Ohio has four, one of which was founded separately for Pontians.[27] The development of the dense Greek community in this particular Midwestern region was attributed primarily to the timing of the influx of refugees and the growth of

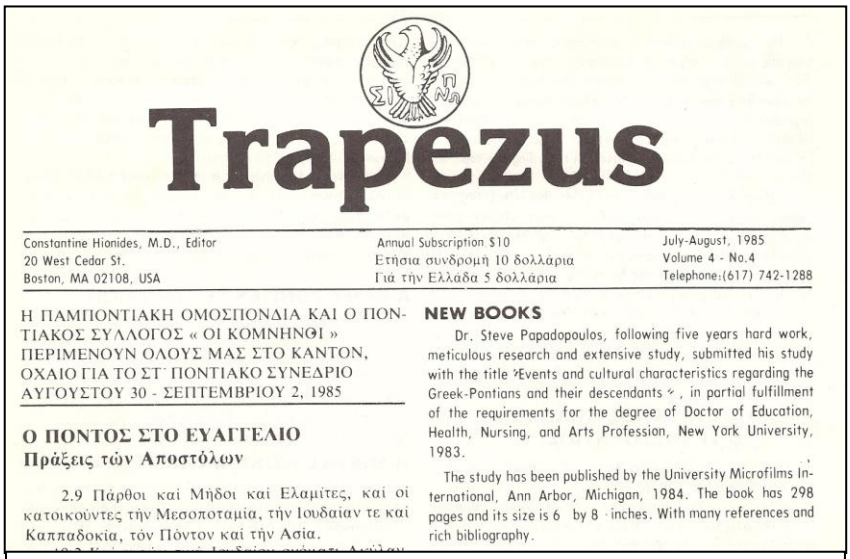
[27] An interview with first-generation American Pontic Greek and author of *The Greeks of Stark County* William H. Samonides revealed that two of the four Greek churches, both in the city of Canton, Ohio were, built separately out of discrimination against the Pontian Greeks. After its construction by the collective Greek community, the head of Saint Haralambos church banned Pontians from attending, calling them "Turks." Regardless of the fact that they helped fund and build the church, and that Saint Haralambos himself is a Pontian. As a result a separate church, Holy Trinity, was established in Canton by the Pontians as a center for their discriminated community.

the steel industry in Canton and the subsequent plethora of unskilled labor jobs available with the genocide occurring in Asia Minor (Samonides 2009: 8).

Though it is a Greek speaking, Greek Orthodox community, the Pontic Greek community in the United States and abroad still maintains traits considered inherently Turkish cultural mannerisms, lending them double transnational identities as both Turkish-Greeks and Greek-Americans. Such cultural traits set the Pontians as an outcast subculture within the Greek nation and imagined community. The exclusion and Turkification of Pontian culture is best understood though the ethnocratic cleansing of the contested territory in the Black Sea region of Asia Minor (Yiftachel 1994: 450). Maintenance of Pontic traits that reflect Turkish culture serve as points of pride for Pontians and also focal points of discrimination toward them by the wider Greek community. Although Pontian identity was developed further beyond the greater Greek imagined community identity in America, the transnational processes of identity maintenance and reproduction remained the same for all Greeks. Their sustained communication that superseded regional ethnicities fostered the shared process in the transnational experience. Communication as a means of sustaining social relations is reflected in Michael Peter Smith's discussion of transnational urbanism- "…the social construction of transnational social ties generally require the maintenance that is sustained in one of two ways. … transnational social actors are . . . connected to . . . cultural practices found in cities at some point in their transnational communication circuit. . . (Smith 2001: 5)." Communication was maintained in the culture of Northeast Ohio as the greater Greek community and its regionalized subsets participated in and

contributed to the cultural practices taking place in the Greek Orthodox churches that served a role as consolidating community centers and not just religious ones.

Attempts to assimilate and reconcile American citizenship with Greek ethnicity served as a catalyst for the contouring and reproduction of the Greek ethnic identity in America. The emphasis on connections to ancient Greek so as to be more accepted as white in America[28] perpetuated this reproduction (Anagnostou 2009: 59). Thus in an effort to assimilate, Greek immigrants relied on the history of their ethnicity rather than simply accommodating and incorporating the traits of their settled land in their identities. Therefore, the Pontians escalated emphasis on their dialect and its origins as well as the regional and historio-ethnic symbolism in their name structure may be an attempt to overcompensate emphasizing their "Greekness" to the Greek imagined community in order to combat discriminatory allegations of Turkish association.



Trapezus

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Η ΠΑΜΠΟΝΤΙΑΚΗ ΟΜΟΣΠΟΝΔΙΑ ΚΑΙ Ο ΠΟΝΤΙΑΚΟΣ ΣΥΛΛΟΓΟΣ « ΟΙ ΚΟΜΝΗΝΟΙ » ΠΕΡΙΜΕΝΟΥΝ ΟΛΟΥΣ ΜΑΣ ΣΤΟ ΚΑΝΤΟΝ, ΟΧΑΙΟ ΓΙΑ ΤΟ ΣΤ΄ ΠΟΝΤΙΑΚΟ ΣΥΝΕΔΡΙΟ ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΟΥ 30 - ΣΕΠΤΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ 2, 1985

Ο ΠΟΝΤΟΣ ΣΤΟ ΕΥΑΓΓΕΛΙΟ
Πράξεις τών Αποστόλων

2.9 Πάρθοι καί Μῆδοι καί Ελαμίτες, καί οἱ κατοικοῦντες τήν Μεσοποταμία, τήν Ιουδαίαν τε καί Καππαδοκία, τόν Πόντον καί τήν Ασία.

NEW BOOKS

Dr. Steve Papadopoulos, following five years hard work, meticulous research and extensive study, submitted his study with the title "Events and cultural characteristics regarding the Greek-Pontians and their descendants", in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education, Health, Nursing, and Arts Profession, New York University, 1983.

The study has been published by the University Microfilms International, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1984. The book has 298 pages and its size is 6 by 8 inches. With many references and rich bibliography.

Fig. 1: Cover of the July- August 1985 edition of Pontian Greek American newsletter. *Trapezus* newsletter courtesy of Bessie Samuels.

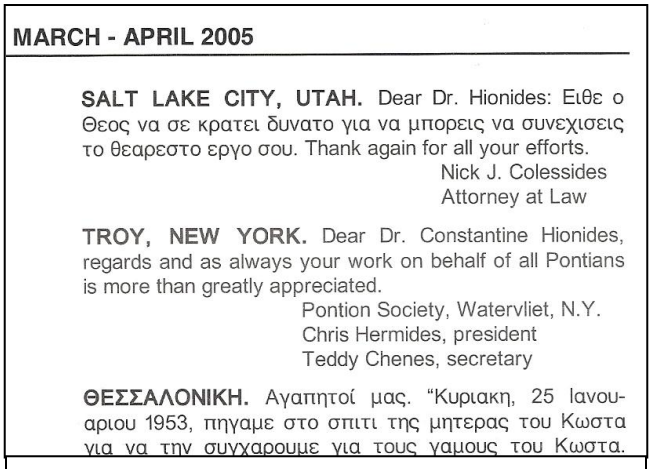
Much like the ancient Greeks, the influence of Greeks in the material culture of the densely populated region of Northeast Ohio exhibits the same type of

[28] Anagnostou discusses the desire to relate Greek identity with early Greek heritage as it was more widely accepted by whites as being more closely associated with "whiteness" than with "ethnicity." "…an ideology central to the constitution of Greek national identity …the continuity between modern and ancient Greeks proved once again crucial for constructing Greek immigrants, this time as white Americans in the early 1920s" (2009).

transnationalized objects geared toward a local audience, yet are products of the globalization process.

> …as a consequence of globalization, most people in the world, and adolescents in particular, now develop a bicultural identity; part of their identity is rooted in their local culture, and another part is attuned to the global situation. Or they may develop a hybrid identity, successfully combining elements of global and local situations in a mix (Hermans and Hermans-Konopka 2010: 27).

Even with translations of Christian texts into regional languages, Greek still maintained a role in the Christianity of the regions: Egyptian Coptic writing is essentially Egyptian in Greek writing and in Palestine, though the Jews were debating in Hebrew they maintained an understanding of Greek language (Freeman 2004: 628). Greek immigrants place a large part of their ethnic identification on the history of the ancient Greeks and less so on their religious affiliations, as is evidenced by the divided churches in Northeast Ohio (Samonides 2011).



MARCH - APRIL 2005

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH. Dear Dr. Hionides: Ειθε ο Θεος να σε κρατει δυνατο για να μπορεις να συνεχισεις το θεαρεστο εργο σου. Thank again for all your efforts.
Nick J. Colessides
Attorney at Law

TROY, NEW YORK. Dear Dr. Constantine Hionides, regards and as always your work on behalf of all Pontians is more than greatly appreciated.
Pontion Society, Watervliet, N.Y.
Chris Hermides, president
Teddy Chenes, secretary

ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΗ. Αγαπητοί μας. "Κυριακη, 25 Ιανουαριου 1953, πηγαμε στο σπιτι της μητερας του Κωστα για να την συγχαρουμε για τους γαμους του Κωστα.

Fig. 2: Except of the letters to the editor section from the March-April 2005 issue of *Trapezus.* Some people choose to write in Greek, others in English. And some in both like the first listed. *Trapezus* courtesy of Bessie Samuels.

The transnational identities that grew from the assimilation of early 20th century immigrants are evident in the material culture of contemporary Greeks in Northeast

Ohio. Newsletters spanning the past 30 years maintain the same format- publishing in both Greek and English (see fig. 1 and fig. 2).

The nature of Greek employment of transnational process in their identity maintenance and reproduction is not unfamiliar when one expands the range of historical discourse of Greek culture. An analysis of the transnational nature of early Greek cultural material serves as a testament to the strength of Greek cultural influence.

However, the expansive influence of Greek culture in the Near East begins far earlier than the Byzantine Christian or Alexandrian era. One of the transnational processes reflected at several sites in their materially manifested expressions of hybrid cultures is Steven Vertovec's (2009) "mode of cultural reproduction," which can be utilized to identify the transnational phenomena that contribute to the influence and growth of early collective Greek culture.

Reproduction of Greek history is still employed by first-generation-American Greeks as a shaper of identity, but with emphasis on the history of their transnational identity and immigration to the United States. "The production of hybrid cultural phenomena manifesting 'new ethnicities' is especially to be found among youth whose primary socialization has taken place with the cross-currents of different cultural fields (Vertovec 2009: 7)." In the development of what it meant to be Greek in America and the continued maintenance of that identity was in the hands of the first-generation-American born citizens, who, during the period of identity production, were the socializing youth.

The emphasis on ethnic identity and ancient Greek culture over religious affiliation in formulating and reproducing culture is a process that can be traced to early

transnational processes that contributed to cultural reproduction in the ancient world across national and geographic borders.

Through a cross historical analysis of the Greek cultural material of the Bronze Age Mediterranean, we are able to gain a more clear understanding of the means of cultural reproduction and maintenance that were occurring both during the ancient period and the modern era. The use of the Pontic dialect serves as a bridge between the ancient and modern cultural comparisons. The process of transnationalism runs on a continuous cycle and the structures of transnational processes and tactics that allowed the Greeks to spread cultural influence in the ancient world are the same process employed in keeping their culture alive both in the historic context of the diaspora and continue to function within the Greek-American community today.

The reproduction of Pontian Greek identity is self-serving on two levels. The level of *conscious self- serving identity reproduction* is present when "cultural gatekeepers" of (Pontian) Greek identity actively pursue the reproduction of identity through engaging others in a dialogue about the history of the identity. *Conscious reproduction* employs Bellah's "practices of commitment" (Bellah et. al 1985) but engages beyond the community, as many Greek scholars have in their academic research and published work. In the *conscious* reproduction, as the "cultural gatekeepers," actors are both the vehicles of identity and production craftsman, each region's ancient history and the identities that are tied to it. The level of *innate reproduction* occurs as a byproduct of the communication surrounding identity. Not only the substance of identity dialogue and argument, but the mere utterance of words in Pontian Greek is innately

communicating the transnational Pontic identity as the cross—roads between Greek and Turkish culture.

