

From the author

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EXCAVATIONS IN CYPRUS, 1896

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Relief on Ivory Casket [p. 24].

EXCAVATIONS IN CYPRUS, 1896.

By Dr. A. S. MURRAY [H.L.], F.S.A.

Read before the Royal Institute of British Architects, Monday, 20th November 1899.

THE district of Salamis in Cyprus, where we began excavating in the spring of 1896, is perhaps most widely known from its having been there that Saints Paul and Barnabas landed on their missionary tour through the island. According to local tradition, Barnabas was afterwards buried there, and very possibly that had been his home. We are told he was a native of Cyprus. A few miles away is to be seen the Gothic cathedral of Famagusta, with other striking Gothic remains, now more than ever familiar to architects in a recently published French book. The Venetian fortifications of Famagusta, with Othello's tower, are still an imposing feature. But to classical students the district is best known from the extensive ruins of the city of Salamis, which lie along the sea-shore. These ruins had been explored and found to represent a purely Græco-Roman town. It had been hoped that in the lower strata there might be recovered remains of a much older settlement, which would confirm the tradition that a band of Greeks returning from the war of Troy under their leader Teucer had established themselves there and built a city, naming it after their native island of Salamis. But no such remains came to light. It became necessary to look elsewhere. At no great distance inland were two conspicuous tumuli, one of which may or may not have been the tomb of Teucer, which, a late Greek writer says, was still visible; but those tumuli had been long ago ransacked. Nothing was known of their contents. Near by, however, were several underground tombs of unusually large dimensions, constructed of huge blocks of squared masonry, and in some instances exhibiting key-shaped joints such as are peculiar to masonry of what is now called the Mycænæan Age. Clearly these were the sort of remains that were to be expected on the original site of the Greek colonists. The difficulty, I suppose, was that the tombs are a mile or more inland. The Greek settlers would certainly have kept to the coast. But this difficulty is explained away by the fact that an extensive tract of marshy land, through which the river Pedieos has to find its way, had once been a fine bay. This bay had become silted up by the quantities of earth brought down by the river in the course of centuries, and at last the inhabitants had been obliged to move down to the sea shore and there build a new Salamis. It was at the head of that bay, close to where the river entered it, that the original Greek colony established themselves, choosing for their habitations, so far as I could make out, an extensive rocky slope overlooking the river. That rocky slope ends in a long abrupt crag facing the river, but separated from the river by a considerable stretch of what was, when we arrived, tilled fields worked by the people of a neighbouring village called Enkomi. An ancient road had been cut down through the crag, leading to those fields. But on the face of the fields there was no sign whatever of ancient civilisation, and so matters may have remained for who knows how long, except for a very simple accident. An ox in ploughing put its foot into a hole. At night the

ploughman and his friends returned to the spot, and found underneath a fine tomb of the Mycenæan period. But their secret leaked out, and as I was just starting for Cyprus at any rate it seemed advisable to go and see whether there were any more tombs in those fields. Before we had done we opened about 100 tombs, all of the Mycenæan Age. We therefore claim to have found the burying-ground of the original Greek settlers. It is true that many of the tombs were empty, having been rifled, possibly first by the Romans, and later by the mediæval inhabitants of the district, of whom we found abundant traces in the form of thirteenth or fourteenth century pottery, and in a series of deep wells which they had sunk in the fields. Yet, notwithstanding this previous rifling of many of the tombs, the objects in gold which we obtained are in quantity only second to those discovered by Dr. Schliemann at Mycenæ, and in quality fully as important, while our ivory carvings are of far greater value than his, and our pottery more abundant and of greater interest. You may see them and judge for yourselves in the Museum, but you must bear in mind also that in accordance with the law of Cyprus we had to leave a third share for the museum of the island.

The tombs lay at a depth of from four or five feet to ten feet below the surface. Some were constructed of finely jointed squared blocks of limestone with key joints, covered in on the top by two large horizontal slabs, having a doorway of squared stones and a sloping approach or dromos. Others were hewn into the rocky ground in an irregular shape, like a cavern, but always with a door of squared stones. On the present occasion I propose to deal rather with the contents of the tombs, showing you first some of the objects of most general interest, and then proceeding to the more special question of decorative patterns. You must, however, be prepared to see things which belong to a very early period of Greek history, earlier, in fact, than the strictly historical age of Greece. I put them at about 800 B.C., or perhaps even a century before that. But others must place them about six centuries earlier, unless they are prepared to give up the erroneous notions they have pushed so vigorously these last twenty-five years, as they are openly beginning to do. You must remember also that from the eastern point of Cyprus, a few miles from where we were, you can see the mountains of Lebanon; to the north the mountains of Asia Minor are plainly visible; with a fair wind a ship from Salamis would reach Egypt in a few days, coasting along Palestine. It was therefore to be expected that Cyprus would share in the arts and civilization of those older countries—Egypt, Phœnicia, and Asia Minor. We found numerous objects which had been imported directly from Egypt, others from Phœnicia exhibiting the mixture of Egyptian and Assyrian art for which the Phœnicians are famous; and again others in which we recognise a purely Hellenic spirit, sometimes acting upon and modifying Oriental conceptions, at other times introducing entirely new conceptions as well as new technical resources. At present I am inclined to think that this new Hellenic element had reached Cyprus from the adjacent coast of Asia Minor, and let me remind you that the earliest Greek poetry, the earliest philosophy, the earliest painting, were those of Asia Minor. The Greeks of the classical age may or may not have been right when they pretended that their kinsmen of Asia Minor had all been colonists from the little country of European Greece. But the fact remains that these kinsmen were chronologically far in advance of them in the liberal arts.

