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Andrea Babbi · Friederike Bubenheimer-Erhart  
Beatriz Marín-Aguilera · Simone Mühl (eds)

## THE MEDITERRANEAN MIRROR

CULTURAL CONTACTS IN THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA  
BETWEEN 1200 AND 750 B. C.

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## LEVANTINE AND CYPRIOT POTTERY IN MYCENAEAN GREECE AS MIRRORS OF INTERCULTURAL CONTACTS

»Mirror mirror on the wall who is the fairest one of all«? Most Eastern Mediterranean archaeologists with a focus on ceramics would immediately answer: pottery from the Aegean, or in my particular case: fine ware pottery from the Late Bronze Age Argolid. The metaphor of the mirror is often used to emphasize the potential of archaeological finds to elucidate the past, but this metaphorical understanding is not without its problems. In my view, this mirror does not reflect past realities into our present day, but more often, simply reflects the archaeologist's present day worldviews into the past. It supposes that there is only one picture of the past that can be reflected, which does no justice to the manifold possible interpretations of past realities. Therefore, one mirror is not enough. I would like to argue in favor of shattering the mirror so that its pieces are able to symbolize the fragmented nature of our sources, as well as the multiplicity of past and present historicities in the sense of individually appropriated historical narratives.

As I wish to shatter this mirror, the focus of my research is also on pieces, i. e., the fragments of Levantine and Cypriot ceramic vessels that were brought as imports to Mycenaean Greece. First, I would like to unfold my methodological approach before examining the explanatory potential of Eastern Mediterranean ceramic imports.

### METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

By using ceramic imports mostly for reconstructing systems of exchange or for chronology, archaeologists have for a long time reduced them to their properties as objects and as being foreign. Thus, the focus of the analyses has been placed on the origins of the objects and the modes of interaction that brought them to the place where they were found. Our scientific perception of the foreignness of these objects was taken for granted also for the past. The proof of a foreign origin by scientific analysis also enforced this perception. In contrast, my research is based on the notion that the significance of such items does not derive from the transfer from one place to another as such, but rather from the ways in which they were used and contextualised, how they were translated and transformed from formerly foreign objects into local social worlds.<sup>1</sup> The main question is how, through the integration of foreign objects into discourses and practices, new frameworks of meaning were created conforming neither with what had existed in the receiving society, nor in the area of origin of the objects.<sup>2</sup>

This shift of focus calls for a new understanding of the complex relationship between humans and things, that acknowledges the complex entanglement between them. We must acknowledge that meaning and function of an object are not states, but processes. Meanings and functions are created over and over again in the context of social practices with the object. For this reason, it is important to dismiss the normative idea of »a certain purpose« of an object, and the connected notion of »misuse« in the case of a different usage. There is neither a right nor a wrong way of handling objects, but only a multitude of different usages of one and the same object. This multiplicity of meanings and functions of a single object cannot be understood simply on the basis of the archaeological record. Archaeology can only yield momentary meanings and func-

tions of an object. Due to these epistemological constraints, we must focus our analyses on social practices involving the object. Only if those practices were materialized in the object or its context are they accessible for archaeologists. Only those materialized practices allow for the understanding of some part of the past multiplicity of meanings and functions of an object.<sup>3</sup> The relevance of object biographies becomes most obvious when studying things that were transported over long distances – like the Cypriot and Levantine pottery in Mycenaean Greece. Those vessels were not delivered with an instruction manual; even having an instruction manual nowadays does not mean that one reads it. This left significant scope for individual appropriations of the formerly foreign vessels and for their attribution with new functions and meanings in the process of relational entanglement.<sup>4</sup>

