

Birgitta Eder – Regine Pruzsinszky (eds.)  
Policies of Exchange  
Political Systems and Modes of Interaction  
in the Aegean and the Near East in the 2<sup>nd</sup> Millennium B.C.E.

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# **Policies of Exchange**

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# Imported Mycenaean Pottery in the East: Distribution, Context and Interpretation

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*Reinhard Jung*

**Abstract:** The appearance of imported Mycenaean pottery in the countries east of the Aegean is today recognized as the outcome of goods exchange between Mycenaean Greece and its eastern neighbors. The present paper treats the problems of identifying the agents of that exchange, defining the economic and political level, on which Mycenaean painted fine wares were exchanged for other goods, and finally assessing the social significance that pottery might have had in the eastern societies. Data of archaeometric analyses have accumulated in the past two decades in such a degree as to allow the conclusion that pottery workshops in the region of Mycenae were responsible for a centralized production of Mycenaean pottery aiming at exportation to Cyprus, Egypt and the Levantine coast. Combining provenance analyses with typological classification and statistical as well as contextual analysis of the pottery, one can further conclude that from LH IIIA2 until LH IIIB Middle selected Argive vessel sets were produced with specific reference to the consumption patterns of Near Eastern users, among which were the royal palaces and members of the ruling classes. The results of both approaches tend to re-emphasize the role of the Mycenaean and Levantine state economies in the trade of Mycenaean pottery as opposed to the modernistic model of private Cypriot traders undermining the official trade relationships of the states. It is argued that the Mycenaean Great Kingdom called Ahhiyawa by the Hittites is the central political-economic power controlling both production and shipment of painted Mycenaean pottery – together with and parallel to that of other goods of higher value (such as Attic silver).

**Keywords:** Ahhiyawa, centralized production, Cyprus, Levant, Mycenaean pottery, provenance analyses, trade, value

The appearance of considerable quantities of imported Mycenaean pottery in regions east of the Aegean, principally Egypt, the Levant and Cyprus has been subjected to numerous interpretations. While this pottery is recognized today as the result of goods exchange between Mycenaean Greece and its eastern neighbors, opinions differ widely in the identification of the agents of that exchange, defining the economic and political level at which Mycenaean painted fine wares were exchanged for other goods, and finally in the assessment of the social significance that pottery might have had in these eastern societies.

## Production

As is well known, the second half of the 14th and first half of the 13th centuries B.C.E. saw the mass export of fine painted wheelmade pottery from Mycenaean Greece to the east, i.e. to Egypt, Cyprus, the Levant and the coasts of Asia Minor. Modern chemical analyses could solve the question of provenance for nearly all of these regions (fig. 1). In the southern Levant, material from 14 sites in northern Palestine (modern Israel) was analyzed in a program conducted by Sharon Zuckerman, David Ben-Shlomo, Penelope Mountjoy and Hans Mommsen<sup>1</sup> with the following results: 75% of the analyzed sherds are members of a chemical group called Mycenae/Berbati, which is linked to the northeastern Peloponnese, while only 7% could be assigned to other regions of production in the Peloponnese. Among these are members of the Tiryns/Asine

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<sup>1</sup> Zuckerman et al. 2010. Other analytical programs for sites in this region brought analogous results: French 2004.

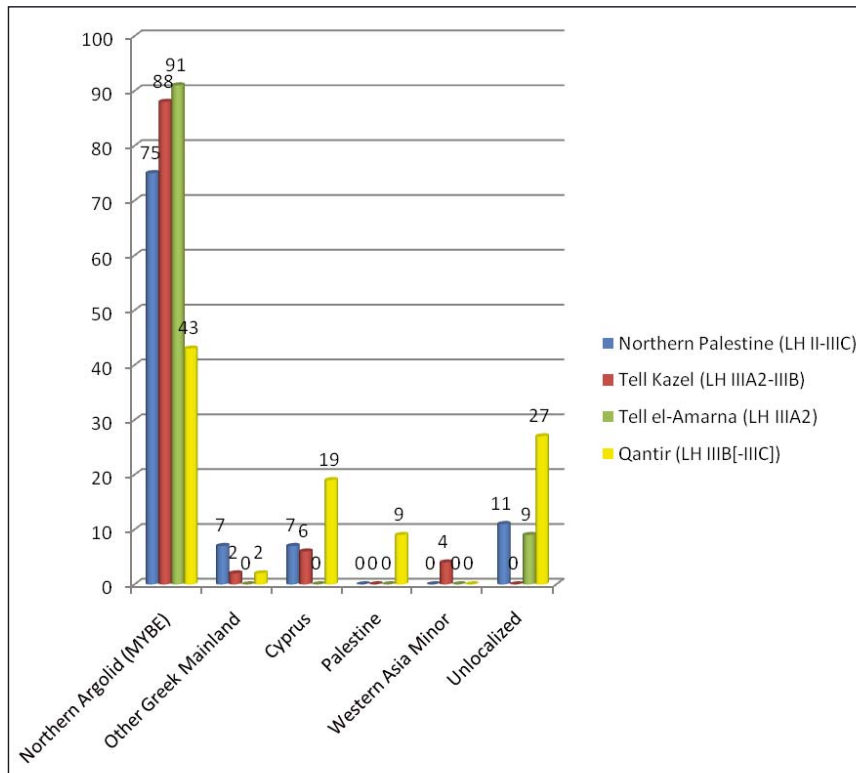


Fig. 1: Provenience of Mycenaean-type pottery from Egypt and the Levant according to NAA results. Analyzed sherds from 14 sites in northern Palestine  $n = 183$ ; from Tell Kazel  $n = 48$ ; from Tell el-Amarna  $n = 23$ ; from Qantir  $n = 101$

chemical group from Tell Abu Hawam and Ḥazor. Some pottery was also imported from Cyprus, but as this is at least partly contemporary with LH IIIC,<sup>2</sup> it does not concern this paper.

A second program provides some insight into the range of Mycenaean imports to the central coastal stretch of the Levant. The object of this program, conducted by Leila Badre, Marie-Claude-Boileau, Hans Mommsen and myself, was pottery found at Tell Kazel in southern Syria. Among the imported pottery dating to the Mycenaean Palace period, the Mycenae/Berbati group is by far the largest with a share of 88%. No other region of Greek mainland production could be detected with any certainty. Cypriot products, at 6%, are represented by small closed vessels of the so-called Simple Style found in the latest Late Bronze Age (LBA) level. The same stratigraphic assignment pertains to the imports from western Asia Minor. As great care was taken during sampling to include examples of fabrics that are otherwise rare at the site, the rate of occurrence of products from the regions detected is certainly representative for the entire site.

Finally, there are the results of an analytical program on ceramics found at modern Qantir in the Nile Delta, the site of the ancient Ramesside city of Pi-Ramesses. This program was conducted by Christian Podzuweit, Hans Mommsen and Penelope Mountjoy.<sup>3</sup> As in the other case studies, Mycenae/Berbati pots form the largest group, but quite large shares of Cypriot wares were also detected. Most of the sherds assigned to Cyprus belong to the Simple Style group. Likewise, the pieces assigned to Palestine mostly belong to Simple Style vessels. Mycenae/Berbati products are even more conspicuous among the pots imported to Akhenaten's capital

<sup>2</sup> Zuckerman et al. 2010, 412, 415.

<sup>3</sup> Mommsen et al. 1994; Mountjoy and Mommsen 2001.



Akhet-Aton, modern Tell el-Amarna, where 91% of the analyzed Mycenaean sherds turned out to be of northern Argive pottery manufacture.<sup>4</sup>

To sum up, the general picture of the Levantine and Egyptian import preferences during the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.E. is very clear. The vast majority of imported Mycenaean pots belong to the Mycenae/Berbati chemical signature.<sup>5</sup> From the later 13th century B.C.E. onwards, other Eastern Mediterranean providers seem to have gained importance.

The specific chemical pattern called Mycenae-Berbati is linked by pottery wasters to the Argive site of Berbati east of Mycenae. One should note that the chemical group Mycenae/Berbati also includes some Geometric and Archaic pottery from Corinthia as well as Mycenaean products from other sites in Greece, which typologically do not seem to be Argive.<sup>6</sup> However, the Mycenaean imports of the Near East can be clearly linked to the region of Mycenae through typology and style.

Three long-standing and well known facts should be noted. Firstly, the Mycenaean vessel repertory of LH IIIA Late to LH IIIB found in the Levant does not reflect the vessel repertory used in Greece. Secondly, contemporary specimens of typically “Levantine” shapes are sometimes found at Greek mainland settlement and workshop sites. Thirdly, the pictorial style of many pots in the Levant and on Cyprus finds parallels in Greece. Therefore, a specialized Mycenaean production aiming at the Cypriot and Levantine consumers had been recognized long before precise chemical analyses were available.<sup>7</sup>

Some statistical data from the site of Tell Kazel may serve to illustrate the situation. In the Late Bronze Age the settlement belonged to the kingdom of Amurru, which in its initial phase during the Amarna Age was subordinate to Egypt, but quickly passed to the Hittite empire as a vassal state.<sup>8</sup> The large quantities of imported Argive Mycenaean ceramics spanning the Aegean phases of LH IIIA Late to LH IIIB Developed, provide a good basis for quantitative analysis. The vessel repertory of the imported Mycenaean pottery shows a marked predominance of small open shapes, when minimum numbers based on rim counts are used as a statistical basis (fig. 2a). However, the picture changes when the degree of preservation is taken into consideration. In this light, small closed vessels such as stirrup jars, alabastra and small piriform jars make up the largest group (fig. 2b), due to the fact that the method of rim equivalents<sup>9</sup> gives more statistical weight to a rim with a larger portion preserved than to a small rim sherd.

Before proceeding to a comparative discussion of pottery statistics, a word on previous studies is essential. Up to now, total sherd counts were used for inter-site comparison in the Levant.<sup>10</sup> However, this is problematic not only because the completeness of pottery publications differs between sites, but also because with a system based on total sherd count, larger vessels which break into more sherds than smaller ones, create a distortion of type frequencies in favor of large vessel types<sup>11</sup>. Furthermore, wall sherds frequently cannot be assigned to any specific vessel type.

A comparative statistical analysis based on rim counts illustrates that the repertoire of Argive shapes at Tell Kazel differs markedly from the repertoire of an average Argive Mycenaean-

<sup>4</sup> Two of 23 analyzed sherds could not be assigned a provenance (Mommsen et al. 1992). The “Mycenaean origin” of one of the singles has been questioned (Mommsen et al. 1992, 296–97, tab. 1: Amar 20), though the available drawing shows it to be of Mycenaean type (Podzuweit 1994, 457, 465, fig. 7, no. 3, 471, cat. no. 40).

<sup>5</sup> The few available NAA results for Palace period Mycenaean pots imported to Cyprus suggest that this picture may apply also to this region (Bryan et al. 1997, 40–2, tab. 9).

<sup>6</sup> Zuckerman et al. 2010, 411, 414–15.

<sup>7</sup> Immerwahr 1952, 153; Immerwahr 1956, 140, n. 24. An alternative hypothesis according to which even the highest quality “Levanto-Mycenaean” or “Levanto-Helladic” pots (Leonard 1994, 6–7) were not imported, but produced in Cyprus by immigrant Mycenaean potters (e.g. Karageorghis 1965, 201–4 with older bibliography) can now be ruled out thanks to the aforementioned chemical analyses.

<sup>8</sup> Klengel 1984, 11–2; Singer 1991, 148–55.

<sup>9</sup> Bader 2010.

<sup>10</sup> Van Wijngaarden 2002; Bell 2006, 35–58.

<sup>11</sup> For discussions of that problem, see e.g. Orton et al. 1993, 168–71.

