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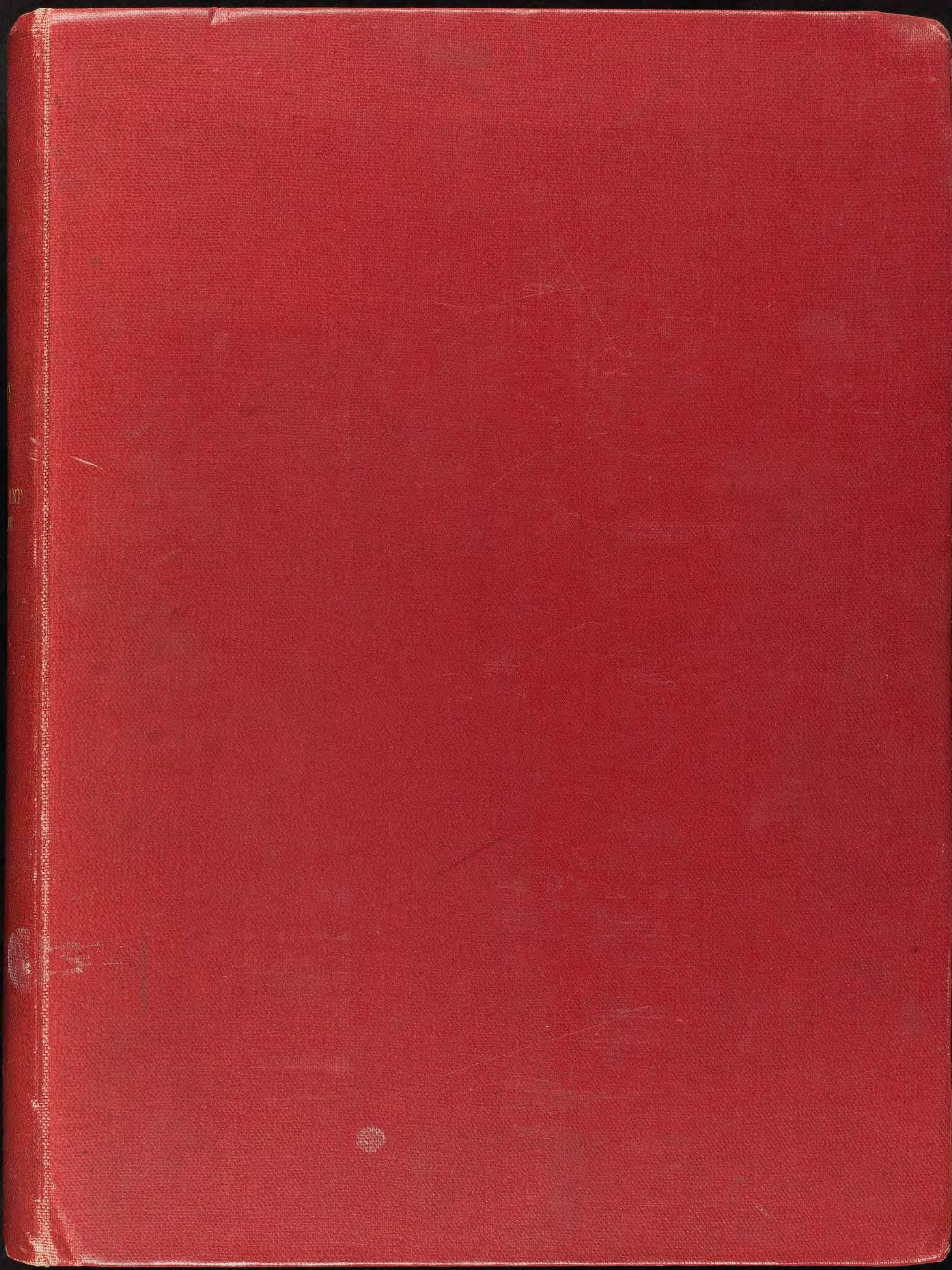
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ANCIENT PLACES OF WORSHIP IN KYPROS.

CATALOGUED AND DESCRIBED

BY

MAX OHNEFALSCH-RICHTER.

X

A DISSERTATION

SUBMITTED BY THE AUTHOR

TO THE

PHILOSOPHICAL FACULTY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF LEIPZIG

ON HIS SOLICITING THE DEGREE

OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.



BERLIN.

PRINTED BY H. S. HERMANN.

1891.

ANCIENT PLACES OF WORSHIP IN KENNES

CHAPTER I

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INTRODUCTION.

The student who desires to bring his individual judgment to bear on a subject still in so transitional a state as the history of civilization, religion, and art in ancient Cyprus will do well, at the outset, to obtain a clear retrospect of what has been done before him, in order that he himself may start from the correct stand-point. Thanks to the labour of an Englishman of great scientific attainments, still holding a high government post in Cyprus, Mr. C. D. Cobham*), we have a better survey of the literature on Cyprus than of that on many other countries. With his list of books, most carefully collected and arranged chronologically, before us, it is a simple task to pick out those works and treatises which deserve mention here as dealing with the antiquities of the island. I cite only such as really contribute to our knowledge of ancient Cyprus, either by the literary collectanea, or by the accounts of travel, mere surface researches, or excavations which they contain.

The very capable archaeological traveller Richard Pococke, whose, "Description of the East etc." was published in London in the years 1743—45, is of importance for Cyprus. Very much recorded by him is still the only source of our knowledge. I need only mention the numerous Phoenician inscriptions of Kition copied by him and since lost.

Next in 1841 comes "Kypros" the monograph in two volumes by W. Engel, (Berlin, Reimer, 1841). It has been superseded in many particulars by discoveries since made, and one can see from certain passages that the author never was in Cyprus; but the work is still at the present day, and will always be, a mine into which every archaeologist who occupies himself with Cyprus must delve. One is occasionally quite astonished at the way in which Engel has, by brilliant inference, arrived at right results, which have since received confirmation from discoveries, in some cases from my own. As is well known, a large space in this detailed monograph is assigned to Religion.

Eleven years later, in 1852, one of the best of our archaeologists and archaeological travellers, Ludwig Ross, published in the fourth part of his "Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln" (Halle, Schwetschke & Sohn) a small report, filling 132 octavo pages, on a journey to Cyprus, undertaken in February and March 1845. Scattered among his admirable pictures of the country and people,

*) An Attempt at a Bibliography of Cyprus. By Claude Delaval Cobham. B. C. L., M. A. Oxon. M. R. A. S. Second Edition Nicosia 1889.

are many more or less extensive archaeological descriptions and notices of permanent value. Through Ross the Berlin Museum made its earliest acquisitions of Cyprian antiquities.

A great turning-point in Cyprian archaeology dates from the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies. During these years, the representatives of three nations at Larnaka, the American consul L. Palma di Cesnola, the British consuls H. Lang und T. Sandwith, and the French consul T. Colonna Ceccaldi both initiated excavations and bought quantities of antiquities dug up by the peasants.

Louis P. di Cesnola (not to be confounded with his younger and less gifted brother Alexander P. di Cesnola) is with justice the best known of the explorers of Cyprus. It is indeed regrettable that his great work "Cyprus, its ancient Cities Tombs and Temples"*) is unreliable, and that a sifting of the whole material is therefore an imperative task. But, just because in Cesnola's works and collections there is, together with what is worthless and useless, so much which is really valuable and permanently useful, do we feel the pressing necessity for a revision of the whole of his material by the hand of a local explorer capable of the task. If at first, and until I pointed out numerous errors and inaccuracies, too implicit trust was placed in the guidance of Cesnola's brightly written book, now, in my opinion, his critics, and especially the English archaeologists working for the Cyprus exploration Fund, have sinned in the excess of their distrust. Cesnola is left without a single good point. As I have spent twelve years in Cyprus, studying its antiquities, and as I have, during the last ten years or more, conducted numerous excavations in the island, it would be difficult to find another archaeologist more capable than myself of revising the gigantic Cesnola-material. In a project for dealing with the island from an archaeological and topographical point of view in a series of monographs, which I submitted to the Imperial German Archaeological Institute in the spring of 1891, with the result that it was approved in principle, and will, I trust, be executed, I laid particular stress on the value of this branch of the work.

To pass to the three other consuls mentioned above; the observations of Count Tiburce Colonna-Ceccaldi have received the most detailed treatment at the hands of his brother George Ceccaldi, for some years attached to the French Consulate-General at Beirut. George Ceccaldi himself undertook numerous journeys to, and in, Cyprus, but died in 1879, before he could publish his book, which only appeared three years after his death under the title "Monuments antiques de Cypre, de Syrie et d'Egypte par Georges Colonna-Ceccaldi" (Paris, Didier & Cie.) This work, too little known in Germany, is distinguished by exceedingly reliable treatment, and contains a quantity of valuable matter. It should be as indispensable to Cyprian explorers as the little on archaeological subjects which Hamilton Lang, still alive and in the prime of life, has given to the world.

Of especial value is the report of the excavations made by Lang in the sanctuary of Apollo at Idalion, published in 1878 by the Royal Society of Literature in their "Transactions" (John Murray) under the title "Narrative of Excavations in a Temple at Dali (Idalion) in Cyprus. By R. H. Lang Esq." This report, remarkably trustworthy, and of high permanent value,

*) L. Stern's translation and revision, "Cypern, seine alten Städte, Gräber und Tempel" was published in 1879 at Jena by Costenoble.

has even escaped the diligent search of Cobham, who does not cite it among Lang's writings on page 13 of his "Attempt at a Bibliography of Cyprus."

If the facts observed by Lang at Idalion in a temple must be regarded as of fundamental importance for a proper comprehension of Cyprian religious usages, in the provinces of ceramic, and metallic art, and indeed in the more general one of culture-history, the merits of Thomas Sandwith (a name little known in literature) are no less indisputably great. The paper read by him before the Society of Antiquaries on May 4th, 1871, and published with copious illustrations in the organ of the Society, "Archaeologia" (Nicols & Sons) as late as 1877, must be styled a scientific performance of the first rank. I only came across it by a lucky chance in 1887, when my own excavations executed for Sir Charles Newton at Phœnidshais in 1883 had already led me to an independent delimitation of the Copper and Iron Periods. Had I in 1883 been acquainted with the work bearing the modest title: "On the different styles of Pottery found in Ancient Tombs in the Island of Cyprus. By Thomas B. Sandwith Esq., H. B. M. Vice-Consul," I should have saved myself much labour, and would to-day have been further forward. It is, however, always a pleasure to be able to say that we have both independently arrived at the same main conclusions. To Sandwith belongs the merit of the first publication, the palm of first discovery. He points out correctly in what strata of tombs the metals are only represented by copper and bronze, iron being absent: he indicates correctly the chief types of the early weapons: he shows what kinds of vases belong, and what kinds are unknown, to the Copper-Bronze Period: he is perfectly aware what idol-types, and terracottas are characteristic of the different periods.

In 1878 the British occupation called me to Cyprus in the capacity of a correspondent, with an introduction from the Imperial German Chancellery. I was born in 1850 on my fathers' property at Sohland am Rothstein in Saxon Ober-Lausitz, and it was intended that I should adopt agriculture as a profession. I obtained my Voluntary-certificate at the Gymnasium of Görlitz in 1865, and, after attending the Gewerbschule there for one year, I went as an apprentice in farming to a property in Nieder-Lausitz. In the years 1869—72 I studied Agriculture, Political Economy and Natural Sciences at the University of Halle. My "Wanderjahre," which now number seventeen, began in the spring of 1873: my life since then, with the exception of one or two short intervals of a few months, has been spent abroad. During the first five years I lived for the most part in Italy where I chiefly devoted myself to the study of Art, practising painting and learning photography. At this time I first begun to do some literary work, writing about Italy. When the world was surprised by the British occupation of Cyprus in 1878, I was in Munich, having come there from Italy for a few months in order to perfect myself in photography at the atelier of the court photographer Albert, since dead. I cherished the intention of returning to Southern Italy in order to prepare an illustrated work dealing with its culture-history. The English occupation of the fabulous island, Franz von Löhers' travel-sketches, and Louis Palma di Cesnola's discoveries soon matured in me the resolve to make a pilgrimage eastward to a land where I saw that many spoils still awaited the student of its arts and civilisation. I have never, in spite of the many difficulties which have confronted me, had to repent of this resolve. A happy chance led me in 1879 to turn my attention to archaeology. Public interest in the island thus momentarily become conspicuous, expired almost as soon as it was kindled, and I had to look for other than political matter to write about. The British Government was then executing extensive earth-works near the bay of the ancient Kition, between

the older town of Larnaka lying a little inland, and its port, of more recent growth, Marina or Skala. There was then in this neighbourhood an extensive marshy tract near the sea which, for sanitary reasons, it was necessary to dry up. As there was a mound immediately abutting on the caldron-shaped marsh, the simplest of all plans was to take the former and throw it into the latter. At the same time new government-buildings were to be constructed on the shore at a spot between Larnaka and Marina and a little south of the marsh, and for these stones were required. The mound, in which the remains of various ancient buildings were (and, to some extent are still) buried, had already done its duty as a quarry, and was now again called to perform the same office. I succeeded in identifying the marsh with the closed harbour (*κλειστός λιμήν**) and the mound with the harbour-fortress and Akropolis of Kition. The works were superintended by Lieutenant (now Captain) Sinclair R-E. Although the removal of the mound was ordered for other than archaeological purposes, care was taken to preserve, as far as possible and for a time at least, such lines of walls as were revealed, and antiquities which came to light were respected. Consequently, I was enabled by my own observations, by the objects found, and by the circumstances of their discovery to demonstrate the existence on the Akropolis of a temenos of Astarte. I comprised the results of my researches in a paper published in the "Ausland" in the same year (1879)**) entitled "Die Akropolis von Kition, und das Sanctuarium der Syrischen Astarte." I had drawn my conclusion from the architectural fragments, and from the nature of the votive offerings found inside the building. Two tablets with Phoenician inscriptions were found at the same time on the site in question. My learned friend Mr. D. Pierides, a Larnakiot by birth and an excellent Phoenician scholar, showed me the inscriptions, and communicated to me the information as to their contents which I reproduced in my article. I only learnt from the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum****) that in one of the two inscriptions the temple of Astarte is mentioned as the place in which these Temple-tariffs are to be suspended. This, my first archaeological essay, and the correct inferences therein drawn, brilliantly confirmed, as they were, by epigraphical evidence, earned for me some notice. Mr. Cobham and Mr. Pierides recommended me to Sir Charles Newton, at that time still Keeper of the Greek and Roman Antiquities at the British Museum. Sir C. Newton entrusted me with the conduct of his excavations. This is the beginning of my career as an Archaeologist. During the years 1880—89 I conducted a series of excavations, small and great, on behalf of a number of Societies, Museums and individuals.

Except at Pompeii I had never seen the spade of the excavator at work, certainly never wielded it. I had visited many archaeological collections, and had to some extent studied them; but I had never systematically occupied myself with archaeology. During a winter spent in Rome in 1873/74 I occasionally attended the popular demonstrations which Helbig used to give in the different galleries and museums. At Halle, however, my respected teachers Kühn, de Barry, and Schmoller had inoculated me with scientific methods as applied to chemical and microscopical analysis of soils, and the drawing up of statistics. These methods, thus acquired, I transferred to the theory and practice of my archaeological work. My knowledge of photography, drawing, and paint-

*) Strabo XIV, 6, 3 (q. 682 ad fin.)

**) Ausland. (Stuttgart. Cotta'sche Buchhandlung) 1879. pp. 970—974.

***) I, No. 86 A. and B. See below p. 12 No. 9.

ing was of no less service to me than the experience acquired in practical farming by intercourse with labourers. While I learnt from the Cypriots many of the methods and dodges for finding tombs and sanctuaries which the experience of years had taught them, I tried, on my own part, to gradually wean them from those predatory instincts to which their sagacity is due. I confess that at first I made many mistakes, and was not capable of acting up to what I should now demand from an excavator both practically and scientifically qualified for his task, whose duty it should be to advance archaeological research by every means in his power and leave no item unobserved. From among the diggers trained, according to their methods, by Cesnola and others I gradually selected some whose attainments made it possible for me to use them for the more delicate work. For the general superintendence of work in hand, and for the preliminary examination of sites, I found Gregori Antoniu to be the best qualified man: although he can neither write nor read he is as honest as he is intelligent and energetic. Loiso Anastasi, a Daliot, can both read and write, and is personally most sympathetic: his assistance was of great value in collecting and connecting fragments, in cleaning antiquities, and also in my photographic work. These two, like all the rest, had, notwithstanding their extraordinary technical cleverness, to be trained to habits of careful excavation. They could never understand, and up to this day cannot quite realize, that rusty and broken bits of iron have an archaeological (possibly even a material) value as high as, or even higher than gold bracelets. Only after many years have I been able to teach Gregori and Loiso that the discovery of things which cannot be exchanged for ready money such as bones, ashes, lime, or traces of primitive walls, may be decisive for the success of an excavation.

In October 1880 I commenced excavating for Sir Charles Newton. The funds provided were unfortunately so insignificant that I could not afford to neglect other remunerative work, and, naturally, found it impossible to give such full attention as I could have wished to the excavations. Subsequently I was better paid, but I never had a fixed salary sufficient to release me from the cares incidental to the struggle for existence. In order to assure any permanent value to the results of my excavations, I was obliged to contribute from my own pocket what I earned by the conduct of these excavations themselves, by political correspondence and other literary work, by photography and scientific collecting, or by tuition and employment in the Forest Department. Although I owe all gratitude to those who first turned my steps towards archaeology, I claim in the fullest sense as my mental property the results which, after twelve years of effort, after struggles and privations of many kinds, after sufferings entailed by fatigue and exposure to extreme heat and cold, I now for the first time collect and publish. The limits of this work and other considerations do not permit me to enter into detail with regard to the many difficulties caused me during these twelve years by persons to whom the search for antiquities was nothing but a pure speculation.

Early in 1881 I made, in Cyprus, the acquaintance of Mr. A. H. Sayce. He was present at one of my smaller successful excavations, and since then we have corresponded. I owe him much in the way of stimulus, encouragement and appreciation, and he has repeatedly pleaded for me in print. It will suffice to reproduce here in a note a paragraph from an article of his on "Oriental History" which appeared in the *Contemporary Review* for September 1887.*)

During a visit to the island of Capri in the summer of 1874 I became acquainted with Sir

*) It is in Cyprus, if anywhere, that the problems presented by early Greek archaeology will find their solution; and yet since our occupation of the island, not only has no attempt at systematic excavation

Frederick Leighton P. R. A. who is one of the trustees of the British Museum. But for him, it would never have been possible for Sir C. Newton to undertake some of our excavations. Sir Frederick himself supplied part of the necessary funds for these, and induced his friends to subscribe the rest. In the year 1881 Leighton, after discussing the matter with Newton, wrote to me at length, explaining that, for the time, there was no hope of obtaining larger funds from England; no money would be forthcoming from the Government or the Museum, and no considerable amount could be raised by private subscription, as interest in Cyprian antiquities had not yet been aroused in England. Newton, he said, was by no means inclined to dismiss the project of a systematically planned and scientific excavation of Cyprus, but under prevailing circumstances we must cultivate patience.

M. S. Reinach, my acquaintanceship with whom dates from a visit paid to him at St. Germain-en-Laye near Paris during my stay in Europe in 1884, begged me then to send him, on my return to Cyprus, a Curriculum vitae and reports of the explorations I had been prosecuting since 1878. We have since then continued to correspond on scientific questions. The *Revue Archéologique* has, in the *Chroniques d'Orient* contributed to its pages by Reinach from 1883 onwards, published far more complete reports of my researches than any other scientific periodical. Until the day when I can find time and space to elaborate fuller and more detailed reports than those given by Reinach, a reference to the latter must suffice. Their consultation is immensely facilitated by Reinach's publication this year of all his *Chroniques d'Orient* since 1883 in a collected form. They make up a handsome volume of no less than 786 pages, issued lately from the press of Firmin-Didot & Cie. in Paris.

In this admirable work we have, as its title-page justly claims, a most complete collection of Documents on the Excavations and Discoveries made in the Hellenic East during the years 1883—1889. The space allotted to Cyprus is very considerable, as will be seen by a reference to my own name in particular in the index. I will only mention that pages 168—200 (*Fouilles et découvertes à Chypre depuis l'occupation Anglaise*) contain a concise review of the work of excavation in Cyprus up to September 1885. Later researches, including the English excavations made for the Cyprus Exploration Fund (founded in 1887), receive adequate treatment in subsequent sections of the *Chroniques*. The sources of information are in all cases indicated, so that special students have no diffi-

been made, but foreign Governments, who might have undertaken the work, have been prevented from doing so. Such discoveries as have taken place have been made by private individuals, often working illegally and in secret, and seldom, if ever, possessed of the means or the knowledge requisite for that systematic exploration which alone is of service to the historian. Had it not been for the fortunate presence of a German, Dr. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, in the island, our knowledge of Cyprian archaeology would have been as scanty and misleading as it was ten years ago. Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter, however, has devoted himself enthusiastically to work which ought to have been undertaken by Englishmen; besides excavating himself, he has kept a careful watch over the excavations which have been carried on by others during the last halfdozen years. The result of his labours has been not only the discovery of several important archaic sites, but the introduction of order and arrangement into the archaeology of a country where all before was chaos. He has succeeded in assigning definite periods to the tombs and objects found in different parts of the island, and has thus furnished us at last with a criterion for deciding what is really to be considered belonging to the Phœnician epoch. Many of the Cyprian vases quoted as Phœnician by Professor Perrot, in his magnificent volume on Phœnician art, now turn out to belong to an age earlier than that when the Phœnician first settled in Cyprus.

Dr. Ohnefalsch-Richter divides the archæological history of the island into two main periods, the Pre-Phœnician and the Phœnician: u. s. w.

culty in following up particular points. The *Revue Archéologique*, thanks to Reinach's unwearying energy, will continue to issue these *Chroniques*, and, as I learn from himself, another comprehensive survey of discovery in Cyprus is about to appear in its pages.

During my brief stay in Germany in 1884 I had also the honour to become more closely acquainted in Leipzig with Prof. J. Overbeck. I had been powerfully stimulated by his valuable, and indeed now indispensable, *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, and especially by the section dealing with Cyprus.*) He there expresses his opinion that valuable material for the construction of a comprehensive monograph would be obtained by adequate treatment of Cyprian art and shows how much still remains to be done in Cyprus. I showed Mr. Overbeck at the time, among other things, numerous photographs of the votive statues dug up in the temenos of Artemis-Kybele at Achna in 1882 **) and a plan of the sacred enclosure. The encouragement I received from him led me then to form the project of writing a work on Cyprian Places of Worship and offering it as a Dissertation to the University of Leipzig.

In such a work a large space had to be assigned to the primitive rites which were performed in Cyprus, as scriptural tradition tells us they were performed elsewhere, on hill-tops, under green trees, beside the smooth stones of the river bed, or at the foot of precipitous rocks. In studying this subject I met with another deeply instructive work of Overbeck's dealing with this very question: "*Das Culturobject bei den Griechen in seinen ältesten Gestaltungen*" ***) which was of material assistance to me. Returning to Cyprus in 1884 I set to work at once. Although my notes of numerous excavations conducted in the years 1880—81 were now before me, I was anxious to arrive at sure conclusions with regard to certain unsettled problems, and, with this object, I undertook and carried out to the end a systematic excavation of the Aphrodite-temenos lying north of Idalion. Ample funds for this work, which occupied me from February to April 1884, were provided by Mr. C. Watkins (for a detailed report on it see below p. 6 No. 3, and the map Pl. I, 3.) Many causes, however, contributed to delay the completion of the dissertation I had planned and commenced. One excavation came on the heels of another; there were topographical studies which could not be deferred; I was editing a scientific journal in English; and, finally, my whole time was absorbed by personal feuds, most unwelcome and involving immense waste of time, but quite unavoidable. When I could resume my task later on in Cyprus, I became conscious that, without a good library such as did not exist there, its completion was out of the question. Although seven long years have now elapsed since I began the present work, I have every reason to regard the delay as a blessing; for in the meantime most valuable discoveries have been made in Cyprus and elsewhere, and the literature of the subject has been enriched by more than one important publication, which will fall to be considered later on. †)

*) Vol. I, p. 176—178.

**) See Pl. I, 1 and Pls. XI and XII: also pages 1—2 of the present work.

***) *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig*. Vol. XVI, p. 121—172.

†) In 1885 Messrs. Perrot & Chipiez published the third volume of their *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité, Phénicie-Cypré*. That exhaustive monographs on Cyprus (supplementing and correcting our information), and comparative studies comprising Cyprus are not only not superfluous, but desirable, is the opinion of M. Perrot himself, (among others), delivered to me this year, when I was conducting him through the Cyprian collection in the Berlin Museum. The very fact that so much has now been written on Cyprus makes it particularly necessary to sift, arrange, and make the best use of the material.

Many correct surmises which six years of study on the island had enabled me then (in 1884) to make could never have been transmuted into established facts without a long series of observations extending over twelve years, or without the greater attention now devoted to Cyprus by German, English, French, Dutch and American scholars. Only because the finds have been so numerous, am I enabled to demonstrate that certain ancient religious usages are of general occurrence in Cyprus, and that others, associated with other countries, here never at any period existed there.

In 1885 Mr. F. Dümmler made an archaeological trip to Cyprus and was enabled to test on the spot the value and exactitude of my older excavations and those then in progress. I derived from him many important suggestions, and was happily able in return to place at his disposal for publication a quantity of unpublished material. His works on Cyprus are cited by Reinach.*)

Two years later Mr. E. Oberhummer visited the island and, like Dümmler, availed himself of my company and counsel. He also was able to verify many of my results from a historical, geographical and topographical point of view.**)

In 1888 Mr. L. Burchner travelled in Cyprus to collect material for Baedeker's Guide and informed himself as to my work.

During my stay in Europe in 1884 I formed with Mr. A. Furtwängler of Berlin relations which have been the means, since, of seriously furthering my studies. When, in 1889, I undertook, on his initiative, the independent control of the excavations executed at Tamassos for the Berlin Museum, he himself visited the site at the conclusion of the work in order to verify the results.***)

Shortly afterwards, in January 1890, Mr. W. Dörpfeld went through the island with me, and had the opportunity of submitting to a searching examination much of my work and many of my statements. In 1888 Mr. P. Hermann wrote his Winckelmann's-Programm "Das Gräberfeld von Marion"; I had placed at his disposal the journals, reports, summaries, maps, plans, photographs and sketches (chiefly my own work, the rest that of the excellent draughtsman E. Foot) which the excavations at Politis Chrysoku (undertaken on behalf of Messrs. C. Watkins, C. Christian and J. W. Williamson) had yielded.

I must here express my very particular thanks to Mr. Jul. Naue, to whose recommendation I owe my earliest opportunity of visiting Cyprus in 1878: since then we have mutually furthered each others' special studies.†) And above all I must thank an English lady Mme Salis Schwabe who furnished the expenses for this my first visit to Cyprus.

In 1890 it became quite necessary for me to return to my own country, in order to take in

*) Dümmler in his paper "Die Aelteste Nekropolen auf Cypern" (Athenische Mittheilungen IX p. 209) writes as follows: "It would be most advantageous if the authorities of the Cyprus Museum would publish Ohnefalsch-Richters' reports: they are accompanied by sketches, and I have had occasion to verify, on the spot, their accuracy and trustworthiness."

***) Reinach also mentions Oberhummer's works. Dümmler and Oberhummer made contributions of value to the illustrated magazine "The Owl" which I started in conjunction with Mr. Clarke, in 1888. In a paper on "Greek Inscription from Cyprus," published in the Proceedings of the Munich Academy of Sciences for 1888, Oberhummer writes: "For the new matter here published I am entirely indebted to my companion when in Cyprus Mr. Ohnefalsch-Richter, so well known in the field of Cyprian research."

***) Furtwängler was so kind as to report on my work in several addresses delivered to the Berlin Archaeological Society, extracts from which will be found in the Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift, in the Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie and in the Archaeologische Zeitung for the years 1885-1890.

†) The Owl is indebted to him for some valuable literary contributions and original sketches.

hand myself the task which I had, up to now, entrusted, in the main, to others — the task of gathering and giving to the world the scientific fruit of my labours as an excavator. Herr F. Frauberger (Direktor des Centralgewerbevereines in Düsseldorf) whom I accompanied last year in his excursions in Cyprus, and have to thank for much besides, put it in my power to accomplish the desire so long cherished, but so often abandoned for pecuniary reasons.

Without the assistance of my uncle Mr. Jul. Kühn of Halle, my return to Europe and the publication of the present work would have been alike impossible. My warmest thanks are due to him.

In addition to the friends, patrons, and scholars to whom I have here rendered thanks, I am indebted to the following gentlemen for what I have learnt from their spoken or written communications, and I will venture the hope that, in some cases and to some slight extent, I have been able, by the contribution of facts and material for study, to enlighten where I was enlightened.

L. Abel (Berlin), O. Benndorf (Vienna), — J. Barth (Berlin), Chr. Belger (Berlin), P. Berger (Paris), C. Bezold (London), K. Blind (London), E. Curtius (Berlin), W. Deecke (Buchweiler), G. Dieck (Zöschen), O. Donner- von Richter (Frankfurt a. M.), A. Erman (Berlin), J. Euting (Strassburg), von Falke (Vienna), W. Fröhner (Paris), P. Gardner (Oxford), Grempler (Breslau), J. Hampel (Pest), F. Heger (Vienna), P. Herrmann (Dresden), W. v. Landau (Berlin), C. F. Lehmann (Berlin), G. Lösckke (Bonn), F. von Luschan (Berlin), A. S. Murray (London), R. Meister (Leipzig), E. Meyer (Halle), A. Milchhöfer (Münster), A. de Mortillet (St. Germain), R. Much (Vienna), Niemann (Vienna), E. Oberhummer (München), J. Obst (Leipzig), O. Olshausen (Berlin), E. Pottier (Paris), O. Puchstein (Berlin), F. von Pulszky (Pest), E. Renan (Paris), M. Rosenberg (Karlsruhe), — Ed. Sachau (Berlin), Eb. Schrader (Berlin), R. von Schneider (Vienna), P. Schröder (Beirut), A. von Scala (Vienna), H. Schaaffhausen (Bonn), G. Steindorff (Berlin), — J. Szombathy (Vienna), O. Tischler (Vienna), R. Virchow (Berlin), A. Weissbach (Vienna).

I append a list of those who, in Cyprus itself, have contributed morally, mentally, or materially, to the furtherance of my studies.

The High-Commissioners, their Excellencies — Lord Wolseley, Sir Robert Biddulph and Sir Henry Bulwer. — His Felicity (the title in Greek is *Μακαριώτατος*), the Archbishop of Cyprus. — Sir Elliot Bovill (Chief Justice, Nicosia) Sir Frederick Leighton (President of the Royal Academy, London), the late Lady Brassey, Mr. W. H. Bennet (Chief Secretary's Office, Nicosia), Mr. A. B. Bimpson (Survey Department, Nicosia), Capt. Bor (Commander of Police, Nicosia), Messrs.—J. H. Brayshaw (Manager of the Eastern Telegraph Co., Larnaka), A. S. Bovill (Forest Department, Nicosia), S. Brown (Engineer to Government; formerly Keeper of the Cyprus Museum, and the earliest agent of the Berlin Museum; now in Hongkong), E. Carletti (Survey Dept., Nicosia), Dr. Carletti (Nicosia), Major Chamberlain (formerly Private Secretary to Sir H. Bulwer at Nicosia), Major Chard (formerly at Limassol), Messrs.—C. Christian (Chief Manager of the Imp. Ottoman Bank, Limassol), H. E. Clarke (Editor of the Owl, Nicosia), C. D. Cobham (Commissioner of Larnaka), W. R. Collyer (Queens' Advocate and Legal Adviser, Nicosia), J. Cunningham (Engineer to Government, Nicosia), The Eastern Telegraph Company (London), Col. Fyler (formerly Commander of the Troops at Limassol), Col. Gordon (now in Hongkong), Mr. Gordon Hake (formerly in Cyprus), Major-General Hackett (formerly in command of the Troops at Limassol), Dr. Heidenstam (Chief Medical Officer, Nicosia), Messrs.—C. H. Hill (Hon. Secretary Cyprus Museum, Nicosia), G. R. Hunter (Island Postmaster, Larnaka), The Imp. Ottoman Bank (Constantinople), Capt. Kenyon (lately Commissioner of Kerynia), Capt. (now. Colonel),

Kitchener (formerly Director of Survey and author of the well-known map), Messrs. E. and P. Konstantinides (Members of the Legislativ Council Nicosia), Messrs.—A. F. G. Law (Director of Survey, Principal Forest Officer, Nicosia; in 1889 Agent for the excavations of the Royal Berlin Museum), A. Liassides. (Member of Legislativ Council Nicosia), C. Nicolle (Auditor General, Nicosia), M. Mackay (Harbour Master &c., Limassol), P. Madon (my former Chief in the Forest Department), M. Maclachlan (Landed-proprietor at Trikomo), R. Mattei (Landed-proprietor at Nisso and Member of Legislativ Council), A. Mavrogordato (Examiner of Accounts to the Government, Nicosia; in 1889 Agent for the Berlin Museum), T. Mavrogordato (Inspector of Police, Kerynia), G. Michell (Commissioner of Limassol), M. Penzikes (Limassol), P. Peristiani (Advocate in Limassol), D. Pierides (the well-known scholar in Larnaka), M. Pierides (Manager of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, Larnaka), Z. Pierides (Larnaka), G. R. Rossides (Limassol), Major Seager (President of District Court, Nicosia), Capt. Stevenson (formerly Commissioner of Kerynia) and Mrs. Stevenson, Capt. Sinclair (formerly Private Secretary to Sir R. Biddulph, and Hon. Keeper and Secretary of the Cyprus Museum), Dr. Stephen (Medical Officer, Nicosia), Messrs.—W. J. Smith, (Puisne Judge, Nicosia), G. Smith (Assistant Chief Secretary to Government, Nicosia), H. Thompson (Commissioner of Papho), Messrs. Turner & Co. (Larnaka), the late Mr. A. Vondiziano, Mr. J. Vondiziano (Limassol), Col. Falk Warren (formerly Chief Secretary to Government and Keeper of the Cyprus Museum), Mr. C. Watkins (formerly Manager of the Imperial Ottoman Bank, Larnaka), Mr. M. Westorf (Proprietor at Vrisudi), Col. White (recently Commissioner of Nicosia), Mr. W. Williamson (formerly Editor of the Cyprus Herald, Limassol), Mr. H. Williamson (Limassol), Capt. Young (Commissioner of Famagusta),

I must, in conclusion, express my warmest thanks to the Executive of the Royal Museum in Berlin, especially to the General-Director Herr Schöne, the Director of the Antiquarium Herr E. Curtius, and the Assistant-Director of the Antiquarium Herr A. Furtwängler for the trust reposed in me.

The excavations at Tamassos undertaken by me, in 1889 on behalf of the Berlin Museum, have essentially contributed to our knowledge of this remarkable island.

Charlottenburg, near Berlin, November 28th 1891.

Max Ohnefalsch-Richter.

Ancient Places of Worship in Cyprus.

I describe, at the outset, the six most important Places of Worship which I excavated, because they will occupy a large share of our attention in the present work, and because they give the key to the proper comprehension of Cyprian sacred precincts in general. In their descriptions of the Olympian apparatus of worship as revealed by the excavations, Curtius*) and Furtwängler**) could only cite Cyprian parallels. The material for comparison at the disposal of these scholars, when they wrote, will appear as but a tiny and not always reliable fragment of the History of Cyprian Worships, when compared with the numerous and, in some instances, quite complete pictures of religious observance in ancient Cyprus which I here lay before the reader for what, to all intents and purposes, I may call the first time. Such of my discoveries as have been already made public by myself and others are only a very small fraction of a whole the remainder of which I have purposely withheld; and as regards discoveries since made by others, my long experience as a practical excavator should make me better able to turn them to good account than the discoverers themselves.

I begin with No. 1, the temenos of Artemis Kybele at Achna in the East of the Island.***)

If we draw a straight line from Larnaka, the best known port on the south-east coast of the island, to the ancient Salamis, situated on the east coast north of Famagusta, Achna, a small modern village, will be found about half way between the two. It lies on the edges of a well-watered and fertile depression in the otherwise unfertile or sterile plain. To the S. and SE., in the direction of the village Xylo timbo, there is nothing but bare rock; to the N. and NE., in the direction of Akhyritou, the rock has a scanty covering of ferruginous soil. In the fertile and winding valley of Achna, at a spot where it is tolerable narrow, about 50 metres from the last houses and not far from the road, the peasants, in the spring of 1882, came by accident upon the Artemis-Temenos.

