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Sceptres and Maces in Cyprus before, during and immediately after the 11th century*

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Current research in Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age Cypriot society has recently focused attention on objects representing or taken to represent symbols of prestige¹ and among them sceptres and maces figure most prominently as status symbols *par excellence*. By definition they reflect and in a sense embody the high-ranking social order of the owner, and thus their presence in LC III and Early Iron Age contexts inevitably raises a number of crucial issues including the rise and the first stages of the Cypriot kingdoms and social complexity in Cyprus during these crucial years.²

Sceptres primarily belong to the regalia of kings, but occasionally they are used in religious ceremonies as symbols of divine kingship.³ Maces are emblems of power originating as a primitive, offensive weapon of simple shape and in stratified societies they often are part of the insignia of people exercising authority.⁴ Yet the distinction between sceptres and maces in the archaeological literature is not consistent and the names are often interchangeable. Theoretically any rod or wand with an ornamental head can be used either as a symbol of regal or religious authority (sceptre) or as a simple staff of office (conventionally called a mace). In practice sceptres, as symbols of divine or earthly kingship, are usually made of valuable materials and have composite forms and elaborate techniques of manufacture,⁵ while maces are simpler objects basically retaining their original form, though in more precious materials than stone.⁶

What follows is an attempt to discuss the evidence available for such high status symbols found in LC III and CG contexts and to draw any possible conclusions regarding social complexity in Cyprus before, during and immediately after the 11th century B.C.

I. SCEPTRES AND MACE-HEADS FROM LC III CONTEXTS

Wand finials found in Cyprus and dating to the LC III period can be classed into three distinct groups: *sceptres* as defined above, that is elaborate and lavishly decorated staff-heads,

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1. Coldstream 1989; Keswani 1988; Morden 1989; Rupp 1989.

2. Cf. Coldstream 1982; Keswani 1988; Muhly 1985 and 1989; Rupp 1987a and 1988; Snodgrass 1988; South 1989; Stech 1985.

3. The divine source of the sceptre is clearly set out by Homer (*Il.* II, 206 and IX, 99) and Pausanias (IX, 40, 11) in the story of Agamemnon's sceptre that was given by the gods. Sceptres are used by heralds and seers, as well. For the use of the sceptre cf. Bérard 1972, 224-5; Carlier 1984, 191; De Waele 1927; Drews 1983; Frankfort 1948; Gatti 1949; Maier 1989; Mantis 1983; Thomas 1976a and 1976b; Unger 1929.

4. Cf. Manti-Platonos 1981.

5. For the symbolic role of precious materials cf. Clarke 1986, 82.

6. Buchholz 1980, F. 335.

mostly made of precious materials, *mace-heads*, made in stone or bronze and other *wand finials*.

Sceptres

The sceptre as a symbol of royalty is considered as primarily an Egyptian notion,⁷ though it also occurs in Mesopotamia from very early times.⁸ The symbolism it embodies is expressed by the form as well as the material. The concept of precious as distinct from that of merely useful is a dominant element in the ideology of any stratified society.⁹ Thus, sceptres are expected to be, and usually are, made of precious materials and notably gold. Homer, while he does not enter into a detailed description of Agamemnon's sceptre, does mention emphatically that it was made of gold.¹⁰ In this sense, the conventional classification of some ornamental finials made in precious materials and with elaborate techniques found in LC III contexts, as sceptres seems totally justified. They occur in a variety of materials, including richly decorated bronze, ivory, gold and enamel, and there are also two lotus-shaped examples in Egyptian blue. But how many of them in fact were used as royal or religious symbols remains speculative.

The earliest sceptre known to have come from a dated context in Cyprus is the *lotus-shaped sceptre-head* in Egyptian blue (Fig. 1:2), which was found in a LC IIIA:1 context at Hala Sultan Tekke.¹¹ It preserves traces of an ivory rod and it is an actual Egyptian import. It is marked with the cartouche of the Egyptian Pharaoh Horemheb,¹² which suggests that it was already an antique when it was used at Hala Sultan Tekke during the LC IIIA:1 period. Lotus-shaped sceptres are common in Egypt as symbols of authority from very early times. They have three different names in Egyptian texts (*kbereh*, "the controller", *sekhem* "the powerful", *aba* "the commander") signifying the office held by the owner, but "no distinction can be drawn between their various uses".¹³ A second lotus-shaped sceptre-head in Egyptian blue, also found recently in a LC IIIA:1 context at Hala Sultan Teke,¹⁴ suggests that this type of Egyptian sceptre was a favoured symbol of authority there at that period, though their exact function remains obscure.

Sceptres in precious materials are extremely rare in Cyprus and the only example of such a sceptre from a dated context is the gold and enamel sceptre from Kourion-Kaloriziki, Tomb 40 (Fig. 1:6). The *Kourion sceptre*,¹⁵ which is approximately 16cm. long is the most important sceptre known from Cyprus and "one of the finest pieces of art that Cypriot soil has yielded".¹⁶ It has a very sophisticated form consisting of a tubular socket surmounted by a sphere decorated with inlaid cloisonné work in red and white enamel.¹⁷ The date of this fine and impres-

7. Cf. Unger 1929.

8. Cf. Roaf 1990, 75 commenting on the Stele of King Ur-Nammu (2120-1095) from Ur.

9. Cf. Clarke 1986, 82.

10. *Il.* II, 268. For a good discussion of the evidence cf. Carlier 1984, 190-4.

11. Cf. Karageorghis 1987, 944 fig. 79; Karageorghis 1979 No. 154; Åström 1979; Hari 1985.

12. Pharaoh Horemheb had lived in the earlier part of the 14th century cf. Karageorghis 1978.

13. Treasures of Tutankhamun No. 38. A very elaborate sceptre of this kind made of embossed sheet-gold and decorated with cloisonné work inlaid with precious stones, faience and glass was found in Tutankhamun's grave, probably signifying the *aba* sceptre cf. Carter 1922-23, III, pl. XLIV and Fox 1951, 33 pl. 67. I have not been able to consult A. Hassan "Stücke und Stäbe", *Mit. Ag. St.* 33 (1976).

14. Reported orally by Professor P. Åström during the Symposium.

15. Cf. Åström 1972, 567; Benson 1973, 50 no. 37; Buchholz-Karageorghis 1973, 167 no. 1788, col. pl. 4; Casson 1937, 66 pl. XI; McFadden 1954, 141 no. 38 pl. 18, 2; Westholm 1952; Xenaki-Sakellariou 1991, 72.