## CYPRIOT AND LEVANTINE POTTERY IN SOUTHERN MAINLAND GREECE

### Source criticism

Any discussion of the amount of Cypriot and Levantine pottery on the southern Greek mainland needs to begin with a word of caution. Our current knowledge about the quantity of these wares from Mycenaean sites very much depends on the state of preservation of the vessels, and the site excavator's knowledge of Cypriot and Levantine wares. In many cases, these vessels have not been identified in the sherd material, as the person who evaluated the pottery neither knows nor expects to find Cypriot or Levantine imports. For the untrained eye, fragments of Cypriot or Levantine vessels seem to be just irrelevant coarse ware sherds without any decoration. Thus, they have often been removed and thrown away.<sup>5</sup> Even the more characteristic wares, like Cypriot base ring are sometimes barely identified. In Tiryns, one of the local EH II wares looks so similar to base ring that one would never recognize a base ring vessel unless a very large or very characteristic part of the vessel is preserved. As a result, the often very inconspicuous Cypriot and Levantine imports are most probably very much underrepresented in the current evidence. Another example are Cypriot pithoi, which have so far only once been identified on the Greek mainland, i. e. in the LH III B2 contexts of the northern Lower Citadel at Tiryns excavated under the direction of Joseph Maran.<sup>6</sup> However, several of those pithoi were on board the ships that sunk near Cape Iria<sup>7</sup> and Cape Gelidonia.<sup>8</sup> The vessels' complete preservation on the wrecks facilitated their identification. Jeremy Rutter identified numerous of these pithoi in Kommos,<sup>9</sup> where one already expected ceramic imports from all over the Eastern Mediterranean. Without a close knowledge of the pithoi and without sufficient preservation, it will remain difficult to identify more Cypriot pithoi on the Greek mainland. We have to keep these problems in mind when evaluating, for instance, Canaanite amphorae, Cypro-Levantine lamps, Cypriot base ring, and Aegean-type pottery made on Cyprus, that found their way to the Greek mainland. On the other hand, Cypriot white slip and white shaved wares are relatively easily recognized in the sherd material and will have been kept in most instances. Therefore, the surprisingly small number of Cypriot white slip and white shaved ware sherds from Tiryns is probably representative of the rareness of these vessels at this site.

Moreover, no one expects imported Aegean-type pottery of Cypriot production to be found on the Greek mainland. This is considered as another case of »coals to Newcastle«. However, the evidence from the early Postpalatial settlement in the Northeastern Lower Town of Tiryns, where three Cypriot simple style stirrup jars were found, calls for a change of our presuppositions.<sup>10</sup> As two of the three stirrup jars were preserved in a complete or almost complete state, there is no doubt that these vessels were appropriated and used by the Postpalatial inhabitants of these buildings. The present lack of Aegean-type vessels of Cypriot origin from the Lower Citadel of Tiryns and from Mycenae is probably only a result of the difficulties to identify these

vessels. Due to the insufficient state of knowledge, I want to exclude them from the further discussions and focus only on a small number of Cypriot and Levantine wares, namely: Canaanite amphorae, Cypriot white shaved, Cypriot white slip, and enigmatic Cypriot or Levantine imports.

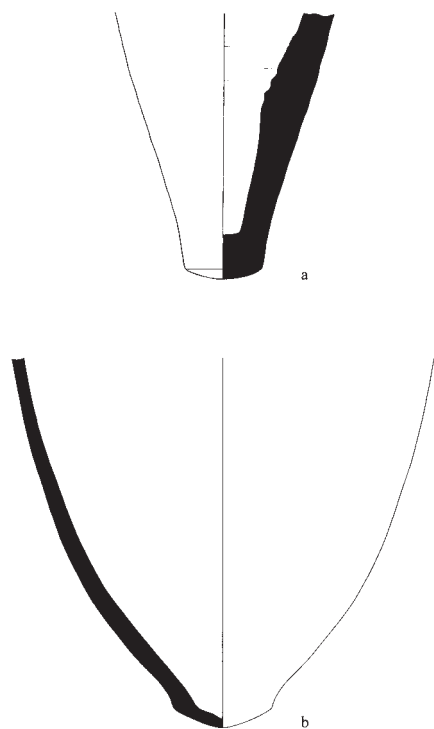
### **Canaanite amphorae**

The first so-called Canaanite amphorae on the Greek Mainland were already found in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century in the tholos tomb at Menidi, with the findings published by Lolling in 1880.<sup>11</sup> A Canaanite – i. e., Levantine – place of production of all these amphorae is far from sure. For the purpose of the present paper, I will call them »Canaanite amphorae« or »Canaanite jars«, as issues of vessel origins are not the focus of my contribution. Since the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, Canaanite amphorae have been found as single vessels in graves in Athens, Pylos, Thebes, Argos, and Mycenae.<sup>12</sup> Their selection as grave goods has often been connected with the interest of social groups with high status to furnish their deceased with foreign imports.<sup>13</sup> However, this does not sufficiently explain the unusual concentration of Canaanite amphorae in the tholos at Menidi and their absence from the chamber tomb necropolis around Tiryns, e. g., the Profitis Elias necropolis. However, it seems possible that the frequency of foreign transport vessels – and also Canaanite amphorae – at the harbor site of Tiryns made them unattractive to be selected as grave goods.