*) Die Altäre von Olympia. Berlin 1882. (Extract from the Abhandlungen der Königl. Akademie der Wissenschaften. Berlin 1881.)

**) Die Bronzefunde von Olympia. Berlin 1880. (Extract from the Abhandlungen der Königl. Akad. der Wissensch. Berlin 1879.)

***) In order to enable the reader to find the places easily in the Map (Pl. I), I have there inserted *in red*, at the spots to which they refer, the numbers of the present list. I have also *underlined in red* all the places in the island in which I have made excavations. I have not added an itinerary, as this would have involved connecting by lines most of the villages in the island. Nor did I think it was any use to insert all the spots at which I saw ancient remains or tombs opened by others. I will discuss these in works more specially dealing with topography.

They were digging for the government, at intervals along the valley, a number of square holes, such as it is usual to make for the extermination of the locusts. *) On Plate IV I give a plan of the temenos as far as it could be determined; the northern portion, lying towards the village, was destroyed many years ago, when an orchard was laid out there. We owe the preservation of a portion of the temenos to the fact that the land has only been occasionally turned by the Cyprian plough, a primitive implement which happily scratches only to the depth of a few centimetres. Nevertheless, at some date in the course of two thousand years, **) violent hands must have been laid on the great mass of the votive offerings which once stood here. We can reckon from the existing fragments of the great terracotta statues that they stood at least 12 feet (3.5 m.) high. It was only to be expected that these huge statues protruding from the ground, and standing "sub divo" should fall a prey to the destroyer. The greatest depth at which the virgin soil was reached was 4 feet. All the bases and feet of statues entered on the plan were found in situ at a higher level (some at no more than 1½ feet below the present surface), resting on the ancient trodden surface. — In digging down at the spot PHT (Pl. IV) the peasants came upon rough terracotta statues (like those on Pl. XI. 1—3 and 8, and Pl. XII, 1—4) packed as close as sardines in a box. (I found similar piles of statues in the excavations of September and October 1882). They were found in such quantities that the children in the village were using them as play-things. Some of the best were sold to a barber at Larnaka, and it was thus that I was led to the discovery of the site. †)

I have found no dedications giving the name of Artemis-Kybele, but the finds testify to her worship here.

Only one inscription was discovered, complete with the exception of two letters, but incomprehensible. It runs in one line round the lower edge of a censer or lustral vessel shaped like a column or altar and about 9 cm. high (reproduced in "The Owl" 1889, p. 76—77 and Pl. IX 26). It is as follows:

ΤΟΚΡΕΤΕΝΕΟΣΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΣΟ Θ ΡΟΟΣΙΕΡΟΝ

The name Nicodemos recurs in the Apollo-Temenos at Voni (No. 3). The last word *ἱερόν* taken together with the circumstances of the discovery, tells us that we are on holy ground, on ground consecrated to some god. Perhaps the penultimate word is to be restored *ἡρώος* "of the hero"; the other words cannot be understood. It would seem that an illiterate mason had copied the inscription imperfectly.

Site 2, Voni: We here find ourselves in a far more fertile region, watered by one of the most abundant springs in the island. This spring rises at the north end of the village of Kythraea, and a number of villages on, and at the foot of, the southern slope of the northern range owe their existence entirely to it. One of these villages is Voni. The scene of our excavations, near the

*) Cp. in the "Nation" (Berlin 1891) page 710 of my Essay "Cypern unter englischer Verwaltung."

**) The temenos has been disused since the fourth century B.C., as the finds clearly show.

***) Part of the breast of a female colossus is exhibited with the other finds of Achna in the British Museum.

†) S. Reinach, Chron. d'Or. p. 187 [5,354—5]. I shall often have to quote this work, which gives the best information about Cyprus and my discoveries; the numbers in brackets refer to the year and pages of the Revue Archéologique, i. e. in this case 1885, p. 354—5.

westernmost houses of the village, is, as the crow flies, about $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles (13.6 km) to the N.E. of Nicosia, the capital of the island.

On Pl. V, 1, I reproduce the plan of the walls of the Apollo-temenos as far as they can be determined. Pl. V, 2 gives a vivid picture of the excavation and its surroundings. In the background we see the graceful outline of the northern chain, and, beneath it, the olive wood which skirts the village. Propped against the walls of the mud-built house, the last of the village, stand a row of life-size or colossal lime-stone statues, just dug up. In the foreground are my tents and cases, and the excavation in progress. Two of the numerous channels of the system of irrigation fed by the Kythraea spring meet just at the S.W. corner of our Apollo-sanctuary, and the united stream runs across the picture into, and then through, the village. On the near side of the watercourse we see two of my workmen engaged in hoisting on to a cart one of the life-size beardless limestone statues, while, in the immediate foreground, another bearded Græco-Phœnician statue is lying ready for removal. The heads of these statues were, as a fact, found separately, but in the picture I have attached them to their bodies in order to make the whole more graphic.

The drums of columns united and surmounted by a rude doric basis, visible to the left, chanced to have been so disposed at the time the photograph for this picture was taken, and were not found at the spot they occupy in the picture.

Ten drums of columns were found nearly in a row in the wall running from North to South: it is evident that this wall had a stoa adjacent to it on the East.

The architecture and finds will be dealt with in subsequent sections. The view is taken from S.S.E. To the north, between the olive wood and the mountain range, on the southern spurs of the latter, lies the ancient town of Chytroi, a little east of the modern Kythraea. The picturesque region there is now called Ayios Dimitrianos after an old church now completely ruined and overgrown.*)

Our picture of Voni shows once again with what a fine appreciation of natural beauty the ancients chose the sites for their settlements and for the houses of their gods.

Productive excavations had been going on at this place for more than ten years, and the inhabitants continued to dig in secret even after the English occupation, until at length the Government intervened and confiscated the antiquities. When I had formed a committee for the foundation of a Cyprus Museum, I turned my eyes to the site at Voni, and, on the 21st of May 1883, commenced the excavations at the cost of the Museum. I reproduce here the inscriptions found on this spot and published by me in the *Athenischen Mittheilungen***), adding a few further remarks.

1. Rectangular basis; length 4 feet (= 1,22 m); depth 2 feet 7 inches (= 78 cm); height 1 foot 1 inch (= 33 cm). On the upper surface three quadrangular depressions. The stone evidently supported a group of three small statues:

ΚΑΡΥΣΟΝΥΣΑΓΟΡΟΥ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΕΥΧΗΝ

Κάρυς Ὀνισαγόρου
Ἀπόλλωνι εὐχὴν.

*) See the Map (Pl. I Nos. 23 and 24) and Nos. 23 and 24 of my list below.

**) Chron. d'Or. p. 186—187 [5, 354] and *Mittheilungen des Kaiserlichen Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts zu Athen.* 1884, p. 127—139 and Pl. IV and V.

2. Similar basis; length 2½ ft. (= 66 cm); depth 1 ft. 10 in. (= 52 cm); height 12—13 in. (= 30,4—33 cm).

Ι	ΚΙΔΩΡΟΣ	σίδαρος
Κ	ΚΑΡΥΟΣΑΡΟΛ	Κάρνος Ἀπόλ-
Λ	ΛΩΝΙΕΥΧΗΝ	λωνι ἐχὴν.

The dedicants of Nos. 1 and 2 seem to be father and son.

3. Rectangular block of stone; length 3 ft. (= 91 cm); depth 2 ft. 2 in. (= 66 cm); length 10 in. (= 25 cm). The inscription is on one of the narrow sides.

ΝΙΚΟΔΗΜΟΣ	ΥΙΟΙ	ΚΑΡΥΟΣΑΡΟΛΛΩΝΙ
ΣΙΑ		[ΕΥ]ΧΗΝ

--- Νικόδημος υἱὸν Κάρνος Ἀπόλλωνι
--- σία [εὐ]χὴν.

The inscription is incomplete on the left; the remainder was probably engraved on another block which has not been found. In line 1 one or more brothers of Nikodemus were mentioned.

4. Scratched on the dress of a badly preserved, headless statue (rather over life-size), near the knee, ΚΑΡΥΣ, i. e. the word *Κάρνος* in the nominative. This is the fourth instance of the occurrence at Voni of this hitherto unknown proper name.

5. and 6. Quadrangular basis; length 2 ft. 8 in. (= 80 cm); depth 1 ft. 8 in. (= 51 cm); height 10 in. (= 25 cm). The two inscriptions are engraved on the front at the same level; each inscription has corresponding to it a quadrangular depression on the upper surface, meant to receive a statue.

5.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΕΥΧΗΝΙΟΑΡΧΟΣ	Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχὴν Ζόαρχος
ΥΠΕΡΜΗΝΗΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΤΟΥ	ὑπὲρ Μηνηκράτους τοῦ
ΥΙΟΥΕΝΤΥ ΧΗΙ	υἱοῦ ἐν τύχη.

6.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΕΥΧΗΝΤΙΜΟΚΡΑΤΗΣ	Ἀπόλλωνι ἐχὴν Τιμοκράτης
ΥΠΕΡΟΝΑΣΙΟΡΟΥΤΟΥΙΟΥ	ὑπὲρ Ὀνασιόρου το(ῦ) υἱοῦ
ΕΙΤΥΧΗΙ	εἰ[ν] τύχη.

In No. 5 l. 3, the stone was already damaged when the inscription was engraved. The names *Ζόαρχος* and *Μηνηκράτης* are new.

7. Fragments of a rude stone vase standing on a low foot; it may have served to certain holy-water. It was built into the Altar (A on the plan, Pl. V) the inscribed side being concealed. The fragmentary inscription is on the outer side of the body of the vase.

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣΙΕΡΕ	Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερ[ε]ως.
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8. Quadrangular basis; length 10 in. (= 25 cm); depth 6 in. (= 15 cm); height 4 in. (= about 10 cm); damaged.

ΑΙΑΘΗΤΥΧΗΙ	Ἀ[γ]αθῆ(τ) Τύχη
ΚΡΑΤΕΙΑΑΓΟΡΙΑΑΙ	Κράτεια Ἀγορία Ἀ[ρ]-
ΤΕΜΙΔΙΕΥΧ	τέμιδι ἐχ[ή]ν.

This stone was built into the southern wall of the square altar-enclosure (at the spot marked Ar. Jn. on Pl. V.) and, in this case also the inscription was concealed.

9. The inscription, well preserved with the exception of one or two indistinct letters, is tolerably well engraved on a triangular, wedge-shaped, blackish stone (Diorite?), quite unhewn and formed thus by nature; height (in its longest axis) about 5 in (= 12,5 cm). I describe this stone and the circumstances under which it was found in greater detail in the Chapter relating to Stone-worship.

Λ Γ Γ Ο Ρ Ρ Ι Α Ι Ο Ι Θ Ι Α Σ Ο Σ
 Τ Η Σ Α Ρ Ο Ο Κ Ε Υ Η Σ
 Ε Θ Υ Σ Ε Ν Τ Ο Ι Ε Ρ Ε Ο Ν
 Λ Δ Τ Ο Ι Ε Ρ Ε Ο Ν Θ Θ Ι Α
 5 Σ Ο Ο Σ Τ Ω Ν Η Δ Υ Λ Λ Ι Ω Ν
 Λ Ε Θ Θ Ι Α Σ Ο Ο Σ Τ Ω
 Κ Ι Σ Α Ω Ν Τ Ο Ι Ε Ρ Ε Ο Ν

Λ Γ Γορπιαῖοι θίασος
 τῆς ἀποσκευῆς
 ἔθυσεν τὸ ἱερόν.
 Λ Δ τὸ ἱερόν ὁ θία-
 σος τῶν ἡδονλλίων.
 Λ Ε ὁ θίασος τῶ[ν]
 Κισάων τὸ ἱερόν.

Γορπιαῖος (Banquet-month) is the name of a Cyprian month falling in August and September.

10. Female torso; the head and the legs from the knees downwards are missing; height 3 ft 5 in (= 1,04 m); draped in an inner and outer garment both clinging to the limbs; the outer garment leaves the right shoulder free; the treatment of the draperies in Egyptian; the arms hang down at the sides; the right hands holds a holy-water sprinkler. A little below the missing left hand a small nearly square tablet width $3\frac{1}{4}$ in = 8.3 cm., height $3\frac{1}{2}$ in = 9,2 cm.) is carved on the thigh; we may suppose it to have been carried in the left hand by means of a handle or cord. On this tablet is engraved the inscription in Cyprian syllabary; beyond one or two perhaps doubtful characters, it is in excellent preservation.

R. Meister*) reads the inscription as follow:

Γιλ(λ)ία ἀμὲ | καὶ ἔστασε | ὁ Σιασιζ | ρέτεος.

The name *Γιλλίνας* or *Γιλλίνα*, which occurs also in other Cyprian inscriptions, is Phoenician.

The sanctuary was therefore consecrated in the first place to Apollo. In his retinue, but quite subordinate to him, appears his sister Artemis. I will return to this question when I discuss the statues.

No. 3. Taking leave of Voni, we will now turn our steps inland towards the central district of the island, the kingdom of Idalion and its capital of the same name. Idalion will be found a little to the S.W. of a direct line drawn from Larnaka (Kition) to Nicosia (Ledrai), and about half way between the two.

Plate II shows the position of the ancient town Idalion and of the modern more northerly village of Dali, which, for Cyprus, is a flourishing place and lies in the midst of well watered gardens. No. 36 here marks the position of our site 3.

Plate III exhibits on a larger scale the ancient Idalion.

The interesting temenos lies to the N. of the old town, on the river of Dali (in which that excellent traveller and archaeologist L Ross**) rightly recognised the ancient Satrachos), and close to one of the last houses of the more compact north-westerly portion of the village. Further to the N., N.W., and W., the irrigated gardens and fields on both sides of the stream are dotted with

*) Die griechischen Dialekte. Band 2. Göttingen 1889; p. 169. Cp. now Hoffmann, Die griechischen Dialekte. p. 46.

**) Reisen nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos und der Insel Cypem. Halle 1852. p. 102.

houses and farms. The land in which our temenos was found is itself part of this garden-land, called by the peasants *περβολία*, i. e. gardens.

Plate XVI gives a view of part of the excavations and the neighbourhood of the river bed, taken from the S. E. The land is owned by two people: the northern strip, behind the fig tree in the middle, belongs to Philippi Michaili, the somewhat higher ground on the south to Giorgi Pieri. At point *hy* on Pl. VII the virgin soil was reached at the maximum depth of 5 feet (or $1\frac{1}{2}$ m.) In a later chapter it will be shewn that the greater height of the rubbish-layer in Giorgi Pieri's land contributes to demonstrate the existence of a roofed building.

Plate VII gives a carefully made plan of the whole temenos, after it had been laid bare. I convinced myself, by digging trenches or sinking shafts all round, that there was no hope of finding anything else in the way of antiquities, walls, or traces of sacrifice. The site was accidentally discovered in the spring of 1883 by labourers who were digging a ditch round the garden-land. The peasants at once began to rummage, but, in my then capacity of Superintendent of Excavations to the Cyprus Museum, I succeeded in having the ringleader brought to justice.*) At the same time, I confiscated the things which had been found and brought them to the Museum. When I went to Europe in 1884, I proposed the site to various Museums and Scientific Institutes in Berlin, Paris, and London, but with no result.**) On my return, I persuaded Mr. C. Watkins, then manager of the Ottoman Bank in Larnaka, to supply the funds for the excavation, and set to work in February 1885. Following sections of this work will contain a more detailed account of the rich results of this excavation. By the old Turkish law relating to antiquities, which still holds good in Cyprus, one third of the finds belongs to the government, one third to the proprietor, and one third to the excavator. Mr. Watkins, by my advice, bought up, at a small cost, the rights of the proprietor and those of the government, and had therefore only to give up a few duplicates to the Island Museum. After I had vainly attempted to dispose of the great mass of the finds in London, I secured for them a home in the Museum of Berlin.

No inscriptions were discovered; but the numerous finds point clearly to the temenos having been consecrated to Astarte-Aphrodite.

On Pl. XIII are illustrations of four heads (two terracotta and two stone) from life-size statues found here.***)

No. 4. We will now quit Idalion, and, journeying due west, reach, at a distance of 10 miles in a direct line, the region of the ancient Tamassos. This district, so populous in early times owing to its copper-mines and the fertility of the soil, is now occupied by the villages of Pera, Politiko, Episkopio, Kambia, Kappedhes and Analyonda. The ancient town of the 6th and 7th centuries B. C. lay between Pera and Politiko. In my work on Tamassos I will publish a large scale map of the district, indicating the ancient settlements, necropoleis, holy places &c.

I examined the ground here practically, with pick and shovel, for the first time in 1885, on my own account; and, having convinced myself of the importance of this almost virgin site, I begged

*) See my article in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 1886: "Das Museum und die Ausgrabungen auf Cypern seit 1878", I.

***) S. Reinach. *Chron. d'Or* p. 190 [5², 356—7].

***) Reinach, *Chron. d'Or* p. 189—197 [5, 356—62]; he there gives illustrations of five statues.

first Col. F. Warren, then Chief Secretary, and afterwards Mr. Watkins to apply to the Government for permission to excavate at, and near, Tamassos. I began by working for Col. Warren and found the large, richly ornamented, vase of which an illustration will be given below.*)

While engaged in excavating for Col. Warren, I heard that a shepherd, tending his flocks, had lighted on a pile of ancient statues in a valley called Frangissa, between the villages of Pera, Kambia and Analygonda (at no great distance from the last). The credit opened for me by Col. Warren was almost exhausted, and his instructions were that I was to find for him only good Greek things and good Greek glass. At the close of Col. Warren's excavations, I had engaged to go to Amathus for Mr. Watkins. The shepherd's chance discovery and my own examination of the place induced me to write to Mr. Watkins asking him to take out his permit for Tamassos instead of Amathus; but he happened to be then absent at Beirut in Syria, and my letter was delayed. On my communicating to Col. Warren my project of excavating Frangissa for Mr. Watkins and the high expectations I entertained with regard to the site, he begged me to proceed at once to dig there for himself, his own permit for Tamassos not having expired, and Mr. Watkins having none. I was still awaiting a reply from Mr. Watkins, for whom I was anxious to reserve the site; it was now the middle of October; the rains were imminent; the place in question was on the banks of a torrent, far away from all roads, and the soil was stiff. Col. Warren was Chief-Secretary to the Government and Hon. Keeper of the Museum. I was at once his private agent, and Superintendent of Excavations for both the Government and the Museum. My choice lay between excavating the site at once for Col. Warren and letting the work stand over until April or May 1886. I was too well aware that, unless the excavations were taken in hand at once, by next spring little or nothing would be left to find. I knew that the peasants, having once got wind of the place, would ransack it, smash most things, and sell to the first dealer or amateur such objects as to their eyes seemed valuable. My preliminary investigation had told me that unique results were to be expected. I had observed that, owing partly to a landslip, and partly to the action of the torrent when swollen by the winter rains, the statues, many of them still in situ, were covered by a deposit which attained a depth of almost two metres, and, under the circumstances, it was possible that colossal statues still erect might be found. It was clear, from the nature and circumstances of the finds made on the spot discovered by the shepherd, that we had just struck one end of the space containing votive offerings; here, it seemed, stood the altar with its layer of ashes crowded with such objects and reaching to a much greater depth. I further saw, from the quantity of the finds, and their modelling and colouring, that the temenos must have been founded at least as early as the sixth century B. C. Here was, obviously, an important place of worship, where one could count upon finding interesting Phoenician and Greek inscriptions, and good votive bronzes.

Under these circumstances, I decided to excavate the place for Col. Warren, rather than let it be for ever lost to Science.***) I contemplated offering to Mr. Watkins, in compensation, a temenos-site at Amathus which I had rented at my own risk, as well as other important ground (the right

*) S. Reinach, *Chron. d'Or.* p. 293—300 [7, 76—82]. I hear quite recently from Dümmler that the vase is now in the British Museum.

**) As was, to a very great extent, the case with regard to the temenos at Limniti (*infr.* No. 52), where the English found that most things had been destroyed, broken, or abstracted, by the peasants.

to excavate in which I had also secured in my own name and at my own expense) at Poli tis Chrysokhu, where I felt sure of finding tombs of good Greek period containing objects of value. I therefore wrote to Col. Warren telling him that I would, although I was a little averse to it, excavate Frangissa for him, and prophesying the discovery of most interesting Phoenician and Cyprian inscriptions. At that date no inscribed fragments had been found. I began the work on the 17th of October 1885, carried it out as rapidly as possible owing to the lateness of the season, and finished on the 2nd of November. The finds exceeded even the high expectations I had formed.

The plan of the temenos is given on Pl. VI. My work on Tamassos will contain a series of good illustrations of the highly interesting sculptures, and a second publication by J. Euting and W. Deecke of the two bilingual Phoenician and Cyprian inscriptions.*)

I had at once set to work to make a road across the torrent-bed, through a vineyard and up a hill to the nearest highway, and had just completed the transport from Frangissa to Nicosia of the numerous statues, some of them colossal, when, two days afterwards, the rains began. The excavation, and especially the transport of these heavy objects, would have been now impossible, as the carts, oxen, and camels would have sunk into the ground.

During these 18 days, occupied as I was besides in building the road, I had to draw up a detailed description of the finds. I was at the same time obliged to watch the work from daylight to dark, and to go over, assisted by a trained workman, the very numerous fragments, in order to pick out pieces which could be connected and discard what was of no worth. Many bits had to be cleaned and put together on the spot, as it would have been scarcely possible at a later date to discover their points of connection, and without cleaning and treatment with acids, valuable painted fragments might well have escaped the most practised eye. I had to be content with making an exact general plan, and inserting the most important finds; in this task I was, on the last Sunday, personally assisted by Col. Warren himself. Every stone of any significance, and all the bases of statues entered in the plan, are drawn to scale, and this holds good for all my other plans: most accurate measurements were everywhere taken.

Unfortunately, want of time and money did not allow me in October to carry the excavation further north, where probing trenches and shafts had convinced me that walls existed of considerable thickness, and of a better construction than the wall, already excavated, enclosing the space in which the votive offerings stood.

It was still more regrettable that, although I had my photographic apparatus with me, I had no money to obtain from Nicosia silver and collodion, my stock of which was exhausted (I at that time used the wet process). All that I had saved from my salary had gone towards working up in scientific form the results of my excavations, a task for which neither the Museum nor individuals would pay me; I had even contracted debts in the cause of science. My urgent representations to Col. Warren that he should give me the means of making photographs had no result: he was only concerned for antiquities which could be easily transported, and would find a ready sale. Consequently he would not, owing to the expense, allow me to pull down the peribolos-wall of the temenos, but ordered me to proceed at once to level the ground, as we were bound to do by the terms of

*) The Tamassos finds in general will only be sufficiently discussed here to give completeness to the present picture of the ancient worships. A monograph on Tamassos will appear next year.

our contract with the proprietor Gianni Krasopoulos of Pera. Although I received these instructions on the spot from Col. Warren on November 1st, I, nevertheless, proceeded on the following day to carefully demolish the walls. We have already seen at Voni, how two inscriptions were there built into the wall, with the inscribed face turned inwards, and I looked for something similar at Frangissa. In pulling down the walls in defiance of Col. Warren's orders, the great bilingual inscription was found on the South side at the point Jn., built in with the inscribed side concealed: the smaller bilinguis had been previously discovered inside the enclosure at the point Jn². Such are the facts; and it is clear that Col. Warren had little share in the discovery of the temenos of Apollo-Resef.*) In addition to the two bilingues, I found the fragment of a dedication to Apollo in ordinary Greek characters. The inscription is cut in one line round the edge of a large stone "benitier." This was found inside the enclosure, about the middle, a little to the N. of the terracotta colossus.

But, as I have said, the larger of the two altar-shaped marble cubes, with the longer and more perfect inscription, would have been lost to the world, had I followed Col. Warren's instructions. I have felt much hurt by his having represented himself as the discoverer of the inscription and the temenos, making not the slightest mention of myself.**)

The temenos at Frangissa is the only one yet known in Cyprus, where life-size and colossal statues with their heads on have been found erect in situ. To mention a few examples. —

In the small enclosure at the south end a life-size archaic stone statue was found in situ on the stone NA (Pl. VI). Almost in the centre of the main enclosure, on the stone slab C, stood the largest of the archaic terracotta colossi; the upper portion of this statue had, however, owing to cracks, been a little jammed into the middle part in a vertical direction. The head was on the body, but as there were other cracks in the neck, I was obliged to take the whole out piece-meal. Numbers of other statues of various sizes were lying in rows where they had fallen when the landslip did its work of destruction.

Unhappily these splendid discoveries — discoveries the like of which had never been made, and will never perhaps be made again, in Cyprus — were the means of causing a very regrettable lawsuit in the Insular Court at Nicosia between Col. Warren and Mr. Watkins, in which I was the principal witness. Mr. Watkins was the only person in Cyprus who had supplied the means for excavating on a somewhat generous scale and had allowed me freedom to do or leave undone what I thought fit. The best proof of this lies in the model excavation at Dali (No. 3).

The action Watkins v. Warren was also the means of preventing me from drawing up in Nicosia a detailed description of the finds. By an order of the Court the antiquities were removed

*) Reinach, *Chron. d'Or*, p. 300—302 [7, 81—4]: *Sitzungsberichte der K. Preuss. Akad. der Wiss.*, 1887, p. 115—123, "Zwei bilingue Inschriften aus Tamassos. Von Jul. Euting and W. Deecke." My plan (our Pl. VI) is there reproduced on a smaller scale.

***) The Cyprus Museum. "A bilingual inscription (Phoenician and Kypriote). Recently discovered near the ancient town of Tamassos, Cyprus, during excavations carried out by Colonel Falk. Warren R. A." *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* for December 1886 and January 1887. "Phoenician and Cypriote Inscriptions. By professor W. Wright, P. Le Page Renouf and P. Berger." A correction of mine is printed in the following number (February 1887).

Cp. also *Mémoire sur deux nouvelles inscriptions Phéniciennes de l'île de Chypre* par M. Philippe Berger. (Paris 1887). p. 1: "Vers la fin de novembre 1886, M. Renan eut connaissance par une lettre de M. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, de la découverte de deux nouvelles inscriptions bilingues, phéniciennes et cypriotes qui avaient été trouvées à Tamasus, près de l'autel à bruler, dans le temenos d'Apollon."

from my house. As in spite of my protest, no trained workman (not even one of those who had taken part in the excavations) was present on the occasion of their removal, the connection of many pieces was lost, and it was afterwards found impossible to fit the largest terracotta head on to its body. Such is, in brief, the true and melancholy story of the excavations.

The neighbourhood of Frangissa is one of the most picturesque in the island. It lies on one of the northern spurs of Mt. Machairas. The gentle upper slopes are broken by terraces of rock, furrowed and pierced by deep chasms, and at the foot a sheer precipice descends into the great plain.

I will give some views of the neighbourhood in my work on Tamassos.

With Nos. 5 and 6, two places of worship which I excavated in 1889 for the Berlin Museum, I will not deal here at any length, as they, like No. 4, will be dealt with in the special work.

No. 5. By this I designate a sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods, certified as such by epigraphical evidence. I discovered it just inside the northern city-wall of Tamassos, to the N. of the village of Politiko, and to the S. of Pera and the river Pidas (the Pedaios of the ancients), which passes between the two villages. This, the chief stream of the island, has a general northerly course, and the ancient town of Tamassos lies on its left bank nearer Politiko than the temenos. I found the remains of walls which had belonged either to a house or to a primitive sanctuary. Of these I made a plan and section. At present, I will only say that the votive offerings, chiefly statues, were lying in a deep shaft-like cutting on the western side of the temenos. The above-mentioned fragment of a dedication, also found in this cutting, is on the upper edge of a fictile vessel, which had evidently been used for lustral purposes.

No. 6 is another temenos discovered, like the last, at Tamassos in 1889. It lies about a thousand metres further north, close to the left bank, and partly in the present bed, of the river. By the help of the villagers, I was successful in finding the spot, where, a few years before Ludwig Ross's visit,*) a life-size (probably archaic) statue was found, chopped up by the peasants, and sold for old bronze. The head is said to have been preserved and to have found its way to England, but its present abode, if it exists, is unknown. I certified by an excavation, begun on a large scale, that here, at flood-mark on the left bank of the stream, a large temenos consecrated to Apollo existed in ancient times. It contained gigantic stone statues. I found one of these, headless and damaged, but measuring 3,57 by 1,30 metres, as well as fragments of bronze statues over life-size, and two bronze statuettes. The largest of the latter is rather more than 26 cm. in height, and is now one of the treasures of the Berlin Museum. It is of archaic Cyprian workmanship: in the modelling of the face one can already trace the expression of an archaic Greek art that is just beginning to evolve itself independently.

The excavations here begun on the 3rd of October 1889. Unfortunately the rainy season arrived much earlier than usual, and ushered itself in by a deluge which put an abrupt end to our work. Although I was not yet able to fix the precise limits of the votive area, enough antiquities had been found in the stratum excavated to make a resumption of the works desirable.

Inscriptions of great value and important bronzes were, doubtless, still underground; but as yet, no inscription had come to light. I had 100 men working for me, but the excavations had only continued for 16 days.

*) Inselreisen IV (Cypern), p. 161.

The scenery of the valley in which the temenos lies is of a character to charm the beholder. The fertile fields and luxuriant olive-woods form a rich contrast to the steep and barren mountain-slopes above.

I have here, as a first instalment of the documents at my disposal, given some account of six sites, at all of which I made important discoveries. Five of these had been scarcely touched before; at Voni alone had extensive depredations gone on. In addition to these six sites, I was enabled to examine closely no less than forty-six others, and to dig in most of them. Of others I had word; Hogarth's *Devia Cypria**) added six to my list; the Excavations of the Cyprus Exploration Fund at Salamis an additional five.**) The list comprises in all 72 examples, and in the text I shall have to speak of some further sites not contained therein. This material is so extensive, that it enables us, on many points, to reach sure conclusions, claiming to possess permanent value.

No. 7. Kition. Temenos of Artemis Paralia, as shown by inscriptions***); near Larnaka, on the eastern edge of the salt lake; repeatedly examined by me in 1879. I dug there, and found that the site had been terribly ransacked.

No. 8. Kition. Hillock with temenos, which a series of inscriptions show to have been consecrated to Ešmūn-Melqart. It is situated in the salt lake, on a tongue of land which projects for a considerable distance from its western bank. I examined it in 1879. It is easily recognisable in Colonna Ceccaldi's (very incomplete) plan of Larnaka and environs†), and has been also correctly described and distinguished from the foregoing by Isaac H. Hall.††) It is, therefore, surprising that L. Heuzey mixes up the two sites, and converts them into a "monte testaccio" containing vast quantities of worthless ex-votos.†††)

No. 9. Kition. Sanctuary of Astarte on the Acropolis or harbour-fortress, between Old Larnaka and the modern Skala. My assignment of the temenos to Astarte, resting on no epigraphical evidence§), was subsequently confirmed by two Phoenician inscriptions. I watched the removal of the hill, made photographs and measurements of the works which were being demolished, and drew for the Government a still unpublished plan. I also published in the *Graphic* §§) sketches of the architectural and other finds.

No. 10. Achna. In addition to the temenos described above (No. 1), a second primitive sanctuary, yielding somewhat similar finds, came to light further east, on a gentle slope in the river valley. I made some further excavations there and found, inter alia, a most interesting very old terracotta statuette of Artemis-Kybele, now in the British Museum.

*) London 1889. P. 66, 71 and 83.

**) *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* XII (1891), p. 59-198.

***) Cesnola-Stern, p. 56. L. P. di Cesnola confuses Demeter with Artemis. See Al. P. di Cesnola, *Salamina*. p. 95.

†) *Monuments antiques de Chypre de Syrie et d'Egypte.* (Paris 1882), p. 17-19. *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.* Nos. 23-28.

††) On the Phoenician inscriptions of the Cesnola Collection in New-York. (*Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, October 1883. CLXVI.)

†††) I have not the reference to Heuzey's work. I read of it in an American periodical.

§) *Ausland* 1879, p. 970 sq. *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*, p. 92-99 and Nos. 86. A and B. Reinach. *Chron. d'Or*, p. 176 [5², 346-7.]

§§) London 1880.

No. 11. Also near Achna, but more in the direction of Avgoru, on the rocky plain above the ravine. The same class of finds as at Nos. 1 and 10, pointing to Artemis. I examined the site in 1882. Not distant is Vrisudi, the property of Mr. M. Westorf.

No. 12. Between Achna and Xylo timbo, on ferruginous soil. The finds show that Apollo was here worshipped in conjunction with Artemis. I dug here also in 1882.

No. 13. Close to the village of Xylo timbo, by the threshing-floor: examined at the same date as the last: Artemis-finds like those of Nos. 1, 10 and 11.

No. 14. At a place called Pharangas, between Achna and Akhyritou, and N.E. of the former. Here Alexander di Cesnola's workman discovered an Artemis-Kybele temenos, equalling our No. 1 on the extent and value of its finds, which now form one of the attractions of the Cyprian collection in the British Museum.*) Alex. di Cesnola seems throughout his book "Salamina," to have ticketed the Pharangas finds as Salamis finds. Figs. 196 (p. 191), 198 (p. 193), 201 (p. 195), 206 (p. 202), 213 and 214 (p. 224) are obviously all from Pharangas, for I found at Achna (No. 1) the same types, exactly corresponding as regards style, technique, material, colouring, and dimensions. My own researches with the spade on the site converted my suspicion into certainty, and enough yet remains there to enable others to judge of our respective accuracy.**) I will deal with this question at greater length when I come to speak of the statues.

No. 15 is a site Ormidhia, on the coast to the South of Achna and Xylo timbo. I found, in digging here in 1882, a terracotta statuette of a man with a little ox under his arm, together with a few other votive figures. The name of the god is uncertain.

No. 16. At Cap Greco, the ancient Pedalion, on the level "col" at the foot of the summit, are the remains of a large temenos, and many stone figures, some larger than life. Mr. Dörpfeld and I discovered the place in 1890.***)

No. 17. South of the great tumulus in the plain of Salamis. I dug here in 1879 and 1880. Aphrodite with the tympanon, evidently an Aphrodite-Kybele, was worshipped here. The site has suffered much.†

No. 18. Near Arsos, east of Tremithousha, west-south-west of Salamis. The ancient word ἄλσος "holy grove" has survived in the name of the modern village.††) To the N.E. of the village are the remains of a temenos dedicated to a male divinity. I investigated the spot in 1883. A small bronze votive ox, and a small bronze group of a man leading an ox to sacrifice (now in the Louvre had been found here by the peasants. I discovered, among other things, fragments of figures representing Geryon, who often in Cyprus appears as a companion of Apollo.†††)

*) No. 1 supra.

**) The terracottas figured and described by Cesnola in *Salamina*, come, however, as he says (p. 222 "from Salamis and other Cyprian sites," so the figures here mentioned have not a false attribution, in as much as they have none.

***) The colossal head of Aphrodite-Kybele, now in the Berlin Museum (Cesnola-Stern, pl. XXXIX, 1 and p. 159) probably comes from here. I have said something of this holy hill of Aphrodite in the *Berl. Philol. Wochenschr.*, 1891, p. 962-963.

†) *Chron. d'Or.*, p. 181 [5², 349-50.]

††) There is another village of the same name, high up in the mountains in the western part of the island.

†††) Cesnola-Stern, pl. XXXIV, 1.

No. 19. Near Marathovouno, north of Arsos, north-west of Salamis, nearly due east of Nicosia. Some peasants commenced digging here in 1890. I proceeded to the spot and examined the site. A male divinity, probably Apollo, and numerous helmeted figures came to light.

No. 20. Near Goshi,*) about nine miles from Larnaka in a north-westerly direction, on the Nicosia road. I took both Dümmler and Furtwängler up to see this wonderful "place of worship" situated on a steep hill-side in the midst of beautiful mountain scenery. In the days of Turkish rule valuable finds were made here and sold to the Consuls in Larnaka. The grove was consecrated primarily to Apollo. The ground falls so rapidly that we can scarcely suppose there was a building, unless an artificial terrace had been formed.

The work of destruction and depredation that has gone on here is indescribable. The ground on every side is thickly strewn with the remains of smashed statues (some of great size), stone bases, and quantities of small terracotta fragments. The chief divinity was evidently the martial Apollo. Here, just as in the sanctuary of this god at Frangissa near Tamassos, numerous terracottas representing chariots in combat had been dedicated. Here too, as at Frangissa, and in the older of the two Apollo groves at Athienu, whence L. di Cesnola obtained his most important statues, by the side of Apollo stands first Herakles-Melqart. I discovered a fragment of the upper portion of the head of a stone statue somewhat larger than life, which shows the same design and the same tendency of style as Cesnola's Herakles-Melqart statue (Cesnola-Stern, pl. XXIII). Next in rank to Apollo and Herakles we find at Goshi the seated Baal-Hammon-Zeus. Such was also the case at Frangissa.