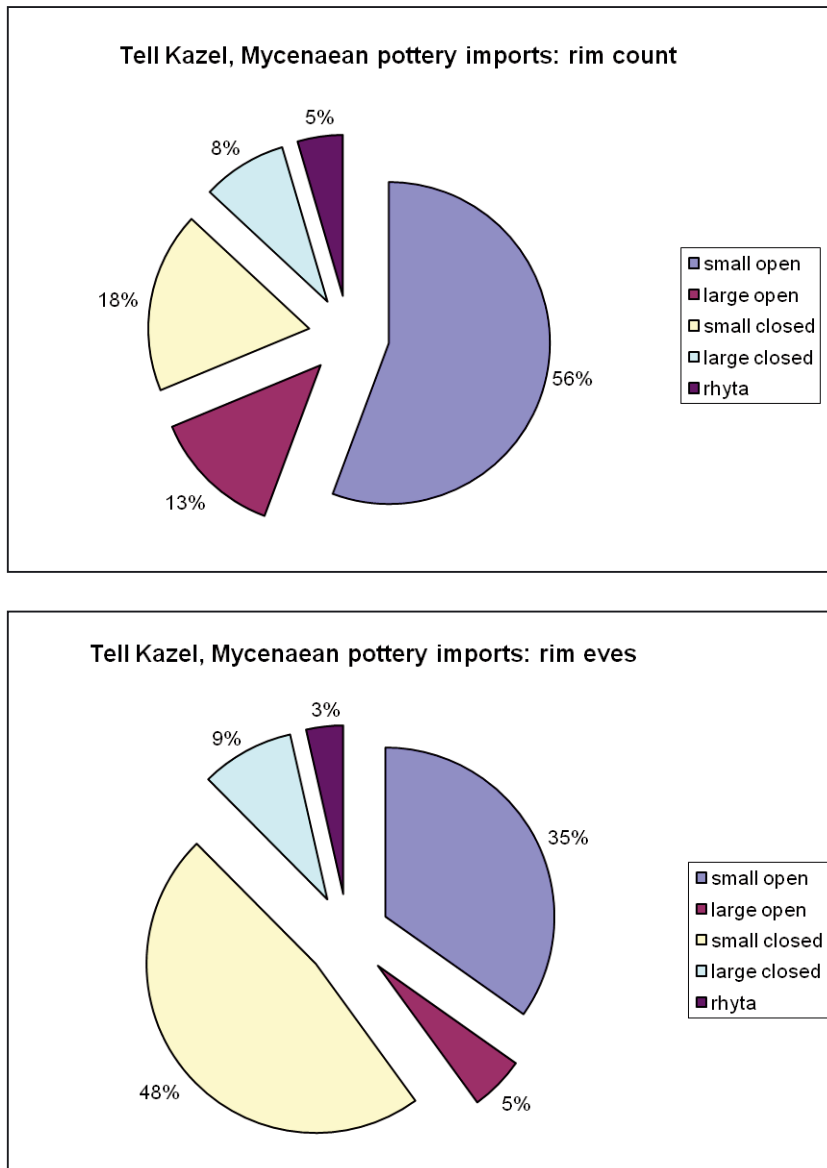


Fig. 2: Shape statistics of imported painted Mycenaean pottery at Tell Kazel (LH IIIA Late–IIIB); n = 176

an settlement context of the Palace period.<sup>12</sup> The differences are markedly apparent among open shapes. The publication of the pottery from the site of Tsoungiza in Corinthia by Patrick Thomas which offers differentiated sherd statistics including rim counts,<sup>13</sup> allows for a direct comparison with the Tell Kazel rim counts (fig. 3). This comparison shows that, whereas deep consumption vessels were preferred at Tsoungiza, in Amurru it was shallow ones. Whereas amphoroid kraters dominated over open kraters at Tell Kazel, at Tsoungiza amphoroid kraters were not at all used.

When comparing the repertory of imported Argive vessels at Tell Kazel to that of other Levantine or Cypriot settlements of the 14th/13th centuries B.C.E. many similarities become apparent. In order to assure optimal comparability, open vessel shapes will be looked at once again by using rim counts. On Cyprus these are available for the east coast settlement of Enko-

<sup>12</sup> Jung 2006a, 170–73.

<sup>13</sup> Thomas 1992, 526, tab. 2.8.

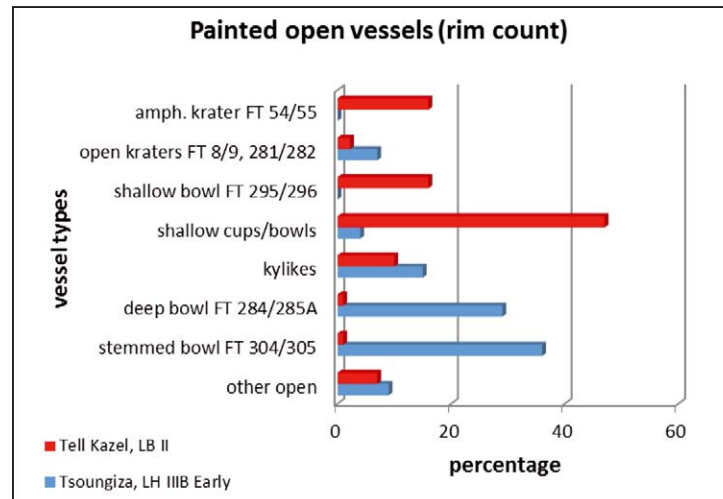


Fig. 3: Type statistics of open vessels of imported painted Mycenaean pottery at Tell Kazel (n = 121) and Tsoungiza (n = 369) according to rim count

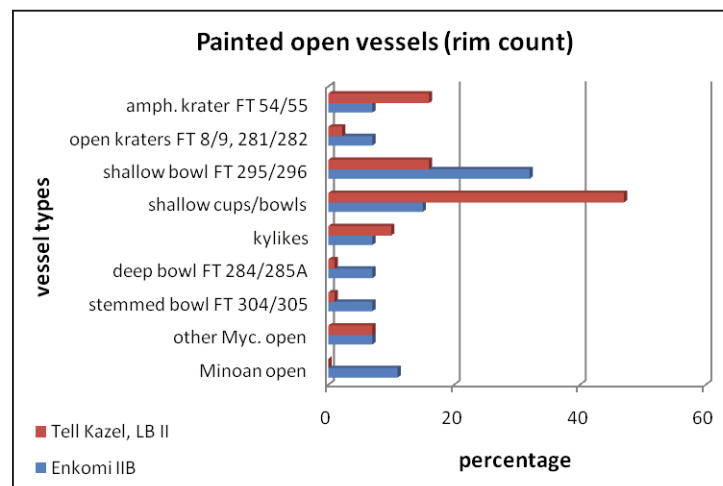


Fig. 4: Type statistics of open vessels of imported painted Mycenaean pottery: frequency of open vessel types from Tell Kazel (LH IIIA Late–IIB) and Enkomi level IIB (LH IIB Developed – LH IIIC Early 1) according to rim count. Rims at Tell Kazel n = 121; at Enkomi level IIB n = 28

mi.<sup>14</sup> Dikaios' level IIB dates to the second half of the 13th century and is thus partly contemporary to LB II Tell Kazel (fig. 4).<sup>15</sup> The graph shows that shallow open cups and bowls are predominant at both Enkomi and Tell Kazel. However, amphoroid kraters were more popular in Amurru, while open kraters were more usual in eastern Cyprus. Gert Jan van Wijngaarden noticed that at Enkomi amphoroid kraters were more common as grave gifts than as table ceramics in the settlement.<sup>16</sup> However, in the assemblage in side chamber 1 of "Swedish Tomb" 18, contemporary with settlement level IIB, the open kraters FT 281/282 outnumber the amphi-

<sup>14</sup> Only imported Aegean pottery was used in these statistics. In Jung 2011a, 195, fig. 7 locally produced vessels of Mycenaean type as well as Mycenaeanizing vessels are included in the count. This augments the percentage of different shallow bowl types for Enkomi IIB.

<sup>15</sup> More precisely, Enkomi level IIB is contemporaneous with Aegean phases LH IIB Developed – LH IIIC Early 1 (Jung 2011b, 61–3) and thus with the second half of the 13th and the very beginning of the 12th century B.C.E.

<sup>16</sup> Van Wijngaarden 2002, 140.

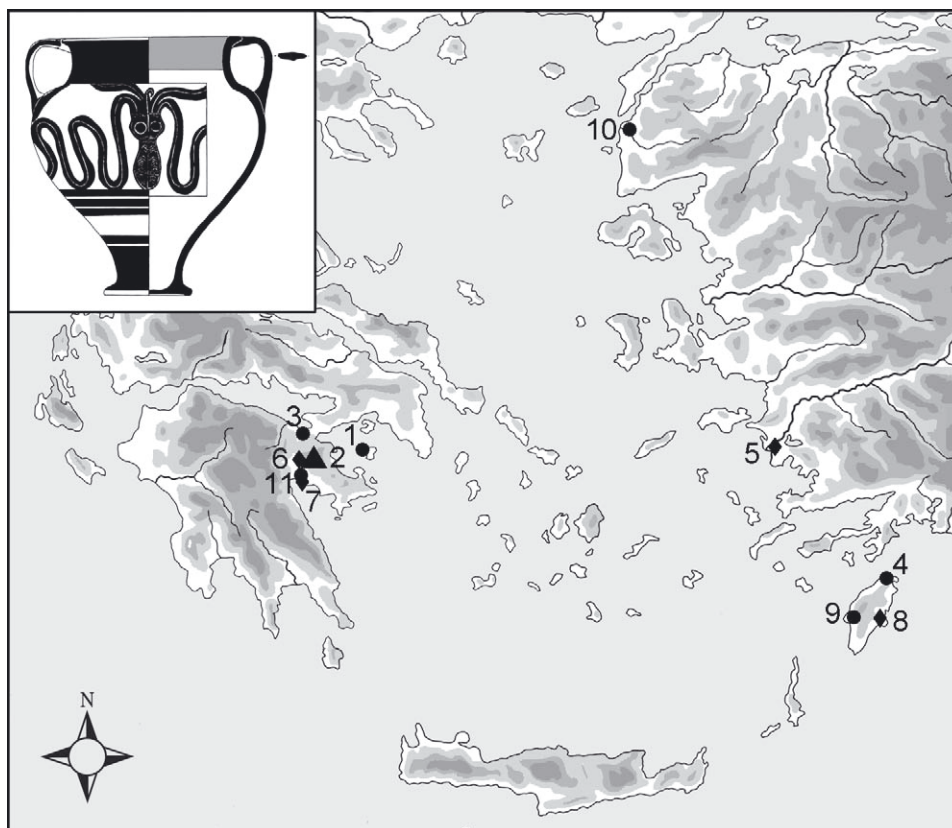


Fig. 5: Distribution of amphoroid kraters of Argive type and style found in the Aegean  
 ● – one fragment/vessel; ◆ – two to four fragments/vessels; ▲ – more than 325 fragments/vessels  
 1. Aegina-Kolonna; 2. Berbati, Potter's Quarter; 3. Corinth, Agora; 4. Ialysos, Makra Vounara;  
 5. Miletus, area of Athena temple; 6. Mycenae, citadel and Prehistoric Cemetery; 7. Nafplio,  
 Palamidhi/Evanyelistria; 8. Rhodes/Pylona; 9. Siana, find context unknown; 10. Troy VI Late;  
 11. Tiryns, West Wall Deposit ("Epichosis")

roid ones FT 54/55.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the difference in popularity of amphoroid kraters between Tell Kazel and Enkomi may be interpreted as a change of trends towards the end of the 13th century, but must at present remain an open question until we have more data to work with.

It has already been mentioned that one of the characteristic vessels exported to the Levant was the amphoroid krater FT 54/55. In his publication of the pictorial pottery from Berbati, Åke Åkerström remarked on the fact that the amphoroid krater is extremely rare at Argive settlement and necropolis sites. It is, however, one of the principal shapes at the settlement of Berbati, frequently bearing pictorial decoration such as chariot scenes, so popular in the Levant.<sup>18</sup> Fig. 5 illustrates the distribution of amphoroid kraters of Argive type and style found in the Aegean. What is immediately apparent is the eastern trend of that distribution. This trend is particularly significant, as such sites as Tiryns, Corinth and Aegina-Kolonna yielded only one or two pieces each, while no amphoroid kraters at all are known from Midea. The scarcity of amphoroid kraters is significant considering that overall, Tiryns and Midea, have yielded large quantities of pictorial pottery dating to the Palace period.<sup>19</sup> Mycenae yielded four fragmentary amphoroid kraters and Nafplio three, two of which are nearly complete vessels. A further fragment, clearly attributable to an amphoroid krater, cannot be traced back to any site. Since this fragment is

<sup>17</sup> Count of Argive style specimens: nine ring-based kraters FT 281/282 and one amphoroid krater FT 54/55 according to Sjöqvist 1940, 217, cat. no. 6, 218, cat. nos. 43–50, pl. 27; Karageorghis 1960, 152–53, pl. 14.