The employment of the dialect within the United States most often traces back to a struggle in Asia Minor, and a story unique to the person speaking. Being Greek- being *Pontian*, and openly recognizing one's such ethnicity and heritage defines the Greek identity. 'Practices of commitment', along with self-serving identity reproduction and continual cultural re-invention have been the staples of Greek identity maintenance for centuries. This cycle of renewal of the old and reproduction and incorporation of the new that defines Greek culture and as such allows for the reconciliation of American identity by incorporating the settlement of Pontian Greeks in America into the history of what it means to be Pontian, the trials and tribulations of each Pontian American's ancestor in becoming an American citizen speaks to the very fabric of this dying Greek culture. Pontian pride is inextricably rooted in the strength of the culture to maintain its unique identity through discrimination in both its new and old homelands.

Power in Exclusivity of Cultural Material:

The Minoan cultural material and its distinct connections to class hierarchy and palatial periods allow for a clear view of the power of exclusivity of cultural material and the class differentiations associated with imported goods. A "centralized (palatial) control over foreign trade would have provided much of the extraordinary wealth and prestige items around which political and economic power revolved" (Knapp 1992: 113).

The Minoan bull-leaping frescoes from Tel el Dab'a[29] in the Nile Delta of Egypt are representative of the ability of elite transnational actors to make some cultural material exclusive. Maria Shaw discusses how these bull-leaping motifs are found primarily (nearly exclusively) in the Palace at Knossos and later at Tel el Dab'a the lack of this motif of frescoes elsewhere in Crete or in settlement houses suggests a palatial theme. She also notes that the half-rosette motif found in conjunction with the bull-leaping scenes also appears to be palatial (Shaw 1997: 500). This clear connection to royalty and power, particularly in the exclusivity of the bull-leaping frescoes at the Palace of Knossos on Crete, can be seen as evidence of the cultural, political, and economic stronghold the Minoans had over the region.

Their exclusive connection to the royal (i.e. most elite) socio-economic tier at the local level, as well as occupying the highest tiers of the hierarchy of nations at the global level provided the Minoan royalty with the power to control the flow of distinct cultural materials. "When the Minoans became a major political and economic force in the Aegean during the early second millennium B.C.E., it is likely that prestige or power accrued simply from possessing Minoan products, or from adopting certain aspects of Minoan religion" (Knapp 1992: 114). The exclusivity of the Minoan Bull leaping Frescoes was controlled by the dominating economic force of the Middle Bronze Age, thus exhibiting the power of influence of the top of the hierarchy over control of cultural material.

Additionally, the Tel el Dab'a frescoes date to the same period as the decline of the power held at Knossos (Shaw 1996). Minoan artists' willingness to paint the royal frescoes' motifs in Egypt at the decline of the empire on the one hand presumably

[29] Also known as Avaris, the Hyksos capital in Egypt (Shaw 1996).

represents a loss in fear of the empire and its waning power. On the other hand, it represents the empire at the height of its power in which it is able to commission its artists to spread global monarchical ideals and commercialize the culture further through global exchange interactions of goods *and* services. The migration of Minoan artists to Egypt to produce a distinctive style representative of an elite global power is evidence of the effect of global economy at the transnational scale. On the global scale, geographic national borders were being crossed as an effect of in shifts of power resulting from decrease in economic power. At the transnational, structural level, cultural borders were being crossed. At the local, structural-conjunctural level hierarchical class borders were being crossed as the migrating artists disregarded the control the royal class had on cultural material.

Herein lays an example of a level of analysis that is out of the reach of world-systems theory. WST is a narrow lens through which to interpret global material through because it does not encompass all factors influencing global connections such as the political, social, racial and local influences on population and the interconnections between all of these factors. "…world-systems theorists have tended to reduce migration to labor migration and immigrants to workers, eliminating all discussion of national identities which shape people's actions and consciousness. Migrants are indeed providers of labor power for capitalist production in a world economy, but they are at the same time political and social actors" (Basch *et. al.* 2003: 12). Attempts at a "thick description" (Geertz 1973)[30] of ancient cultural material have been made recently by A. Bernard Knapp and Peter van Dommelen, but such attempts lack a theoretical framework for these

[30] Used by anthropologist Clifford Geertz in his *The Interpretation of Cultures* (1973) as a means of describing his ethnographic method, "thick description" can be understood as a description of human behavior that not only descries the behavior but also its context that gives it a particular meaning.

analyses to take place within and label rather than analyze the processes behind the change in cultural phenomena.

Reiterating Relationships Between the Scales:

Keeping scale in mind, we must recognize that these hierarchies are not only structural frameworks present within global and local systems, but that they also represent a system of social relations which emanates the individualistic human variable that generally eludes interpretation in theory. The hierarchy is not only representative of the power relations but also the types of economic alliances that are fostered by social relations. "…Essentially like all actions, economic action is socially situated…Such actions are not simply carried out by atomized actors but are embedded in ongoing networks of personal relationships" (Vertovec 2009: 37).

These networks of relationships can be analyzed on the basis of Deborah Poole's visual economy which provides a loose framework to contemplate the meaning of images based on ideals and relationships, and which emanates these visual images as part of an organization the people, ideas, and objects of a particular locale (Poole 1997: 8).

The muddled and mixed uses of concepts such as identity and ethnicity, not only within archaeology, but across disciplines, make boundary delineation between various cultural groups difficult.

> Despite all these sub-categories [of pottery]… it is unclear if local pottery can be used to determine the boundaries between ethnic groups, instead of individual communities. In this connection, not only native choice, but also the kind of boundaries being delineated are at issue: a social field

> which depends on identity may not be founded on ethnic, linguistic, or even cultural groups, but on friendship, for example, or some other widely-shared relationship (Antonaccio 2004: 74).

Though the delineation of categorically defined identity is an unclear subject to determine with certainty. In his discussion of Greek contact on the Ionian coast of Italy, J. Carter notes that, "The Greeks, in short, were not the bearers of all innovations… but were attracted by commercial opportunities and economies… These first contacts were mutually advantageous and ethnic identity was… a very fluid concept" (Carter 2004: 363).

Taking friendship as boundary delineator sheds light on the often overlooked "human" factor of cultural interaction which is often left out of theory because it is difficult to structure into a particular pattern or phenomena—there is no universal framework for the formation and maintenance of individuals' relationships be the nature of no two individuals' circumstances are exactly the same or can follow a predictable path. Additionally, the cultural connections evident in the pottery of the Bronze Age represent a wide range of inter-cultural and inter-ethnic connections. This is due to both the increase in exchanges that collectively occurred through Cyprus as a result of its precious copper ingot industry, and the mastery of the potters' wheel that allowed for more clearly contoured cultural identities to be represented through ceramic wares (van Wijngaarden 2002: 5).

The shift that occurred in Minoan central power and the smaller scale structures that fall beneath it (i.e. artists' sentiments) represents the *effects* of Michel Foucault's panoptic structure in Bronze Age Mediterranean globalization and transnationalism. The

strength of the Minoan influence exhibits the interconnected relationship between not only capital and panoptically structured power, but also the influence of global control over local production. However, be cautioned that the influence of the global on the local does not imply that the global absorbs the local or makes local hierarchy cease to be relevant.

According to William Robinson the "nation" level social classes tend to fall under the umbrella of the global classes that are being superimposed upon them (2003: 36). However, I must disagree in part; I think it is the nature of the structure of the give and take between the transnational and global processes that both scales of class formation will be affected by one or the other process and the global class will not mean that the smaller scale classes will cease to exist. The class formation process can be analyzed based on scale, at the local level social spaces and borders are influenced by amount of capital one possesses, occupation in the local job hierarchy, and nationality, among others.

However, even with the class divisions on a local scale (whether national or site based), this local group as a whole occupies a tier of the global hierarchy with respect to the nation it belongs to. Thus, these transnational actors assume their multi-dimensional class identities that fall within class systems whose borders are determined by the level of political and economic power of a given nation or people. However, the formation of the class system is also contingent on the amount of economy they control and the differential access to imported and reproduced foreign style wares, in this case wares reflecting the stylistic ceramic features of the Greek and Aegean cultures. The differential access the result of power control paired with geographic strategic location,

those cultures on the coast, and islands such as Cyprus saw more trade and commerce as a result of their strategic geographic location along major trade routes, they therefore controlled more capital and exhibit a wealth of cultural material spanning a number of periods and various regional influences.

These global standings in turn have influence on the local scale with regard to nationality; a factor that is taken into account based on the level of power attributed to one's nation of origin. The bull-leaping frescoes at Tel El Dab'a in Egypt which serve as the sole example outside of Crete are a clear example of outsourced artisan labor chosen for their nationality which in this instance served as the obvious influential factor in choice of artist for the frescoes. Transnational capital can both reflect these various hierarchical social tiers and at the same time transcend the geographic and global hierarchy borders that define them.

Power in Promoting Top-Down Popularity of Cultural Material:

The top down promotion of cultural material can be understood as being facilitated in part by the fingerprint of panopticism on the structural skeleton of global and transnational processes, because the hierarchies in place allow for a social flow to occur in the diffusion of cultural materials and ideals to more localized levels. This localizing diffusion of popularity in cultural material can be seen in the Late Bronze Mycenaean imports at Tel Megiddo found during the Chicago expedition.

Albert Leonard and Eric H. Cline reanalyze the Aegean wares at Megiddo in a 1998 article, describing the Late Bronze Mycenaean imports from stratum VIII settlement contexts as well as in palatial areas (Cline and Leonard 1998: 5). The global scale of

panoptic popularity is clear in these Aegean wares transcending national borders (under Kearney's earlier established definition of national) as well as geographic borders. The local scale of diffused panoptic popularity, evident in the presence of the Mycenaean wares in settlement contexts, speaks to this cultural material transcending and permeating hierarchical borders separating Late Bronze Levantine society. The presence of Mycenaean imports in settlement and palace areas of Tel Megiddo exhibits how the structural imprint of panopticism can replicate the presence of cultural phenomena throughout multiple scales and levels of the hierarchy.

Excavations at Tel Megiddo that have yielded these local reproductions are evidence of import substitution. Traditionally import substitution refers to industrialization, but here import substitution reflects and mimics the cultural characteristics of previously imported goods which lends evidence toward a growth in popularity within regional populations. The 1938 Chicago excavations yielded a vessel in a collection of Late Bronze pottery in a Megiddo tomb. The excavators noted it as "possibly Mycenaean," Cline and Leonard notes that it was more likely a local imitation rather than true import (Cline and Leonard 1998: 13). Analysis of patterns of Mycenaean wares at Megiddo revealed that overlapping transnational interactions were evident at the site. "The fabric is not local and there seems no doubt that this is an import of the Rude Style Myc. IIIB from Cyprus….The zigzag of scale triangles, the dotted circles, and the shape of the flying birds are vaguely reminiscent of a fresco of birds at Pylos. The birds are drawn with a Minoan flourish, and the spirals and scale triangles look forward to Philistine patterns" (Hankey 1967: 126). The presence of such Levantine reproductions of Greek stylized wares speaks to the Mycenae influence on both economy and culture,

further exhibiting the concrete connections between the multiple avenues of globalization.

Cultural exchange and top down diffusion of cultural material is also evident at the sites of Ekron and Ashdod. The evident shape of the vessels was primarily Aegean in origin but the pottery had to be read based on a variety of criteria because the various stylistic elements of the Mycenaean III pottery at Ekron and Ashdod represented influence from several different cultures. This also requires that one not only analyze the stylistic elements but also the other ceramic wares found alongside one another (Dothan and Zuckerman 2004: 3). Coarse wares, unrelated stylistically to the Mycenaean III wares at Ekron and Ashdod, were found alongside one another. According to Dothan and Zuckerman "Since they are totally different, both morphologically and technologically, from local Canaanite tradition cooking pots, they provide additional evidence of the foreign nature of the early Philistine assemblage" (Dothan and Zuckerman 2004: 3).

Exchange of cultural influence was evident in both directions, the Aegean stylistic elements being reproduced at Ekron and Ashdod, as well as the use of wheel-formed wares on Cyprus which was rare during Late Bonze period on Cyprus but was widespread on mainland (Dothan and Zuckerman 2004: 3).