No. 21. A temenos, of which little now remains, on an eminence between Nicosia and the nearest village to the South, Ayios Omologitades. The site is now occupied by the English church. A Greek church, dedicated to I know not whom of their saints, is said to have formerly stood on the spot, and until a few years ago, the ground was still looked upon as consecrated, and on certain occasions candles were lit, and service performed. In digging the foundations for the Protestant church, the workmen came upon stone statues and ancient votive offerings, as well as large Hellenistic draped statues of good treatment, portions of an older chariot combat executed in stone, and fragments of columns.**)

No. 22. To the W. of the ancient Chytroi (now Ayios Dimitrianos), between it and the modern Kythraea, is a temenos, shown by more than one inscription to have been dedicated to (Aphrodite) Paphia. It is situated on a considerable hill commanding a splendid view. Although already, in Cesnola's time the ground had been thoroughly ransacked, I succeeded in digging up some very important terracotta fragments, among them a life-size head, and the upper two thirds of a large statuette: they are now in the Cyprus Museum.***) Both represent Aphrodite: the statuette is nude, and wears a nose-ring. These statues (as far as the style, my notes of other similar discoveries, and my general knowledge permit me to judge), date, in part at least, from as early as the end of the 7th, or beginning of the 6th, century B. C.

L. P. di Cesnola had obtained from this site eleven Cyprian inscriptions, all of them dedi-

*) Kosci in Reinach, Chron. d'Or, p. 175 [5² 345-6].

***) Described by me in the "Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft IX, 1886, p. 206.

***) Reinach, Chron. d'Or, p. 187 [5, 534-5].

cations to the goddess of Paphos, the Paphia, as Aphrodite is here, in most cases, briefly styled; one other is published by Deecke, Hall, and Meister;*) A. di Cesnola contributes two more.**) I found two others (now in the Cyprus Museum). In 14 out of the 16 she is called "Paphia" or "Paphian Goddess"; one gives the full name "Paphian Aphrodite";***) in another all that remains of her name is A.

No. 24. At the S. W. corner of the upper portion of the town of Chytroi, and within the walls, I made in 1883 some excavations for the Cyprus Museum in an Aphrodite-temenos, which had been much ransacked at an earlier date. Here groups of woman dancing round a sacred tree are of frequent occurrence. The objects discovered — they are now exhibited in the Museum at Nicosia — prove that, by the side of Astarte-Aphrodite, Tammuz-Adonis was especially venerated here.

Nos. 25 and 26. Two primitive sanctuaries or holy groves of Apollo, near Athiænou, at a place called Hag. Photios. The two sites excavated are several hundred metres apart,†) and between them is a hill. The older and more wealthy temenos lies to the S. W., near the ruined church of Hag. Photios visible to the N. The later temenos, with work of a more Greek character and of the 4th and later centuries, lies eastward of the church and at a somewhat greater distance from the village of Athiænou. I took Messr. Dümmler, Furtwängler, Oberhammer and Dörpfeld to see this place. There are enough fragments lying about to make both sites recognizable, but excavation would reveal much more. When I first visited the site, and also on the occasion when I visited it with Dümmler, I was accompanied by the late Andreas Vondiziano, the supervisor — I may say the conductor — of Cesnola's excavations, and Georgi Sotiri of Athiænou, one of those who was present when the colossal head was found. Dümmler questioned these people in Greek. The later eastern temenos, lying, as I have said, to the east of the hill, formed a tetragon 18 metres by 9, and was surrounded by a peribolos-wall of quarried stones and boulders about 3 feet in height. Nearly in the middle of the western side of this rough enclosing wall, and facing the slope, we observed an opening resembling a gate; according to Vondiziano a few rude stone steps lead from this gate down into the votive area. There were also entrances on the North and on the East. It is probable — I should say certain — that similar rude walls once enclosed the other more important western temenos lying to the S. W. of the hill and nearer to the ruined church. The peasants had here been at work ere Cesnola came, and the excavations made at Cesnola's expense consisted only of burrowing holes in the find-stratum after the fashion of moles. The later eastern site has been since levelled and for

*) I follow the excellent guidance of the American scholar, J. H. Hall, who tentatively corrects the earlier editors in the Journal of the American Oriental Society XI, 1885, p. 210–214, Nos. 1–14, "Inscriptions from Kythraea." There are eleven Cyprian dedicatory inscriptions in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York; a twelfth (Deecke No. 13) comes also from Kythraea-Chytroi, but is not in New York.

**) Salamina, p. 84–86, figs. 78 and 79. The inscriptions are there stated to have been found at Cerina (Kerynia?), but there is no doubt that they came from our site at Chytroi.

***) Nos. 1 and 2 first published by Pieridis in the "Cyprus Museum" 1883; republished, with improved readings, by Meister. Die griechischen Dialekte, II, p. 168.

†) "According to Ceccaldi 200 metres, according to Cesnola 200 yards." So Holwerda: Die alten Kyprier in Kunst und Cultus, p. 1. — The first to recognise in the two sites *Τεμένη* of Apollo was R. Neubauer in his essay: Die angebliche Aphroditetempel zu Golgoi und die daselbst gefundenen Inschriften in kyprischer Schrift, (Comm. philol. in honorem Theod. Mommsen, Berlin 1887, p. 673–693). For dove-priests and dove-sacrifices, which testify neither for nor against Apollo, see below.

long cultivated, but this is not the case with the western site — the site which has given us the priest with the pigeon, the colossal head, the Herakles*) &c. One can still see the row of enormous mole-hills here, just like those which testify to the excavations at the temenos of Artemis-Paralia by the salt lake near Larnaka (our No. 7).

No. 27. I mention next in order a holy grove which I have not yet personally examined. It is in the neighbourhood of Pyla, and Mr. Lang obtained some valuable finds from it. The inscriptions tell us that it was dedicated to Apollo Magirios: Apollo is the chief figure of a group of divinities comprising Herakles, Pan (ithyphallic) and Artemis. There were found here numerous terracotta statuettes of single dancing priestesses, and stone groups of priestesses dancing in a circle round the sacred cypress tree.**)

Nos. 28—38. From Idalion in addition to No. 3, I can cite no fewer than eleven other examples of holy groves or simple altars.—

No. 28. Grove or altar of the Idalian Anat-Athene, attested by inscriptions; situated on the hill now called Ambilleri—the westernmost of the two Akropolis summits and the chief Akropolis of Idalion. See on Pl. III the points marked 2 and 3, and Ambilleri on Pl. II. Here, affixed to some portion of the temenos or perhaps simply to a tree, was the perforated bronze tablet with the long Cyprian inscription, now in the Cabinet des médailles in Paris and known to scholars as the Luynes tablet. Close at hand, certainly inside the sacred precinct of Athene (perhaps within the walls of a roughly built chamber) were stored votive offerings of price—a number of silver paterae, and bronze weapons: such of these as survive are also in Paris. Inscribed on one of the bronze objects, which may be either the handle of a sceptre, a club, or part of a carriage, is a dedication in Cyprian syllabary to the Athene of Idalion.***) A portion of a cuirass found in the same place bears a short Phoenician inscription:†) it belonged to a cuirass similar to one found by me in 1889 in excavating for the Berlin Museum which the circumstances of its discovery show to belong to the sixth century B. C. The great inscription (of such value for the list of the Phoenician kings of Kition and Idalion), found in 1887 by myself and Mr. Evstathios Konstantinides (a Greek gentleman educated in Germany), is a dedication to the goddess Anat, who is evidently to be identified with the Greek Athene.††) This inscription was built into the wall of a small Greek church (9 church on Pl. III), constructed on the former city wall of the lower town of Idalion. We may assume with some approach to certainty that this block of marble belongs to the temenos of Athene on the Akropolis, and was brought down to be used in building the church. The inscription, which is Phoenician, tells us that an object of beaten copper was dedicated to Anat, but the word statue is avoided, and while, in almost all other cases, *τεμένη* and the precincts of altars are crowded with terracotta, stone, and bronze figures, their frequency being in most places still attested by the numerous fragments lying on the surface of the abandoned excavation sites, here, on the spot where the bronze tablets with Cyprian inscrip-

*) Cesnola-Stern, Pls. XXI, 1, XXII, XXIII and XXIV.

***) G. Colonna Ceccaldi, *Monuments antiques de Chypre, de Syrie et d'Égypte* (Paris 1882), p. 21. Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, p. 26

***) For further details see my notice in *The Owl* p. 46–47, and Perrot & Chipiez III, p. 772, 779, 866–869

†) Perrot & Chipiez III, Fig. 348. (p. 494)—the bronze object with Cyprian inscription Fig. 633 (p. 867)—the bronze piece of a cuirass with Phoenician inscription.

††) See below, No. 61 Bilingual Anat-Athene at Larnaka tou Lapithou.

tions were found, statuary fragments are wholly absent. Below we shall meet with an aniconic spring- and tree-worship at Lithrodonda (No. 42). We may well assume, in the present case also, the existence of a fortified summit, consecrated to Anat-Athene, where no votive statues were erected, but beasts were sacrificed, and paterae, arms, and inscribed tablets of metal were dedicated.*) There was never here, at any time, any kind of image-worship.

We cannot help recalling the sanctuary of Athene Telchinia at Teumessos in Boeotia, where, as Pausanias expressly tells us,**) there was no image. "We might conjecture" adds Pausanias "as regards the name, that Cyprian Telchines had emigrated to Boeotia and there founded the temple of their Athene. The absence of all idolatry is also characteristic of the oldest findstratum at Olympia, as Furtwängler in his „Bronzefunden von Olympia“ (p. 32) first pointed out. He there cites Cyprus as a parallel and refers both to Cesnola's finds and to the sanctuary excavated by Lang (No. 37 in the present list). I will recur to this subject below.

Nos. 29 and 30. The western Akropolis-hill at Idalion was, as we have seen, consecrated to Anat-Athene***); that on the east was consecrated to Astarte-Aphrodite.†) This great grove of Aphrodite, held in such high esteem by the ancients, is not to be sought, as Holwerda and others before him, suppose, in the depression between the two Akropolis-hills, for the temenos there excavated by Lang is shown by numerous inscriptions to belong to Rešef-Apollo.††) There is no room here for the extensive grove described by ancient writers, which was rather a hill-forest, a hill holy to Aphrodite, like that on Cape Pedalion. I have (in 1887) shown that it is to be sought on the smaller and more easterly of the two Akropolis-hills, at the spot marked 8 Temenos on Pl. III. An examination of the walls and the nature of the finds made at point *u*, demonstrated that the great grove of Aphrodite lay originally quite outside the city wall. At a date not earlier than the sixth century B. C., and perhaps later, a portion of the great grove was marked off from the rest as a smaller temenos, and comprised within the city walls by an extension of the fortified area made with this purpose.

The finds showed, that already previous to the fortification of the holy precinct, buildings with an interesting disposition of columns had stood in the grove. Earlier discoveries made in the sanctuary and grove, and a group of Aphrodite *ζουροτρόφος* with two children, (one in swaddling clothes) leave no room for doubt that this goddess was worshipped here,

I designate by No. 30 the sanctuary of Rešef-Mikal-Apollo-Amyklos, excavated by Mr. Lang, to which reference has just been made. It seems to have stood by one of the principal gates of the lower town, on the main road, which ran in a notherly direction exactly in the track o

*) We are reminded of the consecration of the tabernacles in the Old Testament.

***) IX, 19, 1. *Καὶ Ἀθηναίς ἐν Τευμησῶν Τελχινίας ἐστὶν ἱερόν, ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἔχον· ἐς δὲ τὴν ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῆς ἐστὶν εἰκάζειν ὡς τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ ποτὲ οἰκησάντων Τελχίνων ἀφικομένη μοῖρα ἐς Βοιωτοῦς ἱερόν ἰδρύσασαι Ἀθηναίς Τελχινίας.*

***) Pl. III, Nos. 1—3.

†) Pl. III, 6, The Owl 1888, p. 55—56.

††) Pl. III, No. 8. B. H. Lang, Narrative of Excavations in a Temple at Dali (Idalium) in Cyprus with observations on the various Antiquities found therein by R. S. Poole Esq. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. Second series Vol. XI. Part. I. p. 30.) G. Colonna Ceccaldi, Monuments antiques de Chypre, de Syrie et d'Égypte. (Paris 1882). p. 29—31 and Pl. I. A. E. J. Holwerda. Die alten Kyprien in Kunst und Cultus. Leiden 1886.

the modern road coming from the villages Alambra and Lymbia and passing between the two summits on its way to Dali. This road and the position of the shrine are shown on Pl. II and Pl. III, 6.

Two plans of this temenos have been published, one by Lang, the other by Ceccaldi (see the references on the preceding page). I have with the permission of the publishers (Messrs. John Murray and Didier & Cie.), reproduced both these plans on Pl. VIII, 1 and 2. Lang's plan was edited by himself; Ceccaldi's, after his death, by the publishers of his work.*)

Lang (p. 35) calls his a "rough ground plan." I can personally attest the care and conscientiousness which both these writers have exhibited in their works dealing with Cyprus, as I have been enabled in many cases to revise their statements on the spot. I therefore thought it necessary to take both these plans into account in the section of this work dealing with the Cyprian temenos (with roofed buildings). Ceccaldi's plan gives one the impression of having been carefully sketched on the spot after accurate measurements: it is more elaborate than Lang's. Although the two plans do not exactly correspond throughout, yet certain details, e. g. a small tetragonal building (Lang's L, Ceccaldi's R), are of precisely the same dimensions in both, and both exhibit, in the main, the same distribution of walls, steps, stone vessels, and bases of columns, and the same find-spots of inscriptions and coins. I only became acquainted with these two works at a date when I had already made and entered with the greatest care the measurements of my own plans (Plates IV—VII), and drawn up the annexed report of discoveries, so that Messrs. Lang and Ceccaldi's results and my own mutually check each other. It will be seen that we all give (with a few variants) the same general scheme of constructions intended to serve purposes of worship. It is all the more to be regretted that M. Perrot, in his and M. Chipiez' admirable *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité* seems to be ignorant of both these plans.***) Lang's description will always rank as one of the most valuable records of Cyprian excavation that we possess.

No. 31. A little to the west of this large sanctuary of Aphrodite, at the spot marked 7 on Pl. III, within the oldest city wall, there is another small house, shrine, or temenos also consecrated to Aphrodite.***) I found it in 1883 during the course of excavations carried out for Sir Charles Newton.

No. 32. On the northern slope of the principal Akropolis-hill Ambilleri, below the Anat-

*) P. 30 of the "Monuments": L'on a reproduit, planche I, le plan de ces fouilles tel qu'on l'a retrouvé dans les papiers de l'auteur.

***) III, p. 278, M. Lang découvrit à Dali un temple, dont il a négligé de relever le plan; il n'a même pas donné la moindre indication sur l'état du terrain où il a retrouvé un butin si précieux et sur les dispositions architecturales dont il a dû y relever la trace.

****) The name Ambilleri is, in Ceccaldi's work (p. 295—296) and in Cesnola-Stern erroneously given to both Akropoleis: this name belongs to the western hill, the eastern being known as I Mouti tou Arvili. The two Ceccaldi's description of the scenery is otherwise excellent; and their descriptions show that they correctly distinguished the two shrines on the eastern hill, our No. 31 (on Pl. II) on the lower eminence and the great Aphrodite temenos, our No. 29 (8 on Pl. III), on the higher. The Ceccaldi's also mention that the life-size statue, illustrated on their Pl. XVIII 1 and purchased by the Louvre, comes from this last place. I learnt that the colossal statue of which the lower part is missing (Ceccaldi Pl. XVIII, 2, and Perrot III, p. 542, Fig. 368) comes also from No. 29. At our No. 31, where the Ceccaldi's still saw a cistern and thought they recognised a flight of steps leading down the hill side, I found remains of lime-stone statues, in various sizes and styles, all of them female figures and evidently belonging to an Aphrodite-temenos: among them a head of Aphrodite, rather more than half as large as life, of fine, developed Greek style.

Athene temenos and the theatre, Aphrodite had yet another small place of worship, temenos, or primitive shrine (Pl. III, 4). The famous sanctuary of the Idalian Aphrodite had been wrongly sought on this spot also.*) The situation, the extent, and the relative productiveness of this place all speak to the contrary, while our point 8 is well qualified in all these respects.

No. 33. In the course of other excavations for Sir C. Newton (1883), I found, on the next hill to the west of the Ambilleri Akropolis, a temenos of Aphrodite *ζουροτόφος* (Pl. II, 15). Although the place had been ransacked, I was able to fix the position of the altar of sacrifice and the limits of the votive area, and found sufficient iconic fragments to determine the character of the worship. By the side of Astarte-Aphrodite with maternal attributes, Tammuz-Adonis was especially venerated here.

No. 34. If we now turn our steps eastward, we find, outside the eastern city wall and to the north of the great hill grove of Aphrodite on the Mouti tou Arvili, a temenos of a male divinity situated at the foot of the slope. (17 on Plates II and III).

No. 35. South-east of the great Aphrodite-grove, (Aloufournos 8 on Plates II and III) and on the same ridge at a greater height, another hill god, evidently Apollo, was worshipped. Besides the fragments of numerous statues, the remains of a cistern used for lustral purposes are visible.

If we now descend into the plain, we re-find, to the north of the ancient Idalion, on the banks of the stream just where the last houses of the modern Dali stand, our No. 3, the Aphrodite temenos excavated in 1885 (Pl. VII).

No. 36. Close to the last, to the east (37 on Plate II), I was able to demonstrate the existence in ancient times of a sacred tree on which terracotta masks of men and animals were hung. The tree decayed, the antifixes survived, and were found lying in a heap. They have holes both in the sides and at the top, so that they could be either strung round the tree or hung up separately. I communicated this discovery to Mr. Helbig.***)

No. 37. To the south of this site (Nos. 36 and 37 will be found on Pl. II near 41) an ancient well or pit was found, full of portions of statues, the bones of animals, ashes, and charcoal. Since excavating the house-sanctuary of the Mother of the Gods at Tamassos (No. 5), where the statues were lying in a consecrated pit, I think that here and at No. 29 (41 on Pl. II) something similar was the case.†)

No. 38. Outside the village of Dali, on the east, near the point marked 21 on Pl. II, where four large underground tombs, built of stone, were found, stood another small temenos belonging to an unknown goddess. In 1887 some shepherds found here a few female stone heads, which came into my hands. I also visited the spot.

No. 39. About a mile (= 1,60 km.) to the north of Dali, at point 31 on Pl. II, stood a temenos consecrated to an animal divinity. All the figures I found there represent beasts single and in groups e. g. birds, cows suckling calves &c.

No. 40. Rather more than a mile and a half (= 2,40 km.) to the north-east of Dali, just

*) Ross, *Reisen nach Kos &c., und der Insel Cyprien*, p. 99.

***) *Das Homerische Epos* (2nd edition), p. 417, Note.

†) Similar trenches or pits, with or without a casing of masonry are not infrequent in Cyprus, and I will speak of them below. We may compare the dispositions of Greek heroa, as described in Roscher's *Lexikon*, col. 2497, on the evidence of the latest finds.

before we reach the village of Potamia, are the remains of an ancient shrine where Rešef-Apollo and Melqart-Herakles were worshipped. The spot is marked 28 on Pl. II.

No. 41. A sanctuary lying north-west of the village of Nisou, about 6 miles (= 9,60 km.) west-north-west of Dali. Votive groups in terracotta representing chariot combats, similar to those found by Lang at Idalion (No. 30), and by myself at Goshi (No. 20) and Frangissa (No. 4), are frequent here.

No. 42. Near Lythrodonda, a village lying about six miles (= 9,60 km.) south-east of Tamassos and distant about nine miles (= 14,40 km.) from Idalion. We are here in the oldest copper-mining district. East and west of Lythrodonda the slag-heaps left by the ancient workings are visible from a long way off. In a mountain valley to the south I found (1883) the traces of an imageless worship. The offerings, consisting solely of lamps and coins, were deposited on the banks of the stream, at a spot where a spring rises at the foot of a precipitous rock. The possibility of a necropolis is excluded. W. Helbig mentions this place in his *Homerische Epos*.*) The lamps and coins belong to the times of the later Ptolemies and the early Roman emperors.

No. 43. Near Amathus, just outside the north-east end of the town, I found, in 1885, a precinct sacred to several divinities, male and female. It has still to be excavated. I have rented the land.

No. 44. In the southern outskirts of the lower town of Amathus is the shrine in which the colossus of Melqart-Herakles-Bes-Typhon**) now at Constantinople was worshipped.

No. 45. A holy place on the highest summit of the Akropolis of Amathus, where two gigantic stone vessels were used for ritual purposes. One of these is still lying broken on the spot, parts of it remaining in situ; the other is in the Louvre.

No. 46. Near the village of Pasoulla, on a hill about 6½ miles (= 10,40 km.) north of Limassol, and 7 miles (11,20 km.) north-west of Amathus, is a temenos sacred to Zeus Labranios. This is one of the few important sites which I have not personally examined, but besides the brief mention in Cesnola-Stern, we have Cesnola's detailed description, published by Mr. Hall in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Proceedings at New Haven 1883, "A temple of Zeus."

No. 47. A hill now known as Mouti Sinoas was the scene of a highly interesting altar-worship of Baal Libanon, practised already, as the Phoenician inscriptions from the site show, early in the 10th century B.C. This hill is in the mountainous district between the villages of Kellaki and Sanidha, not far from the village of Sinoas, and seven miles (= 11,20 km.) in a straight line north of Amathus. Here again we are in the region of the old copper mines,***) and Lythrodonda (No. 42) is only eleven miles (= 17,60 km.) away.

No. 48 and 49 are two places of worship at Hyle, both evidently consecrated to Apollo Hylates. The reader will find this place one mile (= 1,60 km.) west of the ancient city of Kurion at the south-west corner of the island. On the Paphos road, in the little ravine mentioned by Ross†)

*) P. 240, Note 2.

**) Perrot and Chipiez, Fig. 386. The Christian church has converted Typhon into Ayios Typhonos or Tykhnos. This is the name of a small village near Amathus.

***) Corp. Inscr. Semit., p. 22-26. See also my article "Cypern, die Bibel und Homer" in *Ausland*, No. 26 and 28 (1891).

†) *Reisen nach Kos &c.*, p. 176.

there came to light in Cesnola's time the remains of a temenos (No. 48) with numerous statues, which belong to an older and deeper deposit than that of No. 49, a larger precinct situated about five minutes walk to the north-west.*) I accompanied Mr. Oberhummer (1887), and Mr. Dörpfeld **) (1890) on their visits to the spot. In the older temenos three fragments of Cyprian texts were found. ***)

No. 50. There is another temenos of Apollo Hylates at a place called Drymou in the west of the island about nine miles (= 14,40 km.) south of Poli tis Khrysokhou (Marion-Arsinoe), and about twelve miles (= 19,20 km.) north of New-Paphos. Two dedications in Cyprian syllabary found here style the god simply Hylates, without Apollo †). It would seem to have been the custom in Cyprus thus to designate the different forms of the same divinity, the simple epithet in time acquiring substantial force.

No. 51. An altar consecrated to Aphrodite on Cape Boumo. ††) This promontory will be found on the map between Morphou Bay and Khrysokhou Bay on the north coast, in the extreme west of the island. There are two villages called Boumo, one on the mountains at some distance from the sea, the other, smaller and of more recent growth, on the shore close to the road leading from Karavostasi (Soloï) to Poli tis Khrysokhou (Marion-Arsinoe). The houses of the village by the sea belong to the people of the upper village, who come down to the coast for a certain portion of the year to cultivate their fields. Since the English occupation, a growing sense of security from the inroads of pirates has tempted many of them to abandon their mountain fastness for good and all, and take up their abode at the sea-side. The name Boumo is nothing else than the Greek βουμός "altar." It is most interesting to find that, while the altar of a church is called here (and throughout the Greek east) ἡ ἅγια τράπεζα "the holy table," the Cypriots call a deposit of ashes and charcoal containing ancient remains, a βουμός. I have paid frequent visits to the place, and in 1890 made a practical examination of it in company with Mr. Dörpfeld.

No. 52. A temenos at Limniti, probably belonging to Apollo (perhaps not exclusively). Having heard that the peasants were ransacking this site, I took steps to make the Government intervene, and induced Mr. Watkins to rent the ground with a view to excavation. Unfortunately, I found that nearly everything of value had been abstracted. I was, however, able to secure the best things for the Berlin Museum. When the Cyprus Exploration Fund came and really excavated the place, there was little left to find. †††)

No. 53. A temenos of Aphrodite near the villages of Katydhata-Linou, in the valley of Solia, about five miles (= 8 km.) south-east of Karavostasi (Soloï). I made some researches here in 1882.

*) Cesnola-Stern, p. 281—283.

**) Dörpfeld photographed some of the fragments which were lying about. Prints can be obtained from the Kais. Deutschen Archaeologischen Institut in Athen, (Nos. 2 and 3 of the Cyprian collection. See Jahrbuch des Instituts VI (1891), p. 89 of the Anzeiger).

***) Published by Deecke in Collitz' Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften I, page 23 and pages 42—44.

†) Published *ibid.*, p. 19, No. 28 and 29. Compare Paphia for Aphrodite Paphia.

††) On Kitchener's map and the more recent map of Sakellarios the name is written Pomos or Πομός. The native pronunciation is Boumos.

†††) Reinach, Chroniques d'Orient, p. 421—422 [80, 80—82] Journal of Hellenic Studies, IX (1890), p. 83—99.

Groups of figures dancing round male or female flute-players were among the votive offerings. I also found fragments of a silver patera with flowers in relief, and of a bronze patera with a battle of Greeks and Amazons in relief. *)

Nos. 54—57 comprise a series of sites in the vicinity of Old Paphos and New Paphos.

No. 54. By this I designate the great temenos of Astarte-Aphrodite at Paphos excavated by the Cyprus Exploration Fund in 1888, **) which, it seems, even in Roman times, included a temple differing widely from what we understand by a Greek or Roman temple. It would appear that if the excavation had been continued further to the west, where there seem to be traces of adjoining buildings, the real temple might have been found.

I here feel myself compelled to reprint word for word from the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* IX (1888), p. 158 a note of Hogarth's. ***) The facts are as follows. The Imperial German Archaeological Institute had as a result of my repeated representations resolved upon initiating excavations in Cyprus, Sir Henry Bulwer having expressed himself as favourably disposed to the project. Mr. Dörpfeld's original plan was to excavate the temple at Paphos with me; but when the English entered on the field, the Imperial German Institute at once recognised with proper tact that in Cyprus, which had been under British rule since 1878, the English should have precedence, and that no untimely spirit of rivalry should be allowed to mar our gratitude to the insular Government for allowing us, as foreigners, to excavate at all. When, at the end of 1887, the English archaeologists reached Cyprus in force, they did not, as I know from Mr. Sayce and others, at first contemplate Old Paphos. When Hogarth says they had been "informed through a very indirect channel" as to the intentions of the Imperial German Archaeological Institute, he can only mean myself, and indeed I still possess the letter which he addressed to me on this matter from Old Paphos. How, under the circumstances, he can speak of "an excessively vague and untrustworthy rumour" is to me incomprehensible.

No. 55. The Astarte-Aphrodite of Paphos has been notorious from all time. I was able in 1890, with the assistance of Messrs. Dörpfeld and Meister †) to show that Apollo also was worshipped here. The remarkable inscription containing proof of this (now in the Berlin Museum) was found by us in a wall of loose stones separating the courtyard of one Turkish house from that of another. A few of the (Cyprian) characters were visible, and Mr. Dörpfeld's practised eye at once lighted on them. The English excavators would have done well to examine more closely the modern walls adjacent to their excavations.

No. 56. Apollo again appears at New Paphos and here as Hylates. I should, perhaps, have mentioned the well-known rock-caves or rock-tombs there, with their votive inscriptions to this

*) Reinach, *Chroniques d'Orient*, p. 185 [5², 352—3].

**) *Journal of Hellenic Studies* IX, p. 149—271.

***) We had been informed through a very indirect channel that the Royal Archaeological Institute of Berlin had formed a definite plan for excavation at Kuklia in the coming autumn. Had we discovered this to be the case we should of course have yielded in their favour and selected another site, but, as we could hear of no sort of preparation having been made, and the rumour being excessively vague and untrustworthy, we persevered with our original intention. As a matter of fact the subject of Cyprus had been discussed at Berlin together with other likely fields of operation, but indefinitely postponed for want of opportunity and funds.

†) *Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift*, 1890, col. 618.

woodland god *) after Nos. 48—50, but I have classed them here with the other sanctuaries of Apollo which follow.

No. 57. In spite of the elaborate arguments of Hogarth, who sees in the monoliths on the Paphian shore nothing but oil-presses, and denies any religious significance to the site, I venture to conjecture that this was a place of worship. I think that this is also the view of Mr. Dörpfeld, whom, in 1890, I accompanied to the spot. I give on Pl. XVIII a new view of the monoliths and their surroundings from a photograph. When I come to speak of stone- and pillar-worship, I will support my conjecture by proof. The distance in a straight line from the hill of Old Paphos to the monoliths is about a mile and a half (= 2 km.)

No. 58. Twelve miles (= 19,20 km.) nearly due north of Old Paphos, **) the village of Amaryeti will be found on the map. Here in Cesnola's time, successful, but irregular, excavations were repeatedly made: it is even not impossible that two dedications to the god or hero Opaon Melanthios, stated by him to have been found at Old Paphos, really came from Amaryeti, where Hogarth excavated in 1888 a temenos of Apollo Melanthios and Opaon Melanthios.***) But Cesnola has not been clearly convicted of error. The existence of a far older Apollo-worship at Paphos in the immediate vicinity of the temple of Aphrodite is now attested by the inscription I found there, (see above). It is impossible to say whether Apollo were there worshipped in a distinct temenos or sanctuary, or whether a separate altar, with or without an enclosing fence (*φράγμα*), were consecrated to Apollo inside the great temenos: either alternativewould suit the facts of early religious usage, as established by the German excavations at Olympia, †) and (as I will comprehensively show in the present work) holding good also, with certain local variations, for Cyprus. If Apollo were worshipped at Paphos, it may very well have been under the style and title of Melanthios or Opaon-Melanthios. Apollo Hylates, as we have seen, was worshipped at New Paphos and Drymou, both of which are in the kingdom of Paphos, but his original home is Hyle, in the kingdom of Kurion. Similarly, the Paphia (No. 23) was worshipped in the distant kingdom of Chytroi and its capital of the same name; and as regards this very Opaon Melanthios, we know that his cult was not confined to one spot, for S. Reinach has recently pointed out that two dedications to him come from Kition. G. Colonna Ceccaldi, who first published these two inscriptions, inferred the existence of a sanctuary of Opaon on the spot where they were found — near the salt-lake of Larnaka. ††) I cite this heroon of Apollo-Opaon-Melanthios at Kition under No. 72 at the end of the present list. Unfortunately, I have not yet been able to obtain any accurate information about the spot and the circumstances of the discovery.

No. 59. Another Apollo, whose name *Μυρτιάτης* connects him with the myrtle, is placed by Hogarth at Episkopi, between Marathounta and Amaryeti, 6½ miles (= 10,40 km.) in a straight line north-west of Old Paphos and 4½ miles (= 7,20 km.) from Amaryeti. This small village must not be confounded with the larger Episkopi further to the South near Kurion. Hogarth saw

*) Here he has his full name Apollo Hylates. Cp. Griechische Dialekt-Inschriften I, p. 20, 31, 32.

**) Hogarth has 12 engl. miles and wrongly northwest.

***) Cesnola-Stern, p. 368, Nos. 3 and 4.

†) Compare especially Curtius, Die Altäre von Olympia.

††) Revue Archéologique 1874, XXVII, p. 87. Monuments de Chypre, de Syrie et d'Égypte. p. 193 and 194, Nos. 2 and 3.

numerous ancient remains here, and is perhaps right in supposing that the small altar with the dedication to Apóllo Myrtates now in the church at Marathounta, where no ancient remains are visible, was brought from Episkopi.*) In any case, epigraphical evidence shows that in the region of Paphos Apóllo occupied, by the side of Aphrodite, a conspicuous position.

No. 60. Quitting this region and going up into the mountains, we find ourselves, at a height of 3000 (= 941 mt.) feet, in the neighbourhood of the monastery of Khrysoroyatissa. The monastery is to the north-east of Ktima, the principal place of the Paphos district, at a distance of 18 miles (= 28,8 km.) as the crow flies. One mile (= 1,60 km.) west of Khrysoroyatissa is another small monastery called Ayia Moni, a dependency not of Khrysoroyatissa, but of Kykkou the largest and wealthiest foundation in the island. Built into the church of Ayia Moni are two dedecations to Hera in Cyprian characters**) Hogarth rightly infers that this is the site of an ancient shrine of Hera. He cites the dedication from Old Paphos, in which the names of Aphrodite, Zeus Polieus, and Hera occur in this order, and the inscription from Amathus (C. I. G. 2643) which makes mention of plantations near the Heraion.***)

No. 61 at Larnaka tou Lapithou, on the south slope of the northern range. This hamlet is distinguished from the town of Larnaka by the addition tou Lapithou, Lapithos being the name of the nearest large village (distant about 2 miles = 3,20 km.) In my remarks on altar-worship in a following chapter will recur to the bilingual (Phoenician and Greek) dedication of an altar to Anat-Athene, cut on a rock here.

No. 62. Passing still further eastward, we betake ourselves to Trikomo, 8 miles (= 12,80 km.) north of Salamis. In T. Colonna Ceccaldi's time two large stone statues, evidently belonging to a temenos, were found in the neighbourhood and acquired by him.†) This is perhaps the site near Trikomo called Monarga mentioned by Hogarth and entered in his map of the Karpas.††) Men repairing a road found here some rude statuettes. These rude statuettes and the great erect figures the workmanship of which Ceccaldi praises so highly may have belonged to the same temenos.

Nos. 63—67 comprise five places of worship at Salamis wholly or partially excavated by the Cyprus Exploration Fund.†††)

No. 63. The site of the granite columns (Munro-Tubbs' A) must, although the editors do not seem to think so, have been originally a holy place. The terracottas found at a great depth and other circumstances point to this. The site was not laid bare.

No. 64 is the "Sand site, B," in Munro-Tubbs' report, a great temenos evidently belonging to Zeus, at the north-east corner of the old town, near the spot where the forester's house now

*) Devia Cypria p. 24—28

Ἀπόλλωνι

Μυρτιάτη

Ξά(νθ)ος

ὑπὲρ Ὀνασᾶ

Βοίσκων.

**) Compare Hogarth, Devia Cypria p. 34 and 35.

***) Compare Engel, Kypros I, p. 115, II, p. 661.

†) Mon. de Chypre &c., p. 299—300.

††) Devia Cypria, p. 65.

†††) Journ. of Hell. Stud., 1891, XII, p. 59—198.

stands. It was, unfortunately, only partially excavated by the English explorers. They mention that at the south-east end of the precinct a fragmentary dedication to Zeus was found built into a later wall. *) As I have often found, in the comparatively recent peribolos-walls of "temene," inscriptions and statuary fragments of a much earlier date, **) I infer with certainty that this place was consecrated to Zeus, and the quantities of ἀγάλματα found here, as well as other circumstances, confirm this view. The editors themselves believe that, in this case, they have hit upon a sanctuary and suppose that the actual temple may be still concealed further to the east.

I myself discovered this site in 1881—82, when I held the post of Superintendent of Works for Replanting in the Forest Department, and the discovery was not entirely accidental, as Messrs. Munro and Tubbs state, ***) In the year 1882 it was arranged that I should commence excavations at this spot for Sir Charles Newton then Keeper in the British Museum, as soon as I had retired from the Forest-Department and was again at leisure to work for him. I had been sent in 1881 to the mouth of the Pidas to select the best sites for plantation on the state lands. The Government had at that time conceived the notion of improving the climate of Famagusta by drying the marshes and planting the river banks. I chose two pieces of land, one to the north and north-west of the ancient Salamis, and the other close to the Pidas, south and south-east of Salamis. During the course of the winter, while these plantation-works were yet in progress, it struck my former chief Mr. Madon and Sir Robert Biddulph the High-Commissioner, that the two plantations I had designed might be connected by a belt running right across the ruins of Old Salamis. The idea was a good one from the forester's point of view, but scarcely commended itself to the archaeologist. Protests on my part were useless, and on pain of instant dismissal, I had to commence the work necessary for uniting the two plantations. I managed to obtain instructions to the effect that if in cutting holes for planting or sowing, in probing for water or in extracting building material from the ruins, I met with antiquities, I was to make a report and suspend the works at the place indicated. I selected, especially in digging for water, where it was necessary to go to some depth, places at which I thought I had a good chance of finding ancient remains, and discovered by this method the site of the temenos of Zeus. I at once wrote and telegraphed; but although Sir C. Newton expressed his desire that I should, after my approaching retirement from the Forestry Department, make some trial of the spot, I was obliged to sow over the site and mark off the space in seed by a rope barrier, which, in my own subsequent excavation of April 1883, I was forbidden to overstep. By 1890 the seedling trees had almost perished, and the Cyprus Exploration Fund was permitted to dig within the barrier. On page 59 of their report Messrs. Munro & Tubbs write as follows: "Among the most important of Herr Richter's many services to Cypriote archaeology may be reckoned the accidental discovery of two small marble capitals under the sand near the Forest guard house, which occurred while he was employed in the Forest Department and subsequently gave us a clue to one of our sites."

