

Jan 21, 1900 XXX (1900)

## MYCENÆAN CYPRUS AS ILLUSTRATED IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM EXCAVATIONS.

BY ARTHUR J. EVANS.

THANKS to the excavations made in Cyprus on behalf of the British Museum by means of the Turner Bequest, it has been for the first time possible to obtain a clear insight into a distinct and highly important phase of the insular civilisation. Hitherto, though abundant materials existed relating to the Earlier Bronze and Copper Age of Cyprus and again to the form of Early Iron Age culture to which the name of Greco-Phœnician has been given, the evidences of Mycenæan influence were but sparsely attested. In Mr. J. L. Myres's comprehensive introduction to the early Cypriote remains in the recently published Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum, it was only possible to deal with this section of the subject in the most general terms. But with the results before us of the fruitful excavations conducted by Dr. Murray and his colleagues at Amathus, Curium, and Old Salamis, the Mycenæan factor in the unwritten history of Cyprus assumes a wholly new importance. The impress of this Ægean element is so strong that we find ourselves in presence not of sporadic influences or isolated importations of objects, but of a distinct period in the insular civilisation to which the name Cypro-Mycenæan must henceforward be given.

Dr. Murray and his colleagues must certainly be congratulated on the wealth of illustration with which these results are set forth in their recent publication,<sup>1</sup> including fourteen photographic process plates and a number of figures in the text. Many of these figures, it may be added, have a special value from the fact that they represent, in a collective form, groups of vases found together in the same tomb.

The finds at Enkomi or Old Salamis were extraordinarily rich in gold objects belonging to the Mycenæan Age. Indeed, since Schliemann's excavation of the Akropolis graves at Mycenæ, there has been, if we except the Ægina Treasure, no such a discovery of gold objects belonging to the prehistoric period of Greece. Both these, the carved ivories, and the vases in a naturalistic indigenous style imitating Egyptian porcelain, combine to throw a wholly new light on the art of this interesting period.

Considering the generally conservative character of Cypriote art, it might be tempting to believe that we have here the record of a survival of the Mycenæan

<sup>1</sup> *Excavations in Cyprus (Bequest of Miss E. T. Turner to the British Museum)*. By A. S. Murray, LL.D., F.S.A., Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities, A. H. Smith, M.A., F.S.A., and H. B. Walters, M.A., F.S.A., Assistants in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.

style belonging to a considerably later date than the Mycenæan remains of Greece proper. Groups on some of the ivories, such as the man fighting with a griffin, show a certain community with the designs on later Cypro-Phœnician silver bowls and on scarabs and ivories found by Layard in the Palace of Nimroud and dating from about 850 to 700 B.C. Dr. Murray himself has consistently stood out for a chronology which brings the pure Mycenæan style down to the "Age of the Tyrants" and makes it "the immediate predecessor of the Ionian Greek art of the seventh century B.C." In the present publication he has endeavoured to draw new arguments in support of his thesis from such approximations as the above between Cypro-Mycenæan and later works. The present work, set forth under official auspices, is so full of suggested chronological deductions and—if its authors will pardon the expression—archæological insinuations, all pointing in the same direction, that it is time to inquire whether there is any real warrant for these highly revolutionary conclusions.

Nothing is clearer than that "Ionian" art in many respects represents the continuity of Mycenæan tradition. But it is also none the less evident that its designs do not as a whole fit on directly to those of the great days of Mycenæ. There are missing links in the chain which must be supplied from some intermediate quarter. A whole series of new winged creations—Harpies, Gorgons, Pegasi—have come into being. New ornamental motives, such as the Assyrian rope pattern or guilloche, have obtained a vogue. Here and there types remain practically unchanged. Here and there has been an actual revival—especially conspicuous in the Melian class of gems and in some of the oldest coin types—of designs belonging to the great Mycenæan Age, but in this case executed with inferior skill on softer materials. There is a real renaissance, and there is also an unbroken tradition. But wherever in Greece proper this survival of Mycenæan forms is most clearly traceable—as, for instance, in Crete—it is found in combination with entirely new elements, due in Greece itself to the invasion of the old Mycenæan area by "geometrical" forms. In Cyprus itself the same mixed style is visible, due largely to the borrowing of Egyptian and Assyrian elements under the influence of the eclectic Phœnician taste. It is this hybrid culture, and not the pure Mycenæan type, that stands immediately behind the so-called "Ionian" civilisation of the seventh century B.C.

But if we examine the relics of Mycenæan Salamis as revealed to us by these excavations what do we find? Cyprus is Cyprus, and the geographical affinities of the island naturally make themselves felt. There are certainly here more traces of Mesopotamian and Egyptian influence than would be found in the contemporary deposits of the Ægean lands. But the vitality of the local genius is still sufficient to assimilate into its own being the borrowed elements. The prevailing type of seal, for instance, is the Oriental cylinder, and among the most frequent of the engraver's designs is a native adaptation of the Egyptian floral pillar as seen on the porcelain ornaments and beads of Tell-el-Amarna. But the whole together forms a new sphragistic style of a specifically Cypro-

Mycenaean class—a class about which much might be written, but the very existence of which has been passed unnoticed by the authors of the work before us. The ivory groups of the man struggling with the griffin, though they represent the taking over of a familiar Chaldaean scheme, reproduce it nevertheless in an indigenous garb. For the groups on the casket and mirror handles are homogeneous in their character. There is here no impertinent juxtaposition of undigested elements borrowed from various foreign sources, as when we see upon a Cypro-Phœnician bowl a winged Assyrian figure beside a hawk-headed Egyptian divinity.

For my own part I was quite prepared, nevertheless, to believe that the relics from these Cypriote tombs would enable archaeologists to trace a living Mycenaean style in the island to a distinctly later date than that which is now generally taken as the latest approximate limit of the period. It seemed on the face of it extremely probable that a part of these remains might come down after 1100 B.C. I was, indeed, the more inclined to accept such a conclusion, from the fact that in the case of the Ægina Treasure, the jewellery of which presents certain points of affinity to some of the Enkomi specimens, I had committed myself to the suggestion that the date when these Late Mycenaean objects were deposited might come down as low as 800 B.C.<sup>1</sup>

But a careful examination of the new Cypriote finds has convinced me that there is no sufficient evidence for assigning to any of the Mycenaean relics found a later chronology than that which lies within the limits generally claimed for that civilisation. The affinities traceable among them to the Treasure from Ægina must, moreover, be rather taken as showing that the Late Mycenaean phase there represented belongs to a distinctly earlier date than I had myself been formerly led to assign to it. No doubt there are among the objects from the Mycenaean tombs of Old Salamis and the other Cypriote sites at present in question a few objects of later fabric. Some of the tombs, as results from information supplied by the principal *scavatore*, showed evidence of secondary use, and the fact that from May to July the excavations at Enkomi were by the circumstances of the case conducted without the presence of an expert archaeologist<sup>2</sup> makes it unnecessary to attach any great importance to small individual discrepancies in the character of some of the finds. On the whole, however, this intrusive element is extremely small, and the tomb-groups present a very homogeneous Cypro-Mycenaean character.

So many questionable conclusions have been drawn from these finds by the authors of the present publication that it seems desirable to examine them somewhat in detail, especially in regard to the chronological indications that they afford.

The irruption *en masse* of ceramic and other types of Ægean origin on the

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, xiii, p. 224.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Murray states in the preface to his work that "from May to July the excavations were superintended by Mr. Percy Christian, who made a careful record of the contents and shape of each tomb." But, for the delicate questions connected with secondary interments, the constant presence of a trained archaeologist is necessary.

traditional products of Cyprus itself is of special interest in its probable relation to the early Achæan colonisation of the island of which its later quasi-Arcadian dialect was an abiding record. In this connexion the new materials now before us yield at least one important negative result. The earlier Mycenæan elements, such as we see them in the Akropolis tombs at Mycenæ itself, in Thera, in Crete, and elsewhere are here conspicuous by their absence. It was not therefore till Mycenæan civilisation had attained its mature development that it asserted a dominant position in Cyprus. The earliest period represented in these finds corresponds with that which a variety of discoveries of Egyptian objects with Ægean finds and of Mycenæan objects in Egyptian deposits approximately indicate as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries B.C. In other words, these earliest Cypro-Mycenæan fabrics belong to the same age as the Vapheio tomb, and the most typical graves of the lower town of Mycenæ and of Ialysos.