<sup>18</sup> Åkerström 1987, 118–20.

<sup>19</sup> Slenczka 1974; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982; Sakellarakis 1992; McMullen Fisher 1998; Güntner 2000; Demakopoulou 2006; McMullen Fisher 2007.

stored at Nafplio it undoubtedly was found somewhere in the Argolid.<sup>20</sup> The amphoroid kraters found in the Argolid bear pictorial decoration just as the majority of their counterparts in the Levant and Cyprus. However, all over the Greek mainland, the open krater shapes FT 8/9 and FT 281/282 are the usual large vessel types with pictorial motifs.<sup>21</sup> Notwithstanding this fact, stylistic analyses have shown that the same Argive vase painters decorated all these vessels, whether they were to remain in the Argolid or meant for export to Cyprus and the Levant. For this reason, they are often decorated with the same motifs, such as chariots or bulls.<sup>22</sup>

On the island of Rhodes there are six whole or fragmentary amphoroid kraters of Argive type and style coming from at least three sites.<sup>23</sup> Four are chariot kraters, while some additional specimens show octopus motifs. In addition, two further amphoroid kraters of Argive type and style were possibly found on Rhodes but their find places are unknown.<sup>24</sup> Two of the Rhodian finds coming from the necropolis of Pylona were analyzed with ICP-AES and proved to be Argive products.<sup>25</sup> This fits with an older analytical result obtained with OES that assigned an amphoroid chariot krater found at Ialysos to the Argolid.<sup>26</sup> This distribution pattern must reflect one of the trade routes leading from the Argolid, via Rhodes, to the Levant.<sup>27</sup>

In conclusion, the combination of chemical analysis and pottery distribution proves Åkerström right, who had concluded: “Berbati worked for export trade.”<sup>28</sup> The settlement of Berbati must have been controlled by the nearby palace of Mycenae.<sup>29</sup> This control is evidenced by the sheer volume of production, the standardization and high quality of manufacture, and the specialized type repertoire aiming at the consumption habits of eastern populations. I would agree with other scholars, the lack of reference to pottery production in the Linear B documents from Mycenae cannot be used as an argument against such a conclusion, due to the limited number of tablets found at that site.<sup>30</sup> Thus the kingdom of Mycenae seems to have dominated the production of painted Mycenaean pottery intended for export to the east.<sup>31</sup> Podzuweit already reached that conclusion 20 years ago, though based on a much smaller number of analyses and from far fewer sites.<sup>32</sup>

The data available in preliminary reports on the material found at Berbati indicate that this export-oriented pottery production ended after mid LH IIIB, i.e. after the first half of the 13th century B.C.E.<sup>33</sup> This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that only very few Argive pots pro-

<sup>20</sup> Slenczka 1974, 82, cat. no. 245, pl. 36.2, no. a. It closely resembles a fragment from the citadel of Mycenae (Sakellarakis 1992, 29, cat. no. 16, 122, no. 16).

<sup>21</sup> Two amphoroid krater fragments with pictorial decoration are not included in fig. 5, one is a miniature from Spata (Attica, see Sakellarakis 1992, 71–2 cat. no. 127, 133, no. 127), the second is a sherd from Kommos (southern Crete), which is not an Argive product, as chemical analysis has revealed (Rutter 2006, 671; Tomlinson et al. 2010, 196, fig. 3, no. C9126, 197 tab. 1, no. C9126, 208, fig. 6, no. C9126, 209, 215, 217).

<sup>22</sup> See the detailed discussion by Güntner 2000, 335–62 (with further bibliography of previous painter/workshop ascriptions).

<sup>23</sup> In addition to those mapped in fig. 5 there are two vessels which were probably found on Rhodes, but the exact find place of which is not known (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 227, cat. nos. XII.4 and XII.5). Another amphoroid krater with chariot from Makra Vounara, chamber tomb 27 at Ialysos (Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, XII.6; Benzi 1992, 288–89, no. 4, pl. 46b) shows stylistic peculiarities inhibiting a clear Argive assignation (see Mountjoy 1999, 996).

<sup>24</sup> They are decorated with bulls between plants, see Charitonidis 1960, fig. 1, pl. 91; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 227, cat. nos. XII.7 and XII.8.

<sup>25</sup> Ponting and Karantzali 2001, 108, nos. 16521 and 16651.

<sup>26</sup> Jones and Mee 1978, 463, no. 28, 466, tab. 2 (sample 28).

<sup>27</sup> This contradicts the conclusions by Mühlenbruch 2009, 106.

<sup>28</sup> Åkerström 1987, 119. For other pottery shapes at Berbati see Jung 2006a, 173 with further bibliography.

<sup>29</sup> Schallin 2002, 150 (less strict: “not being totally dependent”); Jung 2006a, 184; Eder 2009, 18.

<sup>30</sup> Stockhammer 2008, 259.

<sup>31</sup> Badre et al. 2005, 15 (with further bibliography); Jung 2006a, 173, 184; Zuckerman et al. 2009, 410, tab. 1, 412, fig. 3.

<sup>32</sup> Podzuweit 1994; Podzuweit 2007, 302–3 (published posthumously).

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Schallin 2002, 144–45, fig. 3, 148, 150–52, figs. 7–8; Podzuweit 2007, 236; Klintberg 2011, 104–5, figs. 80–1, 112. For this chronological interpretation of the data see also Jung 2006a, 173, 187; cf. Stockhammer 2008, 263.

duced during the later phases of LH IIIB reached Cyprus and the Near East.<sup>34</sup> Therefore, it comes as no surprise that at many Levantine settlements, older Mycenaean vessels were treated with care and remained in use for several decades. The phenomenon of old LH IIIB Early–Middle vessels in contexts dating to the years around 1200 B.C.E. is well-known, although by no means limited to religious contexts, as is often supposed.<sup>35</sup>

Two exemplary cases may be mentioned here. The first is that of Tell Tweini, the southernmost harbor of the kingdom of Ugarit.<sup>36</sup> In the destruction level at the end of Late Bronze Age II, a kylix FT 258B dating to LH IIIB Early–Middle was found. Accordingly, it was first proposed that this destruction occurred some decades earlier than the destruction of Ugarit itself.<sup>37</sup> However, in 2009 and 2010, locally produced Mycenaean deep bowls FT 284/285 A were found in contexts of the same destruction event, as well as in the fill above that, which is below the earliest Iron Age I floor. They can be dated to the beginning of LH IIIC Early, i.e. contemporary to the destruction of the capital Ugarit.

A second, very clear case can be found at Pyla-Kokkinokremos, which is a single-phased settlement on the south coast of Cyprus. It yielded an imported, most probably Argive krater FT 281/282 with chariot representations dated to LH IIIB Developed.<sup>38</sup> This vessel had been mended with lead clamps, but according to its find context it remained in use until the destruction of the settlement. This destruction can be synchronized with the beginning of Early LH IIIC by means of deep bowls FT 284/285 A with chronologically significant linear decoration and spiral motifs.<sup>39</sup>

These, and many other cases that could be quoted, show that Mycenaean vessels were held in high esteem, even if they had been imported decades earlier and damaged over time. Apart from demonstrating the danger to date LBA II contexts in the Eastern Mediterranean by exclusive reference to imported Argive pottery,<sup>40</sup> this phenomenon argues against any suggestion ascribing the decline of Argive pottery imports in Cyprus and the Levant during the later 13th century B.C.E. to a change in appreciation of certain Mycenaean vessel types in the east.<sup>41</sup> Moreover, the attempts of potters in various regions on Cyprus and along the Syro-Palestinian coasts to produce painted Mycenaeanizing vessels, the shapes of which are similar to the former Argive imports, attest to the consumers' demand to continue established banqueting habits, notwithstanding a growing scarcity of Mycenaean products at the end of the 13th and the beginning of the 12th centuries B.C.E.<sup>42</sup> An analogous explanation may be given for the creation of the pictorial style named "Rude" or "Pastoral Style" on Cyprus.<sup>43</sup> Interestingly, this style was

<sup>34</sup> Podzuweit 1994, 469; Deger-Jalkotzy 2002, 52–3; Güntner 2000, 369–72; Mountjoy and Mommsen 2001, 123; Karageorghis 2002, 84–5, 89, fig. 175; Podzuweit 2007, 283, 287; Jung 2011b, 61–3. This decline in Argive pottery imports during the second half of LC IIC is mainly responsible for the variations in imported Mycenaean pottery quantities between various Late Cypriot settlements as listed in Antoniadou 2007, 495, fig. 7. In her interpretation she overlooked the chronological factor and aimed solely at functional/hierarchical differences between sites (Antoniadou 2007, 495–97).

<sup>35</sup> Warren and Hankey 1989, 161; French 2007, 529.

<sup>36</sup> Tell Tweini is identified with Gibala, a harbor city belonging to the kingdom of Ugarit and lying close to the border with Siyannu (Bretschneider and van Lerberghe 2008, 31–2). One may assume that the destruction of the city of Ugarit and the one of Gibala/Tell Tweini happened approximately contemporaneously.

<sup>37</sup> Bretschneider et al. 2008, 35, 45, fig. 4, no. 1.

<sup>38</sup> Karageorghis 1982; Karageorghis and Demas 1984, 33, no. 12, 50 pl. 18.20, 33; Güntner 2000, 181, no. 168, 189.

<sup>39</sup> Karageorghis and Demas 1984, 45, 47, pl. 19, nos. 1952/22 and 1952/23, 35. 1952/22, 1952/23; Jung 2011b, 64–5.

<sup>40</sup> The cases discussed show that it is not a modern inability to properly date pottery of various subphases in LH IIIB that would cause the impression of missing LH IIIB Developed and Final imports (as suggested by Mühlenbruch 2009, 92–3, 102–3). Indicative is also the fact that pictorial styles of the LH IIIB Developed phase are rare, while those of LH IIIB Final are missing altogether on Cyprus and in the Levant (Güntner 2000, 369–72).

<sup>41</sup> That interpretation was proposed by Maran 2009, 246, n. 29.

<sup>42</sup> Jung 2006a, 208, n. 268; Jung 2012, 108.

<sup>43</sup> As Wolfgang Güntner (2000, 372) already supposed. Initially, this opinion was also expressed by Sherratt 1982, 185–86. For the stratigraphy of Rude/Pastoral Style at Enkomi see Dikaios 1969/71, 249–50, 843–44. There were also other explanations offered. According to Vassos Karageorghis the style was created in the second half of

predominantly used for decorating kraters shaped like FT 281/282 and only very rarely for amphoroid kraters.<sup>44</sup> The link is thus with the latest kraters delivered from the Argolid, such as those of the “Enkomi Bull Painter” and the “Protome Painter A” working in LH IIIB Middle.<sup>45</sup>

An older hypothesis speaking of a general decline in trading activities between Mycenaean Greece/the Argolid and Cyprus as well as the Levantine coasts during LH IIIB Developed and LH IIIB Final has to be abandoned in the light of recent finds.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, yet another interpretation must be sought for the end of the export-oriented pottery production in the Argolid. Possibly, the cause of the destructions in LH IIIB Middle that are visible at different Argive buildings at Mycenae and Tiryns that led to fundamental restructuring of the settlements, also critically affected the pottery production aimed at the eastern consumers. The end of that manufacture may thus be ascribed to internal developments in the Argolid.<sup>47</sup>

### Trade and distribution

Having solved the problem of the localization and the duration of the export-oriented pottery production, one needs to address the question of how this export was organized. The classic explanation by Vronwy Hankey has it that Mycenaean pottery reached the Near East via Cyprus. She presented two main arguments in support of this hypothesis: The first is the imported type repertoire, which is similar in Cyprus and the Levant. The second is the fact that Mycenaean pottery is regularly found together with Cypriot handmade pottery of the Base Ring classes, White Slip and Monochrome, at the various Levantine sites.<sup>48</sup> Nicolle Hirschfeld’s detailed studies of marked or inscribed pots added a third argument, namely that part of the Mycenaean pottery exports to the Near East was marked after firing with Cypro-Minoan or similar signs. In Greece, vessels marked in this way are mainly found at Tiryns and only rarely at other Argive sites. According to Hirschfeld’s conclusions, the trade of Mycenaean pottery was in the hands of persons familiar with Cypriot writing/markings practice and based at the harbor of Tiryns. Hirschfeld considered two possible explanations: Either these persons were Mycenaeans able to handle the Cypriot bureaucratic system or, which she considered more likely, they were Cypriots working at Tiryns.<sup>49</sup> Susan Sherratt even proposed a model in which Cypriot private entrepreneurs traded in Mycenaean pottery at first, but later undermined that market by increasingly trading in cheaper wheelmade pots of local Cypriot production.<sup>50</sup> While

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LH IIIB or late in the LC IIC period on Cyprus by Aegean immigrants as a reaction against the old Mycenaean style (Karageorghis 1965, 232–34; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 59–68; Karageorghis 2008, 177). Later, Susan Sherratt opted for a higher chronology of the Rude/Pastoral Style starting in LH IIIA Late or LH IIIB Early/Middle and saw its invention as part of “an essentially commercial strategy” of Cypriot coastal urban centers (Sherratt 1999, 189–93, fig. 4). Now she does not see the invention of the style as a reaction to a shortage of imports, but on the contrary as a Cypriot economic strategy to compete with the Aegean producers. For her, this Cypriot production was the reason for the end of pottery importation from the Argolid, not its result (Sherratt 2003, 45). However, if this was the case, the local painted Mycenaean and Mycenaeanizing pots should start earlier than the second half of the 13th centuries in both Cyprus and the Near East. Sherratt’s high chronology lacks stratigraphic support. Even more important, the special esteem for old, imported Mycenaean pots at those places, where local Mycenaean and Mycenaeanizing products were already used, cannot be explained by her model.