By this they mean this site of the Zeus temenos. On pages 62 and 66 of the same report

*) Ibid, p. 119: the inscription is given there on p. 194.

**) Cp. No. 2 (Voni), No. 4 (Frangissa).

***) Journ. of Hell. Stud., XII, p. 59. I have already spoken of this site and the circumstances under which I discovered it in an article entitled "Das Museum und die Ausgrabungen auf Cypern seit 1878," published in the Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft, 1886.

it is no longer I myself but my workmen who are credited with the discovery and in addition to the two marble capitals only one basis of a column and two limestone statues are mentioned.

My discovery of all these things was made on the 11th of February 1882, and next day using the *chambre claire* I made sketches of the two statues and one of the capitals. These sketches are still by me and will probably be published shortly.

I have said enough to show that I have some cause for complaint.

I have again and again called attention to the importance of making excavations at Salamil.

Among the numerous objects found here by the English excavators are a marble statue of Sarapis with Cerberus, and a female draped statue akin, in motive and treatment, to small stone figures found by me at Akhna (No. 1).

No. 65. The Agora (C) on the western side of the town, only partially excavated. Messrs. Munro & Tubbs believe that the remains found at the south end are those of a Roman temple, and that the ruins of an older shrine must exist beneath.*) This may be so; it is at all events clear from the inscriptions and statues discovered that Zeus Olympios had a shrine here.

No. 66. The Daemonostasium and Cistern (D);***) east of the agora, at the southern end of the old town. The English explorers believe that the remains of a neighbouring temple had been collected here. The objects found and the circumstances of their discovery indicate clearly that the site itself was once the scene of some worship. Among the numerous finds are many which show the closest correspondence to those of the Artemis groves at, and near, Akhna, and the Artemis grove by the salt lake at Kition. Others point to Apollo. I should suppose that Artemis and Apollo were here worshipped under holy trees. Many ox-head masks, 2—3 inches in height, with holes for suspension, were found. At Dali (No. 36) I found, together with a quantity of human masks, one such ox-head mask of about the same dimensions.

No. 67. Toumpa (G.): on an eminence in a little Delta formed by two arms of the Pidiias (the Pediaios of the ancients). This site produced interesting finds in great numbers, of a character which enabled Munro to point out that the principal divinity worshipped here was a bearded male god (Apollo?); only I do not think we should follow him in supposing a simple altar worship without any enclosure. There must have been an enclosure formed by peribolos-walls or by a *φράγμα*. The piece of rough walling, 4 feet in length, 3 ft., 5 in. in breadth, and 1 foot 8 in. in height, which was found running in a north-easterly direction is evidently part of the fence of the holy enclosure. The black stratum consisting of the vestiges of sacrifice—charcoal and fragments of bones—was reached at a depth of 5 ft., 6 in., but the actual altar of sacrifice was not found, (the same was the case at Amaryeti and Limniti).

The finds, described in the Hellenic Journal pages 146 f, are very extensive, but the excavators were not successful in discovering many large objects in good preservation. Here, as at Frangissa, terracotta and limestone figures in great number, ranging from colossi fifteen feet high, to lilliputian statuettes, had once stood. Munro quite rightly points out the correspondence as regards period, style, motives, and dimensions between the unhappily very fragmentary discoveries of Toumpa and the magnificent series of objects from Frangissa (No. 4.) At Toumpa also the statues were

*) Journ. of Hell. Stud. XII (1891), p. 77.

**) Ibid., p. 91 and p. 137.

***) Ibid., p. 98 and p. 163.

Painted: indeed, to judge from plates IX and X of the Hellenic Journal (1891), painted statuettes and fragments of painted colossi were found here of an excellence unparalleled elsewhere. The only objects which can at all be compared with the painted male figurines on plate IX are the painted female figurines from Akhna (No. 1) which are reproduced in colours on one of the Plates of the present work. The fragments of painted masculine terracotta colossi (pl. X of the Journal) show, for the first time, figures, animals, and winged monsters painted on smooth surfaces of drapery. I can supply an interesting parallel to them in the fragments of feminine terracotta colossal from the Dali sanctuary (No. 3), now in the Berlin Museum. In this case, the figures of men and animals are first moulded on the draperies, diadems &c., the effect being afterwards heightened by colouring. Some coloured illustrations of these marvellous specimens will also be given in the present work.

The richly decorated Frangissa statues, the colouring of which is in many instances remarkably vivid and distinct, will be published in my forthcoming work on Tamassos. In subsequent sections I shall have more to say on the subject of the Toumpa finds.

No. 68 takes us into the Karpas, the eastern tongue of Cyprus. On the south-east coast of this peninsula, near the village of Gastria,^{*)} Hogarth has perhaps rightly fixed the site of the ancient Knidos. The place where the inscription mentioning Knidos was found is known as Vallia. At a distance hence of about 150 yards (= 137 mt.), and close to the sea, Hogarth and Guillemard found an ancient oblong peribolos constructed of more or less carefully hewn limestone blocks—evidently a temenos-enclosure. The long axis lies almost due east and west and measures 37 feet; (= 11.47 m.) the short axis, lying north and south, measures 21 feet 5 inches, (= 6.41 m.) The single stones are 1 foot (= 30.4 cm.) in breadth, and rise to the height of 2 ft. (= 61 cm.) above the present surface: the thickness of the whole varies, according to the number of stones, from 2 to 6 ft. (0.61 to 1.82 m.) The north-west corner is formed by a large erect block rising 6 ft. 9 in. (= 2.05 m.) above the surface and measuring 2 ft. 10 in. by 2 ft. 10 in. (= 86 cm.) This pillar-shaped stone is slightly pointed at the top. It is not pierced, like the Paphos monoliths, but on one side a small incision, according to Hogarth quite accidental, has been made. Hogarth recognises on the worn surface of this block the traces of what we call rustica work, which he is perhaps right in stating to be a not unfrequent characteristic of Phoenician masonry. He takes the block to be a sacred menhir, and calls attention to the fact that the single menhirs standing in English stone-circles are nearly always at the north-east corner.

Hogarth mentions three other monoliths as existing in the same neighbourhood, on the eastern edge of the level expansion of the valley of Vallia, about an hour's ride from Akrotiri. They stand above the doors of tombs at a place called Kamarais or Tria Litharia. The tombs have long oblique approaches or "dromoi"; the monoliths over the doors are about a man's height, 2½ feet (= 91 cm.) in breadth, and 1 ft. (= 30 cm.) in thickness; they are bluntly pointed at the top: two have fallen down, the third remains erect in situ.

Between these tombs and the stone enclosure, at a place called Pallura, in the middle of thick brushwood, Hogarth found fragments of Cyprian stone statues "of the ordinary old type" (what type?), evidently again the relics of an ancient holy grove in which image worship was practised.

^{*)} Devia Cypria, p. 65.

^{**}) Ibid., p. 70-71.

No. 69. Continuing eastward along the Karpas we reach a place called Peristephani, about half an hour north-west of the village of Leonarisso. Here again Hogarth found numerous remains of a temenos; he describes four objects thus:

1. Fragment of a nude female colossal statue which must have been about 9 feet (= 2,73 m.) high.
2. A female head larger than life, which may have belonged to the statue.
3. Fragments of a bearded colossus.
4. Fragments of a female life-size draped statue with the right hand resting on the breast: style and attitude recall the more archaic examples of Dali.

No. 70. We have now reached the extreme north-east point of Cyprus, Cape Dinareton and the adjacent islets called Kleides in antiquity. The cape is now called Cap Andrea from the monastery of St Andreas, with its cave, rock-church, and spring, situated about 2½ miles (= 4 km.) to the south. Hogarth has rightly placed on the cape the temple of Aphrodite Akraia mentioned by Strabo, who tells us that women were forbidden to enter it.* I saw the ruins in 1879, but did not observe the statuary fragments discovered by Hogarth. A headless female statue exhibited the same rude style as the Peristephani figures: a draped arm was of later date.

No. 71. We retrace our steps to the flourishing garde village of Rizokarpaso. It lies in a fertile upland plain, which commands a view of the sea in both sides. On the east an abrupt path leads down to the shore, following the windings of a deep ravine. As we descend we are suddenly confronted by an abrupt and lofty hill, which, with its almost flat summit, has all the appearance of a natural fortress. The hill is called by the Cypriots To Rani, and here stood the ancient mountain-fortress and city of Urania, which played so important a part in the history of the island at the end of the 4th century B. C. Demetrios Poliorketes, in 306 B. C., undertook an expedition against Cyprus and Salamis the capital of Menelaos. Dr. P. Schröder** describes the campaign. Demetrios, coming from Cilicia, landed at Karpasia. Before marching on Salamis, he had to capture the fortress of Urania. Schröder has rightly identified the site.*** At the north-east end of the hill, a natural grotto has been so cut as to form a hypaethral subterranean sanctuary. The only access is from below, and by no means easy: one must climb along the precipice and between huge fallen masses of rock, and creep in through a square hole at the north-west corner. A chamber (5 metres long, 3,90 m. broad and 2 m. high) is hewn in the rock. Exactly in the centre a long rectangular shaft, rather more than 1 metre square, admits the light from above. At the four corners of this square opening rudely-built pillars support the rock which forms the roof of the chamber. The walls and the pillars show traces of a former stucco covering.

On the plateau at the summit of the hill of Urania, I observed many ruins and some cisterns cut in the rock. The last time I visited the place was in May 1890; it has entirely escaped Hogarth.

With No. 72 closes our list of the more important sites supplying material for our subject. I return here to Larnaka (Kition), to make good the omission of certain other sites of worship there, which will concern us later on.

*) *Devia Cypria*, p. 83.

**) In an article in the *Globus* XXXIV (1878) p. 153—154, entitled "Meine zweite Reise auf Cypern im Frühjahr 1873."

***) See my review of Hogarth's *Devia Cypria* in the *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, 1891, col. 1000.

The first is an altar of the same Opaon Melanthios, Apollo Melanthios or Apollo Opaon whom we found at Amaryeti (No. 58). Ceccaldi in his *Monuments**) published two dedications to this Opaon Melanthios found near the salt lake at Larnaka, and inferred the existence here of a sacellum of this god. Nothing more is known of the discovery.

We must, further, either assume the existence of another sanctuary belonging to Ešmun-Adonis, or suppose that a triad, consisting of Ešmun, Melqart, and Adonis, was worshipped on the hill by the salt lake consecrated to Ešmun-Melqart. (No. 8 of our list.) In the latter case the Ešmun-Adonis inscriptions and the Ešmun-Melqart inscriptions come from one and the same site.

What Cyprus can tell us.

Seldom has a comparatively small country—an island of but 175 square miles (= 5 400 — 9 600 □ km.) in area—yielded to a single explorer such a mass of new and interesting material for the history of ancient religious usage, as it has been my fortune to derive from my excavations in Cyprus.

The significance of the monuments of Cyprian worship extends beyond the sphere of religion. As almost all documents of importance were deposited in the sacred precincts and are often still preserved in their ruins, we gain from this source invaluable information as to the other aspects of ancient civilisation; we are brought nearer to the solution of political and ethnographical questions; and we learn something of the place in the world's history occupied by Cyprus and the other countries and peoples which were brought into relation with her.

In a country, like Cyprus, where, already more than two thousand years before Christ, an imageless fetish worship, had been almost entirely replaced by image worship; and the worship of gods in human form,**) Art and its practice are inseparable from Religion and its rites. A history of the development of Cyprian religious usage must, in consequence, deal also with the development of Cyprian art and of Cyprian civilization in general.

Up till quite recently, one was accustomed to hear Cyprian art dismissed as a hideous abnormality, with no continuous organic development. A distinct, and at the same time graceful, Cyprio-Hellenic art and culture—an early and organic growth of Cyprian soil—was looked upon as out of the question. Still less did a review of the vast, rather than representative, finds with which L. P. di Cesnola and his colleagues flooded the museums of Europe and America suggest or admit the possibility of Cyprus having materially influenced the evolution of Hellenic art. A repulsive, undefined, and incomprehensible culture, evidently, in the main, Phoenician, but borrowing all kinds of motives and elements from other neighbouring countries, was supposed to have permeated the island from the earliest times and on into the period of Roman rule. The few objects of pure or less adulterated

*) P. 192 and 194, Nos. 3 and 4. Cp. S. Reinach, *Revue des Études Grecques* II p. 225—233.

**) In my forth-coming work "Kypros, the Bible, and Homer," I will expose this in detail.

Greek work were either imported from Greece or manufactured in the island for Cyprian princes and grandees by Greek artisans, temporary visitants to Cyprus and removed from any deeper contact with its civilisation and art. The Greek natives of Cyprus were, and continued to be, but imperfect Greeks, half Greeks. Such views still dominate even the 3rd volume of Perrot and Chipiez' great publication, the "Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité.*)

In direct opposition to this view, my own observations, extending over many years, have shown me, not only that Cyprian culture was an organic growth, but that Cyprus had a preponderating influence on the evolution of Hellenic culture, both as regards the province of religion, and the closely allied province of art.

The foregoing treatise will form one of the chapters of an extensive work "Kypros, the Bible, and Homer," now in the press.**) The 18 Plates here appended are also borrowed from that work. I must here content myself with offering a few general hints, and an explanation of these plates, in the course of which, however, I shall be able to justify by a few illustrations the above estimate of the value and influence of Cyprian civilization, reserving a more elaborate sketch of its development for the larger work, (Kypros, the Bible, and Homer). Only in a future work on Tamassos do I hope to be able to give a finished picture of the life of the island in antiquity. I shall there deal with a site lying in the region of the earliest copper mines—the earliest not only in Cyprus, but in the entire East—, and it will be my aim to show how this industry exercised its fructifying influence on the nascent civilizations not alone of this little island, but of Egypt and Mesopotamia.

If (and the adhesion to my views of some of the most eminent living geologists and metallurgists would indicate as much) the Copper, Bronze, and Iron Periods are definitely established for Cyprus, we need not be surprised to find that the manners, customs, weapons, utensils, and apparatus of worship pictured in the Bible and in the Homeric Poems are more vividly and closely illustrated by discoveries made in Cyprus, than by anything which has been observed elsewhere: My researches on these lines have been particularly forwarded by instruction and stimulus derived from Herr von Fritsch of Halle (in the province of Geology), and Herr Wehren of the Technical High School in Charlottenburg (in that of Metallurgy).

But the Copper and Bronze Periods take us further back than Homer. To Copper we owe the correspondent outcrops in Cyprus and Hissarlik of that stratum revealed by Schliemann, representative of a civilization anterior indeed to Homer but pictured by him in the clothing and colouring of his own time. While, however, at Hissarlik we have not a series of strata each leading up to, and passing into, the other,*), but a few distinct strata, in Cyprus we find a chain no link of which is missing. True, we have not yet penetrated to the pure Stone Age here, but there are circumstances which point to the likelihood of our being able to do so.

*) Vol. III (Phénicie-Cypre), e. g. p. 550.

**) The work, consisting of 35—40 sheets of text in the format of the present dissertation, with more than 60 phototypic plates (some in colours) and numerous illustrations in the text, will be published in 1892 by Messrs. Asher & Co., Berlin and London.

***) Lately, in the last excavations executed by Schliemann before his death, more transitional pottery has come to light, made of the clay characteristic of the older Hissarlik Period (the older Copper Period in Cyprus and unpainted, but in form leading up to the Mykenaeon Period.

In any case, the oldest Cyprian civilization known to us is not Semitic, and is still quite uninfluenced by Syria and Mesopotamia. It is evidently a highly primitive civilization common to Asia Minor and the peninsulae of south-eastern Europe, probably Indo-Germanic (and most likely Aryan. It is even possible that it may have extended over the whole of Europe. Karl Blind has recently written in the Academy*) a short article dealing with my latest research on this topic.**)

It is only during the later stages of the Copper Period, and during the transition to, and development of, the Bronze Period, that Mesopotamian, and, later, evidently Semitic influences begin to appear. While hitherto such idols as occurred have been draped, and board-shaped***), we now meet with round idols which appear to be either nude or partially clothed in very tight-fitting garments. These idols (there are two particular types), probably representing Nana-Istar,†) disappear from the tombs in the Period of Transition from Bronze to Iron.††) As Graeco-Phoenician influence makes itself manifest, and the Iron Period begins, they are replaced by nude statuettes of Astarte-Aphrodite†††), loaded with necklaces and often wearing the nose-ring frequently mentioned in the sacred writings.§)

Before the time of King Hiram of the Bible there is no evidence of the dedication in holy groves, or at holy stones or altars, of any kind of iconic objects. The Berlin Museum indeed possesses a votive object made of that red polished clay which is peculiar to the Copper and Bronze Periods. It is an arm holding a round bowl, not part of a figure but complete in itself and of very early work. This curious object, however, does not come from a shrine: I did not find it myself, but it was certainly found in an early tomb of the Copper-Bronze Period at Ayia Paraskevi (near Nicosia), identified by me with Ledrai-Lidir. All the 72 sites described above belong to the Iron Age. The oldest, as far as we can tell is No. 47, the holy hill of Baal-Mouti-Sinoas. There stood an altar of the Baal of Lebanon, before which were deposited bronze paterae bearing the oldest Phoenician inscriptions—the oldest examples of writing in alphabetical characters—known to us §§) Besides the copper and bronze vessels there were dedicated at this altar bronze votive oxen (25 cm. in height) of which two examples were found. In the identical inscriptions on several of the vessels, the dedicant calls himself a citizen of the New Town and a servant of King Hiram.

*) Sept., 26th, 1891, "M. Ohnefalsch-Richters' excavations in Cyprus"

**) More on the subject of this and the following periods of Cyprian civilization will be found in the Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien, Nov. and Dec. 1890, p. 90, 95. See also Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift 1891, p. 738—740.

***) See pl. I, 45, 46 of my paper "Ledrai-Lidir and the Copper-Bronze Age" in the Journal of Cyprian Studies.

†) Roscher's Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie, p. 407 and 654; Perrot, Hist. de l'art III, p. 552, Fig. 374; p. 553, fig. 375; The Journal of Cyprian Studies, pl. I, 44.

††) One of the two types (cp. Roscher, p. 407; the original is in the Berlin Museum) appears as the principal female divinity of one of the Hittite tribes, at Senjerli in the ancient land of Samal, among the monuments discovered there by von Luschau and Koldewey. The Cyprian and Samalian idols are so similar that a chance resemblance is out of the question: indeed it requires close observation to detect the technical differences of the two local fabrics.

†††) Perrot III, figs. 379 and 380.

§) Exodus XXIV, 22, 47. Cp. my essay "Cypern im Alterthum" in the Berlin "Nation" 1891, p. 604, note.

§§) Corpus Inscr. Semiticarum, p. 22 = 26.

I have at the commencement of my paper in the "Ausland" (1891, No. 26) dealt in extenso with these inscriptions and the worship of Baal Libanon, and have shown how Schrader*) has proved that the dedicant was really a Cyprian, an inhabitant of Kition which must be identified with the Cyprian Carthage, the Karti-hadas(š)ti of the cuneiform texts. For the identification of the Hiram of these inscriptions with the Hiram of the Bible**) and the palaeographical and epigraphical reasons for assigning the inscriptions to the tenth century B. C., I rely upon the judgement of J. Euting and E. Sachau, as personally communicated to me.

In the same paper I have given a detailed picture of the relations between Kypros and Sengerli in Syria, the land of Samal—relations which, as far as we can at present determine them, extend from circ. 1000 to circ. 550 B. C.

We are here on Hittite soil, in the land of Hamath of the Bible, the land of Chatti of the Assyrian tribute lists of Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal. The twenty-two kings of the land Chatti comprise the ten kings of the Land in the sea (Kypros), and the twelve kings of the Land by the sea (in Syria). I will only here touch upon the religious side of the very far reaching parallels between Samal near Hamath and Amathus in Cyprus. In the note on the preceding page I spoke of the feminine divinity who during a certain period is the same in the land of Samal and in Cyprus. The inscription—it is the oldest known Aramaic inscription—on the colossal stone statue of Samal recently found by the Orient-Comité mentions after the Assyrian god Hadad, the Cypri-Phoenician god Rešef. This colossus of Samal, attributed by Sachau to the year 730 B. C., resembles very closely in style and character the stone Melqart colossus of Amathus.***) The attempt to write the history of the earliest civilization and religion leads as again and again to Amathus and Tamassos and the region of the oldest copper mines. The material gained by my excavations accords with that supplied by literature. Amathus and Tamassos are far older cities than Kition, older even than Old Paphos: in Kition no trace of the Copper-Bronze Period has presented, or will present, itself, while in Old Paphos the oldest strata yet revealed reach no further back than the Mykenaeen Period, and represent it but feebly. At Tamassos and Amathus,†) the tombs have clearly revealed to us the existence of extensive strata representative of a far older civilization; and it is to this district of Cyprus that the Homeric poems take us.

When, again, we find, at the beginning of the Iron Age, the Cyprian King Kinyras of Amathus giving to King Agamemnon of Mykenae the most elaborate cuirass known to Homer or to the ancient world, we need not be in the least surprised that allied work in metal has come to light in this very very district of Cyprus—the district of Amathus and Tamassos. Is it not, indeed, to Tamassos that Athene goes in the form of Mendes to barter iron for bronze?††)

We can readily understand how the flowing tide of commerce must have borne along with

*) "Zur Geographie des assyrischen Reichs" in the Sitzungsber. der K. Preussischen Akad. der Wissenschaften. XVII. (1890), p. 337-344.

**) Hiram, as is known, reigned from 969 to 946 B. C.

***) Perrot, Hist. de l'art, III, p. 567, fig. 486.

†) Next to Tamassos and Amathus, Idalion with its environs falls to be considered. I am here speaking of the oldest Graeco-Phoenician towns.

††) Odyssey I, 180.

it religious beliefs, and the ritual usages which they enjoined:*) that Helbig therefore in his Homerische Epos should so often have to recur to Kypros for the illustration of particular points, especially in the provinces of mythology and religion, lies in the nature of things. As I have said at the commencement of this treatise, Curtius and Furtwängler have been led to the same source in their search for analogies to the oldest Olympian finds. Furtwängler in his "Bronzefunde" (1879) points convincingly to the similarity of Cyprian religious usages, and Curtius had already in 1875 written his incomparable treatise "Die griechische Götterlehre vom geschichtlichen Standpunkte." He therein attempts to show how all the Greek goddesses originally derive from one and the same Semitic goddess. I am in the agreeable position of being able to prove this for some at least of the Greek and non-Greek goddesses of Kypros.

While thus a number of unerring clues guide us westward from Kypros to Troy, Mykenae, Olympia and the scene of the Homeric poems, I have lately been able to discover and disentangle other clues no less certain which link Kypros, and especially its religion and worships, with the peoples of the Bible far more closely than has hitherto been possible. Already, in the third and fourth volumes of his *Histoire de l'art*, M. Perrot had brought forward a number of Cyprian parallels to the arts and usages of Phoenicia and Judaea, but to-day I am in a position to explain by the light of Cyprian monuments and the results of my excavations there, a long series of the oldest passages in the Bible, even whole paragraphs and chapters. I may be justified in priding myself on this as one of the most satisfactory results of my work in, and concerning, Cyprus. I must here thank such scholars as J. Euting (Strassburg), E. Sachau (Berlin), E. Schrader (Berlin) and others for all the stimulus and instruction I owe them. It is especially due to the encouragement derived from J. Barth (Berlin), that I have recently set myself to illustrate the Old Testament exhaustively from Cyprian monuments. I have had the opportunity of talking over the subject at some length with this eminent Syriac Hebrew and Phoenician scholar, and much that I told him appeared to him to be at once cogent and deeply instructive. I have above referred to my discovery in Cyprus of a worship of Baal Libanon in the time of Kings Hiram, David, and Solomon: in explaining the 18 Plates I will bring into relief a few other particulars which testify to Aegyptian and Assyrian influences, or throw light on the development of archaic Greek Art, and the later Graeco-Cyprian Art. But for the present I must be content with saying just enough to render the plates intelligible. Let the stones now speak where the written and the spoken word is silent. It matters little though many of our present opinions prove to be wrong, for the monuments will remain to our successors and will perhaps speak to them in clearer accents than to us. Our first task should be to collect on the spot all the material we can and by the aid of the best methods of illustration, to lay it before our fellow-workers, that they may further sift, and rightly appraise it.

*) E. Curtius has more than once called attention to this.

Explanation of the Plates.

Plate I. Map of Kypros showing the ancient places of worship.

I attach particular value to this map, as the most recent topographical surveys have been used for it, and it is based on the admirable Itinerary appended by Oberhummer to his essay "Aus Cypern" in the *Zeitschrift für Erdkunde* XXV (1890) p. 183—240.

Oberhummer himself took the new English map by Colonel Kitchener (Stanford 1885), as a basis for the geography, and Kiepert's map as a basis for the orthography, introducing some corrections derived from his own and my researches. His map gives the correct sites of several unplaced or misplaced ancient towns, and improves upon Kiepert's phonetic spelling. I have, in turn made some advances upon his work, so that this, in spite of its small scale, may be regarded as the most complete map of ancient Kypros yet published. In the transliteration of modern names, I in the main follow Kitchener.

Plate II. A map of the ancient town of Idalion and neighbourhood, from plans prepared by Mr. E. A. Carletti of the Survey Department, Cyprus. Archaeological details by Mr. Max Ohnefalsch-Richter. 1887.

I have, for several reasons, reproduced here this map, which originally appeared in *The Owl*, No. 6. As my "Owl", an illustrated scientific journal, died early from want of the private contributions which were its sole support, this admirable map is little known. Studied together with the plan of the town on Plate III, it gives a remarkably vivid picture of profane and religious life in ancient Kypros. If anyone who is interested in the details, and has not exceptionally good eye-sight will take the pains to consult it with a magnifying-glass, he will become aware of its merits. Carletti's original large drawing was unfortunately lost, and the reduction of it I had made was too small. The map has consequently given many people the impression of being based on rough measurements, but the contrary is the case. In the first place, the plan of the town made by Carletti and myself from our own trigonometrical survey is here drawn in. Then the "Revised Revenue Survey" of four inches to the mile (= 1 : 15 840 commenced after the publication of Kitchener's map and still in progress) has been used. Copies of the sheets were made for me, in the Government-Office, by Mr. Carletti, with the permission, indeed by the order, of Sir Henry Bulwer, the High Commissioner, who was ever anxious to promote scientific research. Mr. A. P. G. Law, Director of Survey, was also most kind and helpful in this matter. I entered on the spot in this map all the archaeological detail, using chain, tape, surveying rod and prismatic compass. I examined the oldest and most reliable villagers on the spot with regard to particular finds, and compared their statements, in order to get as near the truth as possible. I was accompanied in my topographical inspection for several weeks, during the whole of each day, by several of the older diggers, among them Abraami Charlambo of Dali the finder of Lang's Reşef-Apollo temenos, a thoroughly trustworthy man whom I have since repeatedly employed with Gregori Antoniou to test new sites and supervise work in hand. In most cases, I could verify the villagers' statements by the aid either of fragments left by the excavators, or of still existing ruins, and where superficial observation failed me, I made my

guides, who always carried a pick and spade, turn up the soil. I repeat here the explanations given on the plate, with a few addenda.

Nos. 1—10. See Plate III.

No. 11. Spot where the vase with female head (Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art*, III, Fig. 522) was found.

No. 12. Spot where the well-known bronze patera with reliefs (Perrot III, fig. 482) was found.

No. 13. Hellenistic necropolis with many glass vessels: I dug here in 1883 for Sir Charles Newton.

No. 14. Stone tombs, long since destroyed, with pointed roof of stone rafters imitating wood-work.

No. 15. Temenos of Aphrodite *ζουροτρόφος* (No. 33 in my list; supra p. 18): I dug here in 1883 for Sir Charles Newton.

No. 16. Temenos of a male divinity (No. 35 of my list).

No. 17. Temenos of a god, perhaps Apollo (No. 34 in my list),

No. 18. Hellenistic necropolis with many transparent glass vessels.

No. 19. Stone tomb with pointed roof (partly intact when discovered by me: I made an accurate plan).

No. 20. Part of a great necropolis encircling the ancient town: I dug here in 1885 for Mr. Watkins and for Mr. Dümmler.

No. 21. Four large stone tombs with pointed roofs, in a low mound (now destroyed: in a lower and smaller mound to the north-east are four other somewhat smaller tombs without pointed roof).

No. 22. Site of a destroyed stone tomb with pointed roof.

No. 23. Hellenistic necropolis with many glass vessels: extent unknown.

No. 24. Necropolis: Graeco-Phoenician influence is visible: no traces of either pre-Phoenician or Hellenistic (transparent glass) times.

No. 25. Large necropolis; extent unknown. Most tombs show Graeco-Phoenician influence, a few Hellenistic.

No. 26. Hellenistic tombs, from one of which comes the aryballus of transparent glass in form of a man's head with Greek inscription, now in the British Museum.

No. 27. Pre-Graeco-Phoenician tombs, laid bare by the torrent: Character similar to the necropolis of Phoenijais, later than the people whom I call the "Shepherds" (The great milk- and milking-bowls with two long, tubular, vertical holes are no longer found).

No. 28. Temenos where, by the side of Apollo (Rešef), Herakles (Melqart) was worshipped (No. 40 in my list, p. 19 above).

No. 29. Necropolis of one of the Pre-Graeco-Phoenician peoples. Numbers of vases like one from Thera, (Furtwängler—Löschke, *Myk. Vasen* Pl. XII, 80), and a few glazed Mykenaeen vases were found. No trace of the "Shepherds."

No. 30. Settlement or town of the people to whom the necropolis, No. 29, belongs.

No. 31. Temenos of a divinity protector of animals (No. 39 in my list, p. 18 above). I dug here for Mr. Watkins.

No. 32. Remains of ancient buildings: here also I dug for Mr. Watkins in 1885.

No. 33. Remains of destroyed temenos, evidently of Apollo; found in digging for Mr. Watkins (1885): omitted in my list.

No. 34. (High up on the left). Tombs at Lithosourous (the name not entered in the map). Close by, ruins, to which the place owes its name, indicate the position of the settlement to which the tombs belong.

No. 35. Graeco-Phoenician tombs. The place is called Hassaveri.

No. 36. Temenos and roofed sanctuary of Aphrodite, excavated for Mr. Watkins in 1885 (No. 3 in my list: plan on Pl. VII: perspective view of excavations on Pl. XVI; illustrations of votive figures, Pl. XIII and Pl. XVII. 4).

No. 37. Small temenos (No. 36 in my list): numerous masks, once hung on a tree, were found here: excavated for Mr. Watkins.

No. 38. Necropolis on left bank of Dali river (Satrachos). About 20 tombs with transparent glass, some of them with black-glazed Attic ware, were opened. The place is called Angonides.

No. 39. Necropolis on the Dali--Nicosia road. Graeco-Phoenician influence.

No. 40. Tombs on right bank of Dali river.

No. 41. (No. 37 in my list). Not an old well as stated, but one of the many instructive Cyprian examples of holy pits especially connected with hero worship.

No. 42. Ancient marl-pit still in use. The marl is laid down on the roofs of houses and together with reeds and brushwood forms a watertight covering on the top of the rafters.

No. 43. Ancient limestone quarry, still in use. The number has been omitted on the map, but should have been inserted a little to the right of No. 16 where "Quarries" are marked.

No. 44. Ancient sandstone quarry, still in use. This number also has been omitted. It is near Nikolides, at the top of the map, in the middle.

Plate III. Plan of Idalium. Surveyed and drawn by E. A. Carletti. Archaeological information supplied by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, 1887.

I reproduce this important plan from the same number of "The Owl," and for the same reasons. The south-easterly portion, with the great temenos of Aphrodite, was subsequently surveyed by myself and added to Mr. Carletti's plan; I only arrived at a right comprehension of this shrine and its fortifications after his return to Nicosia. I have again to thank Sir H. Bulwer and Mr. Law for giving facilities for the construction of this plan. The government, on my application, allowed Mr. Carletti the necessary leave of absence for making the survey. Plates II and III are reproduced directly from Carletti's drawings by the photo-zincographic process. It is possible that continued research, and more especially excavation, may make it possible to improve our plan by the insertion of further details, and curves of altitude, for which we had no time, would add to its value; but, as regards the general contour and dimensions, the determinations of the city wall, the distribution and character of the various necropoleis, places of worship &c., it must be taken as a solid basis, on which to build. We can vouch for the correctness of our triangulation.

I append a revised explanation of the numbers of reference.

No. 1. Spot where iron swords were found.

No. 2. Spot on which the Idalian paterae (two, now in the Louvre; Perrot figs 546 and 548) were found.

No. 3. The Luynes bronze tablets found here.

Nos. 1—3 are on the extreme summit of the principal Akropolis, where the shrine of Anat-Athene stood. (See No. 28 in my list and *The Owl* 1888, p. 46—47).

No. 4. Remains of an ancient building, found by me in 1887, probably part of an oil-mill: I made measurements and a plan.

No. 5. Ruins of a strong ancient fortress or castle, excavated by me for Sir C. Newton in 1883. I have made an accurate plan and section.

Between Nos. 4 and 5 on the gradual slope at the northern foot of the principal Akropolis-hill stands the Aphrodite-temenos described above under No. 32. (Cp. *The Owl*, p. 54).

No. 6. Site of the temenos of Rešef-Mikal-Apollo-Amyklos discovered by Lang (No. 30 in my list: plan on p. VIII. cp. *The Owl* p. 55 and 56). A sinking, here drawn in its correct dimensions, still marks the site of the excavation.

No. 7. A shrine of Aphrodite, No. 31 in my list.

No. 8. The principal sanctuary of the Idalian Aphrodite, her great and celebrated grove, briefly described under No. 39 in my list. A more detailed description is given by me in the *Owl* 1888 pages 56—64, and by Oberhammer *ibid.*, p. 67. Oberhammer is at one with me in placing the famous sanctuary at this spot, clearly stating, at the same time that the discovery of this site, so important for the history of ancient worship in Cyprus, is due to myself.

No. 9. The Greek church in which the Phoenician votive inscription to Anat (see above p. 15) was found.

No. 10. Tombs of an older date than the city of Idalion here shown: they are within the circuit of the walls at the north end.

G I—G IV the city gates.

Plates IV, V, 1 and VI. Plans of three *τεμένη*; that of Artemis at Akhna (No. 1 in our list), that of Apollo at Voni (No. 2), and that of Rešef-Apollo at Frangissa (No. 4), excavated in 1882, 1883 and 1885 respectively. As on all three plans the same letters stand for the same things, we may succinctly review the three sites at once. In commenting on Plate X, I shall take the opportunity of briefly comparing the different plans of Cyprian sanctuaries with each other and with the temple of Byblos. My book "Kypros, the Bible, and Homer" will discuss at length all the variations in sacred architecture (I use the word in its widest sense) to which the excavations testify.

P. Peribolus-walls. They are little low walls roughly build of quarried stones, boulders, or shingle, either without mortar, or with a cement of earth or mud (never lime).

E. Entrances, doors &c. In the plan of Voni (Pl. V.), the door leading from the court into the altar-enclosure is too clearly defined, owing to faults of drawing and reproduction. It is really only an interruption of the upper courses of the wall, the lower portion continuing and forming the threshold, as at Akhna (Pl. IV E.)

Col. (Only on Pl. V, Voni). Bases of columns in situ. Similar bases were observed by myself and Lang at Dali and Idalion respectively: See Plates VII and VIII. There also appear to have been two in one of Cesnola's two *τεμένη* at Athiaenou (Ceccaldi, *Monuments &c.*, p. 42). Some columns played their part in the temple of Astarte in Kition identified by me (no. 9 of my list: a plan will be given in my forthcoming work). Although they are missing at Akhna (Pl. IV) and Frangissa (Pl. VI), it is allowable to assume that a small or large number of columns once existed in both sanctuaries; for, in each case, owing to want of time, money, or both, the excavation came

to a premature end. In Akhna I was to have continued towards the East and South-East, in Frangissa towards the North (see the plans).

Ce. (Pl. IV only) means lime-mortar. The thick little building the remains of which are visible above the main enclosure to the left on Pl. IV has a floor of small stones cemented by lime.

