KOSMOS

JEWELLERY, ADORNMENT AND TEXTILES IN THE AEGEAN BRONZE AGE

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RAW MATERIAL, EXOTIC JEWELLERY OR MAGIC OBJECTS? THE USE OF IMPORTED NEAR EASTERN SEALS IN THE AEGEAN

Cylinder seals were used throughout Mesopotamia, by individuals and also by various institutions, as a means of identification and a mark of ownership. But they were more than simply a form of signature. As Aruz wrote: "...seals were vital artistic and social documents with significance beyond the processes of trade, gift exchange and tribute that may have taken them on their travels for they were signals of prestige and status, to be displayed as jewelry and one may also suggest, worn as amulets in order to absorb the protective powers inherent in their materials, forms, and imagery." Nevertheless, cylinder seals were not used as such in the Aegean: there are almost no sealings produced by them² and, as a matter of fact, a few cylinders from Crete have even been used in the technique of stamp seals. So why did people in the Aegean acquire them in the first place and what did they use them for? If they did not have a practical use for them, then we have to assume that they used them as status symbols, jewellery or amulets, but also as raw material for the production of other prestige objects.

Cylinder seals have never become very popular in the Aegean. So far only 183 cylinders are known to have been found in various Early to Late Bronze Age contexts, scattered in the wider area of the Aegean (Pl. LXXXIIa). Not all of those cylinders were imports, at least 71 of them have probably been produced locally. So, what do all those confusing dots on the map tell us? If we take under consideration the quantity of cylinder seals in every find place, then we get a clearer picture (Pl. LXXXIIb). Let's ignore for a moment the isolated finds and focus on the places with a high concentration of cylinders. It is evident that most of the cylinder seals were found in close vicinity of palatial centers. On Crete the most significant concentration of finds is located near Knossos and Phaistos, although there is a noteworthy amount of finds in the eastern part of the island and also in the Rhethymnon region. On the mainland, cylinder seals were mainly found near Mycenae and Thebes.

The cylinders that were found within Early Bronze Age contexts in the Aegean are so few that no certain conclusions can me made (Pl. LXXXIIIa). Seven out of nine so far known cylinders were found on Crete and most of them were locally manufactured, so it seems that this island played some role to their distribution in the Aegean. This becomes more obvious in the case of the cylinders that were found within Middle Bronze Age contexts (Pl. LXXXIIIb). The majority of the imported and the locally produced cylinders is again to be found on Crete, especially in the regions of Knossos and Phaistos. No cylinders are known so far from the Mainland. This situation changes in the case of the cylinders that were found within Late Bronze Age contexts (Pl. LXXXIVa). On Crete cylinder seals are concentrated mainly in the region of Knossos, and less in the area of Rhethymnon and the eastern part of the island. But most of the cylinders are now to be found on the mainland, mainly concentrated in the vicinity of Mycenae and Thebes.

A very important and also unique find, that deserves a more detailed discussion, is the hoard of 42 cylinder seals from Thebes. According to their excavators, N. Platon and E. Stasinopoulou-Touloupa, they were originally kept in wooden boxes in the first floor of the

J. ARUZ, "Unravelling the mysteries of the well-travelled seal," in *EMPORIA*, 756.

With only few exceptions in **Cyprus** (J.S. SMITH, "International Style in Mediterranean Late Bronze Age Seals," in N. STAMPOLIDES and V. KARAGEORGHIS [eds], ΠΛΟΕΣ...Sea Routes...Interconnections in the Mediterranean 16th-6th c. B.C. Proceedings of the International Symposium held at Rethymnon, Crete, September 29th - October 2nd 2002 [2003] 297) and **Crete** (I. PINI, "Seals as an indicator of trade?" in EMPORIA, 778f. and n. 777f.).

³ K. DAVARAS and J. SOLES, "A New Oriental Cylinder Seal from Mochlos. Appendix: Catalogue of the Cylinder Seals Found in the Aegean," *AEphem* 134 (1995) 33 n. 20. See also DAVARAS and SOLES (*op. cit.*) cat no. 31 (sealing from Hagia Triada) and cat no. 39 f. (sealings from Knossos).

palatial complex called 'New Kadmeion.'4 This room was originally decorated with elaborate frescoes and probably served as a storage or representation room, not as a workshop. Its excavators called it characteristically "Treasury Room." Unfortunately, the finds from this room still remain unpublished, with the exception of the imported Near Eastern seals, which were published in detail by Edith Porada.⁵ Out of a total of 42 cylinders there are 35 engraved cylinder seals of lapis lazuli. The rest of the engraved cylinders was produced from other materials (faience, bluish stone, agate and conglomerate). But what is less known is that to this hoard belong also nine non-engraved cylinder seals, several cylinder seals so fully abraded that no trace of the original design remains, as well as various ivory objects, and numerous beads of lapis lazuli, agate and glass. A second hoard found nearby in the same room consisted of various jewels and numerous lapis lazuli and gold beads.⁶ We know that several jewellers' workshops were housed in the same palatial complex⁷ and apparently in one of these workshops (Oedipus 14 Street), lapis lazuli was used as raw material, as evident in the numerous scraps, the unfinished and also finished lapis lazuli jewellery found in it.8 So, although the hoard of cylinder seals was not discovered in a workshop, it is evident that the non-engraved and the abraded lapis lazuli cylinder seals, along with other small objects made of semi-precious stones, were imported to be used as raw material for the manufacture of jewellery and other prestige