I attach much importance to two reliefs which occur on the two sides of an ivory mirror handle. The one represents a man slaying a gryphon, and is a subject with which we are familiar in the works of the Phœnicians, particularly among the antiquities found by Layard at Nineveh, dating about 800 B.C. The conception is obviously Assyrian in its origin. But added to that there is a breadth of style in the gryphon and a keen sense of the pain the creature is suffering which is finer in observation than anything I have seen in Assyrian or



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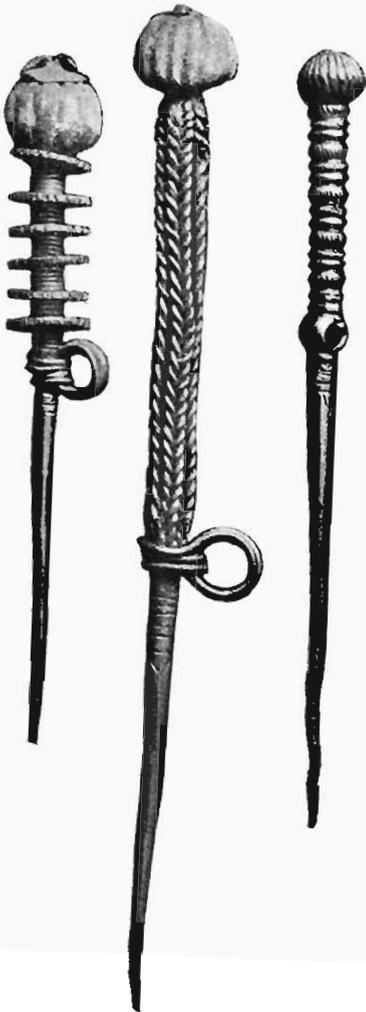
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FIG. 1. GOLD ORNAMENTS.

Egyptian art. Witness the open beak, the drooping wing, and the tail between the legs. The man wears a tiara-shaped helmet, carries a shield and a scabbard for his short sword, and is therefore not an Assyrian. According to fable these gryphons inhabited the rich gold-bearing districts of Northern Asia, and of course they had to be slain in the greed for gold. The other relief is a lion attacking a bull. That again is a frequent conception in Phœnician art. In no case, however, is the conception worked out in this striking manner. In order that the whole body of the bull may be visible and the available space of the ivory occupied to its fullest extent, the lion is ingeniously placed at the further side of the bull, while by a natural movement the bull's head is turned round to the side to avoid any vacant space. But what is most interesting is the breadth and style in the forms of the animals. If that is not a premonition of Greek genius, I do not know what it is. Many of you have, no doubt, admired the two beautiful gold cups now in Athens, which were found some years ago near Sparta, representing the capture of wild bulls. Great was the astonishment to find so much artistic power and so just an observation of animal life in works which belonged to a period anterior to the dawn of Greek history. But in our ivory there is, I think, even more cause for wonder at the degree of style it presents.

We may take next the sides of an ivory casket, the lid of which is divided into squares for the game of draughts on the same principle as the draught-boards of the Egyptians. But the art of the reliefs is not Egyptian. It corresponds rather to what is more familiarly known as Hittite art, the remains of which are found in Northern Syria and in Asia Minor. On each of the two long sides is a king hunting [*see headpiece*, p. 21]; on one of the short ends two bulls; on the other, two goats. Behind one of the chariots is a man carrying an axe, who wears on his head a helmet identical in shape with that of the Hittites whom Rameses fought on the coast of Northern Syria, as we know from the sketch of that battle on the temple erected by him at Medinat Abou, near Thebes. This is an instance in which the prevailing element is Assyrian. On to that is engrafted a certain rude observation of actual men and animals, unlike anything Assyrian.

These are the principal ivories. We may now take a group of three drinking vessels in porcelain. The porcelain itself is different in fabric from that of Egypt. Even more different is the style. One is in the form of a horse's head, which is singularly naturalistic and yet broadly treated in a spirit which seems Hellenic, and indeed differs chiefly from later Greek vases of this identical shape in the fact that it has no handle. None of these porcelain vases have handles. So also the one in the form of a female head may be described as the prototype of numerous similar Greek vases of the sixth century B.C., and the same may be said of the ram's head. Very possibly the idea of making drinking cups in the shape of human or animal heads was of a very ancient, even barbarous origin. But we are entitled to claim for these porcelain specimens that they exhibit the dawn of a true Greek artistic spirit.

The bronzes we found are chiefly weapons, implements, and utensils. We have a pair of finely made bronze greaves which will be useful in time as an argument in regard to date. Bronze greaves were not yet known in the time of Homer. Therefore our antiquities are later than the Homeric poems. We have also a curious square bronze stand, showing on each of its four sides the heads of two women looking out of a window, which have reminded me of several passages in the Old Testament, such as where Michal, Saul's daughter, looked out of a window and saw David dancing; or when Jezebel decked herself and looked out of a window; or when the mother of Sisera looked anxiously out of the window. The idea seems to be characteristically Palestinian, and I notice that Layard found at Nineveh four ivory tablets of Phœnician workmanship, each of which shows the head of a woman looking out of a window. I see no objection to taking our bronze as an illustration of the bronze stands or