Lime was also used here (at Frangissa), at Akhna, and Voni to fix in their places the great statues. On Pl. IV 2, have reproduced on a larger scale the socket (or rather support) of the great terracotta statue (**Te¹**) which stood opposite the principal entrance, N, E. It was an archaic female figure wearing those pointed shoes which are so often seen on Hittite monuments, and are still worn by people of a certain class in Cyprus. The huge statue was simply set up on the floor of the holy enclosure, but, in order to secure it, a little square wall of stones cemented by mortar was built round the clay foot.

A means Altar.

L und **LA** repository of lamps.

F Fire-place.

AS Layer of ashes.

CO Layer of charred matter.

OS Heap of bones.

HY Holy-water vessel.

IN Spots where inscriptions were found.

AP.IN Apollo-inscription.

AR.IN Artemis-inscription.

BA Basis of statue.

BA.ST Stone basis.

C Colossal statue.

NA Life-size statue.

B Votive Bronzes.

GR Statue in Greek style.

AR Statue in archaic style.

EG Statue in a style with Egyptian tendencies.

TE Terracottas found here.

PHT Very rough terracottas, made probably for the poor and called *φτωχοί* by the Cypriots found here.

TY Female figures beating tympana found here.

PH Repository of phalli or phallic vases.

SAC Place where heaps of terracotta tree-idols were found.

EL Place where statuettes of Artemis-Kybele, with dog or deer, were found.

OR At this spot I found lekythi containing silver and glass beads.

TG Small vases massed here, chiefly plates.

PO Do., chiefly amphorae and lekythi.

N Stands for "Nothing" i. e. places where nothing was found. This may, at first sight, appear ridiculous, but in these enclosures it is of the greatest importance to determine the spots which were unoccupied by anathemata, as we thus gain a clue to the position of the passages and entrances.

A number of the latter signs will be found to occur only on Plate IV (Akhna.)*

Plate IV. 2. The perspective view of the excavation at Voni described above p. 3.

Pl. VII. Plan of sanctuary at Dali (Idalion), excavated and surveyed by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, Superintendent of excavations in Cyprus, with the assistance of E. Sutherland R.E. Government Surveyor.

H The Sanctuary proper.

S The sacrificial precinct with the altar of burnt-offering (A) in the middle, and irons (e) for stirring the fire.

V¹ Unroofed space where offerings were dedicated.

V² A colonnade, between O and V¹, leading to the sanctuary proper (H). The round stones of the walls are boulders, the angular mostly slabs or blocks of lime stone.

e.e Lime-mortar.

e Iron hooks for stirring the fire.

R-ca Ashes and charred matter from the Fire-place F.

st-st¹ &c. Stones of importance for the comprehension of the architecture.

Col. Basis of column—only one was found with round plinth and truncated corners.

θ²-θ⁴ Corners of a construction which perhaps supported a cone.

hy Fragments of a very large and thick clay vessel, seemingly an immense pithos.

E Entrance to space containing anathemata.

P Peribolus walls.

la. At this point a quantity of lamps (of the ordinary archaic shell shape) and small un-painted jugs, were found heaped up.

— . — . — pointed lines marking the probable limits of the enclosure.

The north wall of the court seems originally to have run in a straight line from point β to point ξ. Afterwards, in order to provide more room for the anathemata, the courtyard was extended on the North by bending the wall outwards (ι—K—K²).

The large stones, with cavities (usually quadrangular) on the upper surface, are bases of statues. On one of them a portion of a stone statue was found in situ.

The numerous other feet visible in the courtyard are fragments of statues and statuettes chiefly found in situ: among them are many clay statues of about life size.

On the larger bases traces of lime-mortar were occasionally found: it is thus indicated in the plan.

Note the tendency to place the statues facing the South-east or South.

The principal idol of the goddess herself was not found.

The anathemata, in so far as they consist of human figures, represent, with one certain exception, either the goddess herself or feminine personages.

The temenos was consecrated to Aphrodite.

In the Apollo-temenos at Voni I found, with two or three exceptions, only male figures.

Pl. VII. I give here an illustration of three out of the six fire-prongs found on the altar A

*) See for further details "The Owl", January 1889, pages 76—80 and March 1889, pages 81—86 and Plates IX and X.

at the spot *e*. Four prongs were found together, each carefully laid on the top of the other; the fifth and sixth were close by. From this and other circumstances, it would appear that the sanctuary was (in the 4th century B. C.) suddenly destroyed by some catastrophe, such as a fire or earthquake, either during, or immediately after, the performance of a sacrifice.

Pl. VII₃ a—f. Objects of limestone from the sanctuary.

a) Fragment of a head, originally belonging to a life-size statue of a style counterfeiting Egyptian work; subsequently cut to form a base for a statuette. The face has been hacked off, and in the flat surface thus produced the cavity for the reception of the statue has been cut.

b) Another damaged life-size head from a statue of similar style, also used to make a basis. In this case, the cavity for the statuette has been cut in the back of the head.

c) The damaged base of a column, found at the point **Col**.

d) Base of a large statuette, **st ba 9** on the plan. We see the lower portion of the statuette in situ, the two feet in shoes, and the fringe of the dress rendered in a manner which evidently is intended to represent pleats produced by ironing. It resembles the pleated and crimped edge of a modern petticoat. *e*¹ and *e*² show from two sides the lower portion of a life-size archaic statue, which had also been cut to form the base of a statuette.

f) Another rough base for a statuette, cut out of the middle portion of an archaic statue. We can tell that the left hand of the statue hung at the side and held out a sprig of something.

Plate VIII, 1 and 2.

See above p. 16 No. 30.

1. Lang's plan of the temenos of Rešef-Mikal-Apollo-Amyklos at Idalion.

2. G. Colonna-Ceccaldi's plan of the same temenos.

Lang gives, in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, 1878, pages 35—42, an instructive explanation of his plan and describes the condition in which things were found when excavated. I must content myself with referring to his narrative.

Ceccaldi's explanations will be found on the Plate. I must here correct an error caused by the fact that, as I have said, the "Monuments Antiques de Chypre &c." could not be published until after the author's death.

The construction **W** on the upper left-hand corner of the plan, 14 metres distant from the south-east corner of the precinct, is drawn and described as a "conduit souterrain." On p. 291 of the "Monuments" the editor conjectures that a drawing of the section of a conduit found among Ceccaldi's papers (*ibid.* Pl. XXI 4 and 5) represents on a larger scale this conduit near the temple of Idalion. I unfortunately had not Ceccaldi's book with me in Cyprus, but I think that the editor must be mistaken, as I found, exactly at the spot indicated, a tank with a pointing of strong lime-mortar, and have entered it as such in the plan of Idalion (Pl. III). This tank then, Ceccaldi's **W**, must have been meant to contain water for use in the temple.

Plate IX. I reproduce here from the Journal of Hellenic Studies 1888, p. 47 the plan of the temenos of Aphrodite discovered by the English at Palaipaphos. See above p. 21 No. 54.

Plate X. Figs. 1—10. Kypros and Byblos.

Fig. 1. Coin of Byblos, after Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art antique* III, p. 60, fig. 19.

Fig. 2. Coin of Cyprus from *ibid.* p. 120, fig. 58.

Fig. 3. Terracotta model of an aedicula from Idalion, *ibid.* p. 277, fig. 208.*)

Fig. 4—9. Reductions of the plans of Cyprian sacred precincts given on Plates IV—IX.

Fig. 10. Plan of the temenos of Zeus excavated by the English at Salamis, reproduced from *Journ. of Hell. Studies* 1891 pl. VI. (See above p. 23 No. 64).

It is only quite recently that the stimulus and instruction derived from personal intercourse with Messrs. Barth, von Landau, and Puchstein have led me to the discovery that ancient Cyprian buildings, the plans of which I had made and still possess, throw a quite unexpected light on the successive temples, from Solomon to Ezekiel, described in the Bible. In my work "Kypros, the Bible and Homer" I will publish for the first time those plans and architectural fragments which are most significant. At present I wish, in explaining Pl. X, to indicate briefly, in the first place, what was the construction of the small shrines in the open country, where the villagers and the folk of the little towns worshipped; secondly, how highly primitive unroofed constructions were gradually replaced by roofed buildings, which grew up alongside of, and around, the open spaces where the altar and the anthemata respectively stood, and, thirdly, how, during a certain period, there is a predilection for one constantly recurring disposition of such buildings, a disposition of which the coin of Byblos (No. 1 on the Plate) gives a complete and satisfying explanation. I must further, at the risk of transgressing the space at my disposal, just indicate how these peculiarities of early Cyprian sacred architecture illustrate in a striking and novel manner that of Judaea and Syria on the one hand and that of the Homeric and Early-Olympian Periods in Greece on the other.

Those acquainted with old Hebrew and old Greek literature and with the results of recent excavations in the Hellenic and Semitic East will be able to pick out from Plate X and the preceding Plates a number of highly significant particulars.

We have first the Altar (A on all the plans) originally in the open (Nos. 4 and 6), afterwards in a covered chapel (Nos. 5 and 7). The Altar of burnt-offering is sometimes built up of earth, shingle, and unhewn stones (No. 7), sometimes of hewn stones (No. 5); sometimes it consists of a single hewn stone of cubic form (No. 6).

The space for receiving anthemata remains entirely or partially uncovered even long after roofed buildings have begun to be included within the temenos. The great court full of votive statues is visible on plans 4—10: we see it also on the coin of Byblos. It is at first enclosed by a simple, rude and quite low peribolos-wall (*περίβολος*), surmounted originally by a dead-wood hedge of thorny shrubs (Nos. 4 and 6). Then stoaes are carried along the court, first on one side (No. 5), then on two sides (No. 7), then on three or four sides (Nos. 9 and 10). The principal entrance is often, as in the Bible, from the North (Nos. 7 and 8 and Cesnola's Athiaenou temenos). We read in the Bible that, opposite the entrance in the middle of the court, stood either one of the principal anthemata (as here in Nos. 4 and 8) or the great cone of the god or goddess (No. 7 ρ^2 — ρ^7 Idalion, No. 1 Byblos). Not only Aštoret-Aphrodite, but Baal-Libanon-Zeus-Labranios, Rešef-Apollo, and other gods were worshipped in the form of cones. Occasionally, in the greater places of worship, one of the outer sides of the stoa surrounding the court was more richly decorated than the others, as on the coin of Byblos. At a later date this decoration may have extended to the whole peribolos.

*) These three illustrations are reproduced from Perrot's work by permission of the publishers Messrs. Hachette & Cie.

The coin of Paphos, No. 2, and all other coins of Paphos on which there is the representation of a building, show not a temple in the proper sense, but the principal entrance to the court of the votive offerings. We see the gate and portico with its wealth of ornamentation, closely resembling the gate of Ezekiel's temple at Jerusalem and the gate of the temple at Samal, the modern Senjerli.*) Hittite buildings in the land of Samal shew, as Puchstein will shortly demonstrate, resemblances in plan to Assyrian buildings. We see on the Paphos coins inside the gate the cone which stands in the centre of the court.

Adjacent to the court, there is a chamber often partially or wholly covered, and containing either the sacred hearth, the altar of incense, the altar of burnt-offering, or some other altar (Nos. 5 and 7 Cyprus, No. 1. Byblos). Of particular interest is the plan of Frangissa (No. 7). Here it would seem that a small chamber for burnt-offerings terminating in an apse stood originally on the south side of the court of votive offerings. When the court became too small for the quantity of the statues dedicated and set up in it, the burnt-offerings were relegated to the large altar-stone A, outside the south-west corner of the enclosure, and the original chamber of sacrifice was deprived of its roof and annexed to the votive area. These chambers of sacrifice have sometimes a flat, sometimes a pointed roof (No. 1 Byblos).—I have observed similar flat or pointed roofs in the monumental freestone tombs of Kition, Idalion and Tamassos; the flat roofs also occur in megalithic tombs at Amathus of the early Graeco-Phoenician Period.

These chambers of sacrifice come to be chapels, sanctuaries, primitive temples (if one must call them so): they come to be the habitation of the god to whom the sacrifice is made or that of the beasts which are either sacrificed to him, or revered as creatures consecrated to him, and tended like himself or in his place. Such a Cyprian chapel from Idalion is shown in Fig. 3, a terracotta model or copy only 21 cm. (= 8,3 in.) high; here columns with palm-capitals support the projecting lintel of the door (cp. Ezekiel's description of the windows ch. XL, 16); the chamber has side windows (in our royal tomb at Tamassos there are window-niches over the door, as in the case of the Paphian coins); a god, half Astoret half dove, stands in the door-way; the chapel serves also as a dove-cot for the sacred birds of the goddess (cp. Pl. XVII, 2—4).—As described in the Bible, steps lead up to both the court and the chamber of sacrifice. Lang observed the same thing at Idalion (No. 8); there, a little stair on the north side leads up to the court, another little stair, at the south-east corner, conducts us to the sacrificial chapel; both at Frangissa (No. 6) and at Athiaenou (Cesnola) one or other of these stairs appears.

I must reserve for my larger work a description of the priests' houses and treasure-houses which grew up round the court (Nos. 7—9). The little walls, the altars, the material used in building,

*) The great royal tomb at Tamassos, excavated for the Berlin Museum in 1889, is a specimen of just such a building, a building which may do duty now for a gate-way, now for a temple, now for a king's house and now for his tomb. The plan of this royal tomb exactly corresponds to that of the three gate-ways or covered passages which at Samal (Senjerli), according to Koldewey's reconstruction, connected the three equidistant gates of the outer circular wall of the lower town with the corresponding gates in the inner circular wall. The only important difference (apart from material and dimensions) is that in our Cyprian tomb the back wall is unpierced, at Samal of course pierced. The side-doors of the Samal gate are here replaced by niches representing bolted doors. Modern Cyprian doorways correspond in many particulars to Ezekiel's description.

the customs and usages, the rites of sacrifice and service which generally ruled in these places of worship — all answer to the descriptions of the Sacred Writings and of Homer, and to the mute testimony of the Olympian excavations.

Plates XI and XII. Terracottas from the temenos of Artemis-Kybele at Achna, excavated by me for Sir C. Newton in 1882 (No. 1 in my list). I have entered on the plan (Pl. IV) the spots where the most important objects were found. Most of the 28 figures here reproduced were found in the course of my excavations and are now in the British Museum: A few which I bought in Larnaka (see above p. 2) found their way into other collections. Some were painted, the colours being more or less well preserved.

Their heights range between 6 inches (= 15,3 cm.) (Pl. XII, Fig. 9) and 15 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (= 38,5 cm.) (Pl. XII, Fig. 5) specimens of intermediate heights being Pl. XII, Fig. 13 (11 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. = 29,8 cm.) and Pl. XI, Fig. 6 (12 in. = 30,4 cm.). I have, as the Plates show, had all the figures large and small drawn the same size.

Pl. XI, 1—7. Type with both hands under the breasts. This motive, borrowed from Nana-Ištar, was originally in the archaic period employed to represent both Aštoret-Aphrodite and Tanit-Artemis. While, however, the Cyprian coroplast entirely undrapes Aštoret-Aphrodite, loading her, in revenge, with head ornaments and necklaces, and sometimes adding a nosering, he takes no similar liberties with Artemis. Consequently, it is only in the precincts of Astarte-Aphrodite, and never in the Tanit-Artemis groves, that we find those images of a naked goddess, with both hands either on the breasts, or under the breasts, or pressing the milk from the breasts. In the present case, we have certainly to do with Tanit-Artemis-Kybele. All the figures are draped. While in the case of other types, such as the figures holding flowers or cymbals (Pl. XI, 8—14), the Greeks adopt the originally foreign motive, and even in the 4th century, at a time when the influence of Praxiteles and his successors is dominant, still continue to reproduce it with ever fresh variations, the type with the hands on the breasts never found a place in the repertory of Greek art. This stiff motive, with its identical treatment of the right and left extremities and its general rigidity of pose, was antipathetical to the Greek sense of beauty. Pl. XI, 7 (the original is in London) shows the sole, and scarcely successful, attempt made to introduce this schematic motive into Greek art. While the other specimens, figs. 1—6, are representative of types of which the Artemis-groves of Achna and its neighbourhood furnish replicas in great profusion, I found no fellow to fig. 7—a very significant indication that the attempt to hellenize the type is here quite exceptional. The figures are so arranged, that we begin with the rudest specimens of each type and finish with those most developed and most permeated by Greek influence; but it must not be supposed that the rudest figures are always the oldest, or even representative of the oldest stages of stylistic development. On the contrary, the reverse may often, and particularly in the present case, be true. The same coroplast who supplied to his richer customers such well-executed figures as Pl. XI, 4, 6, would keep for the poorer classes a stock of rude and rapidly moulded idols such as 1—3.—At the same time, comparison with the products of other factories shows that it is legitimate to suppose that the different types did develop in the manner pictured in our illustration: let the reader, compare our fig. 1 on Pl. XI with the idol found by Schliemann at Mykenae and reproduced in his "Mykenae," fig. 112. It is further clear from the changes and variations in costume and in the divine and priestly insignia, that these clay figures may easily be made to furnish us with a chapter in the History of the development of Art and Religion.

I would call attention to figure 11 on Pl. XI as peculiarly instructive. The artist in modelling the figure gave it the stiff priestly apron which we see on figs. 4—6: over this he painted in colours a mantle worn in the Greek fashion.

On Plate XII fourteen specimens are reproduced, illustrating as many variations in the treatment and execution of the type of a female figure playing a lute or lyre. We see how pose, costume, and insignia change with the style.

The last four figures, 11—14, are good examples of Graeco-Cyprian local art in the 4th century B. C. Time and space alike forbid me to say more here.

Plate XIII. Objects discovered in the temenos of Astoret-Aphrodite at Dali. For plan and description of the temenos see Plates VII and X, 7 and above pages 5—7. Thousands of votive statues once stood in the court of this holy grove, which had a small sanctuary attached to it. The excavation-catalogue, comprising only the most important specimens, extends to 575 numbers. In my larger work I will give numerous illustrations. I must here be content with the reproduction of three heads. They are broken off from statues as large as, or larger than, life. Nos. 1 and 2 shew us two aspects of a terracotta head $7\frac{7}{8}$ in. (= 20 cm.) in height, Nos. 3 and 4 two stone heads the former ($8\frac{1}{4}$ = 21 cm.), the latter 8 in. (= 20,5 cm.) high*).

The female head in terracotta, represented from two aspects in 1 and 2, is a good example of the pronounced Graeco-Phoenician style of the beginning of the sixth (or end of the seventh) century—a style preparing the way for the Cyprian archaic-Greek art (I show this at greater length below). No. 3 shows a limestone head of this Cyprian archaic-Greek or, perhaps we should say, pure archaic-Greek style.

No. 4 supplies a good example of the advanced Greek style of the fourth century. Plate XV will tell us that the Period of Phidias did not go by without leaving some traces in Cyprus, although the intercourse of the island with Athens was interrupted in the fifth century by the Persian wars. The originals of the three heads on this plate are in the Berlin Museum.

Plate IV introduces us to two other heads (also rather over life size) which are among the gems of the collection in Berlin. Both were obtained from Louis P. di Cesnola. Unless I am mistaken, the upper head, that with the low cap (Nos. 1 and 2) has never been published; the lower head, that with the helmet or high cap (Nos. 3 and 4) has, however, been published by Cesnola-Stern, Pl. XI. It is sometimes possible to make successful excavations not only in the soil of the East, but in the text and the illustrations of books and in the glass cases of public collections. At the time he was translating Cesnola's book, Ludwig Stern was employed in the Egyptian Department of the Berlin Museum and was, therefore, constantly under the same roof with this head. It is catalogued, and labelled 30—6682, Dali being given as the "provenance" both of it and of the other head which

*) I attach peculiar value to the excellent phototypic reproductions on this and the other Plates. My best thanks are due to Herr A. Frisch (Berlin, Lützowstrasse 66) for these capital illustrations. All previous books on Cyprus gave us either no phototypes or unsatisfactory ones. The two Cesnolas' Collection of photographs, Louis di Cesnola's unfinished "Atlas of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York," and Alexander di Cesnola's completed Album "Cyprus Antiquities" all give the important specimens on two small and scale and inadequately. The reports in the Journal of Hellenic Studies on the excavations of the Cyprus Exploration Fund are accompanied by a few good plates, but there are not enough of them and they are not always quite excellent. The black background employed there is much more unfavourable to the modelling than white.

accompanies it on our plate. In Cesnola-Stern's book it is stated to have been found at Papho (Kouklia), but I adhere to the first version (Dali), as the more probable. It is evident that the head entirely escaped Stern's notice, as otherwise he would have mentioned the fact of its being at Berlin and would have noted the divergency in the statements as to "provenance". Holwerda also, who in his little book "Die alten Kyprier in Kunst und Kultus," gives (Pl. I, 4) a still more faulty reproduction of the head from Cesnola-Stern, neither had seen it nor knew where it was to be found. Both heads show traces of black colouring on the eyes, beard, and hair, the upper one traces of red colour on the face.*) True, the workers in clay who produced these heads, were under Assyrian influence and employed Assyrian motives, costumes, and head-dresses; but none the less, we can already detect something specifically Cyprian in the treatment of the forms and the tendency of style which here manifests itself. These Cyprian artists had a hand in the creation and expansion of archaic-Greek Art. While the lower head has assumed a more thoughtful and pleasanter expression, its profile approximating somewhat to the Greek form, the upper head impresses us strongly by an ugliness which is, at the same time, spirited and not untrue to nature. But, however ungraceful the broad grin, the indented nose, and the protruding beard of this head, we have a right to characterize it as representative to us of an early, but yet, in some sense, mature, and distinctly marked stage in the development of archaic Greek Art—a stage when this Art has already quitted its oriental nursery, and is moving independently on lines of its own.

This may seem a mere hypothesis. How can we prove it?

I reply— By Conze's Melos Vases**) by the François Vase***), by the black-figured Attic vases of the earliest style, by the archaic bronze plate from Crete published in the *Annali*†) and by the poros sculptures of the Typhon-pediment on the Akropolis of Athens.††).

On the observe of the vase reproduced on Plate IV of the "Melische Thongefässe" we see three figures, two female and one male, standing on a processional car. The man with the lyre, usually supposed to be Apollo, has the same padded diadem, the same pointed beard, the same shaven upper lip as our clay head: the arrangement of the hair is in both cases the same; the profile-outlines, if not quite the same, are at least exceedingly alike.

We are still more struck by the great similarity in the form and position of the eyes. They are those big, flat, almond-shaped cavities, extending upwards as far as the frontal eminences, and meant to contain actual eyes and eyebrows worked in in colour, to which Overbeck has called attention in the case of two Old Ephesian statues, very rightly comparing these with a certain series of Old Cyprian heads†††). The lips of the man or the Melian vase, thin and compressed like those of our head, do not, it is true, expand into a grin. As is well known, the Melian vases are among the earliest existing monuments of Greek ceramic art. Still more striking are the resemblances in style, form and expression between our head and the bearded heads on the François vase. Not-

*) Cp. *Journal of Hell. Studies* 1891, p. 149 figs 7 and 8 and Pl. IX.

**) *Melische Thongefässe* von A. Conze. Leipzig 1862

***) *Wiener Vorlegeblätter* von A. Benndorf. 1889. Plates II, III, and IV, 1.

†) 1880. *Tav. d'agg T. and p. 213 f. Milchhöfer. Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, p. 169, fig. 65.

††) L. A. Brückner, "Porossculpturen auf der Akropolis" in the *Mittheilungen des Instituts zu Athen*. 1889, Plates II, III, and p 67–87.

†††) Overbeck. *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik* I, p. 96.

withstanding their small size and the difference of the medium, we can see that the head of Zeus and many others there have every thing, even the exaggerated grin, in common with this large terracotta statue. The most remarkable point of resemblance is the outline of the whiskers: many of the bearded heads on the François vase show that very peculiar curve in the whisker, level with the cheek-bone, which we see on the terracotta, and the same curve repeats itself, in both cases, on the lower jaw. Cyprian stone statues exhibit the same peculiarity: See Perrot, *Histoire de l'Art*, p. 519, fig. 353. It is unknown to Assyrian and Aegyptian art, and the correspondence, in this respect, of Cyprian monuments with the François vase, a Greek work of the first half of the sixth century, is all the more remarkable.

The close resemblances in style and costume between the Cyprian terracotta and the head of the bearded man on the bronze plate from Crete cited above (*Annali* 1880 Tav. d'agg. T.) are obvious at first sight; and its resemblances with the types of heads on early black-figured Greek ware are so many and so striking that I need scarcely, here, cite examples.

If the reader will compare the published illustrations of the Typhon pediment at Athens with our head, and other Cyprian works, he will not fail to observe in the latter a remarkable correspondence in style, form, and dress to this product of early archaic art from the heart of Greece. Typhon has again the same peculiar outline of the beard noticed above.

The Herakles and Typhon of the Akropolis should further be compared with the statue of Herakles and the relief of Herakles, Eurytion and Geryon from Athiaenou (*Cesnola-Stern, Plates XXIII, XXIV, XXXIV*.*)

J. A. R. Munro in the Excursus appended to his description of the Toumpa finds (see above p. 25 No. 67) in the *Hellenic Journal* 1891, p. 146—163 has come to conclusions which seem to me to be only true in part. He asserts that certain Aegyptian influences (coming especially from Naukratis) on the one hand, and certain early Greek influences, on the other, can be detected in Cyprian stone statues, but not in terracottas. The terracottas retain unimpaired by any alien influence their original Assyrian character. After what I have said, Munro's assertion cannot be upheld. At Limniti itself, where the Cyprus Exploration Fund excavated in 1889, life-size terracotta heads have been found, representing a more advanced stage of that archaic-Greek art which grew up in Cyprus. There are three very fine specimens in the Berlin Museum. If we only divest these heads of their Cyprian coiffure and substitute an Aegyptian, they might serve as examples of the archaic terracotta female masks (often coloured) so frequently found in Rhodes and at Tanagra. I myself discovered at Politis Khrysokhou, in 1886, two terracotta masks of quite the same style, and at Limniti was found a colossal clay head, in perfect preservation, with the exception of the loss of a few locks of hair and a slight injury to one nostril, which has the features cast in a distinctly noble mould, but is, withal, a product of Cyprian art. It is a head of a youth in the first bloom of manhood, and is now in the Berlin Museum. It will be illustrated in my larger work, and the kinship in style between this archaic Cyprian work and the Greek archaic Apollo-heads (*Overbeck, Gesch. der griech. Plastik I, p. 88—91, figs. 8—10*) will, I hope, be at once apparent. In profile it resembles most the Apollo of Thera, and the resemblance to the Sabouroff head** is also very close. With the latter it shares a remarkable peculiarity; the first beginnings of the beard are indicated by little pits. We

*) *Overbeck, Geschichte der griechischen Plastik*, p. 176—178.

***) *Furtwängler. Die Sammlung Sabouroff Th. I "Sculpturen"*, plates III and IV.

have again, coming also from the Apollo-temenos at Limniti (see above, p. 20) a colossal clay head the form and colouring of which unmistakably point to Egyptian influence. Munro is further inclined to think that early Greek influence did not directly touch Cyprus, but was transmitted by way of Asia Minor, through old Ionic art. However far we may admit the reciprocal influence exercised by Asia Minor on Cyprus, we have still to reckon with the probability of a direct communication by sea between Athens and Kypros at least as early as, and perhaps earlier than, the commencement of the sixth century B.C. That such a communication existed, it is in my power to show. My researches at Poli tis Khrysokhou, in 1885 and 1886, have established that early in the sixth century there was a direct and constant communication between Athens and that portion of Cyprus, the north-west coast, which lay nearest to her and could supply her with copper at the cheapest rates. There is not, and there never will be, any place in the island which can be shown to have imported Attic pottery of the sixth century on such a massive scale as Poli. We should not, therefore, be surprised to find at Limniti, which lies on the same coast a few miles to the East, traces, absent from Salamis, of an art of moulding clay, which is, at the same time, "archaic Greek" and "local Cyprian". There is also nothing that need surprise us in the fact that I dug up at this very place, Poli tis Khrysokhou, in the dromos of a tomb of the first half of the sixth century (the other finds point to this), a marble torso of pure Greek archaic work, which will take its place among the archaic Greek statues of the so-called Apollo. In my large work, "Kypros, the Bible, and Homer" I will support these statements by ocular proof. I will then also illustrate the relations between Cyprus and Naukratis and the influence exercised by Egypt on the art of the island.

Plate XV. Three heads belonging to colossal terracotta statues from the temenos of Aphrodite at Boumo (See above p. 20 No. 51).

Nos. 1 and 2: A head 12 in. (=30,5 cm.) in height from two aspects.

No. 3: Another head 11 $\frac{1}{4}$ in. (= 28,5 cm.) in height.

No. 4: A third head 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (= 29,5 cm.) in height.

These heads also were, so to say, re-excavated by me in the Antiquarium of the Berlin Museum. Louis Palma di Cesnola, from whom the Museum acquired these splendid specimens of Graeco-Cyprian art, gives Paphos as the "provenance." I was enabled to demonstrate that they come from Boumo. Cesnola's statement is so far correct, in that Boumo is in the Paphos district, the whole neighbourhood being commonly spoken of by the Cypriots as Papho. When a man says "I am going to Papho" he may mean Boumo or Poli or any other place in the district. I learnt from old peasants at Boumo, that people sent by Cesnola had dug in the holy grove there and had carried off rich spoils in the shape of numerous statues, heads &c. This of course proved nothing, but taken together with it, the similarity in style, motives, and dimensions of these heads and the Boumo finds was conclusive, and there was no longer any room for doubt when I came to examine the colour and grain of the clay, the geological nature of the substances contained in it, the method of preparing it, and the extent of the baking. I myself bought in 1890 from the peasants at Boumo and still possess a female terracotta head, closely corresponding in form and dimensions to the Berlin heads. I only refrain from giving an illustration of it, because the surface is in a bad state of preservation, but Herr Dörpfeld photographed it when he was in Cyprus, and any one who cares to compare it with these may obtain a print from the Imperial German Archaeological Institute.*)

*) Jahrbuch des Institutes VI (1891) p. 90. No. 40.

The soil at Boumo contains large quantities of red iron oxide, and the coarse-grained clay found there is consequently of a bright red colour. The votive statues, of all sizes from pigmies to colossi, which stood by the altar of Aphrodite, have been made on the spot out of this clay.

The products of this Boumo factory very much resemble in style those of the Poli factory. But there are two notable points of the difference: in the first place all the Boumo figures which have come to light were intended to be used as votive offerings and dedicated at the altar; the Poli figures, on the other hand, were meant for use in the worship of the dead and were destined to stand in the "dromoi", or on the steps, of tombs. So that although we find in both cases a Greek style of the same period and excellence and the same arrangement of the hair, yet the motives are different.

The second decisive point of difference is the quality of the clay; that of Poli is more like marl; it contains lime and is of light gray, sometimes almost white, colour. At both places we are met by a local, but at the same time pure Greek style, of the fourth century, probably of about Praxiteles' period. But there is still in the conception and rendering of the forms a quiet dignity, a nobility of aspect, a general something which can only derive from Pheidias and his contemporaries.

The first to clearly call attention to the peculiar stylistic value of these works, was Furtwängler in his Report to the Archäologische Gesellschaft on the Poli sepulchral statues,*) the artistic equivalents of our Boumo votive statues. It is probable that beautiful large pure Greek figures like those from the Poli tombs and the Boumo temenos will never be found in any other than the western portion of the island; perhaps indeed never elsewhere but on the north-west coast between Poli-Marion-Arsinoë and Karavostasi-Soloi. This developed Graeco-Cyprian art of the fine style (with reminiscences of the severe style), like the archaic Graeco-Cyprian art (which had advanced as far as the Tanagra masks and the Apollo figures), can only be accounted for by the maritime importance and wealth in copper of this portion of the island. The chief trade route from Athens led naturally to this neighbourhood.

Plate XVI. Perspective view of the excavation in the Aphrodite temenos at Dali, described above on pages 6 and 7: No. 3 in our list. The plan is given on Plate VII and Plate X, 7. The admirable sketch is the work of Herr Lübke, to whom Plates XI, XII and XVII are also due. It has been made from my own photographs and sketch, with the assistance of the plan. It is taken from the south-east corner, so that we see in the fore-ground the wall enclosing the Sanctuary proper (H on the plan). Unfortunately the artist has made a mistake with regard to the first three limestone blocks. They should (as will be seen on the plan) be one stone's breadth further inwards. I noticed the mistake too late to have it corrected. The only object which has been restored in the picture is the holy-water vessel *hy* (at point *st*³ on the plan), which was put together from the fragments: its approximate size is certain, its form somewhat less so. Almost exactly in the middle of the picture, behind the man with the wheel-barrow, we see the limestone slabs, χ^1 and χ^2 of the plan, in their original vertical position. We have here a quite peculiar method of building, bearing a remarkable resemblance to that of the circle of stone slabs at Mykenae. The view of the latter

*) Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie. 1885. col. 1593.

given by Schuchhardt in his book on Schliemann's excavation*) is not nearly so distinct as that given by Milchhöfer in his Essay "Heinrich Schliemann und die Bedeutung seiner Ausgrabungen".**) The latter should therefore be used for purposes of comparison.

Plate XVII. 1—6. Anathemata from various Places of Worship: Figs. 1—5 are of terracotta, Fig. 6 of stone.

Fig. 1. A holy tree, 15 cm. (= 6 in.) high from the temenos of Aphrodite at Chytroi described on p. 14, (No. 24 in our list). The "provenance" is certain. The original is now in the University Museum at Bonn. Herr Lösche, whom I have to thank for the photograph on which the illustration is based, wrote to me that the idol was complete below, in spite of the manifestly broken surface. This, however, is not so; the holy-tree was stuck on to a terracotta disk resembling that on which the figures dancing round a flute-player on No. 5 of the present Plate stand. We must suppose that three women were dancing round this tree. The Cyprus Museum possesses a series of fragments and replicas of similar groups dancing round trees, coming from my excavations at Chytroi. I will give illustrations of several of these in my large work.

Figs. 2 and 3 show us from two points of view the same curious object of worship—13 cm. (= 5 $\frac{1}{8}$ in.) in height. Herr Lübke, who prepared these illustrations, had only a tolerably correct sketch made by myself from the original in Mr. D. Pierides' house at Larnaka, to work from. We see a hollow cone: in a rectangular niche in the cone sits a female figure. It is Astarte-Aphrodite. A number of small holes represent the loop-holes of a dove-cot, and round about the holy cone we see the doves, rudely moulded birds, supposed to be flying to it or perched on it. The goddess and her doves lived together. Who can help remembering the gold aedicula of Astarte and the gold statuettes of Astarte and the dove found by Schliemann at Mykenae? We think also of the little Cyprian chapels, one of which is figured above on Pl. X, 3. In the same Aphrodite temenos at Idahon (No. 3 of our list) where (in 1885) I found at the foot of the altar the holy column of which I am about to speak (Fig. 4 on the Plate see above p. 6), I dug up a fragment of a dove-house very similar to Pl. X 3; in this case there is a dove perched on the edge of the projecting roof. It would appear that, like the stone objects from the Artemis-grove of which fig. 6 is one, these cones, columns, and square boxes representing chapels were used as censers or braziers in the sacred offices.

Fig. 4. Terracotta pillar, broken above and below; in its present state 32 cm. (= 12 $\frac{5}{8}$ in.) high. It has been turned on the wheel, which implies that this particular utensil was manufactured in very large quantities. It is doubtless a small model of a Astoret-pillar: had it been found in a grove of Baal we should have called it a model of a Baal-pillar. The wall of the hollow, chimney-like column is pierced near the foot by two large quadrangular openings, exactly opposite each other, and, at a higher level, three small almost triangular holes are bored at equal distances from each other. The lower story is evidently supposed to be the residence of the goddess, the upper story that of her pigeons. To this day the Cypriots have their dove-cots above the rooms of their dwelling-houses; and the holes for the pigeons to go in and out at are still triangular, being formed of three tiles; the mason lays one tile down flat, and sets up two others on it in card-house fashion.

*) Schliemann's Ausgrabungen in Troja, Tiryns, Mykenae, Orchomenos, Ithaka im Lichte der heutigen Wissenschaft, von K. Schuchardt. (Leipzig 1891). p. 185, No. 148.

**) In Westermann's Monatsheften. 1891. p. 169.

Fig. 5. Ring-dance in terracotta; 14 cm. ($\approx 5\frac{1}{2}$ in.) height; excavated by me in 1883 for the Cyprus Museum, together with many other objects, in the temenos at Katydata-Linou, No. 53 of our list (see above p. 20). Although the principal divinity here was Aphrodite, the dance is executed by three bearded men round another bearded man who plays the double flute. Like the Astarte cone (figs. 2 and 3), this group is made in the fashion to which Dümmler and I have given the name of snow-man technique. This primitive system of modelling, where the separate parts are rudely moulded by the fingers and then stuck together, scarcely outlived the sixth century B.C. One of the three dancers is broken off, and another has lost his head. This is a votive-offering pure and simple, the representation of a dance such as Arians and Semites, Greeks and Hebrews so often executed at the festivals of their gods. The object cannot have been itself used for any ceremonial purpose.