In addition, the stylistic element of jugs with trefoil mouths appeared on Cyprus in the Late Bronze, however, this is believed to be an eastern modification of the Aegean round-mouth jug (Dothan and Zuckerman 2004: 22). Thus, the trail of stylistic cultural exchange from the round-mouth imports of the Aegean which influenced the eastern development of the trefoil mouth jugs, which were in turn later found on Cyprus exhibits the ongoing economic relationships that were influencing transnationalized styles. The

transnational influences are further complicated when Mycenaean III style feeding bottles found are nearly identical to Philistine style of another stratigraphic context. These feeding bottle styles were generically reproduced in the Aegean and then additionally on Cyprus (Dothan and Zuckerman 2004: 28).

Transitioning cultural tastes exhibited at Ekron showed ". . . the Stratum VI structures contained a rich assemblage of Mycenaean IIIC: 1 pottery, together with later Philistine forms" (Dothan and Zuckerman 2004: 4) representing a transition in cultural preferences because occupation at the site had remained the same. Dothan and Zukerman suggest that at Ashdod in Stratum XIIIB in Area G, which contains a vast concentration of Mycenaean IIIC: 1 pottery, could be evidence of a potters' workshop (Dothan and Zuckerman 2004: 5). If this is in fact a potters' workshop, it would represent another example of local reproduction of Aegean style wares that are locally distributed.

This in turn, means wider spread of culture when we are able to observe the material culture beyond the sites of Greek occupied settlements and into local Levantine civilizations reproducing the Aegean styles on their own. Dothan and Zukerman's recognition that "…Mycenaean IIIC: 1 pottery appears in large quantities, while Philistine pottery is first introduced in Stratum VI when the amount of Mycenaean IIIC: 1 material diminishes" (Dothan and Zuckerman 2004: 3) can serve as an example of the waxing and waning frequencies of these wares that can be analyzed from site stratigraphy. This also lends evidence to the ways in which diffusion of cultural characteristics took place. Local generic reproductions of transnational wares serve to provide an example of the influence of popular forms of cultural capital on both the local and global scales.

During the twelfth century B.C.E. the Aegean and Mycenaean influence over cultures that frequented global interaction on the one hand represent a distinct influence of the power of an elite hierarchical tier to spread cultural influence. On the other hand, because this is the period that the Aegean society is collapsing, as a result individual workers may have been migrating for work. As such, the "knockoffs" could simply have been made by Aegean people now living in the Levant or Egypt and making their usual vessels but having to use local ingredients, such as the local clays. The frequency of this type of "knockoff" reproduction during the Bronze Age is also a form of import substitution.

Local Reproductions and Immigrant Workers' Cultural Signatures:

Further exploration of import substitution and local reproduction examples in the Bronze Age Mediterranean can be found among a range of cultures occupying the region. Greek influence manifested in Cypriot, Minoan, Mycenaean, and Aegean influence can be most clearly traced through the outward cultural and artistic expression found in the aesthetic transnationalism of material goods.

Transnationalizing production and consumption processes were not limited to hybrid pottery at Megiddo, the Late Bronze hybrid Mycenaean-Canaanite ivories also exhibit a Greek influence in hybrid transnational cultural material (Feldman 2009). These hybrid ivories may have been produced in Cyprus (Mazar 1992: 271) exhibiting yet another example of

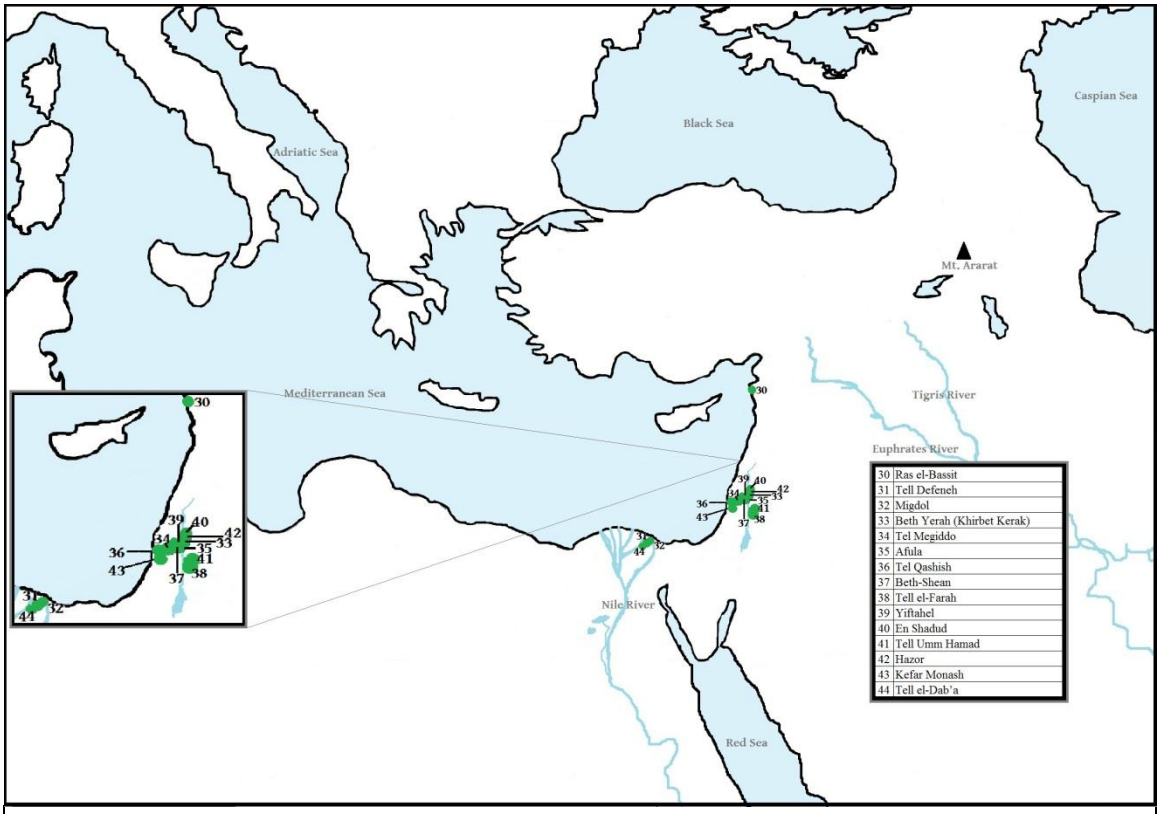


Figure 3: Map representing the sites containing local reproductions of Greek style wares.

the transnational phenomena's intimate entanglement with the process of globalization. [31]

Evidence of local reproductions is not a linear process of cultural material production, it is a cyclical pattern that can be seen represented in the same regions throughout the Bronze and Iron Ages. Cross historical examples and comparisons also a display of the cyclical processes of transnationalism and globalization that are manifested in the productive processes of cultural material. Ras el-Bassit, Syria is a site that contained early Greek pottery (Courbin 1986, 1990), several pieces of which contained Greek graffiti. The earliest of these graffiti was found on a locally produced Late Geometric skyphos fragment (Waldbaum 1997).[32]

[31] Mazar states that "the Late Bronze ivory collections from Canaan demonstrate a vivid local art as well as international connections and influences" (Mazar 1992: 271). Mazar frequently notes these connections but fails to recognize them as any part of a greater underlying structural process.

[32] There is debate over whether the graffiti is actually Greek or Phoenician lettering, "not necessarily a Greek (H)eta but can also be a Phoenician Het" (Niemeier 2001:15).

The fortress of Tell Defeneh northeast of Tel El Dab'a in Egypt, excavated by Petrie (1888), has generated some Greek pottery fragments of the seventh century BC (Cook 1954; Boardman 1980) exhibiting the Early Iron Age extent of the Greek influence. Near Tell Defeneh a local Greek pottery workshop was found dating to the sixth century BC known to have produced East Greek *situlae,* but no Greek kitchen ware[33] has been yet recovered from this site (Cook 1954; Boardman 1956).

Similar to Tell Defeneh is Migdol, a late seventh century BC site, located on the edge of the Delta Plain (Oren 1984, 1993). The pottery found at this site includes local Egyptian pottery of the Saite period, Phoenician and Palestinian Late Iron vessels, and Archaic East Greek ceramics (Oren 1984). Migdol also generated large quantities of late seventh century BC imported Greek trade amphorae both complete and fragmentary as well as including locally produced imitations of East Greek pottery made of Nile clay (Niemeier 2001; Oren 1984). "Some 500 m east of the fortress, a cemetery with cremation burials in "Egyptian jars topped with lids and accompanied by Greek amphoras as burial gifts" was found…This new burial custom was possibly introduced to the eastern Delta by Greeks serving in the fortress …" (Niemeier 2001: 22).

Beth Yerah (Khirbet Kerak) Early Bronze, contained locally made pottery alien to the Levant reflecting the cultural material of northeastern Anatolia known as Khirbet Kerak Ware, another locally made pottery alien to the Levant (Mazar 1992: 103, 133). These same wares were found during the excavations at the Early Bronze occupation of Tel Megiddo contemporary with that of Beth Yerah (Mazar 1992: 217).

[33] Kitchen ware such as the Greek cooking pots found at Mikhmoret, Tel Michal and other sites were not found at the local pottery workshop near Tell Defeneh.

Mazar discusses a number of Early Bronze sites that generated locally made pottery alien to the Levant reflecting northeastern Anatolia, among them are Afula, Tel Qashish, Beth-Shean, Tell el-Farah, Yiftahel, En Shadud, Tell Umm Hamad in the Jordan Valley, Hazor (Mazar 1992: 103). Beth-Shean and Hazor both additionally contained Khirbet Kerak ware (Mazar 1992: 133).

Kefar Monash, in the Sharon Plain exhibits a cache of Early Bronze II/III objects that represent further local production of Greek style cultural material. Kefar Monash produced a hoard of Bronze weapons, most are typical products of the local copper industry, the forms of the objects found in the hoard represent those found in Cyprus, Anatolia, Syria and Mesopotamia (Mazar 1992: 134-35). "This wide geographic distribution of metal types is common in the ancient Near East where wandering metal smiths, trade connections, and wars spread fashions and techniques over vast regions" (Mazar 1992: 135).

Megiddo also had evidence of Greek influence in the later occupations; the site has Middle Bronze age Bichrome wares also found at Tell el-Ajjul. In addition, Tell El Dab'a, Egypt contains the same Middle Bronze Bichrome wares also found at both Megiddo and Tell el-Ajjul (Mazar 1992). Megiddo contained both imported and locally produced Bichrome pottery of the Cypriot tradition (Mazar 1992: 260-61; Artzy *et. al.* 1973: 446-461). Both Mazar and Artzy et. Al suggest that one explanation for the overwhelming Canaanite features in the decorative aspect of the wares is due to Cypriot potters adjusting their technique and style to appeal to Canaanite markets since they were exporting the pottery (Mazar 1992: 260; Artzy et. Al. 1973: 460). However Mazar (1992) also suggests that "Bichrome pottery was manufactured by immigrants from Syria or

Palestine who settled in eastern Cyprus in the sixteenth century B.C.E. and created an eclectic style in which their own traditions were prominent" (1992: 260). Whatever the case, they are both representative of settlements of people deeply involved in the practice and reproduction of transnational cultural practices. This reflects Branigan's (1981) community colonies discussed earlier.

The most common Cypriot ware exported to Syria, Palestine, and Egypt during the Bronze Age was the Base Ring Ware. Merrillees (1972) notes that for the Dynasty XVIII B excavations of Sidmant Tomb 53 a Mycenaean IIIA jug was found along with an Egyptian imitation of a Cypriot base-ring juglet (Merrillees 1972: 286). Local reproductions of previously imported wares represent a unique aspect of both the transnational and global processes. Imitations represent a point in which the consumption culture has not only adapted to the tastes of the dominant globalizing culture, but have adopted it as a part of their own through their manufacture of this cultural material.

Mazar noted that though the Bichrome Wares discussed above were exported from Cyprus to the Levant, there were also local reproductions of these already hybrid styles in places such as Megiddo (Mazar 1992: 261).

In addition to the Syro-Palestinian and Cypriot hybrid structural traits of the pottery that Mazar discussed, there was also the interjection of Canaanite cultural traits in the paint styles of the wares.

> One possibility is to assume that the ware was created by Cypriot potters for the Canaanite market, and that these potters adapted their technique and style to their customers' taste. Another possibility. . . is that Bichrome pottery was manufactured by immigrants from Syria or Palestine who

> settled in eastern Cyprus. . . and created an eclectic style in which their own traditions were prominent (Mazar 1992: 260)

The migrations that yielded these hybrid wares are further understood on the transnational scale under the premise that, "Transnational migration is inextricably linked to the changing condition of global capitalism and must be analyzed within the context of global relations between capital and labor" (Basch, Schiller, Blanc 1994: 22).