16. Sjöqvist 1940, 142.

17. For a detailed description cf. McFadden 1954, 141.

sive object had been the subject of much controversy for a long time,¹⁸ but the problem was ultimately solved by McFadden, who proved that the sceptre had been found in Tomb 40 of the Kourion-Kaloriziki cemetery. Though the tomb was originally pillaged by illicit excavators in the beginning of the century, its date was established by McFadden's subsequent excavation because the looters had missed a bench at the back of the tomb from which a group of LC IIIB pottery together with a number of bronzes was recovered.¹⁹ Whether the sceptre is of the same date as the pottery or was deposited in the tomb as an antique is debatable, since its type, style and technique are exceptional and close parallels in Cypriot or Mycenaean art are missing.

In the Aegean area sceptres are known from representations,²⁰ but only two specimens from Thebes, one in bronze, the other in ivory, can confidently be identified as sceptres.²¹ But none of them is actually comparable to the Kourion sceptre. The bronze sceptre was found in Tomb 26 of the Kolonaki cemetery at Thebes,²² which contained several burials ranging in time from LH II-III A:1 and it seems to belong to one of the latest. It has a very simple form with cylindrical head and tapering base and it is the best preserved example of a staff known from Mycenaean Thebes, though its very simple form is not comparable to the sophisticated shape of the Kourion sceptre. Much more elaborate is the ivory rod terminating in a griffin's head,²³ which was found in a building South West of the Kadmeion at Thebes, in a context dating to the LH III A:2-III B:1 period. The head and staff of this sceptre are carved out of one piece of ivory and there is a hole in the centre of the griffin's eye which was inlaid with another material. The origin of this elaborate piece, which could possibly have served as a sceptre, has been a controversial issue, since material, techniques and iconography of this piece point to the Orient, but the style of the griffin's head has been thought to be Mycenaean.²⁴

The Kourion sceptre has been claimed by McFadden²⁵ to be of Mycenaean origin. A bird-crowned sceptre conforms well with Aegean tradition, since Agamemnon's sceptre is described in Homer as being headed by a bird, which only in later literature is described as an eagle.²⁶ But the birds of the Kourion sceptre are identified as falcons,²⁷ though alternative interpreta-

18. Suggestions varied from Byzantine (Westholm 1952), or Archaic (Dikaios 1947) to LC III (Gjerstad 1948).

19. McFadden 1954, pls 21-2 and 24-7.

20. Mostly on seals and sealings. Cf. for example Demakopoulou 1988, 215 No. 191 (a clay sealing with a sceptre-bearer from Chania, Crete). A sceptre-bearer standing by a sphinx is also depicted on several clay sealings from Thebes (Aravantinos, 1987 and personal communication. Cf. also Piteros, Olivier, Melena 1990, 109 Nos 2, 12, 18, 35, 37).

21. For several objects erroneously identified as sceptres cf Schliemann 1879, 280 fig. 310 and Schliemann, 1882 no 148 and 149. Almost no finials identified as possible sceptres are known from Minoan Crete. A ceremonial stone axe in the form of a leaping panther found by the throne room at the palace of Mallia (Davaras, 1976, 28 fig. 16) is obviously a status symbol and it is often interpreted as a sceptre, and a bronze socket from Gournia (Richter 1915, no. 1811) is explained as part of a sceptre's staff. But the most likely example of a Minoan sceptre is provided by a bronze sheet hammered in the form of horns-of-consecration, which was found at the sanctuary of Syme at a mixed context containing LM II and LM III pottery (Lebessi 1984, 449 pl. 224, a). The earliest extant finial from the Mycenaean world, which is explained as a sceptre-head because of its shape and form comes from a tomb of LH II date at Mycenae (Wace 1953, 8 pl. 4; Sakellarakis 1979, 69 n. 227). It is of solid ivory, which was originally covered with gold leaf and it has the form of a figure-of-eight surmounted by a disc. But it has a tenon for insertion into another object so it is more probable that it comes from a weapon or perhaps from a piece of furniture.

22. Cf. Keramopoulos 1917, 197 fig. 142.

23. Spyropoulos 1970; Cf also Demakopoulou 1988, 256 No. 272 (col. pl.); Poursat 1977, 23 pl. V:4.

24. Poursat 1977, 23.

25. McFadden 1954, 134.

26. Cf. Buchholz 1991, 81; Carlier 1984, 191ff.

27. Westholm 1952.

tions such as eagles²⁸ or hawks²⁹ have at times been given. The falcon was a divine symbol in Egypt often identified with the sun god Horus and the Pharaoh on official occasions was accompanied by a falcon standard.³⁰ Good parallels for the falcons of the Kourion sceptre are found in Egypt³¹ and the Near East.³² Is therefore the Kourion sceptre Egyptian or Egyptianizing? It has reasonably been suggested that it is unique piece of Cypriot work under Egyptian influence,³³ which is mainly identified by the presence of the falcon birds and the techniques used for its decoration. The dating of the Kourion sceptre to the LC IIIB period because of the date of the tomb in which it was found has been questioned because of its elaborate technique and an earlier date has been considered.³⁴ However, if it is of Cypriot workmanship, it cannot have been made earlier than the LC IIIA period, when these techniques become current in Cyprus.³⁵

An interesting addition to the limited group of sceptres known from Late Bronze Age Cyprus is a *bronze wand finial with inlaid decoration* in the Cesnola Collection³⁶ in New York (Fig. 1:2). Its provenance is not known, though Kourion is mentioned as its find spot by Cesnola.³⁷ It has the form of a tubular socket crowned by three bucrania, the eyes and foreheads of which are hollow for the insertion of inlay, but only the forehead crescent of red enamel in one bucranium is preserved. The workmanship is Cypriot and the style and technique of the bucrania now have good parallels in LC IIIA and LC IIIB art. The enamel technique though new in LC IIIA, is well represented by the gold rings from the tombs at Evreti, Palaipaphos,³⁸ while several bucranium-shaped gold earrings of LC IIIA date from Enkomi, Kition, Palaipaphos etc.³⁹ give good parallels for the style of the bulls on the Cesnola sceptre. The bull had been a popular subject in Cyprus and the Levant throughout the Bronze Age,⁴⁰ but the sudden popularity of the bucrania in Cyprus during the LC III period points to the influence of Minoan-Mycenaean art and religion.⁴¹

Special mention among the few LC III objects classed as sceptres should be given to a number of very distinctive *ivory rods with a pomegranate-shaped head* (Fig. 1:5). They are made in two pieces and the rod, which is approximately 20cm. long, is often richly decorated. Complete pieces are known from graves at Enkomi⁴² and Kition⁴³ (Fig. 1:5), while pomegranate heads or

28. Casson 1937.

29. McFadden 1954, 141.

30. Andrews 1990, 134 fig. 117 (from the tomb of Tutankhamun).

31. Cf. an Egyptian gold pectoral from Tutankhamun's tomb with two falcons with inlaid decoration of various stones (Carter 1922-23, III, 84-6 pl. XXIV).