The internal evidences of date supplied by these Cypriote finds fully corroborate this general conclusion. Together with the new intrusive class of Ægean wares which predominated in the early tombs of this period at Enkomi, Curium, and elsewhere, there came to light a certain proportion of painted vessels answering to the Bronze Age ware of Cyprus itself. Besides these were found many specimens of types of pottery belonging neither to the Ægean nor to the indigenous Cypriote class. One of these extraneous types is that of the black clay bottles<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 1) with punctuated decoration, a class which occurs as a foreign



FIG. 1.—BLACK PUNCTURED WARE FROM ENKOMI.

ingredient in Egyptian tombs as early as the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties and continues to be found there in the succeeding Eighteenth Dynasty period. Another, probably imported class of pottery found in these Mycenæan tombs consists of flask-like vessels of brown bucchero apparently imitating leathern forms.<sup>2</sup> These vessels have been found at Lachish and other Palestinian

<sup>1</sup> See p. 6, Figs. 1303, 1304, 1306. This and other figures are here reproduced with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. This ware is referred to by Mr. J. L. Myres, *Cyprus Museum Catalogue*, pp. 36, 37, as "black ware," and he rightly indicates its early associations.

<sup>2</sup> This is referred to by Dr. Murray as "moulded ware" (see p. 6 and Fig. 7, and other examples in the tomb-groups given under Figs. 62, 66, and 69). Mr. Myres, *op. cit.*, p. 36, calls it "base-ring ware," but some of the most characteristic flasks have no ring at the base.

sites, a fact which seems to point to that quarter as their place of fabric. What, however, is of special importance in relation to the frequent appearance of these foreign flasks in the Enkomi tombs is the fact that they are almost equally frequent in Egyptian tomb-groups of the Eighteenth Dynasty.<sup>1</sup>

The Mycenaean vases found in the Enkomi graves fully bear out this chronological equation. Apart from certain local varieties, such as those with chariots and others with bull-fights (*cf.* Fig. 4, No. 1205) these are of the fully developed class answering to the fragments found in the Tell-el-Amarna mounds representing the waste-heaps of the Palace of Akhenaten (B.C. 1383-1365) as well as in closed tombs of the same Eighteenth Dynasty period. The pomegranate-like glass vessels (Fig. 4, No. 1218) found with them resemble, as Dr. Murray himself admits, examples found by Professor Petrie at Gurob in deposits ranging from about 1450 to 1200 B.C.

In the same Egyptian deposits occurred a form of bronze pin with a central eye which closely corresponds with a typical form of gold pin found in the Enkomi graves (Fig. 2). The type itself is of old Cypriote derivation, and early varieties of it have been found in pre-Mycenaean interments of the island, such as those of Aya Paraskev . It seems, moreover, to stand in an intimate relation to certain perforated pins found in the Italian Terremare and contemporary tombs and Lake-Dwellings, which may in turn be connected with the earliest fibula-types of the Scandinavian Bronze Age. But Dr. Murray, neglecting the obvious comparisons supplied from these sources, and especially the Gurob finds, seizes on the fact that some of the Enkomi pins are surmounted by ribbed beads of blue paste as an argument for bringing down their date some seven centuries later than

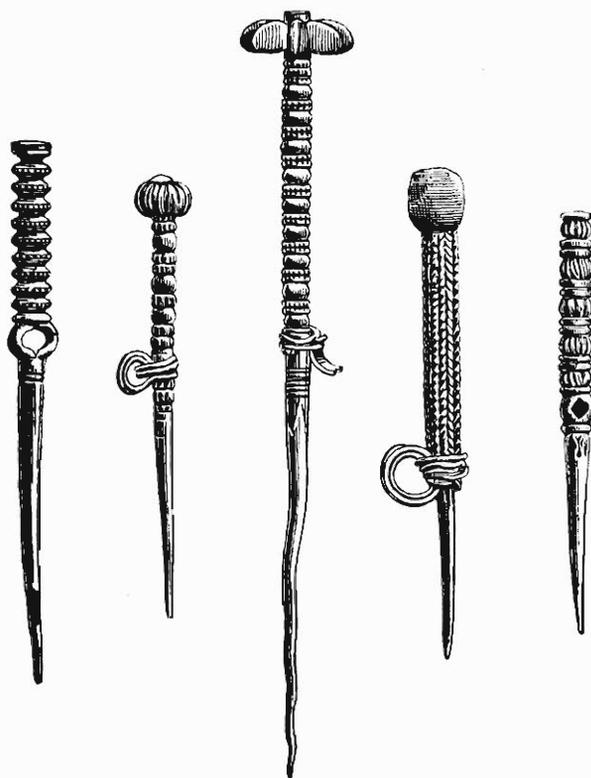


FIG. 2.—GOLD PINS FROM ENKOMI.

<sup>1</sup> Several groups of this kind, from the excavations of Professor Petrie and others, are in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

the parallels above cited would naturally imply.<sup>1</sup> As a matter of fact, the use of glass paste imitations of lapis lazuli for beads and inlaying is a thoroughly Mycenaean characteristic, while such a practice among the later Greeks is at any rate extremely rare. But Dr. Murray is so far carried away by this argument that he does not hesitate to compare the Enkomi pins with those that fasten the chitons on the shoulders of the Fates on the François vase, dating from the seventh century B.C. It is sufficient to observe that the pins on the vase are of an essentially different type, with the loop or eye at the head instead of the middle.

Of fibulas or safety-pins proper, only two examples<sup>2</sup> were found in the Enkomi cemetery (Fig. 3). Both of these represent a very slight

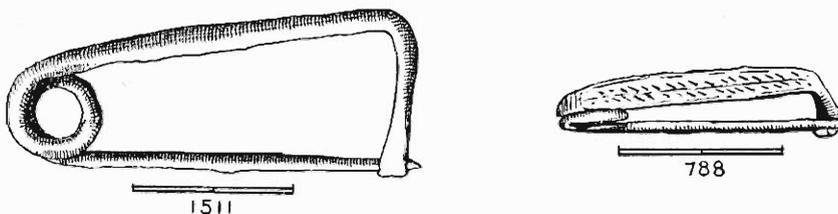


FIG. 3.—BRONZE FIBULAE FROM ENKOMI.

development of the earliest "fiddle-bow" form. They are of much the same type as some of those found in the tombs of the lower town of Mycenæ, except that what may be called the "stilt" at the catch end is somewhat higher. But they are less developed than two examples from the Curium cemetery (Figs. 92, 93, p. 68), one of them found in a tomb still belonging to the pure Mycenaean period and containing characteristic pottery and implements of bronze. This latter type is represented by two gold fibulae now in the Ashmolean Museum, found with a *bügelkanne* of the latest Mycenaean style at Old Paphos, and by another similar from Kition belonging to the Cesnola Collection. This slightly more advanced type, however, itself supplies the antecedent stage to the earliest fibulas of the Geometrical Period. Dr. Murray contents himself with the observation that "it may be remembered that at first one of the arguments in favour of a very early date for the antiquities of Mycenæ was the absence of bronze fibulae." The argument, which still holds good, was applied to the contents of the Akropolis shaft-graves, which are generally recognised as earlier than the

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Murray quotes, in support of this, a comparison instituted by myself between the cut paste inlaying of the eyes and brows of some embossed heads on a gold ornament of the Ægina Treasure with the inlaid work applied in the same manner to eyes and eyebrows on ivories from the N.W. Palace at Nineveh. But the inlaid work in that case was of lapis lazuli and not of glass paste, as he erroneously quotes me as saying (p. 19). The particular application of the inlaying on the Nimroud ivories to the eyes and eyebrows is a parallel that must still hold. But I based no chronological conclusions on the use of glass paste itself. I was, indeed, careful to point out that sliced lapis lazuli inlayings, analogous to the blue paste of the Mycenæans, are seen in the cloisons of Egyptian jewels from the Seventeenth Dynasty onwards.