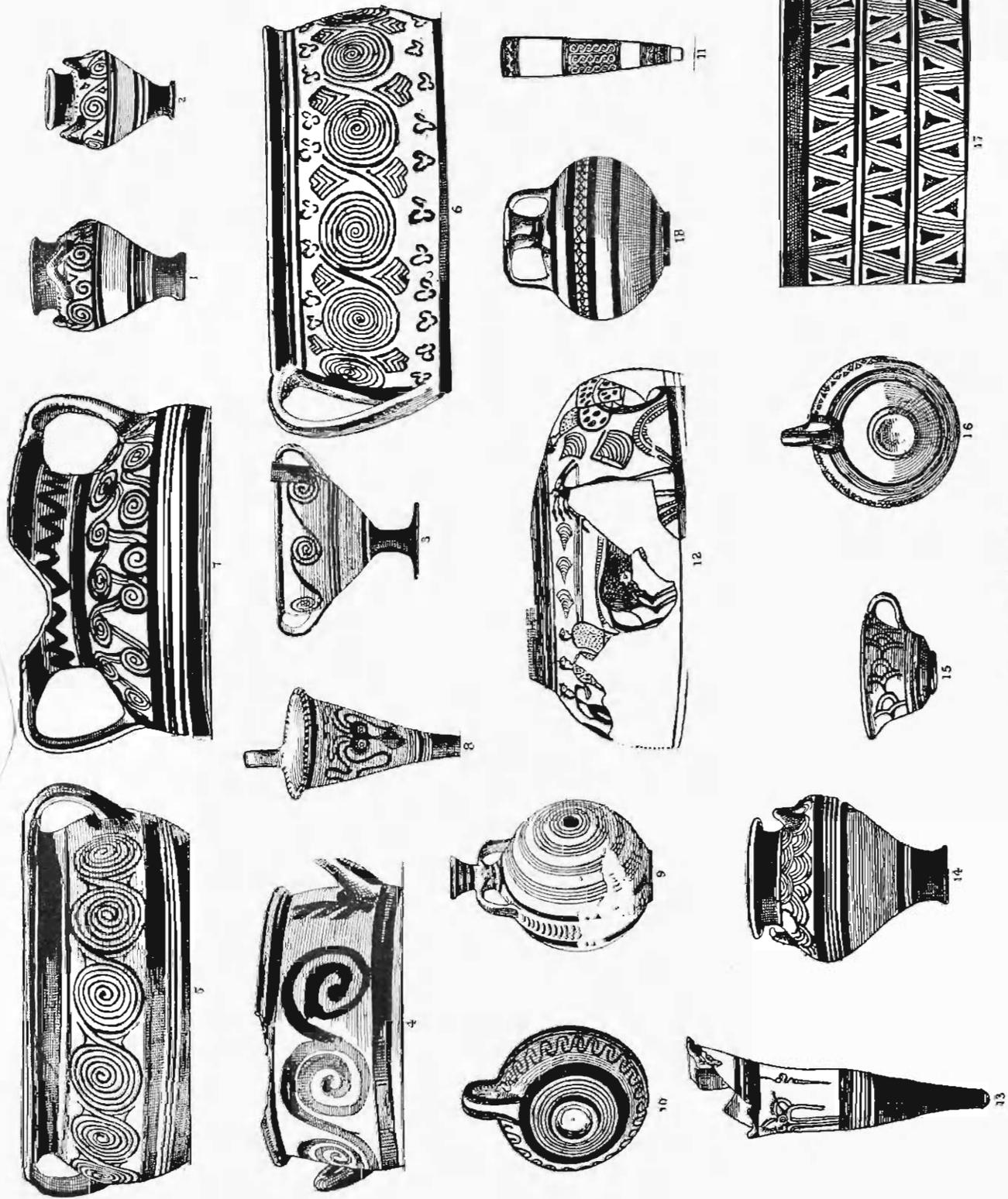


FIG. 2.—PAINTED VASES, &c.

bases which Hiram made for King Solomon. Our bronze does not stand on four wheels like Hiram's, but another specimen has since been found—most probably on our site—which does have the four wheels.

On one part of the site we came across a number of bronze utensils, shovels, tongs, field implements, the pans of a balance, and bronze vases which had been crushed together as if ready for melting. We supposed these things to be remains of a foundry, and this view is confirmed by a heavy ingot of bronze such as was exported for melting purposes. The ingot is in the form of an oblong slab with a sort of handle at each corner to lift it by, and having stamped on the sponge-like face of it a Cypriote letter, doubtless indicating its weight. On the pottery we found several instances of Cypriote letters, just enough to show that this curious alphabet was already in existence. But what surprised me from the beginning was to find in one tomb examples of pottery belonging apparently to the most primitive age side by side with the most developed stage of the Mycenæan industry. I could only conclude that these older shapes and methods of decoration had survived for the common purposes of daily life.

As I said at the beginning, our find was rich in gold. But for the most part the gold consisted of thin fillets or diadems on which designs were beaten out from moulds, the same mould being repeated over and over again on the same fillet. For the most part the designs consist of decorative patterns. Occasionally we have figures of sphinxes, heads of animals, and in one instance a human figure. But there were two exceptions, which I will now show you. The one is an Egyptian pectoral of gold inlaid with pastes of blue, orange, and white colour. You see such pectorals painted on mummy cases by the hundreds, but I do not know that any actual specimen has ever been found in Egypt. At all events, this is one which unquestionably had been imported from Egypt into Cyprus, and as it is agreed that the use of paste-inlays in place of precious stones did not begin in Egypt till nearly 800 B.C., we have in our pectoral a confirmation of the date which I have assigned to our antiquities from Enkomi.

Next, I will call your attention to three out of a series of gold fibulæ or peronæ, which were used by Greek women for fastening their dress on the shoulders. You will see how these pins were employed from a sketch in the diagram which has been made from the famous François vase in Florence [fig. 1, No. 9]. One of our pins is of exactly the same shape. The François vase is not older than the sixth century B.C.; but of course in this particular employment of fibulæ it may represent a custom several centuries older. On the vase the two fibulæ are connected by a chain, and as we found in the same tomb with these fibulæ a number of gold links, we have no hesitation in saying that they also had served the same purpose of connecting two fibulæ worn one on each shoulder. That again affords a useful argument as to date, and besides the use of fibulæ for fastening the dress is, so far as I know, as foreign to the ancient nations of the East as it is common in the bronze age of Europe. At the time of Dr. Schliemann's discoveries at Mycenæ it was stated that he had found no bronze fibulæ, and this was urged as an argument for an extraordinarily early date for his antiquities. But shortly thereafter, a bronze fibula of the ordinary safety-pin type was found at Mycenæ, and we obtained two more in Cyprus. So that this argument must disappear. You will observe that our gold pins are of a stiletto shape. Now Herodotus, in giving a short notice of early Greek costume, relates that after a battle between Athens and Ægina, a survivor of the Athenians reached home with the news of the overwhelming disaster which had befallen the Athenian forces. He was at once surrounded by women clamouring for news of their husbands, and they pulled out their sharp fibulæ to force answers from him, with the result that they killed him. Thereupon a law was passed forbidding Athenian women to wear these deadly pins. But in the rest of Greece, Herodotus adds, such fibulæ were still worn in his time. He does not say

when the battle took place, and very likely the story was an invention such as he dearly loved. Nevertheless it comes in appropriately enough for our find in Cyprus.