32. The best parallel is the bronze falcon statuette decorated in inlaid enamel from Minet-el-Beida cf. Schaeffer 1939, 32 fig. 24, and more recently: The Exhibition of Great Civilization of Syria No. 141 (col. pl.). This statuette is explained either as Egyptian or as Egyptianizing from Syria.

33. Xenaki-Sakellariou 1991, 73.

34. Cf. Myres 1924, 3.

35. Cf. gold jewellery with granulation and enamel work from LC IIIA context at Evreti (Åström L. 1967, 149 and 574). For similar techniques in the LC IIIB cf. Yon 1971, pl. 14: 36. Coldstream 1986, 11.

36. Cesnola 1877, pl. XXVIII; Myres 1924 no 4771; Richter 1915, 458 no 1814; Buchholz 1986, 149 fig. 25, a; Buchholz 1991, 81 n. 47.

37. Cesnola 1877, pl. XXVIII; cf Buchholz 1986, 150.

38. Cf. Coldstream 1986, fig. 31.

39. Cf. Buchholz 1986, 149-50; Karageorghis 1974, 69ff.

40. Cf. Louloupis 1979, 218.

41. Cf. however the much earlier silver bowl Enkomi decorated with bucrania in inlaid materials (Karageorghis 1979 no. 86) and a similar bowl from Dendra (Person 1931, pl. XIV).

42. From Enkomi Tomb 3, now in Stockholm (SCE I, pl. LXXXVIII: E. 240 and 241; Åström L. 1972, 550 and 610 fig. 14.).

43. From Kition Tomb 9 now in Nicosia cf. Karageorghis 1974, 91 no. 4, c pl. LXXXVII: 132.

partially preserved rods of this type have been found at several sites in contexts dating from LC IIC down to LC III and later.⁴⁴ The type, which had a wide distribution in Cyprus, was also exported to the Aegean. An ivory pomegranate sceptre found in a grave at the Evangelistria cemetery at Nauplion⁴⁵ is obviously a Cypriot import, since it is almost identical to the ivory pomegranate sceptre from Tomb 3 at Enkomi.⁴⁶

The function of these ivory objects is unknown and they are variously termed spindles, pins or sceptres.⁴⁷ Similar objects are known from Mesopotamian⁴⁸ and Near Eastern sites,⁴⁹ where they occur over a long period of time from the 13th down to the 7th century B.C. They occur mostly in religious contexts in temples, but they are also attested in tombs. They are usually called sceptres, though other interpretations, including their use as cosmetic containers, have also been offered.⁵⁰ However, a pomegranate-headed type of sceptre is known from representations on Neo-Assyrian reliefs,⁵¹ while a pair of ivory rod pomegranates found at Lachish in a 13th century Canaanite temple together with many cult vessels and ceremonial artifacts suggest that they were used in ritual.⁵² Another pair of bronze pomegranates found in a 13th century tomb at Tel Nami,⁵³ near Haifa, together with bronze incense vessels further confirms a cultic and ceremonial use of this type of object. But more revealing for their function in the Near East is a recently published, inscribed ivory rod pomegranate from Palestine, stating that it belonged "to the temple of the Lord".⁵⁴

Ivory rod pomegranates found in Cyprus closely follow Oriental models, yet their workmanship suggests a local manufacture even for the earliest pieces.⁵⁵ Since there are no specific indications as to their function, a role similar to that of their Oriental counterparts can be rather easily assumed.

Mace-heads

Maces are attested in Cyprus from the Neolithic period down to Classical times,⁵⁶ but for only very few of them can a suggestion be made as to a possible symbolic function. As a rule they are utilitarian objects made of stone and only occasionally do they occur in bronze. The stone variety has a long tradition going back to the Neolithic period, but maces in bronze form a recent development of the LC III period.

Stone maces have a variety of forms that undergo little change over time.⁵⁷ Only the shaft hole, the shape of which is directly related to the development of technology and the appearance of the drill, reveals an evolution from the biconical to the tapering and later to the straight

44. Karageorghis 1974, 91.

45. Deilaki 1973-74 pl. 145, στ.

46. Cf. above n. 42.

47. Karageorghis 1974, 91.

48. Cf. Mallowan 1966, 38 no. 77.

49. Cf. Avigad 1989, 12.

50. Cf. Decamps de Mertenfeld 1954, 58.

51. Madhloom 1970, pl. XXXI: 9.

52. Decamps de Mertenfeld 1954, pl. III. Cf. Lemaire 1981, 239.

53. Avidgad 1989, 13 n. 21.

54. Avidgad 1989; Lemaire 1981.

55. Karageorghis 1974, 91.

56. Cf. Buchholz 1980, E 330.

57. Cf. Åström 1972, 533; *SCE* IV:2, 415.

longitudinal socket.⁵⁸ It is thus noteworthy that in spite of this conservatism in form some new mace shapes, like the biconical, the flat circular and the collared, ribbed varieties are attested in the LC III period.⁵⁹ Most of them, however, are very simple forms with no element which would imply they were of symbolic significance. Only the collared, ribbed variety presents a highly ornamental form, suggesting that it could not have been used as an offensive weapon, but that it possibly had a ceremonial use or was a symbol of prestige marking the owner's social high rank. A fine example in basalt from a LC IIIA:1 context at Ayia Irini gives a good example of the highly ornamental ribbed variety in the LC III period.⁶⁰

The function of stone maces found in Late Bronze Age and later contexts has been a controversial issue. It has been argued that, with the advent of the helmet and armour, maces ceased to be used as weapons and remained as symbols of authority of the god and the king.⁶¹ But in the Orient there is ample evidence that they were still used as secondary weapons till late in the Early Iron Age. On Neo-Assyrian stone reliefs warriors are depicted carrying a mace together with a bow,⁶² while actual finds include maces roughly worked in stone, as well as more elaborately shaped stone mace-heads mounted on golden shafts.⁶³