<sup>2</sup> Fig. 27, p. 21.

tombs of the lower city, where fibulæ of this primitive type were found. It is quite sufficient for our present purpose that at Enkomi, where the mature stage of Mycenaean art was represented, fibulae occurred of a type certainly not later than the twelfth century B.C.

Amongst the other ornaments found in the Enkomi tombs was a fine gold collar or pectoral inlaid with glass paste. Of this collar Professor Petrie observes that it presents "nine different patterns of gold pendants, and eight of the nine are well-known designs of the time of Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten), but are not found a century later. . . . Even the lotus, which is one of those forms and is so common in Egypt in all ages, has here the very narrow petals which are exactly like the lotus inlay of this reign." He further observes that in the same cemetery was found a metal ring of Amenhotep IV, probably before his change of religion, as the God Ptah is named upon it and many scarabs of this king name the Gods, before his conversion to monotheistic sun-worship. The occurrence of this ring is specially important, since for obvious reasons the heretic Amenhotep IV was not a Pharaoh whose cartouches were imitated at later periods.

Tomb 93, in which the gold collar occurred, supplied another valuable indication of date in the shape of a porcelain scarab with the name of Queen Tyi, the consort of Amenhotep III and mother of Akhenaten. The great importance of this find is that it fits on to a series of four earlier discoveries of scarabs and glazed ware, with the name of Amenhotep III or his queen, in tombs and buildings at Mycenæ itself and at Ialysos, demonstrating peculiarly intimate relations with Egypt in the first half of the fourteenth century B.C.

But Tomb 93, the chronological place of which is thus clearly defined by evidence which can hardly be called in question, contains not only the richest and most typical group of gold ornaments found in Enkomi (*see* Plates V, VI, and VII), but Mycenaean pottery of a characteristic indigenous style, including vases exhibiting spotted bulls and a fragment representing pugilists on either side of the rayed pillar tree frequent on the contemporary cylinders of the island. In this tomb, the early character of which is so clearly defined, there was also found a silver ring "engraved on the bezel with Egyptian hieroglyphics which it is contended"—the quotation is from Dr. Murray—"indicate a date not earlier than the eighth or seventh century B.C." If this "contention" be substantiated, the ring must either belong to a secondary interment, of which there seems to have been no other trace, or have worked in from the outer earth. But the character of too many other "contentions" in the present work makes another alternative equally possible. In other words it is difficult to withhold a suspicion that the ring itself may also prove to be of Eighteenth Dynasty date.

Among the silver vases found in the Enkomi cemetery, one is of great interest as representing the type of the famous gold cups of the Vapheio tomb. These cups, as their marvellous *repoussé* designs sufficiently declare, belong to the most perfect period of Mycenaean art. An approximate chronology has been already supplied by the delineation of the same form on a Theban tomb-painting

of Queen Hatasu's time (1516-1481 B.C.),<sup>1</sup> and more recently by its occurrence on an inscribed clay tablet, referring to the royal treasures, from the Palace at Knossos. Remains of this Palace do not include the latest style of art represented at Mycenæ itself, that namely belonging to what may be called the "Round-Shield Period," illustrated by the painted Stela from the Lower City and the "Warrior Vase." It therefore appears probable that the vases of this Vapheio class were in vogue during a period extending from about 1500 to 1300 B.C. There is no trace of any later survival or development of this special form. But, since the Enkomi example was found in a tomb (No. 92) together with Mycenaean pottery and gold pins of the class described above, according to Dr. Murray's system it belongs approximately to the date of the François vase!

In Tomb 28, at Curium, was found a sard scarab in company with a Mycenaean "kylix" with the typical cuttlefish design, a funnel-shaped vase adorned with the equally typical murex shells, and a flat spouted bowl, also belonging to a common Mycenaean type. That the tomb-group as a whole belongs to a good Mycenaean period is obvious. That the scarab forms an integral part of it is extremely probable. With regard to the scarab I must again quote Professor Petrie,<sup>2</sup> whose authority on this class of Egyptian objects is widely recognised. "The scarab," he observes, "is very closely similar to one of Ramessu II in outline, form of the back, and mode of cutting, and such fabric is not known in later times. It bears a figure of the god Thoth seated, with the sun and moon on his head, perhaps referring to his connection with the god Khonsu. This type of Thoth, either as an ibis-headed man or as a baboon, is one of the commonest designs on scarabs of Ramessu II. I know of some sixteen with this god, two of which have the winged disk over his head as on the Curium scarab. If I have paused thus to show how in style and subject this scarab is identified with the works of Ramessu II, it is because this has been by some curious chance attributed to a far later age and has been set forth as dating a period" (Mr. Petrie is referring to a preliminary notice in the *Times*, 6th January, 1896). "How such a mistake arose it is hard to say. In the Enkomi cemetery another scarab of Ramessu II was also found."

It is difficult to believe that anyone who has, like myself, had an opportunity of comparing one of the Ramesside scarabs referred to by Professor Petrie with the Curium specimen can doubt the justice of his conclusion. But Mr. Walters, with Professor Petrie's observations at his disposal, contents himself with the following bald pronouncement, the authority for which he does not give:—"In date this scarab appears to be not earlier than the twenty-sixth dynasty (B.C. 666-527). There is no evidence that it belongs to a later burial, and it is a remarkable and important piece of evidence for the late date of the Mycenaean civilisation in Cyprus if a seventh century scarab can be contemporaneous with pottery of the Ialysos type" (p. 65).

<sup>1</sup> The tomb of Sen Mut. A more complete representation of this painting than has yet been published will appear in the forthcoming work of Mr. Percy Newberry.

<sup>2</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*. Vol. xix, p. 73.

Let us put this argument in another form. A coin is found in a Roman tomb which, from the fact that a half-effaced Britannia appears on its reverse, is described as an early penny and referred perhaps to Charles II's time. A first authority on Roman coins, however, points out that it is a not uncommon coin of Hadrian presenting the same figure, and that in fact it belongs to the same date as the other objects from the same tomb. On the face of it there is little doubt on which side the probability lies. But admitting the unlikely supposition that, when thoroughly cleaned, the coin after all turns out to be of Charles II's time, to what natural conclusion would such an identification point? The obvious and indeed only possible explanation is that, as has often happened in such cases, the penny had found its way into the deposit at a later date. Even a "local antiquary" would hardly see in it "a remarkable and important piece of evidence" for the late date of Roman civilisation in Britain.

In the next paragraph there is noted the occurrence in Tomb 45 of what is described as a "Phœnician cylinder of black basalt on which is incised a sphinx or gryphon guarding a sacred tree much conventionalised," and this is cited as another indication of the late date of Mycenaean civilisation. Its probable date is fixed as about 600 B.C., and this view is supported by the altogether unintelligible argument that before this period "such objects could hardly have been imported." Strange as is this conclusion and the consequences derived from it, it has not been thought necessary in the work before us to give any representation of the cylinder, which was found with Mycenaean jewellery of an early class and itself presents one of the most usual of the Cypro-Mycenaean cylinder-types.