<sup>44</sup> Karageorghis (2008, 174–78) now suggests that the few amphoroid kraters decorated in the Pastoral Style were inspired by Minoan amphoroid kraters of the late 13th century B.C.E.

<sup>45</sup> Güntner 2000, 349–52. For stylistic connections of the pictorial motifs on the earliest “Pastoral Style” kraters to those of Argive Mycenaean kraters see Dikaios 1969/71, 249; Anson 1980, 14–5 (for a new drawing of specimens from Enkomi level IIB see Jung 2011a, 190, fig. 1: nos. 1 and 2).

<sup>46</sup> Oriental imports in LH IIIB Final contexts at various Mycenaean sites, see Jung 2006a, 186, n. 164; Maran 2009, 246–47.

<sup>47</sup> Sherratt 1982, 186; Jung 2006a, 187.

<sup>48</sup> Hankey 1967, 145–47.

<sup>49</sup> Hirschfeld 1996.

<sup>50</sup> Sherratt 2003, 42–5. Others also saw Cypriots “as the prime distributors of Helladic wares to the east Mediterranean” (Manning and Hulin 2005, 284).

I would agree that Mycenaean's products were shipped from Tiryns or from nearby Nafplio (in view of the amphoroid kraters in the Palamidhi tombs), it is difficult to imagine that the state, having invested in such specialized pottery production, would totally leave that trade in the hands of foreign merchants rather than conducting it itself, or at the very least maintaining control over those merchants who dealt in its trade.

To begin with, the incised marks forming the largest category of signs are basically confined to two pottery shapes: to large transport stirrup jars of either Minoan coarse ware FT 164 or Mycenaean fine ware FT 167 and to large piriform jars FT 35–36. Occasionally, amphoroid kraters FT 54/55 were also marked with incised signs.<sup>51</sup> Moreover, only a minority of large stirrup jars, piriform jars and amphoroid kraters were marked. It follows that a Cypriot involvement can be convincingly suggested only for marked vessels,<sup>52</sup> which account for a very small portion of the Mycenaean pottery imports in the Levant. One further observation by Hirschfeld weakens Sherratt's argument for a dominant role of Cypriot merchants. While marked Mycenaean pots are found at many sites on Cyprus, they are generally rare along the Levantine coast and occur in some quantity only at Ugarit and Tell Abu Hawam.<sup>53</sup> In this context it is important to note that Ugarit had a special relationship with Cyprus, which is manifest e.g. in the use of the Cypro-Minoan script, unique among all Levantine settlements.<sup>54</sup> Likewise, a special Cypriot link may be suggested for Tell Abu Hawam, because it has yielded some quantity of characteristic Cypriot unpainted pottery, so-called Plain White Wheelmade Ware,<sup>55</sup> otherwise rarely found along the Levantine coast.

To sum up, Cypriot ceramics were imported to many sites all along the Levantine coast, as was Mycenaean pottery, but Mycenaean vessels marked with painted or incised signs were only rarely used in the Near East. A concentration of such marked vessels may hint at special relationships of a site with Cyprus. Interestingly, on Rhodes, Mycenaean vessels bearing incised signs have so far not been found,<sup>56</sup> even though the island served as a stop-over along the Aegean-Levant trade route, proven by the presence of Argive amphoroid kraters (see above). Hirschfeld had concluded that the absence of such marked vessels on the island is an argument for directed trade, and against peripheral trading on route.<sup>57</sup> Based on the Rhodian find situation, it follows that the signs on vessels were most probably only needed for communication with Cypriot traders and customers, while Argive production of export pottery aimed at a more diversified clientele.

In this context, it should be noted that at Tell Kazel marked Mycenaean pottery is lacking altogether, while many Cypriot pottery imports have been found.<sup>58</sup> However, this import of Cypriot pottery changed over time. It peaked at the time of building level 6 of area IV, contemporary with LH IIIA Late–IIIB Middle.<sup>59</sup> Then it decreased in the following building level 5 in area IV and contemporary level 6 in area II<sup>60</sup> (LH IIIB Developed – beginning of LH IIIC Early). Mycenaean pottery imports from the Argolid dating to the later LH IIIB phases (mainly to LH IIIB Developed) were very rare in this settlement period. Most of the Argive pots being products of LH IIIB Middle, they are thus probably heirlooms of the preceding settlement period. It is important to note that the declining import of Cypriot handmade ceramics during the

<sup>51</sup> Hirschfeld 2000, 179–80; Hirschfeld 2002, 108 n. 55; Hirschfeld 2006, 84–5.

<sup>52</sup> Cf. Hirschfeld 2000, 184.

<sup>53</sup> Hirschfeld 2004. The published imported Mycenaean pottery from Sidon conforms to this pattern, as only one marked vessel was detected among those Mycenaean imports (Karageorghis and Doumet-Serhal 2009, 339).

<sup>54</sup> Hirschfeld 2010.

<sup>55</sup> Some of these unpainted vessels of Cypriot shapes may originate in the region of Enkomi, while others may be local products according to the excavator (Artzy 2005, 356–57; Artzy 2006, 54–6, fig. 8).

<sup>56</sup> Hirschfeld 1996, 291.

<sup>57</sup> Hirschfeld 1993, 315.

<sup>58</sup> Some of the Cypriot vessels are marked with incised signs (Jung 2006a, 184 n. 155 – with bibliography).

<sup>59</sup> The re-dating of the end of building level 6 to LH IIIB Middle (as opposed to LH IIIB Early, see Jung 2006a, 151, Tab. 1) is the result of new pottery finds and further study of the site stratigraphy.

<sup>60</sup> Badre 2006, 77, 82, 87–8.



later 13th century B.C.E. was not accompanied by an increased import of the new Cypriot wheelmade pottery classes that became current on the island by that time,<sup>61</sup> which according to Sherratt's model could have undermined Mycenaean pottery export.<sup>62</sup> As for Mycenaean pottery of Cypriot production, there are only very few Simple Style vessels and fragments of two Pastoral Style kraters at Tell Kazel.<sup>63</sup> The archaeological record of other northern Levantine sites such as Ugarit and Tell Tweini is similar in this respect.<sup>64</sup>

In conclusion, Tell Kazel is representative of those Levantine sites at which there is no indication of Cypriot involvement in the importation of Mycenaean products. Moreover, a mediatory role by Cypriot merchants cannot be accepted without reservation even for Ugarit.<sup>65</sup> An object found at Tiryns and recently published by Chaim Cohen, Joseph Maran and Melissa Veters shows that this settlement not only had direct contact with Cyprus, but also with Ugarit. The artifact in question is an ivory rod and bears an inscription consisting of numeric values and one Ugaritic letter. It is the only Ugaritic inscription found in the Aegean. The archaeological context is interpreted by the authors as relating to Levantine and/or Cypriot specialized craftsmen working for the Mycenaean palatial administration.<sup>66</sup> It seems to me that a direct relationship between Ugarit and the Argolid via Tiryns is the most plausible interpretation of this artifact.<sup>67</sup>

Yet another region of Mycenaean Greece had direct exchange contacts with Ugarit during the 13th century B.C.E., i.e. Crete, where Mycenaean administration is attested for Chania.<sup>68</sup> Through a favor granted by the king of Ugarit, 'Ammistamru II, to the *tamkāru* Sinarānu who traded with Crete, the latter was not taxed by the herald when his ship reached port, but rather had to deliver a gift directly to the king.<sup>69</sup> "(...) Le négociant devra faire au roi le « cadeau » requis, ce qui doit souligner la valeur accordée aux cargaisons de produits crétois ou importés via la Crète", writes Sylvie Lackenbacher.<sup>70</sup>

When searching for Aegean objects that might have qualified as appropriate gifts to the king at Ugarit,<sup>71</sup> one comes across a conical rhyton of electrum or silver. It was found as part of a LB II assemblage of precious metal objects and scrap metal inside what was probably a cult building in the South Acropolis, in the eastern part of the city (fig. 6).<sup>72</sup> The rhyton is most probably an import, although originally published as a local product.<sup>73</sup>

<sup>61</sup> These are either local Mycenaean and Mycenaeanizing classes or belong to the unpainted so-called Plain White Ware (for statistics at Enkomi see Jung 2011a, 177–80, 191, fig. 2).

<sup>62</sup> Sherratt 1994, 67–8.

<sup>63</sup> Yon and Caubet 1990, 99, 106, no. 37, 114, fig. 1, no. 37; Badre et al. 2005, 32–3, fig. 8, no. 2; Jung 2006a, 152–53, 166–68, fig. 8, no. 29, 184, 202, fig. 19, no. 1.

<sup>64</sup> The situation at Tel Nami/Jezirat en-Nami in the south might be different, as Simple Style vessels are said to be typical for that site in the Bay of Akko, but only few finds have been published so far (Artzy 2006, 50–1, 53, fig. 6, nos. 14 and 15).

<sup>65</sup> In contrast to Carol Bell, who argued Cypriot incised marks on Mycenaean pots (see above), a variety of sources of the Mycenaean pottery (without sufficient corroboration by chemical analyses) and the absence of references to Aegean traders in the texts of Ugarit allowed the conclusion that Cypriot ships transported the Mycenaean trade goods to Ugarit (Bell 2006, 59, 90–1; cf. already Astour 1973, 25). However, the Ugarit publications show that Mycenaean pots of non-Argive style make up a very small group of the assemblage at the site. Most specimens come from contexts dating to the end of the 13th/beginning of the 12th centuries B.C.E., after the cessation of Argive imports. By then, small quantities of Mycenaean ceramics from Cyprus and the south-east Aegean were being imported by the Levantine cities (cf. Jung 2009a, 79, 84, 91, fig. 4). For textual reference to direct trade between Ugarit and the Mycenaean Aegean see below.

<sup>66</sup> Cohen et al. 2010.

<sup>67</sup> Cf. also Veters 2011, 31.

<sup>68</sup> Andreadaki-Vlazaki 2010, 524.

<sup>69</sup> Tablet RS 16.238, lines 10–17: Lackenbacher 2002, 310.

<sup>70</sup> Lackenbacher 2002, 307.

<sup>71</sup> For the international gift exchange or trade between kings see Liverani 2001, 146–50.

<sup>72</sup> Schaeffer 1966, 131–32, fig. 9; Caubet and Yon 2001, 156; Jung 2005, 51, fig. 3; Annie Caubet in Aruz et al. 2008, 430–31, cat. no. 285.