In our excavations we found a certain number of Egyptian scarabs, including one which bears the name of the queen of Amenophis III., about 1450 B.C., according to the present uncertain chronology of Egypt. As it happened, Dr. Schliemann had found at Mycenæ a scarab of this same king Amenophis, and that was the principal reason why so many archæologists jumped headlong to the conclusion that the antiquities of Mycenæ must belong to the fifteenth century B.C. I pointed out in vain that Egyptian scarabs of even an earlier date, such as Thothmes III., were found with Greek vases of the sixth century B.C., and were regularly manufactured at that time. But of course there remained the possibility that the Mycenæan scarab had been a contemporary product, and that view prevailed. However, among our scarabs is also one of the much later Orsorkon dynasty of Egyptian kings, dating from the ninth century B.C. So that in the same set of tombs which, from their general contents, cannot have covered a period of much more than a century, we have scarabs of both the ninth and the fifteenth century B.C. They cannot both be contemporary with the kings whose names they bear. We must remember also that the Egyptian king Amenophis III. became a Greek hero under the name of Memnon. That explains why scarabs bearing his name were reproduced in comparatively late times for export among the Greeks.

Turning now to the decorative patterns which we found painted on vases and beaten up on gold, I must remind you that whatever interest these things possess, arises from the fact that they carry us back to the origins of industrial art in Greece. In most cases the patterns are direct prototypes of what we find in a more developed form in the classical age. But there are some curious exceptions with which we may begin. Here, for example, are specimens of gold earrings, in which we see first a bull's head, then a mixture of bull's head and decorative pattern, and lastly pure pattern [fig. 1, Nos. 1-4]. Is this an instance of degradation, from a naturalistic rendering of a bull's head down to a mere bit of decoration? Or is it, contrariwise, a gradual ascent from pattern to naturalism? You know how keenly such questions are discussed. But for myself, I must confess that nothing has struck me more in the course of our excavations in Cyprus, not only in 1896 but since then, than to find, side by side, representations of animal forms of the most extraordinary naturalism and the most primitive exhibitions of decorative skill. There can be no doubt now that among the craftsmen of the Mycenæan age there existed a remarkable gift of observation of nature, reminding one of some of the drawings on reindeers' horns made by the primitive cave-dwellers of France, but, of course, ours are accompanied by greater technical skill. We have also a number of examples of bulls' heads, in which the horns are curved downwards, to give a decorative effect [fig. 1, No. 5].

Among other instances of animal forms we obtained part of a necklace of gold flies, which had been strung together on wire passing through the eyes, each fly made from the same mould [fig. 1, No. 6]. An identical necklace has been found in Egypt, and our specimen may have been imported thence—though there was no need to go so far for flies, judging from our daily experience.

We found on the painted vases one or two illustrations of the cuttlefish, which, as you may know, is common on pottery of the Mycenæan kind [fig. 2, No. 8]. To this day the cuttlefish is a frequent article of food among the poorer people of Greece, and doubtless it was similarly appreciated in primitive times. So that a pleasant acquaintance with the creature may have suggested the copying of it for decorative purposes. But observe that there is more of pattern than of naturalism in the form it assumes. On that account it is



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FIG. 3 (continued on opposite page).—DECORATIVE PATTERNS.



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FIG. 3 (continued from opposite page).

reasonable to suppose that a previous familiarity with spiral patterns, evolved in technical processes, had formed a basis of positive knowledge from which those early designers advanced towards the more speculative copying from nature. In one of the gold ornaments you see how readily a spiral pattern suggests a cuttlefish [fig. 3, No. 5]. We found also one or two instances of shell patterns, including the murex [fig. 2, Nos. 12-13], from which the purple dye was obtained, but no example of the nautilus or argonaut, so truly and so boldly drawn on Mycenaean vases from other sites. We have a gold necklace, apparently representing cowries, and quite identical in form with the cowries embossed on a gold ornament from Ashantee, also in the Museum [fig. 1, No. 7].

The most common pattern on our gold ornaments is the spiral—an unfailling characteristic of Mycenaean antiquities. The simplest stage is a double spiral, made by fastening down a bit of wire, then beating the thin gold fillet down on it and moving the gold along till the whole surface is covered with repetitions of the one pattern in a continuous line [fig. 3, No. 3]. In the diagrams I only give bits of the patterns. You must imagine these patterns repeated over and over again on one object. The next step was to connect a series of these double spirals by a tangent. On the pottery we sometimes have a row of single spirals connected by tangents, which at first sight look like a row of concentric circles united by tangents [fig. 2, Nos. 5-6]. Yet there is a difference, and much has been made of it, for this reason, that on the oldest, Dipylon, pottery of Athens, the rule is concentric circles united by tangents, just as on Mycenaean vases the rule is spirals so connected. It seems strange that so slight a difference should be so persistently maintained, all the more so because we found in our excavations several instances of vases covered with concentric circles, but, of course, not united by tangents [fig. 2, No. 9]. You will find also in the diagram two specimens of spiral pattern from among the many sculptured stones of Scotland [fig. 3, Nos. 6-7]. I give them because it is now not uncommon to read of a community of artistic instinct between the people of the Mycenaean age and the Celts of Europe, though I remember being well abused for pointing out something of that kind at the time of Dr. Schliemann's discovery.