But why were the engraved oriental cylinder seals brought to Thebes and to the other Aegean palatial centres? Were they also intended to be used as raw material? Out of all cylinders from Late Bronze Age contexts in the Aegean, 51 in total were discovered in graves (Pl. LXXXIVb and LXXXVa). So we can be certain, that at least these cylinder seals, all of which were decorated, did not accompany the Dead in their last resting place because of their value as raw material, but because they were valued as exotic jewellery and probably also amulets. Most of these finds were discovered in sites which are located near the above mentioned palatial centers, where cylinder seals have been found (Pl. LXXXVb). In most of the undisturbed graves the number and quality of the included offerings show that the Deceased used to be members of the upper class. Since most these graves are located near palatial centers, it seems plausible to assume that their owners did not acquire them on their own but rather received them as a gift or reward from the palace. 10 This seems even more probable in the case of the seals of Aegean manufacture, but also of the imported Near Eastern cylinders that were re-cut in Aegean workshops. As Voutsaki noted "(there is) virtually no evidence for the processing of valuable raw materials such as ivory or faience outside palatial sites. Therefore we can be reasonably confident that

E. PORADA, "The Cylinder Seals Found at Thebes in Boeotia," AfO 28 (1981-1982) 4-6.

⁵ PORADA (supra n. 4); K. KOPANIAS, "The Late Bronze Age Near Eastern Cylinder Seals from Thebes (Greece) and their Historical Implications," AM 123 (2008) 39-96.

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For a complete list of the finds in both hoards: KOPANIAS (*supra* n. 5) 45 Table 42.

K. DEMAKOPOULOU, "Palatial and Domestic Architecture in Mycenean Thebes," *BCH* Suppl. 19 (1990) 307-317; S. VOUTSAKI, "Economic control, power and prestige in the Mycenean world: the archaeological evidence," in S. VOUTSAKI and J. KILLEN (eds), Economy and Politics in the Mycenean Palace States (2001) 196; O. KRZYSZKOWSKA, Aegean Seals. An Introduction (2005) 239; E. ANDRIKÓU, V. ARAVANTINOS, L. GODART, A. SACCONI and J. VROOM, Thèbes. Fouilles de la Cadmée, II.2. Les tablettes en linéaire B de la Odos Pelopidou: le contexte archéologique. La céramique de la Odos Pelopidou et la chronologie du linéaire B (Biblioteca di "Pasiphae" 2, 2006) 56-59; KOPANIAS (supra n. 5) 55.

S. SYMEONOGLOU, Kadmeia I. Mycenean Finds from Thebes, Greece. Excavation at 14 Oedipus St. (1973) pl.

W. HELCK, Die Beziehungen Ägyptens und Vorderasiens zur Ägäis bis ins 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. (1995) 125f.; PORADA (supra n. 4) 6f.; C. LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON, Hellenorientalia: The Near Eastern Presence in the Bronze Age Aegean, C. 3000–1100 B.C. (1990) 78f.; E.H. CLINE, "The Multivalent nature of Imported Objects in the Ancient Mediterranean World," in EMPORIA, 47f.: "While some imported objects gain in prestige and status as a result of their new-found uniqueness in their new country, other imported objects, like some unfortunate immigrants, are assigned a lower status than they had back in their homeland ... for example, the cylinder seal bearing the name of Burna-Buriash, king of Babylon, is now no longer a prestigious royal item but is merely fodder to be used as the Mycenean jeweler saw fit." contra ARUZ (supra n. 1) 755. See also J. ARUZ, "Imagery and Interconnections," in M. BIETAK (ed.), Trade, Power and Cultural Exchange: Hyksos Egypt and the Eastern Mediterranean World 1800-1500 BC. An International Symposium, Wien, November 3, 1993, Agypten und Levante 5 (1995) 33-48.