Work by Dothan and Zukerman notes the similarity in the style of the Ekron and Ashdod Mycenaean IIIC:1 wares with the Canaanite-tradition bowls. They state that the Mycenaean wares are "visually indistinguishable" from the Canaanite-tradition bowls (Dothan and Zuckerman 2004: 32). "It could therefore be suggested that Philistine potters produced not only Mycenaean IIIC:1 and associated coarse wares, but also, in more limited numbers, bowls and storage jars of the Canaanite-tradition types. . ." (Dothan and Zuckerman 2004: 32). This presents a similar reflection of the locally produced Canaanite style hybrid wares at Megiddo as discussed by Mazar.

Stewart and Martin postulate that some of the Greek Wares at Tel Dor were not Greek imports. "Much of the later so-called East Greek ware may be of non-Greek, eastern Mediterranean manufacture" (Stewart and Martin 2005: 81). However, the mistake in interpretation as Greek imported wares could have resulted from lack of recognition of the transnational phenomena manifested in material culture thus exposing another gap left by the rigidity of the border between archaeology and cultural theory.

The Syrian site of Al Mina also exhibited transnationalism manifested in material culture. According to Jane Waldbaum, the Greek imports found at Megiddo and Samaria are important in that they represent the inland reach of Greek imports. However, the

locus driving these inland reaches requires further exploration. The distinctive bichrome decoration that constitutes "Al Mina Ware" was believed to be made by Greek potters who were working in Al Mina (Waldbaum 1994: 58).

Although, Greek pottery was being produced by Greeks out of their national context elsewhere in the Near East:

> The small coastal fortress site of Mesad Hashavyahu produced quantities of East Greek pottery, in greater than usual proportions to local wares found at the site. . . Proportions of Greek wares of all kinds at Mesad Hashavyahu were so high that a settlement of Greek mercenaries has been postulated for the site. . . (Waldbaum 1994: 60).

Waldbaum theorizes that the variety of forms may indicate closer and more regular contact between Greeks and settlements inland like Batash (Waldbaum 1994: 60). These closer and more frequent interactions between Greek settlements and the mainland could serve as one of the leading explanations for the extensive inland reach of Greek material cultural. Waldbaum does note that the inland sites with imported East Greek wares tend to be along trade routes or near city centers. But with the understanding of the global hierarchy and the panopticon in conjunction with the connections between capital and power, it would make sense that these sites occupy a higher tier on the hierarchy due to the amount of commerce they move. Following the hierarchical structure, these sites in the Levant are trading and importing Greek goods because they are widely distributed throughout the larger and greater hierarchical sites along the coast, the lesser cities are following the diffusion of the popularity of goods.

Gray Burnished ware is one of the major Early Bronze pottery groups in the northern Levant. It is characterized by Gray wares with gray slip and a rope-like decoration that adorns bowls and the other open vessels that comprise the group. Gray Burnished Ware is locally made but represents designs that are alien to the Levant but coincide with the design characteristics of northeastern Anatolia (Mazar 1992: 103). "The immigrants probably assimilated with the local population, but they continued to produce a limited number of shapes of their traditional pottery…. The interrelated regional pottery groups probably reflect closely connected communities which shared a similar socio-economic status but maintained independent cultural identities" (Mazar 1992: 103).

Egypt and the Levant were among the regions to receive the imports of the most prominent Cypriot wares (Mazar 1992: 261) sites that were along the same hierarchal tier in activity and socio-economic status. "As the imported Cypriot pottery included many bowls which could not be used as containers, the market demand was evidently for the pottery itself, which was considered as fine 'table ware'" (Mazar 1992: 262).

The widespread range of territory that received Mycenaean imports reached from Turkey to Egypt and Southern Italy during the Late Bronze Age, a period that was born on the foundation of a continuous ascent in economic transactions as new technologies -- such as the potters' wheel -- helped spawn the ever-growing intertwined relationships between cultures, societies, economies, and the often overlooked- individuals. "The imported Cypriot and Mycenaean pottery was valued and appreciated in the markets of Canaan- so much so that local Canaanite potters imitated these vessels with their own techniques" (Mazar 1992: 264).

Khirbet Kerak Ware was also locally manufactured in Palestine but the production technique and design can be traced to northeastern Anatolia and it is found mainly in the north at Megiddo, Khirbet Kerak (Beth-Yerah), Hazor, and others) but there have been a few small vessels in the south as well (Mazar 1992: 133).

Although Mesad Hashavyahu is still the only possible Greek settlement during the end of the seventh century in Palestine, it none the less served as an outpost for cultural diffusion and transmission. Though it was not the most important port in the region it still had a strong influence on the inland spread and diffusion of Greek wares due to its position on the hierarchy situated above the lower tiered trade route off-cities and below the greater ports of the coast.

Popularity and the Local Hierarchy: the "knock-off economy" of local reproduction:

Aside from the obvious global trade relations, Mazar's discussion of the Cypriot-Canaanite pottery being reproduced in the Levant after it ascended in popularity exhibits the process of the "knock-off" phenomenon often studied in globalized economies today. The receiving culture is being stylistically influenced by trends characteristic in other cultures. When the materials reach such popularity that they percolate down through the local socio-economic hierarchy and are in demand by the general population but not easily afforded by them, they are locally reproduced in a reflection of the exporting culture's style and as such, this local production allows these transnational trends or styles to become permanent influences on the production history of the importing nation, they become symbols of the globalization process.

Vast spread of Greek influence across a wide region can be associated to hierarchal organization on two levels: (a) on the local level, possession and use of Greek style wares by upper class and royalty provide a greater local value to materials of that type, in time greater demand and thus more trade leads to a wider range of possession of this "caliber" of goods throughout the settlement social hierarchy. On the global level (b) the same process of cultural transmission and diffusion through the hierarchy would occur but rather in terms of all settlements and their economic and social position within the global system, i.e. smaller, further inland sites would contain not contain the volume of evidence of Greek wares that larger sites would and thus have less material evidence of cultural influence. There are several sites spanning Egypt and the Levant that have representation of locally made wares reflecting Greek styles.

Tell Atchana (Alalakh), excavated by Woolley, has both Mycenaean II as well as later Mycenaean ceramic assemblages represented at this site (Hankey 1967: 110; Woolley 1955). Among the Mycenaean and Cypriot ceramics housed at the Antioch Museum resides a locally reproduced Mycenaean IIIB imitation (Hankey 1967: 111). South of Atchana on the coast lays the site of Ras Shamra (Ugarit) which has yielded significant amounts of Mycenaean wares as well as imitations of Black on Red II and White Slip II ceramics manufactured in the Levant (Hankey 1967: 113). This imitation representative of the later period of Mycenaean ceramic assemblages further supports the processes of adoption and incorporation outlined with reference to the production of "ancient knock-offs," the imitation dates to a period after high levels of Greek imports had been influencing the site for years before.

As described earlier, the panoptic structure allows for the hierarchy within a local or global system to promote a top down diffusion in popularity of goods. This localizing diffusion of popularity in cultural material can be seen in the Late Bronze Mycenaean imports at Tel Megiddo that were reanalyzed by Leonard and Cline who described the Late Bronze Mycenaean imports from stratum VIII settlement contexts as well as in palatial areas (Leonard and Cline 1998: 5).

> Overall, the Mycenaean vessels in Stratum VIIA present a rather dramatic distribution. . . One could hypothesize that Locus 1817, the single room containing 12 of the 14 fragmentary Mycenaean vessels . . . had functioned as a storage room or "china closet" for wealthy inhabitants of the building, although such a suggestion would be clearly tentative since none of the vessels is represented by more than a few sherds (Cline and Leonard 1998: 10).

However, one could also surmise that the presence of Mycenaean wares in both civilian and royal contexts indicates that at Megiddo during the Late Bronze, Greek culture had diffused through the ranks of the local hierarchy and become popular enough and accessible enough to reach all hierarchical tiers. Cline and Leonard also note that due to the fact that there are several other Late Bronze sites in the Levant presumed to be lesser status than Megiddo which contain as much or more Aegean cultural material than Megiddo, it shouldn't be a surprise that a site higher on the hierarchical tier in from the global perspective should contain these materials (Cline and Leonard 1998: 16).

Familiarizing Transitional Tools and Highlighting Cyclical Global Processes:

As noted earlier with regard to the Cypro-Canaanite wares at Megiddo, Mazar mentioned that "One possibility is to assume that the ware was created by Cypriot potters for the Canaanite market, and that these potters adapted their technique and style to their customers' taste" (Mazar 1992: 260). Cypriot potters were developing wares that reflected tradition or their target audience while infusing it with their own, thus creating an easier transition and greater likelihood of acceptance and expanded distribution among the Syro-Palestinian settlements with an appeal to the Syro-Palestinian tastes.

Dualities such as these, which are fueled by the host culture and deliberately reflect similarities to the consumption culture displays what will be termed as a *familiarizing transitional tool*. These *familiarizing transitional tools* can allow the culture receiving the imports to associate their own traits to those being imported, thus created a wider market for the exporting culture.

Familiarizing transitional tools are a globalizing tool also used much later by the Greeks to globalize the religious doctrine of their culture through Christianity. An exploration into how familiarizing processes were utilized in ancient history of the Mediterranean serve as a point of interest to emphasize how the theoretical processes involved in globalization are reflected cyclically throughout history, and each time a culture reaches the height of hierarchy, their cultural spread is manifested using the same processes. A look at the *familiarizing transitional tool* in Coptic Christianity maintain the Greeks is the focal culture of the discussion, but exhibits the cyclical nature of globalizing processes.

The parallels between subjects in Coptic Christian art and pharaonic religion may have initially formed as a means of helping ease the move from the Egyptian's ancient polytheistic religion to the monotheistic Orthodox Christian religion. In Christianity though there is only one 'God' there are a number of Saints and other holy beings that reflect ideals of pharaonic religion. One of the most worshiped goddesses in ancient Egyptian religion was the goddess Isis. There are numerous depictions from the Middle Kingdom and Late period (664-332 BC) of the goddess Isis nursing her son Horus, often times with Horus bearing the pharaonic crown with the classic cobra to represent him as a king. According to Jill Kamil, "French Egyptologist Gaston Maspero was the first scholar to relate such representations to the concept of Pharaoh as son and successor of the gods, who, from the moment he became a god (on his ascension to the throne), was recognized by the goddess as her son;" (Kamil 2002: 18). The era of these statues extends into the Hellenic world and would have certainly been prominent figures as Christianity was making its way into Egypt.

The depiction of a female goddess of immense importance to the ancient world nursing her son is the same illustration found the depictions of the Virgin Mary nursing the baby Jesus. Just as a Pharaoh is the successor to the gods Jesus is the successor to God, but some parallels can be seen not only in their purpose but also in their conception. Though Isis was able to put Osiris back together she was missing his phallus, a key element in conceiving a child, thus for her to be impregnated seems as divine an event as the Virgin Mary (or 'virgin' Mary) and her becoming pregnant with Jesus. Parallels between both the goddess Isis and the Holy Virgin as well as their divine sons are one of the most important associations drawn by Egyptians between their ancient

religion and Christianity. "When paganism was outlawed and temples closed in the reign of Theodosius in 379 Egyptians saw, in Mary and her divine son, their own beloved Isis and her son Horus. There is little doubt that the Holy Virgin holds as prominent a place in the Coptic Church of today, as did the goddess in the temple at Philae" (Kamil 2002: 18). Art was a venue through which Egyptians depicted all aspects of life; even the hieroglyphic writing system appears as symbols embodying important figures in Egyptian daily life.

Therefore early artistic representations of the Holy Virgin and her son in Coptic art, which tend to mirror those of Isis and the suckling Horus would have allowed for a smooth visual transition from polytheism into Christianity for many ancient Egyptians, for them the Holy Virgin embodied their revered Isis. But there were other more subtle aspects of Coptic Christian art, which alluded to other significant symbols from the ancient Egyptian religion. Kamil's discourse noting the transitional blend between pharaonic and Christian imagery reflects the processes producing hybrid culture in the same region at a much later period, serving as a testament to the repetitive nature of globalizing production.

