

## CHAPTER XV

### A E G E A N T R A D E R S THE DECORATION OF LATE “MITANNIAN” WARE

Reference has already been made to a series of plant designs used on a variety of “Mitannian” ware and reputedly produced under Aegean auspices. This, together with the conjectures that this ware as a whole may have been inspired by Aegean models, must now be considered. The use of white paint on a dark ground and the presence of designs such as the frequently used rosettes and the so-called “double-axe trees” of the late variety known from sites in the Amuq valley have served as the principal reasons for the assumption of Minoan influence.<sup>1</sup> The putative ancestor of the “Mitanni” ware is the MM II light-on-dark Kamares fabric which is known to have been present at Ras Shamra. Aside from the white paint, the Kamares rosettes and the MM III B pattern on a jar from Pachyamos (Fig. X.15) have been used as points of comparison. These remain generalized resemblances; they do not constitute a series of detailed coincidences. Moreover, there is a considerable chronological gap between the end of MM II and the beginning of the “Mitannian” pottery around 1450 B. C. Under these circumstances we believe that it is futile to attempt to find MM Cretan connections for the Asiatic ware, nor has Mallowan, in his discussion of its origin, felt compelled to do so.<sup>2</sup>

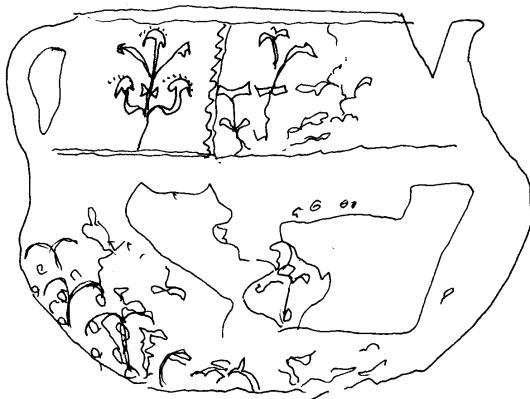
After having disbarred the possibility that the white-on-black technique itself came from Crete, there remains the question whether any of the unusual characteristics of certain late “Mitannian” ware designs can be, in part at least, attributed to Aegean influence. Vessels of the types in question have so far been found only within the Amuq valley, to the west of Mitanni proper, at Tell Atchana and Tell Tainat. Their chronological position is

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<sup>1</sup> Arthur Evans, “Tal Atchana”, JHS, LVI (1936), 133-4. Sir Leonard Woolley, “Excavations at Tal Atchana, 1937,” AJ, XVIII (1938), 10.

<sup>2</sup> Mallowan, “White Painted Subartu Pottery,” *Mélange Dussaud* Paris, 1939.

clear from the Atchana stratification. The pots found in private houses (Fig.XV.1) or in the streets outside the house walls (Figs. XV.2, XV.3, XV.4) belong definitely to stratum II.



**Fig. XV.1**



**Fig. XV.2**



**Fig. XV.3**



**Fig. XV.4**

In the palace area Woolley indicates that levels II-III were not distinguished by stratigraphical, but by internal evidence; “on the whole, however, it did seem to be the case that fragments of ‘Atchana’ ware with the elaborate papyrus design combined with rosettes which approaches most nearly to Cretan decoration came from the upper layers.”<sup>3</sup> The absolute dates for level II, as proposed by Sidney Smith range from after 1276-c.1220 B.C.<sup>4</sup> The third level must have been destroyed during the course of the conflicts preceding

<sup>3</sup> Sir Leonard Woolley, “Excavations at Atchana-Alalakh, 1938”, AJ, XIX (1939), 4.

<sup>4</sup> Sidney Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology*, (London, 1940), pp. 46-47.

the conclusion of peace between Ramses II and Hattusilis (1273 B. C.). The next stratum, II, covers the period when Alalakh was under Hittite hegemony and ends with the destruction of that power around 1220 B. C.; it is succeeded by a brief, poverty-stricken occupation which persisted for only a short time before being overwhelmed by the migrations which brought the brilliant civilization of the later Second Millennium B. C. to a catastrophic end.

This period, contemporary with the Egyptian Nineteenth Dynasty, saw the establishment of the Mycenaean *koine* which, despite local variations, enveloped Mainland Greece, Rhodes, Cyprus in a common culture, established thriving colonies on the Asiatic coast, as at Ugarit, and marketed its wares along the entire Mediterranean littoral. Although a certain number of pots had testified to the resumption of active Aegean trade, interrupted since the cessation of MM commerce some centuries earlier,<sup>5</sup> it was not until the last part of the Eighteenth Dynasty that mainland traders began to intensify their activities. From this time on, they were conspicuous in all the important emporiums of the Near East. As is characteristic of important merchant communities, they safeguarded their trading interests by the establishment of commercial and artisan colonies at strategic sites.<sup>6</sup> The communities of Rhodes and Cyprus were of such magnitude as to constitute cultural centers almost rivaling those on the Greek Mainland itself. Mycenaean products were carried to places where there were no resident Aegeans. Such objects form a characteristic archaeological index for this period.

Although it was an inland city and apparently did not possess a quarter of resident Aegeans, Atchana controlled important trade routes, and formed one of the principal links in the economic network of the period. It was a cosmopolitan town, now dominated by the Hittite empire, but tied to the cultural elements derived from the North Mesopotamian area with which it had been so closely linked during the hegemony of Mitanni. It was exposed

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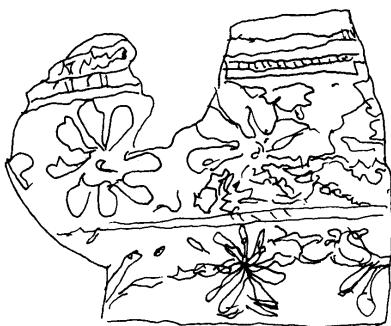
<sup>5</sup> Cf. Chapter X

<sup>6</sup> The question of Mycenaean colonization is not a settled one, however. Their existence is denied by some.

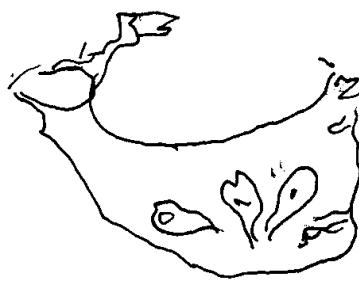
to Mycenaean influences, and, despite the power of the Hittites, was not cut off completely from Egyptian trade, which came up the Syrian coast from the South. This is the milieu in which the rococo late “Mitannian” designs were developed. Under these circumstances influences from MM Crete would be inexplicable; if Aegean stimulation played a part in their development, it must have been derived from LH III A sources.

#### LATE “MITANNIAN” VOLUTE HYBRIDS

The decoration of the “Mitannian” ware of Atchana II is of a fairly stereotyped character. Elements derived from the earlier repertoire, rosettes (Figs.XV.1, XV.3, XV.4, XV.5, XV.6) and scale patterns (Fig XV.7) continued in use.



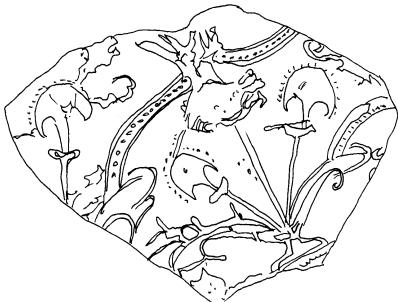
**Fig. XV.5**



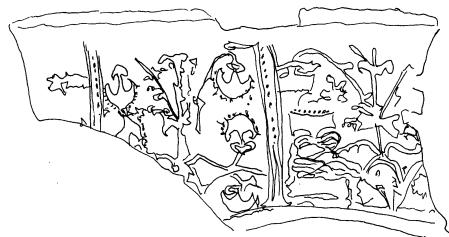
**Fig. XV.6**

Far more prominent, however, are the larger designs involving the conspicuous application of flower umbels equipped with a fringe of dots. Although they were used on several different pot types, only two main compositions can be distinguished, a volute hybrid and a semi-rapport motive. The former decorates the large, loop-handled pot of Fig.XV.1 and XV.8. The broad neck of this vessel is divided into a series of panels, each filled by what is essentially the same pattern with slightly varying details. We have already suggested that this panel type of composition was a characteristic feature of Mitannian decoration. Its use here in conjunction with alternating plant motives is very reminiscent of the more complicated composition used on the walls of Nuzi (Fig.XIV.51). This

comparison serves as a reminder of the possibility that the ceramic designs may be derivative, or representative of contemporary wall paintings.<sup>7</sup>



**Fig. XV.7**



**Fig. XV.8**

Murals are known to have existed at Atchana; Woolley speaks of a house, dating around the latter part of the Fourteenth Century B. C., which “contained frescoes strikingly reminiscent of decoration in the Minoan palace at Knossos.”<sup>8</sup> In each panel of the Atchana pot is placed a plant with a base formed by a volute, whose arms curve downward as they change into flowering stems. As in the earlier “Mitannian” ware (Figs. XIV.55, XIV.73, XIV.75), the volute lobes are surrounded by two arcades; from the top one, springs a median stem ending either in a semicircular papyrus head or what may be called a three-lobed palmette. The position assumed by two upper pairs of lateral stems, tipped respectively by papyrus or tetragonal elements is clear in the figures.

Both the metope composition and the basal volutes of Fig. XV.1 are explained as a heritage from the earlier Mitannian art discussed in Chapter XIV. Likewise, there seems no need to seek for an Aegean origin of the pattern of twisting, recurring flower-tipped stems, which constitutes the most striking feature of the volute hybrids. Despite the great gaps in Asiatic materials, it is possible to reconstruct a fairly conclusive oriental background for it. Ultimately the motive must be based on the Egyptian unification symbol, which has already been prominently mentioned during the course of our discussion. It is rather unlikely that

<sup>7</sup> It is extremely interesting that a very formalized plant design roughly contemporary with the late “Mitannian” ware occurs in a mural at Kar Tukulti Ninurta (Figs. XVI.73-76). It may well be related with Figs. XV.1 and XV.8 (cf. Chapter XVI).

<sup>8</sup> ILN, Dec. 2, 1039, p. 833.

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<http://www-oi.uchicago.edu/OI/DEPT/RA/HJK/HJKXV.pdf>

this Egyptian influence was exerted as directly as we have assumed in the case of the adoption of volute designs by Mitannian pot painters. As early as the Hyksos seal of Fig. XIII.15, the unification symbol was being adopted by Asiatic designers. Despite the existence of considerable chronological and geographical gaps the Atchana pattern bears a definite similarity to it. Direct relations between the two are naturally out of the question, but some evidence remains to show that Figs. XIII.15, XIII.9-15, XIII.25-26 left traces in Second Syrian glyptic. A tradition carried on in this manner could have easily influenced the designers in the Amuq valley. The occurrence of papyrus on Second Syrian seals has already been considered. Fig. XIII.25 is of special pertinence in this regard, for it displays a series of papyrus stalks springing from a median stem; these have precisely the same outward and downward curve as in Figs. XV.1 and XV.8. Despite the absence of stems turning upward, the plant, which on the Syrian seal forms the support for a winged sun-disc, cannot be disconnected with the Mitannian pot painting. The papyrus-tipped staff of the same seal, and the twinned papyrus group of Fig. XIII.26 are less striking parallels, but important as showing the currency of down-curving papyrus stems in the Second Syrian repertoire. Although at present these remain the only evidence for a tradition from which Fig. XV.1 could have developed, they must be regarded as sufficient explanation. In fact, if the great gaps in the knowledge of Asiatic art are recalled, the chance preservation of even a few clues to the development of these strange volute designs must be regarded as a singularly fortunate accident.

With the explanation of the main elements of design in Fig. XV.8 there remain for discussion only certain accessory features. The triangular lines connecting the two lower stems are probably nothing but small additions improvised by the painter. More peculiar is the quadrangular shape placed athwart the main stem, just below the point where the upper branches begin, and the somewhat similar quadrangular elements substituting for the papyrus umbels in every second volute hybrid. These undoubtedly form the basis for the

term “double-axe tree” used by Evans and Woolley;<sup>9</sup> the former also speaks of the papyrus umbels as single-bladed axes.<sup>10</sup> The Minoan double axe, which is obviously a potent religious symbol was sometimes used as a ceramic device; an elaborate form appears on a LM II Palace style jar (Fig. VIII.24). Much simpler patterns came into vogue on the Mainland during the LH I-II and persisted until LH III A,2 e.<sup>11</sup> None of these examples has the slightest resemblance to the elements of Fig. XV.8, and even if decided similarities did exist, there would remain the problem of explaining how Aegean ceramics of the earlier phases could have exerted influence on the Thirteenth Century B. C. Amuq fabric. The LH III A,2 ware, which could have served as a connecting link, bears axes showing no resemblance whatsoever to the Amuq designs. Since there is nothing at present known in the Asiatic milieu resembling these quadrangular additions, we must consider them as results of the imagination of the Amuq designer.

The dotted papyrus profiles stand as the only feature of the volute design which may possibly show the intervention of Aegean influence. The form of the umbels themselves can be naturally derived from those appearing on Second Syrian seals. It is only the dotting with which they are surrounded which is peculiar. A LM III A, 1 jar, (Fig. VIII.49) presumably somewhat earlier in absolute date than the Amuq designs, bears an ornate hybrid very different from the rococo “Mitannian” plants, but containing strongly recurved, dotted umbels strikingly reminiscent of Fig. XV.8, despite being executed in dark paint on a light ground. A sherd from Phylakopi offers a less striking parallel (Fig. XV.9). Such dotted types have a considerable background in Crete. We have seen that

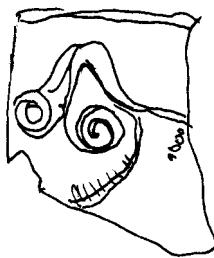
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<sup>9</sup> Arthur Evans, “Tal Atchana,” JHS, LVI (1936), p. 134.

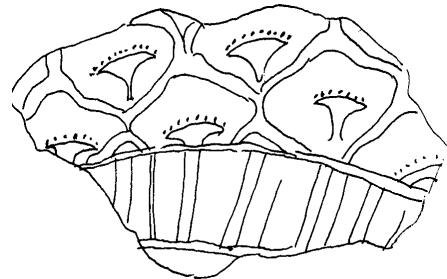
<sup>10</sup> Ibid., p. 134. The MM III B - LMI A design from Pachyamnos (Fig. X.15) which Evans cites as an analogy does not seem convincing. There are no detailed coincidences between the ornate heads of the Cretan design and those of Fig. XV.8. There is no necessity of connection because of the use, common to both the Minoan jar and the “Mitannian” ware, of the general shape of a papyrus umbel. The very recurved form of the Asiatic design is quite distinct from those of Fig. X.15.

<sup>11</sup> A. J. B. Wace, “Mycenae, The Tholos Tombs,” BSA, XXV (1921-23), Pls. XLVII, h; XLVIII, p, q (Aegisthos tholos).

dotted papyrus umbels were typical for the mural paintings of MM III B; they fill a tricurved-arch textile pattern in the robe of a lady of a LM I mural fragment (Fig. XV.10).

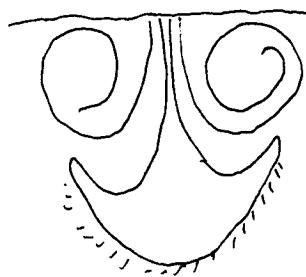


**Fig. XV.9**

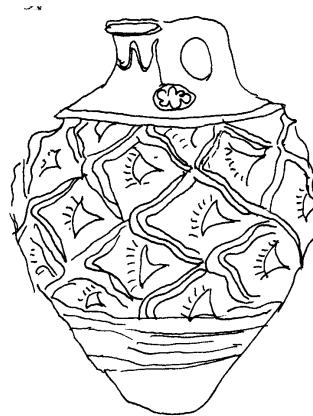


**Fig. XV.10**

It was probably from such prototypes that they were carried over into ceramic decoration, where they occur in LM I B (Fig. VIII.15) and in LM II vessels (Fig XV.11, cf. Fig. VIII.19). In Mycenaean pottery, accessory papyrus umbels as in Fig. XV.12 were occasionally used, according to Furumark in the LH II-III A,1 and A,2 phases.<sup>12</sup>



**Fig. XV.11**



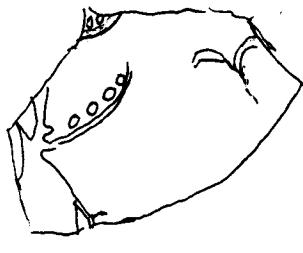
**Fig. XV.12**

The rim of a LH III A,1 pithead amphora from Ialysos was decorated by a band of tricurved arches with such filling (Fig. XV.12). Although these motives were not extremely common LH III elements, there is some possibility that they could have been known in the Amuq plain. However, ornaments such as Fig. XV.12 do not show the striking similarity with the “Mitannian” dotted umbels demonstrated by the LM III design

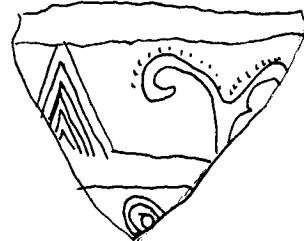
<sup>12</sup> Mpot, p. 391, Fig. 68, Mot. 62, Fill ornaments.

of Fig. VIII.49, but there is little likelihood that the insular Cretan design could have had any influence in the distant Syrian workshop. There thus exist good reasons for extreme caution in considering the possible relationship of the Aegean designs cited and the papyrus of Fig. XV.1.

The most convincing basis for denying any Aegean influence in the production of the dotted “Mitannian” papyri has yet to be stated. There exists a certain amount of evidence showing that the elaboration of designs by dotted borders was a typical procedure of “Mitannian” ware painters. In addition to the dots surrounding the circumferences of the papyrus umbels and covering the tops of the quadrangular elements, such elements also appear in the semi-rapport designs of Figs. XV.2, XV.3, XV.4 to border the upper surfaces of palmette-like elements and to fill connective bands. Dots help to form various rosette types (Figs. XV.1, XV.4). Most important of all, is the fact that they were used as elaborations in the earlier phases of the “Mitannian” ware (Figs. XIV.56, XIV.60, XIV.64, XIV.67, XIV.72-73). Two sherds, one from Nuzi (Fig. XV.13) and having a range, therefore, from Shaushattar to Akhenaten and another from an unspecified level at Tell Brak (Fig. XV.14) are particularly significant.