In the Minoan and Mycenaean world the ceremonial use of maces is strongly supported by representations and contexts of discovery.⁶⁴ But whether maces continued to act as weapons in Mycenaean times is a rather controversial issue, since the only evidence for this is the interpretation of a vase representation of LH IIIC date showing a warrior wielding an object explained as a mace.⁶⁵ Homer mentions a mace-bearer hero wielding an iron mace to kill (*Il.* VII, 10 «ὄν κορυνήτης γείναι Ἀχιλλεύου»), but this description is usually explained as reflecting Oriental or Cypriot habits.⁶⁶

Most of the stone maces found in Cyprus in LC III contexts have nothing particular in their form to distinguish them clearly as status symbols and therefore, it is highly probable that most of them were used simply as weapons down to the LC III period and later.⁶⁷ It is only a highly elaborate stone mace-head in basalt from Ayia Irini,⁶⁸ which clearly implies a role other than that of an offensive weapon. Its collared form derives from Oriental models,⁶⁹ though it is possible that it is an Egyptian import.⁷⁰

An interesting addition to the very limited corpus of elaborately made maces known from the LC III period is provided by a biconical mace-head in bronze from the Enkomi hoard.⁷¹ It

58. Cf. Evans 1964, 229-31; Åström 1977-78, 33.

59. Åström 1972, 599; Bass 1967, 127-8.

60. *SCE* II, pl. CC XLII: 10; *SCE* IV:2, 175 fig. 39: 13. Cf. also from *Eveti* tombs ILN May 2nd 1953, 710 fig. 7 and Bass 1967, 126-7.

61. Yadin 1963, 12 and 40. Also Muhly 1992, 135.

62. Cf. Madhloom 1970, pl. XXVIII: 6 and XLIX: I.

63. At Alaça a mace-head of breccia was found still attached to its golden staff (Kosay 1937-39, pl. CLXXXII). An alabaster mace-head from Tell Mardik (Ebla) was possibly mounted on a very elaborate bronze staff decorated in gold and silver (The Exhibition of Great Civilisations of Syria, fig. 113). Cf. also a mace-head in red granite from Kabri (Prausnitz 1970, 166).

64. Cf. Manti-Platonos 1981 and Muhly 1992, 134-6.

65. Cf. Buchholz 1980, 324.

66. Cf. Buchholz 1980, F 334; Lorimer 1950, 119.

67. Cf. a double axe in bronze bearing a decorative mace-head on top: *SCE* IV:2, 141 fig. 24: 9. This obviously ceremonial weapon, found in a hoard at Idalion, which is dated to the 5th century, reflects the use of the mace as a weapon down to Classical times in Cyprus.

68. Cf. above n. 60.

69. Cf. Bass 1967, 127-8.

70. For Egyptian maces cf. Buchholz 1980, F 327.

71. Schaeffer 1952, 38 fig. 1:1.

was tentatively classed as a mace-head by Catling,⁷² while Schaeffer⁷³ had previously explained it as part of a chariot trapping or as belonging to a piece of furniture. However, its socketed biconical form closely corresponds to similar varieties of maces in stone attested in Cyprus in LC III contexts.⁷⁴ Biconical mace-heads in stone or metal have a long tradition in the Orient,⁷⁵ but the Enkomi mace-head is the earliest specimen in bronze to have been found in Cyprus and possibly one of the first attempts made by Cypriots to render stone types in metal. It belongs to the Enkomi hoard of bronzes and its date is defined by this context in LC IIIA⁷⁶. Because of its rich decoration in low relief with spirals running in registers, Catling was able to recognise that it was made in a tripod maker's workshop.⁷⁷ As this highly decorative piece is certainly not a weapon, it testifies to the fact that in the LC IIIA maces were not only used for utilitarian purposes, but also served as symbols of status.

Wand finials

Wand finials, as distinct from sceptres and mace-heads, are extremely rare in LC III contexts confined to only two varieties, which have been defined by Catling as *shepherd's crooks* and *standards*.⁷⁸

The so-called *shepherd's crooks* (Fig. 1:1) form a small, but very distinctive group of bronze finials in the form of a tubular conical socket terminating in a hooked tip. To the six pieces recorded by Catling⁷⁹ two more recent finds have been added: one from Hala Sultan Teke⁸⁰ and another acquired by the Department of Antiquities in Nicosia.⁸¹ Their length varies between 12cm. to 18cm. and they have an almost identical form with only minor differences in the formation of the socket and shaping of the tip, which perhaps indicate a kind of stylistic sequence.⁸² The lower date of the appearance of the shepherd's crooks in Cyprus is established by the find at Lapithos-Kastros, Tomb 409, which is dated to CG I.⁸³ The upper chronological limit is less easily defined. Catling has argued, on the evidence of the Enkomi hoard, that "they (i.e. the shepherd's crooks) were not introduced to Cyprus before 1200 BC".⁸⁴ However, the date of the hoard recently has been disputed and pushed back to LC II by analogy with the

72. Catling 1964, 261 no. 1 n. 2 fig. 23:3 and pl. 48:a.

73. *Op.cit.* (cf. above n. 71).

74. Cf. Åström P. 1972, 599.

75. It is noteworthy that among the 400 objects of the hoard found in the Nahal Mishmar Cave to the east of the Dead Sea (now in Israel Museum) there is a number of biconical maces both in stone and metal (cf. Roaf 1990, 71). The Nahal Mishmar hoard is attributed to the Chalcolithic period (cf. Buchholz 1980, E 327 n. 1956).

76. Cf. Muhly 1985, 34; Matthäus 1985, 47.

77. Cf. above n. 72. Metal mace-heads of this form have not been attested in the Minoan-Mycenaean world so far. Cf. a large bronze pin with head in rock crystal erroneously identified by Schliemann as a mace-head (Demakopoulou 1990, no. 223).

78. Catling 1964, 259-61.

79. Two from the Enkomi hoards (Catling 1964, pl. 47, a and b), two in the Cesnola Collection in New York (Catling 1964, pl. 47, c and e), one from an old tomb group from Sinda in Paris (Schaeffer 1952, 58 fig. 14) and one from Lapithos-Kastros Tomb 409, now in Stockholm (Catling 1964, pl. 47, d).

80. Kindly reported by Professor P. Åström during the Symposium.

81. Christou 1992, 796-7 fig. 9.

82. The earliest examples (the two shepherd's crooks from the Enkomi hoards, the one from the Sinda tomb group and one in the MMA in New York) have their tip bending downwards, while the latest (Lapithos-Kastros T. 409) has a tip with an upward curve. Gjerstad dates the second shepherd's crook in the MMA in New York with a loop-shaped tip to the CG II period (*SCE* IV:2, 142).

83. *SCE* I, 210 pl. CLIII (L. 409, 12). But cf. Gjerstad's dating of the shepherd's crook in the MMA in New York to the CG II period (above n. 82).