E.g. in the case of Thebes: E.H. CLINE, Sailing the Wine-Dark Sea: International Trade and the Late Bronze Age Aegean (1994) 151 no. 163 (Tanagra), p. 151 no. 162 (Pharos/Dexameni), p. 152-3 no. 172-3 (Chalkis).

these highly coveted materials were worked under palatial scrutiny."¹¹ The find pattern of the cylinder seals in graves around Thebes and Mycenae indicates that these two palatial centers were responsible for the manufacture, import, the eventual re-cutting and finally the distribution of cylinder seals. Both the production and internal circulation of prestige items were controlled by the palatial administration, and this applies also in the case of the cylinder seals.¹²

We should also examine what kind of cylinder seals were included in Aegean burials (Pl. LXXXVIa). So far, no Kassite and almost no Mesopotamian cylinders were found in Aegean graves. On the contrary, most Mitanni, Syrian, Cypro-Aegean and Aegean cylinder seals were in fact discovered in graves. This cannot be a coincidence. The Kassite and other classes of Mesopotamian cylinder seals were more difficult to acquire in the Aegean, than the Mitannian and Syrian ones. So they were probably considered to be of greater value and were kept in the palace. The Syrian and especially the Mitannian seals, which were much easier to obtain, were given away as gifts or as a reward to members of the upper class, whenever this was deemed necessary.

But why were those cylinder seals chosen to accompany their deceased owners in their graves? Was it because they were considered to be simple jewellery or because of their amuletic character and the hope that they could somehow protect the deceased in the Underworld? The cylinder seals definitely functioned also as amulets in the Near East, as shown by the depicted deities and the numerous sacred symbols, that also served as filling ornaments and the short prayers on some seals. As Collon wrote: "the magical and protective properties of cylinder seals, or of the stones from which they were made, were also enlisted in rituals against miscarriage, black magic, slander and the demon of sickness, and they were used in rituals for childbirth, or to cure diseases of the mouth and rheumatism." ¹³ But the artistic language of the imported Near Eastern seals was, in most cases, probably not understood in the Aegean: the depicted Near Eastern deities were foreign, the symbols and the prayers unintelligible to the new owners of the seals. Despite this fact, most of the imported Near Eastern cylinder seals in the Aegean were not re-decorated with designs more familiar to their new owners or with their own protective deities and relatively seldom the Aegean seal-cutters tried to modify the original design by adding new figures and filling ornaments or even script signs. The imported cylinders were sometimes refitted in Aegean palace workshops as jewellery, such as the cylinders that were worn as part of necklaces or of bracelets, which were found in Mycenaean warriors' graves, ¹⁴ or the oriental lapis lazuli seal, which was brought to Knossos to be refitted with granulated gold mounts without changing the initial design. ¹⁵ So it seems that the imported cylinders were used by their Aegean owners as jewels with amuletic powers.¹⁶

Should we maybe assume, that the imported Near Eastern seals in the Aegean were considered to possess magical powers not (only) because of their decoration, but because of their material? The following two charts present a classification of the material of the cylinders that were found in Early to Late Bronze Age contexts in the Aegean (Pl. LXXXVIb and LXXXVIIa). The great variety of materials of the cylinders found in Middle to Late Bronze Age contexts shows that there was no particular preference for a particular stone, although there are relatively more faience, lapis lazuli and haematite cylinders. The fact that the greatest variety of material was used for the production of Aegean and Cypriot cylinders shows that the artists were not too picky, but had to use what they had at their disposal. The distribution

¹¹ VOUTSAKI (supra n. 7) 197.

¹² VOUTSAKI (*supra* n. 7) 205.

D. COLLON, First impressions: Cylinder Seals in the Ancient Near East (1987) 119. s. also B. GOFF, "The role of amulets in Mesopotamian ritual texts," JWCI 19 (1956) 23 ff.

¹⁴ For examples see ARUZ (supra n. 1) 753-755.

J. ARUZ, "Syrian Seals and the Evidence for Cultural Interaction between the Levant and Crete," in I. PINI and J.-C. POURSAT (eds), Sceaux minoens et mycéniens. IV symposium international, 10-12 septembre 1992, Clermont-Ferrand, CMS Beiheft 5 (1995) 7-11; ARUZ (supra n. 1) 753.

DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) 32f.; ARUZ (supra n. 1) 753.

For the magical properties of various stones: GOFF (supra n. 13) 1-39 27; COLLON (supra n. 13) 100; S. AUFRÈRE, L'univers minéral dans la pensée égyptienne (1991) 557 f.; P.R.S. MOOREY, "Blue Stones in the Ancient Near East: Turquoise and Lapis Lazuli," in A. CAUBET (ed.), Cornaline et pierres précieuses: la méditerranée de l'Antiquité à l'Islam (1999).

map of all cylinders that were found in Late Bronze Age contexts in the Aegean, classified by their material, shows that there was no particular preference of certain materials in the palatial centers, with the exception maybe of lapis lazuli in Thebes (Pl. LXXXVIIb).