The goldsmith, though hampered with having to repeat and combine the same pattern as best he could, shows a fair amount of skill, as you will see from the examples here given. He had not the freedom of the vase painter, who on one occasion has produced a combination of spirals, which in a small way reminds one of the sculptured slab found by Dr. Schliemann at Orchomenos [fig. 2, No. 7]. Simpler examples of the spiral on the painted vases are to be seen in fig. 2, Nos. 1-4. On the other hand, the goldsmith is more at home in plant life than the vase painter, so far as our excavations are concerned. For the most part the goldsmith was confined to long narrow bands or fillets which he had to decorate. The vase painter, no doubt, could, and often did, confine his chief decoration to a narrow strip round the vase. But he knew very well that he was more correct in principle when he made his design—say a cuttlefish—occupy the whole front of the vase as if it were an inherent part of the idea of the vase and not a casual decoration. The later Greek vase painters, with all their unrivalled skill, very frequently forgot this elementary principle.

But to return to our goldsmiths and their ideas of plant life. The rosette is of course common [fig. 3, Nos. 8 and 12], and the palmette equally so [fig. 3, Nos. 9-11]. In one of these instances we have a double palmette, which almost startles us from its resemblance to a pattern which hitherto was supposed to be characteristic of Greek vases of the sixth century B.C. [fig. 3, No. 10]. In another instance we have a complication of palmettes and spirals, which almost suggests a prototype of a Corinthian capital [fig. 3, No. 9]. As for the Ionic capital, there are constant suggestions of it [fig. 3, Nos. 1 and 4]. But no sign of the Doric. At the same time we obtained several instances of trees represented as growing, and sufficiently

accurate to enable us to distinguish easily between a palm-tree and an olive. As regards the rosettes, a people accustomed to geometric patterns and possessed of a sense of symmetry would have no difficulty in finding in nature analogies to help them out in fashioning a typical rosette.

One of the most complete developments of the spiral is the guilloche. We found an excellent example incised on an ivory vase [fig. 2, No. 11]. A freer rendering of it occurs on a painted vase [fig. 2, No. 10]. The guilloche in one form or another held its place in Greek art for all time. Other patterns again seem to have disappeared with the Mycenaean age, such, for example, as the four on the diagram about which I have not yet spoken, and of which, indeed, I have nothing to say of any interest [fig. 2, Nos. 14-18].

In conclusion, let me repeat that our excavations in 1896 show, first a mixture of Egyptian, Phœnician, and Assyrian artistic influence, and, secondly, a strongly marked Hellenic element. From this curious and almost bizarre blending of art, I infer that the whole series belongs to a period when the eastern Mediterranean was the scene of constant struggles for supremacy on sea among rival Greek or semi-Greek peoples, somewhere about 800 B.C., but not later. I may add that the results of our excavations will shortly be published by the Museum in a book on which I have been a good deal engaged since 1896. But I thought that a brief notice of what we found might in the meantime be of interest to the Institute.

DISCUSSION OF DR. MURRAY'S PAPER.

The President, Mr. WILLIAM EMERSON, in the Chair.

Mr. J. L. MYRES (Christ Church, Oxford), in proposing a vote of thanks to Dr. Murray, said that it was a great stroke of good fortune which came most frequently to those who most deserved it which resulted in that ox putting its foot into that particular hole in the fields round Enkomi. It was only when preliminary observations had been carefully made, and when information which, as everyone who had ever excavated knew, was of the most peculiarly unsatisfactory character had been carefully collected and evaluated, that the right inference could be attached to the symptomatic stumbling of oxen. What he meant was, that if the department of the British Museum over which Dr. Murray presides had not been on the look-out for remains of that kind, many oxen might have put their feet into many holes in Enkomi. They had to congratulate Dr. Murray very warmly upon the exceedingly able and thorough way in which the excavations were carried out. The results were to be seen in the British Museum, and formed one of the finest series of carefully tabulated and systematic work which had ever been on view there. The Museum, and Dr. Murray in particular, were to be congratulated on having unearthed a series of tombs which produced in proportion to their number so much interesting material; which had helped to solve so many problems for the archaeologists concerned; and which had suggested so many new problems which he suspected would take a good deal more systematic observation and research to solve. These tombs, Dr. Murray indicated, belonged in

the main to the period for which the provisional name of Mycenaean had passed into common use; at the same time, they seemed to represent a phase of Mycenaean culture, and of Mycenaean art in particular, which had not been represented in so full a measure before. Dr. Murray had alluded to a difference of opinion among archaeologists in regard to the date to be assigned to the objects from Enkomi, but as their attention was directed more particularly to the decorative side of the results of the excavations, it would be out of place to enter at length into a controversy of that sort; he would rather dwell upon those points upon which everybody would be agreed. The most important of those points was, that whereas in Greece itself there appeared to be a vacant space between the later stages of the Mycenaean culture and the earlier stages of the Hellenic, it was in Cyprus, and so far as he was aware only in Cyprus (Crete, which was still unexplored, might possibly be an exception), that it had been possible to fill in the gap. Dr. Murray, he thought, would fully admit that, to whatever period the Mycenaean age as a whole was to be assigned, there were a number of indications that some parts of the find at Enkomi belonged to the later part of it. Dr. Murray had pointed out that a number of features occurred at Enkomi which indicated that the Mycenaean artists in Cyprus had already passed to some extent under the influence of Egyptian art of a period not so early as that suggested by some objects found in Greece itself. In the same way