Due to the aforementioned problems, Canaanite amphorae were only rarely identified in settlement contexts. On the Greek mainland, only the large scale excavations in Tiryns, Mycenae, and Dimini brought to light these vessels so far, whereas they are missing from the palace at Pylos and the buildings excavated in Thebes. As Canaanite amphorae are known from the tholos tomb 3 at Pylos<sup>14</sup> as well as from the chamber tomb at Gerokomeion Hill in Thebes,<sup>15</sup> this lack in the settlement evidence does not indicate that those amphorae did not reach the sites. Most promising are the new findings from the palace of Dimini, where a complete Canaanite amphora was found in room 5 of Megaron B.<sup>16</sup> However, the context has not been sufficiently published yet to draw any further conclusions from this highly important evidence.

Only five amphorae are published from Mycenae, i. e., a complete amphora from Room 1 of the South House<sup>17</sup> and fragments from Room 36 of the Citadel House,<sup>18</sup> the House of the Oil Merchant,<sup>19</sup> the Causeway Deposit,<sup>20</sup> and the wash level in the Citadel House Area.<sup>21</sup> Besides the complete amphora from the South House, all other fragments are in a secondary position, and cannot tell us anything about the practices and meanings connected with them. The Canaanite amphora from the Annex Storeroom of the South House, however, is of greatest interest. The interpretation of Room 1 of the South House as the so-called Annex Storeroom is based on the emplacements in the ground for large storage vessels.<sup>22</sup> Several vessels were found *in situ* on the floor due to the destruction of the building in the pottery phase LH III B2 Late at the end of the Palatial period. Together with the Canaanite amphora, fragments of a large stirrup jar, a huge vat, several deep bowls and bowls and jugs with pierced bases were found on the floor. Moreover, a large amount of amorphous lead from the floor points to the storage of raw lead for further processing or metalworking activities. The combination of the vessels suggests an industrial rather than an average household storage facility. The lack of cooking jars and of unpainted fine ware vessels for the consumption of food and drink clearly also points in this direction. Thus, it seems that we have the association of the Canaanite amphora with some kind of industrial activity in the South House of Mycenae at the end of the 13<sup>th</sup> century BC.

In Tiryns, 21 Canaanite amphorae have so far been identified, 18 of them in the settlement layers of the Lower Citadel,<sup>23</sup> one in the Syringes<sup>24</sup> and two sherds in the Northeastern Lower Town.<sup>25</sup> Most of the vessels from the Lower Citadel are only preserved in the form of a handle or wall sherd with an incised mark, or they



**Fig. 1** Largely preserved Canaanite amphorae from the Lower Citadel of Tiryns: **a** LXII 43/43 XIV (after Kilian 1988a, 129 fig. 25, 12). – **b** LXIII 34/36.46 III (after Kilian 1988a, 128 fig. 24, 7).

are not from meaningful contexts. Thus, most of the vessels have to be excluded from contextual analysis. The remaining amphorae are:

1. The complete lower part of an amphora from the Area south of Building VI, dating to LH III B Developed (horizon 17a3) (LXII 43/43 XIV) (**fig. 1a**),
2. The complete lower part of another amphora from the northern end of the passage way to the north gate (LXIII 34/36.46 III) from a LH III B2 context (**fig. 1b**) and
3. The almost complete upper part of an amphora from the southern end of the passage way to the north gate (LXIII 35/25 V 13-17), again from a LH III B2 context.<sup>26</sup> There is some probability that the two different vessels mentioned from the passage way belong to one and the same – and then almost complete – Canaanite amphora. However, this has to be checked with the originals first.<sup>27</sup>

The open space south of Building VI, where the first mentioned vessel was found, was characterized by Klaus Kilian as an area where metal working was carried out.<sup>28</sup> The small finds show that bronze was recycled and lead was cast in this area.<sup>29</sup> In the close vicinity of the Canaanite amphora and in the same horizon, a large fragment of a Cypriot-type wall bracket (LXII 43/63 *Off.* XV)<sup>30</sup> and a fragment of a Cypriot milk bowl were found (LXII 43/81 XIVa grau) (**fig. 2a**).<sup>31</sup> The space south of Building VI in the late 13<sup>th</sup> century seems to combine evidence for metal working with a rare concentration of ceramic objects of Cypriot and Levantine type. On the other hand, no