It will be seen that the new material supplied by these Cypriote graves, so far from implying a late survival of Mycenaean culture in the island, takes us back at every point to a period contemporary with that of the mature art of the class as seen in the Aegean area. The new elements that we find here— and they are some of them very remarkable—are due to local conditions and to a nearer contact with Syrian and Egyptian civilisation. The intimate relations with Egypt are attested by the comparative abundance of imported Egyptian porcelain or of imitative native glazed wares. Among these indigenous works is a rhyton in the shape of a horse's head in a strikingly naturalistic style (Fig. 4, No. 1217). Another takes the form of a ram's head, while two other vases are in the shape of women's heads, in one case back to back (Fig. 4, Nos. 1210, 1211). These porcelain rhytons, and still more the last-mentioned vases with female heads, one of which has the hair behind drawn up in a net, present the most remarkable resemblance, as Dr. Murray justly points out, to some Greek painted vases of the sixth century B.C. It must, however, be borne in mind that glazed ware such as we see in these Cypriote vessels is quite foreign to later Greek art, and that rhytons in the shape of animals' heads occur on Egyptian wall-paintings of Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty date among the tributary gifts of the Kefts and other foreigners. Among the Syrian vessels taken by Sety are certain rhyton-like vases terminating in sphinxes' heads with the hair turned up as if

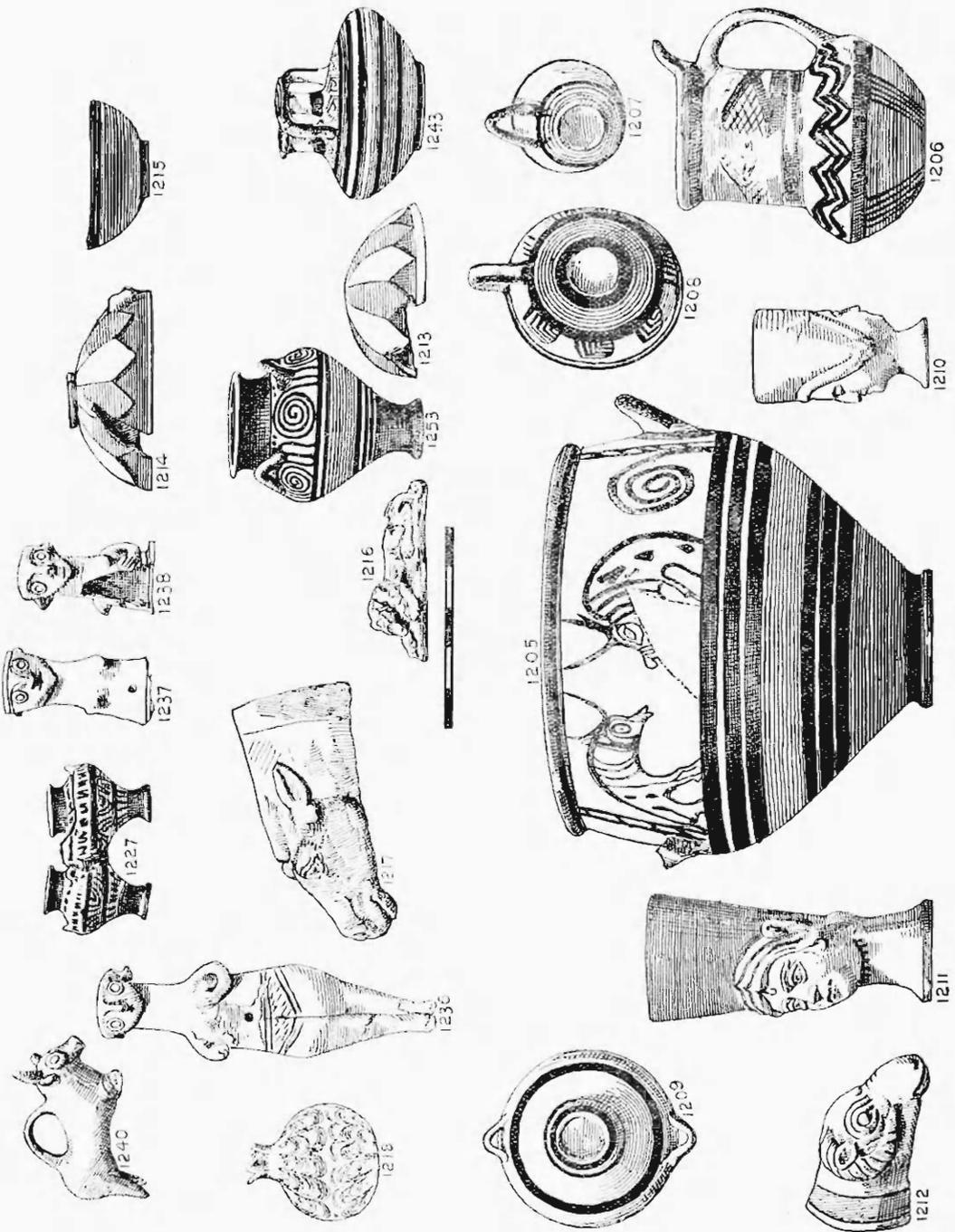


FIG. 4.—OBJECTS FROM ENKOMI.

in a bag behind and a caliciform exerescence above—in this case probably a derivative from the "House of Horus" on the head of Hathor—which somewhat recalls the upper part of the cup above the female head on the Cypriote vase.

That the later Attic form shows an extraordinary conformity with these Mycenaean cups is undeniable. But a possible explanation is supplied by parallel phenomena in other branches of art. Many of the earliest coin-types of Greece are actual revivals of designs taken from the numerous engraved gems of the best Mycenaean period. We have not here to do—as I was myself once inclined to suppose—with a mere survival of Mycenaean types. The free, naturalistic figures of the Mycenaean gems had been long since extinct, and a gap of some six centuries separates them from the earliest Greek dies. It was a rather deliberate revival of ancient models, and the archaic art of Greece in fact anticipated one of the most characteristic features of the Italian Renaissance.

The ivory carvings found at Enkomi claim special attention both from the intrinsic excellence of their workmanship and from the obvious relation in which they stand to the reliefs in various materials found at Nineveh. In these carvings better than elsewhere we trace the development of a Cypro-Mycenaean school of sculpture which was to leave its mark on all later Assyrian art. But this local school is itself associated with works in the same material from Ægean deposits belonging to the same mature Mycenaean period. In the case of a bearded head,

surmounted by a conical helmet adorned with rows of boars' tusks, we recognise indeed, an almost exact parallel to the ivory heads with helmets of an identical character found in the tomb at Spata and in Grave 27 of the lower town of Mycenæ itself associated with lentoid gems and other objects belonging to the finest style of art. This evidence of contemporaneity is further confirmed by the bronze implements and good Mycenaean pottery found with this and other ivory carvings at Enkomi, and shows that they cannot be separated in date from the rest of these very homogeneous finds. In Tomb 16, with the above-mentioned helmet, was found part of a small ivory mirror-handle exhibiting reliefs of a recumbent stag or goat. These mirror-handles are a characteristic local fabric, and it was on one of these, from Tomb 17, that was carved the figure of the man slaying the griffin already referred to as presenting a close parallel to similar subjects on later Cypro-Phœnician bowls (Fig. 5). The griffin

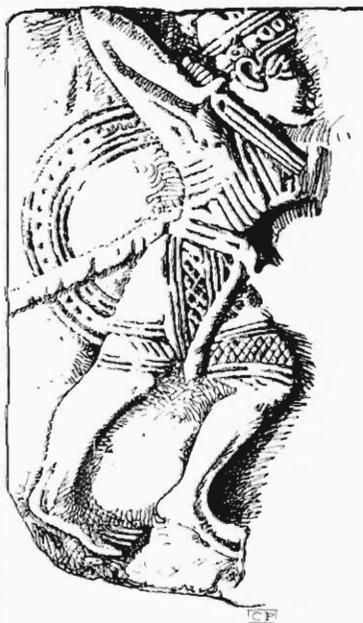


FIG. 5.—WARRIOR ATTACKING GRIF-  
FIN: RELIEF ON IVORY DRAUGHT-  
BOX, ENKOMI.

on this mirror-handle, with the spiral locks about his neck, answers nevertheless to an usual Mycenaean type, and the warrior wears a conical helmet closely resembling that already described. The lion seizing a bull seen on the back of this, and on another mirror-handle, recalls the design on a series of Mycenaean gems. In short, there is nothing here to separate these ivory carvings as a class

from the objects of the best Mycenaean period, with which they were associated. The work is spirited and naturalistic, and in more than one respect recalls the magnificent reliefs of the Vapheio vases.