84. Catling 1964, 260.

founder's hoard at Pyla-Kokkinokremos, which was found in a LC IIC context.⁸⁵

The appearance of bronze shepherd's crooks in Cyprus broadly coincides with the time of strong Aegean presence, but Aegean parallels to the Cypriot bronze crooks are for the moment lacking. Schaeffer tried to connect them with similar Oriental examples from Nuzi,⁸⁶ which are much earlier, dating to the 16th century, but in Cyprus no example of a shepherd's crook has so far been attested in a context ante-dating the LC III, or perhaps the LC IIC period in accordance with the higher dating of the hoards. Catling, and previously Dussaud,⁸⁷ considered the shepherd's crooks as the metal version of similar wooden staffs common in pastoral communities and recalled "the frequency with which Homeric leaders are described as shepherds of their folk."⁸⁸ Yet the closest parallels of the bronze shepherd's crooks are found in Egypt, where the type is evidenced by representations and by actual examples.⁸⁹ The crook sceptre in Egypt is a symbol of royal or divine power carried together with the flail by Osiris or the Pharaoh, but occasionally it is also shown at the hands of official visitors, perhaps because they are, or they represent, leaders.⁹⁰

The other class of bronzes of LC III date with a possibly emblematic character consists of the so-called *standards*, which are known by three specimens: one from the Enkomi hoard (Fig. 1:3),⁹¹ another from an old tomb group from Pyla⁹² and there is a recent find from Maa-Palatiokastro.⁹³ They are of a very similar form, consisting of a long cylindrical bar topped by composite decoration of pendants, rings and birds perched on short horizontal bars and they all come from LC IIIA contexts. They are of Cypriot manufacture and according to Catling they were made in a tripod maker's workshop.⁹⁴ This form has no antecedents in Cyprus and no parallels in the Orient or the Aegean, though standards as royal or military emblems are common in the Orient and mainly in Egypt.⁹⁵ The interpretation of the Cypriot examples as standards is not without difficulties and alternative explanations, suggesting that they are sceptres⁹⁶ or cult objects, have been offered.⁹⁷ The latter seems the more plausible explanation because when shaken they produce "a jangling sound with the pendants clinking against each other and against the shaft of the standard".⁹⁸

II. EARLY IRON AGE MACE-HEADS FROM CYPRUS

The variety of shapes of sceptres and the materials and techniques used to make them in LC III period are discontinued in the Early Iron Age. Only ivory pomegranates and bronze shep-

85. Cf. above n. 76.

86. Schaeffer 1952, 44ff.

87. Dussaud 1944, 264.

88. Catling 1964, 260, but accepting Egyptian models.

89. Cf. Andrews 1990, 126 fig. 109; Carter 1922-23, I pl. XXIII: A; Catling 1964, 260; Hayes 1959-60, 284-7.

90. Cf. Hayes 1959-60, 286 "The adoption of the shepherd's crook as a divine and royal sceptre and as a general symbol of authority goes back far into Egypt's prehistory when it was an emblem of the Adjety, the god of a primitive shepherd people inhabiting the district of Bussiris in the Eastern Delta".

91. Buchholz 1991, 81 fig. 4: 5; Catling 1964, 261 no. 2 pl. 48, e; Schaeffer 1952, 39 fig. 1: 6 pl. 3: 11.

92. Cf. Åström L. 1972, 90.

93. Karageorghis-Demas 1988, 112 no. 270 pl. LIV: 270.

94. Catling 1964, 261.

95. For representations of standards in the Orient cf. Madhloom 1970, 27. For standards in Egypt cf. Hayes 1959-60.

96. Åström L. 1972, 90. Cf. also Catling 1964, 261.

97. Karageorghis 1987, 116.

98. Karageorghis-Demas 1988, 112.

herd's crooks are still found in CG I contexts.⁹⁹ But after this rather brief lull, maces reappear as grave offerings and the number of mace-heads found in CG II and CG III contexts suggests that this type of object has become popular again.

Maces found in Cypriot graves of an Early Iron Age date present a well-defined typology and are made mainly of bronze. *Iron* is attested by a single specimen found in Tomb 74 at Palaipaphos-Skales,¹⁰⁰ which dates to the CG II and CG III periods. Iron was used occasionally for certain types of maces in the Orient,¹⁰¹ but the Palaipaphos-Skales mace head shows no sign of Oriental influence. Instead its simple globular shape and tapering perforation suggest traditional stone models of a type known from Cyprus and Crete.¹⁰²

Sceptres or maces in precious materials and elaborate techniques are not attested in the Early Iron Age. A remarkable exception is, however, an *agate mace-head*¹⁰³ in the Cesnola Collection in New York (Fig. 2:1) said to have been found "at the treasure of Kourion".¹⁰⁴ This is made of brown and yellow banded agate and had an iron staff, traces of which were preserved in the socket.¹⁰⁵ It has been explained as Syrian¹⁰⁶ or of Bronze Age date,¹⁰⁷ but its form is precisely matched by bronze mace-heads found in Early Iron Age contexts in Cyprus.

Bronze mace-heads occur frequently in the Orient, in contexts dating to the Early Iron Age,¹⁰⁸ but they are extremely rare in the Aegean.¹⁰⁹ Bronze mace-heads found in Cyprus and belonging or attributed to the Early Iron Age in total number ten (cf. Appendix) and most of them come from tombs of the CG period. They are of small dimensions, made of cast bronze and the shaft was made of wood (cf. traces of wood preserved on nos 6 and 9 of the catalogue). Cypriot bronze mace-heads of the Early Iron Age present little variety in style, but they follow two distinct Oriental types: the knobbed-type and the star-type.

The more frequent is the knobbed-type, distinguished by a central, ribbed swelling midway down the cylindrical shaft. It is attested by five specimens in bronze (nos 1-7) and the agate mace-head in New York (Fig. 2:1). Several distinctive varieties of the knobbed-type mace-head are current in the Orient during the Early Iron Age¹¹⁰ and the Cypriot variety seems to be an immediate development of the North Syrian type,¹¹¹ by replacing the vertical sharp-edged fluting with six elliptical projections, having a rounded surface and a moulding round the base. The Cypriot specimens are almost identical with only minor differences in proportions and in minor details, which possibly might reflect a stylistic evolution of this type of mace.