complete or largely preserved fine and cooking ware vessels were found in this context that would point to daily cooking and eating practices. I am aware of the transformative power of post-depositional processes, which may lead to large-scale relocations of objects especially in open spaces within a settlement.<sup>32</sup> Nevertheless, the size and weight of the Canaanite amphora, and the unusual concentration of different signs of metal working are arguments in favor of only minor post-depositional transformations of the context.<sup>33</sup> An analogous situation is known from the northern passage way of the Lower Citadel, where two – or possibly only one – Canaanite amphorae were found. As Joseph Maran, Maria Kostoulas, Melissa Vettters and Ann Brysbaert have recently demonstrated, this area stands out for its unique concentration of objects and practices with relation to Cyprus and the Levant, besides the Canaanite amphora, e. g., the aforementioned Cypriot pithos, the numerous wall brackets of Cypriot type, a »Levanto-Helladic« chalice, a clay ball with a Cypro-Minoan inscription, an ivory rod with a cuneiform inscription, and the production of animal-headed faïence vessels possibly carried out by craftspeople of foreign origin who worked in this area in Tiryns.<sup>34</sup> Taking together the evidence from the meaningful contexts of Canaanite amphorae in Mycenae and Tiryns, everything points to a close connection of Canaanite amphorae with practices of craftspeople. At least the contexts from Tiryns indicate that the actors who appropriated the Canaanite amphorae also practiced Cypriot-type ritual practices, for which the wall brackets were used. Maybe, it was the Cypriot or Levantine origin of the craftspeople or their close interconnection within the Eastern Mediterranean that made it natural for them to have Canaanite amphorae in their material surroundings. Thus, they probably transformed Canaanite amphorae that reached Tiryns and Mycenae as transport containers into storage vessels within their workshops. The use of large ceramic containers for the storage of scrap metal is well documented from the LM IIIA/B harbor center of Kommos on Crete,<sup>35</sup> and seems to be a possible use for large ceramic



transport vessels also at other sites, where those vessels were easily available – especially at Tiryns, the most important Mycenaean harbor on the Greek mainland. So far, there is no reason to assume that Canaanite amphorae were also appropriated by the inhabitants of Tiryns and Mycenae for their daily practices like transport and storage.

### **Cypriot white slip**

In contrast to Canaanite amphorae, Cypriot White Slip pottery – i. e., especially the so-called milk bowls of white slip II ware are extremely rare on the Greek mainland, although their fragments are easily recognized in the archaeological record. No fragment of this ware has ever been found at Mycenae<sup>36</sup> and only two fragments from Tiryns are known to me, both clearly identifiable as white slip IIA ware milk bowls<sup>37</sup> and both from LH III B2 contexts. As both are small fragments, a secondary position of finding is highly probable:

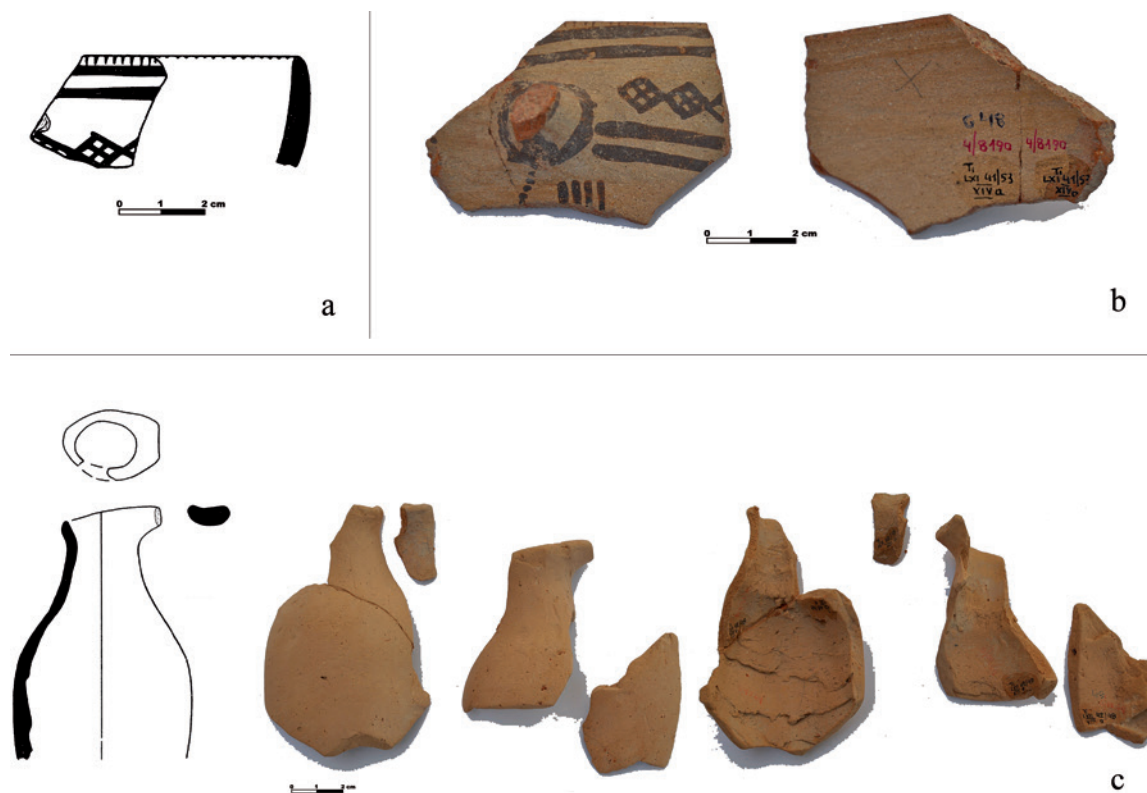
1. The first fragment was found together with the Canaanite amphora in the open space south of Building VI (LXII 43/81 XIVA grau) (fig. 2a). It can be clearly identified as milk bowl.
2. The other fragment, again from a milk bowl, was found in secondary position within the Zwinger (LXI 41/53 XIVA) (fig. 2b).