Another question that should not remain unaddressed is, whether there was in the Aegean a clear preference for a particular class of imported Near Eastern seals or not. The Mitannian cylinder seals are the most common class of imported Near Eastern seals in the Aegean (Pl. LXXXVIIIa). 18 Taken together, the Mesopotamian and the Kassite seals come second and on the third position are the Cypriot and Cypro-Aegean cylinders. This chart shows that the cylinders of Aegean manufacture are also relatively numerous, especially during the Middle and Late Bronze Age. So it seems that the demand for cylinders in the Aegean could not be satisfied only by the imports and local seal-cutters tried to meet the demand. The distribution map of Near Eastern and Aegean manufactured cylinders from Late Bronze Age contexts shows that, while we find a more varied collection of cylinders in the vicinity of Thebes and Knossos, in Mycenae there are mainly cylinders of Mitannian and Syrian manufacture (Pl. LXXXVIIIb). Kassite cylinder seals are so far known in the Aegean only from Thebes and from the Uluburun shipwreck (Pl. LXXXIXa). Interestingly, also cylinders of Mesopotamian origin have been found mostly in Thebes and various sites on Crete, but not in Mycenae with a single exception. This cannot be a coincidence and probably shows that the palatial centers of Thebes and Mycenae obtained their cylinders from different sources. The distribution map of the Syrian and Mitannian cylinder seals shows that these classes of material have been been found mostly in and around Thebes, Mycenae and Knossos (Pl. LXXXIXb). It seems that they also have been the result of centralized trade, rather than "small-scale trade among sailors who bought/exchanged 'souvenirs' in the Levantine harbour town or of individuals who acquired them from incoming ships," as was suggested by Pini. 19 The fact that the Mitannian seals were manufactured in various workshops²⁰ shows that their Aegean owners did not obtain them from a single source.

To sum up, the palatial centers seem to have controlled the manufacture, import, the eventual re-cutting and finally the distribution of cylinder seals. The imported Near Eastern cylinders were useful to their new owners in several ways:²¹ 1) some (especially the non-engraved and the abraded ones) as raw materials for manufacturing various jewels, 2) as gifts to other members of the social elite, 3) for re-distribution as valuable amuletic jewels, either as trade objects or as gifts, 4) to advertise their prestige and as a "means of demonstrating the power of encounters with exotic worlds."²²

After the collapse of the Mycenean palaces there were radical changes in the economic and social life of the Aegean. New regional elite classes have been formed and the acquisition of semi-precious stones was no longer centrally controlled.²³ The much earlier Egyptian text of "The Lamentations of Ipuwer" describes in a poetic way such a dramatic change. The sage, in describing the effects of political decay during the twilight of the Middle Kingdom, bewails that 'gold and lapis lazuli, silver and turquoise, carnelian (?) and amethyst are hung around the necks of slave girls while noble ladies walk through the land and house-mistresses are forced to beg. '24

Konstantinos KOPANIAS

I. PINI, "Mitanni-Rollsiegel des 'Common Style'," PZ 58 (1983) 114-126; B. SALJE, Der "Common Style" der Mitanni-Glyptik (1990); B. SALJE, "Sceaux-cylindres proche-orientaux du bronze récent trouvés dans l'aire égéene," in A. CAUBET (ed.), De Chypre à la Bactriane, les sceaux du Proche-Orient ancien (1997) 249-267; KRZYSZKOWSKA (supra n. 7) 301; J. ARUZ, Marks of Distinction. Seals and Cultural Exchange Between the Aegean and the Orient (ca. 2600-1360 B.C.) (CMS Beiheft 7, 2008) 183.

PINI (*supra* n. 2) 780f. Nevertheless, there have been some exceptions to this rule, e.g. the seals from the Uluburun ship, which <u>could</u> have been "part of a merchant's jewelry stock" (ARUZ [supra n. 1] 753).

²⁰ PINI (supra n. 2) 780f.

²¹ See also E. FRENCH, "The Role of Mycenae," in *EMPORIA*, 127.

²² ARUZ (supra n. 1) 753-756.

E.g. the orientalia from the Perati cemetery: KRZYSZKOWSKA (supra n. 7) 301.

²⁴ C. ALDRED, Jewels of the Pharaohs. Egyptian Jewellery of the Dynastic Period (1971) 18.