Fig. 6. A censer or brazier (13 cm. $5\frac{1}{8}$ in. high) in the form of a ring-dance. The upper portion of the figures was missing and has been restored from the numerous fragments and replicas.

I found large numbers of stone vessels or utensils of this form in the temenos of Artemis-Kybele at Akhna (No. 1 of our list). There are invariably three (in only one case four) female figures, rudely modelled in a somewhat Egyptian style, joining hands and dancing in a circle. The use of similar censers in other neighbouring shrines of Artemis-Kybele (Nos. 10-14 of our list) is attested by fragments found there: on the other hand no single fragment of such a vessel or of anything in the same style has come to light in shrines belonging to other divinities. We have evidently to deal with an object which is peculiar to Artemis-Kybele and was very generally used in the ceremonial of her worship. Oblations of incense were offered to all divinities, and many varieties of censer may have been indiscriminately employed. There were others, however, which served special purposes and were used in the ritual of particular gods only. The sculptor of these groups has either intentionally omitted the hands of the figures or has not taken the trouble to execute them. The three large rectangular openings, scalloped at the top, of which our illustration can only show one, are always present. Modern Cyprian braziers are of a very similar form, minus, of course, the figures: the cook rests the pot on the three projections corresponding to the heads of our three figures. The adaptation of the dancing groups to the form of the censer in the Artemis-Kybele worship is of much interest. Perrot (III, p. 587, fig. 399) gives an illustration of such a group (now in the Louvre) also in stone and resembling ours in style, but, in this case, the open spaces between the bodies of the dancers are quite wide, and the centre, reserved in the brazier for coal or incense, is occupied by a flute-player. The women in the Louvre group have hands, and hanging from each pair of clasped hands we see a peculiar triangular object, not clearly rendered in the wood-cut but perhaps representing a handkerchief, garland, or little bag. The other details of style and costume closely resemble our Akhna censer; we can see how the carver in adapting the group to the necessities of a censer, first omitted the hands and then drowned his figures in draperies and veils, leaving only the heads free. The latest objects found at Akhna were, as the circumstances of their discovery show, of the fourth century, and it is quite possible that some of the censers may be as late as this. One step further! The drapery falls away; all attempt to indicate a human body is abandoned; the vessel, however, retains the same form, and the three

human heads with the faces turned inwards still surmount the three projections. Thus we get the Greek braziers, recently recognized and collected by Conze.*)

What Conze conjectured (p. 138), viz. that older and more primitive forms of the late Greek braziers would be found, has proved true. The form of the brazier owes its origin to the ring dance. On page 121 of his paper, Conze cites (No. 108) a fragment from Cyprus stated to have been found at the village of Bamboula near Larnaka. There is no village of this name in Cyprus, but the Cypriots call nearly all hills Bamboula.**)

The fragment mentioned by Conze was found on the hill between Old Larnaka and the Scala of Larnaka, at the spot where I demonstrated in 1879 the existence of a sanctuary of Astarte (See Introduction p. IV, and No. 9 of our list (p. 12). I photographed the fragment at that time and described it in the "Ausland." Munro (Journ. of Hell. Studies XII (1891), p. 122) mentions a fragment found at Salamis, of Conze's Type III A. With the help of the ring-dance we can explain the frequent occurrence on the Hellenistic braziers collected by Conze of the heads which Furtwängler***) has recognised to be those of demonic smiths, sometimes Cyclopes, sometimes Lemnian Cabiri, sometimes Dactyli, sometimes more Baachic in character and resembling Sileni. With Conze's Type I, the "Head with pointed Cap" we should compare No. 5 on this plate, the terracotta group from Katydata-Linou. We should place side by side the pictures of the Geneva Brazier (Conze p. 137) and our censer from Akhna, (fig. 6 here). Our Dali pillar, fig. 4, is to be looked at together with the censers in the Polytechnion at Athens figured by Conze on pages 134 and 135, and our cone with Astarte and the doves, figs. 2 and 3, finds a parallel in one of the Athenian specimens with a door surmounted by a mask (Conze, p. 134).

Lastly the remarkable Etruscan porcelain vase from the necropolis of Polledrara (near Vulci), now in the Berlin Museum supplies another link in the chain of development from ring-dance to censer and censer to brazier. We see, grouped round the vase with their faces turned inwards, four figures in long dresses and two oxen. Furtwängler rightly holds it to be early Phoenician. It will be published very shortly by Montelius.

Plate XVIII, 1 and 2. I am indebted to Mr. Dörpfeld for the negatives from which these illustrations are made †)

Fig. 1 shows us the entrance to a chapel dedicated to Ayia Solomoni, near the sea, in the neighbourhood of the little village of Baffo. What was once a Roman tomb has been transformed into a Byzantine rock-chapel, in which the earliest Christians of the island, at a time when there was still a Roman proconsul at Nea-Paphos, are said to have met for worship. A holy spring (*ἀγίασμα*) still enhances the sanctity of the place. A terebinth which has taken root in the crevices of the rock at the entrance is an object of veneration both to Greek and Turks. They believe that by hanging shreds of clothing and ribbons on it they will be cured of diseases, especially fever.

Fig. 2. I give here an illustration of the two monoliths at Palaipaphos, to which I have briefly alluded above (p. 22). In my book "Kypros, the Bible, and Homer", I will attempt to disprove at

*) Jahrbuch des Instituts V 1890 p. 118—141.

**) I will, when the opportunity presents itself, demonstrate the Semitic origin of this modern Cyprian word.

***) Jahrbuch des Instituts VI. 1891. p. 110—124.

†) Cp. Jahrbuch des Institutes VI. 1891. Nos. 88a. (p. 91) and 14 p. 90) of the Sammlung der verkäuflichen Photographien des Instituts.

length the view of Messrs. Guillemard*) and Hogarth**) who regard these and other monoliths scattered over the island as nothing but oil-press stones. It is certainly possible that among the 50 stones which these industrious explorers have examined, some may have belonged to primitive oil-presses. But these two gigantic Paphos monoliths are certainly objects of worship. It is even probable that on some of the Paphos coins of imperial times with representations of the so-called temple, two such cone- or obelisc-shaped stones are included in the design. A glance at our Plates XVII and XVIII should decide the question as regards the Paphos monoliths. The terracotta column (32 cm. high) from the altar-chamber of the Aphrodite sanctuary at Dali (Pl. XVII, 4) is a model or copy of a similar great stone menolith. The opening in the stone is intended to represent the dwelling-place of the goddess, and this intention is more clearly expressed on the cone of Kition (Pl. XVII, 2 and 3). Even at the present day, as Hogarth tells us very truly and in detail (and as Louis di Cesnola had told us before), many of these stones are venerated by the people, all kinds of ceremonies being performed at and upon them; and this veneration is extended to trees standing near the stones, which are hung with rags like the tree at Ayia Solomoni. Some of these stones at Ayios Photios are even called (as Hogarth mentions) *ἅγια πέτραι*, "holy stones." Of the numerous superstitions observances which attach to these stones I will only instance one, relating, as it does, to these very Paphos monoliths. Children are passed through the holes in the stone in order to make them strong or well.—The pillars worshipped by Syrian peoples and mentioned in the Old Testament, especially the Baal-pillars, so frequently alluded to, are to be considered in this connection.

*) Athenaeum, 14th April, 1888.

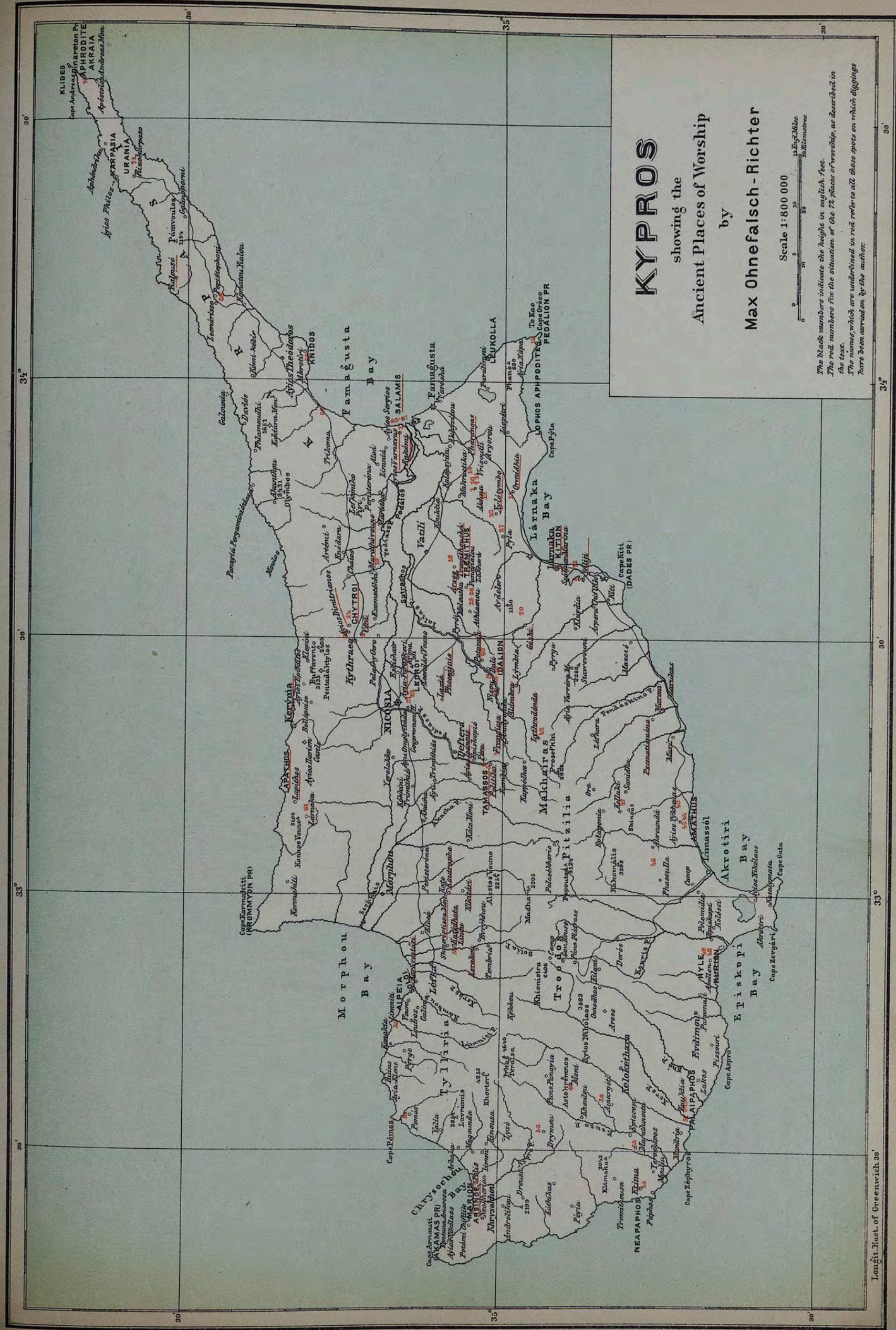
**) *Devia Cypria*, p 46—52

To the old subscribers to the "Owl" (1888) and the
"Journal of Cyprian Studies" (1889).

The present English edition of my Dissertation is printed for private circulation only. I intend it specially for those old friends and patrons by whose assistance, in the shape of contributions and subscriptions, I was enabled, in the years 1888 and 1889, to call into life these two periodicals "The Owl, Science, Literature, and Art" and "The Journal of Cyprian Studies." Although my literary and scientific efforts in Cyprus received the support of the many gentlemen whom I have thanked by name on pages IX and X of the Introduction; although a committee of influential friends was formed to maintain the "Journal of Cyprian Studies," yet only one number (April 1889) ever saw the light. Quite apart from the considerable outlay required by such an undertaking, other unexpected difficulties arose and necessitated the abandonment of our admirable project. In receiving the prepaid subscriptions (most of them for one year), and other larger contributions to the support of the Journal, I incurred an obligation which I have not been able, hitherto, to discharge. I now beg my old patrons and subscribers to accept the present English edition of my illustrated Dissertation as a fitting *quid pro quo*, and, at the same time as a souvenir of Cyprus. I hope that herewith I shall be regarded as having met my engagements to them, and I thank them for their extended confidence.

Max Ohnefalsch-Richter (D. Ph.)

Berlin, May 1892.



KYPROS
 showing the
 Ancient Places of Worship
 by
 Max Ohnefalsch-Richter

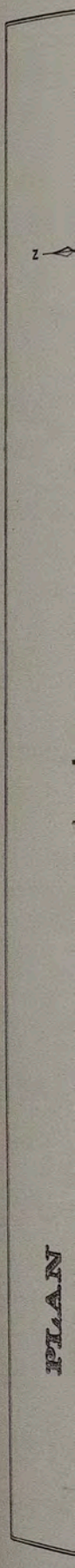
Scale 1:800 000

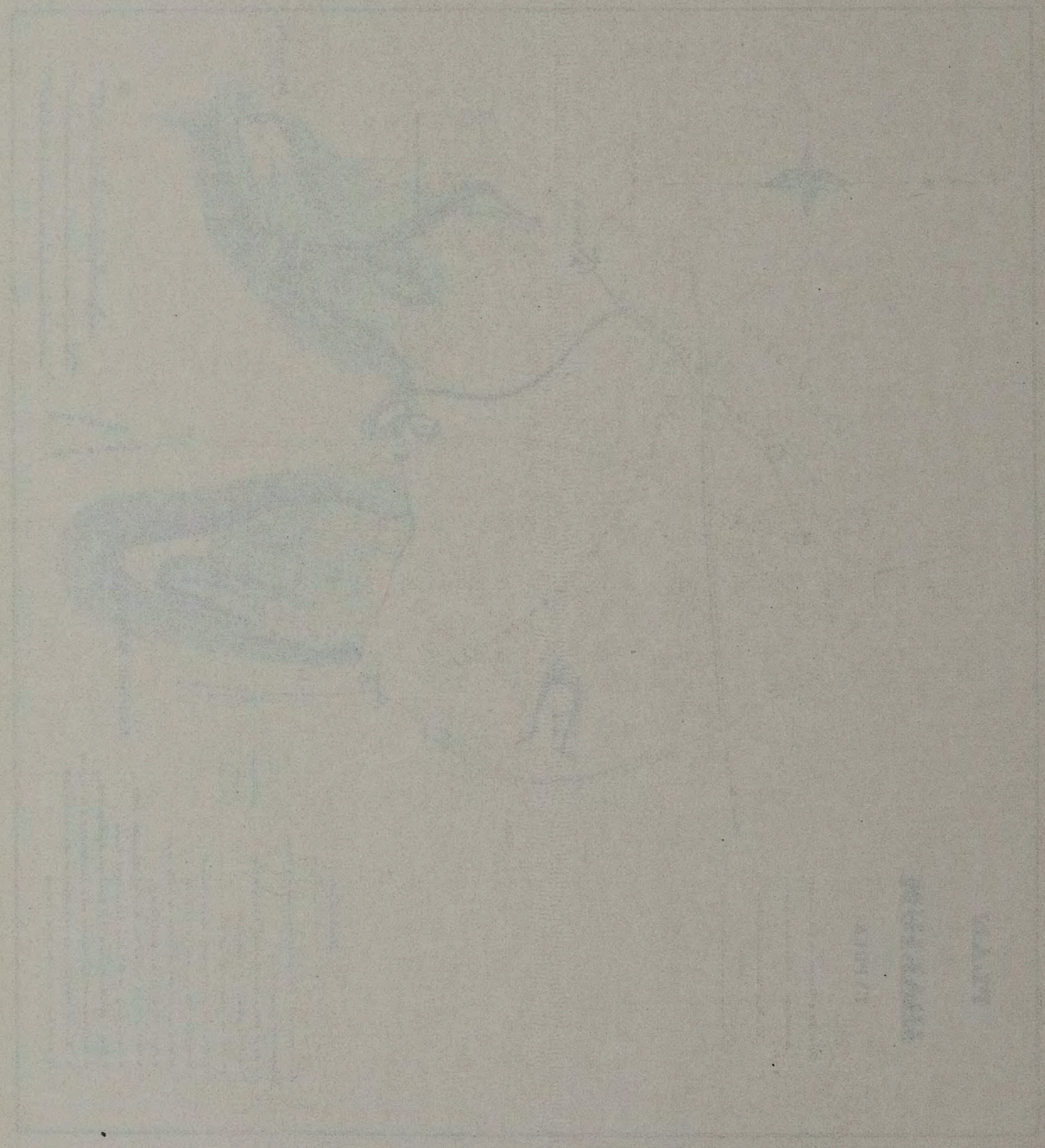
The black numbers indicate the height in English feet.
 The red numbers fix the situation of the places of worship, as described in
 the text.
 The names, which are underlined in red refer to all those spots on which findings
 have been arrived on by the author.

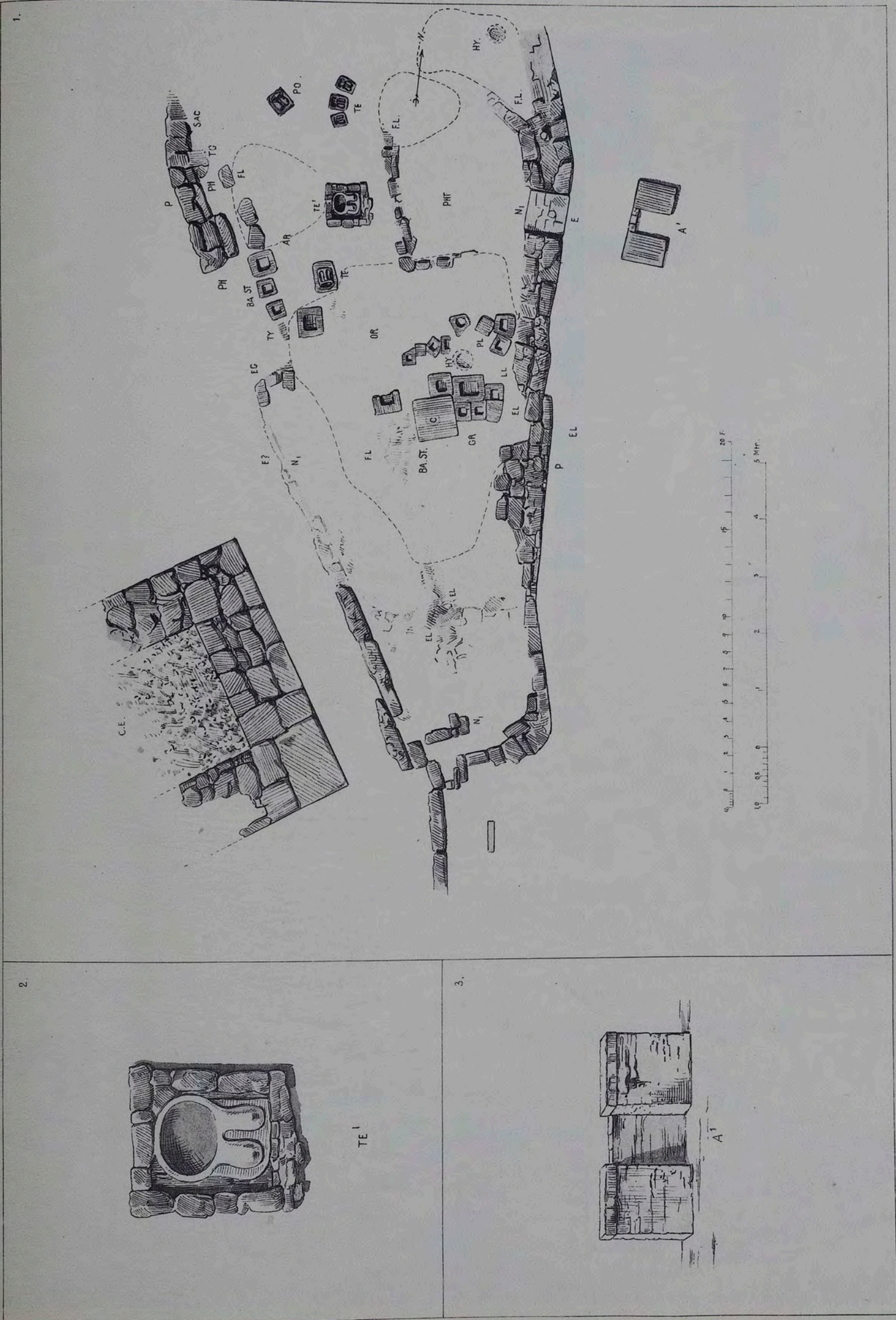
Longitude East of Greenwich 30°

Map of the ancient town of Dealium and its neighbourhood.
From plans prepared by Mr. E. A. Carilli of the Survey Department Cyprus.
Archaeological details by Mr. Max Oppenheim. N. 1887.

PLAN







Excav. Sir Charles Newton 1882.

Antiqu. British Museum.

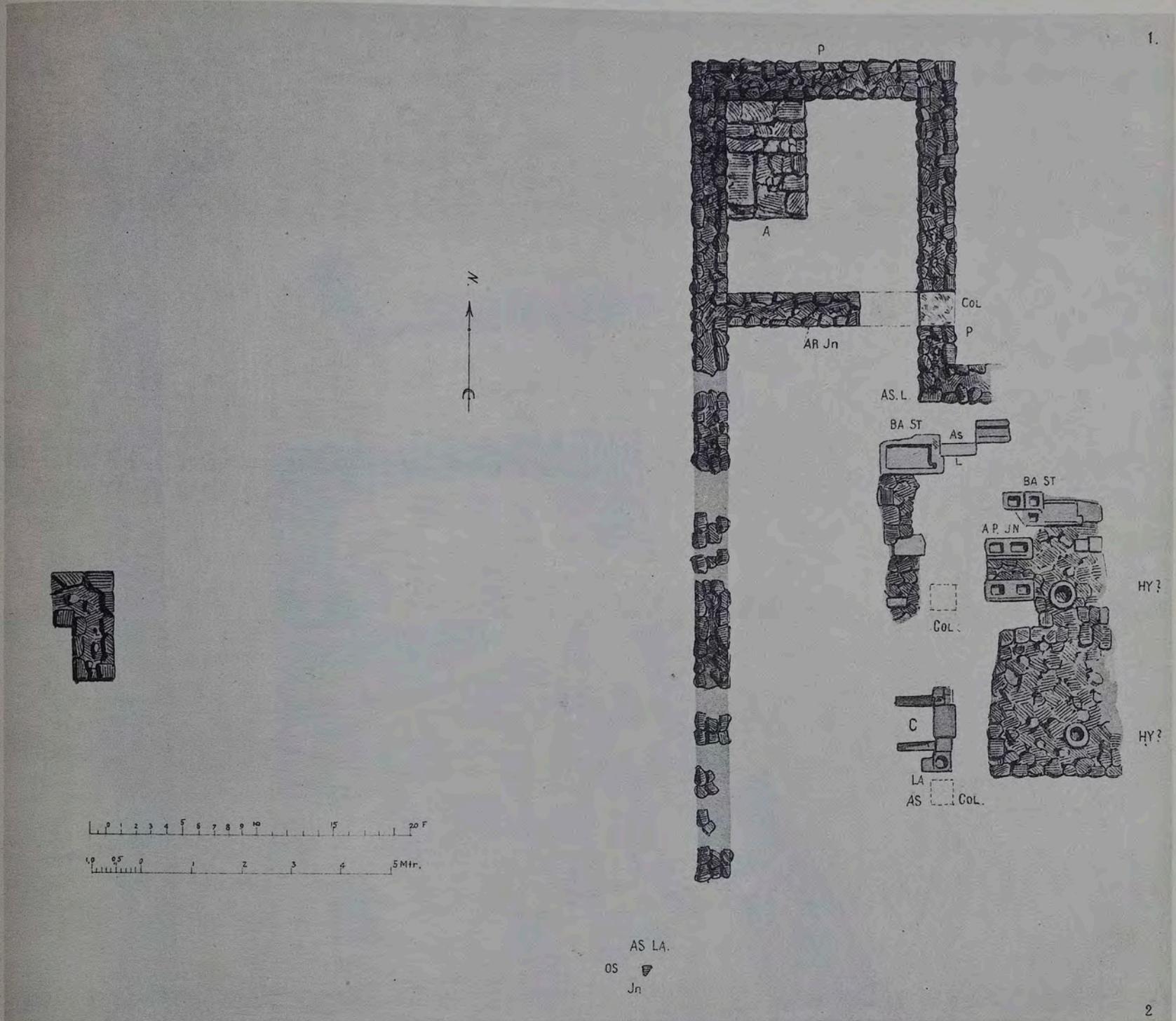
Artemis-Kybele. Temenos. Achna. I, 1.



1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12



Excav. C

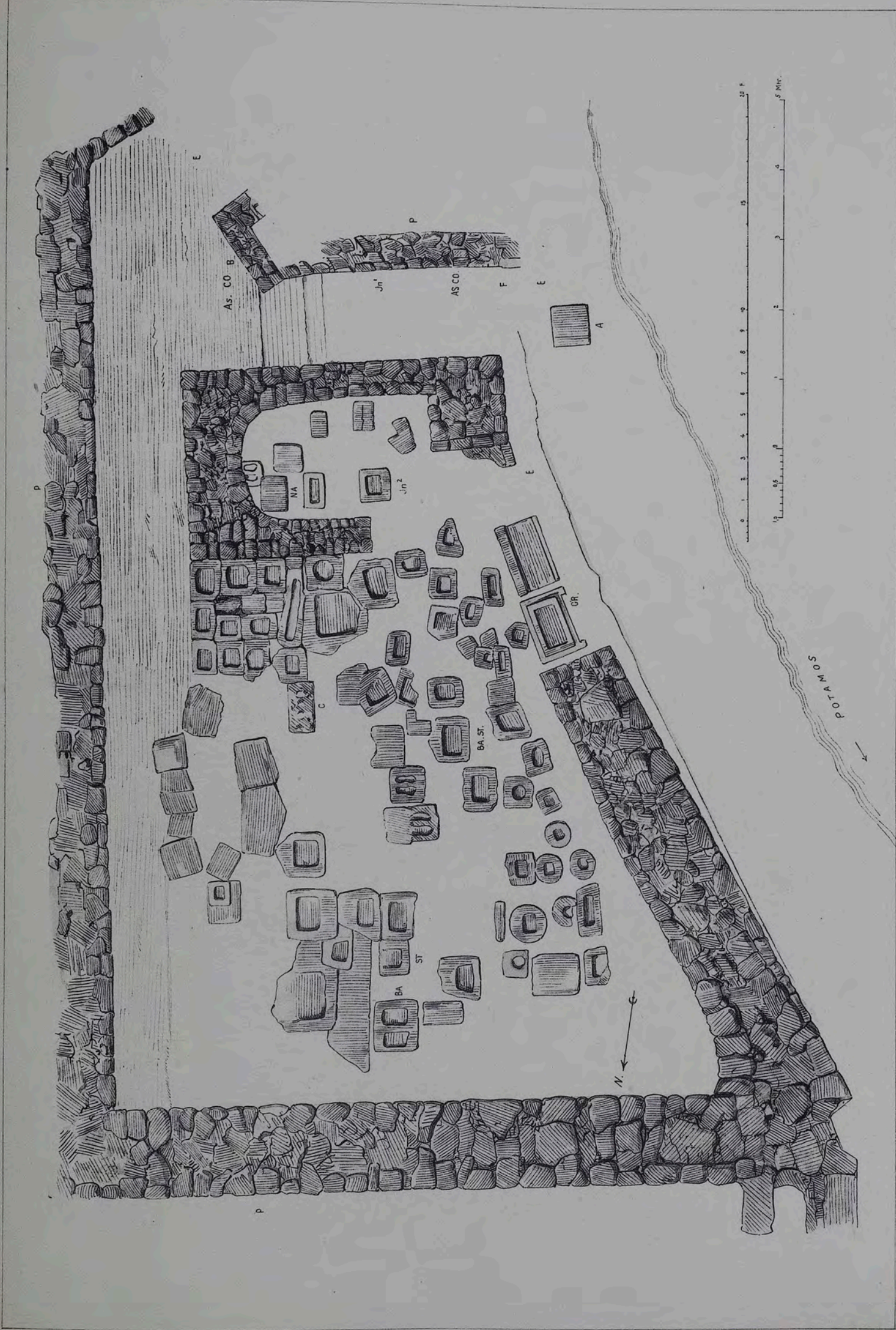


Excav. Cyprus Museum 1883.

Antiqu. Cypr. Mus.

Apollon. Temenos. Voni I, 2.

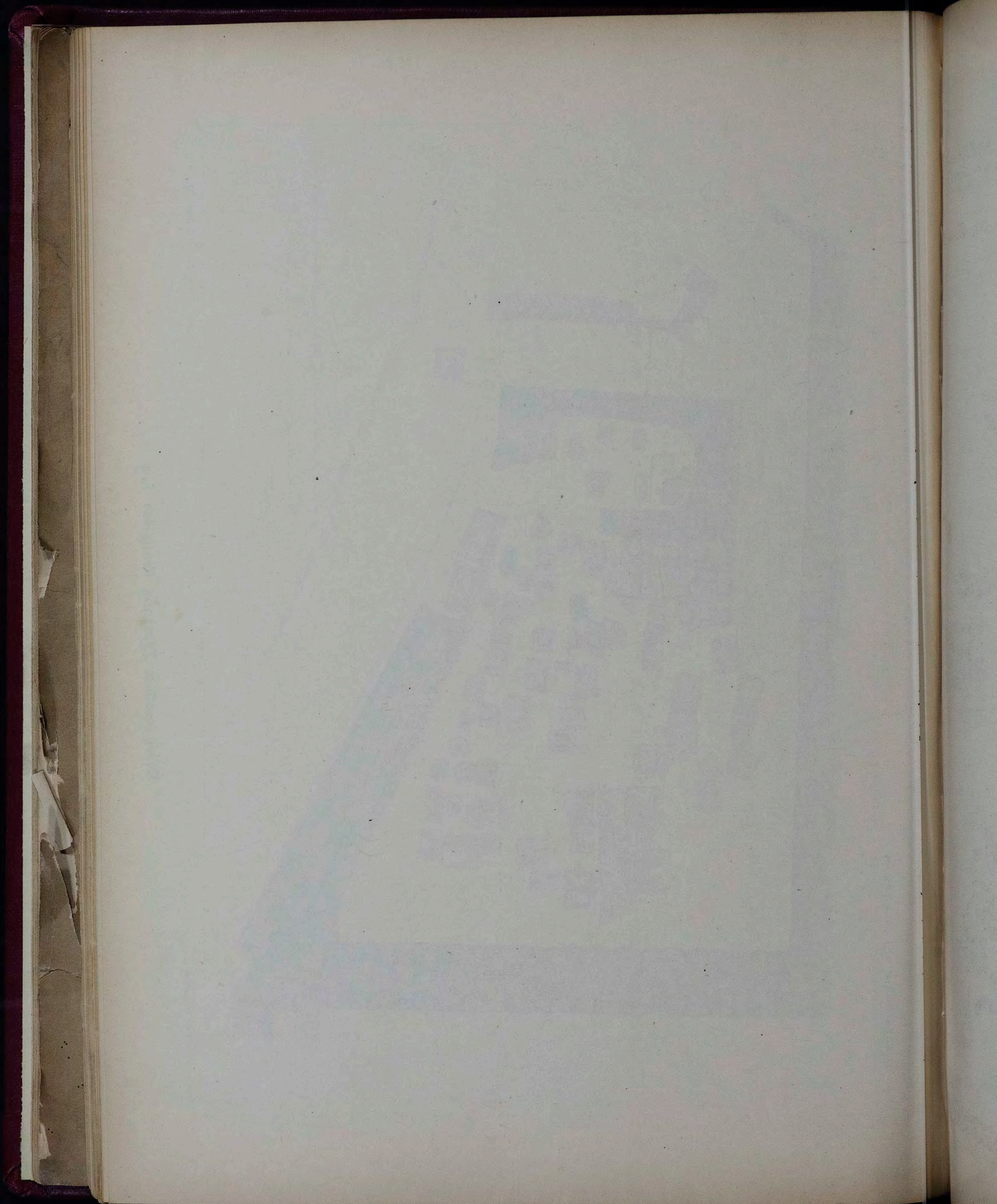


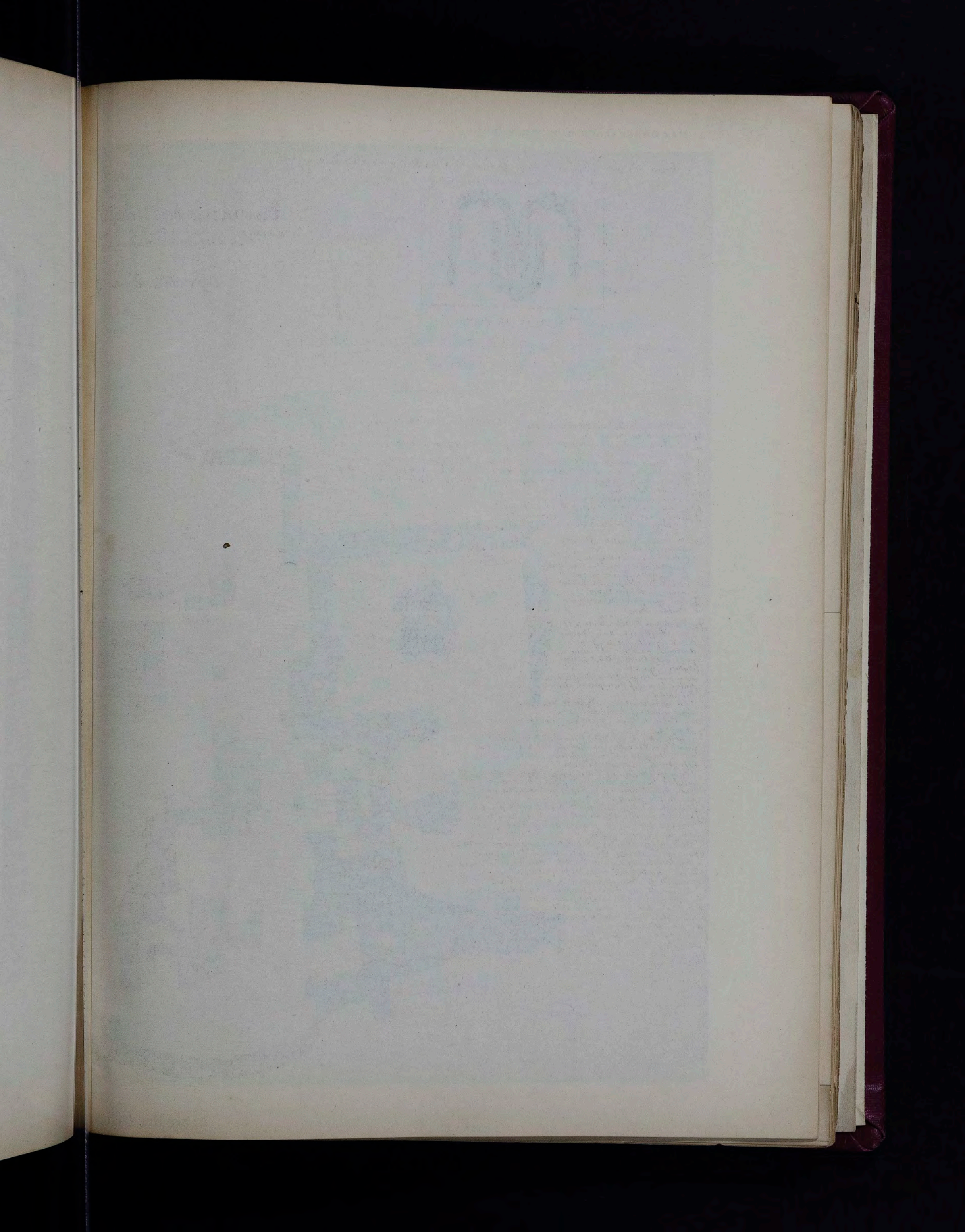


Excav. Colonel Falk. Warren 1885.

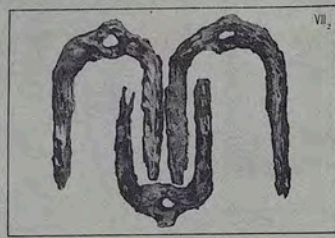
Antiqu. Cyprus Museum & British Museum.

Reşef-Apollon. Temenos. Frangissa. I, 4.