### **Cypriot white shaved juglets**

Similarly rare are Cypriot white shaved juglets on the Greek mainland, although they are also relatively easy to identify. So far, two largely preserved juglets are known – one from Mycenae and one from Tiryns. The juglet from Mycenae was found in a LH IIIB fill in Room 18 in the Citadel House Area and is from a secondary position.<sup>38</sup> The juglet from Tiryns was found in Room 191 of Building VI on the Lower Citadel (horizon 17a3-a4; LXII 42/48 VIIIa), and is preserved to such an extent that an *in situ* position of finding is probable (fig. 2c). The vessel was found in between the older walking surface (*Ofl.* IX) of room 191 (horizon 17a3), and under the younger walking surface (*Ofl.* VIII; horizon 17a5) of the room. The only other almost completely preserved vessels which I was able to attribute to the context are two Mycenaean unpainted fine ware vessels – a shallow cup FS 220, and a conical bowl. This may possibly point to the integration of the white shaved juglet into the similarly looking unpainted fine ware dishes of this household. Moreover, Room 191 possessed a central hearth place and a pit was sunk into the ground. The small finds comprised *inter alia* some scrap bronze, a lead weight and traces from casting lead as well as piece of unworked arsenic iron that was probably used for brazing.<sup>39</sup> These objects suggest some craft activity of the inhabitants of this room.<sup>40</sup> In my view, this evidence might be connected with the aforementioned processing of bronze and lead in the open space immediately south of Building VI. The marble hilt of a sword found in the debris over the floor was attributed by Kilian to an upper storey of the building.<sup>41</sup> It may be possible that the people who integrated the white shaved juglet into their feasting dishes also appropriated the Canaanite amphora for their metal working activities in the open space south of their building.