99. Cf. above n. 82 and 83.

100. Karageorghis 1983, 195 no. 4 pl. CXXV and fig. XXXVI.

101. For iron maces in the Orient cf. Snodgrass 1982, 287 and von Luschan 1943, 88 pl. 42c.

102. Cf. Karageorghis 1983, 200 n. 222.

103. Myres 1924, 374 n. 3001; Casson 1937, 65 pl. VI; SCE IV:2, 179 fig. 40: 12.

104. Cesnola 1877, 309.

105. Cf. Buchholz 1980, E 336 (iron). But cf. Chavane 1990, 47 (silver).

106. Bossert 1951, 290 no. 287.

107. Casson 1937, 67 n. 1; Buchholz 1980, E 336, but cf. Gjerstad SCE IV:2, 179 who discusses it together with Archaic objects.

108. Cf. Buchholz 1980, 336 and Muscarella 1988, 56-7.

109. Mace-heads imported from the Near East or Cyprus are known from Samos (Jantzen 1972, 156), Lindos (Blinkenberg 1931, nos 663-665) and Lefkandi (Popham-Sackett-Themelis 1980, 111 and 252). Cf. also Kilian-Dirlmeier 1985.

110. In the Orient mace-heads with a fluted spherical knob appear already in the Chalcolithic period (cf. Roaf, 71), but the earliest examples have the knob towards the upper end, while later maces dating to the Iron Age have the knob half way down the cylindrical tube (cf. Moorey 1971, 93).

111. Cf. Luschan 1943, 87-8.

The agate mace-head,¹¹² with its spherical knob segmented in six almond-shaped lobes but with sharp edges (Fig. 2: 1), is the more vigorous in style and the one closest to the Oriental models. It is possibly the earliest and the use of semi-precious stone is a further reason for favouring an early date,¹¹³ but traces of iron found in the shaft as well as its distinctive form date it to the Early Iron Age. The bronze mace-head no. 1 (Fig. 2: 4), which also has very sharp, vertical ridges and some additional pairs of small almond-shaped projections raised between them, implying knowledge of Oriental models with spikes, should also belong to an early date.¹¹⁴

The next stylistic step is provided by mace-heads no. 2 (Fig. 2:3), no. 3 (Fig. 2:2), and no. 4 (Fig. 2: 5), which look heavier because their knob has taken the form of a compressed sphere and the sockets are broad and short. Nos 2 and 3 come from tombs that contained pottery of CG II and CG III date and thus their date can be fixed safely around 850 B.C. In this sequence, no. 1 and the agate mace-head should fall into the early part of CG II or the later part of CG I and a date before 900 B.C. would suit them well. Last in this sequence come nos 5 and 6 (Fig. 2:6), which are almost identical with a very small swelling at the central part, on which five lozenges are raised. They are likely to date to about 750 B.C. because no. 6 was found in a tomb at Amathus (Tomb 547) dating to the CG II-CA I periods. The latest in this sequence is the mace-head no. 10 from Tomb XI at Tamassos, which is dated by context to the CA I period and is possibly an import, perhaps from Luristan, because it has raised lozenges on the central knob.¹¹⁵

Of Cypriot manufacture are the mace-heads of the star-type, represented by two almost identical examples no. 7 (Fig. 3:1) and no. 8 (Fig. 3:2), the date of which is fixed by the context of no. 7 to the CG III and CA periods, that is around the middle of the 8th century. Each side of the bifurcated mace-head is ribbed in the form of an eight-petalled rosette or star and there is a large, transverse, cylindrical hole serving as socket. Similar bifurcated mace-heads, but with spiky rays and sharp edges, are known from the Orient, where they occur in a widely dispersed arc from Hasanlu in Iran and Altintepe in Urartu, to Zinzirli in North Syria.¹¹⁶ Star-type maces are attested in the Orient from the 9th century onwards, initially by actual examples and later by representations, as well. But actual star maces in the Orient always have spiky rays, while in representations it often takes the form of a rosette.¹¹⁷ Another bronze mace-head from Cyprus (no. 9) gives a freer version of the original star-type with a large number of ridges arranged in such a way as to make it resemble a shell (Fig. 3:3).

III. DISCUSSION OF THE EVIDENCE

From the above brief survey of the evidence available for sceptres, mace-heads and related kinds of wand finials current in the LC III and the CG periods, it appears that objects with an emblematic character, implying symbolic significance in a well-stratified society, are not attested in Cyprus before the end of the LC II period. Up until that time only mace-heads in stone, of simple utilitarian form suitable for weapons, were made.

112. Cf. above n. 103.

113. Cf. Casson 1937, 67 n. 1.

114. For such Oriental models cf. Dossin 1962, 160 pl. XXVI and Moorey 1971 pl. 10: 97.

115. For similar examples from Luristan cf. Muscarella 1988, 191 no. 307.

116. Cf. Carlmeyer 1969; also Muscarella 1988, 56-7.

117. Cf. Madhloom 1970, pl. XXXI: 16-17.

During the LC IIIA period the use of a number of objects, which generically can be called sceptres, meaning that they represent symbols of high status in a complex society, is safely attested at several Cypriot sites. The particular function and character of these sceptres is not always obvious, but their variety infers the existence of several kinds of symbols used by individuals playing different socio-political roles in a complex society. For some classes of these objects a ceremonial use can be postulated, either because of form (for the so-called standards) or by analogy with similar objects in the Orient (for the ivory pomegranate sceptres). But all the other kinds of emblematic objects seem to be symbolic of the owner's personal status, marking his rank in the social hierarchy.

The LC IIIA period is considered to be a period of prosperity that follows the dynamic urban expansion in LC IIC,¹¹⁸ and it is marked by an intensification of copper production and close contacts with the Aegean.¹¹⁹ At this point it is important to note that the LC IIIA period forms a continuum with LC IIC, which has a material culture with a cosmopolitan character. During these periods trade links are attested almost everywhere in the Mediterranean, including the Orient and Egypt.¹²⁰ Therefore, it is not surprising, that at this time the practice of using status symbols spreads, nor that most of the earliest known examples are either imports or close imitations of foreign models. The absence of directly discernible Aegean influence in the style of such objects is notable, but the scarcity of the material does not allow further evaluation of the evidence.

The social organisation of Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age has been the subject of intense research during the last decade¹²¹ and on the evidence of copper production a kind of palatial system of petty kingdoms is often anticipated at least for the LC II and LC III periods.¹²² But it is in the discussion of the LC IIIB period that the issue of the appearance of the historically documented kingdoms in Cyprus is usually raised.¹²³ The question of status symbols is directly relevant, since the gold and enamel sceptre from Kourion-Kaloriziki (Fig. 1:6), which was found in a richly furnished tomb dating to the LC IIIB period, is an object almost unquestionably accepted as a royal symbol. But the information it presumably offers on the subject of kingship remains unparalleled, since the only other object, which also could be claimed as a royal sceptre, the bucranium sceptre in the Cesnola Collection in New York (Fig. 1:4), has no context of discovery.