Date	Find Place	Manufacture	Material	Bibliography
EBA	Amorgos	Aegean	Steatite	ARUZ (supra n. 18) 35f.
EBA	Crete?	Aegean	Paste	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 164
EBA	Crete?	Aegean	Paste	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 163
EBA	Lentas	Aegean	Steatite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 51
EBA	Mochlos	Mesopotamia	Silver	ARUZ (supra n. 15) 3 n. 2 fig. 1a
EBA	Platanos	Mesopotamia	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 59
EBA	Poliochni	Syria	Ivory	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 72
EBA	Sivas	Aegean	Ivory	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 58
EBA	Viannos	Aegean	Ivory	ARUZ (supra n. 18) 289
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MBA	Agia Triada (Mesara)	Aegean	Ivory	ARUZ (supra n. 17) 282f.
MBA		Syria	Faience	ARUZ (supra n. 17) 272 cat. 112
MBA	Archanes	Syria	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 25
MBA	Archanes	Aegean	Ivory	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 24
MBA	Archanes	Aegean	Ivory	CMS II, 1 no. 391
MBA	Archanes	Syria	Lapis Lazuli	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 26
MBA	Crete?	Aegean	Chalcedony	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 3
MBA	Crete?	Aegean	Crystal	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 2
MBA	Crete?	Aegean	Marble	ARUZ (supra n. 17) 283
MBA	Crete?	Aegean	Quartz	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 15
MBA	Crete?	Aegean	Steatite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 7
MBA	Irakleio	Syria	Jasper	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 46
MBA	Kaloi Limenes	Aegean	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 33
MBA	Kaloi Limenes	Aegean	Ivory	ARUZ (supra n. 17) 283
MBA	Kaloi Limenes	Aegean	Steatite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 52
MBA	Kamilari	Aegean	Stone	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 34
MBA	Keos	Aegean	Serpentine	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 64
MBA	Knossos	Syria	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 44
MBA	Knossos	Syria	Ivory	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 116
MBA	Knossos	Aegean	Steatite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 41
MBA	Malia	Aegean	Steatite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 52
MBA	Mochlos	Aegean	Agate	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 54
MBA	Mochlos	Syria	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) 29ff.
MBA	Moni Odigitrias	Aegean	Paste	CMS VS3, 138
MBA	Palaikastro	Syria	Steatite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 55
MBA	Trapeza Cave	Aegean	Ivory	ARUZ (supra n. 17) 290
MBA	?	Aegean	Serpentine	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 9
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LBA	Agia Pelaghia	Aegean	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 29
LBA	Agia Triada (Mesara)	Mesopotamia	Serpentine	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 30
LBA	Agios Ioannis	Aegean	Amethyst	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 91
LBA	Agios Ioannis	Aegean	Amethyst	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 92
LBA	Agios Ioannis	Aegean	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 90
			1	1 1 /

Date	Find Place	Manufacture	Material	Bibliography
LBA	Aidhonia	Mesopotamia	Ivory	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 402
LBA	Archontiki	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 159
LBA	Armenoi	Mitanni	Faience	CMS VS1B, no. 303
LBA	Armenoi	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 27
LBA	Armenoi	Mitanni	Faience	CLINE (supra n. 10) no. 169
LBA	Cape Gelidonya	Syria	Haematite	CLINE (supra n. 10) no. 182
LBA	Chania	Mitanni	Faience	CMS VS3, 108
LBA	Crete?	Aegean	Carnelian	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 21
LBA	Crete?	Aegean	Carnelian	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 20
LBA	Crete?	Aegean	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 16
LBA	Crete?	Cypro-Aegean	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 5
LBA	Crete?	Mesopotamia	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 18
LBA	Crete?	Mitanni	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 166
LBA	Crete?	Mitanni	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 165
LBA	Crete?	Aegean	Marble	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 14
LBA	Crete?	Aegean	Sardonyx	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 19
LBA	Crete?	Aegean	Steatite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 4
LBA	Crete?	Aegean	Steatite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 1
LBA	Crete?	Aegean	Terracotta?	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 17
LBA	Crete?	Aegean	Carnelian	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 21
LBA	Crete?	Aegean	Carnelian	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 20
LBA	Crete?	Aegean	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 16
LBA	Crete?	Cypro-Aegean	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 5
LBA	Delos	Syria	Stone	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 62
LBA	Fortetsa	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 43
LBA	Giofyrakia (Irakleio)	Mesopotamia	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 49
LBA	Ialyssos	Aegean	Agate	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 68
LBA	Ialyssos	Syria	Agate	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 67
LBA	Ialyssos	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 69f.
LBA	Ialyssos	Cyprus	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 66
LBA	Isthmia	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 81
LBA	Kakovatos	Aegean	Agate	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 82
LBA	Kameiros	Syria	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 161
LBA	Knossos	Aegean	Carnelian	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 42
LBA	Knossos	Aegean	Carnelian	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 38
LBA	Knossos	Cypro-Aegean	Haematite	ARUZ (supra n. 17) 308
LBA	Knossos	Mesopotamia	Lapis Lazuli	ARUZ (supra n. 17) 285 cat. no. 153
LBA	Knossos	Syria	Lapis Lazuli	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 35
LBA	Knossos	Aegean	Steatite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 37
LBA	Knossos	Cypro-Aegean	Stone	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 45
LBA	Kos	Cyprus	Steatite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 71
LBA	Kos	Cyprus	Stone	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 160
LBA	Larissa (Argos)	Syria	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 77
LBA	Lindos	Syria	Faience	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 591