<sup>73</sup> Jung 2005, 51 with n. 33. The fact that it does not bear relief decoration is not an argument for its Syrian production, as we do not know Aegean metal rhyta from contexts later than the Shaft Grave period. The type is



Fig. 6: Electrum silver rhyton from the South Acropolis of Ugarit

Elisa Roßberger published other luxury objects imported to Qatna via the Aegean.<sup>74</sup> These are amber objects which were part of the grave goods found in the Royal Tomb. The largest piece is a lion's head amber vessel with lid. From the results of typological examination as well as chemical analysis, the excavators concluded that it had been locally carved out of a piece of Baltic amber.<sup>75</sup> Although it is larger than any approximately contemporary Mycenaean amber find,<sup>76</sup> the raw material must have reached Syria via the Aegean. The most probable import route to the Aegean is over the Adriatic. Objects of Baltic amber are attested in contemporary contexts of the Italian MBA 3,<sup>77</sup> while LH IIIA pottery is found concentrated at a few south Italian sites in MBA 3 contexts.<sup>78</sup> Ships transporting the amber to Qatna would have finally anchored in the region of Amurru (see below).

These two rare luxury items from exceptional contexts at Qatna and Ugarit remind us that due to the vagaries of preservation, we are permitted to see but the tip of the iceberg. This is particularly true when it comes to goods that would have found a place amongst the listed possessions of a royal personage, such as queen Aḥat-Milku of Ugarit where, after gold jewelry and vessels, silver vessels are the most prominently listed.<sup>79</sup> It is possible that silver was among the products delivered from the Aegean, either in the form of finished vessels (fig. 6) or as ingots. A lead and silver mine at Thorikos was exploited in the LBA from LH IIIB onwards, and isotopic and chemical analyses of Aegean silver objects have proven that the Attic silver from the Laurion region was regularly used during the Mycenaean Palatial period.<sup>80</sup> Zofia Stos-Gale and Noël Gale had already supposed that

Attic silver was exchanged for Egyptian gold by the Mycenaean.<sup>81</sup> Two silver ingots weighing 124.66 g and 132.28 g respectively were found together with fragments of a silver bowl in the Cypriot settlement of Pyla-Kokkinokremos (settled during LC IIC, in the second half of the

clearly Aegean and does not show Levantine influence. For this rhyton see also A. Caubet in: Aruz et al. 2008, 431, cat. no. 285: "Late Helladic IIIB manufacture". Robert Koehl wrote, the s-curved handle was typical for Minoan LM IA rhyta, but different from Mycenaean rhyta handles (Koehl 2008, 429). However, several gold and silver cups from Mycenaean Greece have handles closely comparable to the one of the Ugarit rhyton (Davis 1977, figs. 104, 136–37, 214–16, 232–33; cf. also Matthäus 1980, pl. 39, no. 322 [bronze]).

<sup>74</sup> See her contribution in the present volume.

<sup>75</sup> Mukherjee et al. 2008; Aruz et al. 2008, 250, fig. 83; Pfälzner and Roßberger 2009, 212–13. In addition, amber beads were found in the same tomb (Pfälzner and Roßberger 2009).

<sup>76</sup> The latest catalog of Palace period amber finds from Mycenaean Greece can be found in Czebreszuk 2011, 117, fig. 23, 140–44, tab. 15.

<sup>77</sup> Bellintani 2010, 142–44, fig. 1B, 146.

<sup>78</sup> Jung 2006b, 70–6, 81–7, 94–104.

<sup>79</sup> Tablet RS 16.146+161, lines 7–9; Lackenbacher 2002, 289–91.

<sup>80</sup> For the Thorikos mine and its date see Spitaels 1984; Mountjoy 1995. For analytical proof of the exploitation of Laurion silver see Pernicka 1987, 691 Abb. 39; 693; Stos-Gale and Macdonald 1991, 270–71, fig. 8c, 280. Thus, one easily reaches the hypothesis that Attic silver should have been a material exported by the Mycenaean to their trading partners in the Eastern Mediterranean (Wardle and Wardle 1997, 99). Some colleagues tend to exclude this hypothesis, as "Greece lacks natural resources" (Mee 2008, 365). However, exactly the scarcity of most important raw materials may have stimulated the export of those that could be found in the country.

<sup>81</sup> Stos-Gale and Gale 1982, 467.



Fig. 7: Mycenaean and Syrian vessel shapes at Tell Kazel: fragments of a shallow strap-handled bowl FT 295/296 (no. 4601.104+5446.132, 6078.1+6090.4) and an unpainted ring-based plate (no. TK 06.63)

13th century B.C.E., see above). Chemical and lead isotope analyses give some indications that the three objects may have been cast from Attic silver.<sup>82</sup>

It follows then, that Mycenaean pottery was not the only product exported from Mycenaean Greece. Rather, we have to imagine a variety of finished products and possibly even raw materials that made up the cargoes sent to the east on Mycenaean, Syrian or Cypriot ships – cargoes that most probably included objects of quality and quantity intended for international royal gift exchange.

One more point should be made that stresses the similarity of the Mycenaean vessel repertoire with those of Cyprus and the Levant. I would like to underline the fact that the most typical export vessels do not only find counterparts among the local Cypriot pottery shapes and among Cypriot and Levantine metal vessels as Sherratt has argued,<sup>83</sup> but also among the most frequent shapes of ordinary unpainted pottery along the Levantine coasts. The amphoroid krater FT 54/55, for example, has a counterpart in the unpainted local repertoires of Cyprus and the Levant. In the Akkar plain the history of this local shape can be traced back to the MBA, long before the Mycenaean age. Different kinds of shallow bowls and plates were the principal small consumption vessels in the LBA Levant. Apart from the handles, their shape matches up quite well with Mycenaean shallow strap-handled bowls FT 295/296, of which the variety usually named FT 296 is especially shallow – just like the unpainted plates typical for the local pottery of Tell Kazel, Ugarit and other Levantine sites (fig. 7). Thus, one can conclude that the mentioned Mycenaean vessel shapes were selected for import by the people in the Levant because they were perceived as finer equivalents to traditional local vessel types.<sup>84</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Karageorghis and Demas 1984, 42, cat. nos. 112–14, 64–5, pl. 28, nos. 112–14, 45, nos. 112–14; Karageorghis 2002, 84, fig. 163. For the analytical results see Gale and Stos-Gale 1984, 97–9, 101, tab. 1; Stos-Gale and Gale 2010, 395–96, tab. 3. However, the high gold content of these objects is problematic with regard to the assumed Laurion provenance of the silver. Alternatively, the lead isotopes characteristic for Laurion could be explained by cupellation of recycled silver by using lead from Laurion (personal communication by Ernst Pernicka, for which I am very grateful).

<sup>83</sup> Sherratt 1999, 187–88.

<sup>84</sup> Jung 2006a, 171–72.

These examples show that the export production of the Mycenae region was targeted not only at Cyprus, but also the Levant. I believe that the trade relationships of the kingdom of Mycenae with the kingdom of Amurru, where Tell Kazel is situated, are even mentioned in a written source. It is the Šaušgamuwa treaty between Great King Tudḫaliya IV of Ḫatti and King Šaušgamuwa of Amurru.<sup>85</sup> In that treaty Tudḫaliya imposes a trade embargo on Assyria by banning Assyrian merchants from Amurru and prohibiting ships of Aḫḫiyawa from beaching at the harbors of Amurru.<sup>86</sup> It has become generally accepted that the kingdom of Aḫḫiyawa must be located in the Mycenaean world.<sup>87</sup> In the same Šaušgamuwa treaty the king of Aḫḫiyawa is recognized as an equal by the Hittite Great King.<sup>88</sup> Tudḫaliya was able to cause harm to Assyrian trade by closing the harbors of Amurru, as the most important land route from the Syrian coast towards the interior ran east through the Akkar plain, passed the Homs gap, reached Qatna and went on to Mesopotamia.<sup>89</sup> Independent from hypotheses regarding duration and effects of the embargo,<sup>90</sup> the Šaušgamuwa treaty proves the existence of direct Mycenaean trade with Mesopotamia<sup>91</sup> via the kingdom of Amurru, in which Tell Kazel is located.<sup>92</sup> However, the importance of this treaty for Aegean archaeology does not end here. In combination with the analytical result that the vast majority of the imported Aegean pottery at Tell Kazel had been produced in the region of Mycenae, the treaty text can be used to deduce a specific link between Aḫḫiyawa and Mycenae.<sup>93</sup> As this dominance of northern Argive products is characteristic for all the Levant (see above), the pottery export monopoly of Mycenae becomes a monopoly of Aḫḫiyawa. Podzuweit had already supposed that the Mycenaean monopoly in pottery export to the Eastern Mediterranean should reflect a dominating political role of Mycenae in the Aegean.<sup>94</sup> In this context it is interesting that according to NAA analyses of the past decades the northern Argive workshops were also the only ones consistently exporting considerable quantities of painted fine ware ceramics to other regions inside Greece during the Palace period: to Attica,<sup>95</sup> Boeotia,<sup>96</sup> Macedonia,<sup>97</sup> and Rhodes.<sup>98</sup>

<sup>85</sup> Kühne and Otten 1971. The discussion of the Šaušgamuwa treaty and its relevance for interpreting the findings of Tell Kazel was elaborated in greater detail in Jung 2006a, 182–86 (with bibliography). A reply was published by Devecchi 2010. While her discussion of the relative chronology of Tell Kazel in comparison to the one of Ugarit is problematic (for that matter see Jung 2009b, 41–5), I would agree with her that in Amurru the reason for the end of pottery importation from the Argolid is rather to be seen in the political and economic development of Mycenaean Greece (Jung 2006a, 187) rather than in the Hittite embargo. As discussed above, the cessation of Mycenaean pottery imports is a general phenomenon in the Eastern Mediterranean during LH IIIB Developed–Final.

<sup>86</sup> Heinhold Kraemer 2007, 195; Devecchi 2010. The relevant word in line IV 23 is reconstructed by most philologists as *Aḫ-ḫi-ia-u-wa-aš-ši*, which is paralleled by *Aḫ-ḫi-ia-u-wa-ia* in line IV 3. Therefore the attestation of Aḫḫiyawa in connection with the trade embargo is the most probable reading – although not absolutely certain (e-mail by Susanne Heinhold Kraemer, February, 12th 2010; see now Devecchi 2010, 250–54 and her contribution in the present volume).

<sup>87</sup> Decisive was the clarification of the political geography of western Asia Minor, see Hawkins 1998.

<sup>88</sup> Heinhold Kraemer 2007, 196, 199–203 (with bibliography).

<sup>89</sup> Al-Maqdissi 2008, 43, fig. 17.

<sup>90</sup> For the probable short duration of the embargo see Devecchi 2010, 246–47.

<sup>91</sup> Few Mycenaean sherds were found at the border to Assyria at Jerablus and Emar (Caubet 1982, 76 [I thank V. Matoian for this reference]; van Wijngaarden 2002, 312, map 6, 325, nos. 133 and 134). For the Mycenaean pottery from Qatna, which lies on the route to Assyria, see below. Naturally, there may have been goods other than pottery exported to Mesopotamia from the Aegean such as Attic silver (see above).

<sup>92</sup> Recent petrographic analyses support the view that some tablets of the Amurru correspondence from Tell el-Amarna were sent from Tell Kazel, see Boileau et al. 2010, 1685. Jorrit Kelder (2010, 31–2) overlooks the archaeological record from Amurru when discussing the Šaušgamuwa treaty.

<sup>93</sup> Jung 2006a, 182–84.

<sup>94</sup> Podzuweit 2007, 302–3.

<sup>95</sup> Mommsen 2003, 21; 28 tab. 3.

<sup>96</sup> Mommsen et al. 2002, 608.

<sup>97</sup> Mommsen et al. 1989, 520 f. tab. 1; Jung 2002, 56.