Among these ivory objects is one which deserves special attention. This is an oblong box, the lid of which is marked off into squares in a manner identical with that of the draught-box of Queen Hatasu (c. 1481 B.C.). But, if the character of the game is Egyptian, the reliefs on the two long sides of the casket present a curious similarity to Assyrian hunting-scenes. On the best preserved side a mailed warrior armed with a bow is driven in a chariot with richly caparisoned horses at full gallop after a herd of bulls and antelopes (Fig. 6).



FIG. 6.—CHARIOT SCENE ON SIDE OF IVORY DRAUGHT-BOX FROM ENKOMI.

The general resemblance to the Assyrian scenes is evident. Yet when we come to look into details a number of divergent points at once strike the eye. The car of the Assyrian chariot rises at the back; that of the Enkomi draught-box falls away. A distinguishing feature of both the Assyrian and the Mycenaean chariots is the reduplication of the pole by an upper support starting from the top of the front of the car and meeting the pole at the yoke. But here we find a simpler arrangement, in which only the spring of the pole is connected by a cross-piece with the car-front.

In both these characteristic features the chariot of the draught-box follows Egyptian models, as illustrated by Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty monuments, as may be seen from the chariot of Rameses III given in Fig. 7, the only difference being that on some of the Egyptian examples, the back part of the pole is connected with the car-front by thongs in place of a wooden cross-piece. The same monuments show that this Egyptian type of chariot was also common to the contemporary Syrians. On the wall-paintings of the tomb of Reklmara a Rutemu of North Syria is seen with a chariot of this form, and it reappears driven by Kheta or Hittite warriors in the frescoes of Rameses II representing the great battle of Kadesh (Fig. 8).

The shape of this Hittite car, with its simple rounded outline behind, is

identical with that of the ivory relief. But the correspondence goes beyond this. The most characteristic of the horse-trappings connected with these Hittite war-chariots are a broad collar round the neck and a body-covering which seems to consist of a kind of armour. These features—notably the body-covering—also reappear on the draught-box, where the bowman himself is also seen wearing a

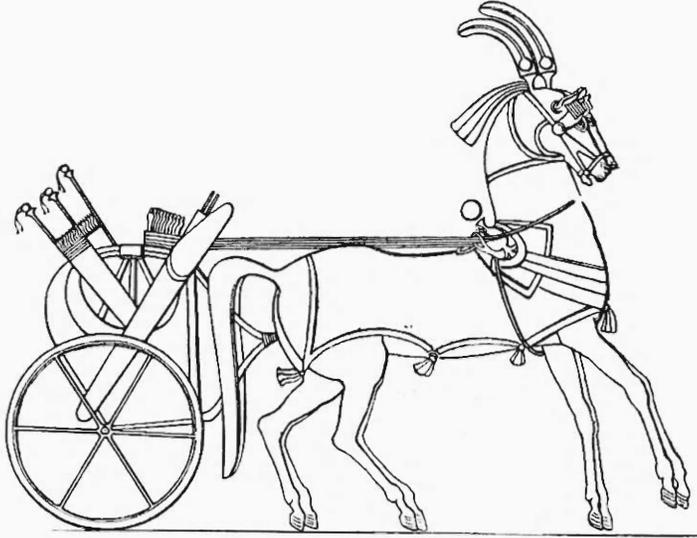


FIG. 7.—CHARIOT OF RAMESES III.

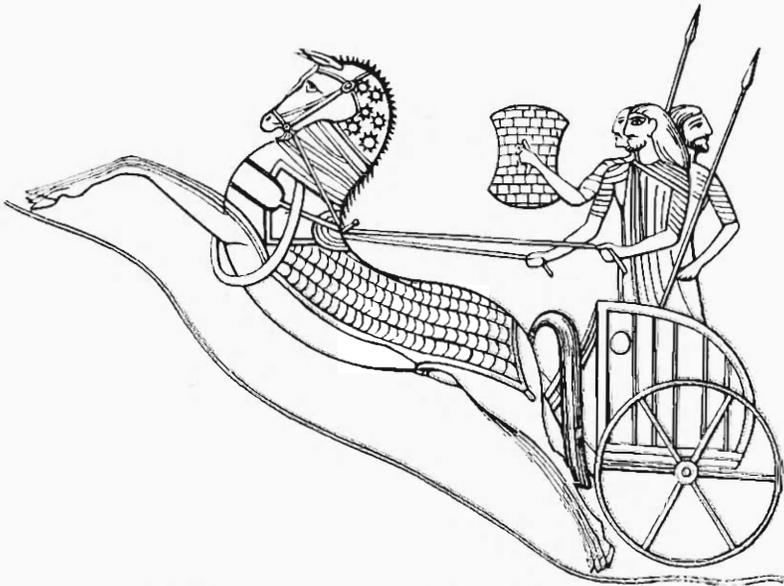


FIG. 8.—HITTITE CHARIOT: BATTLE OF KADESH.

coat of mail. This latter feature is not shared by the warriors of the Kadesh chariot; on a late Hittite monument, however—the relief, namely, of Sakshe-Gözü, which from certain Assyrianising features Puchstein is inclined to bring down

to the close of the eighth century B.C.,<sup>1</sup> and which represents a royal personage in a chariot, hunting lions—both the horse and the riders in the car are accoutred in scale-armour.

This scene has been justly cited by Dr. Murray as a parallel to the Enkomi carving, but though in some respects it shows a survival of the older Hittite fashion, the chariot itself belongs to the Assyrian class. The back of the car rises instead of falling away, and the long upper support is visible above the pole.

On the other hand, a feature of the Enkomi design remains to be described which again takes us back to an earlier period. On one side of the draught-box there appears behind the chariot a figure of a man holding an axe, who wears on his head a plumed casque (see Fig. 6). This casque (as Dr. Murray himself does not fail to observe) is the familiar head-piece of the enemies of Egypt—Purasati, Takkaras, and other peoples from the southern coast of Asia Minor and "the Islands of the Sea"—whose overthrow by Rameses III, in a sea-fight near the mouth of the Orontes, is commemorated on the pylon of Medinet Habou (see Fig. 9).

To sum up the evidence as to this remarkable ivory relief. The carvings at the two ends, representing groups of goats and oxen, belong to the usual Mycenaean cycle, and are practically indistinguishable from the designs on the mirror-handles from the same Enkomi tombs. The hunting scenes on the sides, however, though executed by the same Cypro-Mycenaean hands, show a form of chariot and types of armour and costume different from the Mycenaean. They are equally divergent from Assyrian fashion, and although much in the design shows a certain relationship to similar scenes on the monuments of Nimroud, Konyunjik, and Khorsabad, there is no real reason for assigning them to this later period. Their closest affinities lie nearer at hand, and they seem to have been executed to record the prowess of some princely Nimrod belonging to one or other of the contemporary races of the opposite Syrian or Cilician coasts. The closest parallel, both to the chariot and to the horse-trappings, is to be found in those of the Hittite warriors delineated on the monument of Rameses II; the feather helmet most nearly resembles those of the Anatolian foemen of Rameses III.