Date	Find Place	Manufacture	Material	Bibliography
LBA	Mega Monastiri	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 84
LBA	Mochlos	Aegean	Serpentine	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 162
LBA	Monodentri	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 76
LBA	Monodentri	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 75
LBA	Mycenae	Aegean	Agate	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 86
LBA	Mycenae	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 87
LBA	Mycenae	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 172
LBA	Mycenae	Mitanni	Faience	ARUZ (supra n. 17) 269 cat. no. 102
LBA	Mycenae	Cypro-Aegean	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 85
LBA	Palaikastro	Cypro-Aegean	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 56
LBA	Palaikastro	Aegean	Jasper	ARUZ (supra n. 17) 286
LBA	Palaikastro	Cypro-Aegean	Serpentine	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 57
LBA	Panagitsa (Chalkida)	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 80
LBA	Panagitsa (Chalkida)	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 79
LBA	Panaritis	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 174
LBA	Panaritis	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 173
LBA	Perati	Mitanni	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 93
LBA	Perati	Cyprus	Stone	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 94
LBA	Pharos	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 78
LBA	Prosymna	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 96
LBA	Prosymna	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 97
LBA	Prosymna	Aegean	Sardonyx	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 95
LBA	Pylos	Aegean	Agate	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 100
LBA	Pylos	Cypro-Aegean	Carnelian	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 98
LBA	Pylos	Aegean	Sardonyx	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 99
LBA	Rhethymno	Aegean	Agate	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 22
LBA	Skopelos	Aegean	Carnelian	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 65
LBA	Stavros	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 83
LBA	Tanagra	Mitanni	faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 101
LBA	Thebes	Aegean	Agate	ARUZ (supra n. 17) 277f.
LBA	Thebes	Cyprus	Agate	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 339
LBA	Thebes	Cyprus	Faience	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 344
LBA	Thebes	Cyprus	Faience	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 341
LBA	Thebes	Mitanni	Faience	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 319
LBA	Thebes	Cyprus	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 343
LBA	Thebes	Cyprus	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 342
LBA	Thebes	Cyprus	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 340
LBA	Thebes	Cyprus	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 346
LBA	Thebes	Hittite	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 320
LBA	Thebes	Kassite	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 326
LBA	Thebes	Kassite	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 333
LBA	Thebes	Kassite	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 336
LBA	Thebes	Kassite	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 332
LBA	Thebes	Kassite	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 335

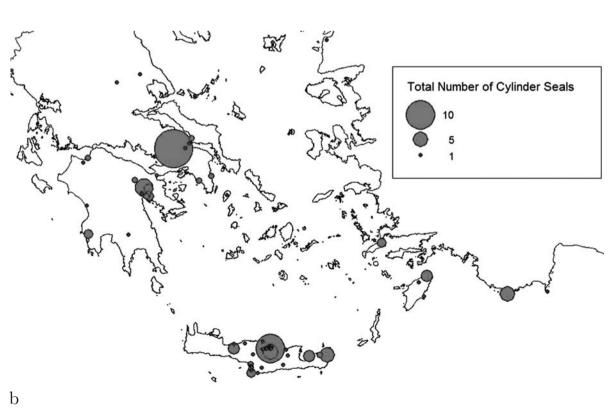
Date	Find Place	Manufacture	Material	Bibliography
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LBA	Thebes	Kassite	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 331
LBA	Thebes	Kassite	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 334
LBA	Thebes	Kassite	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 328
LBA	Thebes	Kassite	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 337
LBA	Thebes	Kassite	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 327
LBA	Thebes	Kassite	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 330
LBA	Thebes	Mesopotamia	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 313
LBA	Thebes	Mesopotamia	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 312
LBA	Thebes	Mesopotamia	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 314
LBA	Thebes	Mesopotamia	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 315
LBA	Thebes	Mesopotamia	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 348
LBA	Thebes	Mesopotamia	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 345
LBA	Thebes	Mesopotamia	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 349
LBA	Thebes	Mesopotamia	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no.317
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LBA	Thebes	Mitanni	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 324
LBA	Thebes	Mitanni	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 323
LBA	Thebes	Mitanni	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 321
LBA	Thebes	Mitanni	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 322
LBA	Thebes	Mitanni	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 347
LBA	Thebes	Mitanni	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 325
LBA	Thebes	Mitanni	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 316
LBA	Thebes	Syria	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 338
LBA	Thebes	Aegean	Obsidian	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 148
LBA	Thebes	Aegean	Steatite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 148
LBA	Thebes	Mesopotamia	Stone	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 318
LBA	Tiryns	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 149
LBA	Tiryns	Mitanni	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 151
LBA	Troy	Aegean	Ivory	ARUZ (supra n. 17) cat. 203
LBA	Tylissos	Syria	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 60
LBA	Uluburun	Syria	Faience	CLINE (supra n. 10) no. 171
LBA	Uluburun	Mesopotamia	Haematite	-
LBA	Uluburun	Kassite	Quartz	CLINE (supra n. 10) no. 222
LBA	Uluburun	Mesopotamia	Quartz	CLINE (<i>supra</i> n. 10) no. 183
LBA	Uluburun	Mesopotamia	Quartz	CLINE (supra n. 10) no. 221
LBA	Vari	Syria	Lapis Lazuli	LAMBROU-PHILIPPSON (supra n. 9) no. 300
LBA	Vari	Syria	Lapis Lazuli	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 152
LBA	Zafer Papoura	Mitanni	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 48
LBA	?	Aegean	Agate	ARUZ (supra n. 17) 278
LBA	?	Aegean	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 12
LBA	?	Aegean	Marble	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 10
LBA	?	Aegean	Sardonyx	ARUZ (supra n. 17) 278
LBA	?	Aegean	Serpentine	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 74