he had indicated on more than one example that there were signs of correspondence between the works of the Mycenaean artists in Cyprus and the art-styles of Assyria, of North Syria, and, possibly, even of Cappadocia and Asia Minor, of a period not by any means so early as that to which many people had been inclined to assign the Mycenaean culture as a whole. We were dealing therefore in all probability with a somewhat later prolongation of the Mycenaean age here in the Levant beyond the point at which, so far as could be seen at present, the series passed out of that stage in the Aegean. The result was that we seemed to be nearer to an explanation of the kind of circumstances under which what, when seen again half-open or nearly full-blown in the Aegean, was known as Hellenic art was inspired; and everybody would go the whole way with Dr. Murray when he emphasised as strongly as he did the fact that at Enkomi had been found an early stage of that peculiar genius for assimilating and converting to appropriate purposes elements of decoration, of motive, and so forth, which were in themselves foreign to the Hellenes. In the case of the reliefs in particular, a point that distinguished them from the work of the mainland of Syria, the mainland of Asia Minor, and the mainland of Egypt, of whatever period one chose to suggest, was that there was the greatest conceivable difference in the style and "go" of the composition between what was found at Enkomi and the buildings, so to speak, "made out of the same box of bricks" on the Asia Minor coast and elsewhere. The motive, for example, of the lion and the bull, and the motive of the miscellaneous hunting scene with chariots and wild and tame beasts together, occurred on the mainland on the three sides of the Levant. But it was only when one found the Aegean spirit extended into Cyprus, and taking from right and left and in front the dead materials which lay ready to its hand, that one got a scheme of design that was perfectly satisfactory. This, he supposed, was the mission that Cyprus to a large extent was fulfilling during the period immediately succeeding the downfall of the culture known as Mycenaean; and the great value of the excavations at Enkomi seemed to be that they produced such a mass of first-class material for the study of this transitional Art. With regard to that material, he should like to ask Dr. Murray in what way he regarded the metal work, ivory work, and other relief work at Enkomi, as standing to that class of bowls of embossed metal work, hitherto called Phoenician, of which a certain number had been found in Cyprus, and others, on the one hand in Egypt of a somewhat earlier date, and in Greece and the west, in the Hellenic series, at a date which could be approximately fixed, and which would seem to approach the date that Dr. Murray suggested for the series of objects found at Enkomi. The answer to that question would be

particularly instructive as to the view to be taken of the extremely complicated industry of the early period and as to the possibility of Dr. Murray's dating. With regard to the decorative materials exhibited by Dr. Murray, no fuller or more complete commentary on the use of the spiral or of the concentric-circle motive could be found than this period, from the best time of Mycenaean onwards down to the latest traces of it in the Mycenaean world; and anyone who devoted himself to the study of this type of ornament and of its possibilities would find that the spiral motive had an almost magic power upon him. One other point in particular was worth studying with regard to this Enkomi art, which revealed a group of artistic appreciators almost unrivalled in the ancient world, confronted now with a new set of motives, and at the same time by no means failing in their appreciation of the small natural objects lying around them as a field for study. In the instinctive appreciation of natural forms as decorative motives, there were few departments of ancient art, and few of art at all, which were so suggestive as the Mycenaean cycle throughout, from its earliest beginnings in the pure freehand drawing of animals down to those later stages where it chose, on the whole not injudiciously, between the old naturalist motives, which it inherited from its place of origin, and the dead conventional palm and lotus motives which it acquired from the nearer East. In terms of the strongest appreciation of the new discoveries which Dr. Murray had expounded, the speaker begged to propose a very hearty vote of thanks to him.

Mr. A. H. SMITH, M.A., F.S.A., said that as it was his lot to go out to Enkomi to finish and bring to a conclusion the work that Dr. Murray began three years ago, perhaps a few words on the actual site and the nature of the diggings might be acceptable. The field of Enkomi was a gently sloping field, bounded on one side by low cliffs and sloping downwards towards the river bed. The whole of the field ultimately proved to be full of graves; the fact was entirely unsuspected until the ploughing ox put his foot through the roof of one of the tombs. It was a matter of great importance that until then it had been totally unknown, because for centuries it had been a recognised industry among the natives of Cyprus to dig their tombs for gold. Of this site happily they were wholly unaware, the result being that to an extent quite unusual in Cyprus the tombs were virgin tombs when they were entered. There was one, for instance, in which there were nails round the walls, with silver cups and other objects still hanging on the nails; these would hardly have been left if anyone had previously entered the tombs. At the higher part of the site the tombs were shallow, and in some cases built of masonry. At the lower part

of the field the tombs seemed to be deeper, and as they were below the level of standing water, a great deal of the contents of each tomb came up in the form of mud in buckets, and the process gone through afterwards was very like that of the alluvial gold washings at Klondyke and elsewhere—the mud was washed out with water and the gold was left; but instead of being raw nuggets, the treasure was in the form of beads and other objects. Although the site was quite unsuspected, yet it was a region of old monuments. Close by there was the great prehistoric, half-sunk building now called the Chapel of St. Katherine; and there were two large tumuli which could be seen for miles over the plain, and which were well known to everyone who had travelled over that part; in both of these they sank a shaft, but found absolutely nothing. In the case of the principal tumulus, however, after tunnelling with considerable labour, a very fine masonry chamber was found; with great difficulty they dug through one of its walls and got in. It was found to be nearly full of earth, and there were holes in the walls, by which at some forgotten time two other parties had made an entrance, the result being that the tumulus yielded nothing whatever.