A certain falling off in the execution makes it reasonable to suppose that the carvings on the draught-box are somewhat later in date than the finer reliefs in ivory found in the same Enkomi tombs, such as the mirror-handle with the warrior and griffin. A feature, moreover, in the inventory of Tomb 58, which contained the draught-box, corroborates this view. It was, in fact, one of the few graves in which was discovered an iron object, in this case remains of an instrument set in an ivory handle in the shape of a bull's leg. This ornamental treatment of an iron object is, as we shall see, characteristic of the beginning of the transitional period which precedes the pure Age of Iron and implies a certain posteriority of date as compared with the tomb-groups containing exclusively implements of bronze.

<sup>1</sup> K. Humann und O. Puchstein, *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien*, p. 375 seqq. and Pl. XLVI.

The figures of the armed warrior grappling with a griffin (Fig. 5) that occur on two of the ivory mirror-handles seem, from their superior style, to belong to a somewhat earlier period than the draught-box. These are of special interest in their relation to forms of armour in vogue among the Mycenaeans in Cyprus. They bear round shields with a broad circular border, a circumstance which shows that this form of shield—which in the Ægean area seems only to have come into use in the period of decadence that produced the "Stela of the Warriors" found in the lower town of Mycenæ—had obtained an earlier vogue in Cyprus. The appearance on these ivories of a round shield coupled with the conical helmet enables us to establish a comparison which gives a singular support to this conclusion. It will be remembered that in the third shaft-grave at Mycenæ there was found a fragment of blue porcelain showing a warrior's head in relief with a helmet, similar to that of the figures on the ivories, save that it shows a horn in front, and part of a round shield.<sup>1</sup> The character of the armour, as well as the Egyptianising material so common at Enkomi, makes it probable that the fragment was either of Cypriote derivation or even from some early Ægean plantation in the Delta itself, and shows that the East Mediterranean offshoots of the "Mycenæan" stock had early adopted the round shield in preference to the S-shaped body-shield, which long maintained itself on the mainland and islands of Greece.

This acquaintance with the round shield is quite in keeping with the fact that the invaders from Western Asia Minor, as well as the Shardana seen in the battle-pieces of Medinet-Habou, in many cases also hold shields of the same form. Another circumstance makes this comparison still more pertinent. Many of the Western warriors on Rameses III's monument are seen armed with a kind of cuirass,<sup>2</sup> formed of a succession of plates, sometimes horizontal, sometimes rising towards the middle in a double curve (Fig. 9). Cuirasses with plates arranged in the horizontal manner may with great probability be recognised in certain objects figured along with chariots and horses on a class of inscribed clay tablets from the Palace of Knossos. The other type with the double curves recurs in the case of the two warriors grappling with the griffins on the mirror-handles of Enkomi (Fig. 5).

Recent discoveries thus supply a double corroboration of the Homeric tradition which carries back the use of the round shield and the cuirass or *θώραξ* to the earlier epic period. The poet of the *Iliad*, indeed, makes the breastplate of Agamemnon himself a gift of the Cypriote

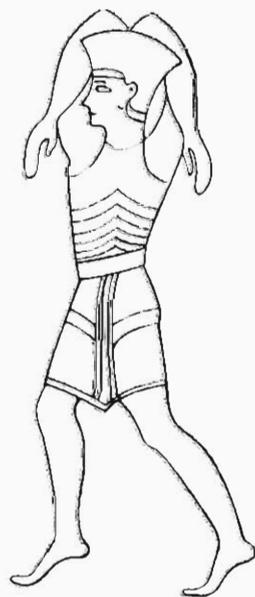


FIG. 9.—WESTERN WARRIOR WITH CUIRASS AND PLUMED CASQUE: MEDINET-HABOU.

<sup>1</sup> Reichel, *Homericische Waffen*, p. 58, though he refers to this fragment, passes it over as a foreign importation.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, p. 364.

King Kinyras.<sup>1</sup> It had ten bands of inlaid metal, a detail which curiously corresponds to the horizontal plates of one variety of the Mycenaean cuirass. In short, the armed figures on the Enkomi ivories present a most valuable illustration of the typical Homeric armour. Here, as in the *Iliad*, the belt or girdle—the Homeric ζωστήρ—which seems to have been fastened behind, follows the lower rim of the cuirass, thus forming a kind of pad round the waist analogous to that which protected the ankles of later Greek warriors from the lower edge of the greaves. Just, too, as in the epic we see this ζωστήρ reinforced by a second belt—ζώμα—with its belt-plate or μίτρη, so on the ivory relief there is seen a double raised ring around the warrior's waist. It was this second or true belt that seems more particularly to have held the chiton or tunic which we see here falling about the hips.

With such a representation before us, a series of Homeric passages on which Dr. Reichel in his recent work on Homeric armour has exhausted his powers of destructive criticism becomes easily intelligible. In the hands of the critic the passages relating to Agamemnon's breastplate and every other example recorded in the *Iliad* are bracketed as interpolations of no earlier date than the seventh century B.C.,<sup>2</sup> the period, namely, when cuirasses are first historically known. In the few passages where the word θώρηξ is allowed to pass muster, it is transferred by Dr. Reichel to the body-shield.

By the same Procrustean method the greaves of the εὐκνήμιδες Ἀχαιοὶ are reduced to pads of leather—or at most, in Achilles' case, of tin—to protect the shin from the heavy body-shield. That such were worn and for the reason given is probable enough, but the danger of endeavouring to prove too much is again illustrated by the discovery in Tomb 15 at Enkomi of a pair of bronze greaves (Fig. 10). The tomb in which they occurred was of the usual Mycenaean kind, and they were associated with a bronze dagger of a typical form. But Dr. Murray comments on the find as follows<sup>3</sup>:—"It is contended by Reichel that metal greaves were unknown to Homer. He is satisfied that they were the invention of a later age (about

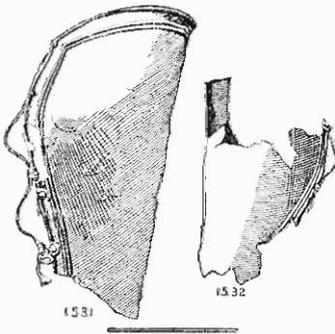


FIG. 10.—BRONZE GREAVES FROM ENKOMI.

700 B.C.). Should he still be of that mind, then our greaves may be of some importance in fixing the date of the Enkomi tombs." Some may think that the concordant evidence supplied by the Enkomi tomb-groups is of more importance than the authority of the ingenious Dr. Reichel in fixing the date of the greaves.

That bronze greaves of pure Mycenaean fabric would ultimately be discovered had long been my own expectation, for the following reason. That such existed in Greece in the succeeding "Dipylon" Period is not yet made out. But it is important

<sup>1</sup> *Iliad*, xi, 19 seqq.  
<sup>2</sup> p. 16.

<sup>3</sup> *Homerische Waffen*, p. 102.

to bear in mind that, during the same period, an Early Iron Age culture was developed in the north-western part of the Balkan Peninsula, and perhaps throughout a still wider archaeological province, which in many ways preserves the continuity of earlier Mycenaean tradition in a more uncorrupted form than the contemporary "geometrical" art of Greece.<sup>1</sup> This is shown by the appearance of certain specifically Mycenaean forms of objects—such as, to take a single example, the finger-ring with the major axis of its bezel at right angles to the hoop—and also by a curious survival of the Mycenaean spiraliform decoration. But among the characteristic accompaniments of warriors' remains in these early tombs are bronze greaves<sup>2</sup> ornamented in this case not only with the concentric circles and tangential connexions that represent the decay of the older returning

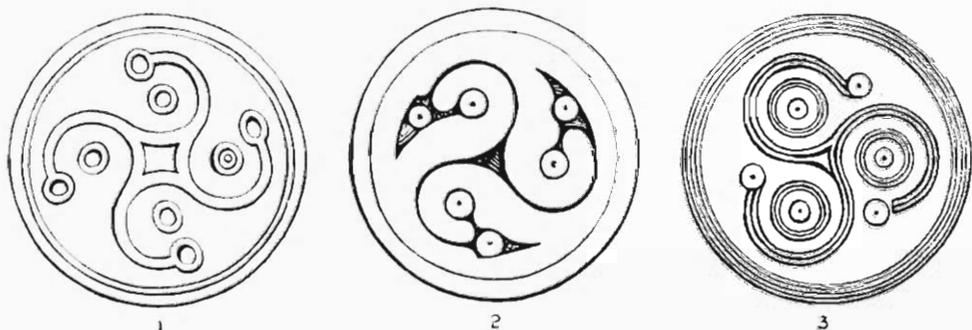


FIG. 11, 1 AND 2.—ORNAMENTAL IVORY BOSSES, MYCENÆ.