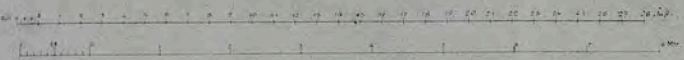




Excav. Charles Watkins. Antiqu. Berlin. Museum & Cyprus Museum.



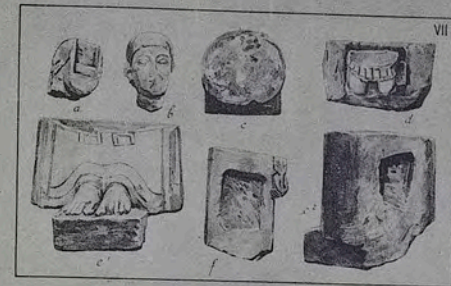
Masstab in engl. Fuß.



Grundriss der Dreifaltigkeit im Dali [Idalion] auf der Insel Cypern.

ausgegeben und aufgenommen von Max Ohnefalsch-Richter, Superintendent of excavations in Cyprus, 1887. [Februar - April.]
Verlag des Verlags-Verlags, Königlich-englisches Patentamt und Verleger des Patents.

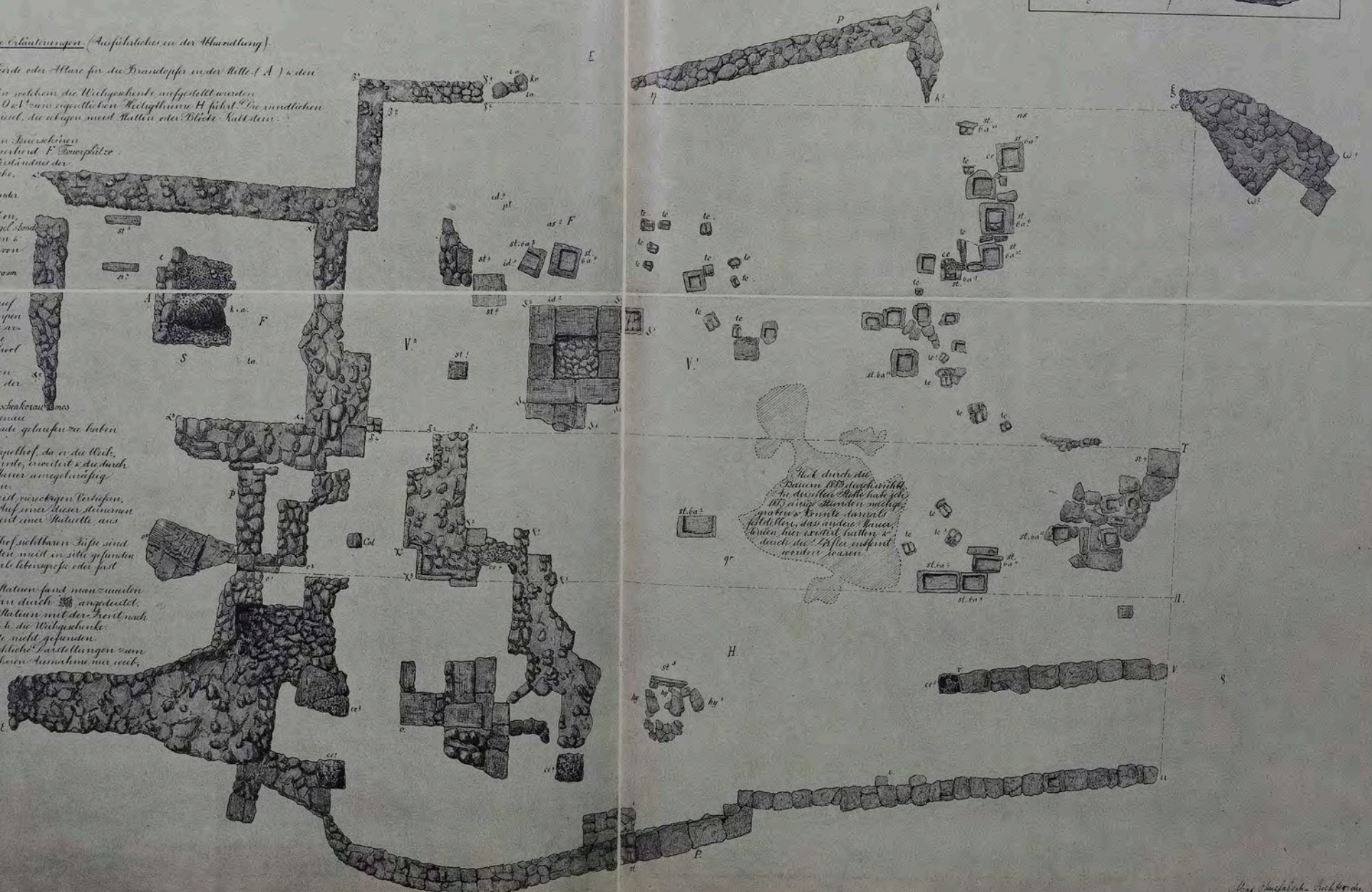
Aphrodite. Temenos. Dali. I. 3. II. 36. VIII. XII-XV.



Erklärungen der Zeichen & einige Erläuterungen. (Anführliches in der Abhandlung.)

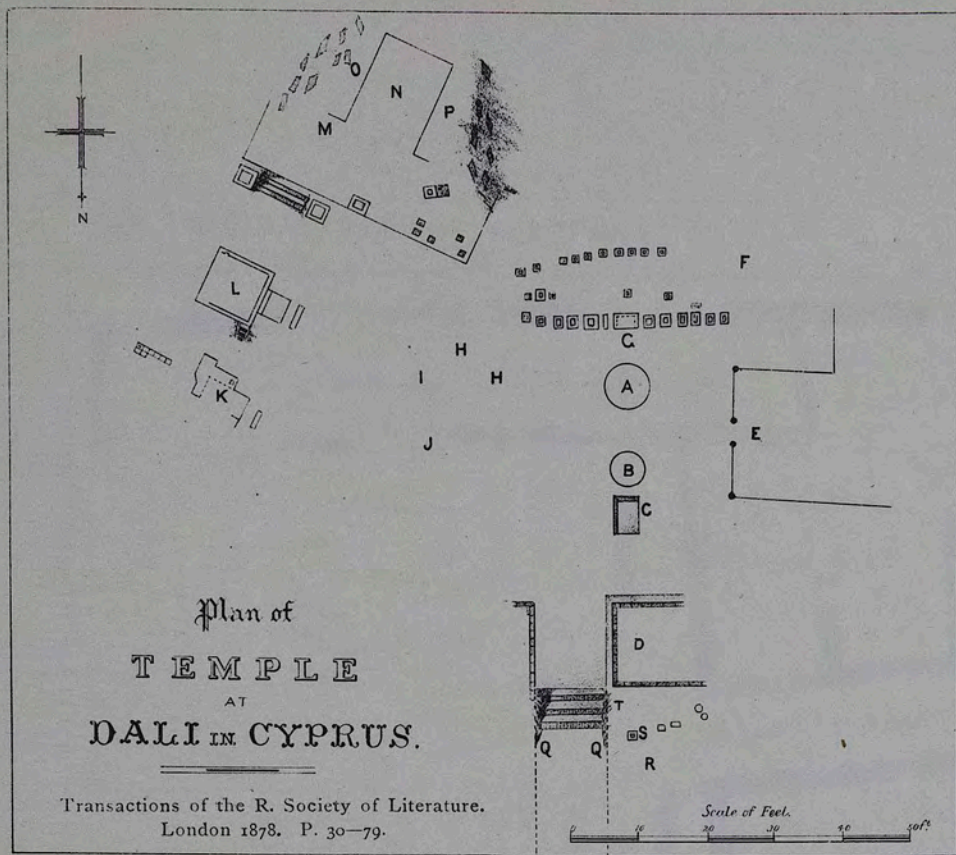
H. Das eigentliche Heiligtum.
 I. Der Hofraum mit dem Herde oder Altar für die Brandopfer in der Mitte (A) & den
 Säulen (L) zum Schutz.
 V. Der Raum ohne Dach, in welchem die Weihgeschenke aufgestellt wurden.
 F. Die Ausdehnung, die zwischen dem eigentlichen Heiligtum H. & dem südlichen
 Theil der Mauer sind. Diese sind meistens aus Mauerwerk oder Blöcken. Kalkstein.
 G. Kalkstein.
 K. die Säulen im Kreisform zum Schutz.
 R. Kalkstein, und Kalkstein. F. Feuerplatz.
 S. Kalkstein, die Säulen im Kreisform zum Schutz.
 T. Kalkstein, die Säulen im Kreisform zum Schutz.
 U. Kalkstein, die Säulen im Kreisform zum Schutz.
 V. Kalkstein, die Säulen im Kreisform zum Schutz.
 W. Kalkstein, die Säulen im Kreisform zum Schutz.
 X. Kalkstein, die Säulen im Kreisform zum Schutz.
 Y. Kalkstein, die Säulen im Kreisform zum Schutz.
 Z. Kalkstein, die Säulen im Kreisform zum Schutz.

Die Säulen im Kreisform wurden auf
 einem Kreis eine Menge Säulen
 (wie der geschichtlichen offener an-
 schaulicher Rundform). Diese
 meist nicht kleine Krüge (so
 (Ephesus) gefunden.
 Die meisten Säulen
 sind die unvollständigen der
 Säulen an.
 Die Säulen im Kreisform
 sind unvollständig in der Mitte, genau
 von Westen nach Osten und gerade, gelassen zu haben
 - B. nach S.
 Die Säulen im Kreisform
 sind unvollständig in der Mitte, genau
 von Westen nach Osten und gerade, gelassen zu haben
 - B. nach S.
 Die Säulen im Kreisform
 sind unvollständig in der Mitte, genau
 von Westen nach Osten und gerade, gelassen zu haben
 - B. nach S.



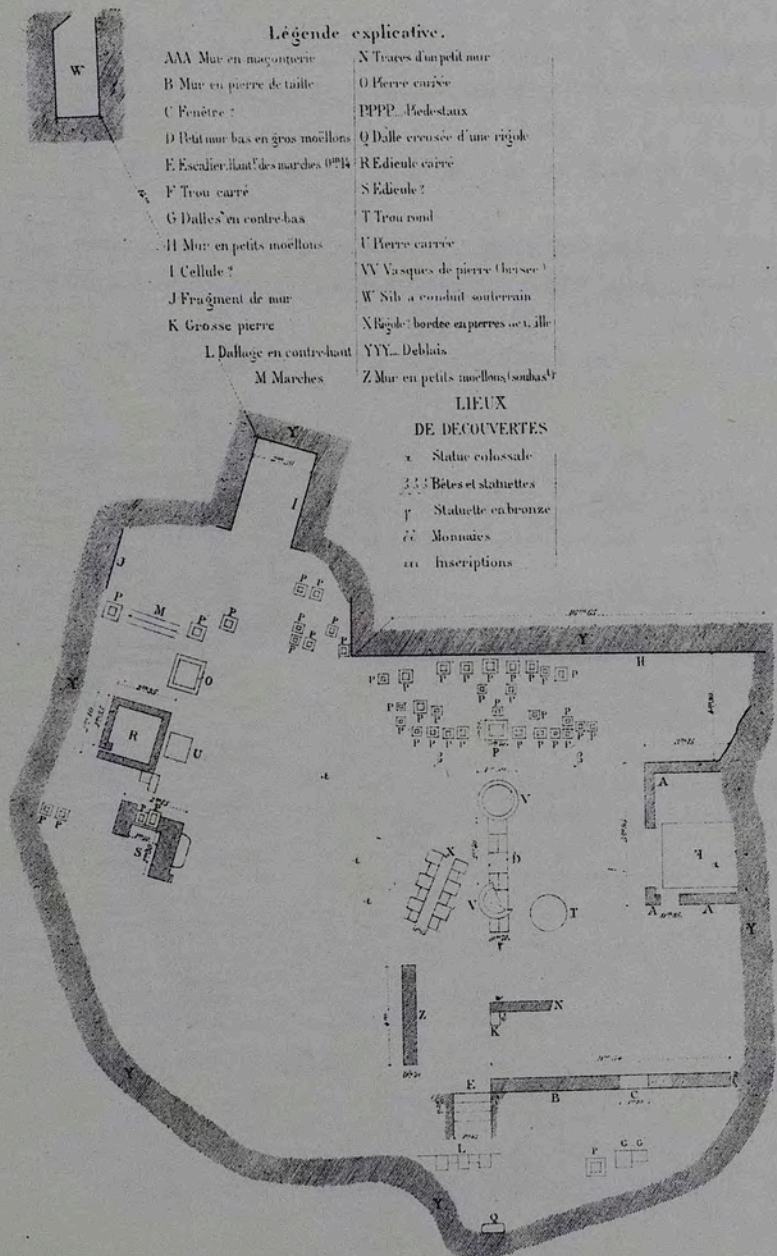
MAX

Exc



By R. H. Lang, Esqu.

Narrative of Excavations in a Temple at Dali.



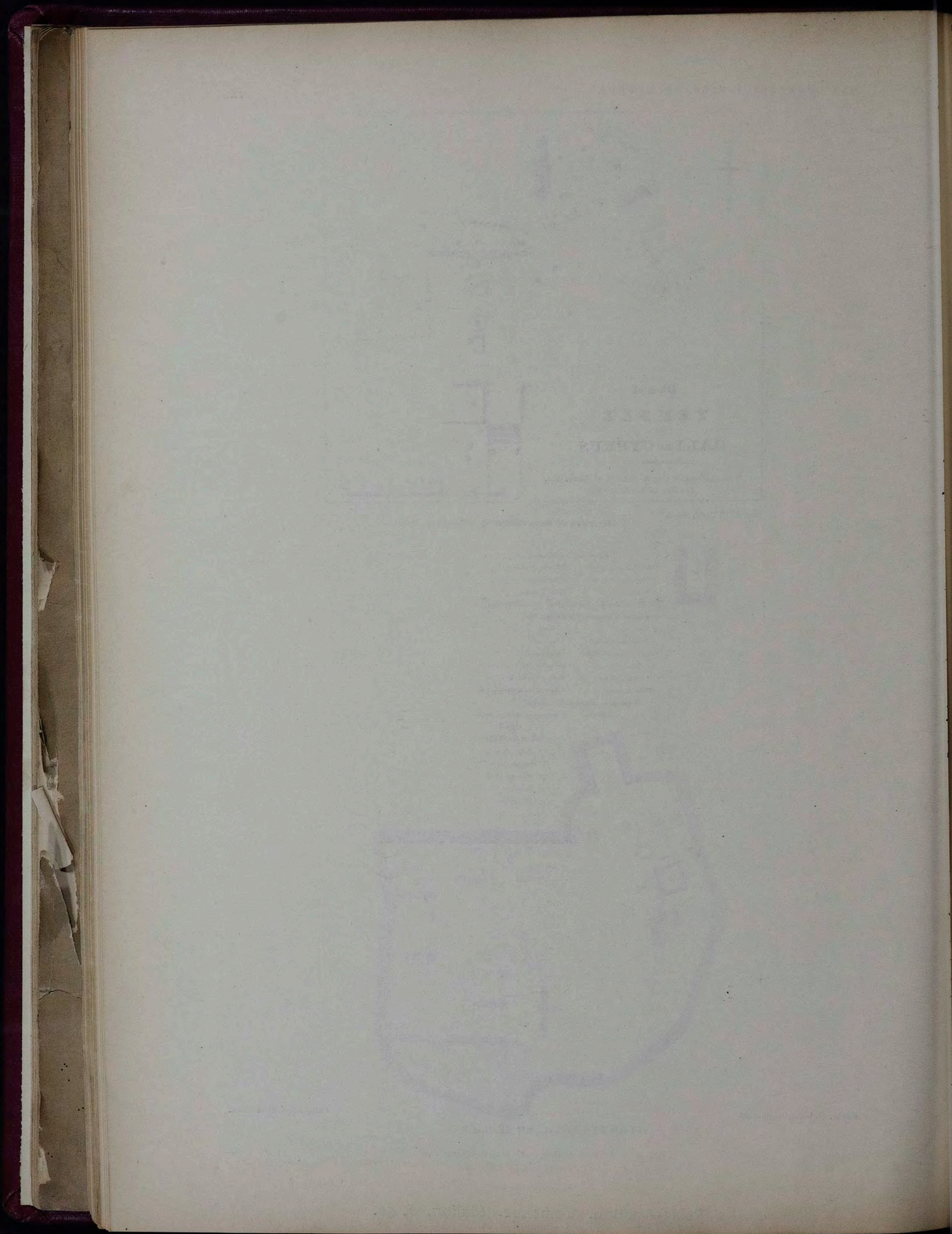
Excav. H. Lang, Esqu. 1868.

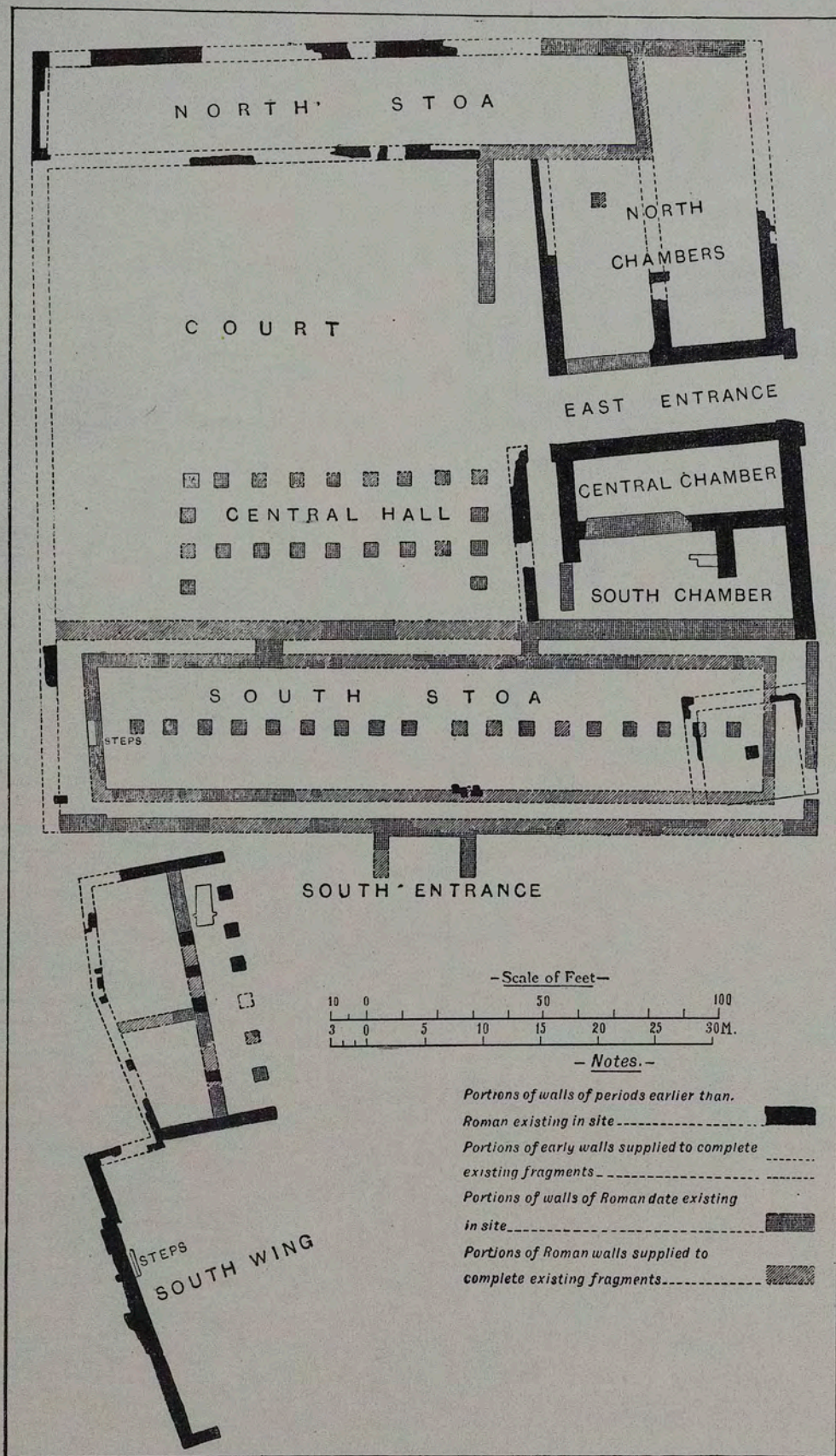
Antiqu. British Museum.

PLAN DES FOUILLES DE DALI.

Monuments antiques de Chypre, de Syrie et d'Égypte par
Georges Colonna-Ceccaldi. Paris 1882.

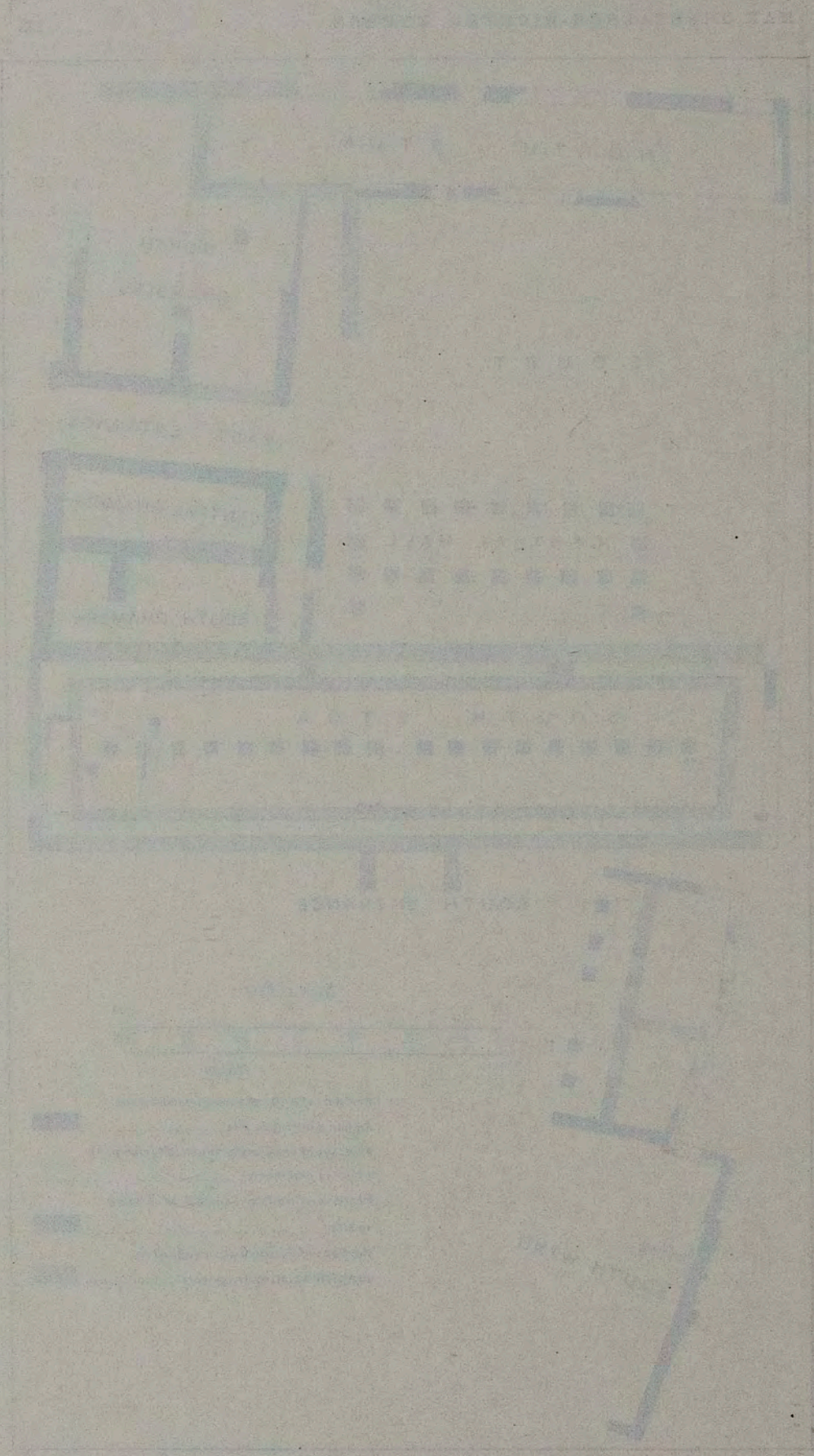
Reşef-Apollon. Temenos. Idalion. I, 30.



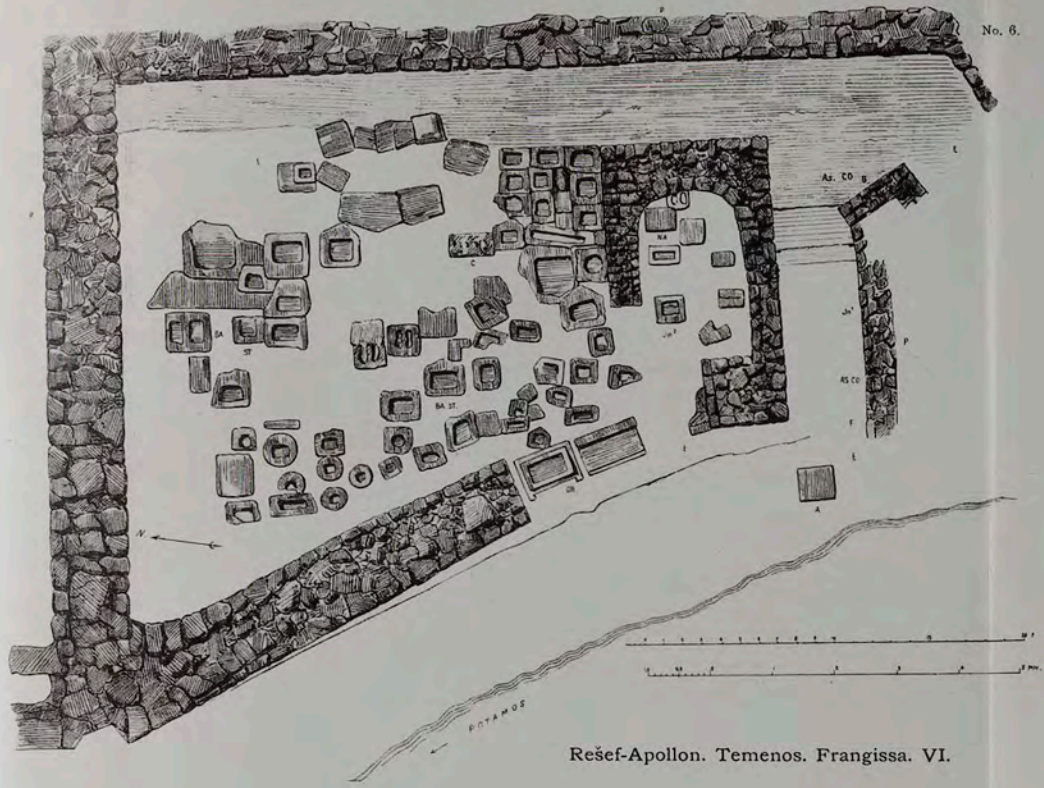


Excav. Cyprus Exploration Fund. 1888

Journal of Hellenic Studies. 1888.
Antiqu. London, Oxford, Cambridge & Nicosia.



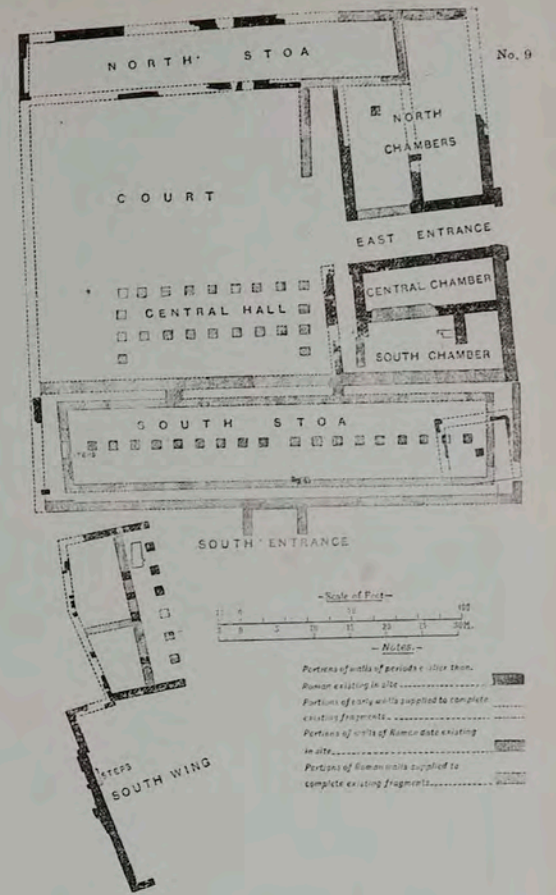
Architectural drawing or site plan, possibly a church or institutional building, with various rooms and corridors. The drawing is very light and difficult to read.



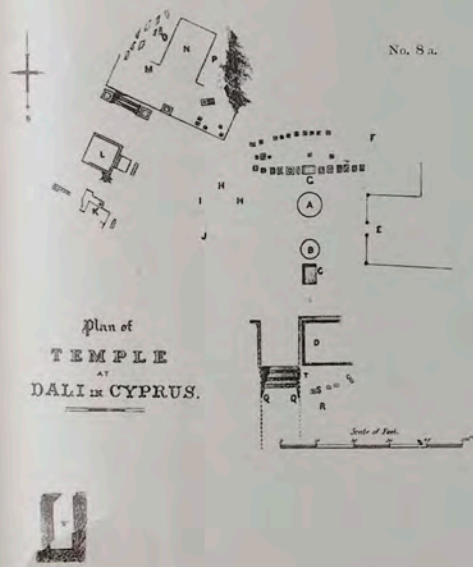
Reşef-Apollon. Temenos. Frangissa. VI.



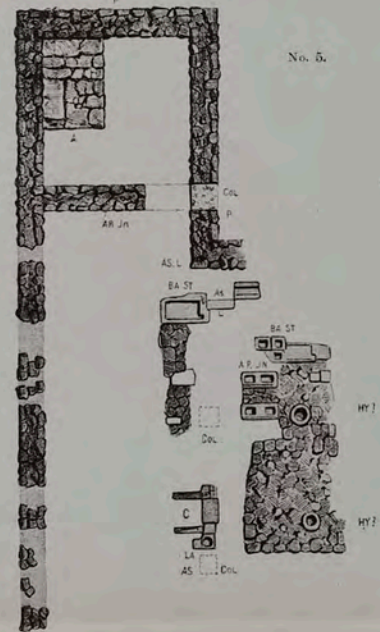
Artemis-Kybele. Temenos. Achna. IV.



Aphrodite. Temenos. Palaipaphos. IX.



Plan of TEMPLE AT DALI in CYPRUS.



Apollon. Temenos. Voni. V.

Temple of Aphrodite at Dali, Cyprus.

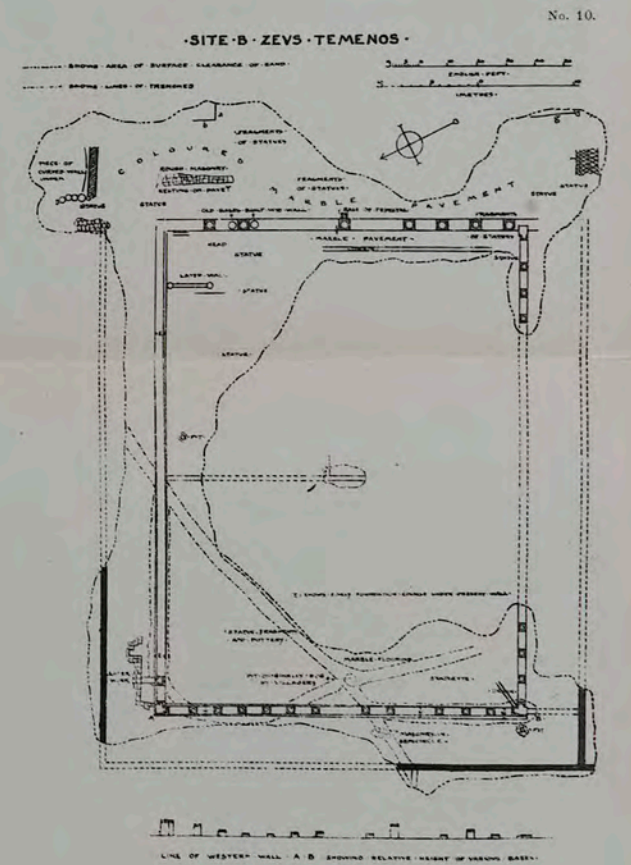
Grundriss des Heiligtums umzu Dali (Dalion) auf der Insel Cypern.

Aphrodite. Temenos. Dali. I. u. II. III. IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. X.

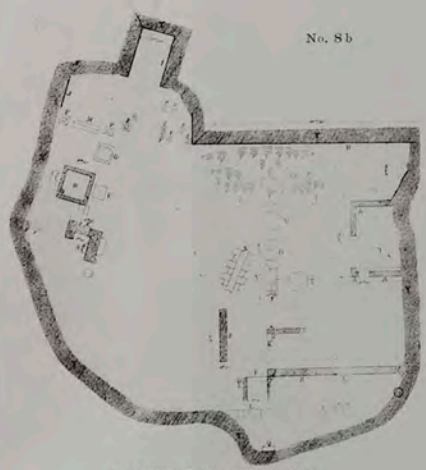
No. 7.



Aphrodite. Temenos. Idalion. VII.



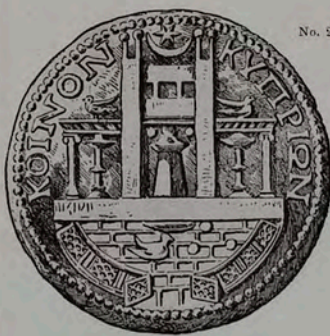
Salamis. Journal of Hellenic Studies. 1891. Cyprus Exploration Fund.



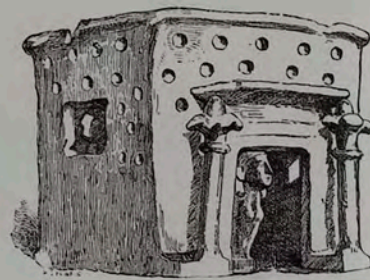
8a u. b. Reşef-Apollon. Temenos. Idalion. VIII.



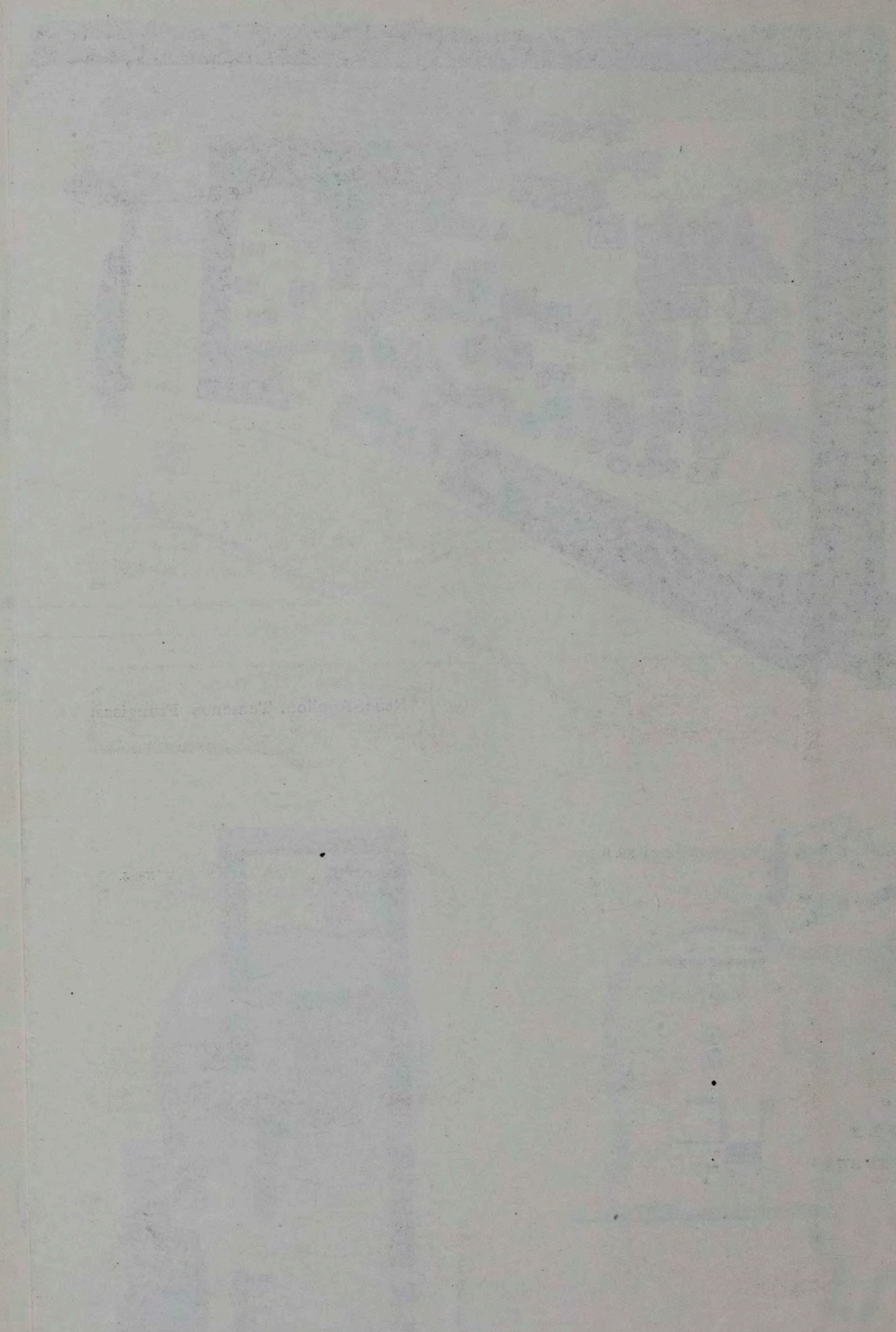
P. 60, 19. Monnaie de Byblos.