<sup>98</sup> Marketou et al. 2006, 44–9; cf. also Karantzali – Ponting 2000, 223, fig. 3, 229–30, 236, fig. 11 (these however without differentiation between northern and southern Argolid). While Eder (2009, 19) takes note of the Argive

Leaving the field of artifact analysis, the fact that the king of Ahḫiyawa is treated as a Great King by the Hittite Great King in several letters, and that the information provided by those letters suggests that the Ahḫiyawan king could and did intervene, at times even with military force, in the political situation of western Asia Minor, make it difficult to believe that a small Greek region such as the northern Argolid could have appeared so powerful to the ruler of central Asia Minor and the northern Levant.<sup>99</sup> Furthermore, it is important to note that all Hittite documents refer to only one kingdom west of the shores of Asia Minor, and to only one king in this kingdom.<sup>100</sup> This lends support to the thesis that we have to imagine one single Mycenaean state and not several small, and compared to the Hittite empire certainly weaker, kingdoms all over southern Greece. Several arguments regarding the uniformity of language, administrative functions and administrative practice have been named in favor of the existence of a unified Mycenaean state, either envisaged as an empire or as hegemony of one Great King over several lesser kings.<sup>101</sup> The archaeological record, with regards to administration, also lends support to this hypothesis. Similar or identical seals and sealings found in different parts of the Aegean point to close administrative relations between all parts of the Mycenaean world, as it is logical to assume that the distribution pattern of Mycenaean seals and sealings reflects the extension of bureaucratic influence, as Birgitta Eder has argued.<sup>102</sup>

The existence of different Mycenaean palaces in various regions all over southern and central Greece is not necessarily an argument against the conclusion that there was a unified Mycenaean (Great) kingdom. Regarding political and ideological representation, it is interesting that the throne room compounds of three palaces (Pylos, Mycenae and Tiryns) are remarkably similar in layout and dimensions.<sup>103</sup> Two further observations can be made when looking at the palaces as excavated today. Firstly, one does not get the impression of competing kings with markedly different preferences in their representative behavior. Secondly, the architecture of the palace at Mycenae is not clearly preeminent in size and overall decoration when compared to the other palaces.<sup>104</sup> Therefore, one might infer an administrative organization, in which the Mycenaean *wanax*, the Great King of Ahḫiyawa, used the local palaces when traveling over Greece in order to bring to bear his symbolic personage (e.g. in religious festivities) and to exert political and juridical control.<sup>105</sup> This brings to mind the practice of the travelling German king and emperor of the Holy Roman Empire during the Middle Ages,<sup>106</sup> and seems plausible even in the Eastern Mediterranean of the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.E. For several Egyptian kings of the New Kingdom more than one palace is attested. Amenhotep III could reside in at least four residential palaces in the palace precinct at Thebes-Malqata, while his son Amenhotep IV/Akhenaten had several palaces in one and the same city, and the Ramessides had palaces in the Nile Delta (at Pi-Ramesses and sometimes also at Memphis), but likewise at Thebes in Upper Egypt, visited only occasionally.<sup>107</sup> On a smaller scale, similar situations may have existed even in the small kingdoms of the Levant, as the South Palace at Ras Ibn Hani is interpreted as the second

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pottery export to other Aegean regions, Kelder (2010, 116–18) only stresses the stylistic uniformity of Mycenaean pottery production that has long been acknowledged.

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Kelder 2010, 44.

<sup>100</sup> Carlier 2008, 122, 130; Eder 2009, 8.

<sup>101</sup> Olivier 2006; Carlier 2008, 123.

<sup>102</sup> Eder 2007.

<sup>103</sup> Mylonas 1966, 63, fig. 16; Petrakis 2009; Note that the throne room area of Thebes has not been found yet and that the throne room of Knossos goes back to the earlier Minoan Palace period.

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Kilian 1987.

<sup>105</sup> Malcolm Wiener (2009, 703) also hints at this possibility of interpretation (cf. also the situation in the Argolid, see below n. 109).

<sup>106</sup> Boockmann 1985, 76–8.

<sup>107</sup> Stadelmann 1996, 228–29; Lexikon der Ägyptologie IV, Wiesbaden, 1982, 634–35; and personal information by Vera Müller, for which I am very grateful. Unfortunately, many Egyptian palaces are not yet excavated, such as those in eastern Thebes.

residence of the Ugaritic king.<sup>108</sup> Its position on the coast, away from the main palace in the larger city, is paralleled by the case of Tiryns and Mycenae.<sup>109</sup>

Although I propose the hypothesis that all Mycenaean palaces were used by one and the same Great King, I believe that this king held Mycenae in particular esteem, having used the site for special purposes. Mycenae can be assumed to be the burial site of the Ahhiyawan dynasty because of a whole series of huge tholos tombs, some dated to the Palace period, which is unique in all of Greece.<sup>110</sup> This would fit with James Wright's hypothesis that the Minoan motif of the Lion Gate relief "declares Mycenae's supreme control after the downfall of Knossos."<sup>111</sup> Such symbols selectively chosen for only this one residency, and also taking into account the Minoan style reliefs on the royal tholos tomb known as the "Treasury of Atreus" – would have marked the paramount seat of Ahhiyawan political power in the Argolid.

Seen against the backdrop of a single Mycenaean state in the Aegean, the collapse of a centralized branch of the economy, such as that of export-oriented pottery manufacture, would imply more than just a regional economic problem. Furthermore, the fact that no other region of Mycenaean Greece filled the pottery export gap in the Near East during the later 13th century B.C.E. offers yet another hint at a centralized economic and political system in Greece itself, and at the severe crisis that the system had entered.

One also has to keep in mind that some classes of the Argive pots such as alabastra, small stirrup jars and flasks were exported for their contents, presumably precious perfume and unguents,<sup>112</sup> while others may have contained wine, for instance the large piriform jars.<sup>113</sup> Those closed vessels have a large share in the assemblages in the Near East and amount to more than 90% at Tell el-Amarna<sup>114</sup> and more than 50% at Tell Kazel (fig. 2b). Therefore a decline of Argive pottery export would also mean a decline in the production of other luxury goods. Moreover, agricultural products such as raw olive oil, and other elaborated products that were shipped in Argive pottery vessels, were not necessarily produced in the Argolid. In this respect would be included the large-sized Minoan coarse ware stirrup jars FT 164, stored in large quantities at the Houses of the Wine (LH IIIA Late) and Oil Merchants (LH IIIB Middle) at Mycenae, containing wine and/or oil.<sup>115</sup> Joseph Maran argued convincingly for an interpretation of these large Minoan containers and their contents as Cretan agricultural tribute to the Argive and Boeotian palaces.<sup>116</sup> If there was only one Mycenaean *wanax*, the concentration of the Cretan stirrup jars at Thebes, Mycenae, Tiryns and Midea observed by Maran would be the result of a redistributive product exchange inside the Great Kingdom of Ahhiyawa. Part of that agricultural supply might have been used to produce the perfumed oils and unguents, as well as the wine filling the much finer Argive containers intended for the exchange partners on Cyprus and

<sup>108</sup> Bounni et al. 1998, 97–102.

<sup>109</sup> Architectural elements present at both Mycenae and Tiryns point at a relation of dependence between the two. These elements are contrasted by other, specific features that are exclusive to Mycenae, such as the Lion Gate, Procession Way with Grand Staircase, Cult Center etc. (Maran 2006, 79–85 [with further bibliography]). Thus, the palace of Mycenae might have been the main residence of the Argolid, while Tiryns "served as a second palace of the same king" and was "only occasionally visited" (Maran 2006, 84). Though accepting this interpretation, Ulrich Thaler sees Tiryns even as the more splendid palace of the two (Thaler 2012, 12–3).

<sup>110</sup> For the uniqueness of these tombs see Eder 2009, 15.

<sup>111</sup> Wright 2006, 59. Similarly, he interpreted the incorporation of Minoan architectural elements into the palace at Tiryns by the rulers at Mycenae as a "signal of Mycenae's hegemony over the Aegean after the destruction of Knossos in the 14th century B.C.E." (Wright 2006, 61, n. 75). For the adoption of pictorial motifs taken from the Minoan religious-palatial sphere see now Blakolmer 2011.

<sup>112</sup> Podzuweit 1994, 469; Podzuweit 2007, 170–71, 179–80, 182.

<sup>113</sup> There are no chemical analyses available to clarify this hypothesis. The only small stirrup jar (belonging to FT 167), for which an analytical result for its content is published, contained wine and olive oil, see E.B. French in Tzedakis and Martlew 1999, 196, cat. no. 180.

<sup>114</sup> Sherd count, according to Podzuweit 1994, 466.

<sup>115</sup> Haskell 2011a, 112–13.

<sup>116</sup> Maran 2005, 427–29.

in the Levant.<sup>117</sup> Therefore, the rapid decline of Mycenaean pottery exports towards the east, may have affected a larger part of the Mycenaean economic system, and not just in the Argolid.<sup>118</sup>

It is well-known that the people organizing the Mycenaean – i.e. to my mind: Ahhiyawan – trade are elusive due to the character of the available Linear B evidence. Nevertheless, John Killen formulated the hypothesis that the so-called collectors were high palace officials and members of the royal family and that one of their roles was to organize external trade – hence the name of ku-pi-ri-jo attested at Knossos and Pylos.<sup>119</sup>

### Use, value and social distribution

The final chapter of this paper deals with the recipients of the Mycenaean pottery in the Near East. However, I will not go into detail about the practical use of the different vessel types, as our possibilities to come to secure results here are very limited for various reasons, namely the absence of chemical analyses on vessel contents, differences in use between different regions and sites, as well as other contextual problems.



Fig. 8: Rolled-out scene from a pictorial mug from Ugarit, House of the Magician-Priest

Concerning vessel use, I would only like to draw attention to those vessels that we conventionally call “amphoroid kraters”, because among the Mycenaean export pottery these are the main carriers of pictorial scenes. Two figural scenes from different regions of the Levant support the conclusion that, in the Near East, the amphoroid krater was indeed a vessel for presentation (and perhaps mixing) of liquids, a vessel from which drinking bowls were filled. The first can be seen on a painted pottery mug (fig. 8) from the House of the Magician-Priest in the South Acropolis quarter of Ugarit. It was buried together with ritual objects under the debris of the destruction of the city at the end of LBA II.<sup>120</sup> A person with a bowl in hand is sitting in front of a table on top of which a larger vessel is standing. The vessel on the table is incompletely preserved and has recently been reconstructed with just one handle.<sup>121</sup> However, there is no reason to doubt Courtois’s opinion expressed in the original publication according to which, it can be interpreted as a two-handled (amphoroid) krater.<sup>122</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Haskell 2011a, 123; Haskell 2011b, 127–28.

<sup>118</sup> However, the delivery of wine/oil in Cretan stirrup jars did not come to an end, because different Argive sites yielded specimens of FT 164 in LH IIIB Final contexts (Maran 2005, 416–8, fig. 1.1; Demakopoulou 2009).

<sup>119</sup> Killen 1995, 220–21.

<sup>120</sup> Courtois 1969, 111–12, fig. 13; Yon 2006, 99–101; 146–47, cat. no. 35; Monchambert 2012, 162–63, fig. 2.

<sup>121</sup> Yon 2006, 157, cat. no. 35.

<sup>122</sup> Courtois 1969, 112.

Another scene is depicted on an ivory plaque and comes from the southern Levant, from the palace of Megiddo, stratum VIIA. It was found in an annex of the palace together with other ivories, of which one is inscribed with the cartouche of Pharaoh Ramesses III.<sup>123</sup> The ivory plaque, which according to Marian Feldman,<sup>124</sup> belongs to a class of local art, shows a banquet scene with an amphoroid krater on a stand in the center and sitting persons holding bowls in their hands.<sup>125</sup>

We have seen that the Mycenaean amphoroid kraters FT 54/55 were among the most popular imported vessels along the Levantine coasts and on Cyprus, and that they were specifically produced for the consumers in those regions. Seen in this light, the two figural representations from Ugarit and Megiddo suggest that the pictorial motifs on the Mycenaean amphoroid kraters were to be seen during banquets by the social groups using Mycenaean pottery.