**Fig. XV.13**



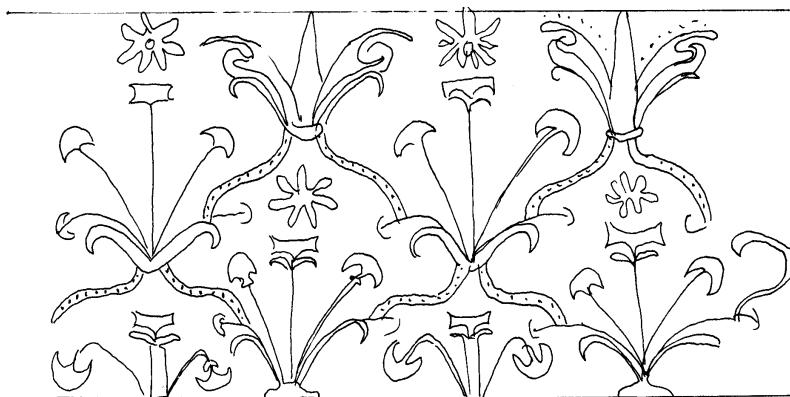
**Fig. XV.14**

On the former, parts of two elements resembling upturned volutes appear; a fringe of dots is shown along the upper side. In the latter, most of a simple motive shaped like a Southflower perianth remains; its entire upper outline is dotted. These examples offer quite

conclusive testimony that it is unnecessary to look beyond the bounds of the “Mitannian” ceramic tradition itself for an explanation of the development of the dotted papyrus profiles so characteristic for the rococo Amuq valley design.

#### THE LATE “MITANNIAN” SEMI-RAPPORT DESIGN

We have ended the discussion of the volute bushes of Fig. XV.1 by determining that the only possible trace of Aegean influence would have to be found in the dotted umbels, and that in their case, the evidence is negative. There is little likelihood that the Aegean played a part in the production of the volute hybrids. It is now time to determine whether the same holds true for the more complex and apparently commoner pattern decorating footed goblets (Figs. XV.3, XV.4)<sup>13</sup> and a round bottomed bowl (Fig. XV.2). It is definitely bounded at the base and top, but can be extended laterally indefinitely in an endless rapport. The composition is clearly revealed by the unrolled drawing of Fig. XV.4 (Fig. XV.15).



**Fig.XV.15.**

. On the line forming the lower border hybrid bushes are set at intervals. Their South-flower perianths are bordered by lines from which spring wavy bands. These are grouped in pairs supporting a middle register of the same kind of hybrid bushes. The third and top row consists of rococo hybrid elements, possibly of palmette character. Vacant spaces

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<sup>13</sup> An example, still unpublished, was found at Tell Tainat, as Dr. R. J. Braidwood has kindly informed me.

above the lower border are filled by what appear as truncated segments of the recurring bushes of Fig. XV.1. Broad petaled or dotted rosettes serve as smaller filling motives.



Fig. XV.16



Fig. XV.17

The individual elements of this composition can be considered elaborations of current plant themes invented by the pot painter. The South-flower perianth supporting three stems<sup>14</sup> is unusual for Mitanni or Syria. However, the staff of a god in Fig. XIV.6 consists of a perianth with three shoots, and the use of three palmette leaves is illustrated in Figs. XIV.39, XIV.60-61, XIV.64. The smallest hybrid on the Ras Shamra bowl (Fig. XIII.34), some centuries earlier than the Amuq ware, displays a triple group apparently created under fairly direct Egyptian influence. There is thus some precedent for such groups which could be, in any case, easily devised independently. The occurrence of papyri on Second Syrian seals and their penetration thence into the repertoire of the late "Mitannian" potter has already been discussed. The only other noteworthy features of these hybrids are the hooked lines bordering the perianths and the splayed bases of the bushes in the lowest register. The former character is somewhat comparable to the additional bands and lines used in the Nuzi Painting (Fig. XIV.51). Fig. XIV.51E is reminiscent of the broad base of plants on a seal from Ras Shamra (Fig. XIII.30) and on the Medinet Gurob bowl (Fig. XII.27), but there can be no certainty of any connection. There are also possibly comparisons on the Aegean side. Certain fanciful LH III plants grow from bases formed by a single tricurved arch, which is very similar in shape to the base of the "Mitannian" hybrids (Figs. XV.16, XV.17). However, here, too, it is impossible to prove a definite connection.

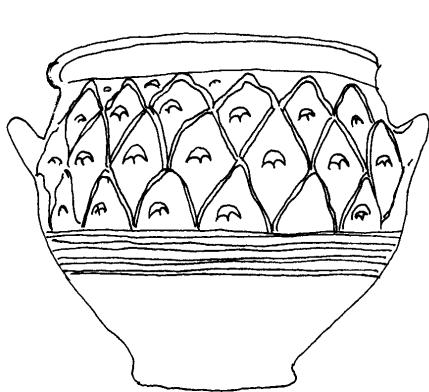
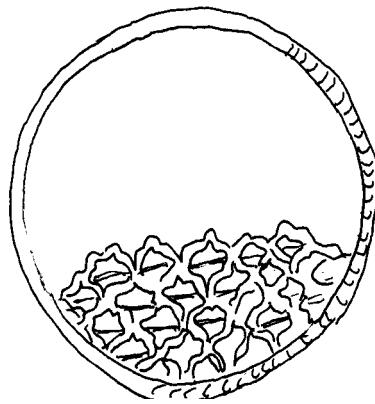
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<sup>14</sup> The approximation of this group to the Egyptian triple papyrus motive is undoubtedly completely accidental.

The “palmettes” of the top register of Fig. XV.15, like the simpler ones at the top of the tetragon-tipped volute hybrid of Fig. XV.8, remain without real parallels. The lowest pair of downcurving volutes may be relics of a South-flower hybrid. The remainder of the design appears, at present, to be an independent invention of the Amuq painters. It is an example of the creative activity, possibly of a single individual, but at most, of a closely integrated workshop. The great length of time separating us from the period in question, as well as the sparsity of evidence, is only too likely to lead us to forget that we are dealing with the fossilized remains of the activities of living people. Our search for parallels by which to “explain” the origin of designs is in reality an inquiry into the various possible stimulating factors which could have confronted a designer living in this specific spatial, temporal, and cultural setting, and may therefore have activated his operations. We must never forget, when dealing with designs, that behind them there looms the once living figures of their creators, however obscured by the mists of incomplete knowledge and the unavoidable simplification and abstraction enjoined by the attempt to resurrect long dead cultures. Despite the limitations imposed by cultural traditions, the strength of which varies in different localities, the products we study were, in the final analysis, made by individuals working under specific stimulations and amid specific settings. It is such conditions, which are unreconstructable in detail, which constitute the controlling factors in the creation of features that we now label as “unexplainable.”

Having dealt with the individual components of Fig. XV.15 it is time to ask whether any comparisons for the composition as a whole can be cited. Unlike the metope pattern of Fig. XV.1, for which there existed several parallels, there is only one seal, Fig. XIV.19, bearing a continuous ornament. Aside from this quality it shares nothing with the ceramic pattern, which is much more complicated. We believe that, in this connection alone, there is a strong possibility of influence derived from the Mycenaean products which were flooding into Asia in the thirteenth century.

A pattern consisting of a network formed of a series of tricurved arches<sup>15</sup> enjoyed an extremely widespread use in Minoan and Mycenaean decoration.<sup>16</sup> In Crete, for example, it appears as a textile design in LM I (Fig. XV.10). and on a LM II stirrup jar (Fig. XV.12).<sup>17</sup> On the Greek Mainland it was used on pottery in LH I,<sup>18</sup> II,<sup>19</sup> and III (Fig. XV.18).<sup>20</sup>

**Fig. XV.18****Fig. XV.19**

In the LH III palace at Tiryns it covers the floor of the Megaron.<sup>21</sup> The pattern had a variety of other uses; it is prominent as a representation of waves among which swimmers struggle on a silver rhyton from the Fourth Shaft Grave at Mycenae.<sup>22</sup> Gold or glass paste beads in the form of single arches with berry-like projections were found in a grave pit in the

<sup>15</sup> The following section on tricurved-arches is found in slightly different form in "The Aegean and Orient in the Second Millennium," AJA 51, pp.1-103, beginning on p. 99.

<sup>16</sup> Single arches occur in LM I B II, and were very common in the Mainland Palace Style; they also persisted in use in later phases (cf. MPot, p. 391, Fig. 68, Mot. 62, 5-7)

<sup>17</sup> A sherd with very similar pattern, said to be from Crete, is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art ("G. M. A. R., "Cretan Pottery," BMMA, VII (1912), 29, Fig. 15)

<sup>18</sup> Pro, II, p.167, Fig. 665, 1004.

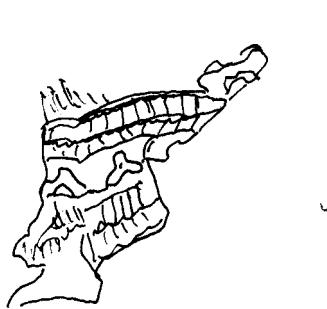
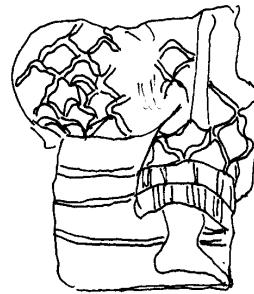
<sup>19</sup> Mpot, p. 391, Fig. 68, Mot. 62,8.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, 10-12 (LH III A,1), 13-14 (III A,2). PRO, p.187, Fig. 708 (T.XV)

<sup>21</sup> ArtC, p. 20, Fig. 28.

<sup>22</sup> Schgr., p. 108, Fig. 39; Pl CXII, 481D. Tricurved-arch networks have been termed a "peak pattern" by G. W. Elderkin ("The Marriage of Zeus and Hera," AJA, XLI [1937], p. 427). He cites the LM seal showing a goddess on a cliff flanked by two dogs, comparable, he says, to the Yasilia Kaya relief - and takes this as a clue to the pattern on the rhyton of Shaft Grave IV. This shows, in his opinion, an encounter with a lion and not a seascape, as misinterpreted by Evans. There is, however, no basis for equating the cliff of the seal with the distinctive tricurved-arch motive. If the glyptic design has any ceramic correlate, which remains doubtful, then the plain scale pattern is the most likely choice.

dromos of the Clytaemestra tholos, and in that of the Genii, both LM III B in date.<sup>23</sup> In addition, tricurved arch nets were used in ivory carving as on a LM III B disc from Spata (Fig. XV.19), and from similar fragments from Prosymna. Blegen suggests that these are all parts of mirror cases. He also refers to a “deep pyxis” found by Tsountas at Mycenae bearing the same decoration.<sup>24</sup> On LH III ivory statuettes from Mycenae tricurved arch nets are used as a textile pattern (Figs.XIV.20, XV.21).<sup>25</sup> Two small ivory fragments from the LH III A,1 tholos at Dendra also display the motive.<sup>26</sup> This recital of occurrences is abundant evidence of the popularity and widespread use of the tricurved arch in Greece proper.

**Fig. XV.20****Fig. XV.21**

In addition, its spread eastward can be followed by means of the pottery. Such networks occur on vessels from Ialysos classified by Furumark as LH II B<sup>27</sup>, III A,1<sup>28</sup>, and III A,2.<sup>29</sup> Another example, Fig. XV.22 is probably LH III B. However, there is even more conclusive proof of the presence of tricurved-arch networks on the Asiatic mainland itself. A house belonging to Troy VII, A contained a fragment of an ivory box (Fig. XV.23) with decoration comparable to the lid from Spata (Fig. XV.19). An ivory

<sup>23</sup> A. J. B. Wace, *op. cit.* p. 365, Fig. 79, m; p.383, Fig. 89, m.

<sup>24</sup> Pro II, p.108, Fig. 445, 45. Cf. Pro I, p. 283 and n. 8.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. also ILN, Dec. 16, 1934, p. 905, Fig. 6, lower left.

<sup>26</sup> RT, Pl.XXVI.

<sup>27</sup> MPot, p. 391, Fig. 68, Mot. 62, 9 (Annuario, VI-VII[1923-24], [Ialysos, NT 37,2]).

<sup>28</sup> CVA:Italie, I, Pl. CCCLX, I (Ialysos, NT 31,1).

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*, (Ialysos, NT 51,8)

carving from Minet el Beida, most probably made by an Asiatic, bears a border of single trcurved arches (Fig. XV.24), comparable to bands on a mirror handle from Mycenae.<sup>30</sup> A LH III vessel from Ras Shamra is decorated by a single band of arches, differently arranged (Fig. XV.25).

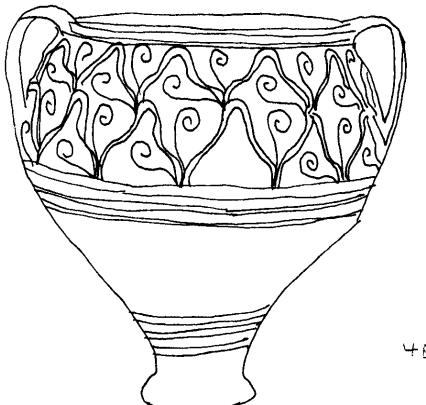


Fig. XV.22

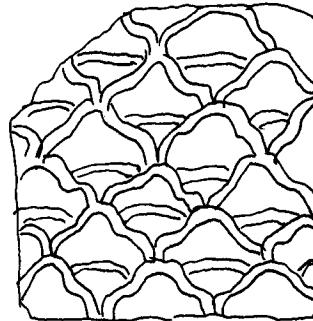


Fig. XV.23



Fig. XV.24

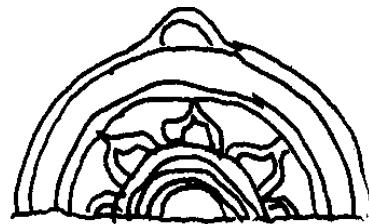


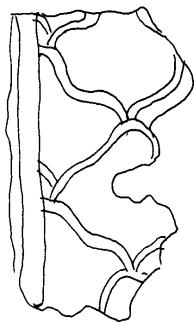
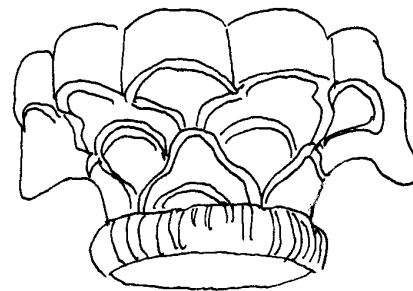
Fig. XV.25

A very fragmentary ivory fragment from NT 18 at Enkomi was decorated by “composite patterns of scales and rosettes;” the surface is badly abraded, but the very small photograph published does suggest that the tricurved arch was present.<sup>31</sup> More explicit is the

<sup>30</sup> ArtPG II, p.262, Fig. 379.

<sup>31</sup> SCE I, p. 554, Chamber No. 107; Pl. LXXXIX, 1, 107. This object was found in the upper level of the central tomb chamber, belonging to the second group, which Gjersted assigns approximately to the end of LC II, I. e. c.1200 (*Ibid.*, pp. 557-9 and accompanying diagram).

fragmentary pyxis from the LC III OT 75 of the same site.<sup>32</sup> The central register contains a female sphinx, resembling examples from the Greek Mainland,<sup>33</sup> led by a striding human figure. Both the upper and lower borders are filled by tricurved arches. Although these two Enkomi pieces date around 1200, and are thus somewhat later than the rococo ware under consideration, they still provide evidence of the currency of the motive in the same general period which saw the development of the ceramic designs. An inconspicuous ivory fragment from Megiddo also bears tricurved decoration (Fig. XV.26).

**Fig. XV.26****Fig. XV.27**

Besides all these examples, a fortunate chance has preserved a carved porphyry lamp at Atchana itself (Fig. XV.27). Exact details of its stratification have not yet been published, but it was found in a rubbish pit of a house earlier than the late Fourteenth century.<sup>34</sup> Thus the lamp is appreciably older than the “Mitannian” composition which we are discussing. Its exact date is of little significance, since its importance lies in the evidence it provides that the tricurved-arch network was known at Alalakh for some time previous to the formation of the design of Fig. XV.15).

It is this pattern which provided, we believe, the basic compositional scheme of Fig. XV.15. If the striking and predominant plant elements are disregarded, there remains a tricurved-arch framework complete save for the gaps at the tips of the arches, where the

<sup>32</sup> BMExCyprus, Pl. II, p. 1126; cf. p. 32.

<sup>33</sup> ArtC, p. 38, Fig. 56, a (Mycenae); p.39, Fig. 59 (Spata).

<sup>34</sup> ILN, Dec. 2, 1939, p. 833.

plant elements have been inserted. Nevertheless, the characteristic curves and overlapping arrangement of such networks have been preserved. Thus the Aegean does appear to have a considerable share in Fig. XV.15, though not in the volute design of Fig. XV.1. The recovery of some of the artistic traditions used by the “Mitannian” ware designer only serves to highlight the originality he displayed in creating a highly striking and elaborate ornament from a number of disparate elements.

Despite our conclusion that the rococo “Mitannian” designs, which constitute the last important group of plant motives of Mitannian tradition, demonstrate much less Aegean influence than is normally assumed, we do not wish to minimize the impact of Mycenaean culture on the Orient. While the third Mycenaean period, especially during LH III B, was in many respects an orientalizing phase second in importance only to that of Seventh Century B. C. Greece, the East was in turn absorbing many foreign elements from Aegean traders and colonists, who were such prominent factors in the life of the Thirteenth Century B. C. Levant. Although the discovery of the full effects of these contacts is only beginning,<sup>35</sup> it is possible to point out, in addition to the tricurved arch and its appearance in the Amuq, a number of plant designs as well as other motives which mirror the intensive Western relations now prevalent.