P. 120, 38. Monnaie de Cypre. 1-3. G. Perrot et C. Chipiez. Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité. III.

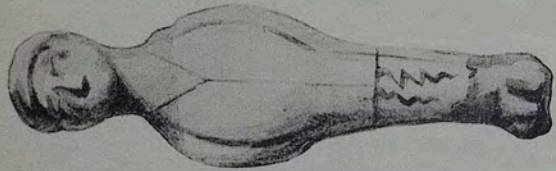


P. 277, 208. Modèle de temple en terre cuite. Dali.





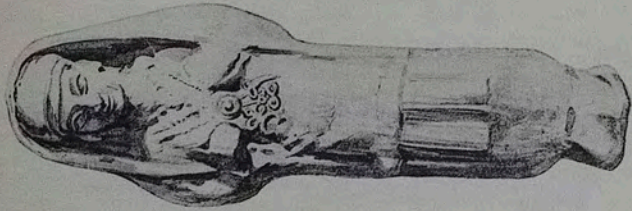
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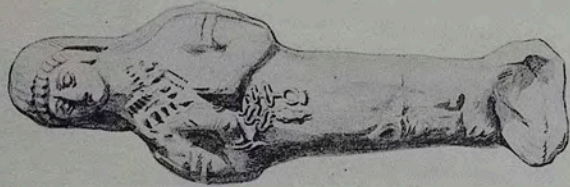
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3.



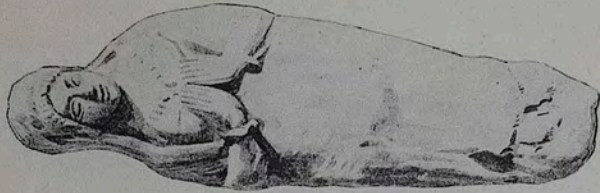
4.



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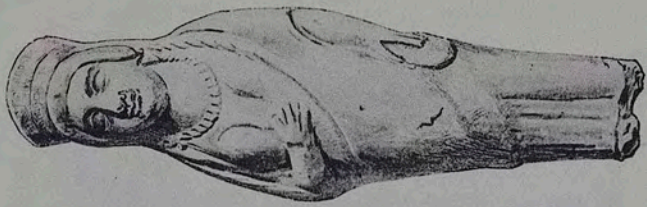
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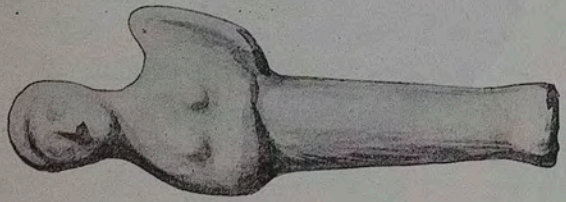


14.

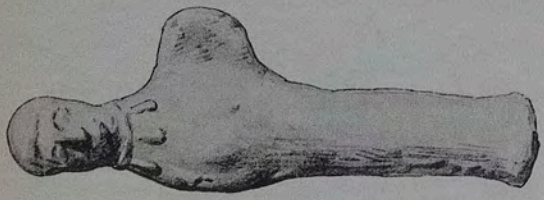
Excav. Sir Charles Newton, 1882.

Antiqu. British Museum.

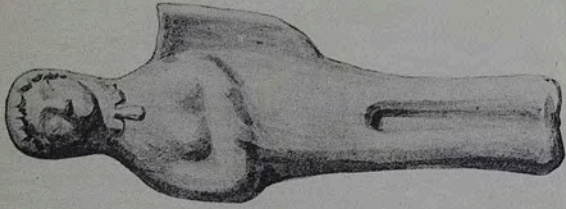
Artemis - Kybele. Temenos. Achna I, 1.



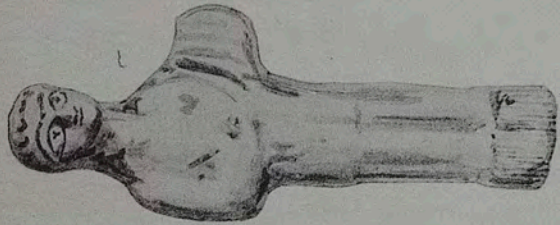
1.



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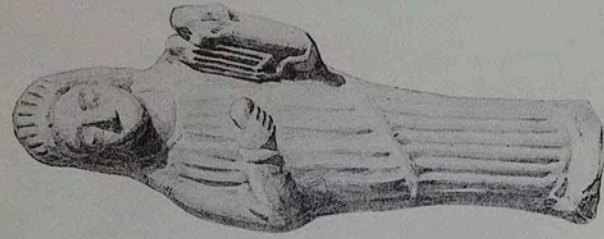


H. 38,5 ctm.

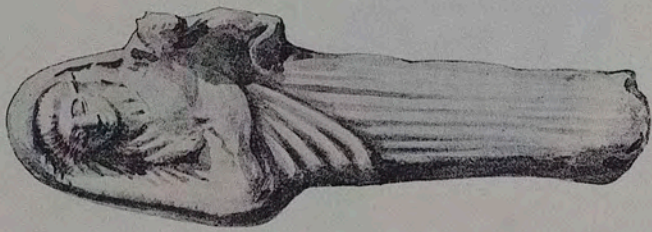
5.



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7.

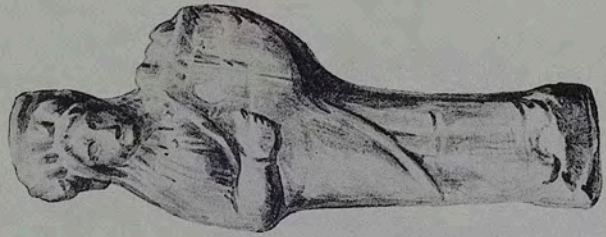


8.



H. 15,3 ctm.

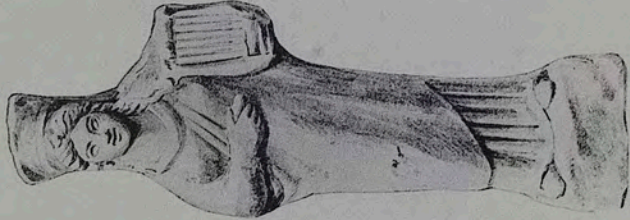
9.



10.



11.



12.



H. 29,8 ctm.

13.

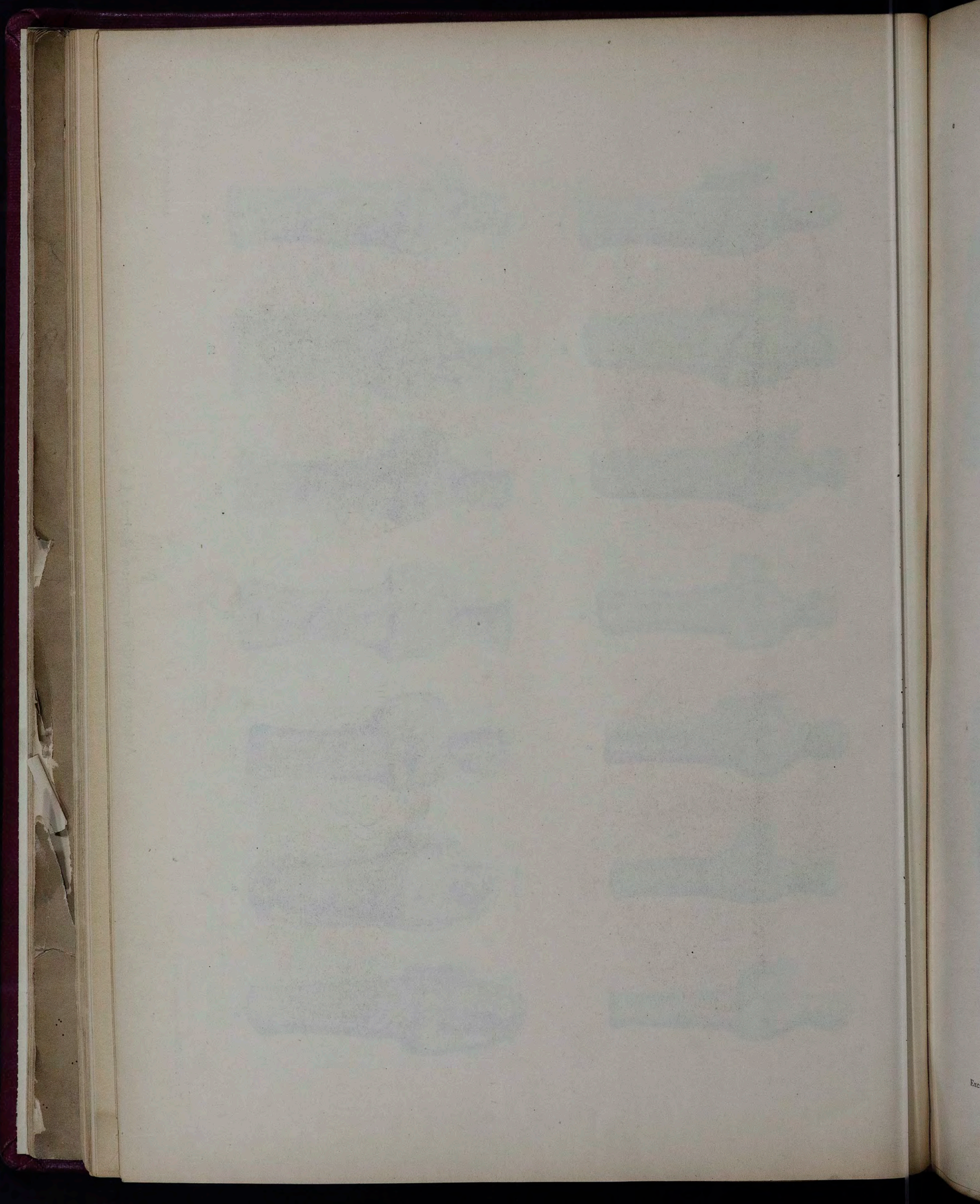


14.

Excav. Sir Charles Newton. 1882.

Artemis-Kybele. Temenos. Achna I, 1.

Antiqu. British Museum.



H. 20 ctm.



1.



2.

H. 21 ctm.



3.

H. 20,5 ctm.

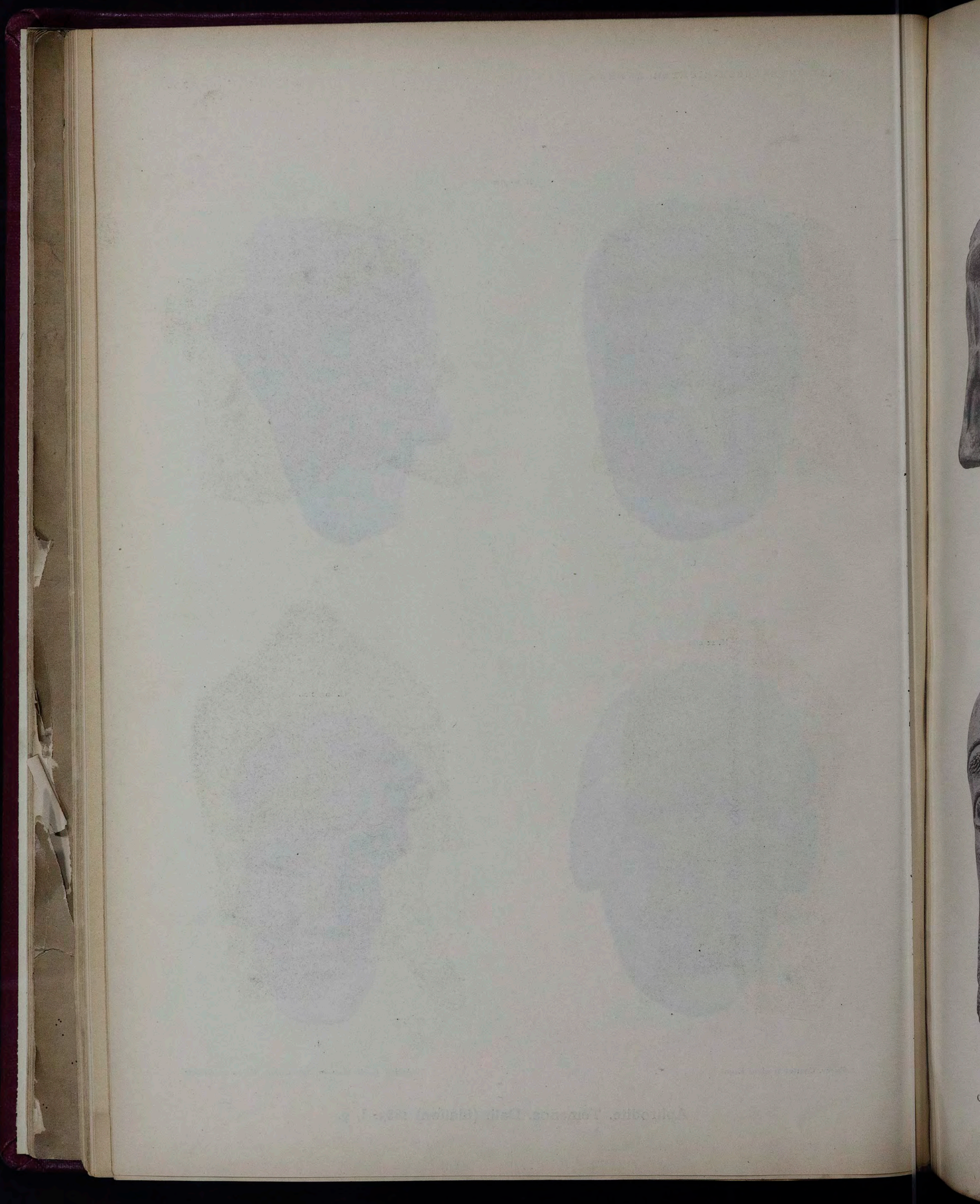


4.

Excav. Charles Watkins Esqu.

Antiqu. Berlin Museum, Antiquarium & Cyprus Museum.

Aphrodite. Temenos. Dali. (Idalion) 1885. I, 3.



H. 20 cm.



1



2

H. 37.5 cm.



3

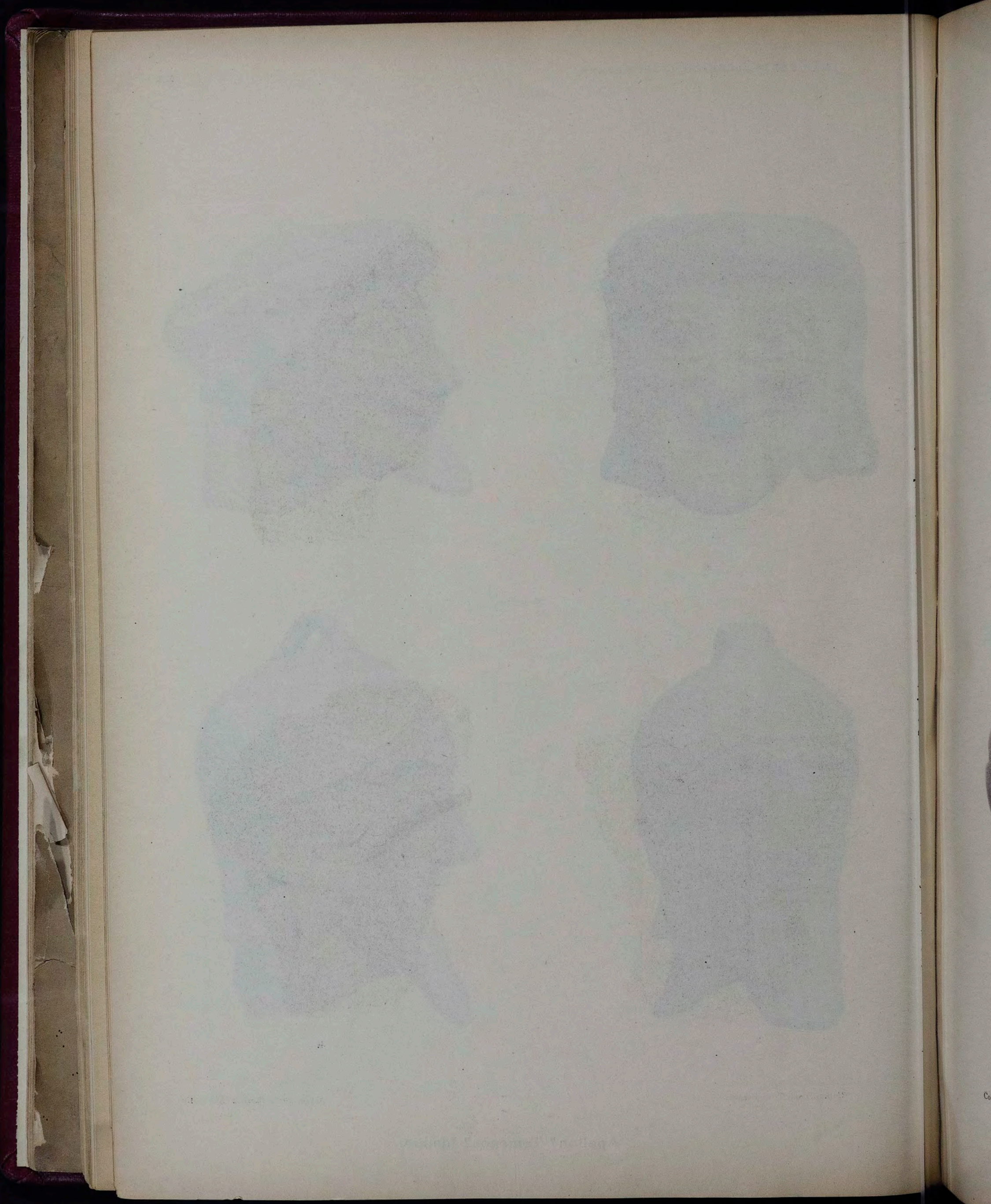


4

Collect. Louis P. di Cesnola.

Antiqu. Berlin Museum. Antiquarium.

Apollon? Temenos? Idalion.



H. 30,5 ctm.



1



2.

H. 28,5 ctm.



3.

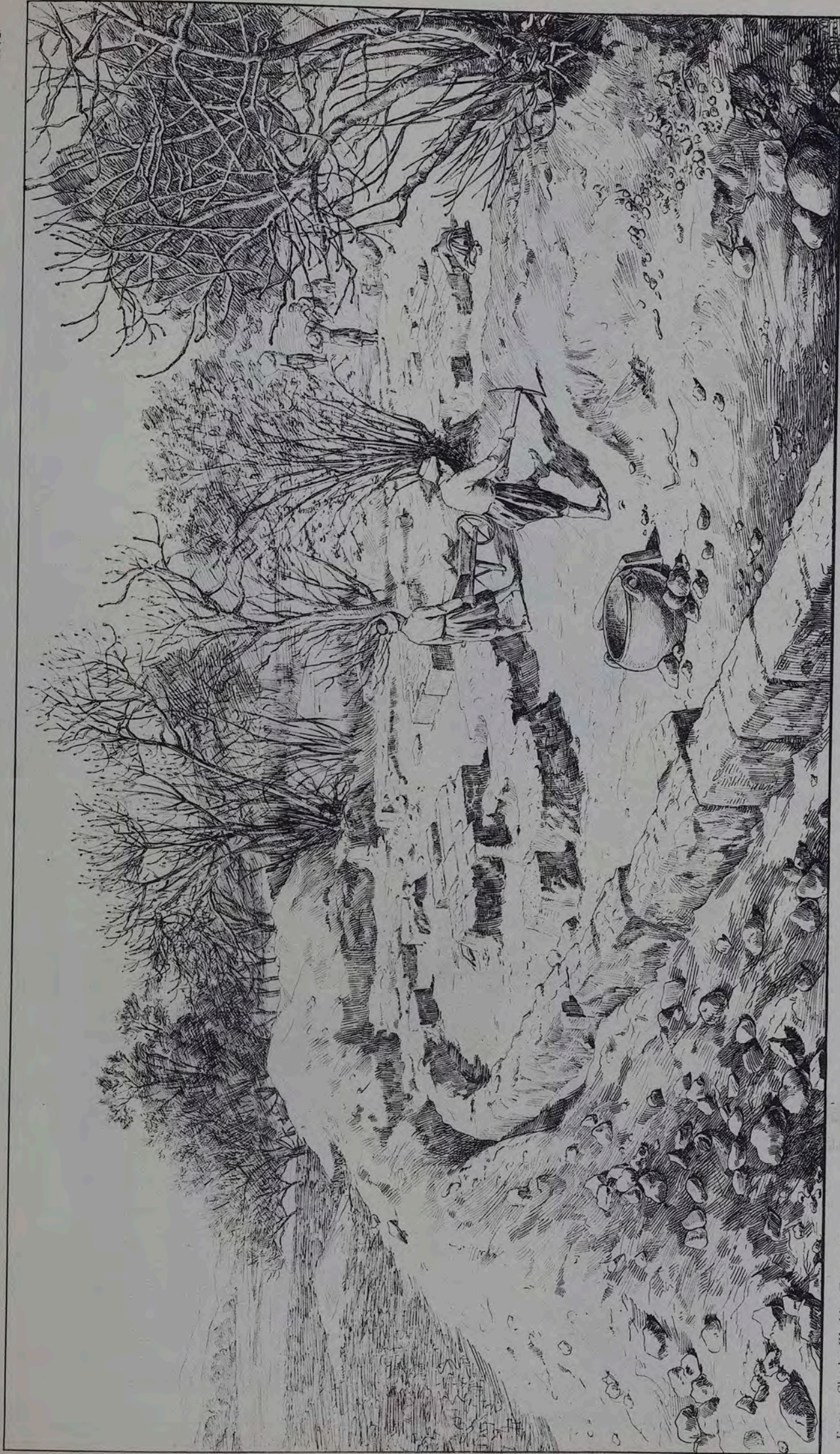
H. 29,5 ctm.



4.

Collect. Louis P. de Cesnola.

Antiqu. Berlin Museum. Antiquarium.



Excav. Charles Watkins Esqu. 1885.

Antiqu. Berlin Museum, Antiquarium & Cyprus Museum.

Aphrodite. Temenos. Dali. (Idalion) I, 3.

Antic

1



Aphrodite.
1883. I

Excav. G

Antiqu. Bonn. Univers. Museum.



1
Aphrodite. Temenos. Chytroi.
1883. I, 24. H. 15 ctm.

Excav. Cyprus Museum 1883.

Antiqu. Larnaka. Collect. D. Pierides.

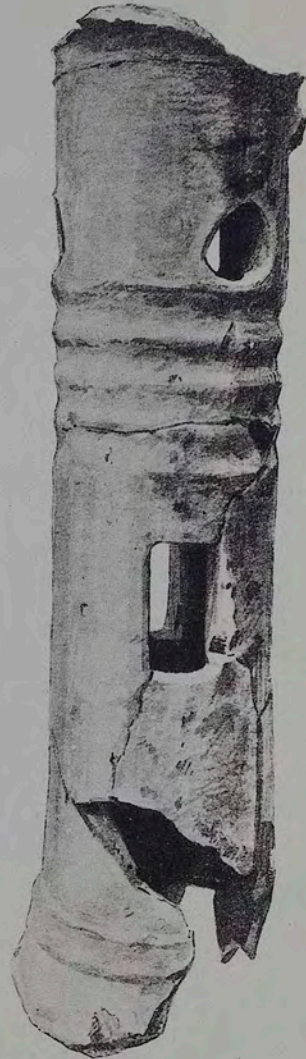


2
Astarte. Temenos? Kition?
H. 13 ctm.

Antiqu. Cyprus Museum.



Antiqu. Berlin Museum. Antiquarium.



3
4
Aphrodite. Temenos. I, 3.
Dali (Idalion). 1885.
H. 32 ctm.

Antiqu. British Museum.



5
Aphrodite. Temenos. Katydata-Linu. I, 53.
H. 14 ctm.

Excav. Sir Charles Newton. 1882.



6
Artemis-Kybele. Temenos. Achna. I, 1.
H. 13 ctm.

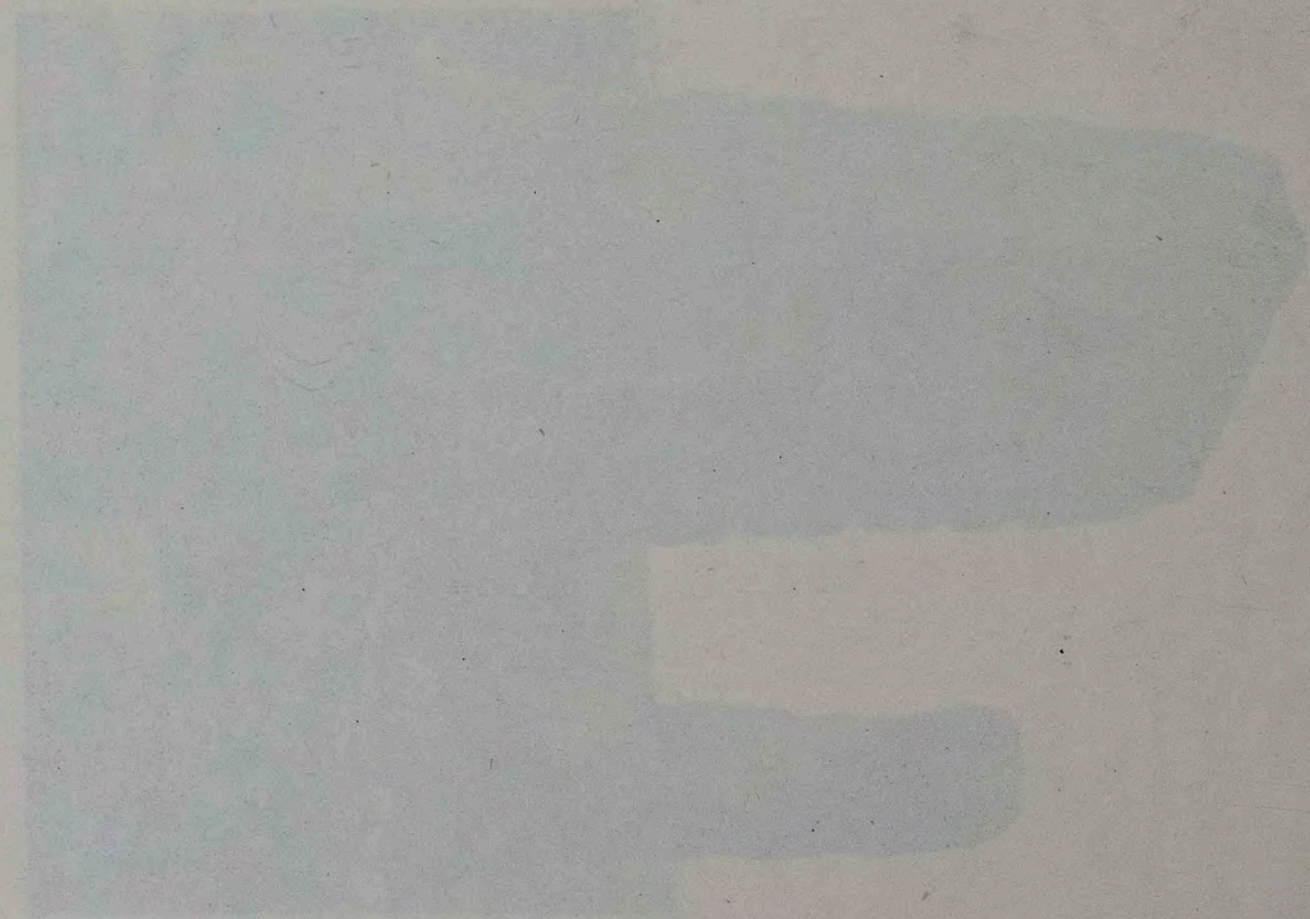
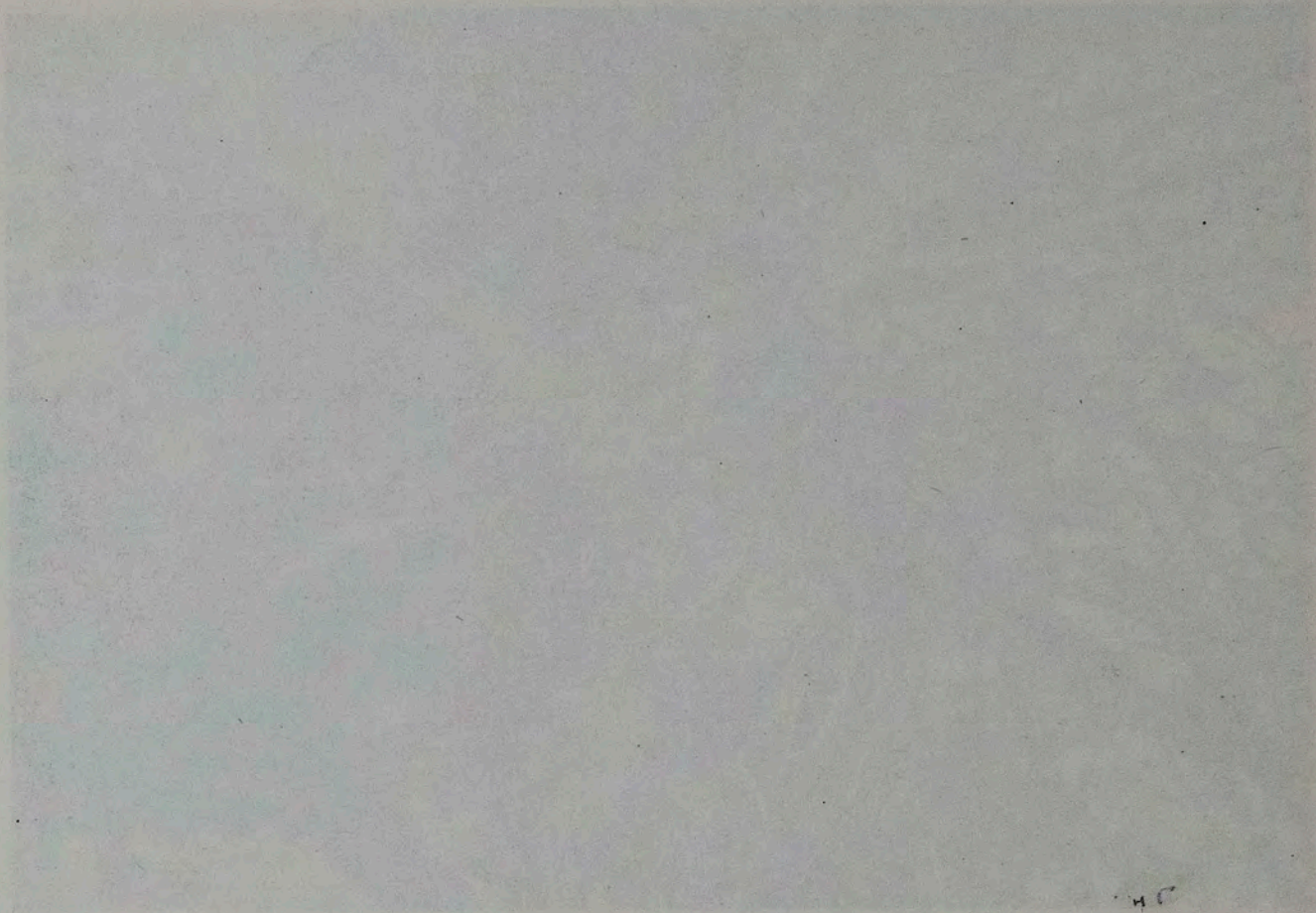


Monolithoi. Palaipaphos. I, 57.



Hagia Solomoni. Neapaphos.

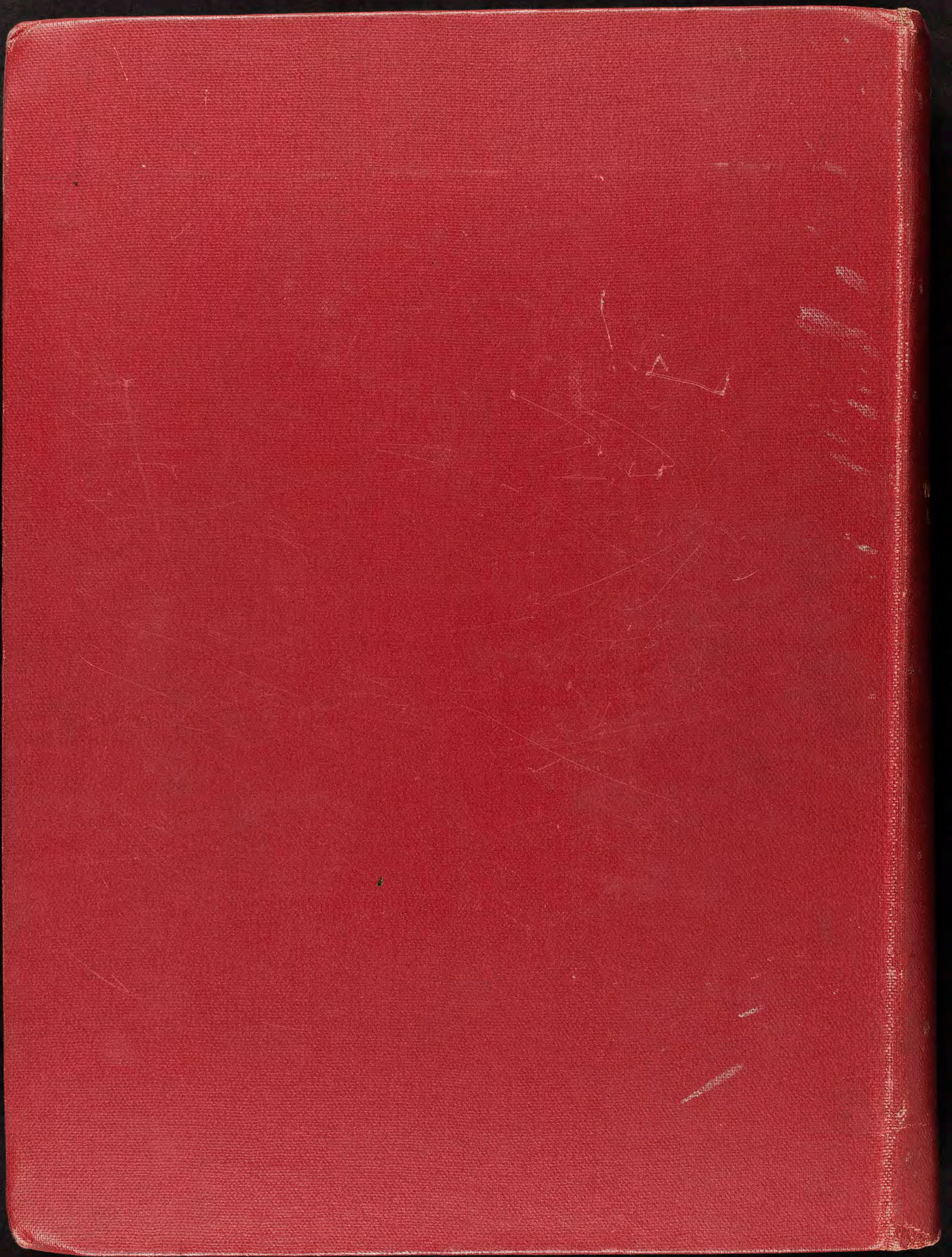
84
30



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Handwritten text, possibly bleed-through from the reverse side.

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ST.30

TRACTS

54

TOPOGRAPHY AND
ARCHITECTURE

HELLENIC
AND ROMAN
SOCIETIES

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