PROFESSOR ELSEY SMITH [A.], in seconding the vote of thanks, thought they ought specially to thank Dr. Murray for the exceedingly beautiful illustrations he had brought before them. The photographs were remarkably brilliant, especially when it was remembered that they were enlarged from comparatively small objects. Dr. Murray was particularly to be congratulated on his splendid find. There were, of course, a great many more districts in Cyprus that had been excavated for tombs. At the time when the Temple at Paphos was opened, a large number of tombs were excavated in that neighbourhood, a work he himself had had some share in. Dr. Murray had said very little about the construction of the Enkomi tombs, but, as far as he remembered, the tombs at Paphos were not entirely of masonry. Nearly all were sunk in the natural earth, but in all cases the doors were provided with slabs. In many cases the dromos was lined with masonry, and some of them were approached by extensive flights of steps—the largest having as many as twenty-five. He gathered from the Paper that some of the Enkomi tombs were actually constructed and roofed over, and not excavated in that way. With regard to the decorative treatment of the contents, it was a matter of great congratulation that Dr. Murray should have been able to satisfy himself that the whole of the contents of the tombs were confined to a somewhat limited period, as the illustrations showed so perfectly. The tombs at Paphos had been rifled and in some cases used over and over again, probably first by the Romans and afterwards for Christian sepulture, in which case it was in-

variable to find crosses cut upon the masonry for the purpose of sanctification. The objects found in that case were very mixed in period. Often there was work of a comparatively early period mixed up with later pottery and goldwork. In those tombs there was nothing at all so fine discovered in the way of ornamental work in gold or any other material, and most of the finds were later; but a large number of gold leaves were found apparently sprinkled over the bodies promiscuously. Referring to the fibula Dr. Murray had drawn attention to, they had found at Paphos, not in a tomb but amongst the rubbish in the Temple, an exceedingly beautiful example, now, he believed, at the British Museum, of considerably later date—it belonged to about 300 B.C. It was a bronze fibula in the form of a dagger, similar to those shown by Dr. Murray, but cased in gold and very beautifully engraved. It took the form of a small stiletto, with a head formed somewhat in the nature of a Corinthian capital, with four rams' horns at the angles, and acanthus leaves beneath. It had been illustrated in *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* in connection with those excavations.

MR. HUGH STANNUS [P.] wished to thank Dr. Murray, personally and as a member of the Institute, for the exceedingly interesting and admirable manner in which this find had been brought before the Institute. He felt with Mr. Myres that there was this great gap, from the dying-out of the Mycenaean civilisation to the incoming of the Dorian civilisation, which had to be bridged over in some way; and he had thought that finds such as those in Cyprus and the other islands in that neighbourhood would be the best means of solving that question. It might be said, of course, of that ox, that putting its foot into the hole was an accident; but all that need be said about that was that some people had more accidents than others, and that Dr. Murray was in that fortunate class. He had shown a scientific use of the imagination; he had known where to look and what to look for; and members were very much indebted to him for having brought these matters before them. Mr. Stannus desired to thank Mr. Myres, Mr. A. H. Smith, and Professor Elsey Smith for their words on this subject. If he ventured to say anything at all, it would be rather by way of provoking Dr. Murray further to give members the benefit of his ripe judgment in this matter. And, firstly, he would like to speak about those shapes among the diagrams which were so delightfully lotus-like. It appeared that the object 9 of fig. 3 was undoubtedly the lotus with two of the petals at the side. And in the object 4 of same, the ornaments might be either a degradation from the lotus, or they might be based on goldsmiths' work. They knew, for example, what a very ductile material gold was, and that the early peoples, in carrying about their

worldly possessions round the neck or wrist, curled up the superfluous ends of the gold torque in a spiral shape, so that whenever there were spirals, one might almost say "gold." In all the great gold times these spirals were universal, so that it might be said they go together. Mr. Stannus had been able, armed with a letter from their old and venerated friend Dr. Penrose, to examine carefully the Mycenaean finds of Dr. Schliemann in the Museum at Athens. He was interested in the technique, and observed that the gold objects were made of thin sheet-gold pressed into matrices. In some cases the matrix was made of bone, and in other cases of hardened clay or stone, like lithographic stone. On the surface of the matrix the patterns were deeply scratched; the thin sheet of gold was then laid over it and with a blunt stylus the gold was pushed into the channels made by the scratching, and so embossed from the back; and all the objects shown in fig. 3 were done in this manner; and, by the overlapping, it can be perceived that the lower ornaments of No. 1 were done last of all, as they are stronger in relief and have obliterated the repeats above them. Dr. Murray had spoken about these as being Greek; and he (Mr. Stannus) would venture to ask him if they might not all be Hittite. The conical cap of the man on the ivory mirror-case appeared to be so. The island of Cyprus ran close to the Hittite country; and, bearing in mind that Hittite art was considered to be a kind of coarsened Assyrian art, one could see the connection. Referring to No. 10 in fig. 3: some of the Thrones shown in Layard's book were decorated with ornaments which were very similar; and this tended to strengthen the supposition. These ornaments seemed to him to be purely Assyrian. So also, No. 12 shows a band of Assyrian rosettes, which are like the spangles on the King's robe. These spangles would be made in the matrices; and here the two outer rosettes on each side are both of the same size, instead of a gradation in size which would have been seen if the artist had been hammering them; and thus the technique is apparent. He would further venture to ask Dr. Murray about the Octopod. In Dr. Schliemann's find there are at least forty examples. Each of them has a hole through it as if it had been worn for an amulet. Realising what a terrible fellow the octopod is, round about those seas, it might be that these were amulets. So also, he would ask—might the cup No. 8 in fig. 2 have belonged to a seafaring man (like that beautiful cup at the Museum which was found at Ialysos in Rhodes, a neighbouring island), and have been also an amulet? Those were the points one would like Dr. Murray's further opinion about. He desired to congratulate him very heartily upon being the means of finding these things and of enriching our National Museum. When he returned from Greece, he had

felt a little saddened to see that, in this period in which Greece was so rich, we were so poor; and they were all glad that he, by that admirable find, had redressed the balance.

MR. H. W. BREWER [I.L.A.], referring to illustration No. 17, fig. 2, observed that the decoration was very much like the basket-work which seemed to go through almost all ages, and asked whether any more of that pattern were found?

Dr. MURRAY replied that it was the only specimen.