#### THE MINET-EL-BEIDA POTNIA THERON RELIEF AND LH III HERALDIC ANIMAL GROUPS<sup>36</sup>

One of the most famous and well-known signs of the presence of Aegeans in Syria is the ivory pyxis lid from T.3 of Ras Shamra’s port settlement, Minet-el-Beida (Fig. XV.24). Although the pottery of this tomb has not been published in full, Furumark has

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<sup>35</sup> Full publication of the Atchana and Ras Shamra excavations will undoubtedly cast entirely new light on this epoch.

<sup>36</sup> The following section is reworked in the AJA article “The Aegean and the Orient in the Second Millennium,” beginning on p. 86.

been able to identify a number of the Mycenaean vessels as LH III B types.<sup>37</sup> The pyxis, then, belongs to the same period, contemporary with the Nineteenth Dynasty, and in particular with the reign of Ramses II, in which the rococo “Mitannian” pottery was in use. On the pyxis is carved a goddess, completely Aegean in garb except, as Andrae points out,<sup>38</sup> for the headdress, enthroned upon a concave altar-base, set in a mountainous terrain. In each hand she holds a sheaf of vegetation which attracts two leaping goats. This carving demonstrates evident Mycenaean features,<sup>39</sup> but nevertheless betrays the hand of a Levantine craftsman. Though the goddess herself is Aegean, both as regards her identity and costume, the combination of mountain deity, plants and animals appears to be best known in Asia. A male god whose mountainous nature may be indicated by the rocky peak from which his upper torso rises, holds plants upon which animals feed. The classical delineation of this god appears on a cult relief dating to the middle of the Second Millennium, found at Assur.<sup>40</sup> Two seals (Figs. XV.28, XV.29) provide variants of the theme. Animals rear up on each side.



Fig. XV.28



Fig. XV.29

An unpublished cylinder from Judeideh shows the deity with crossed human legs, and with a branch over at least one shoulder. On the cylinder of Fig.XIII.4, the god is half

<sup>37</sup> MPot, p. 68. For this tomb cf. F. A. Schaeffer, “Les Fouilles de Minet-el-Beida et de Ras Shamra,” *Syria*, X (1929), pp.291-239; pls. LV, 3,4; LVII, 1-3; LVIII, 1,2.

<sup>38</sup> W. Andrae, “Kultrelief aus dem Brunnen des Assurtempels zu Assur,” WVDOG. LIII (1931), 9.

<sup>39</sup> Dussaud has stated that the profile of the goddess, as well as her costume, indicate that the piece was made by an Aegean (“Cultes cananéens aux sources du Jourdain,” *Syria*, XVII[1936], p.189).

<sup>40</sup> Andrae has called attention to the parallelism between Figs. XV.24 and XV.28 and XV.29 “Kultrelief aus dem Brunnen des Assurtempels zu Assur,” WVDOG, LIII [1931], p.9f.).

mountain,<sup>41</sup> but lacks his usual animal companions. In the Minet-el-Beida carving the rockwork upon which the concave altar-base is set, and on which the goats rest their forelegs is a significant reminder of the Asiatic connections of this carving.

On the Aegean side, parallels for the seated female figure are to be found among the LH III ivories from Mycenae.<sup>42</sup> Schaeffer has pointed out the relationship between Fig. XV.28 and a relief from Mycenae showing a seated woman;<sup>43</sup> a comparison between the two is very instructive for it reveals clearly how wide a gap still exists between genuine LH III work and even such a highly imitative object as the Minet-el-Beida lid. There the seated pose is clumsily expressed, in strong contrast to the graceful and forthright curves used by the LH III artist. In imitating the Minoanizing dress of the Mycenaean ladies, the Asiatic carver omitted the tightly fitting bodice completely and copied the skirt's flounces in a very perfunctory manner. Moreover, the modelling of his figure, though comparable to that of the Mycenae relief, is carried out in a coarser and less sensitive manner.

The presence of the Aegean concave altar-base on an object of Asiatic manufacture is extremely interesting in connection with a popular Mitannian seal in the Newell collection (Fig. XV.30), where, aside from two figures flanking a simple branch motive, there appears a pair of rampant lions. In view of the numerous symmetrical animals of Mitannian glyptic this motive does not, at first, appear eccentric. Nevertheless, the strict heraldic aspect and the absence of any central axis, aside from the two drill holes below the lions' forefeet, are all unusual.. The best analogies for the group are heraldic Aegean animals shown resting their forepaws upon a concave-based altar. A LM II example (Fig. XV.31)

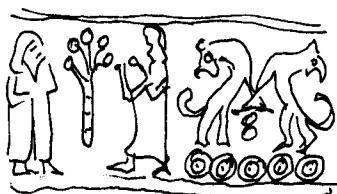
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<sup>41</sup> Hogarth, in discussing this figure (*Hittite Seals*, [Oxford, 1920] p.68, Fig. 71) refers to a late statue from Carchemish, showing a deity grasping two unclear branches, possibly cast into artificial form (cf. Hogarth, *Carchemish I* (London, 1914), p. 5, Fig. 3).

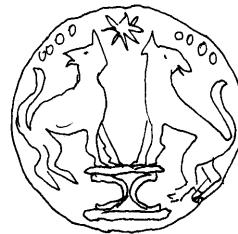
<sup>42</sup> This pose, as well as the costume, was originally Minoan; cf. a sealing from the palace at Knossos (PM IV, p.395, Fig. 331) and also ArtC, p.236, c.

<sup>43</sup> Schaeffer,"Les fouilles de Minet-el-Beida et de Ras Shamra," *Syria*, X (1929), p. 293. Cf. also ArtC, p. 36, Fig. 51.

possesses MM III - LM I A precedents.<sup>44</sup> Several examples have been found on the Greek mainland. Fig. XV.32), from Vapheio, is probably LH II, and the other two examples (Figs. XV.29, XV.33) would presumably be of the same date.



**Fig. XV.30**



**Fig. XV.31**



**Fig. XV.32**



**Fig. XV.33**

The Vapheio gem offers the closest parallel for Fig. XV.30; the pose of the animals is identical save for the crossed forepaws of the Mitannian beasts. Proof of the continued existence of this motive in LH III is yielded, not only by its monumental use above the lintel of the Lion Gate at Mycenae, but by its occurrence on an ivory “handle” from Menidi, presumably from the LH III B tholos.<sup>45</sup> In a pit in the LH III A, 1 tholos at Dendra were found glass “lionesses,” which as Persson points out, provide miniature parallels for the animals of the Lion Gate.<sup>46</sup> The Dendra pieces are the successors of comparable fragments, carved in ivory, from the LH I-II Aegisthos tholos at Mycenae.<sup>47</sup> In view of these Mycenaean ivories, the discovery at Ialyssos of an ivory, still unpublished, showing

<sup>44</sup> PM IV, p. 611, Fig. 599, b, c.

<sup>45</sup> ArtPG, II, p. 248, Fig. 368

<sup>46</sup> RT, pp. 59-60; Pl. XXVI.

<sup>47</sup> A. J. B. Wace, “Mycenae, The Tholos Tombs,” BSA, XXV (1921-23), p. 304.

two lions on an altar is extremely significant.<sup>48</sup> Further testimony of the penetration of such motives towards the East is given, not only by the concave altar base of the Minet-el-Beida carving, but also by a seal found at Enkomi, but without context (Fig. XV.28), where a male figure stands between two lions, each mounting an altar and turning backwards in the same way as Figs. XV.29, XV.32, XV.31 and XV.30. Such data make it possible to suggest that the lion group of Fig. XV.30 may be a copy of the Aegean motive, with the altar base reduced to a pair of drill holes.

Circumstantial evidence to support this conclusion may be cited. In the East, LH III pottery is the most characteristic sign of Mediterranean trade, but in the West there is no similar widespread group of objects testifying to Mainland imports. However, among the various groups of foreign artifacts found in Greece, Mitannian cylinders are prominent. Though the total number known is still small, it is gradually increasing. A fine example was found, without context, at Tiryns (Fig. XIV.18). Two others come from LH III chamber tombs at Prosymna.<sup>49</sup> Furthermore, a faience seal from LH I-II context at Mycenae, bearing two figures, a tree, and a goat, cut with the drill,<sup>50</sup> indicates that this context was not of short duration, but had begun even before the tremendous influx of LH III trade into the eastern world. Such popular Mitannian seals were spread all over the Near East, and therefore need not have been exported directly from Mitannian workshops to Greece. Nevertheless, the fact that, according to our knowledge, Mitannian seals appear almost to the exclusion of other Asiatic types<sup>51</sup> must be indicative of definite relations with

<sup>48</sup> R. D. Barnett, "Phoenician and Syrian Ivory Carvings," PEF (1939), p. 12, n.4, Greece, No. (IV).

<sup>49</sup> Pro, I, pp.280-281; II, p.146, Fig. 596, 21 (T.24); 22 (T.38). Both these seals are of white faience. The latter is decorated with very crude elements. The former had either two bands of spirals or a frieze of volutes.

<sup>50</sup> *Archaeologia*, LXXXII (1932), p. 73, Fig. 28; Pl. XXXV, 32 (T.517).

<sup>51</sup> A seal found without context at Larissa is clearly Third Syrian comparable to CS, Pl. XLV, f, possibly a member of a Cypriote subclass (Anne Roes, "Une pierre gravée syro-hittite trouvée à Argos," BCH, LXI [1937], pp. 1-4). Otherwise we know of no published seals found on the Mainland in LH I-III contexts and belonging to any other specific group of Asiatic seals. Several cylinders of curiously mixed character have been found, however. One is from Vari, south of Athens (PM IV, p. 409, Fig. 339), another from Astrakous east of Knossos (PM IV, p. 426, Fig. 351), and a third from Tylissos, possibly from a LM III

Mitannian centers. If these circumstances are remembered, it becomes easier to recognize the possibility of Mycenaean-Mitannian contacts sufficiently intimate to cause the appearance of the guardian lions of the Mycenaean gate on an inconspicuous Mitannian cylinder seal.

### THE POSSIBLE INFLUENCE OF THE AEGEAN ON SOME SECOND SYRIAN SEALS

Because of the vivacity of their animal groups, certain rare Second Syrian seals have been considered as created under Aegean influence. Figs. XIV.34 and XV.35 are usually cited in this connection.<sup>52</sup>

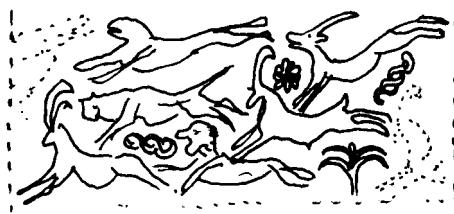


Fig. XV.34

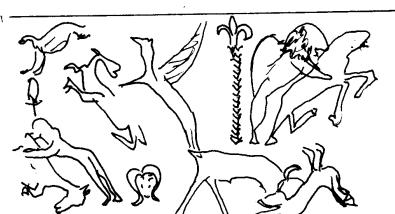


Fig. XV.35



Fig. XV.36



Fig. XV.37

In addition, Frankfort has quoted the flying leap of BN 463 and the bulls of Fig. XV.36 as other examples of possible Aegean influence. Figs. XV.34, XV.36, XV.37 and

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context (*Etudes crétoises* III, p. 107, Fig. 19, bottom; Pl. XXX, a). The exact source of these is uncertain; they combine First Babylon or Syrianizing characters with Aegean features, and are too vague in character to provide good evidence for trade relations with the East.

<sup>52</sup> Their Aegean affinities were emphasized by Hogarth when publishing them for the first time (*Hittite Seals*, p. 71). Cf. also Moortgat, *Die Bildene Kunst des Alten Orients und die Bergvölker*, (Berlin, 1932) p. 30; CS, p. 266 (Pl. XLIV, b=Fig. XV.34).

XV.35 he assigns to the later part of the Second Syrian phase; Fig. XV.36 he dates precisely to the Amarna period as it displays a girl's figure with the deformed skull formation typical for Akhenaten's daughters.<sup>53</sup> Among those who have mentioned the Aegean in connection with these seals, only Frankfort has suggested a precise source, Crete. Refugees fleeing that island after the fall of Knossos may have brought much Minoan influence to Asia, but he believes that a seal such as Fig. XV.34 must have been made before the end of LM II, probably much earlier.<sup>54</sup>

Unfortunately specific, detailed poses, comparable to Aegean ones cannot be distinguished on these seals. It is only the general animation and the flying gallop, particularly well reproduced in Fig. XV.34, which serve as generalized comparative features. We have already discussed at length the question of the spread of the flying gallop to Egypt, and have concluded that an animated animal style could well have been introduced into that country by LH I-II traders. This became a strong possibility when the evidence of other Egyptian-Aegean relations was reviewed. Although the Aegean animal style penetrated into Egypt early in the Eighteenth Dynasty, it is not as probable that it was at the same time carried into Asia. The almost total absence of LH I-II pottery there is indicative of the great rarity of Aegean traders during this period.

There is some evidence that elements of the Aegean animal style only began to be apparent in Asia towards the latter part of the Eighteenth Dynasty. A cylinder from Tell el Ajjal, although not executed in any characteristic national style, shows a number of animals, among them a griffin, in flying gallop.<sup>55</sup> It was found in grave 361 which also contained scarabs of Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotep III. In addition the dating of Fig. XV.36 with its animated bulls to the Amarna period, suggests the possibility that the *galop volant*, together with lively, naturalistic poses, may have been introduced into Asia

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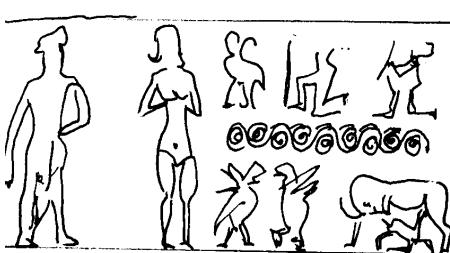
<sup>53</sup> CS, pp. 267-268.

<sup>54</sup> CS, p. 288.

<sup>55</sup> Petrie, *Ancient Gaza III* (London, 1931), Pl. IV, 127.

only at this time, roughly contemporary with Furumark's LH III A,2 phase. Objects such as the recently discovered pyxis in a LH III A,1 chamber tomb on the Athenian acropolis,<sup>56</sup> the hunting scene on the LH III A, 1 silver goblet from Dendra, the running bulls on a gold and silver cup from the same tomb,<sup>57</sup> as well as the LH III boar hunt from the third palace at Tiryns<sup>58</sup> demonstrate that such movement was typical for roughly contemporary Mainland works. In fact, from LM/LH I on, animated animal scenes are found far more commonly on objects from the Mainland than on those from Crete, where such themes were becoming progressively rarer. It is probable that the tradition of the delineation of animated motion reached Asia now, at the time when the first large scale Mycenaean export trade was beginning. It is easier to accept such an assumption than to explain the appearance of such characters earlier, when no other signs of Aegean contacts can be found in the area.

The cutter of Fig. XV.34 must have been exposed to direct contacts with Aegean products, but the same does not hold true for all the seals illustrated in Figs. XV.36, XV.38, XV.39.



**Fig. XV.38**



**Fig. XV.39**

It is possible that vivacious animal movement reached Asia by way of Egypt, and could thus have been introduced during the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty. The ibex (?) nursing her young on Fig. XV.38 is strongly reminiscent of animals in Kantor A&O, Pls. XIII B and

<sup>56</sup> ILN, July 22, 1939, p. 163, Figs. 13-16.

<sup>57</sup> RT, Pls. XVII;XVI, II.

<sup>58</sup> *Tiryns* ii, Pl. XIII.

XIX F, which we have suggested may follow Aegean prototypes. The group of Fig. XV.39 is only superficially similar for the cow not only nurses her calf, but also scratches her head. It has no really good parallels. Evans has discussed a number of Aegean gems showing animals in the same general pose.<sup>59</sup> Since one of his examples, De Clerq 97, is said to have been found near Antioch, it is tempting to assume that this, too, is an example of Aegean influence. Such a conclusion would be very rash in view of the absence of specific details linking Fig. XV.39 with foreign parallels. Somewhat less ambiguous is the running calf of Fig. XV.37, which may well, like Fig. XV.36 reflect Amarna influence.<sup>60</sup>



**Fig. XV.40**

Altogether, it can be said that the traces of foreign influence on the animal movement of most of these seals remain ambiguous. There can be no question, however, of the derivation of Fig. XV.34, and Fig. XV.35 offers equally explicit evidence of Mycenaean relations. It is provided not so

much by the animals, vivacious though these are, but by the relatively inconspicuous columnar element forming the central axis between two approximately symmetrical predatory groups. A comparison for this feature is to be found in a seal from Mycenae showing antithetical animals flanking a pillar crowned by three leaves (Figs. XV.40). This is not closely related to any specific plant elements, but is vaguely palm-like. The archaeological context of this seal is not clear, but as Blegen has indicated, it is closely related to a gold signet ring from T.44 at Prosymna.<sup>61</sup> This burial belongs to LH III and

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<sup>59</sup> PM IV, 561

<sup>60</sup> A very interesting cylinder seal has been published by Sidney Smith ("The Alawick Collection of Egyptian Antiquities," BMQ, XIV [1939-40], pl. IX, a). In addition to characteristic Second Syrian groups - three running men as well as another in a chariot - and filling motives, it bears two men in a peculiar running attitude which appear to Sydney Smith as if a Babylonian seal cutter was actually depicting men in Syria who wore something like Cretan dress, and copied, for this purpose, such figures as the running men from foreign art (*Ibid.*, p.3).

<sup>61</sup> Pro I, pp. 266-7 and n. 1; II, 143, pp.1-3.

the same date must be assigned to Figs. XV.40. It, in turn, demonstrate that 1370 is the earliest possible date for the Syrian seal of Fig. XV.35.