The *terminus ante quem* for the existence of the historically documented kingdoms in Cyprus is still furnished by the stele of Sargon II erected in 709 B.C., in which a monarchical system for Cyprus is implied in a written record for the first time.¹²⁴ However, most scholars, in accordance with the literary tradition and the strong Mycenaean presence in Cyprus in the Late Bronze Age, postulate that kingdoms first arose at the end of the Bronze Age and continued uninterrupted into the Early Iron Age.¹²⁵ But a recent theory put forward by Rupp argues for a much later emergence of the kingdoms in Cyprus.¹²⁶ Rupp, mostly relying on the evidence of

118. Cf. Muhly 1985, 34.

119. Cf. Muhly 1985 and 1989; Knapp 1986a and 1986b; Kourou 1990-91.

120. Åström 1989; Catling 1980a; Cook 1988; Knapp 1990; South 1990.

121. Knapp 1986a and 1986b; Knapp and Steh 1985; Steh 1985; South 1989; Muhly 1989.

122. Van Effenterre 1991; Vanschoonwinkel 1991.

123. Coldstream 1982b; Desborough 1973; Snodgrass 1980; Vanschoonwinkel 1991.

124. Yon 1987, 360 fig. 2 (possibly from Kition, now in Berlin, Charlottenburgh).

125. Cf. Gjerstad 1948 (SCE IV:2); Karageorghis 1989a.

126. Rupp 1987a; *idem* 1988; *idem* 1989.

the royal tombs at Salamis, considers the appearance of the Cypriot kingdoms to be the result of developments that took place in the Iron Age after the establishment of Phoenician Kition in the 9th century.

Yet, kingship is normally documented by palaces and sceptres and though there is no safe evidence for palaces in the Late Bronze Age, the evidence of the *Kaloriziki* sceptre can not be overlooked.¹²⁷ Besides, the most important element of Cypriot civilisation in historic times, the Greek character of later Cypriot culture,¹²⁸ is obviously the result of a long process of Hellenization, which was already under way during the 11th century according to the evidence of the inscribed spit from the 11th century tomb at Palaipaphos.¹²⁹

Copper production on Cyprus was still vigorous in the 11th century and the new technology of iron production had started by then.¹³⁰ Cypriot bronzes found at several sites in the Aegean and western Mediterranean in 12th and 11th century contexts suggests that copper production was a driving economic force for Cyprus during these times and it was this production that maintained the island's prosperity.¹³¹ Contacts with Crete continue uninterrupted during the 11th century and close relations with the Aegean are well attested in the beginning of the 10th century according to the evidence from Euboea.¹³² Possibly the relations between Cyprus and the West had never stopped, but had diminished in intensity for a period of time. Therefore, it is reasonable to accept that waves of immigrants would continue to reach the island attracted by the exploitation of copper during the 11th century.

Returning to the evidence of sceptres, the uniformity of shape and the number of mace-heads found in CG II and III graves compared to the variety and rarity of elaborate maces known from the LC III period demand an explanation. They have been explained as the possessions of monarchs or leaders,¹³³ yet the similarity of their shape suggests that this cannot be the case. They often are found not only in the same cemetery, but also in contemporary graves.¹³⁴ A more plausible explanation then is that in a ranked society they should belong to prominent people of the same status and authority performing the same function. Amongst various possibilities, the role played by the few people holding a supervisory managerial function in the metals industry in Cyprus emerges as one of great importance. Relevant evidence for the social prominence of people supervising the metals industry is found in the Linear B tablets in the Jn series from Pylos. In these tablets a *pa-si-re-u* or *qa-si-re-u*, that is a βασιλεύς (king), is mentioned in three cases accompanied by the phrase *khal-ke-wes ta-la-si-an é-xo-ntes*, that is king-smiths having a talasia or, in other words, concerned with the allocation of bronze.¹³⁵ The king-smith (the *pa-si-re-u khal-ke-wes* or βασιλεύς-χαλκεύς) of the tablets certainly is not a wanax, but he is an officer doing a kind of managerial work,¹³⁶ for which he would very possibly need an insignium, perhaps a sceptre, underlying his status. We would not need to press the argument any further, suggesting that the social organisation of the newly established immi-

127. The first palace known from Cyprus, the one at Vouni dates to the 5th century, cf. Muhly 1985, 37.

128. Cf. Kourou 1990-91.

129. Karageorghis 1983, 412.

130. Cf. Snodgrass 1982.

131. Cf. Vagnetti-Lo Scavo 1989.

132. Popham-Sackett-Themelis 1980, 350.

133. Snodgrass 1980, 17.

134. In the Amathus graves, cf. appendix for references.

135. Cf. Carlier 1991, 88; Deger-Jalkotzy 1991, 58 n. 32; Hiller 1992, 303-305; Thomas 1976, 106-7; Ventris-Chadwick 1956, 312-53 and 404.

136. Palmer 1961, 106 and 110; Amaraschi 1958.

grants in Cyprus probably corresponded to traditional patterns known from their mother countries. But it is interesting to note that in the virtual absence of maces in Early Iron Age mainland Greece, where we do have a discontinuity of Mycenaean kingship,¹³⁷ the only mace-head to have been found in a grave is a Cypriot one from Lefkandi, which was in very close contact with Cyprus and had an active bronze industry at that time.¹³⁸

137. Cf. Carlier 1991; Deger-Jalkotzy 1967; *idem* 1983; *idem* 1991; Drews 1983, 103; Maroti 1962; Mazarakis 1988; Mele 1981, 15 n. 85; Mondì 1980; Schilardi 1992.

138. Cf. Catling in Popham-Sacket-Themelis 1980, 252.



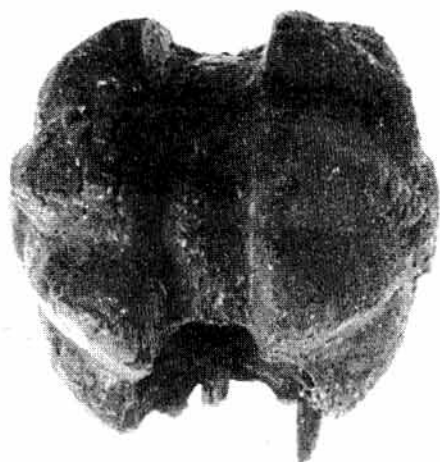
Fig. 1

1. Bronze shepherd's crook from Enkomi. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.
2. Lotus-shaped sceptre head in Egyptian blue from Hala Sultan Teke. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum HST 811.
3. Bronze standard from Enkomi. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.
4. Bronze sceptre from Cyprus. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cesnola Collection; purchased by subscription, 1874-76 (74.51.5696).
5. Ivory pomegranate sceptre from Kition, T. 9. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.
6. Gold and enamel sceptre from Kourion-Kaloriziki T. 40. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum J 99.