Importance of Imports in Understanding Top of the Global Cultural Hierarchy:

Part of the process of diffusion of cultural material throughout the panoptic hierarchy calls for the mass importation of goods to yield distribution to all facets of society within a settlement on the local level, such local popularity, taken in conjunction

with political and economic circumstances, is necessary.

Al Mina (present day Turkey) was an Iron Age town dating to the ninth century through the fourth century BC excavated by Leonard Woolley. Al Mina was supplied with significant quantities of *imported* Greek pottery, particularly Greek geometric pottery. Woolley characterizes the architecture of this site as "the stores and business premises of merchants engaged in the import and export trade between Asia and the Aegean… (t)hose merchants must have been Greeks" (Woolley 1938: 11, 15). However,

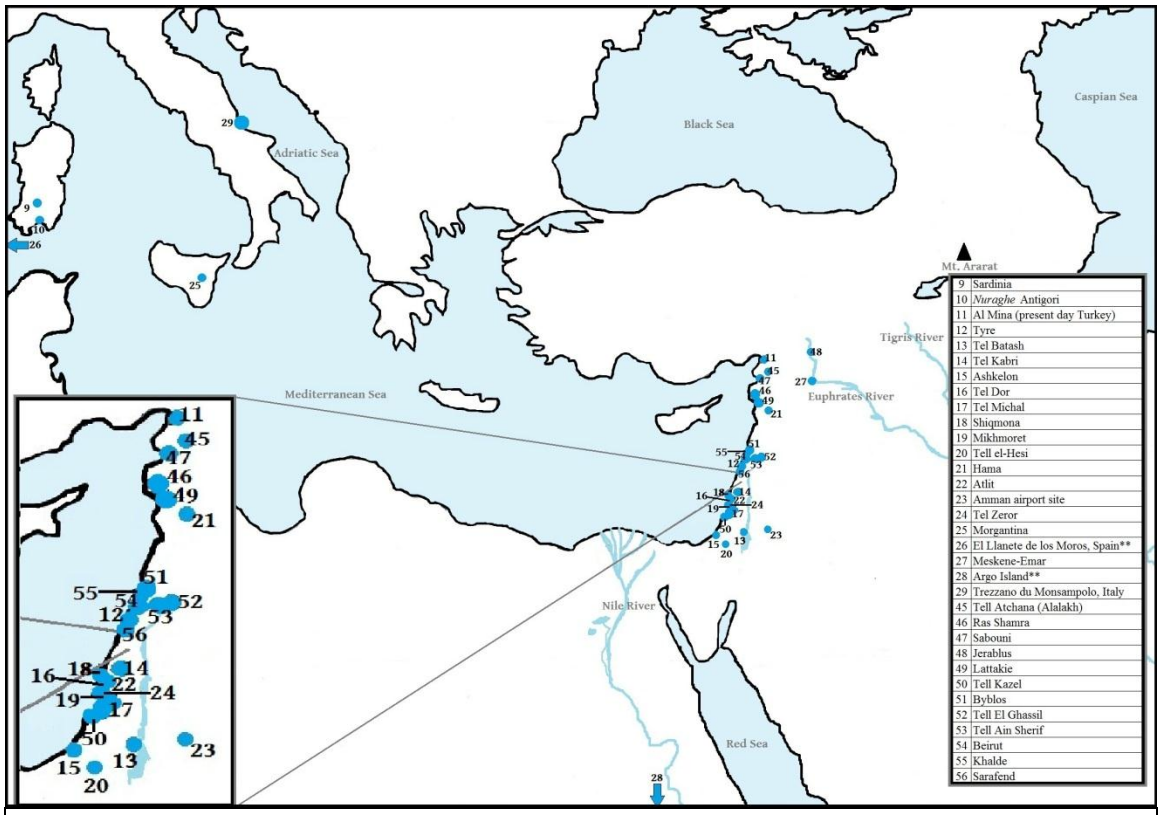


Figure 4: Map representing the sites containing imported Greek style wares.

architecture and the majority of finds are "un-Greek" in character[34]; debate about Al Mina and the Greek pottery published to represent that level of the site as a Greek town—was "reduced" to belonging to those Syrian sites where the Greek presence was

[34] "Al Mina is now mostly seen as a Phoenician or Aramaic town in which a certain number of Greeks at some time formed a community colony or *enoikismos"* (Niemeier 2001: 14).

maintained among the local population. (Waldbaum 1997: 4; Niemeier 2001: 14). Boardman, on the other hand, describes a high proportion of Greek decorated wares at Al Mina (Boardman 1999).

Tyre, the Phoenician capital site with imported Greek pottery that predates the imports found at Al Mina (Bikai 1978; Coldstream and Bikai 1988; Waldbaum 1997). The imports found at Tyre are of the tenth to seventh centuries BC (Coldstream and Bikai 1988; Waldbaum 1997) as well as earlier Mycenaean imports from the Late Bronze Age.

> Tyre, 20 km. south of Sarafend, is mentioned in the Amarna letters. Its configuration of island and anchorage, as well as access to the interior make it an obvious place for a Late Bronze site. Two inscriptions were found recently, giving the first solid evidence of Late Bronze Tyre. One is inscribed with the name of Seti I, the other of Ramesses II (Hankey 1967: 121).

Though Tyre was a Phoenician capital site "the metropolitan Phoenicians were by no means averse to the use of imported Greek pottery" (Coldstream and Bikai 1988: 43).

The site of Tel Batash (ancient Timnah) is slightly inland and up the Sorek Valley from Mesad Hashavyahu (Waldbaum and Magness 1997: 31). Tel Batash had fragments of identical imported Greek cooking pots to those at Mesad Hashavyahu (Waldbaum 1997). Waldbaum 1997 sees the presence of Greek cooking wares and lack of Greeks at sites such as Tel Batash, Ashkelon, and Mesad Hashavyahu, and Tel Kabri analogous to the use of imported wares into the modern, well-furnished kitchens of homes in the United States, following the premise that "ancient pottery that developed a reputation for having desirable properties or imparting a special flavor to food might equally have been

in demand among the cognoscenti" (Waldbaum 1997). However, the geographic location of Tel Batash/Timnah in the bigger picture exhibits the possibility of a handful of Batash cooking vessels that could have been brought to Batash via visitors from Mesad Hashavyahu (Niemeier 2001: 16). Both of these explanations are plausible and may overlap one another to represent the global and transnational processes taking place. The presence of the Greek pottery in the region represents the transnational trade process taking place while the movement of visitors inland with good exhibits the global expansion of these phenomena.

Tel Kabri, similar to Mesad Hashavyah, is a small fortification and not a harbor site but is situated off from the next harbor city, Achzib (Prausnitz and Mazar 1993; Niemeier 2001: 15). Fragments of six cooking Greek imported pottery sherds have been found at Kabri of the same type and date that have been found at Tel Batash, Ashkelon, and Mesad Hashavyahu (Niemeier 1990; Kempinski and Niemeier 1993). Amongst the architecture at Kabri is a large palace with elaborately painted floors reflecting the artistic technique of Minoan Crete palace decorations contemporary with those found at Kabri (Mazar 1992: 210; Dothan 1976: 1-48).

Ashkelon in Israel was a major commercial seaport (Stager 1993, 1996) that has yielded several hundred Greek sherds.[35] Among the material found were fragments of Greek cooking pots of Persian period as well as sherds of Greek imported pottery found at this site are of the same type and date have been found at Tel Batash, Tel Kabri, and Mesad Hashavyahu (Stager 1996; Waldbaum and Magness 1997). The numerous Greek fragments of cooking pots could have belonged to Greek seafarers or merchants residing

[35] Though many of the hundreds of Greek sherds found are largely unpublished, excavators have published vessels of Greek inscriptions (Waldbaum 1997).

in seasonal or permanent settlements at Ashkelon (Niemeier 2001: 16). Many of the speculations regarding Greek settlement versus strictly Greek imports are often due to the presence of these cooking wares. They not only represent an item of common daily use but they are not necessarily an object that locals would have squandered extra on to import when they could be locally made.

Tel Dor in Israel is another site that has yielded Greek imported wares as well as vessels containing Greek inscriptions. Excavation areas A and C had 850 sherds of Attic imported pottery (Stern 1993; Stewart and Martin 2005).

Excavations at the small coastal site of Tel Michal have produced around 600 Greek imports of the Persian period, as well as Greek cooking pots (Herzog, Rapp and Negbi 1989: 145-52). Vessels with Greek inscriptions have been published, while only 44 of the 600 Persian period Greek imports were published (Waldbaum). Selective publishing dispays another gap in research that presents an obstacle to seeing the true extend of the Greek cultural material reach in the Bronze and Iron Ages.

A Greek cooking pot has also been found at the site of Shiqmona (Wenning 1991). Although it is only anecdotal it represents the minute transnational connections that can take place on an individualistic scale that inevitably leaves behind the cultural material breadcrumbs of globalization.

Like Tel Michal, the small coastal site of Mikhmoret has yielded approximately 400 pieces of imported Greek pottery of Persian period in addition to three Greek cooking pots (Waldbaum 1997). Among the items published were imported vessels of Greek inscriptions. Greek presence was not only visible in home wares but the funerary practices exhibited Greek cultural representation as well, “a group of rock-cut shaft

tombs, partly eroded by the sea, but similar in type to those at Atlit, contained a mix of local, Phoenician, and Greek grave goods, including the cooking pot fragments" (Waldbaum and Magness 1997: 11).

Tell el-Hesi is a small inland site believed by excavators to have functioned as a Persian military or government supply center having produced 638 sherds of Greek fine wares-242 of which were published (Risser and Blakely 1989). The published imports represent nearly 25% of all published pottery from this site. Tell el-Hesi is unique amongst the sites discussed which have yielded hundreds of Greek sherds in that this site is inland and not representative of a costal harbor or sea trading port.

Both Tell el-Hesi and the site of Ashdod have vessels of Greek inscriptions which were published from the site (Waldbaum 1997; Risser and Blakely 1989; Dothan and Porath 1982). Imported vessels of Greek inscriptions have also been published from the major trading port of the Late Bronze Age, Tel Abu Hewam located near Haifa (Waldbaum 1997). Mycenaean IIIA and IIIB imports were abundant here and found throughout Palestine and Transjordan, Abu Hewam has the greatest number of Mycenaean pottery in Palestine (Mazar 1992: 263). Abu Hewam has yielded the greatest range of Mycenaean IIIB pottery in Palestine (Hankey 1967: 124). "The latest object at Tell Abu Hawam which can be connected with Mycenaean pottery in its last stages may be… a Late Cypriote PWP bottle fragment… this style is contemporary with, not later than, Myc. IIIC I c.33 Two Protogeometric pieces… carry the Aegean connection with this site to the end of the eleventh century B.C. Akko (Acre)…" (Hankey 1967: 125).

Both the Phoenician sites of Khaldeh (near Beirut) and the Phoenician site of Tell Rachidieh (near Tyre) contain Phoenician tombs holding Greek pottery (Waldbaum 1997;

Coldstream and Bikai 1988: 36), sites like Mikhmoret that have material representation of Greek cultural influence in burial practice. The presence of the wares in the Phoenician tombs represents the use of Greek pottery found in native tombs and burial customs. Hama has also exhibited Greek pottery found in native tombs (Coldstream 1977; Braun 1982). "Attic krater of the late ninth century was offered as a votive in a local shrine" (Niemeier 2001: 13).

Greek imports have also been found at the coastal Atlit. Atlit contained shaft graves holding imported Greek pottery believed by the excavator to have belonged to Greek mercenaries (Johns 1932).[36]

Transnationalizing production and consumption processes were not limited to hybrid pottery at Megiddo, the Late Bronze hybrid Mycenaean- Canaanite ivories also exhibit a Greek influence in hybrid transnational cultural material. These hybrid ivories may have been produced in Cyprus (Mazar 1992: 271) exhibiting yet another example of the transnational phenomena's intimate entanglement with the process of globalization (Feldman 2009).[37]

The Late Bronze Age inland site in Jordan at the Amman airport was found located several kilometers from a Canaanite city. A large quantity of imported Mycenaean and Minoan pottery was recovered, along with Egyptian stone vessels and scarabs, seals, and jewelry all found in a single building at this site (Mazar 1992: 256)

[36] In Waldbaum (1997) she notes, "The finds, however, were very mixed, including objects of Egyptian, Phoenician, and local manufacture in addition to Greek (Johns 1932: 44), and the tomb types were Phoenician (Stern 1982a: 70-72)."