## IVORIES WITH AEGEAN CONNECTIONS<sup>62</sup>

The corpus of Near Eastern ivories which has gradually accumulated constitutes, in the absence of large scale products, one of the most significant sources for the study of the various artistic schools prevalent in the Levant.<sup>63</sup> The foremost student of the subject, R. D. Barnett, has distinguished three main schools,<sup>64</sup> the Phoenician,<sup>65</sup> the Mycenaean and the North Syrian.<sup>66</sup> It is with the second of these that we are concerned with at the moment. Although Barnett does not state that he believes the examples of the "Mycenaean" group to have been carved by Aegean artists, he evidently inclines toward this view; he speaks of "the hand of the Mycenaean artist" visible in the Minet-el-Beida relief (Fig. XV.24) noting that an unfinished ivory from the site proves the actual manufacture of such objects there. In connection with ivories from Enkomi he suggests that Mycenaean artists were working for Hurrian patrons who commissioned the treatment of particular themes.<sup>67</sup> The question of origin is a difficult one. As small and valued *objets d'art*, the ivories may well have been transported far from their place of manufacture. The pyxis lid from Saqqara (Chapter X, Chart II) and the duck's head from Asine, a fragment of one of the well known Eastern ointment dishes,<sup>68</sup> demonstrate the importation of foreign-made objects

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<sup>62</sup> The following sections appear in "The Aegean and Orient in the Second Millennium" (AJA 51) in somewhat different form, beginning on p. 85.

<sup>63</sup> For bibliography R. D. Barnett, "Phoenician and Syrian Ivory Carvings," PEQ (1939), p. 4f.

<sup>64</sup> R. D. Barnett, *op. cit.*, p.13.

<sup>65</sup> Cf. Chapter XVII for discussion of some pieces belonging to this school.

<sup>66</sup> Barnett also refers to a Hittite group, but by this he evidently means only the traces of Hittite influence which he detects in the North Syrian style (Barnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 13, 9).

<sup>67</sup> Barnett, *op. cit.*, pp. 10, 12.

<sup>68</sup> Frodin and Persson, *Asine*, (Stockholm, 1938) pp.388, 391, fig. 254, 1 (T.I.2, end of LH II-LH III).

both in the East and West. But we have claimed a Syrian artist as the maker of the Minet-el-Beida relief; the unfinished ivories from that site and Tell Duweir indicate that the craft of ivory carving was practised all along the Mediterranean littoral. It seems impossible to make any general statement regarding the original provenience of all the ivories marked by definite Mycenaean features. They have been found as far south as Egypt and Tell Duweir, and as far north as Ugarit and Rhodes. Such objects display widely varied Mycenaean features; some are affected only in part, but others are so deeply permeated by LH III traditions as to support Barnett's view of their production by Mycenaean colonists, or even importation from the Mainland.

### THE MYCENAEAN ANIMAL STYLE IN IVORY CARVINGS

The ivory hoard from Megiddo, assigned a range of 1350-1200 B. C. by the excavator on the basis of its archaeological context,<sup>69</sup> and ivories from Enkomi tombs dated to the end of Late Cypriote II and the earlier part of III, roughly contemporary with the reign of Ramses III,<sup>70</sup> have yielded the majority of examples characterized by the use of elements of the LH III animal style. They deserve brief mention here, as they provide welcome compeers for the piece bearing Mycenaean plant ornaments. Rectangular plaques from Megiddo were covered by the figure of a couchant griffin with both wings extended.<sup>71</sup> As has already been pointed out,<sup>72</sup> these animals have close Aegean affinities. A similar rectangular plaque, from Mycenae, shows a female sphinx in exactly the same pose, save for the position of the tail.<sup>73</sup> It offers an excellent parallel for the Megiddo pieces, both in respect of the general modelling and in the emphasis placed upon the powerful forelegs. In

<sup>69</sup> G. Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* (OIP lii), pp.9-10. Cf. Chapter XVII.

<sup>70</sup> Gjersted, *Studies on Prehistoric Cyprus* (Stockholm, 1926), p. 284

<sup>71</sup> Loud, *op. cit.*, Pl. X, 32 (well preserved), 33-35 (fragmentary).

<sup>72</sup> Barnett, *op. cit.*, p. 12, n.4. V. Müller, AJA, XLIV (1940), p. 405 states that No. 32 is "identical" with Mycenaean ivories, but this is to our mind an overstatement of the case.

<sup>73</sup> ArtC, p. 38, Fig. 56, a (National Museum, Athens; apparently not published elsewhere).

other details, such as the adder marking of the wings, the sphinx differs from the Megiddo griffin. However, some of the latter's marking - the straight-lined divisions of the wings and the spiral wing curls - are paralleled on the otherwise different griffins of a LH III A pyxis from the acropolis at Athens.<sup>74</sup> A Mycenae griffin cut out in the round<sup>75</sup> and another engraved on a seal from Menidi<sup>76</sup> illustrate much the same pose, differing only in the turning back of the head, as on the Megiddo ivories. Despite the fact that all the major features of the latter are not paralleled on a single object found in Greece, it remains very probable that they were actual imports.

Less explicitly Mycenaean are certain ivories showing active griffins. The pyxis of the Athenian acropolis, already cited, indicates the energy and power with which the theme of predatory griffins could be treated on the Greek Mainland. Such intense qualities are completely absent in two incised fragments from Megiddo representing griffins.<sup>77</sup> The first of these, no. 7, is an excerpt from a well-known Asiatic motive - two griffins battling over their prey, in this case a lion. The general shape of this fragment, the incision, and the hair star of the lion all link it definitely with other Megiddo plaques,<sup>78</sup> all of which must be of "Canaanite" origin. Very different is a broken ivory from Tomb 5 at Byblos; this burial, that of Ahiram, is dated by fragments of alabaster vases bearing the name of Ramses II.<sup>79</sup> On this ivory an unfortunate bull is attacked by a griffin and a lion. Both the coarse modeling and the imperturbability of the bull, in striking contrast to the expressiveness of the deer on the Athenian pyxis, make evident, we believe, that this piece was of "Canaanite" workmanship. It is impossible to cite any really comparable LH III rendering. A pyxis found in the third temple at Tell Duweir, among objects assigned a range of 1400-

<sup>74</sup> ILN, July 22, 1939, p. 163, Figs. 13, 15.

<sup>75</sup> ArtC, p. 36, Fig. 50.

<sup>76</sup> Lölling, *Das Kuppelgrab bei Menidi*, (Athens, 1880) Pl. VI, 2 (sardonyx).

<sup>77</sup> Loud, *Megiddo Ivories* (Chicago, 1939), Pl V, 7; VI, 16

<sup>78</sup> *Ibid.*, Pl. V, 4-6. Pl. VI, 17-20 are undoubtedly chips from similarly decorated pieces.

<sup>79</sup> Montet, *Byblos et l'Egypte*, (Paris, 1928) Pl. CXLII, p. 878.

1200 B. C. by the excavators, belongs to the same school as the Byblos carving.<sup>80</sup> The movement of the animals on it is even more stilted, however, and not at all suggestive of Aegean influence. It is not possible to cite any LH III works similar, even in theme, to these two “Canaanite” carvings. In fact, scenes of animal aggression have so far remained fairly rare on the Greek Mainland. It is exceedingly unfortunate that the one object which may have been directly comparable, is almost completely destroyed. A small fragment of an ivory pyxis from the LH III A, 1 tholos at Dendra bears a bull’s hoof together with fragments of other elements.<sup>81</sup> If this object had been preserved, it would probably have been possible to determine with some exactitude how much Mycenaean influence, if any, is present in the Duweir and Byblos pieces. However, all we have, aside from the very distinctive Athens pyxis, is a fragment from Mycenae showing a griffin charging into a vertically placed animal;<sup>82</sup> the vivacity it displays is in sharp contrast with the Byblos plaque. Nevertheless, in our present state of knowledge, it would be unwise to rule out completely the possibility that the Byblos plaque may have been in part conditioned by Mycenaean traditions.

In addition to the pieces already cited, the Megiddo hoard contained an ivory comb, which, like the griffin plaques, may well be an actual import.<sup>83</sup> The top of its rectangular head is concave in strong contrast to the double-toothed Egyptianizing types also present in the hoard.<sup>84</sup> It bears on both sides a dog pulling down an ibex; the rounded section of the top is carved with scales, the triangular ends have tapering fronds consisting of half of a foliate band.<sup>85</sup> The animal group of the comb possesses no direct Aegean parallels, but a

<sup>80</sup> *Lachish II*, Pl. XVIII; cf. p. 59; from the SE corner of the shrine of structure III.

<sup>81</sup> RT, p. 59, Fig. 36, center.

<sup>82</sup> EPH.1888, Pl. VIII,6

<sup>83</sup> Gordon Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories*, (Chicago, 1939), p. 107, Pl. XIV.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, Pls. XVI-XVIII, p. 108, pp. 110-114.

<sup>85</sup> Ivory fragments with scale ormentation occur in the tholos of Dendra (RT, p. 59, Fig. 36; Pl. XXVI). For the foliate decoration cf. below, p.?).

LH III plaque from Spata shows a lion springing upon a collapsing, long-horned bull.<sup>86</sup>

Although no details of the two representations are the same, the spirited action of the attackers, the expressive collapse of the falling ruminants and the skillful manner in which the animals' bodies are composed so as to fill the surface completely is common to both. These factors, in conjunction with the nature of the geometric ornaments, indicate the unquestionable Aegean character of the Megiddo comb.

A number of related pieces have been found at Enkomi in Cyprus. The Swedish expedition discovered a comb almost identical in shape in NT 18.<sup>87</sup> Although the kneeling roebuck is incised, not carved, its graceful figure, like those on the Megiddo comb, is far more akin to Mycenaean works than to those of any other style.<sup>88</sup> It is unfortunate that none of the combs from the Greek Mainland illustrate this exact shape. The majority of LH III examples are rectangular. An example from Prosymna, decorated by geometric ornament and a central rosette, which finds parallels at Spata and Troy, has a triangular section somewhat like that of the Megiddo and Enkomi combs.<sup>89</sup>

Several mirror handles from Enkomi assume the form normal in LH III, a tapering shaft ending in an almost square socket with representative decoration. Two different specimens bear very similar designs, lions biting into the backs of bulls.<sup>90</sup> They are executed in a style whose excessive stolidity is readily apparent in comparison with the two combs just discussed. Moreover, the obverse of one of the handles illustrates the overthrow of a griffin by a well-armed warrior; the un-Mycenaean features of this much-

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<sup>86</sup> ArtPG, p. 275, Fig. 396.

<sup>87</sup> SCE I, Pls. LXXXIX, 13; CLII, 6.

<sup>88</sup> Cf. RT, Pl. XVII, signet 2 for kneeling animals with their heads twisted back.

<sup>89</sup> Pro. II, p. 146, Fig. 598 (T.14). B. Haussoullier, "Les objets découverts à Spata," BCH, II (1878), Pl. XVII, 1. Schliemann, *Troja und Illos*, p. 399, Fig. 389. For references to a number of other examples cf. Arch. LXXXII (1932), p. 210 and n. 4; Pro. I, 282.

<sup>90</sup> BMExCyprus, p. 872, b, Pl. II (OT 17); p. 402 (OT 73). OT 17, according to Gjersted, belongs to the latest stage of LC II; OT 73 is LC III (E. Gjersted, *Studies in Prehistoric Cyprus I* [Stockholm, 1926], p. 289).

discussed scene are well known.<sup>91</sup> This mirror handle and its companion must be classified as local imitations of LH III work. The same does not hold true for a smaller and fragmentary handle from the LC III OT 16 of Enkomi. On one side there is a crouched, many-tined stag with head “folded back” along his body; a more mediocre ibex rests on the other side.<sup>92</sup> The figure of the stag is so remarkably akin to the crouching deer on the LH III A, 1 Athenian pyxis as to offer an excellent basis for the assumption of its importation from the Greek Mainland. The Saqqara pyxis lid is the only other carving with animals in such a pose (Chapter X, Table II). We must recognize that, assuming the Enkomi fragment to be LC III, and therefore not datable before 1200 B. C., there is a considerable gap separating it from the Athenian pyxis which was probably carved some time during or immediately preceding the reign of Akhenaten. This cannot, however, diminish the strong connections between the two. We may guess that even if the Enkomi mirror reached Cyprus at a fairly early date, it was used for some time before it was finally buried. It should also be remembered that the Athenian pyxis is a very unusual piece; carvings like it may have been made in Greece in post-LH III A, 1 phases.

The only remaining important animal style monument from Enkomi is the famous gaming board from the LC III OT 58.<sup>93</sup> We wish to add but a few comments to the many that have already been made concerning this object. Despite the extremely lively movement of the hunted animal, we do not believe, with Barnett, that the scenes were carved by a LH III artist. The human figures, the chariots, and the attitude of the horses seem to link up rather closely with incised “Canaanite” ivories from Megiddo. The charging bull is first cousin to the animals of the Tell Duweir pyxis and Byblos plaque. The flying bird offers another link with the former object. There is certainly no Aegean influence to be found in the small side on which two antithetical ibex flank a central tree (?). On the opposite narrow

<sup>91</sup> BMExCyprus, p. 872, a. Pl. II, p.883 is a rendering of the same subject on a larger scale.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid., Pl.II, p. 1339 a, b.

<sup>93</sup> BMExCyprus, Pl.I.

end two bulls resting beneath a tree are reminiscent of the pastoral animals on LH III seals.<sup>94</sup> The flying gallop of the hunted animals constitutes one of the principal connections between this ivory carving and the Greek Mainland. A comparison of the dog beneath the chariot with the hounds on the LH III A,1 silver goblet from the Dendra tholos<sup>95</sup> and on the LH III boar hunt from Tiryns<sup>96</sup> indicate that this is no superficial resemblance.<sup>97</sup>

Another prominent token of Mycenaean connections consists of the curving rock patterns filling two narrow segments on the top of the gaming board.<sup>98</sup> The genealogy of this motive goes back ultimately to the rocky crags of MB III B - LM I A murals, but the immediate prototypes of the Enkomi examples must have occurred on such objects as an agate gem and a sword pommel, both from the LH III A,1 tholos at Dendra.<sup>99</sup> The use of this motive on the Enkomi board is not its only Levantine appearance. The design serves as a border on several objects from the Megiddo hoard.<sup>100</sup> The best preserved of these, no. 262, part of a rectangular plaque, is particularly interesting for the treatment of the corner. One band of peaks runs completely to the edge, arbitrarily cutting off the border running at right angles to it. There is no turning of the corner such as one would expect from the friezes of an Aegean artist. Thus, these Megiddo plaques suggest strongly that Asiatic craftsmen had adopted this LH III motive. Its presence on the Enkomi gaming board cannot be used as evidence that this object must have been carved by a Mycenaean, but

<sup>94</sup> Cf. also the profile bull on the Vapheio cup. See Chapter XVII for a discussion of the relations of this scene with the Megiddo ivories in Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories*, (Chicago, 1939) p. 110, Pl. XVII.

<sup>95</sup> RT, Pl. XVII. The fragment with the legs of the upper dog is wrongly inserted.

<sup>96</sup> *Tiryns* II

<sup>97</sup> In connection with the seal of Fig. XV.34, the LC III date of the Enkomi gaming board is interesting, for it offers corroborative evidence for the view that that seal need not necessarily be assigned an early date.

<sup>98</sup> BMExCyprus, p. 12, Fig. 19.

<sup>99</sup> RT, Pls. XIX, top, middle; XXI.

<sup>100</sup> Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories*, (Chicago, 1939), Pl. LIV, 262, 263, 264. It also appears on numbers 130 and 265 (*Ibid.*, pp. 16, 20).

serves only as additional indication of the mixture of LH III and Asiatic motives which could occur on one object at this time.

### FOLIATE SPRAYS AND SACRAL IVY

Examples of Mycenaean plant motives on ivories found in the East are much rarer than traces of the LH III animal style. The half-foliate sprays on the Megiddo comb have already been mentioned. In addition, the shaft of one of the Enkomi mirror handles bears several complete sprays.<sup>101</sup> A handle from Mycenae offers an excellent parallel, for it, too, is covered with foliate bands.<sup>102</sup> The difference, however, between the LH III examples and those from Enkomi is significant. The individual lobes are large and gracefully curved on the former in contrast to the stilted, small units of the latter. On the Enkomi handle, too, the unity of the bands is greatly reduced by the trebling of their mid-ribs. Such characters corroborate the conclusion already reached that this object is an imitation, not an actual Mycenaean import. There can be no doubt of the Aegean derivation of the foliate bands. A gold Vapheio cup from Shaft Grave IV at Mycenae and a silver bowl with a frieze of male heads offer early examples of its use, and the LH III occurrences have already been cited in Chapter VIII.<sup>103</sup>

More interesting are the sacral ivy bands which appear on two narrow rectangular plaques from Megiddo (Fig XV.41). These are at once recognizable as examples of the motive which played a tremendously important part in both Minoan and LH ceramics. We have followed its history from its beginnings in EM III as a series of axially symmetrical spiral bands, through its abstract MM II stage, to its emergence as a vegetal motive in MM

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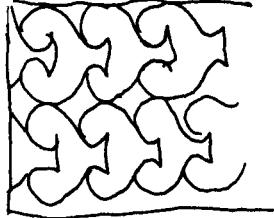
<sup>101</sup> BMExCyprus, pl. II, 872.

<sup>102</sup> ArtPG, II, p. 264, Fig. 381.

<sup>103</sup> Chapter VIII, p. 359f. and n. 312. ArtC, p. 81, Figs 153, 155. Certain Mitannian seals bear designs which, despite being rendered in drill-hole technique, are reminiscent of Mycenaean foliate bands.

Though such a derivation is not impossible, the patterns are too undistinctive to yield a decisive verdict (Fig. XIV.70; Loud, *The Megiddo Ivories* (Chicago, 1939), p. 183, Fig. 181, 2).