Without a doubt, Mycenaean painted pottery of Argive production was superior to nearly all Levantine pottery classes. This is not only due to its greater aesthetic value, with its perfectly smooth surface, porcelain-like sound, shiny and fine painted decoration; all characteristics which determine its specific use-value in comparison with the use-value of Near Eastern pottery, the latter having a rather irregular and usually undecorated surface, dull paint and simple decoration rarely executed with pictorial motifs.<sup>126</sup> One must also consider that the particular qualities of Mycenaean pottery were attained through a greater input of labor time than their Near Eastern counterparts. The clay had to be highly levigated for a start, and even finer levigation was necessary to produce the fine slips and the paints used for decoration. Finally, a controlled multi-phased firing process was needed to create the differentiated color properties of slipped vessel surfaces and decorative painted elements. The exchange value of Mycenaean ceramics would thus have been much higher than that of Levantine pottery.<sup>127</sup>

However, there are limits to such a concept. Late Bronze Age societies cannot be characterized as developed commodity producing societies. Thus, the exact exchange value (determined by the socially necessary labor time according to Karl Marx) of a Mycenaean pot in relation to, say a bronze vessel, cannot be determined, either in Mycenaean Greece or in any of the regions importing it. The distinctions of “added value commodities” like pottery, “preciosity value” and “prime value commodities” proposed by Sherratt<sup>128</sup> are misleading, because even raw metal subsumed under so-called “prime value” commodities or lapis lazuli quoted as an example for “preciosity value” owe their value to the human labor spent to produce them. It seems that value and price get confounded in the definitions of those terms. Furthermore, the price of any particular commodity in Mycenaean Greece as compared to any Near Eastern kingdom can neither be established.<sup>129</sup> Additionally, the use-value of an imported object was certainly different from its use-value in its country of origin. We therefore have to recur to the social distribution patterns of Mycenaean pottery, common practice to indirectly ascertain the relative value of goods within a given society, as opposed to ascertaining the exact exchange value of pottery as a commodity.

In recent publications, it has often been argued that Mycenaean pottery was used by so-called sub-elites and not by the rulers of the Near Eastern states or the ruling classes.<sup>130</sup> With regards to pictorial pottery, this view is at times extended to include the Aegean, the region of

<sup>123</sup> On this context and its interpretation see most recently Feldman 2009. She gives good stratigraphical arguments for seeing the ivory collection as a deliberate deposition made in the annex, a ritual which was ended by an animal sacrifice, as a skeleton found on top of the ivories attests (Feldman 2009, 188–90).

<sup>124</sup> Feldman 2009, 180–81.

<sup>125</sup> Decamps de Mertzfeld 1954, 88–9, pl. 36, no. 343.

<sup>126</sup> For the local pottery of Ugarit see Monchambert 1983; Monchambert 2012, 160.

<sup>127</sup> For the definitions of use and exchange value see Marx 1988, 49–98. The differences in the production processes between unpainted medium-coarse Near Eastern and painted fine Mycenaean pottery are underestimated by Sherratt 1999, 174.

<sup>128</sup> Sherratt 1994, 62–3; Sherratt 1999, 175–80.

<sup>129</sup> For the concept of price see Marx 1988, 116–17.

<sup>130</sup> Sherratt 1999, 184–92; Mühlénbruch 2009, 113–14; Stockhammer 2012, 91–100.



its own production. Louise Steel stated that in the Aegean the pictorial pottery “is only found in the centres of Mycenaean hegemony, within the limits of the fortified acropolis but it is never actually found within the palace itself,”<sup>131</sup> and lists the citadels of Mycenae, Tiryns and Athens as examples.<sup>132</sup> In the Near East she found similar distribution patterns and concluded that the pictorial pots “were not destined for use within the palace by royalty.”<sup>133</sup> However, Steel’s conclusions are based on problematic assumptions,<sup>134</sup> affected either by the history of research or context preservation.

No serious statement can of course be made about a hypothetical Mycenaean palace on the Athenian Acropolis, as all Mycenaean buildings inside the Cyclopean fortification fell victim to archaic and classical building programs.<sup>135</sup> The palace of Mycenae was excavated by Christos Tsountas in the late 19th century. He did not publish any vessels or sherds from that building, although he reported to have found large quantities of pottery there.<sup>136</sup> Finally and fortunately, there is relevant data available from the palace of Tiryns, which clearly contests Steel’s hypothesis. Heinrich Schliemann, the excavator of the Tiryns palace, had a special interest in pottery and illustrated a number of sherds found in the palace. Among them are several pictorial fragments. More fragments were found in two dumps in the area of the Western Staircase and the so-called Epichosis outside the western citadel wall. Some sherds from the Epichosis area even belong to the famous Krater of the Shield Bearers found by Schliemann inside the palace.<sup>137</sup> The two dumps contain destruction debris dated to LH IIIB Final by Eleftheria Kardamaki, who has studied the pottery of the recent Western Staircase excavations.<sup>138</sup> Fresco fragments were found in the same contexts and confirm that this material was dumped from the palace complex itself after its destruction by fire.<sup>139</sup>

For Cyprus, Priscilla Keswani observed that Mycenaean pictorial pottery belongs to the higher order of prestige goods, which also includes richly worked and heavy gold jewelry, bronze vessels and weapons.<sup>140</sup> The stress is on *pictorial*, as “Mycenaean containers and cups or bowls were present in almost all tombs of LC II date, but pictorial craters occurred mainly in tombs that were rich in gold jewellery and other valuables.”<sup>141</sup> This statement was made for the necropolis of Enkomi, the only one for which we have “a relatively comprehensive picture of variability in tomb assemblages,”<sup>142</sup> but she was able to make similar observations among other Cypriot cemeteries. For instance, the richest tombs at Kition, Kalavassos-Ayios Dhimitrios and Kourion-Bamboula also include Mycenaean pictorial pottery.<sup>143</sup>

At Enkomi the richest tombs belong to different architectonic types, but none stands out to such a degree that would qualify it as “royal”. Rich tombs are scattered within the settlement, and interpreted by Keswani in terms of competition between powerful groups in the city.<sup>144</sup> Thus, the burial contexts with high ranking prestige goods, mentioned above, represent the highest known social class, the members of which used Mycenaean pictorial pottery both in life

<sup>131</sup> Steel 2000, 1561.

<sup>132</sup> Steel 1999, 805.

<sup>133</sup> Steel 2000, 1559.

<sup>134</sup> They were repeated by Sauvage in: Feldman and Sauvage 2010, 101–4; but for a critique of Steel’s interpretation see Jung 2006a, 174–75.

<sup>135</sup> Iakovidis 2006.

<sup>136</sup> Jung 2006a, 174 n. 110 with bibliography.

<sup>137</sup> Jung 2006a, 174–75.

<sup>138</sup> Kardamaki forthcoming.

<sup>139</sup> DAI Jahresbericht 2009, Beih. AA 2010/1, 115–17.

<sup>140</sup> Keswani 2004, 142; cf. also van Wijngaarden 2012, 67, tab. 7.3 (on reconstructed hierarchies of “exotics”).

<sup>141</sup> Keswani 2004, 126.

<sup>142</sup> Keswani 2004, 124.

<sup>143</sup> Keswani 2004, 129, 131–33, 241–45, tab. 5.11.

<sup>144</sup> Keswani 2004, 127. However, even at Ugarit, the architecture of the royal tombs inside the palace complex is not superior to that of the tombs in the surrounding town (Marchegay 2008, 82).

and as funerary display.<sup>145</sup> Despite some critique of Keswani's analysis,<sup>146</sup> it remains valid and proves the connection between Mycenaean pictorial pottery and those who were able to appropriate the economic surplus produced within the society of Enkomi.

What of the situation in the palaces of the Levant? In a recent paper, Bruce Routledge and Kevin McGeough stressed the fact that the number of published Mycenaean pottery finds from the Royal Palace of Ugarit has increased dramatically since the publication of van Wijngaarden's comprehensive monograph. With the publication of the Ugarit finds housed in the Louvre, the Mycenaean sherds and vessels from the Royal Palace have risen from five<sup>147</sup> to 123,<sup>148</sup> (i.e. from less than 1% of the whole corpus cataloged by van Wijngaarden to nearly 13% of the new total). A few years ago, further pieces stored in Damascus were added to the first preliminary publications of a joint Syrian-French project studying the whole inventory of the Royal Palace.<sup>149</sup>

In other cases, the apparent scarcity of Mycenaean pottery in rulers' dwellings is due to the specific abandonment situation of the building. At Ras Ibn Hani, in the North Palace that belonged to a queen of Ugarit, only very few Mycenaean pots were excavated.<sup>150</sup> However, the building had been emptied of furniture and even of objects of every-day use before it was deliberately set on fire, as a recent detailed study of finds and architecture by Élisabeth Puytison-Lagarce and Jacques Lagarce demonstrates.<sup>151</sup> This find situation is in marked contrast to the destruction assemblage of the Royal Palace at Ugarit itself, which can be interpreted in terms of partial plundering.<sup>152</sup>

A final example takes us further inland, to the kingdom of Qatna. The Royal Tomb, accessible through a long corridor from the palace, was free of Mycenaean and Cypriot imported pottery.<sup>153</sup> It seems that such pots were neither chosen as grave goods nor as recipients for funerary rituals and banquets.<sup>154</sup> However, this does not mean that the rulers of the kingdom of Qatna did not use Mycenaean ceramics,<sup>155</sup> just the opposite, as two wholly preserved Mycenaean vessels dating to LH IIIA Late were found in Room L<sup>156</sup> of the palace.<sup>157</sup> Only very few additional

<sup>145</sup> Keswani detected use wear at various parts of Mycenaean pots, pictorial and non-pictorial, in the Cypriot tombs (Keswani 2004, 127, 138, 142).

<sup>146</sup> Some of van Wijngaarden's arguments against the association of pictorial pottery and other luxury goods, such as gold jewelry, do not apply to the cases quoted by him (van Wijngaarden 2002, 154–55). It may be that pictorial pottery is lacking in the main chamber of "Swedish Tomb" 18, which is richer in jewelry than the side chamber, where pictorial pots were found (for this tomb cf. above, n. 17). However, the burials in the main chamber post-date those of the side chamber and fall into the time period between LH IIIB Developed and LH IIIC Early (Jung 2009a, 75–7), when the importation of Mycenaean pottery had virtually come to an end.

<sup>147</sup> Of 554 cataloged by van Wijngaarden (van Wijngaarden 2002, 42, tab. 5.1; Routledge and McGeough 2009, 26).

<sup>148</sup> Of 968 (new total from Ugarit), see Hirschfeld 2000, 68; Routledge and McGeough 2009, 26.

<sup>149</sup> One rhyton, one east Aegean amphoroid krater with pictorial decoration, one flask with pictorial decoration, three nearly complete small stirrup jars and some more fragments of further vessels (Al-Maqdissi and Matořan 2008, 143–49, figs. 19–23).

<sup>150</sup> Bounni et al. 1998, 80–1, 175–76, figs. 156–57, 177, fig. 158, nos. 1–3. Van Wijngaarden (2002, 112–13) contrasted the rarity of Mycenaean pottery of the North Palace of Ibn Hani with the finds of Mycenaean pottery at the Centre Ville quarter of Ugarit.

<sup>151</sup> Bounni et al. 1998, 85–7; Puytison-Lagarce and Lagarce 2006.

<sup>152</sup> Puytison-Lagarce and Lagarce 2006, 248; Matořan 2008b, 18, 38.

<sup>153</sup> The ceramics in the tomb complex predominantly consisted of unpainted local pottery categories, while some imports representing less than 6% of the pottery assemblage originate from the Levantine coastal area and northern Syria (Paoletti 2011).

<sup>154</sup> However, there are clear indications of periodic clearances of earlier depositions inside the chamber complex (Přälzner 2011b, 41–5). Thus, it cannot be excluded that Mycenaean pottery was part of the assemblage in the tomb at some point in time preceding the last sealing of the tomb. At Ugarit the tombs inside the Royal Palace were plundered, but Mycenaean pottery was part of the royal grave gifts (Marchegay 2008).

<sup>155</sup> Contrary to Stockhammer 2012, 91–2.

<sup>156</sup> du Mesnil du Buisson 1928, 21 pls. 17,3; 18,cér. 109 and 110. Room L on the new plan (Přälzner 2009, 166, fig.) equals the "Salle de la Pierre Noire" on the plan of the old excavations (cf. Al-Maqdissi and Přälzner 2009, 104, fig.)

<sup>157</sup> Together with local and imported pottery from Cyprus.