[37] Mazar states "the Late Bronze ivory collections from Canaan demonstrate a vivid local art as well as international connections and influences" (Mazar 1992: 271). Mazar frequently notes these connections but fails to recognized them as any part of a greater underlying structural process.

Hennessy categorizes the sherds as Mycenaean II , the same Mycenaean pottery as found at Tell Abu Hewam (Hennessy 1966; Waldbaum 1997; Mazar 1992).

Early Iron site of Tel Zeror in the Sharon Plain revealed a metalworking area with a long period of production containing abundant Cypriot pottery. The strong Cypriot influence stems from Cyprus' strategic role as the controller of copper ingots for the metal working and according to Mazar this role originated from relations that are exhibited in the cultural material at this site, it is further evidence for relations between the two regions (Mazar 1992: 265).

Morgantina represents another inland community with the presence of Greek objects (Antonaccio 2004: 64). Mycenean pottery distribution spans a wide geographic area during the Early Iron Age. El Llanete de los Moros, Spain has yielded the westernmost finds of Mycenaean pottery distribution, Meskene-Emar along the Euphrates river in Syria presents the easternmost Mycenaean finds, Argo Island of ancient Nubia displays the southernmost finds of Mycenaean pottery, and Trezzano du Monsampolo, Italy contains a sherd of Mycenaean origin and is northernmost representation of Mycenaean cultural influence in the material culture (Wijngaarden 2002: 3).

At Tel Dor during the Persian period, Attic pottery was still being imported to the site in order to suit local needs, perhaps exclusively. This importation during the Persian period does not confirm or deny a Greek presence at the site, ". . . although the selection and distribution of shapes- repeated at other coastal sites--suggest that any such immigrants were either few in number or swiftly blended into the local scene" (Stewart and Martin 2005: 90). Whether these imports were the result of a Greek presence or a high demand for Greek goods it remains necessary to point out that even during a period

when Persia was dominating Athens militarily, Greek material culture still exhibited dominance in Greek cultural presence on the global scene.

Eventually Tel Dor gave way to wholesale import of Greek table wares ". . . which continued to flood into the city for a century, largely driving the local types out of the market" (Stewart and Martin 2005: 90). This Hellenization of a common and widely used household category, such as table wares, reflected an increase in local interest in particular types of Greek materials. This indicated that the consumers at Tel Dor dictated the range of types throughout the period in this area.

The Aegean influence in the ancient world was not limited to the Levant and the Nile Delta. Sardinia, the second largest island in the Mediterranean, yielded samples of Mycenaean pottery and a small Mycenaean style ivory head dating to the thirteenth century B.C.E. (Knapp 1992: 120). *Nuraghe* Antigori, located on the south central coast of Sardinia, is a site that holds nearly 90 percent of the hundreds of Aegean-style pottery excavated thus far (Knapp 1992: 121). "Of the 80 or so Aegean-style sherds sampled and examined by geochemical analysis, only about half proved to be imports… Most painted pottery vessels or sherds appear…to be local copies of the more exotic imports" (Knapp 1992: 121), thus evidencing the influence of Aegean culture on local potters on Sardinia. Many of the sites discussed that have exhibited significant amounts of imported pottery have also shown evidence of local pottery production representing Aegean stylistic influence. The successive stages of high volume of imports to locally reproduced wares also occur as a single site is growing more hierarchically differentiated as a result of its place in the global spectrum. "On Sardinia, increased contact with and demand from the eastern Mediterranean may have strengthened tendencies toward a hierarchical ordering

of settlements, extraneous to the internal system but integral to an external, Mediterranean system. Such centers … should reveal the clearest evidence for contacts with the Aegean world…" (Knapp 1992: 122).

Mycenaean materials in the Middle East:

An overview of many of the sites in the Levant and Middle East containing late Mycenaean wares paints a pathway of trade connections for tracing the movement of cultural materials inland that exhibits a trail of transnational connections stringing together and overlapping to for the web of globalization.. Aside from tracing mere geographic location, the chronological and stylistic connections paralleled at these sites serves to further support the transnational and global interactions taking place during the Late Bronze Age (Leonard 1985).

At Sabouni, a site geographically situated between mountain ranges and near the previously discussed Greek settlement Al Mina, sherds of the Mycenaean type dating to the thirteenth and twelfth centuries BC were recovered (Hankey 1967: 112).

Late Mycenaean sherds as well as an Iron Age Cypriot sherd were found at the site of Jerablus (Carchemish) on the west bank of the Euphrates (Hankey 1967: 110). Presence of Greek ceramic imports on the Euphrates could serve as evidence for further transport via river trade routes.

South of Ras Shamra at the site of Lattakie Mycenaean sherds were reported to have been found, although the site was destroyed and the sherds lost during architectural development (Hankey 1967: 113).

South of Tell Sukas on the coastal road from Lattakie to Tripoli lays Tell Kazel, which has yielded both Mycenaean and BR and WS II wares (Hankey 1967: 114). Northeast of Tripoli, the Akkar Plain sits on a direct route to Syria via the Mediterranean (Hankey 1967: 114). The site contains several indicators of transnationalism including Minoan or Early Helladic sealings with parallels to Troy and to the Hittite sealings in Asia while displaying the classic Mycenaean rosette motif, "the work therefore combines Asiatic and Aegean features…" (Hankey 1967: 116- 17).

Byblos, lies south of the Akkar Plain which has material parallels to (Hankey 1967: 118). The site has a small representation of Mycenaean pottery that supports the filling of a potential cultural material gap between Middle Eastern sites (Hankey 1967: 118). Additionally, Mycenaean ceramic representations have been recovered at the Iron Age Tell El Ghassil (Hankey 1967: 118-19). Only six kilometers south-west of Ghassil is Tell Ain Sherif where intermediate Mycenaean sherds have been recovered (Hankey 1967: 119).

Several pieces of Mycenaean pottery were found in the Late Bronze Age tombs of Beirut, a site that most certainly "relied heavily on the sea for communications with the north, since the only road north had to pass over a narrow cliff path at the mouth of the Nahr el Kelb, the Dog River. To the south land communications were easier" (Hankey 1967: 119). The Mycenaean finds from the tomb have parallels to Mycenaean finds at Abu Hawam, Amman, Lachish, Cyprus, Attica, and the palace at Knossos (Hankey 1967: 119). A Late Bronze occupation is also evident six kilometers south of Beirut at Khalde where WS II sherds have been found (Hankey 1967: 120).

Sarafend, on the coast road to Tyre, represents the only large group of Mycenaean wares recovered from Lebanon. "Thirty-four out of sixty-seven pots recovered from the tomb are Mycenaean, most of them Myc. IIIB" (Hankey 1967: 121).

North of the Sea of Galilee, Hazor rests in an area that allows it to geographically bridge the area of Egyptian influence in Palestine with the Syrian and Mesopotamian areas (Hankey 1967: 123). Two sherds of Mycenaean pottery typically rare in the Palestinian region were recovered from Hazor, filling a cultural material gap between this site and Mycenaean wares from Byblos and Amman (Hankey 1967: 123; Yadin 1958). "The small amount of Myc. IIIA I represented by an alabastron… shows that in this period, as in the preceding one, very few Mycenaean goods travelled far inland. In the next period the amount of trade became considerable, with a few shapes found at widely separated places" (Hankey 1967: 123; Yadin 1958).

The growing presence and abundant presence of imported Greek material culture over a vast region is a display of the strength and reach of cultural manifestation that is produced by the highest nation in the globalization hierarchy.

Transnational Settlements:

The settlements discussed, whether inhabited by Greek immigrants or by local cultures reproducing Greek materials, can be encompassed within the concept of *transnational settlements*. This term is a modified version derived from Michael Peter Smith's concept of "transnational urbanism." The alteration of the "urban" aspect of the metaphor draws from Smith's reliance on connections based on advanced means of communication. The archaeological evidence from the inland and coastal settlement

displays maintained connections though travel and trade. This is exhibited by pottery assemblages that present Greek influences penetrating the settlements of the Levant.

There are two main forms of settlements that can be understood as different degrees of *transnational settlements*. The first is a "settlement colony" (Branigan 1981) which corresponds with the Greek term *apoikia* meaning "a settlement founded in a foreign country and populated by people resettled from their homeland" (Niemeier 2001: 13). This concept of a "settlement colony," or *Apoikia,* represents one form of a transnational settlement.

The second form of *transnational settlement* manifested in the concept of a "community colony" (Branigan 1981: 26) which corresponds with the Greek term *enoikismos*, meaning, "settlements in which a more or less significant element of the population is comprised of immigrants from a foreign place. This element forms a distinctive social grouping within the settlement's society, sometimes but not always reflected in their spatial distribution" (Niemeier 2001: 13). Each of the two forms of colonies has a distinctive material cultural composition.

The material culture of a settlement colony is characterized by foreign material culture, "architecture and artifacts being strongly reminiscent of the architecture and artifacts of the homeland (or imported from there)…" (Niemeier 2001: 13). On the other hand, community colonies have more flexible characteristics than settlement colonies. The variations in character is determined by the "strength of the cultural tradition of the 'colonists' and of the indigenous inhabitants," external architecture is primarily represented in the native form while the material cultural furnishings of the dwellings

reflect foreign cultural identities present (Niemeier 2001: 13; Branigan 1981: 26-27; 1984: 49-51).

Niemeier (2001: 23) employs a human aspect of his analysis of Greek mercenary sites which do not necessarily fit in traditional idealized theoretical approaches to culture because it carries with it great variability, "Warriors must be mobile and will not bring too many personal belongings with them. When a Greek cooking pot got broken, it probably was replaced by a local one" (Niemeier 2001: 23). These types of material replacements and connections are sought in conjunction with the fact that many of the sites that housed Greek mercenaries were not sites where they formed large groups of average citizens but rather the Greek mercenaries present were single members of the elite (Kyrieleis 1996: 109).

Transnational settlements do, however, encompass Smith's qualifier for "transnational urbanism" in which, "Transnational social actors are materially connected to socioeconomic opportunities, political structures, or cultural practices found in cities at some point in their transnational communication circuit (e.g. transnational cities as sources of migrant employment. . . consumption practices. . .)" (Smith 2001: 5). These features of *transnational settlements* apply to the Greek immigrant potters' communities, as well as the Levant and Near Eastern settlements utilizing imported Greek wares. "The societies which existed in these regions in the period during Mycenaean pottery circulated, vary highly in their socio-political and economic organization and complexity" (van Wijngaarden 2002: 3). In globalization processes it is important for a dominant society to be able to reach and influence cultures in all tiers of the global hierarchy regardless of weight one's socio-economic status or lack thereof, may carry

(Marshall and Maas 1997).[38] The central Mediterranean societies should be understood in terms of prehistoric or proto-urban contexts because he feels that the "level of social-economic organization in this area was far lower than in the eastern Mediterranean" (van Wijngaarden 2002: 4). However, this is contradictory to von Dommelen's and Knapp's view on islands as locusts of cultural exchange and interconnection – in addition to criticize her specific use of Cyprus as proto-urban, the evidence of the imports and local Cypro-Canaanite pottery at Megiddo (Mazar 1992) speaks otherwise in terms of urbanization and state of Cypriot development.

Transnational Settlements: Greek Apoikia (Settlement Colony) in foreign territory:

There has been much debate over the presence of settlement colonies in the Levant and Near East, much of the debate has surrounded what amount and type of materials constitute evidence for a Greek settlement. But minute scholarly disputes and categorical boundaries do not mask the fact that there are a number of sites that have material representing a transnational settlement.

The sites of Sybaris and Metapontion in Southern Italy, dating to the eighth century BC has exhibited Akhian wares "Copied by potters… especially at… Sybaris and Metapontion, giving rise to a locally produced style of pottery that is best designated as 'Akhaianizing' or 'Akhaian-style'" (Papadopolous 2001: 375). Francavilla Marittima also exhibits a significant amount of "Akhaianizing" ceramics contemporary with those at Sybaris (Papadopolous 2001: 414).