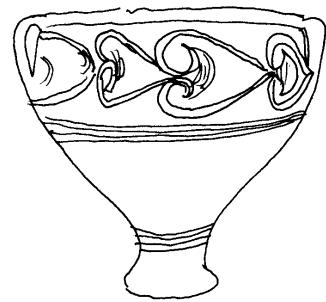
III B - LM IA murals.<sup>104</sup> In LM IA horizontal friezes of ivy, as well as stemmed leaves are found, and the motive was being exported to the Greek Mainland,<sup>105</sup> where it was to enjoy a far wider application than in its island homeland.<sup>106</sup> By LH III this design was being used on pottery much less frequently than in the Mainland Palace Style, but it became fashionable in the latter part of LH II and in LH III as a decoration for jewelry and other objects.<sup>107</sup>



**Fig. XV.41**

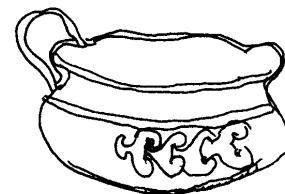
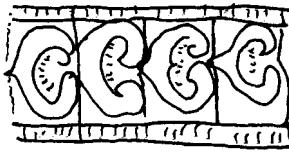
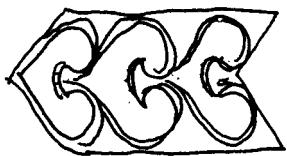


**Fig. XV.42**



**Fig. XV.43**

In LH III the most widespread sacral ivy design was that formed by a continuous frieze of leaves. Pottery examples occur both in LH III A, 2 on pots or sherds from Athens,<sup>108</sup> Tell el Amarna (Chapter X, Table II), Gezer<sup>109</sup> and Enkomi (Fig. XV.42), and in LH III B on a vessel from Menelaion (Fig. XV.43). Ivy bands were extremely frequent elements of jewelry.



<sup>104</sup> Chapter VIII. pp. 308ff, p. 406f.

<sup>105</sup> Chapter VIII, pp.323ff. and pp. 325ff.

<sup>106</sup> For details of the further history of this motive in Crete and the Mainland, cf. Chapter VIII, p. 327, p. 330f., p. 336f.

<sup>107</sup> Chapter VIII, pp. 346f.

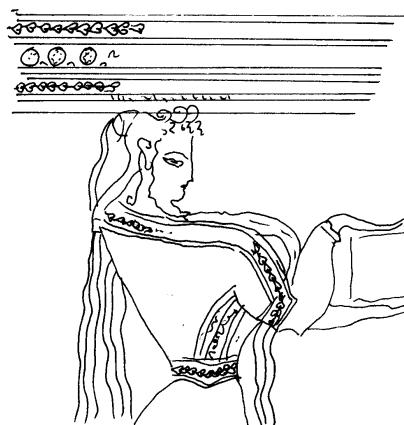
<sup>108</sup> Mpot, Mot.12,34.

**Fig.XV.44**

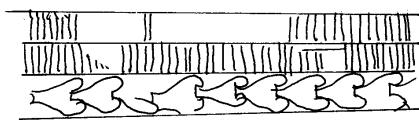
**Fig. XV.45**

**Fig. XV.46**

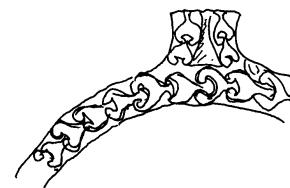
The gold necklace from the LH III A, 1 Dendra tholos (Fig. XV.44) and the glass paste segments from the LH III B chamber tomb 2 of the same site (Fig. XV.45) are typical of their kind.<sup>110</sup> Two almost identical cups were found at Dendra. The one from chamber tomb 10 is gold (Fig. XV.46) and the other from the LH III B tomb 2 is silver.<sup>111</sup> The same tomb yielded a spouted bronze basin, the broad rim of which is filled by an ivy frieze (Fig. XV.49). The appearance of ivy bands in paintings from Tiryns, both as borders of the murals themselves and in a woman's robe (Figs. XV.47, XV.48) is indicative of their widespread use on the LH III B Mainland.<sup>112</sup>



**Fig. XV.47**



**Fig. XV.48**



**Fig. XV.49**

It is significant that Figs. XV.43, XV.46, XV.47, XV.48, XV.49, the closest Mainland parallels for the Megiddo plaques, belong to the LH III B, the phase approximately contemporary with the reign of Ramses II.<sup>113</sup> These examples share with Fig. XV.41 the tightly interlocking c-canopies and the severely unadorned outlines. The question of whether the Megiddo plaques were actual imports or were careful imitations of

<sup>109</sup> Macalister, *Excavations at Gezer*, III (London, 1912), Pl. CLI, 12.

<sup>110</sup> For other examples cf. Chapter VIII, p.359 and n.308.

<sup>111</sup> RT, p. 99, no. 1; Pl. XXXIII, 5. Cf. discussion of these two cups in Persson, *New Tombs at Dendra near Midea*, (Lund, 1942), p. 144.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. *Tiryns* II, Pl. IX. Schliemann, *Tiryns*, (London, 1888) Pls. IX, b; X, g-i.

<sup>113</sup> Furumark's dates for LH III B are 1300-1230 B. C. (Mpot, p. 115).

foreign motives is especially difficult to answer in the absence of any examples of Mainland ivories with ivy bands. The fact that in all the LH III designs known, only single bands are used, suggests that the Megiddo plaques may be an adaptation created by an Asiatic craftsman. If that was the case, he acquitted himself of the task far more creditably than his compeer who copied Mycenaean foliate bands on one of the Enkomi mirrors.

#### THE DROOPING PALM MOTIVE

A seal, without provenience, in the Berlin collection (Fig. XV.50) is an excellent example of the Third Syrian class; it contains a lion comparable to those of Figs. XV.51,

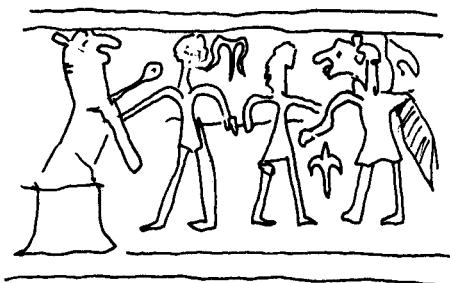


Fig. XV.50

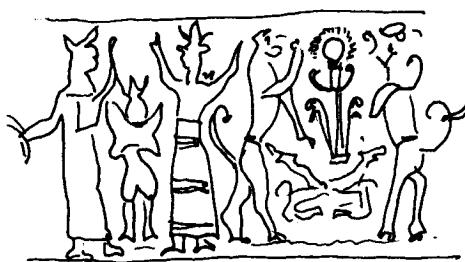


Fig. XV.51



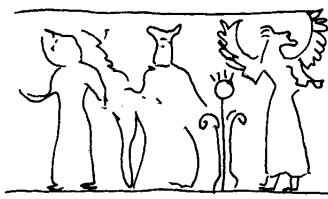
Fig. XV.52



Fig. XV.53

XV.52, and XV.53, as well as one of the monsters with a double animal head characteristic for this group (Figs. XV.54, XV.55). Two filling motives are placed between the four main figures. One of these is apparently a South-flower with a large, pointed lobe. The other consists of a short stem from which grow two downcurving, concave leaves. Despite its simplicity, it provides a striking parallel with Mycenaean decoration. In fact it duplicates a drooping-palm motive on a Levanto-Helladic vessel from NT 17 at Enkomi so strikingly as to almost justify the claim that the cutter of Fig. XV.50 copied directly from

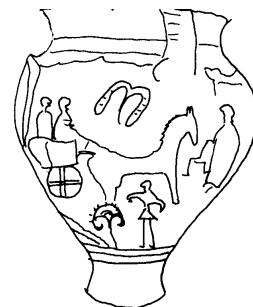
this crater. It would be a truly amazing coincidence if this were actually the case; we may be satisfied with the recognition that it was a vessel with this kind of decoration which must have been directly ancestral to the drooping palm of the Third Syrian seal. Aside from the detailed coincidences in form - the lopped trunk and the curve of the leaves - the manner in which the plant motive is set into a vacant part of the field without reference to the important representative elements is the same in both Figs XV.50 and XV.56.



**Fig. XV.54**



**Fig. XV.55**



**Fig. XV.56**

The sudden appearance of drooping palms with strongly convex leaves in the LH II Palace Style has already been discussed (Chapter VIII, Figs. VIII.41-44).<sup>114</sup> Reference has also been made to the fact that the palms characteristic for the two earlier phases of the third LH period are distinguished from their Palace Style predecessors by the secondary, concave curve of their leaves. They may be collateral, rather than direct relatives of the LH II forms.<sup>115</sup> The palm of Fig. XV.56 is differentiated from the majority of LH III palms by its truncated stem. Normally those palms retain their trunks; they often appear in groups and/or may be equipped with lateral offshoots as is shown by the LH III A, 2 examples

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<sup>114</sup> Chapter VIII, pp. 342ff.

<sup>115</sup> Chapter VIII, pp. 351ff.

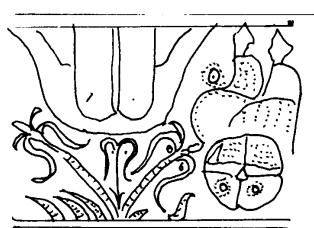


**Fig. XV.57**



**Fig. XV.58**

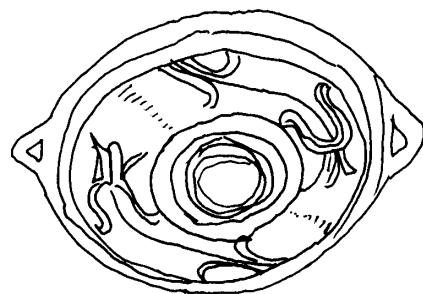
(Figs. XV.57, XV.58, XV.59, XV.60, XV.61) and examples from LH III B illustrated here. (Figs. XV.59, XV.17). Fig. XV.17 is particularly interesting because the triple palms growing from a single tricurved arch is a simplified descendant of a fine LH II amphora from Asine (Fig. VIII.44); it provides some evidence suggesting that the LH III palms were after all direct successors of Palace Style motives.



**Fig. XV.59**

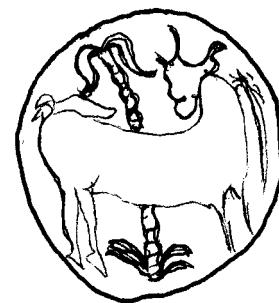


**Fig. XV.60**



**Fig. XV.61**

The occurrence of palms on objects other than pottery has already been treated. Plaques from Deiras in Argos, dating apparently to the LH II-III transition may be the ivory successors to the palms on the gold Vapheio cup (Figs. XV.62, XV.63).



**Fig. XV.62**

**Fig. XV.63**

**Fig. XV.64**

A number of LH III gems (Figs. XV.64, XV.65, XV.66, XV.67, XV.68, XV.69), as well as glass plaques (Figs. XV.70, XV.71) and a gold ornament illustrate the widespread use of these motives in LH III Greece.

Of these various categories, it is the pottery which must have provided the immediate prototypes for Fig. XV. 50. This is indicated, not only by the detailed similarity existent between it and Fig. XV.56, but also by the mass of Levanto-Helladic ware bearing many



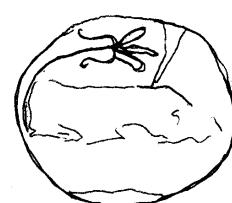
**Fig. XV.65**



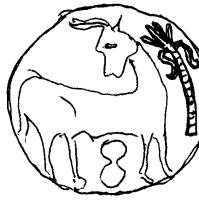
**Fig. XV.66**



**Fig. XV.67**



**Fig. XV.68**



**Fig. XV.69**



**Fig. XV.70**



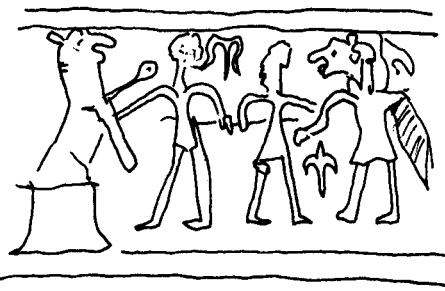
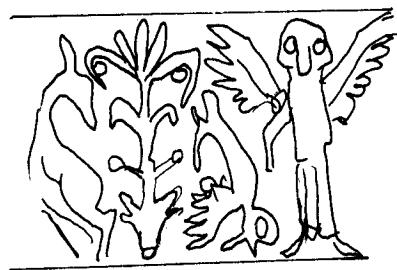
**Fig. XV.71**

examples of the palm motive found on Cyprus, close to the Asiatic coast. Even without the presence of examples from Minet-el-Beida<sup>116</sup> and Tell el Ajjal,<sup>117</sup> it would be obvious that this pattern must have been well known in all Asiatic towns where LH merchants plied their trade.

In addition to Fig. XV.50, another seal, from the bronze age sanctuary of Ajios Jakovos in Cyprus, may possibly reveal the influence of the drooping palm (Fig. XV.72).

<sup>116</sup> René Dussaud, "Cultes cananéen aux sources du Jourdain," Syria, XVII (1936), Pl. XIX, 2

<sup>117</sup> Petrie, *Ancient Gaza IV* (London, 1931), Pl.XLVI, 35.

**Fig. XV.50****Fig. XV.72**

The deposit has been assigned to the fourteenth century B. C., a fairly early phase of LC II, with a *terminus post quem* yielded by a ring bearing the cartouche of Tuthmosis III.

Among the pottery were Levanto-Helladic wares.<sup>118</sup> The plant design on this cylinder is by no means as convincing a parallel for the drooping palm as Fig. XV.50. Its base consists of a bucranium from which grows a thick stem. Two pairs of lateral branches with drill-hole ends divide off before the swollen top is reached. From this grow three curving leaves and two lateral ones, curving around drill holes. The curve of the right hand element is exactly that of the LH III drooping palms. However, the rest of the design is so different as to suggest that this may be an accidental similarity, and the plant of Fig. XV.72 may be simply a weird Cypriote adaptation of certain hybrid elements, the South-flower perianth and triple leave group used being borrowed from Asiatic decoration.

The Berlin seal is not the only definite sign of the influence of the drooping palm in Asia. In southern Palestine, at Tell el Fara, were found fragments of an incised ivory box, decorated by pastoral and banqueting scenes (Fig. XVII.1).<sup>119</sup> Petrie states that the fragments were found in chamber YC of the Nineteenth Dynasty “residency” at the site.<sup>120</sup> In addition to Petrie, Barnett<sup>121</sup> and Furumark<sup>122</sup> have pointed out the connection between

<sup>118</sup> SCE I, p. 367, No. 28; cf. pp. 360-361.

<sup>119</sup> Cf. Ch. XVII, for further discussion of this object.

<sup>120</sup> Petrie, *Beth Pelet I* (London, 1930), p. 19.

<sup>121</sup> Barnett, “Phoenician and Syrian Ivory Carvings,” PEF, (1939), p. 8, n.2. Barnett draws attention to the similarity of these palm leaves to those on Late Mycenaean sherds, but he considers the latter as reflecting Asiatic influence.

the palm on this box (Fig. XV.73) and Aegean elements. In this case, the closest comparisons are not with ceramic motives but with the ivories from Deiras (Figs. XV.62, XV.63). The only real similarities between the Aegean and the Canaanite carvings are the sinuous drooping leaves, but since they constitute the most essential features of the designs there can be no question of the relationship. The thick crowning foliage of the Palestinian tree is quite different from the sparser growth of Figs. XV.62, XV.63. Moreover, the former is remarkable for the indication of the fruiting clusters, a feature which was never shown in Greece, where the palms are condemned to barrenness.

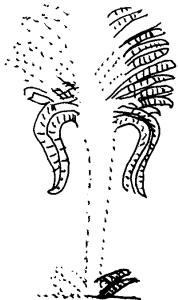
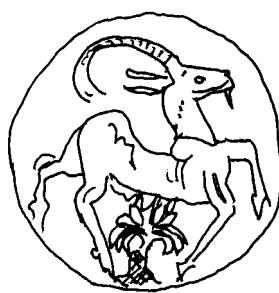
**Fig. XV.73****Fig. XV.74****Fig. XV.75**

Fig. XV.74 is one of a series of small roundels from the Megiddo hoard. Below the ibex is a carelessly cut filling motive, a short-trunked “tree” growing from an angular peak. Although the pendant leaves here lack the double curve so typical of the LH III palms, this design may still be regarded as a degraded example of that motive. The animal figure itself finds a parallel in a curious LH III plaque from Spata (Fig. XV.75) where an ibex or Cretan agrimi seems to be collapsing before the attack of a very small dog. The general attitude, which is the same in both cases, suggests that there may be a connection between the two; the Spata piece appears as an isolated specimen among the repertoire of LH III ivory carving. However, this coincidence may be accidental and the drooping leaves of Fig. XV.74 remain as the only certain connection with LH III decoration. We have thus

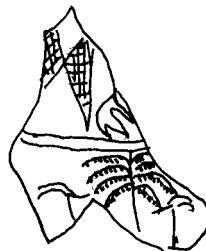
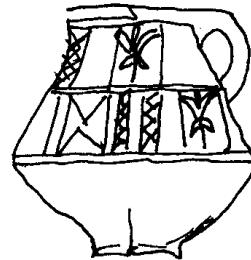
<sup>122</sup> Mpot, Fig. 39, Mot. 15, “Ivory,” a-c.