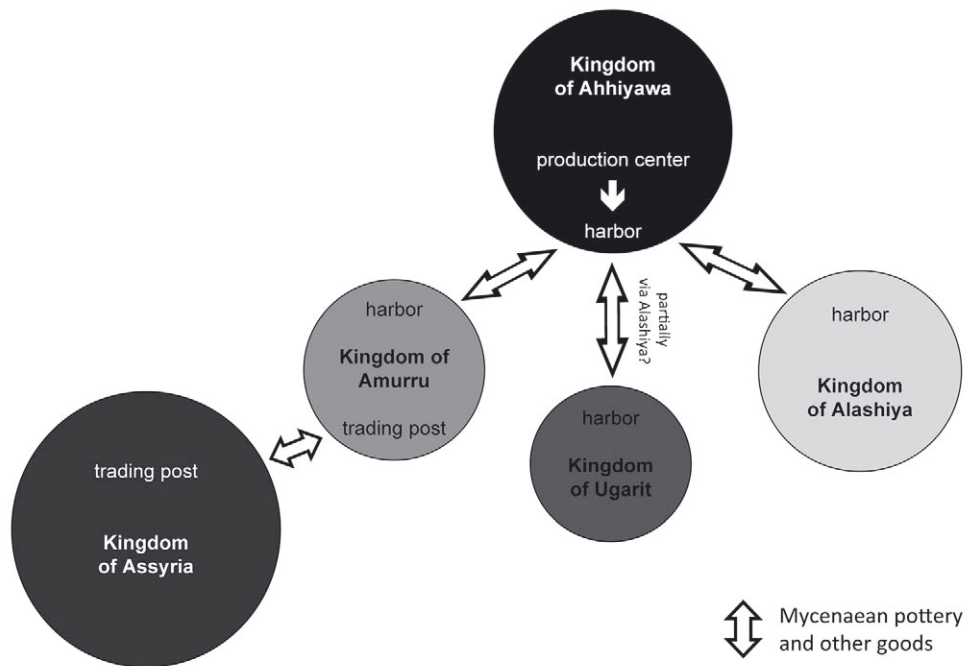


Fig. 9: Schematic rendering of Ahhiyawan trade relations with East Mediterranean and oriental kingdoms during the Mycenaean Palace period

Mycenaean imported vessels have since been found in various localities of the site of Qatna by the Syrian, Italian and German teams. The specific location in which the two vessels were found in the palace, a side-room of the throne room complex, suggests that they were used on official occasions by high ranking officials of the state and perhaps by the king himself.

The case of Cyprus has shown that Mycenaean pictorial pottery might have had a higher representative use-value than the non-pictorial. Interestingly, Caroline Sauvage detected a contextual relation between Mycenaean kraters with chariot representations, objects related to chariots and horses, and occasionally horse bones in the Ugaritan houses and tombs. These findings support the older hypothesis that the socially powerful and royally privileged Marianne charioteers had a predilection for Aegean chariot motifs.<sup>158</sup>

As a result of the above discussion one can state that Mycenaean pottery formed part of the dinnerware and, with regards to the original contents of closed vessels, part of the perfumed oil and wine supply of Near Eastern royal palaces and members of the ruling classes. It must be noted however, that Mycenaean pots were also found in contexts for which no connection to the politically powerful groups can be deduced from the archaeological record.<sup>159</sup> It has become clear that the use of those painted pots produced by the palace-controlled pottery manufactures in the kingdom of Ahhiyawa was not confined to “sub-elite” people in Cyprus and the Near East.<sup>160</sup> However, the ways by which the Mycenaean ceramics were distributed inside the differ-

<sup>158</sup> Feldman and Sauvage 2010, 104–10, 165–66; for the hypothetical link of Mycenaean chariot kraters to Marianne see also Steel 1999, 807–8; Jung 2006a, 175. At Tell Kazel an almost complete amphoroid chariot krater FT 54/55 of Argive production (LH IIIB Early–Middle) was found in Room 6 II K, part of a building of high architectural quality (Capet 2003, 73, 77, fig. 12a; Jung 2006a, 161–63, 214, cat. no. 16; Badre et al. 2005, 19, 38, sample no. TK 21). On the street passing by this room to the north two alabaster yoke bosses were found (Capet 2003, 67–8, fig. 5c). Although a direct stratigraphical link cannot be established, these findings recall the Ugaritan record.

<sup>159</sup> For the last point see van Wijngaarden 2012, 64–6, tab. 7.1.

<sup>160</sup> The cases discussed here further support the conclusion regarding Ugarit by Routledge and McGeough 2009, 26.

ent Cypriot and Near Eastern societies remain obscure. One may imagine, on the one hand, importation by kings along with more precious luxury goods and the subsequent partial distribution to members of the ruling class and eventually down the line of the social hierarchy,<sup>161</sup> and on the other, a direct importation and selling of those goods by merchants either working for the kings, or in close interaction with them and thus, nonetheless controlled by them.<sup>162</sup>

In concluding this paper I present a very simplified graph of the trade relationships I have explored (fig. 9). All in all, I agree with Eric Cline that the archaeological record in Greece and the Near East supports the view that during the 14th and 13th centuries B.C.E. Mycenaean Greece, i.e. the kingdom of Aḥḥiyawa, was “an integral if geographically distant part” of that Oriental political system formed by greater and lesser kings.<sup>163</sup>

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*PD Dr. Reinhard Jung*  
*OREA Department Europe*  
*Institute of Oriental and European Archaeology*  
*Austrian Academy of Sciences*  
*Fleischmarkt 20-22*  
*A-1010 Wien*  
*AUSTRIA*  
*Reinhard.Jung@oeaw.ac.at*

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<sup>161</sup> Cf. Panagiotopoulos 2012, 55–6. This first interpretation may be applicable to the distribution of Mycenaean pottery at Tell el-Amarna, where the majority was found near a royal palace, but a few pieces were recovered from different houses of the settlement (Hassler 2008).

<sup>162</sup> Cf. Routledge and McGeough 2009, 27–9.

<sup>163</sup> Cline 2007, 199.

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### List of illustrations

Fig. 1: Provenance of Mycenaean-type pottery from Egypt and the Levant according to NAA results. Analyzed sherds from 14 sites in northern Palestine  $n = 183$ ; from Tell Kazel  $n = 48$ ; from Tell el-Amarna  $n = 23$ ; from Qantir  $n = 101$ .

Fig. 2: Shape statistics of imported painted Mycenaean pottery at Tell Kazel (LH IIIA Late–IIIB);  $n = 176$ . *2a* relative quantities according to rim count; *2b* relative quantities according to rim equivalents.

Fig. 3: Type statistics of open vessels of imported painted Mycenaean pottery at Tell Kazel ( $n = 121$ ) and Tsoungiza ( $n = 369$ ) according to rim count (Tsoungiza according to Thomas 1992, 526, tab. 2.8 [without FT 126]).

Fig. 4: Type statistics of open vessels of imported painted Mycenaean pottery: frequency of open vessel types from Tell Kazel (LH IIIA Late–IIIB) and Enkomi level IIB (LH IIIB Developed – LH IIIC Early 1) according to rim count. Rims at Tell Kazel  $n = 121$ ; at Enkomi level IIB  $n = 28$ .

Fig. 5: Distribution of amphoroid kraters of Argive type and style found in the Aegean

● – one fragment/vessel; ◆ – two to four fragments/vessels; ▲ – more than 325 fragments/vessels

1. Aegina-Kolonna, settlement: Hiller 2006, 73, cat. no. A1, 79, pl. 1, no. A1 (one piece<sup>164</sup>).
2. Berbati, Potter's Quarter: Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 210, cat. no. VIII.1–3; Åkerström 1987, 26–9, 117, pl. 1–13 (more than 325 fragments).
3. Corinth, Agora, pit: Weinberg 1949, 156–57, pl. 23–4; Slenczka 1974, 127, cat. no. 4, pl. 44, no. 1 (one piece).
4. Ialysos, Makra Vounara, chamber tomb 60: Jones and Mee 1978, 463, no. 28, 466, tab. 2 (no. 28); Benzi 1992, 360–61, cat. no. 2, pl. 93a–b; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 227, cat. no. XII.3 (one piece, an Argive import according to OES).
5. Miletus, area of Athena temple, (partly period IIB): Schiering 1979, 78, 103, pl. 22.4 (left); Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 228, cat. no. XIII.2; Voigtländer 1986, 34, fig. 10.C.D; Güntner 2000, 175, cat. nos. 27 and 28.
6. Mycenae, citadel (Citadel House Area and Southwest Quarter) and Prehistoric Cemetery: Mylonas 1975, 107, pl. 124β; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 210, cat. no. VIII.5, 211, cat. no. IX.2, 224, cat. no. XI.77.2<sup>165</sup>; Crouwel 1991, 7, 13–4, fig. 1.A1 and CD-ROM, 103–4, cat. no. A1; Sakellarakis 1992, 25–6, cat. no. 11, 29 cat. no. 16, 121, no. 11, 122, no. 16 (four pieces).
7. Nafplio, Palamidhi/Evanyelistria, chamber tombs: Deilaki 1977, 91, pl. 90στ; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 210–1, cat. no. VIII.4 and IX.1.1; Åkerström 1987, 118–9, fig. 82; N. Divari-Valakou in: Demakopoulou 1988, 239, cat. no. 242; Sakellarakis 1992, 20–1, cat. no. 2, 120, no. 2 (three pieces).
8. Pylona, chamber tomb 3: Karantzali 2001, 35–7, cat. no. 16521 and 16651, 162, fig. 30.16521 and 16651, pl. 26a–c; Ponting and Karantzali 2001, 108, no. 16521 and 16651 (two pieces, both Argive imports according to ICP-AES – no. 16521 is shown in the present figure).
9. Siana, find context unknown: CVA Copenhagen 2, 36, pl.49, no. 1; Mountjoy 1999, 1014, fig. 413.79 (one piece)<sup>166</sup>.
10. Troy VI Late: Blegen et al. 1953, 340, pl. 412, nos. 6, 6a and 16; Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, 229, cat. nos. XIII.19–XIII.21; Güntner 2000, 175, cat. no. 26 (three fragments, according to Blegen et al. probably from one and the same vessel).
11. Tiryns, West Wall Deposit (“Epichosis”): Slenczka 1974, 40, cat. no. 81, pl. 6.2c (one piece<sup>167</sup>).

Fig. 6: Electrum silver rhyton from the South Acropolis of Ugarit (photo R. Jung; object originally published by Schaeffer 1966, 131–2, figs. 8–10).

<sup>164</sup> Another fragment of a pictorial amphoroid krater from Kolonna could also be an Argive product, but this is no certain stylistic attribution (Hiller 2006, 76, cat. no. E2, 80, pl. 2, no. E2, 81, pl. 3, no. E2).

<sup>165</sup> Although published as an amphora, it is clearly an amphoroid krater having a broad neck (Mylonas 1975: “εὐρύστομον”) and showing the rest of a characteristic handle loop that starts from the neck and is visible at the left end of the fragment (Mylonas 1975, pl. 124β).

<sup>166</sup> The comparatively short neck finds its parallel with a krater from Pylona, also decorated with octopus and identified as a Greek mainland/Argive import by ICP-AES (Karantzali 2001, 36, cat. no. 16521, 162, fig. 30.16521, pl. 26a–b; Ponting and Karantzali 2001, 108, no. 16521). Therefore, the Siana krater can be also regarded as an Argive product.

<sup>167</sup> Sherds of another vessel also assigned to an amphoroid krater by Eberhard Slenczka (Slenczka 1974, 51, cat. no. 109, fig. 14, pl. 23.2c–d) are better interpreted as shoulder fragments of a large closed vessel, for the banding high up on the shoulder conforms to the decoration system of e.g. piriform jars FT 35–36 (cf. Vermeule and Karageorghis 1982, cat. no. V.69; Sakellarakis 1992, 57, cat. no. 83, 128, no. 83; Mountjoy 1999, 993–94, fig. 402, no. 17).

Fig. 7: Mycenaean and Syrian vessel shapes at Tell Kazel: fragments of a shallow strap-handled bowl FT 295/296 (no. 4601.104+5446.132, 6078.1+6090.4) and an unpainted ring-based plate (no. TK 06.63).

Fig. 8: Rolled-out scene from a pictorial mug from Ugarit, House of the Magician-Priest. Restored drawing by C. Florimont (Yon 2006, 146, cat. no. 35) with addition by R. Jung. Not to scale.

Fig. 9: Schematic rendering of Aḥḥiyawan trade relations with East Mediterranean and oriental kingdoms during the Mycenaean Palace period.