MR. BERESFORD PITE [F.] said that interesting artistic and decorative suggestions arose apart from the archaeological interest of the subject. The Ionic volute occurred to his mind in connection with the theory of spiral forms derived from goldsmiths' work. One of the photographs, that of the ram's head drinking-cup, showed the Ionic volute in a form quite distinct from any origin, as Dr. Murray suggested, in connection with goldsmiths' work. There there was a suggestion of the volute of the Greek capital in the horns accentuated by the finely drawn lines of mere ornament as additions to the head drawn across the eyebrow, connecting the pair, as in the Greek column. He should like to remark also on Dr. Murray's interesting and valuable artistic criticism with regard to the breadth and style of decorative treatment of the animal forms in confined spaces shown in the lantern views. With regard to the subjects depicted on the ivories, he should like to ask whether the existence of the lion in the island of Cyprus could be ascertained by natural history researches, or whether it was an importation from that delightful source of lion-hunting which had given us those beautiful sculptures in the British Museum, and which children thought of when they read of Daniel in the Lions' Den; and if that natural history subject was pursued, one would be inclined to ask whether any skeletons of gryphons had been found. These might be supplied from London if that were not the case!

MR. WM. BRINDLEY, F.G.S., said that his first impression of the ivories was that they were Assyrian; and Mr. Beresford Pite's remark in reference to the lion might point to their being Assyrian, because there was no reason to suppose that there were any lions in Cyprus. Speaking of the importance of the find, and of the immense value of the ivories, he was under the impression that the late Sir A. Wollaston Franks had said that they alone were of sufficient value to pay for the entire expedition. The enlarged photographs of the ivories were more impressive than the ivories themselves; markings appeared on them which one was apt to overlook in the ivories. If these treasures were of the value that they unquestionably were, there was another consideration, not altogether of secondary importance, and that was taking care of them now we had got them.

As regards the British Museum, their treasures were properly cared for in the Gold Room; but at South Kensington something was desired in that respect. He was at South Kensington sketching a gold arm-ring that was found in the Oxus many years ago—an object which the South Kensington authorities had purchased for £1,000. It was a foggy day, and he could scarcely see the objects in the case, and it occurred to him that it was a very unsafe way to keep such treasures. He spoke to one of the policemen on duty about it, and his reply was that there was not much chance of its being taken. But odd to say, a fortnight afterwards a case only a few yards off was ransacked, and the contents carried off. He hoped that when the South Kensington Museum was extended care would be taken to have a properly built room for them to be put in. Further, with regard to this find from the Oxus, he noticed that the other portion was purchased by the late Sir A. Wollaston Franks, and went to the British Museum. In his opinion the South Kensington portion ought to go there also.

THE PRESIDENT, in putting the vote of thanks, dwelt upon the intense interest such a Paper had in giving them an insight into the domestic manners and customs of a people at the dawn of Western art. The description of the fibulæ was interesting, and the incident from Herodotus—whether true or not—showed how impatient feminine nature was in those days. It was to be hoped that matters had improved in that respect; as nowadays the ladies were all armed with very similar weapons, only not so artistic in form. With regard to the similarity of ornamental details in the early periods of Western art in Cyprus, or with what were found in Phœnicia, Egypt, and Greece, it seemed to be put down entirely to the intercommunication between these countries, and to an influence exerted in Cyprus by the proximity of these older countries. But might it not also be due to an influence from a greater distance? This thought had been suggested by the ivory carvings, especially those representing hunting scenes and the bull and the lion; they struck him as being exceedingly like in character to some drawings and carvings he had seen in India. He remembered an ancient painted scene at Gwalior, and a carving at the Museum at Lahore, which strikingly resembled these hunting scenes. Then there were the Greek fret, the guilloche, and the Ionic cap, precedents for all of which were to be found in a slightly different form in India. It had been stated that India was the cradle of beliefs; might not India also have been the cradle of Art, and these influences have come from a common source at a greater distance than the immediately adjoining countries of Cappadocia and Greece and Egypt?

Dr. MURRAY, in responding, said he felt particularly grateful to those who had spoken that evening. Mr. Myres was well known at Oxford and elsewhere for the attention he had given to the study of the origins of Greek art and Greek industries, and, though they did not perhaps always agree, it had been a great pleasure to him (Dr. Murray) to hear the warm manner in which he had expressed himself as to this find. He was glad the President had drawn out Mr. Arthur Smith. It was not part of his plan to speak of the excavations, but rather of the things that were found; but this gave him an opportunity of saying that as Mr. Smith went out to finish the work, he had by far the worst part of the task to perform. To begin with, it being the month of September, he had to live there in a very pestilential district, and had suffered in consequence from a very severe attack of fever. He need not say, because everyone knew, that whatever Mr. Smith had to do was done as well as it was possible for any human being to do it, so far as learning and skill were concerned. He was glad to have been given the opportunity of saying this much. Professor Elsey Smith—whom, by the way, he should like to congratulate very heartily upon his professorship—had told them some interesting things about the tombs he had seen opened at Paphos. The excavations carried out for the Museum last spring were directed to the site where, it was hoped, antiquities of the Mycæan age would be found. He was sorry to say that these excavations were a great failure—they had to move to another quarter. Mr. Stannus knew so much more about classical patterns than he (the speaker) did, that it would be absurd to attempt to discuss such questions with him; but he thought that in the matter of spirals Mr. Stannus was perhaps wrong, because an English goldsmith had assured him that his way of making a spiral pattern was to get a bit of wire first, and solder it down in a spiral form, and then to beat his gold over it, not to beat the gold into a mould such as they had in the Museum. Whether the cuttle-fish was used as an amulet, and, therefore, was an object of terror more or less, he did not know. He thought the other idea of people taking to it because of its taste and usefulness for food was equally maintainable. What Mr. Pite said about the ram's head vase and the suggestion of the Ionic capital, was what everyone must agree to; he was glad he had called attention to it. With regard to Mr. Brindley's remarks as to the security of the things that they took such trouble to find, one never knew, of course, when one was safe; but they did the best they could to protect the things when they once got them. The question about one amulet being in Kensington and the other in Bloomsbury was one of those difficulties that both sides would have to agree about before it could be settled.