Revised: August 11, 1999

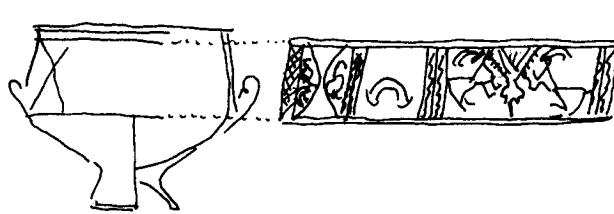
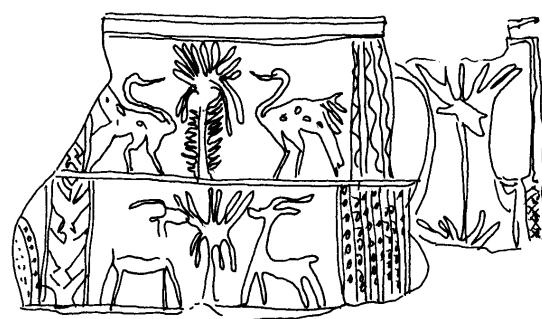
Copyright © 1999 Oriental Institute, University of Chicago  
<http://www-oi.uchicago.edu/OI/DEPT/RA/HJK/HJKXV.pdf>

only two illustrations of the use of drooping palm motives by the ivory workers of Asia. This is probably only an accident attendant on the limitations of our material. The use in the First Millennium B. C. of descendants of this motive is proof of the importance it must already have assumed in the Thirteenth Century B. C.

In addition, traces of the drooping palm are to be found in the painted pottery characteristic of LB II Palestine. In this style quadrupeds or birds flanking trees appear commonly (Figs. XV.76, XV.77, XV.78, XV.79).<sup>123</sup>

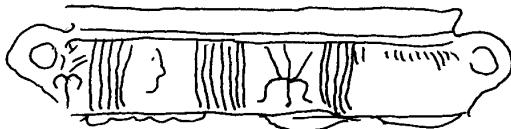
**Fig. XV.76****Fig. XV.77****Fig. XV.78**

The trees may be intended as palms and sometimes are shown with lateral leaves pendant to a varying degree (Fig. XV.80).<sup>124</sup> Only rarely is the sinuous curve characteristic for the drooping palm found, as on two vessels from Tell Duweir (Figs. XV.80, XV.81). Despite the extreme sketchiness of these motives, it is very probable that they, too, reflect the influence of the foreign motive. A more unusual and even more specific ceramic

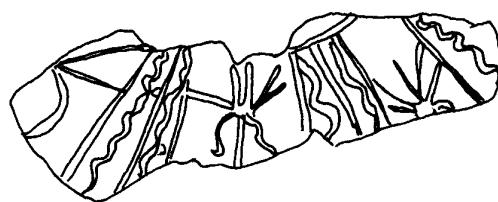
**Fig. XV.79****Fig. XV.80**

<sup>123</sup> Cf. also *Lachish II*, Pls. XLI, B, 125; LIX, 2; LXI, 10. May, *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult* (Chicago, 1935) Pl. XL, C, E.

application of the LH III design is to be found on a fragmentary black faience vase formerly in the Petrie collection, and said to be from Kahun (Fig. XV.82).

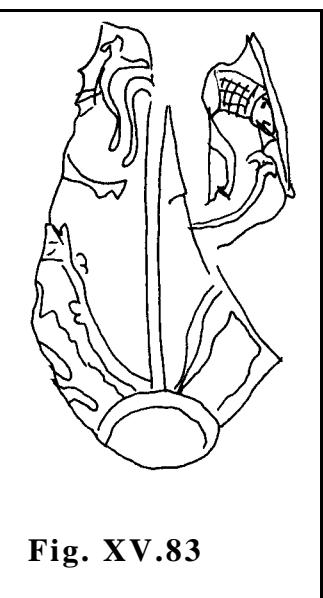


**Fig. XV.81**



**Fig. XV.82**

Although it is without any archaeological context, the drooping palm it bears must be dated within the general period ranging from the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty through the Nineteenth.



**Fig. XV.83**

The tree of Fig. XV.83 was flanked on both sides by rampant animals, of which only fragments of legs survive. This faience vessel, together with a sherd from Amarna bearing part of a palm (Chapter X, Chart II, #11) are important as proof that this LH III motive was reaching Egypt independently of its use in Canaanite artifacts.

This point is pertinent in regard to several Nineteenth Dynasty South-flower hybrids in which the drooping palm leaves suddenly make their appearance. Most of the designs are found on metal vessels from Tell Basta. The most explicit

evidence is yielded by the vase with a goat handle. It bears hybrids with lateral stems, having a crown of lanceolate foliage interspersed with papyrus, normal save for the addition of two leaves falling in the curves characteristic for the drooping palm (CL 117). Although this sinuosity is not so strongly marked in CL 113 and CL 118 (not illustrated), there can be no doubt as to the identity of the pendant elements. Their last occurrence,

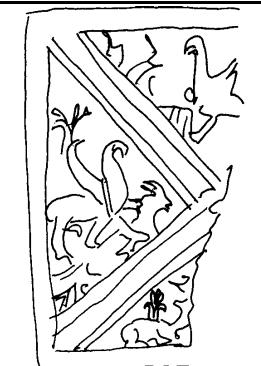
<sup>124</sup> Cf. also *Lachish* II, Pl. LXI; LXV,6.

according to our present knowledge is on the hybrid decorating one of the metal “baskets” painted in the tomb of Ramses III (CL 119, not illustrated). The appearance of this LH III element in these Nineteenth and early Twentieth Dynasty hybrids is our first and only unequivocal example of a foreign element in the Egyptian South-flower hybrids. It is highly important that these drooping palm leaves appear only at a very late stage in the history of the Egyptian compounds, and then only as a prominent accessory, not as a fundamental unit.

There remains only the question of how these leaves became attached to the Egyptian hybrids, a difficult problem. The Amarna LH III A,2 sherd and the Petrie faience vessel serve as proof of the presence of the motive in Egypt, and it is possible that Egyptian metal-workers borrowed it directly from such sources. If so, we have no way of ascertaining exactly what stimulated them to choose this particular element and apply it as they did. However, the question is complicated by the views of those who have claimed the Tell Basta vessels as either of Syrian manufacture or as close imitations of Syrian exports.<sup>125</sup> We shall see that there is reason to consider CL 14 and CL 15 as characteristically Egyptian. Since female sphinxes and griffins had by this time become acclimatized in Egypt, the drooping leaves added to the South-flower hybrids remain as the only possible examples of Asiatic intervention. The Syrian specimens already cited (Figs. XV.73, XV.74) certainly do not suggest this, but there exists, in addition, an ivory plaque from Megiddo with a very pertinent design (Fig. XVI.84).

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<sup>125</sup> Cf. discussion in Chapter XVII, pp. 726ff.



**Fig. XV.84**

The ivory is covered by a repetitive pattern, which we may ignore in this context, crowned by what constitutes a separate unit - a large South-flower with lanceolate foliage and papyrus, together with drooping leaves. The exact comparability of this to the Egyptian designs need not be stressed; they are undoubtedly related, but it is much more difficult to determine which area should be credited with originating the motive. In view of the exactitude with which the uppermost section of the Megiddo

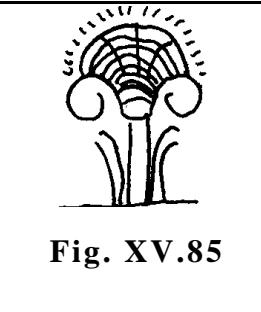
pattern follows normal Egyptian forms, and since there is evidence of the presence of the drooping palm in Egypt independently of its use in Asia, we believe that greater probability can be claimed for Egypt as the focus of this design. It is possible that the addition of drooping leaves to the naturalistic palm of the Tell Fara ivory (Fig. XV.73) should possibly be counted as one of the Egyptianizing features shown by that object. However, even though it seems probable that Egyptian designers themselves combined drooping palms and South-flower hybrids, the question cannot be considered settled. It is to be hoped that the future will uncover additional evidence bearing on this problem.

#### THE MYCENAEAN III FLOWER AND PLANT DESIGNS ON CYPRIOTE SEALS OF THE THIRD SYRIAN CLASS

On the LH III A and B pottery the complement of the drooping palm motive is formed by numerous examples of those designs designated by Furumark as voluted form of the Mycenaean III flower. Among the large series of variant specimens certain features remain constant; the median stem is flanked by at least two lines which do not necessarily end in volutes. An extremely stylized lily corolla is surmounted by a prominent semicircular area, most frequently outlined by a fringe of dashes or dots; the interior of this head may be left empty or filled in a variety of manners (Figs. XV.85, XV.16). As in the

case of the drooping palm, this Mycenaean III flower appears to have made its influence felt in Asia on a series of seals whose manufacture seems to have centered in Cyprus, a likely area for the conflation of Aegean and Asiatic motives. The seals in question, Figs XV.51, XV.52, XV.54, XV.86, XV.87, XV.88, XV.89, XV.90, XV.91 belong to

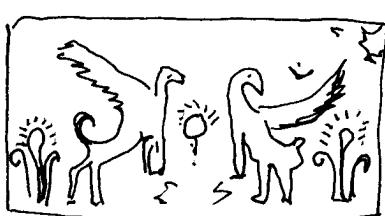
Franfort's Third Syrian group. In his discussion of this class,



**Fig. XV.85**

Frankfort refers to the fact that a number of characteristic seals are from Cyprus, but he hesitates to distinguish them as a Cypriote subclass because of cases in which cylinders of the same type occur on the Asiatic mainland.<sup>126</sup> Although the seals assembled here are selected because they bear plant designs of particular types, they are,

in addition, linked by a number of other characters. Since almost all having a definite provenience are from Cyprus, it seems likely that they should be considered as a definite group characteristic of that island. Such seals, when found in Asia, can be considered as Cypriote exports, sent along with the tremendous cargoes of pottery which were leaving that island.



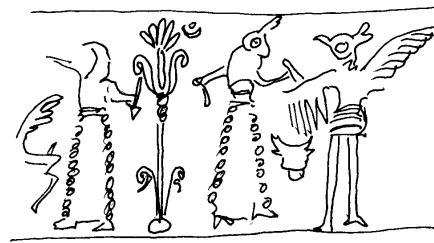
**Fig. XV.86**



**Fig. XV.87**



**Fig. XV.88**



**Fig. XV.89**



**Fig. XV.90**



**Fig. XV.91**

Fig. XV.86, in the De Clerq collection, can be connected with Cyprus by its close resemblance to a seal in the Cesnola collection.<sup>127</sup> The latter shows a very similar composition, their main differences being the omission of the plant hybrid and the presence of an ordinary lion in place of the left-hand monster of Fig. XV.86. To counterbalance this, there appear such detailed similarities as the use for filling motives of drill holes and a crescent plus dot over the wings of Fig. XV.86, in the De Clerq collection, can be connected with Cyprus by its close resemblance to a seal in the Cesnola collection.<sup>128</sup> The latter shows a very similar composition, their main differences being the omission of the plant hybrid and the presence of an ordinary lion in place of the left-hand monster of Fig. XV.86. To counterbalance this, there appear such detailed similarities as the use for filling motives of drill holes and a crescent plus dot over the wings of the human-headed monster. The plant motive of Fig. XV.86 consists of a central stalk ending in a bulbous and fringed tip. Two side stems end in spiral curls. Although these last are equated with the twisted ends of a South-flower perianth by the addition of pendant drops, none of the hybrid designs of Egypt or Asia show any real affinities with the vegetation of Fig. XV.86, which on the other hand shares with the Mycenaean III flower all the salient features enumerated above. Under these circumstances it seems impossible to deny that the cutter of Fig. XV.86 was making a simplified version of the Mycenaean flowers of the painted pottery. The addition of the drops may be taken as fairly conclusive proof that the South-flower hybrids were also current at the time. A seal from T.4 at Maroni bearing a compound following completely in the Second Syrian tradition is conclusive evidence of this (Fig. XV.92).<sup>129</sup>

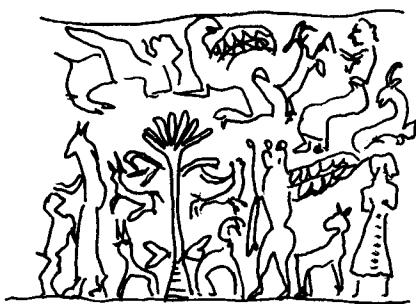
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<sup>126</sup> CS, pp. 290-291.

<sup>127</sup> John L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection* (New York, 1914), pp. 435-36, no. 4313.

<sup>128</sup> John L. Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection* (New York, 1914), pp. 435-36, no. 4313.

<sup>129</sup> Cf. Chapter XVII, pp. 725f. for further discussion of this seal.



**Fig. XV.92**

It is from such sources then, that the drops of Fig. XV.86 are derived, but the remainder of the plant can be considered as completely Aegean in tradition.

The appurtenance of a seal in the Morgan collection (Fig. XV.87) to the Cypriote class is proven by the resemblance of its monsters to those on Figs. XV.51, XV.52, XV.54 and on the

Cesnola collection seal cited above, as well as by the comparability of its plant motive to that of Fig. XV.86. The main divergence between the two is the superposition of a large rhombic element on the bulbous and here fringeless tip of the median stalk. It is hardly to be expected that the seal designs should coincide with the Mycenaean flower in minute details. Thus it is very interesting that, even though a definite connection cannot be demonstrated, a similar rhombic element does occur, in the crown of a LH III A,1 early flower painted on a vessel from Enkomi (Fig. XV.93).



**Fig. XV.93**

To Figs. XV.86 and XV.87 must be added a seal published by Ohnefalsch-Richter (Fig. XV.54). On it a plant, differing from Fig. XV.86 only by the basal drill hole and the absence of drops, is held by two double-headed figures. There are other seals on which the essential skeleton of the Mycenaean III flower is used, more or less contaminated by elements derived from the South-flower hybrids filtering in from the

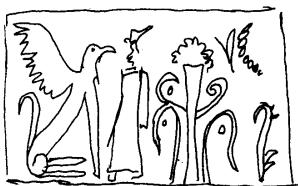
Asiatic mainland. For example, in Fig. XV.51, a seal bought in Cyprus, there is a plant exactly like the De Clerq cylinder, Fig. XV.86, except for the addition of an easily recognized volute. The Newell collection yields an example in which there is present, not only a volute, complete with interior drops, but also a fragmented South-flower perianth set below the bulbous crown (Fig. XV.90). A plant on a seal in the Louvre (Fig. XV.89),

bought in Cyprus, is linked directly with the Newell specimen by the drill hole base and shortened side volutes. The top of this plant consists of a deep u-shaped South-flower perianth enclosing a narrow lobe topped by palmette leaves; this formation appears to be more akin to the hybrid top of Fig. XV.92 than to that characteristic for the Mycenaean III flower. Despite its bad state of preservation, an abraded seal bought by Schaeffer in Cyprus illustrates clearly the suppression of Mycenaean III elements by a hybrid motive (Fig. XV.88). Here in place of the lateral volutes springing from the base, there is found a South-flower complete with drops.

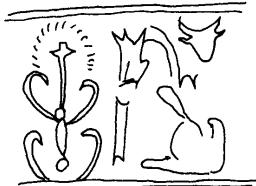
Four cylinders illustrate plant motives having some relation either with the Mycenaean III flower or with Levantine hybrids, but deviating widely from both traditions. From Enkomi comes an example illustrating a simple “tree,” a stalk with the bulbous fringed top that we have claimed to be descended from analogous elements of the Mycenaean III flower (Fig. XV.91). In contrast Fig. XV.52, from Maroni, consisting of a tall trunk surmounted by a South-flower enclosing a lobe, which though swollen in size, is not fringed as in Figs. XV.86 or XV.54, but tipped by palmette foliage reminiscent of that of Figs. XV.92 and XV.89. The circular bulb crowning a plant on a British Museum seal (Fig. XV.53) is more akin to the Mycenaean III flower than to a palmette. However, the knobby trunk must be derived from such Second Syrian motives as Figs.XIII.5 and XIII.13, and the three pairs of upcurving lines from the volute motive. Finally there is Fig. XV.55, where only the top bears some resemblance to the crown of Figs.XV.53 and XV.86. Otherwise the opposite-leaved stem and its drill hole base surrounded by dots are unique.

The seals so far cited have all been excellently, or at least fairly carefully cut, and bear a number of figures. In addition to these, a fairly numerous class of smaller and coarser cylinders, bear plant designs obviously related to those of Fig. XV.51, XV.54,

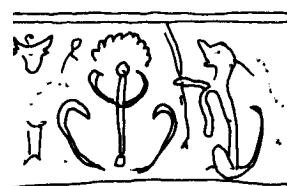
XV.86, XV.87 and XV.90. On these seals the plants are attended by one or sometimes two (Fig. XV.94) figures of animals or monsters, together with very small filling motives.



**Fig. XV.94**

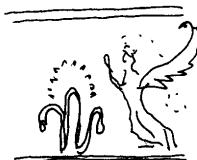


**Fig. XV.95**

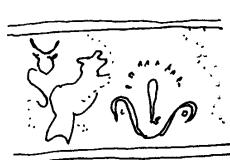


**Fig. XV.96**

We illustrate here six examples, of which four (Figs. XV.94, XV.95, XV.96, XV.97) were obtained in Cyprus. Figs. XV.97 and XV.98 are clearly rough versions of the same motive as Fig. XV.86. Fig. XV.94 is an extremely diffuse rendering consisting of the same elements as Fig. XV.51. It finds parallels on seals from Enkoni and Megiddo.<sup>130</sup> The Mycenaean III flower and two pairs of disintegrating, upturning volutes flanking the main stems constitute the plants of Figs. XV.95 and XV.96. At Gezer was found a seal belonging to this same group, as is demonstrated by the lion and the



**Fig. XV.97**



**Fig. XV.98**



**Fig. XV.99**

bucranium, a common filling motive on such Cypriote seals (Fig. XV.99). Although the head of the plant here shows affinities with the preceding examples, its base, especially the horizontal band, is more anomalous.