### **Other Cypriot ceramic finds from Tiryns**

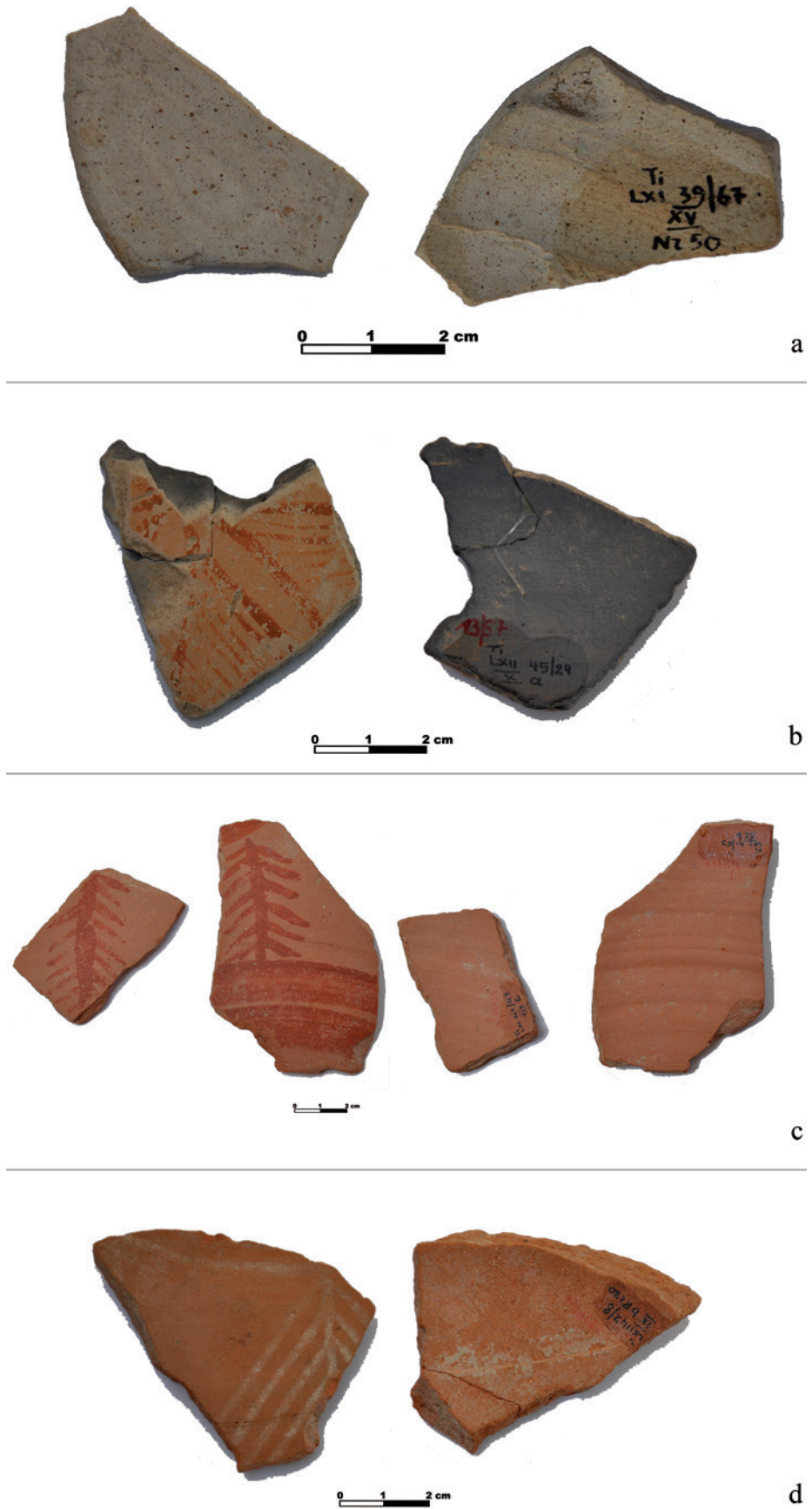
Most of the probably imported ceramic material that was collected during the Kilian excavations in several wooden boxes stored in the apothiki at Tiryns has remained unpublished so far. The foreign origin of all



**Fig. 2** Cyprriot pottery from the Lower Citadel of Tiryns: **a** Cyprriot White Slip IIA bowl (LXII 43/81 XIVa grau) (after Kilian 1988a, 129 fig. 25, 11). – **b** Cyprriot White Slip IIA bowl (LXI 41/53 XIVa) (photos P. W. Stockhammer). – **c** Cyprriot White Shaved juglet (LXII 42/48 VIIIa) (drawing after Kilian 1983, 292 fig. 15, 14; photos P. W. Stockhammer).

these sherds is beyond any doubt. Most of the sherds can easily be identified as Cretan, especially Minoan transport stirrup jars. However, there are also a number of sherds of unclear origin. All of these sherds are preserved only in small sherds and are, therefore, all in a secondary position of finding – thus restricting the value of a contextual analysis.