[38] "Any decision to incorporate a new item into an existing repertoire of material culture is socially mediated no matter how unequal the relative power of two contacting groups, each will select and reject items according to their own logic" (Marshall and Maas 1997: 287).

Naukratis has significant material representation of Greek culture including small finds, Greek sanctuaries, and inscriptions as well as imported and possibly locally made Greek pottery (Waldbaum 1997: 1). According to Waldbaum (1997), the wealth and variety of Greek material make this a Greek settlement on Egyptian soil—a *transnational settlement.*[39]

Tall Sukas is a Syrian site containing early Greek pottery, the presence of Greek kitchen wares in the home as well as the evidence of Greek cultural presentation or presence in burial practices led P.J. Riis to claim a degree of settlement here (Riis 1970,

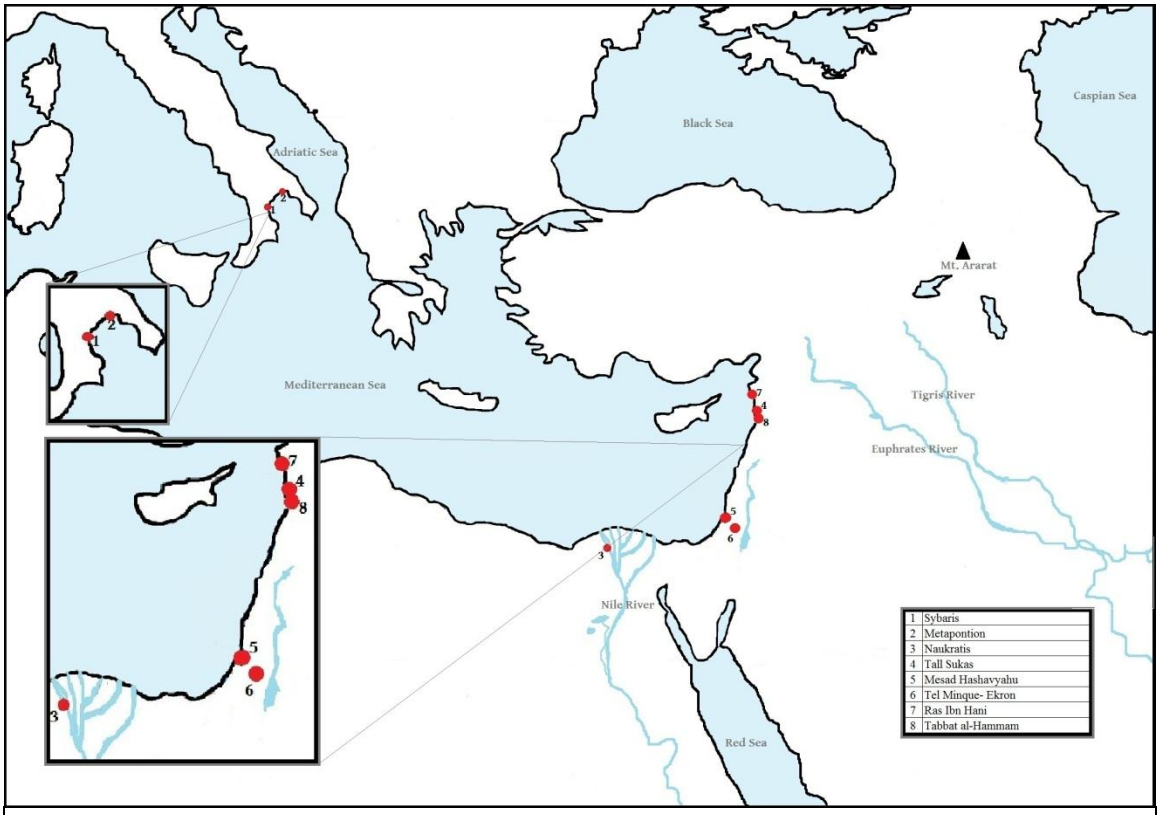


Figure 5: Map representing Greek settlements outside of Greek controlled territory.

1979; Ploug 1973; Lund 1986). Sukas fills the gap in Greek cultural material between

[39] In Herodotus (II.178-179), Naukratis is known as a Greek commercial concession, given to Greek merchants by the Egyptian pharaoh (Waldbaum 1997).

Ras Shamra and Byblos with the discovery of Mycenaean wares at the site (Hankey 1967: 113).

The site of Mesad Hashavyah in Palestine represents a small fortification rather than a harbor site like Ashkelon. The site has been considered settlement of Greek mercenaries possibly in the employ of the Egyptian Pharaoh Psammetichus, however no Egyptian material is recorded as being found at the site (Waldbaum 1997). Mesad Hashavyah is the only site in Palestine of any period called a Greek settlement (Waldbaum 1997). Finds at the site have included Greek pottery of late seventh century BC, including some domestic wares[40] as well as imported Greek lamps (Naveh 1962; Reich 1989; Waldbaum 1997). "Cooking pots and lamps alien to the area in which they were found certainly were not merchandise. Therefore, the Greek cooking pots at both sites and lamps at Mezad Hashavyahu provide evidence for the actual presence of Greeks" (Niemeier 2001: 22).

The Iron Age I period at Tel Miqne- Ekron was a Phillistine period in Canaan comprised of people from the Aegean who had arrived via Cyprus (Dothan 1995; Stager 1995; Niemeier 1998). Ras Ibn Hani and Tabbat al-Hammam exhibit other Iron Age settlements where presence of Greek residents has been assumed (Riis 1982).

All of these sites have Greek representation in the form of material culture most notably the presence of cooking wares. These types of wares hold importance for their role in domestic life, an area of activity not typically punctuated with extra spending on fine or imported wares.

[40] More than fifteen imported Greek cooking pots at this site—helped to define as a Greek settlement of late seventh century BC (Waldbaum 1997).

Transnational Settlements: Foreign Enoikismos (Community Colony) in Greek territory:

The Greek influence in the ancient world is by no means unilateral, and although this analysis has focused on the processes of globalization as they are exhibited in the evidence of Greek influence in the ancient world, there are transnational processes within globalization that do not immediately stem from the Greek cultural influence.

The Greek agency in the global and transnational processes accounted for a significant amount of Greek mobility which in turn helped drive mobility throughout the Mediterranean.

Fortesta, near Knossos in Crete, yielded a relief of a bronze belt of late eighth century BC, likely the work of an immigrant workshop (Boardman 1980). The warriors depicted in the relief represent several cultures in combat; they adorn oriental helmets, early Corinthian helmets, Assyrian dress and helmets, and four East Greek hoplites with kilts and 'Ionic' helmets (Niemeier 2001: 21; Myres 1933: 35-36; Barnett 1977: 166; Snodgrass 1964). The depiction in this belt relief as well as the transnational nature of it production in an immigrant workshop serves as a window into the immense, overlapping cultural interconnections that all serve to support and work within the globalization process.

Amathus on Cyprus is known for producing a unique hybrid transnational cultural material, specifically a Cypro-Phoenician silver bowl of the late eighth century BC, representing a citadel under enemy attack (Barnett 1977). Cyprus is perhaps the most dynamic in terms of representation of overlapping transnational and global cultural connectivity routes. Tell el-Yehudiyeh Ware has been found here and Egypt (Mazar

1992: 216). The Cypriots' ability to supply their resource of copper ingots most likely spurred trade relations with Cyprus in the Middle Bronze Age, "Exchange of pottery between Cyprus, Egypt, and the Levant is important evidence of this trade… Imports of Cypriot pottery started at the end of MB IIA and increased during MB IIB, though even then they were limited in comparison to the massive amount in the following Late Bronze Age" (Mazar 1992: 218).

The Greeks' dominance in the region also led to the permeability of their culture, not only in the sense that they incorporated *familiarizing transitional tools* as a marketing technique, but also in terms of their borders and geographic homogeneity. The presence of other Mediterranean cultural settlements has been found at several Greek sites throughout the region.

Mapping the evidence: The reaches of Ancient Greek Globalization

Each aspect of the global process has been shown to entail a series of transnational processes and byproducts linked together in a global network. No transnational phenomenon functions independently, and without the each local process working in a global web of transnational interactions the web falls apart. The maps contain all sites discussed or mentioned in this analysis. Figures one, two, and three each displays the geographic location of cultural material evidence that represents the existence of these transnational processes. The maps are broken down into sites representing transnational *apoika* settlements, sites containing Greek imports, and sites exhibiting a knock-off economy of locally reproduced Greek style wares. Each of the

sites is numbered, and has a color marker corresponding to the type of transnational site it represents.

Transnational Sites Map Key

1	Sybaris	🔴🟢	29	Trezzano du Monsampolo, Italy	🔵
2	Metapontion	🔴🟢	30	Ras el-Bassit	🟢
3	Naukratis	🔴🟢🔵	31	Tell Defeneh	🟢
4	Tall Sukas	🔴	32	Migdol	🟢🔵
5	Mesad Hashavyahu	🔴🔵	33	Beth Yerah (Khirbet Kerak)	🟢
6	Tel Minque- Ekron	🔴	34	Tel Megiddo	🟢🔵
7	Ras Ibn Hani	🔴	35	Afula	🟢
8	Tabbat al-Hammam	🔴	36	Tel Qashish	🟢
9	Sardinia	🔵	37	Beth-Shean	🟢
10	*Nuraghe* Antigori	🔵	38	Tell el-Farah	🟢
11	Al Mina (present day Turkey)	🔵	39	Yiftahel	🟢
12	Tyre	🔵	40	En Shadud	🟢
13	Tel Batash	🔵	41	Tell Umm Hamad	🟢
14	Tel Kabri	🔵	42	Hazor	🟢
15	Ashkelon	🔵	43	Kefar Monash	🟢
16	Tel Dor	🔵	44	Tell el-Dab'a	🟢
17	Tel Michal	🔵	45	Tell Atchana (Alalakh)	🔵🟢
18	Shiqmona	🔵	46	Ras Shamra	🔵🟢
19	Mikhmoret	🔵	47	Sabouni	🔵
20	Tell el-Hesi	🔵	48	Jerablus	🔵
21	Hama	🔵	49	Lattakie	🔵
22	Atlit	🔵	50	Tell Kazel	🔵
23	Amman airport site	🔵	51	Byblos	🔵
24	Tel Zeror	🔵	52	Tell El Ghassil	🔵
25	Morgantina	🔵	53	Tell Ain Sherif	🔵
26	El Llanete de los Moros, Spain**	🔵	54	Beirut	🔵
27	Meskene-Emar	🔵	55	Khalde	🔵
28	Argo Island**	🔵	56	Sarafend	🔵

🔴	Greek settlement sites
🔵	Sites with imported Greek cultural material
🟢	Sites with local reproduction of Greek style wares
**	Marks sites out of map range

The sites represented in this study are important not only for the content of their sites but the geographic location of the sites.

Their location as individual sites lends to the local scale allowing for analysis of Greek cultural materials and their (or their counterparts) distance from Greek territory.

On the global scale, the location of the sites in relation to one another exhibits the type of various interactions that occur between them.

Each of the individual maps reveals that the Greek influence in all forms of transnationalism represented spanned across the Mediterranean. The Levant and Nile Delta exhibit the highest propensity of Greek influence (as exhibited in figures 3, 4, and 5), although this is no surprise given the Middle East's role in history as the birthplace of state level civilization. The most populous city-states were centered in this region and naturally the reach of globalization formed around the wealth and power in the region and dispersed outward from the Levant.