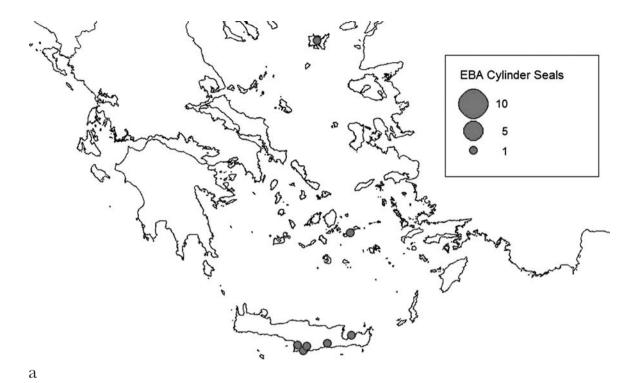
Date	Find Place	Manufacture	Material	Bibliography
LBA	3	Aegean	Stone	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 8
LBA	?	Syria	Stone	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 73
5	Aidhonia	Aegean	Paste	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 171
5	Angeliana	Aegean	Stone	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 169
?	Armenoi	Aegean	Stone	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 168
5	Idaean Cave	Aegean	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 155
5	Katsambas - Irakleio	Cypro-Aegean	Haematite	ARUZ (supra n. 17) 308
5	Kos	Aegean	Haematite	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 154
5	Lousika	Aegean	Faience	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 175
5	Mycenae	Aegean	Stone	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 89
5	Palaikastro	Aegean	Jasper	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 170
5.	Siteia	Aegean	3	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 61
5	Siteia	Aegean	5	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 156
?	Vaphio	Aegean	Agate	DAVARAS and SOLES (supra n. 3) no. 150

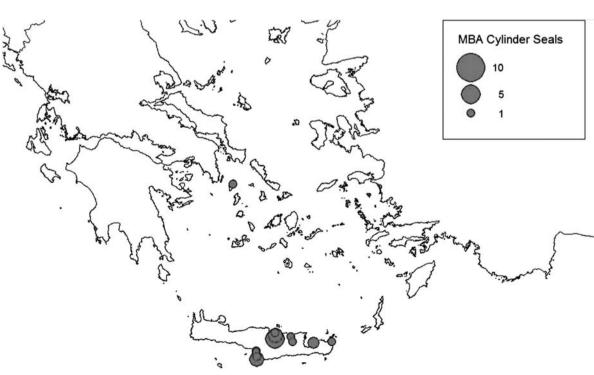
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	Source: K. Kopanias.
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	Source: K. Kopanias.