FIG. 11, 3.—ORNAMENT ON BRONZE GREAVES, GLASINAC.

spiral border, but by a central design of triquetral curves (Fig. 11, 3), the Mycenaean prototypes of which will be recognised in the gold and ivory bosses found by Schliemann in the shaft-graves (Fig. 11, 1 and 2).

Among the most interesting discoveries of Enkomi was a Mycenaean bronze foundry containing shovels, hammers, tongs, and other implements. With these was found a large copper slab with incurving side which unquestionably represents an ingot (Fig. 12). It is stamped with the Cypriote



FIG. 12.—COPPER INGOT: ENKOMI.

character *si* and recalls a large number of ingots found in the Bronze Age deposits of Sardinia, many of which are impressed with signs in a similar manner. On some of the clay tablets referring to the royal treasures of Knossos are engraved ingots of similar form, also in some cases

<sup>1</sup> The evidences of this Illyrian culture have been brought to light of recent years by the excavations of Radimsky, Truhelka, Fiala, Hoernes, and other explorers in the prehistoric cemeteries of Southern Bosnia and the Herzegovina (see *Wissenschaftliche Mittheilungen aus Bosnien und der Herzegovina*, 1893, etc., passim: and *Glasnik Zemaljskog Museja u Bosni i Hercegovini*). In my Rhind Lecture on the "Ancient Venetic Art Province and its Influence on the Celtic Races," an abstract of which was published in the *Scotsman* (December 14th, 1895), I pointed out the Mycenaean traditions in this Illyrian culture and the link which they supply between the decorative system of prehistoric Greece and that of "Late Celtic" art.

<sup>2</sup> *Wissensch. Mitth. aus Bosnien*, III, p. 11, Fig. 23, from a barrow at Glasinac.

countermarked with linear signs and accompanied by inscriptions in the same Mycenaean script. They are in several cases followed by a balance (*τάλαντον*) and cyphers apparently indicating their value in Mycenaean gold talents. The scales of a large balance were also found at Enkomi.<sup>1</sup>

These parallels are the more interesting in their relation to a piece of Egyptian evidence. On the walls of the Rekhmara tomb at Thebes, already referred to as belonging to Thothmes III's time, the Kefts and People of the Islands, who in other ways are so intimately associated with the Mycenaean, are seen bearing ingots of precisely the same form, marked with the copper sign. On another contemporary tomb an ingot of this shape is being carried to the melting-pot of an Egyptian foundry.

The appearance on the Enkomi ingot of a character of the Cypriote syllabary does not stand alone. Dr. Murray remarks that "on a certain number of vases Cypriote letters have been found. These letters were painted by the potters before the vases were fired." This observation is of extraordinary interest, but perhaps owing to the fact that the writer himself believed the Mycenaean vases in question to date from about 700 B.C., the importance of the phenomenon is so little appreciated that it has not been thought necessary to reproduce the letters thus preserved. The use of characters identical with those of the later Cypriote syllabary among the Mycenaean population of the island is, however, corroborated by another discovery, hitherto equally ignored. In a typical Mycenaean tomb on the Tekke site, near Larnaka, excavated in 1898 by Mr. H. B. Walters, was found a gold ring engraved with characters (Fig. 13) which in the British Museum inventory are



FIG. 13.—ENGRAVED RING: ENKOMI.

set down as imitations of Egyptian hieroglyphs. The characters are contained between two decorative scrolls and are four in number. The sign below answers to the Egyptian ankh or "life symbol," which recurs, perhaps as a religious symbol, on a gold ring from Enkomi. Forms of the ankh are also of frequent occurrence, often associated with divinities, on contemporary "Hittite" seals. It further appears that some varieties of the Cypriote character *ra* resemble this Egyptian sign,<sup>2</sup> which also recurs, probably with a syllabic value, among the linear forms of the Mycenaean script found in the Palace of Knossos.

This ankh sign, which on the signet ring stands apart from the others, may be therefore either a symbol or a letter. Of the other three signs, however, *g* is identical with the Cypriote *lc* and  $\bar{\tau}$  with *na*.  $\wedge$  is possibly a form of  $\wedge = ko$ . None of these forms are Egyptian.

A fragment of a clay *pitthos* was discovered at Enkomi with inscriptions in the ordinary Cypriote script painted on it in red.<sup>3</sup> It was found outside the

<sup>1</sup> *Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 17, Fig. 32.

<sup>2</sup> See the forms of this sign from Golgoi in Kollitz's table (*Dialekt-Inschriften*, Vol. I).

<sup>3</sup> *Excavations in Cyprus*, p. 3, Fig. 2.

*dromos* of a tomb, and there is therefore no evidence as to its date. Its interpretation presents great difficulties.

Still more enigmatic, however, are the signs engraved on three clay balls<sup>1</sup> (Fig. 14, Nos. 765, 766, 768), which, though not found actually in a tomb, lay in such proximity to it as probably to date from the same early period. Dr. Murray compares the signs on one of them with the conventionalised pictographic or hieroglyphic script of Crete, but at most there is only analogy between the two. We may perhaps trace the degradation of an animal's head in the first sign of No. 765, or a human palm in the fifth sign. A few simple forms approach

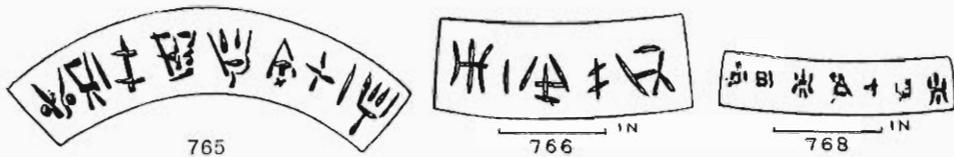


FIG. 14.—INSCRIPTIONS ON CLAY BALLS FROM ENKOMI.

those of the Cypriote syllabary, *e.g.*, the *pa*, *si*, *lo*, and *ta*. The newly discovered linear script of Knossos also presents about the same number of resemblances, and we see in Nos. 765 and 766 vertical lines introduced with the apparent purpose of dividing words as on the Cretan tablets. In the present state of our knowledge of the scripts of the Mycenaean Age it is unsafe to go beyond these general comparisons.

The time is past when the evidence of the existence of the Cypriote syllabary in Mycenaean times can excite surprise. The clay archives of the Palace of Knossos conclusively show that in the Aegean world there existed at least as early as the fifteenth century B.C. a highly developed form of linear script containing a series of forms practically identical with those in use down to a much later date by the Greeks of Cyprus.

Sufficient evidence has already been given of the general contemporaneity of the Mycenaean remains at Enkomi and other Cypriote sites with the Aegean relics found in Egyptian deposits at Tell-el-Amarna, Gurob, and elsewhere, and belonging to the latter part of the Eighteenth and the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty. But over and above these Egyptian comparisons a very valuable indication of the early date of these Cypro-Mycenaean tomb-groups is supplied by a negative phenomenon of great significance. Iron here is either altogether absent or only sparsely employed almost as a precious metal. "Not only," writes Dr. Murray, "is iron scarce, but wherever it does occur it is associated with marks of respect, such as being mounted with an ivory handle or knob" (p. 25). Bronze implements were otherwise universally in use at the date of these sepultures. Such tentative use of the new metal as is found is characteristic of the first beginnings of the transitional period that precedes the true Iron Age. The incipient use of iron for

<sup>1</sup> p. 27, Figs. 58, 59, 60.

ornamental purposes has been noted among the later remains at Mycenæ itself. In the shaft-graves of the Akropolis iron is altogether absent, while, on the other hand, in the graves of the lower town, marked by the first appearance of the fibula, a few iron finger-rings occurred.