One sherd from the Lower Citadel could be identified as Cyprriot plain white wheelmade (fig. 3a; LXI 39/67 XV Nr. 50). As the ware is so obviously different from the Mycenaean pottery wares, we can assume that other sherds of such vessels were most probably recognized as imports. Like white slip and white shaved wares, the plain white wheelmade pottery was not of great interest for the inhabitants of Tiryns. A couple of sherds could not be attributed to an area of origin – or at least not with enough certainty – although their ware clearly indicates a production at a non-local workshop (fig. 3b: LXII 45/29 Xa; fig. 3c: LXI 41/43 XIVc, LXI 41/63 XVb; fig. 3d: LXII 42/8 IXb R 130). The origin of the two very well-fired, reddish sherds with the tree motif has been discussed with ceramic specialists all over the Levant. Although the motif would fit into the local Levantine repertoire, the color and quality of firing clearly contradict a Levantine origin. The best parallels for the ware can currently be found in Cilicia, especially in Late Bronze/Early Iron Age Tarsus,<sup>42</sup> which may point to a Cilician origin of the vessel(s) (fig. 3c). The interdisciplinary study of the ceramic wares from Kommos has already demonstrated the diversity of ceramic imports that one may find at an important Aegean harbor site. I would expect that Tiryns as the most prominent harbor site of the Palatial and Post-palatial period on the Greek mainland could be equally rich in imports. However, many of them still await identification.



**Fig. 3** Imported pottery from the Lower Citadel of Tiryns:  
**a** Cypriot Plain White Wheel-made (LXI 39/67 XV Nr. 50).  
 – **b** Cypriot? (LXII 45/29 Xa).  
 – **c** closed vessel(s) of probably Cilician origin (LXI 41/43 XIVc, LXI 41/63 XVb). – **d** closed vessel of unclear origin (LXII 42/8 IXb R 130). – (Photos P. W. Stockhammer).

## SUMMARY

Up to now, the small number of sufficiently published meaningful settlement contexts with ceramic vessels imported from Cyprus and the Levant is still very small in the Late Bronze Age Aegean. The probable origin of the Tirynthian white slip IIA bowls from southwestern Cyprus<sup>43</sup> and the concentration of Canaanite amphorae especially in the western part of Cyprus in Maa-Palaeokastro and Pyla-Kokkinokremos<sup>44</sup> may indicate a particular link between Tiryns and settlements in this region of the island. These Cypriot harbor sites might be interpreted as way-station/trading post in the journey of the ships, with copper and other Eastern Mediterranean goods to the Argolid.<sup>45</sup> The *in situ* contexts of Canaanite amphorae in Tiryns may point to their appropriation by craftspeople – especially metal workers – with a close link to Cyprus (a major supplier of copper at this time) and the Levant. For them, the placement of Canaanite amphorae in their life world was probably perceived as something familiar which led them to the appropriation of those vessels, when they reached Tiryns and Mycenae as transport containers. All other Cypriot wares were hardly appropriated at all by the inhabitants of Tiryns and Mycenae. As white slip, white shaved and plain white wares are so clearly distinct from the local ceramic repertoire and easily recognized as imports, their rarity in the excavated material is indeed a mirror of the past situation. The inhabitants of Tiryns and Mycenae obviously preferred their own Mycenaean wares with all their specialized shapes suitable for so many different practices of daily life. Daily cooking, eating, drinking, and storage practices were obviously nothing to be enriched or disturbed by unfamiliar looking foreign pottery.

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## Notes

1) Maran/Stockhammer 2012. – Stockhammer 2012a.

2) Stockhammer 2012b.

3) Stockhammer 2012a.

4) I differentiate between two different states of entanglement in contexts of intercultural encounter, i. e., relational entanglement and material entanglement. »Relational entanglement« refers to the new social practices and meanings which are created in the process of appropriation of a new or foreign object,

whereas the object itself remains unchanged in its materiality at this state of entanglement. »Material entanglement« as a second step is accomplished by the process of »material creation«. Now, the creative energies originally released by the encounter result in the creation of a new object that combines the familiar with the previously foreign. See Stockhammer 2012b, 50.

5) This becomes also evident, when we have a look at the Canaanite amphorae preserved from the excavations in Tiryns

before and under the direction of Klaus Kilian: eight out of twelve vessels only consist of a handle or body sherd with incised marks. If we do not want to suppose that only marked handles of Canaanite amphorae were brought to Tiryns, this would demonstrate the loss of the respective sherd material which was sorted out, because no one recognized its meaning. The relative high number of sherds from the excavations under the direction of Joseph Maran is also due to the fact that all sherds are kept and systematically studied to identify ceramic imports.