Fig. 2

1. Agate mace-head from Cyprus. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cesnola Collection; purchased by subscription 1874-76 (74.51.3001).
2. Bronze mace-head from Amathus, Tomb 5. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.
3. Bronze mace-head from Cyprus. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum 1935/ V-22/3.
4. Bronze mace-head from Cyprus. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum 1935/ III-7/1.
5. Bronze mace-head from Ayios Tychonas, T. 6. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum CS 2639. 9.
6. Bronze mace-head from Amathus, T. 334. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.



1. Bronze mace-head from Amathus, T. 547. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum.



2. Bronze mace-head from Cyprus. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cesnola Collection; purchased by subscription, 1874-76 (74.51.5572).



3. Bronze mace-head from Cyprus. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, The Cesnola Collection; purchased by subscription, 1874-76 (74.51.5594).

APPENDIX

CATALOGUE OF THE BRONZE MACE-HEADS OF THE CG PERIOD FOUND IN CYPRUS

1. From Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus Museum 1935/III-7/1 (Fig. 2:4)
 Purchased by the Museum from P. Rostas of the village of Gypsos in 1935.
 Cast in three parts. Hollow socket with a central swelling (knob) of six segments with sharp edge up and a moulding round the base. Pairs of smaller similar projections in the inner-spaces.
 H.: 13cm. Socket D.: 3.3cm. Knob D.: 5.5cm.
 Dikaios 1935, 31 pl. XII: 2; Snodgrass 1988, 17 fig. 11.
2. From Cyprus, Nicosia, Cyprus Museum 1935/V-22/3 (Fig. 2:3)
 Purchased by the Museum in 1935 from Mr G. Palma, who had acquired it from Kyriakos Andronikos of the village of Erimi.
 Cast in three parts. Hollow socket with a central knob decorated with six elliptical projections with rounded surface and a moulding round the base.
 H.: 11cm. Socket D.: 3.3cm. Knob D.: 7.8cm.
 Dikaios 1935, 31 pl. XII: 2; *SCE* IV:2, 141 fig. 24: 11; Snodgrass 1988, 17 fig. 11.
3. From Amathus Tomb 5, Nicosia, Cyprus Museum (Fig. 2:2)
 As no. 2
 H.: 9.4cm. Socket D.: 3cm. Knob D.: 5.6cm.
SCE II, 22-7 pl. VII: 4.
4. From Agios Tychonas, Tomb 6, Nicosia, Cyprus Museum CS 2639/9 (Fig. 2:5)
 Found together with the wooden shaft
 As nos 2 and 3
 H.: 9.3cm. Socket D.: 3cm. Knob D.: 6cm.
 Karageorghis 1982b, 706 fig. 61.
5. From Cyprus, New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cesnola Collection 4770
 Acc. no. 326.
 Cylindrical socket decorated at its central part with five raised lozenges
 H.: 18.7cm.
 Richter 1915, 458 no. 1815.
6. From Amathus, Tomb 334, Nicosia, Cyprus Museum (Fig. 2:6)
 As no. 5

H.: 13.5cm. Socket D.: 2.9cm. Knob D.: 3.8cm.

Karageorghis 1982, 696, fig. 3o; Chavane 1990, 46-47 no. 383 pl. XIII
CG III-CA I.

7. From Amathus, Tomb 547. Nicosia, Cyprus Museum

Bifurcated with eight raised petals forming a rosette on each side. Transverse cylindrical hole for the shaft (Fig. 3:1)

H.: 3.6cm. Socket D.: 1.9cm. Knob D.: 4.5cm.

Karageorghis 1989, 807 fig. 65
CG III-CA I.

8. From Cyprus. New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Cesnola Collection 4768

Acc. no. 351 (Fig. 3:2)

As no. 7, but more angular petals with sharp edges

H.: 7.1cm. D.: 7.6cm.

Richter 1915, 458 no. 1813; *SCE* IV:2, 142 fig. 24:10.

9. From Cyprus. New York, The Metropolitan Musuem of Art, Cesnola Collection; 4769

Acc. no. 329 (Fig. 3:3)

Bifurcated mace-head in the form of a shell on each side

H.: 8.9cm.

Richter 1915, 457 no. 1812.

10. From Tamassos Tomb XI. Berlin, Charlottenburg Misc. 8142, 622

Cast in three parts. Central knob with raised lozenges

H.: 7.5cm. Knob D.: 4.4cm.

Buchholz 1973, 330; *idem* 1980, pl. E XXV:d.

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ΚΥΠΡΙΑΚΑ ΣΚΗΠΤΡΑ

(Περίληψη)

Η ανακοίνωση αυτή πραγματεύεται τα λιγοστά σκήπτρα που είναι γνωστά από την Κύπρο και την Ελλάδα. Η υπόθεση, που υιοθετείται εδώ ως βάση για επεξεργασία, είναι ότι τα σκήπτρα χρησιμοποιούνταν ως κατ' εξοχήν σύμβολα εξουσίας στα νεοσύστατα βασίλεια της Κύπρου κατά την Ύστερη Χαλκοκρατία. Με λεπτομερή ανάλυση της τυπολογίας τους, της τεχνοτροπικής τους εξέλιξης και της μεταγενέστερης διάδοσής τους στην περιοχή του Αιγαίου, επιχειρείται να διερευνηθούν οι πιθανές σχέσεις μεταξύ Κύπρου και Ελλάδας μετά την πτώση των μυκηναϊκών ανακτόρων. Η ουσιαστική απουσία σκήπτρων στην Ελλάδα κατά τους ιστορικούς χρόνους και ο ρόλος που διαδραμάτιζαν οι βασιλείς και βασιλείς-χαλκείς κατά την Πρώιμη Εποχή του Σιδήρου στην Ελλάδα, εξετάζεται σε συσχέτισμό με την πρώτη εμφάνιση σκήπτρων στην Κύπρο κατά την Ύστερη Χαλκοκρατία και το ρόλο της Κύπρου στην αποκατάσταση της επικοινωνίας μεταξύ του Αιγαίου και της Ανατολικής Μεσογείου.