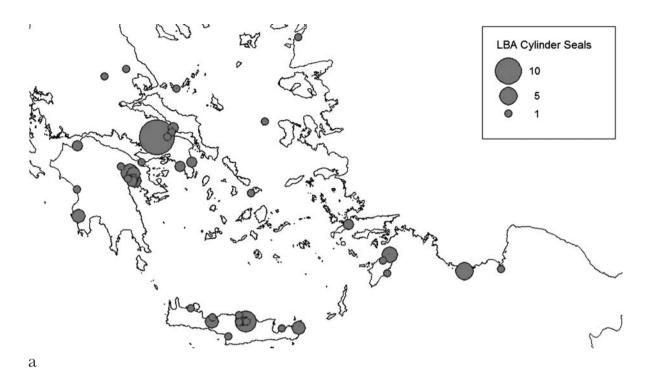


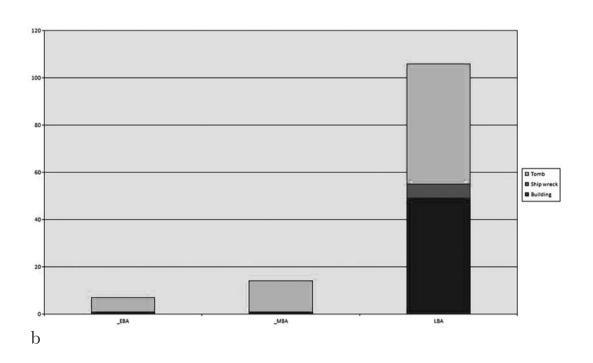


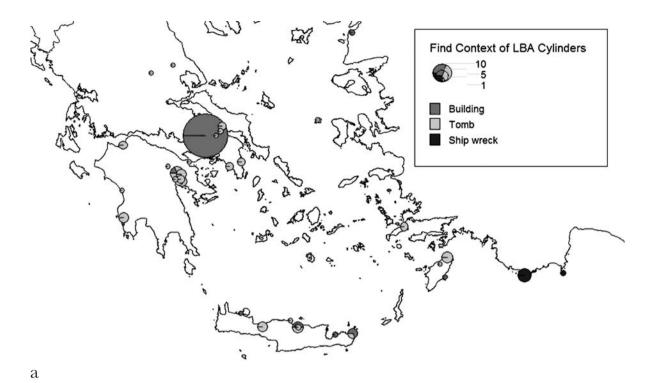


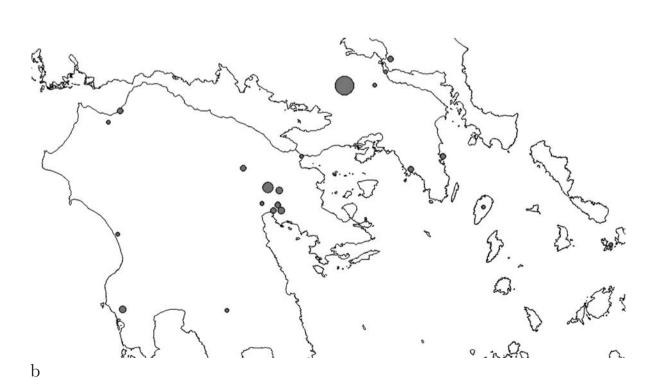


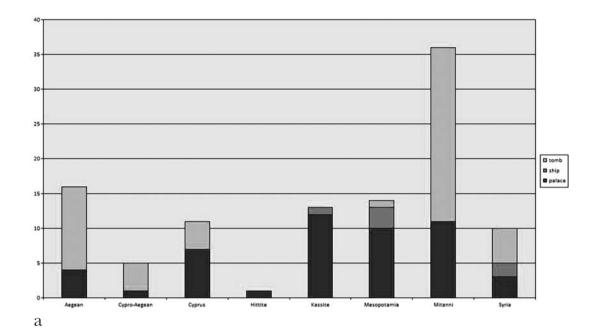
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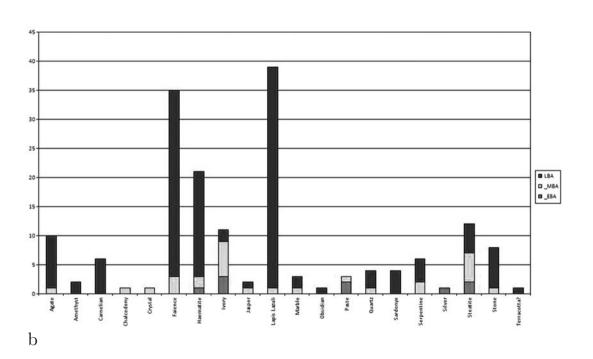


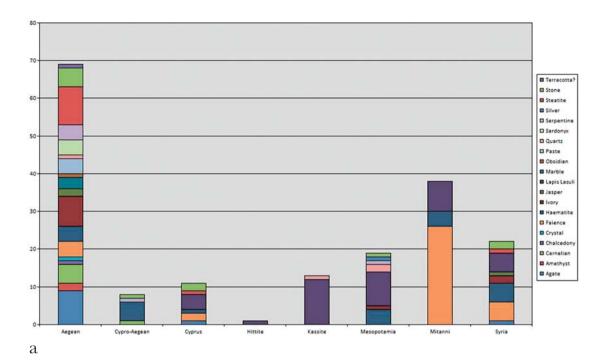


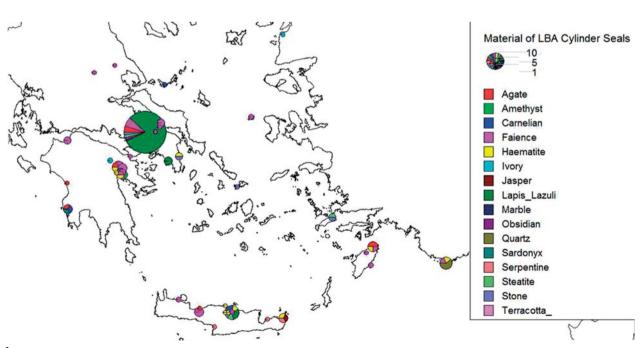




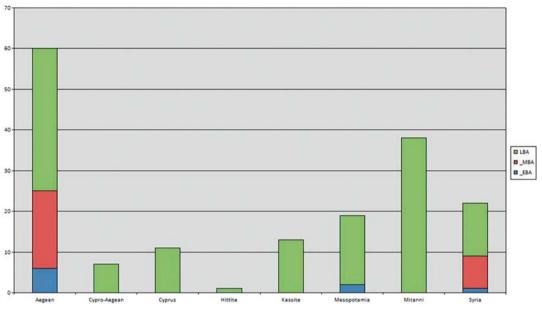








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