Besides Figs. XV.51-55, XV.86-92, XV.94-99, of whose position there can be no doubt, we have also illustrated two other seals. One of these, Figs. XV.100 is a member

<sup>130</sup> Cesnola, *Salamina*, Pl. XII, 2 (reference from BN, p. 283). R. S. Lamont and G. M. Shipton, *Megiddo I* (OIP 42, Chicago, 1939), Pl. LVI, 12 (Stratum II).

of a crude class which seems to have been prevalent in Cyprus.<sup>131</sup> It bears plant designs in which the main stem is flanked by volutes, and it may, therefore, be ultimately derived from the more elaborate examples already discussed. Fig. XV.101 is a Second Syrian seal bearing a curious non-vegetal pole as support for a crescent and star. Alongside of the base of this pole, there spring two curved elements which can have no connection with the side shoots of the Cypriote seals, and serve as a necessary warning against considering the Mycenaean III flower the source of all lateral volutes without regard to the characteristics of the remainder of the design.



**Fig. XV.100**



**Fig. XV.101**

In the majority of plants in Figs. XV.51-55 and XV.86-92, XV.94-101, there is, however, sufficient similarity to the class of motives illustrated in Figs. XV.16, XV.85, XV.93, to make out a strong case for their derivation from that source. Since none of these Cypriote cylinders stem from well documented contexts, they must be placed within the range of the Third Syrian group, extending from the Amarna period, through the Nineteenth Dynasty to the period when the great folk migrations of the closing Second Millennium B. C. cast the Levantine world into chaos. The seal motives are not sufficiently comparable to any specific Mycenaean III flowers to be datable by that means. The resemblance between the LH III A, 1 Fig. XV.93 and Fig. XV.87 has already been indicated. A survey of the Mycenaean III forms illustrated by Furumark shows that in the LH III B forms, the lateral stems rarely end in volutes and the fringed crowns are much

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<sup>131</sup> CS, pp. 290-291.

less prominent. For these reasons, we regard the forms of the preceding phases (LH III A, 1 and 2) as more likely sources for the Cypriote motives than LH III B ones. This, however, cannot be definitely proved.

### CYPRIOTE PLANT ORNAMENTS

The reflections of the Mycenaean III flowers found on Cypriote cylinders and the combination of these elements with those derived from the hybrid repertoires of Asia have already been sufficient to demonstrate the intimate mixture of LH and Levantine traditions that could characterize Cypriote products. Further examples of this fusion can be found among the plant patterns on gold ornaments which were so common during Late Cypriote II (1400-1200 B. C.), as to cause Gjersted to characterize that phase as the “gold period.”<sup>132</sup>

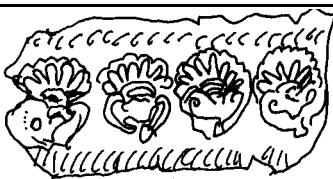


Fig. XV.102

Fig XV.102 was found in OT 93 at Enkomi, a tomb which also contained two Mitannian seals, a scarab with the name of Ti, and a ring dating from the early years of Akhenaten, for his name is still written in the Amenhotep IV form. The group is thus definitely dated. The gold foil

plaque or “front-band” of Fig. XV.102 is decorated by a series of repeated designs which are nothing more than the triangular-topped sacral ivy leaf used on LH I Palace style pottery; towards the end of this same period it began to appear on jewelry.<sup>133</sup> In the succeeding period, LH III, this motive appears to have been popular, occurring as the decoration of a bronze jug, as a cutout ivory plaque, or as clay, glass paste, or gold (?) pendants. Fig. XV.102 is completely comparable with these LH III ornaments except for two details, the triangular lobe at the tip of the sacral ivy and the foliage filling the main register of the crowning arc of the motive. These features must be derived from the East,

<sup>132</sup> Gjersted, *Studies I* (Stockholm, 1926), p. 289; for chronological range of LC II, cf. *ibid.*, p. 335.

<sup>133</sup> Chapter VIII, pp. 343ff.

being carried over from the plant hybrids in use there. Several of the “Canaanite” hybrids made around this time possess strongly emphasized triangular lobes (Figs. XIII.30, XIII.38); the palmette foliage was, of course, common. Other examples of the use of this same kind of adulterated triangular-tipped ivy are found on LC II plaques from OT 84<sup>134</sup> and NT 18 (Fig. XV.103) at Enkomi. They are complicated by the presence of a lobe, filling the interior of the sacral ivy leaf, a feature also found on the Greek Mainland. The triangular lobe is omitted here so that in this respect these leaves are rather closer to their Aegean prototypes than Fig. XV.102.

Fig. XV.102 and XV.103 give, we believe, the clue to the construction of the plant element of Fig. XV.104, a cypriote seal in the Louvre.

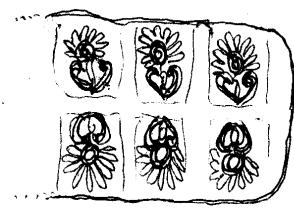


Fig. XV.103



Fig. XV.104

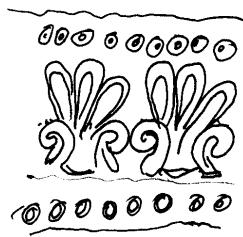


Fig. XV.105

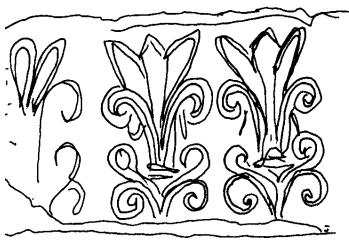
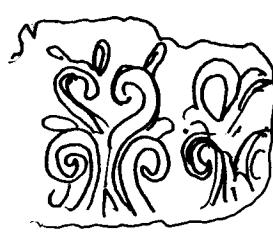
There a long tree trunk supports a well-formed South-flower perianth with drops, from which grows a large element which is apparently the Egyptian volute normally found in this position. However, the palmette foliage does not grow in its normal position, between the volute arms, but is placed in a manner perfectly analogous to the usage in Figs. XV.102 and 103. Even though in this way we can account for the development of the plant in Fig. XV.104, we cannot assign it a date more exact than the general range of the Third Syrian group, which is equivalent to the LC II phase.

The palmettes of Fig. XV.105 have for many years been considered as copies of Egyptian models.<sup>135</sup> Although the view of Furtwängler is certainly justified, in that Egypt

<sup>134</sup> BMExCyprus, Pl. XII, 4576.

<sup>135</sup> E. Poulsen in “Zur Zeit bestimmung der Enkomi funde,” JdI, XXVI (1911), p. 241 refers to Furtwängler’s statement in Berl. philologische Wochenschrift, (1901), p. 146.

is the ultimate source of the elements of Fig. XV.105, we cannot prove that they were copied directly from Egyptian motives. It is far more likely that they were stimulated by Asiatic intermediaries. Here, however, the palmette design has been reduced to such bare essentials as to lack connections with any specific South-flower hybrid. There is no trace of LH III influence. Much the same remarks may be made concerning Fig. XV.106,<sup>136</sup> which appears as an incomplete reflection of a two-tiered hybrid, like that of Fig. XIII.32. The lines of the Cypriote compound have become gracefully formalized and it possesses a distinct character of its own. The ornaments on a gold diadem from NT 18 at Enkomi from a group dated to the latter part of LC II resemble the palmettes of Fig. XV.106 at first glance. They not only lack drops, however, but do not even possess real South-flower perianths, having only completely geometric volutes such as occur often without leaves on the Enkomi goldwork.<sup>137</sup> It is clear that these spiraliform elements must have reminded the goldsmith of the downcurving ends of the South-flower perianth; he then promptly added the leaves which should accompany that motive.

**Fig. XV.106****Fig. XV.107****Fig. XV.108**

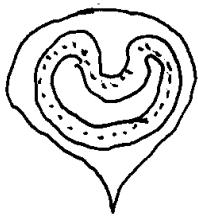
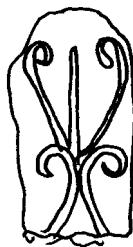
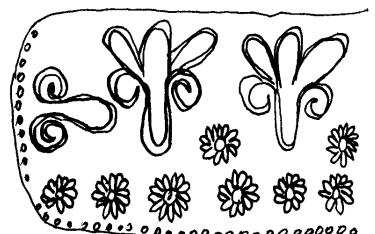
The gold band of Fig. XV.107 was found in a LC III tomb, and Gjersted has commented that the design it bears was not known before that time.<sup>138</sup> The nature of the basal element of this motive is not clear. Two downcurving volute lines surround a central

<sup>136</sup> This motive has been discussed by Poulsen, op. cit., p. 217. He compared it with certain Egyptian hybrids, and also to gold plates in the Boisset collection of the Louvre (a piece probably stolen from Enkomi, he notes) and in the British Museum excavated at Maroni.

<sup>137</sup> BMExCyprus, Pls. VI, 523, 525; XI, 191, 195; XII, 375, 462.

<sup>138</sup> Gjersted, *Studies I* (Stockholm, 1926), p. 289. Fig. XV.107 is one of two plaques with such designs; cf. BMExCyprus, Pl. XI, 183 from OT 45 at Enkomi.

triangle. It is possible that these elements represent the disintegration of such South-flower perianths as those in Figs. XV.105 and XV.106. The volutes of Fig. XV.107 resemble closely those of Fig. XV.103. Obovate lobes are added to the various corners of the pattern. Fig. XV.108 is a close relative of Fig. XV.107. The position of the triple groups of leaves above the volute ends suggests that in this case, as well as Fig. XV.107 the volute is to be equated with the sacral ivy leaf, a simple form of which was found in the same tomb as Fig. XV.108 (Fig. XV.109). Gold pendants in the Cesnola collection bear an ornament connected with the two preceding types by the half volutes forming the base (Fig. XV.110). Above there rises a volute of strikingly different character from those of Figs. XV.107 and XV.108; that of Fig. XV.110 clearly belongs to the Egyptian type.

**Fig. XV.109****Fig. XV.110****Fig. XV.111**

Such then are the plant designs to be found on Cypriote jewelry. Although they, and the plants of the Cypriote cylinders are composed of elements derived both from the Aegean and the Levant, it is they alone that constitute the evidence on which Cyprus' claim for an individual contribution to the vegetal ornament of the late Second Millennium B. C. must be based. The island certainly cannot be credited with having invented any new motives, but we must admit that the LC II craftsmen did succeed in developing recognizable and characteristic amalgamations of foreign motives. In addition to the objects with which we have already dealt, the island also yielded other examples of plant ornament which are not peculiar to Cyprus, but belong on the whole to well recognized classes. Several specimens of purely Egyptian motives occur; the same Enkomi tomb that contained Fig. XV.102 also

produced an excellent gold and paste floral usekh collar, complete with *Nymphaea* bud-flower ties.<sup>139</sup> Faience jars with waterlily petals at the base,<sup>140</sup> as well as bowls with *Nymphaea* rosettes<sup>141</sup> are found. Gold beads in the form of pomegranates find precedents in those from Shaft Grave III at Mycenae.<sup>142</sup> Ivory and bone pins with pomegranate heads<sup>143</sup> may be connected with the use of those fruits for ornamental purposes at Ras Shamra.<sup>144</sup> Similar pins were found at Tell Duweir.<sup>145</sup> Such finds are of more importance for the study of the foreign relations of Cyprus, than for the story of vegetal ornament.

### HITTITE PLANT ORNAMENT

Little is known of the decorative arts of the Hittites. Future discoveries must determine whether this is an accident of preservation or corresponds to an actual gap in their culture.<sup>146</sup> Samples of Hittite ornamentation can, however, be found on certain ivories and stamp seals. On several of these there appears a plant motive consisting of a central stem or lobe flanked by two outcurving elements and topped by three leaves. Best dated is Fig. XV.84, an ivory from level II at Tell Atchana (post 1275-c.1220 B. C.). A plaque from Megiddo with strikingly Hittite figures contains a very similar plant (Fig. XV.112), and other examples are to be found on Hittite stamp seals (Figs. XV.113-114).

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<sup>139</sup> BMExCyprus, Pl. V (OT 93).

<sup>140</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 22, Fig. 40; p. 39, Fig. 67, 854 (OT 12).

<sup>141</sup> Myres, *op. cit.*, pp. 273-274.

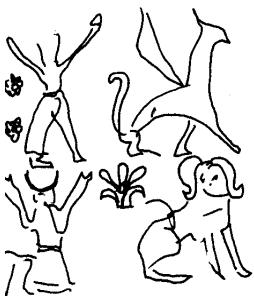
<sup>142</sup> SCE I, Pl. CXLVII, 9 (Ajios Jakovos, Bronze Age Sanctuary). Schgr., Pl. XXII, 27.

<sup>143</sup> SCE, Pls. CLII, 4 (Enkomi, NT 3, 240); CLIV, 31 (Lapithos, 403, 5).

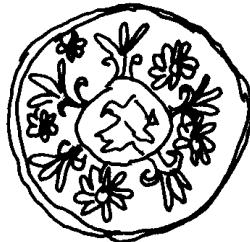
<sup>144</sup> Chapter XIII, p. 526.

<sup>145</sup> Lachish ii, Pl. XX, 25, 26.

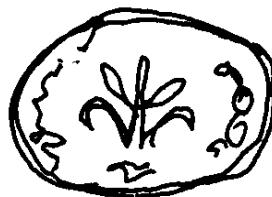
<sup>146</sup> Cf. CS, p. 288, "...the Hittites were artistically inarticulate."



**Fig. XV.112**

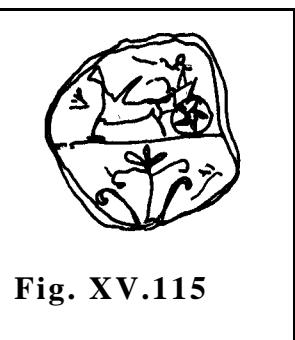


**Fig. XV.113**



**Fig. XV.114**

Fig. XV.115 is more complicated, having horizontal lines with downcurving ends placed just below the triple leaves. In these designs it is the origin of the lateral half-voluts which requires explanation. There is a faint possibility that they may have some relation with those of the Cypriote designs of Figs. XV.107, XV.108, XV.110, and for this reason we have introduced the Hittite designs at this point. Thus it is possible to assume that in Fig. XV.108 the omission of the sacral ivory volute would result in the production of a



**Fig. XV.115**

motive similar to Figs. XV.84, XV.112, XV.113, XV.114.

However, in all of these there is also present a median element, usually inconspicuous, between the two half volutes. In the case of Fig. XV.112, it is clearly lobe-shaped, and all this suggests that the designs in question may be derived from such simple South-flower hybrids as those within the circle of Fig. XIII.6. In this case the side volutes would be assumed to represent either the disintegration products of the perianths independent of the Cypriote design or else conflations of elements derived from such a quarter with South-flower curls. Unfortunately the Hittite designs are so simple and lacking in pronounced resemblance to either Cypriote or Asiatic patterns, that their exact genealogy cannot be recovered. We can say only that they are clearly disintegrated motives derivative from the main stream of plant ornament.

The probability of an Anatolian provenience for a seal in the Louvre, Fig. XV.116,



**Fig. XV.116**



**Fig. XV.117**



**Fig. XV.118**

may be established by the comparison of its figures mounted on animals with those on a Hittite stamp seal (Fig. XV.117),<sup>147</sup> and on a cylinder in the Brett collection whose probable Anatolian origin has been pointed out by Frankfort (Fig. XV.118).<sup>148</sup> Fig. XV.116 bears a curious plant. The central stalk supports a number of side branches at the top, and is flanked below by two pairs of half volutes, comparable to those of Figs. XV.84, XV.112-114. Here it appears as if simplified *dejecta membra* of hybrid designs have been combined with “naturalistic” tree elements.

Certain Hittite stamp seals illustrate the extremely degenerate form in which South-flower hybrids could appear when used by peripheral craftsmen. In Fig. XV.119 a perianth and volute seem to be recognizable. An imitation of the Syrian motive of a vegetal element supporting a winged-sun disc, here supplemented by two human figures is to be found on

Fig. XV.117. Fig. XV.120 may represent an extremely weird rendering of the same theme. Finally on Fig. XV.118 there appears such a characterless vegetal motive that its affiliations, if any, cannot be determined.



**Fig. XV.119**



**Fig. XV.120**

<sup>147</sup> Cf. also the other sides of this same seal illustrated by Delaporte (A 1030).

<sup>148</sup> CS, p. 284, n. 4.

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Although with the discussion of the Cypriote designs we have ended our survey of connections between the Levant and Greece, there are a number of important topics which have not been dealt with. Chief among these are the claims that some characteristics of Aegean architecture were transplanted to Asia. Sir Leonard Woolley speaks not only of the reproduction of “startlingly Minoan” features such as a columned entry with stairs, orthostats, the use of timber in upper walls, and of “cement” in the palace of Atchana IV (after 1483-c.1370 B. C.),<sup>149</sup> but even of mural decorations possessing Cretan affinities. These were found not only in a house, apparently belonging to stratum IV, but also in a still older context, in the palace of stratum VII, contemporary with the First Dynasty of Babylon.<sup>150</sup> Definite substantiation of these highly significant claims must await the full publication of the evidence. Ras Shamra is another site where there exists a possibility of Aegean influence in architecture. Schaeffer refers to this in connection with beam constructions and a building possessing square-based columns, but makes no positive claims. He rules out any relationship between the tombs of the Greek mainland and those of Ras Shamra, but leaves open the possibility of some influence coming in from the Minoan tradition which produced the Royal Tomb at Isopata.<sup>151</sup> If, in the future, the existence of such important connections as the sharing of architectural traits is firmly established, they will testify to an even greater intensity of contact than the evidence gleaned from the products of the decorative artists. For the present, however, the architectural data cannot be admitted.

Another important question which cannot be considered in detail here, is that of the sources of the spiral motives which occur in Second Syrian and Mitannian seals. It is

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<sup>149</sup> L. Woolley, “Excavations at Tal Atchana, 1937”, AJ, XVIII (1938), pp.22-24, 28.

<sup>150</sup> ILN, Dec. 2, 1939, p. 833.