Yet between these latest Mycenaean deposits in Greece itself and the earliest monuments of archaic classical art that go back to about 700 B.C. there intervenes a pure Early Iron Age of some centuries' duration, characterised by the various phases of Geometrical art. It is the same in Cyprus itself. In the tombs of the so-called "Cypro-Phœnician" period, which covers the interval in the island between the predominance of Mycenaean culture and the beginnings of classical art, the use of iron for cutting purposes has become general. This period, which, according to Dr. Olmefalsch Richter, extends from the twelfth to the seventh century B.C., shows a geometrical style in some respects parallel to that seen in the Dipylon cemetery and elsewhere in contemporary Hellas. A special product

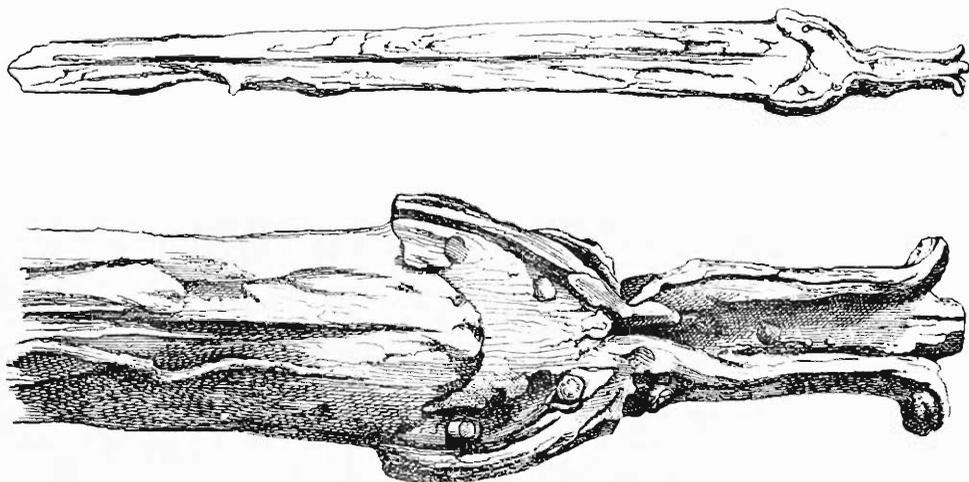


FIG. 15.—IRON SWORD FROM CURIUM.

of this Cypriote Iron Age is a form of sword (Fig. 15),<sup>1</sup> which is simply a translation into the new metal of a bronze form belonging to the close of the Mycenaean period<sup>2</sup> in Greece. The type is of northern importation and foreign to true Mycenaean tradition. The great interest, indeed, of this class of swords is that though in their earliest form themselves straight-sided, they were the forerunners of a widespread European race of bronze swords with leaf-shaped

<sup>1</sup> Found at Curium; in the possession of Dr. Julius Naue (Undset, *Forhandlinger i Videnskaps Selskabet*, Christiania, 1886, No. 14). For another from Marion, see Helbig, *Hom. Epos*, p. 130, note 5.

<sup>2</sup> This is shown by the occurrence of a sword of this type in the Bronze Hoard No. 1 from the houses explored by Dr. Tsountas outside the Akropolis of Mycenæ (Tsountas, *Ἐκ Μυκηνῶν*, *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.*, 1891, p. 26). A similar bronze sword was found in the "Cyclopean House" near the so-called "Agora" at Mycenæ, explored by Dr. Schliemann (*Mycenæ*, p. 144, Fig. 221). Another from Olympia is described by Sophus Müller (*Den Europæiske Bronzealders Oprindelse*, p. 325, Fig. 27).

blades, which may be traced from Hungary to Scandinavia on one side,<sup>1</sup> and on the other through Gaul to the British Islands.<sup>2</sup> The fact that the Cypriote iron form belongs to the earlier straight-sided type itself argues a considerable antiquity, which is enhanced by the Mycenaean associations in which its immediate prototype in bronze is found.

That the general use of iron was diffused in Cyprus at a very early date is an almost inevitable inference from the close relations in which the island stood to the neighbouring Syrian coasts,<sup>3</sup> which were in all probability the earliest centres of iron-working. Vessels of iron, some of them with silver handles, seem to have been already imported into Egypt from Syria and Canaan as early as Thothmes III's time (c. 1503-1449 B.C.)<sup>4</sup> and the Rutennu who owned Damascus, so famous in after times for its tempered steel, brought to this Pharaoh a tribute of unwrought iron and arms and chariots of the same metal. The invading Israelites, as we learn from the books of Joshua and Judges, found to their cost that the use of "chariots of iron" was already general among their Canaanite foes. In Northern Syria the exceptionally early use of iron in war is also well authenticated. The Assyrian King Tiglathpilezer (Tūkrat-Pal-Asar) I, who invaded the North Syrian region of Commagéné (Kūmmūk) in 1130 B.C., with his "brazen-wheeled" chariots, carried off from that and the adjoining countries vast spoils of iron as well as bronze.<sup>5</sup>

There is every reason for supposing that in Cyprus the beginning of the Iron Age did not lag behind that of the neighbouring mainland regions. Yet the great bulk of the Mycenaean tombs of Cyprus belong to the pure Bronze Age, and in only a few cases is there evidence of that incipient acquaintance with iron in which it is regarded almost as "a precious metal." In view of this concordant archaeological evidence, it seems impossible to bring down the latest of these Cypro-Mycenaean interments beyond at most the twelfth century B.C. But in order to satisfy the views put forward in the British Museum publication before us it would be necessary to suppose that the Bronze Age of Cyprus, so far from reaching its term somewhat earlier than that of Greece and Italy, came down five centuries later, to the date, namely, of the François vase and to the borders of the period of fully developed classical art. It is superfluous to point out that conclusions such as this are incompatible with the best ascertained archaeological data as to the gradual succession of distinct phases of civilisation in the East

<sup>1</sup> See Undset, *Études sur l'Âge de Bronze en Hongrie*, i, p. 148.

<sup>2</sup> See J. Evans, *Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain*, p. 273 seqq.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. J. L. Myres remarks (*Cat. of the Cyprus Museum*, p. 21), "The very early appearance of iron and its great frequency at this time are a measure of the close intercourse of Cyprus with the Syrian coast, the only area in which iron-workings may be suspected to be earlier. Cyprus has considerable masses of iron ore of fair quality, and there is evidence that they were discovered and worked as soon as the knowledge of the metal extended."

<sup>4</sup> Birch, in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians* (1878 edition), vol. ii, p. 251; Pierret, *Dict. Archéologique Égyptien*, p. 104; Ch. Deveria, *Mélanges d'Archéologie Égypt. et Assyr.*, i, 2; W. Max Müller, *Asien und Europa*, pp. 153, 154.

<sup>5</sup> J. Menant, *Annales des rois d'Assyrie*, pp. 36, 37. Cf. J. de Morgan, *Les premiers Âges des Métaux dans l'Arménie Russe*, pp. 200, 201.

Mediterranean basin. The long centuries of the iron-using Geometrical Period alike in Cyprus and in Greece proper are either left out of account or a Mycenaean Bronze Age is interposed between them and classical times. It is impossible to conclude without an expression of regret that views so subversive of the fixed points of antiquarian science should receive encouragement from a quarter which, on more purely classical ground, we have all been accustomed to regard as authoritative.

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[Reprinted from the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, Vol. XXX (= N.S., Vol. III),  
July-December, 1900.]

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