- 6) Maran 2009, 246 fig. 2.
- 7) Lolos 1995, 77 fig. 16; 2003, 102 fig. 3. For Uluburun, see Pulak 2001, 40-41 fig. 2.
- 8) Lolos 1999, 44. 54 fig. 1.
- 9) Rutter 2006, 655-656. 1147 pl. 3.54, 51/4; 1148 pl. 3.55, 52a/12; 1150 pl. 3.57, 52g/2; 1176 pl. 3.83, 75/7; 1187 pl. 3.94, d; 2014.
- 10) Stockhammer 2008, 91. 153. 190 cat. nos 962. 1219. 1387.
- 11) Lolling 1880.
- 12) Cf. Rutter 2014 for an up-to-date compilation of all published and many unpublished finds from Greece.
- 13) Rutter 2014.
- 14) Åkerström 1975, 185-186 figs 2. 4; 187. 192 no. 12.
- 15) Symeonoglou 1985, 52. 289. – Rutter 2014.
- 16) Adrimi-Sismani 2005, 48-49 fig. 36; 2007, 165.
- 17) Wace 1955, 179 pl. 20b. – French/Stockhammer 2009, 188 fig. 3, 2.
- 18) French/Taylor 2007, 319 f. CD-194.
- 19) Åkerström 1975, 187.
- 20) Wardle 1973, 328. 331 no. 194 fig. 18 pl. 59d.
- 21) French 2011, x. 47 tab. 3 CD-692.
- 22) French/Stockhammer 2009, 185.
- 23) Kilian 1988a, 128 fig. 24, 7; 129 fig. 25, 12-13; 1988b, 122 fig. 4; 123; 127. – Olivier 1988. – Maran 2008, 56 fig. 35.
- 24) Olivier 1988, 259 no. 27; 261 fig. 3, 27.
- 25) Stockhammer 2008, 156. 195 note 740. When Jeremy B. Rutter contacted me in 2009 with regard to the number of (unpublished) Canaanite jars from Tiryns, I had not started with the analysis of the findings from the Kilian excavation. Therefore, I was unfortunately not able to supply him with the actual number used for this article. Therefore, Rutter 2014 is mentioning only twelve such amphoras from the Lower Citadel which had already been published.
- 26) Maran 2008, 56 fig. 35.
- 27) I was not able to find the lower part of the amphora from LXIII 34/36.46 III in the storage room at Tiryns.
- 28) Kilian 1988a, 121.
- 29) Rahmstorf 2008, 274.
- 30) Kilian 1988a, 128 fig. 24, 4. – Rahmstorf 2008, pl. 41, 1828.
- 31) Kilian 1988a, 129 fig. 25, 11.
- 32) Stockhammer 2008, 72-76 with a discussion of the respective ethnoarchaeological evidence.
- 33) Rahmstorf (2008, 275) tends to interpret at least some of the evidence for metal-working activities as relocated material from the LH III B2 Early-building in this area (i.e. architectural phase *SH III B Mitte* in Kilian's terminology; cf. French/Stockhammer 2009 for the synchronisation of the architectural phases on the Lower Citadel with the chronological phases as defined on the basis of the development of the Mycenaean decorated pottery). However, I agree with the sophisticated evaluation of the stratigraphy of the Palatial Lower Citadel by Ursula Damm-Meinhardt, who argues in favour of a stratigraphic attribution of the findings to Building VI (Damm-Meinhardt, pers. comm.). In spite of the different dating of the context, neither Rahmstorf nor Damm-Meinhardt questions Kilian's interpretation of the space as a place for metal working activities.
- 34) Maran 2008; Cohen/Maran/Vetters 2010; Brysbaert/Vetters 2010; Vetters 2011; Kostoula/Maran 2012. For the discussion on the reading of the cuneiform inscription on the ivory rod cf. Cohen/Maran/Vetters 2010; Dietrich/Loretz 2010; Tropper/Vita 2010.
- 35) Watrous 1992, 182. – Watrous/Day/Jones 1998, 339.
- 36) French, pers. comm.
- 37) Popham 1972, 445-447. – Georgiou, pers. comm.
- 38) Moore/Taylor 1999, 45 pl. 10b.
- 39) Kilian 1983, 306 fig. 31; 307-308. – Rahmstorf 2008, 274 pl. 135.
- 40) Kilian 1983, 304. 308. – Rahmstorf 2008, 274 pl. 150.
- 41) Kilian 1983, 306 fig. 32. – Rahmstorf 2008, 274 pls 58, 1284; 93, 2-3.
- 42) Ünlü 2005, 158 fig. 3, 11; 160 fig. 4a, 14.
- 43) Popham 1972, 445-447. – Georgiou, pers. comm.
- 44) Hadjicosti 1988. – Georgiou 2012, 74.
- 45) Bell 2006, 95-97; 2009, 34-36.

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