<sup>151</sup> C. F. A. Schaeffer, *Ugaritica I* (Paris, 1939), pp. 77-97. Schaeffer, “Die stellung Ras Shamra-Ugarits zur Kretischen Kultur,” JdI LII (1937), pp.146-156. On the last mentioned topic cf. also discussion by Evans in PM IV, pp.770-776. Dussaud refers to tombs “de type Mycenien” at Ras Shamra (Dussaud, “Cultes cananéens aux sources du Jourdain,” *Syria*, XVII [1936], p. 189).

possible that in the early Second Millenium B. C. the Minoan commerce which carried spirals to Egypt<sup>152</sup> also brought them to Asia. A bowl from Twelfth Dynasty Byblos<sup>153</sup> and the spiral borders of the Mari mural which are probably contemporary with the Second Intermediate period<sup>154</sup> illustrate the presence of such designs at the time (or shortly after in the case of the mural) when MM traders were active. In addition, at least one of the silver cups among the objects of presumed Asiatic manufacture deposited at Tud in the reign of Amenemhet II bears a torsional curvilinear design allied to spiral decoration.<sup>155</sup> The assumption that spirals were introduced into Asia by Minoans at this time, and henceforth continued in use there, is far too simple to explain all the facts. It is very possible that spiral designs, even if all are eventually from the Aegean, were reaching Asia in a number of different ways in the later part of the Second Millennium. Along the coastal "Canaanite" area a tradition continuous with that of Middle Kingdom times may have been present, perhaps strengthened by influence from Egypt, presumably carried chiefly by scarabs. However, in the Amuq area, in Atchana V (after 1594-1483 B. C.), spirals appear on pottery of dark burnished fabric which appears to have Anatolian connections.<sup>156</sup> This is interesting in view of the fact that spiral ornaments appear to take an important place in the decoration of Hittite cylinders and stamp seals;<sup>157</sup> Anatolia may have been a secondary center of dispersion for spiral ornament. In any case, s-spirals appear on Second Syrian<sup>158</sup>

<sup>152</sup> Chapter IX, pp. 367ff.

<sup>153</sup> Chapter IX, p.365 and n. 14.

<sup>154</sup> Schaeffer, "Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra," *Syria*, XVIII (1937), Pls. XXXVII, 1; XXXIX; p. 336, Fig.8.

<sup>155</sup> ILN, April 18, 1936, p. 682, bottom right. Cf. Schaeffer, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXIX.

<sup>156</sup> ILN, Dec. 2, 1939, p. 833, Fig. 6. For date of Atchana V cf. S. Smith, *Alalakh and Chronology* (London, 1940), p. 47.

<sup>157</sup> CS, p. 285, Fig. 92; Pl. XLIII,o. A, 1014, 1029, 1034, 1035. Hogarth, *Hittite Seals* (Oxford, 1920), p. 197. Newell, 380.

<sup>158</sup> CS, Pl. XLIV, g. A, 903 (drops in angles). D. G. Hogarth, "Engraved Hittite Objects," *JEA* VIII (1922), Pl. XXIV, 12 (Ashmolean, bought in Birejik). Ward-Morgan, 204 (drops in angles - no guilloche).

and Mitannian<sup>159</sup> seals, as well as on “Mitannian” ware. Besides the simple s-spirals, more complex spiral rapport patterns occasionally appear on Mitannian seals. Newell, 353 bears quadruple spirals with rosette fillings. The seal of Ir-Mermer, king of Tunip, impressed upon a treaty between that state and Alalakh, a document contemporary with the second phase of Atchana IV (sometime after 1450 B. C.), consists of five rows of contiguous s-spirals which possess short stems ending in triple leaves that fill all the vacant spaces.<sup>160</sup> The appearance of such designs suggests that while spiral rapport designs were reaching Egypt in the early part of the Eighteenth Dynasty,<sup>161</sup> they were also being disseminated into Asia. At a still later time, in a level of Atchana contemporary with the Nineteenth Dynasty, there was found an ivory handle with a curvilinear design remarkably Aegean in character.<sup>162</sup> The existence of such data suggests that the history of spiral ornamentation in Asia is probably complex, involving different waves of influence rather than a straightforward development of themes introduced at one particular time. Although spiral decoration may be an important factor connecting East and West, it as yet offers no such certain results as those we have obtained from a consideration of decorative patterns.

From ivories, seals, pottery, and jewelry, we have gleaned a motley collection of elements exemplifying Mycenaean influence on Asiatic decoration. Although denying that the Aegean provided the main stimulation for the rococo designs of late “Mitannian” ware, we have maintained that the Aegean tricurved-arch network provided the compositional scheme for the semi-rapport designs of Figs. XV.2, XV.3, and XV.4. Even if this claim be disallowed, there exists undisputable evidence that tricurved arches were current all around the Levantine coast during a range stretching from the Fourteenth through the Thirteenth centuries B. C. (Figs. XV.23, XV.26, XV.27). This is not the only Aegean

<sup>159</sup> Moore, 164 (Here the s-spirals surround a rectangular field; drops fall from the angles). Newell, 293 (very simple). Moore, 165. Hogarth, *op. cit.* 187 may be a Mitannian seal.

<sup>160</sup> L. Woolley, “Excavations at Atchana-Alalakh, 1938,” AJ. XIX (1939), Pl. XVIII, 5 (AT 212).

<sup>161</sup> Chapter X, p. 405.

<sup>162</sup> L. Woolley, *op. cit.*, Pl. XIV, AT/8/225; p. 5; level II, probably.

rockwork pattern to recur in the East. Enkomi and Megiddo have both given examples of the use of friezes of individual peaks.

More complicated are the pictorial representations in the Aegean style, some of which - the griffin plaques and comb from Megiddo, the comb and mirror handle fragment from Enkomi - appear to be carved by LH III artists. Other cases, such as some of the mirror handles from Enkomi or the famous Potnia Theron relief from Minet-el-Beida, despite all their Mycenaean features, are worked by Asiatics. The last named ivory, aside from its importance in its own right, has been used here to support the claim that the Mitannian seal of Fig. XV.30 bears a version of the animals attendant on an incurved altar base. Possible traces of the LH animal style occur on some Second Syrian seals (Fig. XV.34), as well as on ivories from Megiddo, Byblos and Enkomi.

To these traits may be added a number of plant motives. A cylinder seal with energetic animals also contains a column tipped by a South-flower, the whole being apparently an Asiatic transformation of the LH III pillars crowned by triple leaves (Figs.XV.40). Two narrow rectangular plaques from Megiddo are covered by sacral ivy bands of the shape used in LH III B. In this case there does not exist sufficient evidence to prove these ivories to be either imports or Asiatic imitations, though the latter alternative may perhaps be the more likely one. Of the two characteristic, elaborate LH III vegetal motives, the drooping palm and the Mycenaean III flower, the former produced a greater effect in the Levant. It is found in a Third Syrian seal, and possibly on a cylinder found in Cyprus (Figs.XV.50, XV.72), on ivories from Megiddo and Tell el Fara (Figs. XV.73, XV.74;XVI.101), as well as on LB II painted pottery. Proof of the spread of this motive even into Egypt is yielded by a fragmentary glass bottle said to be from Kahun (Fig. XV.83) and by several metal vessels from Tell Basta (CL 117). The Mycenaean III flower was much less influential, its effect being limited to Cypriote seals where certain of its elements became mingled with those derived from the South-flower series normal in the

Levant (Figs. XV.51, XV.53, XV.54, XV.86, XV.87, XV.88, XV.89, XV.90, XV.94-99). Cypriote jewelry has given other examples of designs linking elements derived from East and West. The sacral ivy leaf was combined with palmette foliage in Figs. XV.102 and XV.104. In the seal of Fig. XV.104 it was fitted into the place of an Egyptian volute in a long-stemmed hybrid. Palmette foliage could be added to geometric spirals slightly reminiscent of South-flower perianths (Fig. XV.111). In addition, half volutes of rather uncertain derivation could be combined either with ivy leaves (Figs. XV.107, XV.108) or with an Egyptian volute (Fig. XV.110).

Such evidence from the field of the decorative arts connects up with that given by the pottery, which remains as the main guide for the relations of the Aegean and the East. As we have seen in Chapter IX, MM II-III was the period of great Cretan expansion. In the Near East this range covers the fluorit of the Twelfth Dynasty and the second stratum at Ras Shamra. In MM III relations between Crete and the East begin to decrease, so that by the New Kingdom there remains practically no definite proof of contact between that island and the Levant. Contrary to the view that has been generally prevalent in the past, it now appears that even as early as LM/LH I-II, Mainland seafarers were carrying Aegean products to early Eighteenth Dynasty Egypt. At the same time other vessels testify to the beginnings of Mycenaean trade in Asia. (See Chapter X). We have already noted in Chapter X the artistic effects concomitant with the arrival of LH I-II traders in the early Eighteenth Dynasty, as well as the apparent cessation of trade during the middle of that dynasty. In Asia, there remain to us from the Sixteenth, Fifteenth, and early Fourteenth Centuries B. C., no such definite signs indicating the presence of LH influence in the decorative arts. It is possible that the sealing of Ir-Mermer of Tunip or elements of animal style such as the flying gallop on certain Syrian seals are tokens of Aegean influence at this time. However, it is not until the second and much larger wave of LH trade began, in the Amarna period - LH III, A,2 - that evidence discussed in this chapter begins to occur. If

we remember that what has been gathered together here must stand for all the data now destroyed, it becomes justifiable to claim that the influence exerted by the applied arts of LH III in Asia is commensurate with the wide distribution of Mycenaean pottery in the Levant of the later Second Millenium B. C. This conclusion conflicts with a statement of Frankfort's who refers to the effects of Minoan art in Asia during the beginning of the Second Millennium B. C. and again after the fall of Knossos.<sup>163</sup> Thus it is to Cretan refugees that he attributes the Aegean character apparent at this time, while "the very individual Mycenaean civilization of the mainland was not so much creative in the arts and crafts which produce goods for export, as in such fields as architecture, for instance, which do not influence foreign regions."<sup>164</sup>

In opposition to this statement, however, is the fact that we have drawn exclusively on the LH III koine culture common to the Greek Mainland and the Aegaean islands in the search for parallels for the Aegaean features found in Asia. Moreover, many of the characters in question, the LH III drooping palm or the Mycenaean III flower for example, are ones that were never current in Crete and could not possibly have been spread by refugees from Knossos, even if such individuals did actually exist. In the latter part of the Second Millenium B. C., only the LH sailor and merchant can with justification lay claim to the honor of forming the connecting link between West and East.

#### SOURCES FOR THE FIGURES

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- XV.2 *Ibid.*, Pl. IX, ATP 3.
- XV.3 *Ibid.*, Pl. X, ATP 342
- XV.4 *Ibid.*, Pl. X, ATP 1
- XV.5 JHS, LVI (1936), Pl. VI

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<sup>163</sup> CS. p. 188.

<sup>164</sup> *Ibid.*

- XV.6      *Ibid.*
- XV.7      *Ibid.*
- XV.8      *Ibid.*
- XV.9      JHS, Suppl. IV (1904), Pl. XXXII, 10 (Phylakopi)
- XV.10     PM III, p. 297, Fig. 194 (mural fragment)
- XV.11     PM IV, Suppl. LI (detail of LM II jar from Royal Villa, Knossos)
- XV.12     PM IV, p. 354, Fig. 297, b (Knossos)
- XV.13     Nuzi II, Pl. LXXIX, D
- XV.14     Mallowan, "White-painted Subartu Pottery," Melanges Dussaud II, Pl. III, bottom
- XV.15     Unrollment of XV.4
- XV.16     CVA: Italie, Vol. IX, Pl. CCCCLXX, 2=Myc. Pot., Mot. 18,9 (LH III a, 2 late)
- XV.17     Annuario, VI-VII (1923-24), p. 227, Fig. 144, right (Ialysos, NT 59, 4)
- XV.18     C. Blegen, *Korakou*, p. 60, Fig. 84
- XV.19     BCH, ii (1878), Pl. XIV, 1 (Spata, Chamber tomb 1, part of ivory mirror case)
- XV.20     Art PG II, p. 197, Fig. 347 (Mycenae)
- XV.21     *Ibid.*, p. 261, Fig. 378 (Mycenae)
- XV.22     Art C, p. 259, fig. 459
- XV.23     AJA, XXXIX (1935), p. 575, Fig. 19, middle
- XV.24     *Ugaritica* I, Pl. I
- XV.25     Syria XIV (1933), p. 105, Fig. 8, top right
- XV.26     Meg. Iv., Pl. IX, 37
- XV.27     ILN, Dec. 2, 1939, p. 834, Fig. 11
- XV.28     CS, Pl. XLVI, s
- XV.29     Art PG II, p. 299, fig. 421, 25 (Mycenae, agate gem)
- XV.30     Newell, 290
- XV.31     PM IV, p. 608, Fig. 597, A,g
- XV.32     PM IV, p. 419, Fig. 348 (Vaphio)
- XV.33     PM IV , p. 586, Fig. 577 (Mycenae, tholos; sardonyx)
- XV.34     Hogarth, *Hittite Seals*, 186 = CS, Pl. XLIV, b

- XV.35 *Ibid* , 185 = CS, Pl. XLII, 1
- XV.36 Newell, 297 = CS, Pl. XLII, h
- XV.37 Ward-Morgan, 227
- XV.38 BN, 452
- XV.39 De Clerq, 390
- XV.40 Eph. 1888, Pl. X, 43 = Bossert, p. 232, Fig. 395, a
- XV.41 Meg. Iv., Pl. X, 42
- XV.42 BMExCyprus, p. 7, Fig. 10
- XV.43 BSA, XVI (1909), Pl. I, 2
- XV.44 RT, Pl. XVIII, 2
- XV.45 RT, Pl. XXXV
- XV.46 Persson, *New Tombs at Dendra*, p. 74, Fig. 88
- XV.47 *Tiryns* II, Pl. VIII.
- XV.48 Schliemann, *Tiryns*, Pl. IX, a
- XV.49 RT, p. 95, Fig. 67; Pl. XXXI, 6
- XV.50 VAR, Pl. LXIV
- XV.51 Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems in the British Museum*, Pl.III, 116
- XV.52 *Ibid.*, Pl. III, 123
- XV.53 CS, Pl. XLV, I
- XV.54 Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros unde die Bibel*, Pl. LXXXVII,9
- XV.55 Newell, 359
- XV.56 SCE I, Pl. CXX
- XV.57 Annuario VI-VII (1923-24), p. 152, Fig. 75
- XV.58 CVA, Italie IX Pl. 469, 3
- XV.59 Syoquist, *Problems of Late Cypriote Bronze Age*,, Fig. 19, 1
- XV.60 Annuario VI-VII (1923-24), 91, Fig. 5
- XV.61 Schaeffer, *Missions en Chypre*, 1932-35, Pl. XXXIII,2
- XV.62 BCH, XXVIII (1904), p. 386, Fig. 22
- XV.63 *Ibid.*, p. 385, Fig. 21

- XV.64 EPH., 1888, Pl. X, 8
- XV.65 *Ibid.*, 31
- XV.66 *Ibid.*, 14
- XV.67 ArtPG II, p. 302, Fig. 424, 11
- XV.68 Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen* I, Pl. II, 22
- XV.69 *Ibid.*, Pl. IV, 13
- XV.70 Perrot-Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, VI, p. 945, Fig. 505
- XV.71 BMMA XX (1925), p. 182, Fig. 6
- XV.72 SCE I, Pl. CL, 10
- XV.73 Petrie, *Beth Pelet*, I, Pl. LV
- XV.74 Meg. Iv., Pl. LII, 227
- XV.75 BCH, II (1878), Pl. XVI, 5 = ArtPG II, p. 276, Fig. 398
- XV.76 SAOC 17, Chart, Stratum VII (1170-1350), No. 22.
- XV.77 May, *Material Remains of the Megiddo Cult*, Pl. XL, D
- XV.78 SAOC 17, Chart, Stratum VII (1170-1350), No. 12
- XV.79 *Ibid.*, No. 29
- XV.80 *Lachish* II, Pl. LX, 2
- XV.81 *Ibid.*, Pl. XLVIII, A, B, 248
- XV.82 *Ibid.*, Pl. LXI, 7
- XV.83 H. Wallis, *Egyptian Ceramic Art*, p.13, Fig. 26
- XV.84 AJ, XIX (1939), Pl. XIV, 4, AT/8/204
- XV.85 CVA: Italie, Vol IX, Pl. CCCLXI, 5
- XV.86 De Clerq, 314
- XV.87 Ward-Morgan, 183
- XV.88 Schaeffer, *Mission en Chypre*, pp. 44-45, Figs. 18, 19
- XV.89 A, 1193
- XV.90 Newell, 355
- XV.91 Walters, *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems in the BM*, Pl. III, 116
- XV.92 *Ibid.*, Pl. III, 124

- XV.93 BMExCyprus, p. 48, Fig. 73  
XV.94 BN, 498  
XV.95 Ohnefalsch-Richter, *op. cit.*, Pl. XCIV, 19  
XV.96 *Ibid.*, Pl. CXVI, 2  
XV.97 *Ibid.*, Pl. CXVI, 3  
XV.98 *Ibid.*, Pl. XCIV, 15  
XV.99 Macalister, *Excavations at Gezer III*, Pl. CCXIV, 14  
XV.100 A, 1188  
XV.101 Moore, 158  
XV.102 BMExCyprus, Pl. VI, 519  
XV.103 SCE I, Pl. CXLVII, L  
XV.104 Dussaud, *Civilisations prehellenique*, p. 429, Fig. 319  
XV.105 BMExCyprus, Pl. VII, 474  
XV.106 *Ibid.*, Pl. XII, 461  
XV.107 *Ibid.*, Pl. XI, 182  
XV.108 *Ibid.*, Pl. XIII, 29  
XV.109 *Ibid.*, Pl. XIII, 30  
XV.110 Myres, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, p. 375, 3005  
XV.111 SCE I, Pl. CXLVI, 5  
XV.112 Meg. Iv., Pl. Xb  
XV.113 A, 1015  
XV.114 A, 977  
XV.115 A, 1024  
XV.116 A, 953  
XV.117 A, 1030  
XV.118 Brett, 89  
XV.119 A, 1049  
XV.120 A, 1028