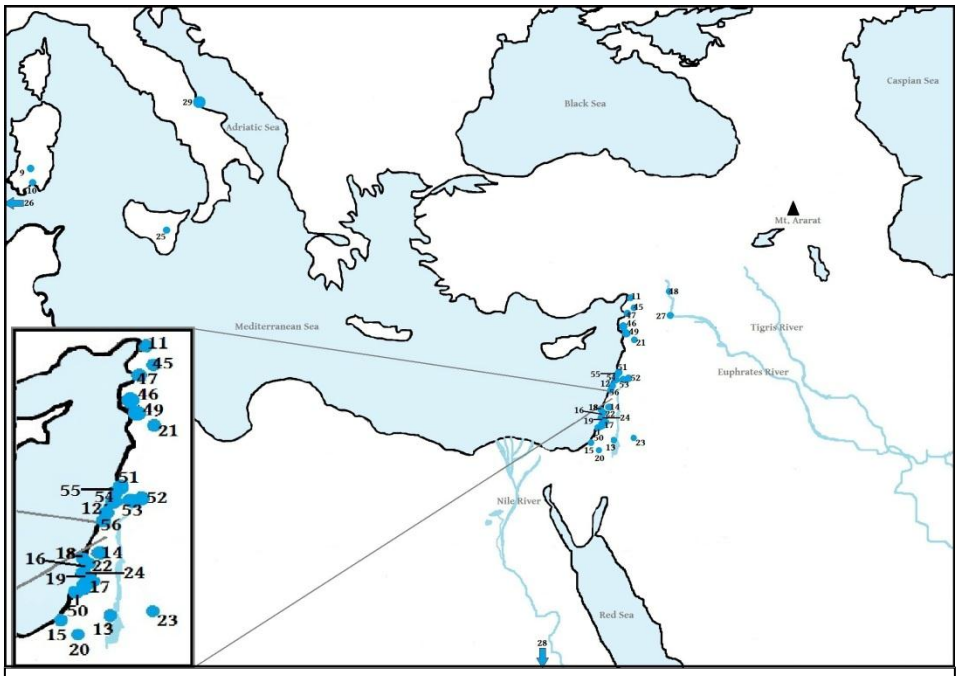


Figure 3: Map representing the sites containing local reproductions of Greek style wares.

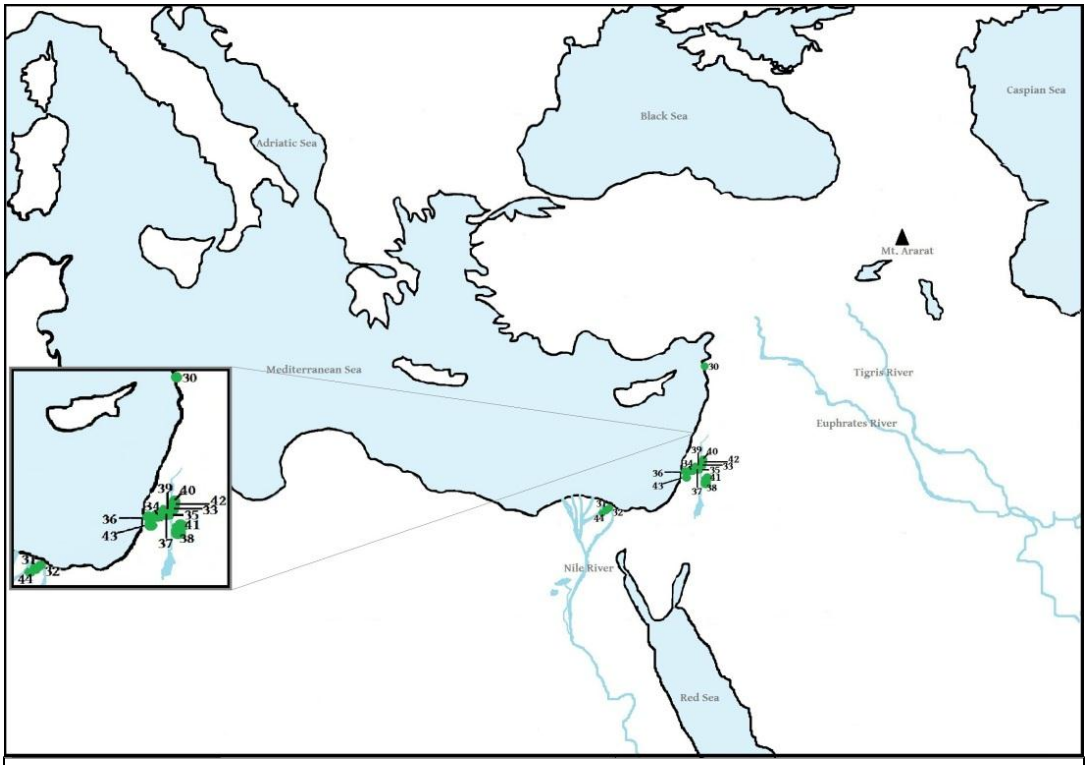


Figure 4: Map representing the sites containing imported Greek style wares.

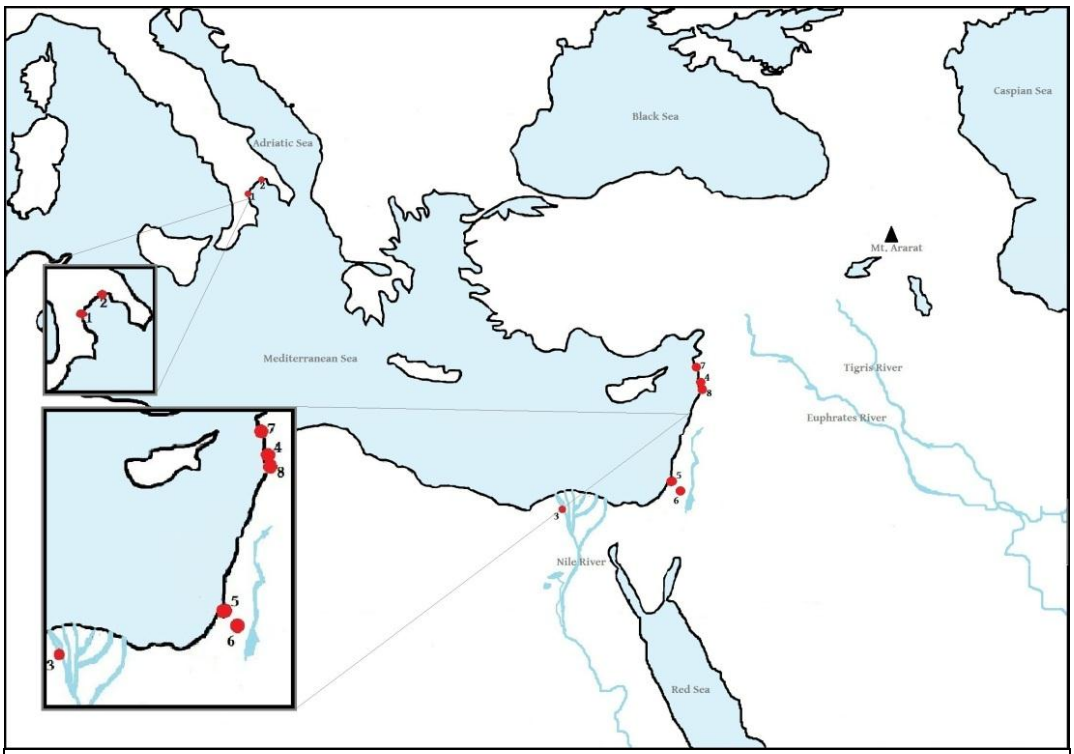


Figure 5: Map representing Greek settlements outside of Greek controlled territory.

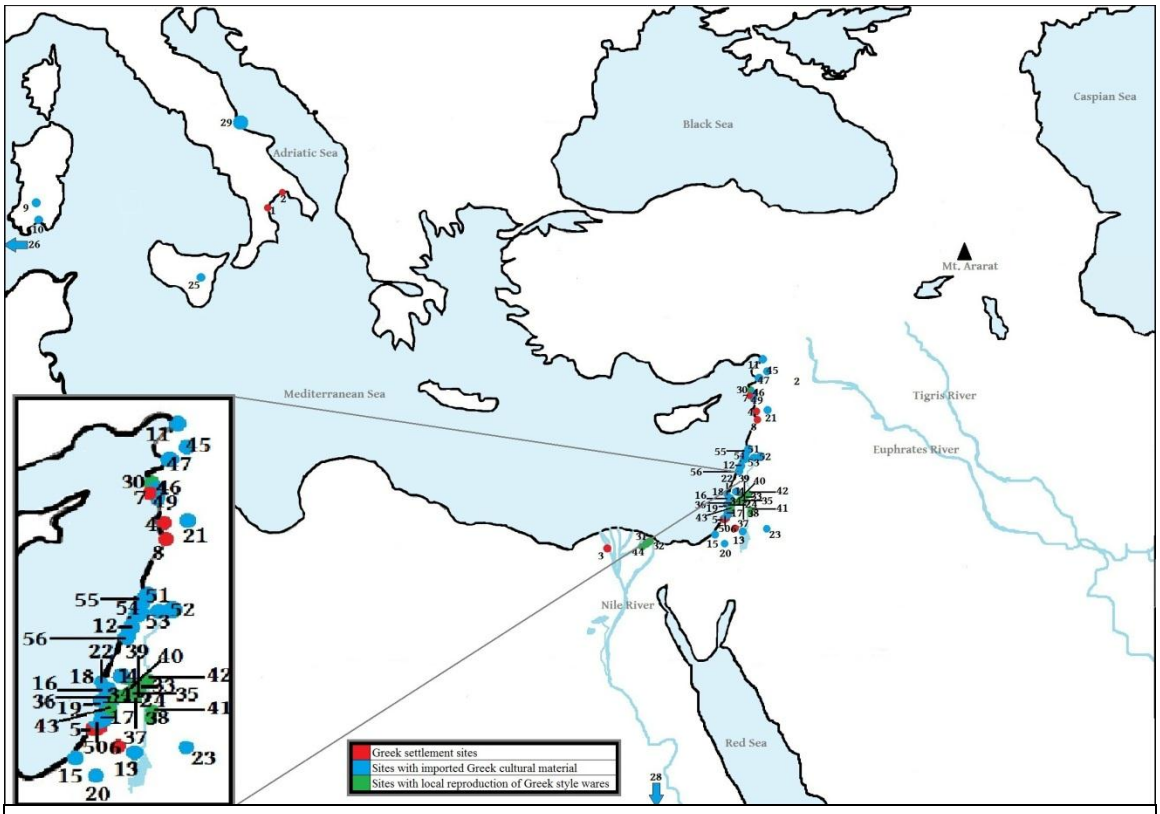


Figure 6: Composite map of sites containing evidence of Greek cultural influence both in materiality and occupation.

The sites represented in figures one, two and three span periods from the Middle Bronze Age to the Early Iron. The whole of Greek global influence is best exhibited by figure four a map displaying all three major transnational processes represented.

The multitude of various transnational interactions and processes reached beyond the cradle of civilization by way of both direct contact with the Greeks fostering transnational relationships, and indirect contacts with Greek culture through chains of trade secondary interaction establishing the globalized connections of Greek culture.

Conclusions:

Archaeology often entails structural approaches to excavation in the field and structured and debated categories in analysis, this foundation of disciplinary research is

fundamental to the extent of building the basis for globalization and transnationalization theory. After the foundation of a structural approach is laid the framework of panoptic theory sets the mechanism for determining power structures. By applying the framework of the processes of globalization and transnationalization theory to the archaeology evidence from the Bronze Age Mediterranean it is clear that these processes of socio-cultural theory were not only present, but appear to have been operating under the same structural basis as contemporary analyses of globalization.

Globalization and transnationalism as processes are the primary broad analytical frameworks representative of the two dominating scales of overall globalization analysis. A simple recognition of the spaces where these processes overlap already places the depth of analysis beyond the reaches of world-systems theory. Dissecting trough the theoretical skin and analyzing the structural skeleton of globalization and transnationalism we are able to see the means by which structure and hierarchy can control the flows of cultural material. "People create culture to express their thoughts in complex, mediated responses to diverse historical circumstances, which in turn are shaped as their consciousness sifts in an ongoing mutual relationship between ideas and material conditions" (Kim 2003: 340).

The Greek imported wares found globally at all of these sites, both coastal and inland, exhibits a branching vein of transnational connections that are all goring independently yet still dependent on the strength of the foundational vein before it. The mobility of cultural materials through the intersecting coastal to inland trade routes exhibits the global distribution of materials and culture through economy. The hierarchical nature of the global economy function in such a way that, as Robinson puts

it, “the global decentralization and fragmentation of production processes indicates a shift from the production of national products to the transnational production of world products” (Robinson 2003: 60).

Through a multi-scaled analysis of the cultural material of the Bronze Age we are able to gain a more clear understanding of the types of cultural exchange that were occurring and the structures of global process that allowed the Greeks to dominate the global hierarchy. An examination of the processes occurring on both global and local scales creates an intellectual space in which previous understandings of historical global relations transcend the narrow borders of world-systems theory and tap into the panoramic reach of global and transnational processes to bring the overall globalized picture into high-definition focus.

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